# Moral reasoning and support for punitive violence after crime[*]

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**Abstract**

How do citizens in a context of high violence and high impunity articulate and justify their preferences about crime and punishment? To address this question, we document and analyze stated preferences for punishment in response to crime from 62 in-depth qualitative interviews with individuals affected by violence in the Mexican state of Michoacán. We conduct a quantitative analysis of how different forms of moral justifications are related to preferred punishments for specific crime events, and a qualitative content analysis to investigate mechanisms. We find that two types of moral reasoning are more likely to be used to justify punitive violence: consequentialist reasoning that involves weighing the costs and benefits of an action, and reasoning that dehumanizes accused criminals. Deontological justificationsabout the right or just action, while extremely common, are used more equally across arguments for and against punitive violence. Our results suggest that diverse forms of reasoning justifications provide the basis for stated support of punitive violence.

# 1 Introduction

"Human rights are, precisely, for humans. Criminals are beasts that do not deserve any consideration." That was the message América Rangel, an opposition member of Mexico City's Congress, wrote on her social media accounts in August 2022 (Fragoso M., 25 August 2022). This illustrates the use of *dehumanization* as a moral frame to justify punitive violence in response to crime, such as vigilante justice and tough-on-crime policies. Individuals may also use *consequentialist* or *deontological* moral frames when justifying their preferred crime responses. Consequentialist reasoning posits that the response to violence should aim to maximize social benefits at minimal cost. Consider Anabel's reasoning, a Mexican citizen who believes that taking the law into her own hands is justifiable because "[episodes of violent crime] do not happen once or twice; they are frequent events. If we all cooperate, justice will prevail, and criminals will reconsider their actions" (Mireles, 13 August 2020). On the other hand, deontological reasoning asserts that actions should be taken based on their inherent moral rightness, irrespective of individual or societal advantages.

In countries where persistent corruption and ongoing criminal violence have undermined the rule of law, perpetrators are rarely held accountable. Consequently, ordinary citizens routinely face the high-stakes dilemma of how to react to crime and when it is necessary to transcend the boundaries of the law. The practice of spontaneous lynching is widespread in 46 countries and has been documented in more than 100 over the last four decades (Jung and Cohen, 2019). Punitive violence involving state agents is also prevalent at alarming levels, particularly in Latin America (Magaloni and Rodriguez, 2020; Magaloni, Franco-Vivanco and Melo, 2020). Public opinion surveys show high levels of support for tough-on-crime policies and strong support for lynchings and self-help policing in countries as diverse as Mexico, Haiti, and South Africa (Jung and Cohen, 2019; Schedler, 2018; Visconti, 2020).

In this article, we examine how citizens employ moral frames when discussing and justifying their preferred responses to crime. To make and justify decisions about the acceptability or even desirability of punitive violence, individuals engage in moral reasoning—consideration and justification of the right and wrong ways to respond to crime. Our study focuses on the case of Mexico,

where hundreds of attempted and realized lynchings have been reported in recent years, igniting public debates on due process rights against the backdrop of criminal justice reform and rising violent crime. Punitive violence involving harsh, physical punishments is by definition extralegal, "an action [that goes] beyond the law [to punish]... moving in the same direction as the law, but exceeding its scope or severity" (Bateson, 2020). These actions include extralegal physical or lethal harm performed by both state and non-state actors to punish accused perpetrators of crimes.

How are different moral frames used to justify support for punitive, extralegal violence in a context of high crime and impunity? Moral reasoning justifications refer to speech organized around what should be done and why. In this study, we explore its role in responding to crime. Specifically, we examine two domains of moral reasoning that are highly relevant to discussions of crime responses. First, we investigate whether individuals dehumanize accused perpetrators or demonstrate empathy towards them. Second, we analyze whether individuals employ consequentialist or deontological reasoning to justify their preferred crime responses. Our goal is to determine whether the type of moral justification used by an individual when discussing a crime event is associated with their acceptance or preference for punitive violence, and to catalog, using thick description, the prevailing justifications for and against punitive violence among ordinary citizens.

We draw on 62 semi-structured, in-depth interviews with residents in and around Morelia, the capital of Michoacán, Mexico. These interviews yield 570 unique crime events coded based on their content and the type of moral reasoning invoked by interviewees to justify their preferred crime response. This methodology provides a detailed picture of how people affected by crime and impunity make sense of their experiences and justify state and community responses—in their own words. We use crime events as the unit of analysis to better capture respondents' reflections on real-world situations and to understand how moral reasoning justifications may be used differently depending on context. This research design allows us to see how the same individual describes decisions about distinct crime events across both hypothetical and personal experiences.

The crime events discussed in our interviews range from domestic violence to petty property crime to violent abuse by organized criminal groups. Our approach to analyzing the data is primarily interpretivist. We are interested in understanding not the objective truth but how individuals

perceive these events and communicate in social interactions. We use a qualitative coding of the interviews to understand how moral reasoning is invoked in this context, to identify unexpected themes, and to interpret the "meta-data" of our interviews. However, we also use quantitative methods to assess and communicate commonalities across the interviews and test for expected correlations between types of moral reasoning justifications and punishment preferences.

We find that dehumanizing accused perpetrators and consequentialist moral reasoning are associated with support for punitive responses. The fact that interviewees use consequentialist arguments to justify punitive violence runs against the increasingly common argument that careful consideration of costs and benefits can prevent retaliatory violence, including in high impunity settings (Blattman, Jamison and Sheridan, 2017; Heller et al., 2017; Dinarte and Egaña del Sol, 2019). Using consequentialist reasoning, participants emphasized that different forms of punitive violence would reduce future crime either by incapacitating repeat offenders through physical harm and mutilation or death, or by deterring other potential perpetrators. In the context of high crime and impunity in Michoacán, using careful cost-benefit considerations was not associated with lower support for punitive violence.

Many of our respondents also use deontological justifications when discussing crimes, but these are only weakly associated with stated support for punitive violence. Our results suggest that it is not deontological justifications in general but specific deontological arguments that underlie support for punitive violence, and highlight that deontological arguments against punitive violence are also common. Arguments for harsh punishments in this category emphasized the need to protect a moral, law-abiding community against criminal, immoral "outsiders." Deontological arguments against punitive violence underlined a citizen's duty to remain committed to the rule of law or moral strictures to do no harm, irrespective of the effects on future crime. Finally, we find that both subtle and blatant dehumanization of accused criminals is strongly related to support for punitive violence. Overall, these results suggest that the way that individuals make decisions about crime responses is less predictive of their preferences than the beliefs that they hold.

Our study contributes to a growing social sciences literature on support for harsh, extralegal responses to crime. Several studies have found that the occurrence of vigilantism, one type of puni-

tive violence, is explained by enabling factors, including the existence of organizations that facilitate collective action (Moncada, 2021) and the availability of funds (Phillips, 2017; Ley, Ibarra Olivo and Meseguer, 2019). Others have argued that citizens engage in vigilante acts when the state is less likely to punish them for it, lowering its expected cost (Jaffrey, 2020; Wilke, 2020). We provide micro-level support for many of these arguments by showing the cost-benefit justifications that used to justify pro-vigilante decisions in the words of those actually making the decisions.

Additionally, our research contributes to the understanding of the psychological factors influencing punitive violence. Previous work has found that perceptions of the legitimacy of legal processes (Tankebe and Asif, 2016; Smith, 2019; Jung and Cohen, 2019), individual need for cognition (Sargent, 2004), and emotional responses (García-Ponce, Young and Zeitzoff, 2022) can drive support for punitive violence. Recent experimental studies suggest that demand for militarized policing–associated with tough-on-crime policies that restrict due process rights–persists because it is seen as more effective relative to civilian policing (Flores-Macías and Zarkin, 2021), in spite of increasing evidence that militarization leads to extralegal rights abuses and does not improve public safety (Blair and Weintraub, 2021; Flores-Macías and Zarkin, 2019). Our findings also point to the important role that dehumanization play when citizens consider punitive or vigilante punishments.

## 2 Moral reasoning and responses to crime

People affected by violent crimes often desire a response. How do citizens make and justify decisions about crime responses in contexts where state authorities appear unwilling or unable to respond by legal means? In this section, we outline expectations about how individuals in high violence, low rule-of-law communities make decisions about responding to crime. We focus on two dimensions of moral reasoning: the beliefs and assumptions about the world that go into decisions, and the criteria that individuals use to make decisions. First, we consider beliefs and assumptions that individuals use to make decisions about crime responses, focusing in particular on beliefs about the accused perpetrators of crimes. Second, we look at the criteria that individuals use to make decisions, in particular, whether individuals use consequentialist or deontological logic to justify a

response. Consequentialist moral reasoning is characterized by consideration of costs and benefits of different actions. Deontological reasoning focuses on the right or appropriate action regardless of its consequences.

## 2.1 Beliefs: Dehumanization of or empathy with the accused

One dimension of moral reasoning that could be associated with support for punitive violence is the extent to which individuals dehumanize or empathize with accused perpetrators of crimes. Perceiving others as less than fully human overrides moral considerations against the use of violence and removes inhibitions against harming others (Haslam and Stratemeyer, 2016). A growing body of empirical work also finds that dehumanization is associated with retributive violence and aggression (Leidner et al., 2010; Leidner, Castano and Ginges, 2013). Yet most research on dehumanization and violence has focused on intergroup conflicts. Do these findings on dehumanization extend to criminal violence? Recent studies suggest that community members who violate social norms, for instance by perpetrating sex crimes, are likely to be dehumanized (Viki et al., 2012). There is also evidence from the U.S. that dehumanization of criminals is associated with support for harsh punishments (Bastian, Denson and Haslam, 2013).

We conceptualize dehumanization as a set of beliefs about accused criminals that is distinct from how decisions about crime responses are made. Dehumanization can occur in conjunction with both consequentialist and deontological thinking (Bastian, Denson and Haslam, 2013). Research on dehumanization and support for violence has often focused on forms of "righteous" violence, in line with deontological justifications. However, others have identified a link between dehumanization and consequentialist pro-violence arguments (Bastian, Denson and Haslam, 2013). Haslam and Loughnan (2014, 416) conclude that "[p]unitive treatment of animalistically dehumanized people may reflect a judgment that they are not moral agents: Coercive treatment is required precisely because they are not amenable to reasoning or capable of controlling themselves."

In contrast to dehumanization, when people view accused criminals with empathy, we expect that they will be less supportive of punitive violence. Empathetic reasoning involves taking the perspective of another person, having emotional reactions to the other's situation, and feeling

sympathy or concern for the other (Hoffman, 1984). Several U.S. studies have found that experimental treatments encouraging empathy improved attitudes towards perpetrators and reduced punitiveness (Batson et al., 1997; Johnson et al., 2002). Others have found that empathy is negatively related to support for violence and escalation of conflict (Richardson et al., 1994; Rosler, Cohen-Chen and Halperin, 2017).

## 2.2   Moral reasoning: Consequentialist and deontological

From reporting crimes to the police to supporting vigilante groups, scholars have argued that individuals are sensitive to the expected risks and rewards of distinct justice processes (Skogan, 1990; Jaffrey, 2020; Wilke, 2020). The perceived benefits of punitive violence could include deterring future crime, or incapacitating repeat offenders. Perceived costs of punitive violence include the risk of punishment by the state, or retaliation by the target or their allies. These theories of punitive violence implicitly assume that its supporters use consequentialist moral reasoning to compare the expected costs and benefits of available responses and support their best option. Consequentialist arguments have also been at the heart of utilitarian political theory around criminal justice (Bentham, 1996).

Although the relationship between consequentialist moral reasoning and support for harsh punishments should depend on context, recent research has suggested that engaging in deliberate consequentialist reasoning often decreases support for retaliatory violence, even in high-violence contexts. Several recent studies have found that engaging individuals in high-violence communities in decelerated, more deliberative decision-making can reduce participation in violence or other anti-social behavior (Heller et al., 2017; Blattman, Jamison and Sheridan, 2017; Dinarte and Egaña del Sol, 2019). Several of these studies have taken place in high-impunity settings including urban Liberia or El Salvador. Surveys and experiments in Mexico show that decision-making in angry affective states, which tends to be less deliberative, is associated with higher support for punitive violence (García-Ponce, Young and Zeitzoff, 2022).

Deontological reasoning, on the other hand, argues that an action should be taken because it adheres to a moral principle, duty, or rule, not necessarily because it will have desirable conse-

quences. Deontological arguments prioritize what is "right" over what is "beneficial." The logic of retribution is fundamentally deontological, arguing that perpetrators deserve to be punished in proportion to the severity of the crime they have committed regardless of that punishment's consequences. For instance, the political theorist Immanuel Kant argued that the moral imperative that criminals deserve to be punished creates an obligation in society that can justify violating the law (Kant, 1887).

A significant body of recent research argues that support for harsh responses to crime are driven by deontological arguments that equal punishment is just or fair (Vidmar and Miller, 1980; Darley, Carlsmith and Robinson, 2000; Roberts et al., 2002). However, most of this research has been done in the U.S., raising questions about whether the findings would extend to contexts with higher crime and more impunity. Nevertheless, several scholars of vigilantism have emphasized the importance of deontological reasoning. Kloppe-Santamaría (2020), for instance, argues that it is not crime levels but "perceptions and representations of wrongdoers as individuals who deserved to be punished by physical, swift, and extralegal means" that drove support for lynchings in post-revolutionary Mexico (5). The view that the state is abusive and incapable of providing appropriate punishment is a key "source of legitimation" for vigilantism (9). Similarly, Smith (2019) argues that vigilantism arises during democratic state formation when citizens view the formal legal system as deviating from their accepted moral code, for instance by overemphasizing the rights of the accused. In these accounts, vigilantism arises not from a comparison of the risks and rewards of punitive violence but rather from a sense that community punishment is just.

Emotions like moral outrage play an important role in many deontological explanations of punitive violence. Individuals have strong emotional reactions to violations of moral codes, particularly anger, contempt, and disgust (Tetlock et al., 2000). These emotions have been linked to deontological thinking and preferences for harsher punishments (Darley and Pittman, 2003; Bastian, Denson and Haslam, 2013; García-Ponce, Young and Zeitzoff, 2022), as well as participation in collective violence (Atran, Axelrod and Davis, 2007). The social and emotional rewards associated with upholding the moral code may justify the risks of participation in vigilante acts (Smith, 2019).

However, while deontological reasoning has typically been linked to a preference for harsh

punishment, it can also be used to justify non-punitive crime responses, and to support legal punishments. Deontological arguments that killing another human under any circumstance is wrong, for instance, have been a cornerstone of opposition to the death penalty (Steiker, 2011). People may also perceive that they have a moral duty to respond to crimes through formal legal processes. Arguments that people cooperate with the formal justice system when it is "procedurally just" can be interpreted as arguing that people use deontological reasoning in support of formal legal processes (Sunshine and Tyler, 2003). In procedural justice theory, when citizens perceive authorities as legitimate, compliance is based on a belief that it is the right action rather than a self-interested calculation.

In sum, the existing literature provides us with reasons to believe that both deontological and consequentialist moral reasoning may attend support for punitive violence. However, deontological arguments that criminals "deserve" punishment, and that the community should mete it out if the state has lost its moral authority, have been especially prominent in the literature. By contrast, some recent research has found that interventions that encourage more deliberate consequentialist thought can reduce participation in violence. Dehumanization should clearly be associated with higher support for punitive violence, and empathizing with accused perpetrators should reduce it.

## 3 Context: Violence and citizen responses in Michoacán

Latin America ranks first in the world in both violent and common crime (Hyder et al., 2022; Muggah and Tobón, 2018; van Dijk, Nieuwbeerta and Joudo Larsen, 2022). With more than 1000,000 people disappeared and around 400,000 intentional homicides in the last 15 years, Mexico is one of the most severe cases.[1] Amidst this dramatic intensification of violence, there has been increased support for harsh, extralegal punishments. Nearly half of Mexican citizens support lynching and sixty percent favor the self-organization of community police forces or self-defense groups (Schedler, 2018). In addition to punishments from ordinary citizens, extrajudicial responses to crime by state security forces are pervasive. This includes the unlawful use of lethal force, torture, and the systematic violation of human rights (Magaloni and Rodriguez, 2020; World Justice Project, 26 June

2019). Furthermore, in the legal and political imaginary of Mexico's war on drugs, criminals are not only branded as enemies of the state or the community but often dehumanized and ostracized (Madrazo Lajous, 2016).

The violence dynamics in the state of Michoacán, Mexico, illustrate how the incidence of criminal violence and the adoption of punitive justice approaches may reinforce each other, a phenomenon observed in several other parts of Latin America (Bonner, 2019; Moncada, 2022; Yashar, 2018). Michoacán has been characterized by high levels of violent crime, rampant impunity, and strong support for harsh and extralegal responses since the start of the so-called Drug War (December 2006). In 2013, rural self-defense militias emerged throughout the state to fight organized crime. The *autodefensas*, as they called themselves, initially gained popular support and temporarily curbed violence in some localities (Del Rio, 2020). However, despite support from the federal government and additional militarized strategies rolled out by state authorities to tackle organized crime (Flores-Macías and Zarkin, 2019), violence has worsened in the state, including its capital city.

Our study was conducted in and around the city of Morelia, the capital of Michoacán. In 2018, Morelia registered 26 intentional homicides per 100,000 people and the highest rates of home burglaries and business robberies in the state. Based on the most recent wave of the National Survey on Urban Public Safety, in the summer of 2019, 25% of Morelia residents were victims of extortion, 28% were victims of robbery, and 51% heard or witnessed a shooting occur. This takes place within a context of pervasive impunity. Michoacán ranks third among the 32 states in Mexico in terms of its degree of impunity for homicides: less than 10% of intentional homicides in the state have resulted in incarceration in recent years (Le Clercq Ortega and Lara, 2018).

Morelia and the surrounding municipalities are home to a range of citizen efforts to prevent and respond to crime. These efforts respond to perceptions of insecurity in Morelia that are well above the national average. Around 80% of Morelia's residents feel unsafe in their neighborhood and 82% consider that violence levels are likely to increase in the near future. Citizen initiatives to address crime include neighborhood watch groups that cooperate with the police and do not punish criminals themselves, a social media personality and political candidate who encourages citizens to apprehend criminals and film confessions for public consumption, and more formal

citizen vigilante authorities with established codes for how accused criminals are dealt with in their neighborhoods.

## 4   Research Design

### 4.1   Semi-structured qualitative interviews

We developed a methodology based on multi-session, semi-structured interviews to collect rich information on emotions, beliefs and preferences. This open-ended format has several advantages. First, it enables us to capture a wider range of thought processes and opinions than a close-ended questionnaire, including those that are unanticipated at the outset of the research. Second, open-ended personal narratives allow us to observe how individuals work through normative ambivalence, common in the process of considering harsh punishments. Our interviews capture a set of socially constructed beliefs, preferences, arguments, and justifications around responses to crime. When interviewees describe a crime and how they would like it to be handled, they are expressing justifications for their preferences in the social setting of an interview.

Our interviews were broken into two sessions. The first was a 20-minute session of primarily close-ended questions, and the second was a two-hour session involving open-ended questions following a semi-structured guide. We draw on the first session primarily for measures of individual characteristics. In the second session, we asked participants about recent incidents of violence and crime in their community and their desired responses. Interviewers discussed each event in detail before moving on. Interviewers initially asked participants to volunteer experienced crimes, and then asked about specific types of crime if the interviewee had not already raised them, including extortion, theft, and homicide. This section of the interview forms the basis of our 570 crime events.[2]

We took steps to minimize the risk that participants would feel pressured to provide particular responses. First, we trained our interviewers to present as neutral, interested, and sympathetic regardless of what the interviewee said. We reinforced these practices during a ten-day training that involved multiple days of field-based practice and feedback. Second, we used interviewer observation and debrief questionnaires to keep track of the "meta-data", such as discomfort or

perceived insincerity, that can indicate that a respondent feels uncomfortable speaking freely (Fujii, 2010).[3]

## 4.2 Sampling

We used a multi-stage sampling strategy to identify participants who could provide rich data. We sought participants who both had relevant personal experiences and were willing and able to discuss them in detail. In the first stage, we identified five communities affected by violence in and around Morelia, but that were also secure enough that interviewers could safely conduct interviews and return to Morelia each night.

Within each community, we recruited participants representing a mix of genders and ages. We recruited at least half of participants through a random walk method, and the rest through referrals. At the end of the recruitment questionnaire, interviewers scheduled the longer follow-up interview within a few days. In total we recruited 78 individuals to complete the initial interview and 66 completed the second.[4]

Table 1: Individual-level summary statistics

|  | Locality Codes | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | A | B* | C | D | E* | F |
| Interviewees (N) | 11 | 10 | 12 | 10 | 7 | 12 |
| % Female | 0.73 | 0.40 | 0.33 | 0.40 | 0.71 | 0.50 |
| % 18-39 years old | 0.55 | 0.50 | 0.92 | 0.30 | 0.43 | 0.67 |
| % 40-59 years old | 0.45 | 0.40 | 0.08 | 0.50 | 0.29 | 0.33 |
| % 60+ years old | 0.00 | 0.10 | 0.00 | 0.20 | 0.29 | 0.00 |
| % Married | 0.82 | 0.40 | 0.17 | 0.70 | 0.71 | 0.58 |
| % HS Degree | 0.36 | 0.60 | 0.17 | 0.40 | 0.00 | 0.42 |
| % Social Aid | 0.36 | 0.20 | 0.58 | 0.60 | 0.57 | 0.50 |
| % Traumatic Life Event | 0.55 | 0.70 | 0.42 | 0.40 | 1.00 | 0.58 |
| % PTSD | 0.18 | 0.40 | 0.42 | 0.20 | 0.57 | 0.50 |
| Confidence in Govt. (Mean) | 1.52 | 1.40 | 1.66 | 1.35 | 1.15 | 1.24 |

* Communities B and E are neighborhoods within the capital city of Michoacán. The other four municipalities are largely rural and within a one-hour drive of the capital.

Table 1 presents individual summary statistics for each of the six communities included

in our sample. Across our six communities, we conducted full interviews with between 7 and 12 participants. Women made up between 33 and 73% of our participants by community. A sizable proportion of our sample in every community reported having experienced a traumatic life experience, and between 0 and 1/3 met the standard threshold for post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) related to a traumatic event. Finally, on the attitudinal measures of confidence in government, the average responses across eight government institutions vary from 1.15 to 1.66 (on a four-point scale of 0 to 3, which higher values indicating more confidence) across the six communities.

## 4.3  Ethical considerations

Ethical considerations were a principal concern in our research design (Baron and Young, 2020). The main risks associated with this study involved the possibility of emotional distress and retaliation against participants or research staff. The main potential benefits were satisfaction with sharing opinions and experiences. To determine whether the balance between risks and benefits was justifiable, we consulted local Catholic Church staff, security experts, NGOs, and survey firm leadership while planning our fieldwork. During fieldwork we took additional steps to minimize and monitor risks in four areas: prevention of emotional distress, prevention of retribution, prevention of secondary trauma, and implementation of a rigorous consent process.

To mitigate the risk of distress during interviews, we hired a local trauma specialist to train our interviewers on contextually relevant signs of emotional distress, and strategies to prevent distress from escalating. Interviewees were also provided with the contact information of a reliable, free tele-counseling and referral service.

To prevent retaliation, we trained interviewers to recognize and prevent sharing of identifying information during the interviews. To monitor the actual incidence of longer-term potential risks associated with participating in the study, we solicited impressions of the study's afterlife from our local contacts. We kept audio files encrypted and deleted them from devices shortly after each interview.

To prevent secondary trauma of field staff, our trauma specialist provided ongoing support to the interviewers in pre- and post-study group sessions. These sessions involved emotional support

and training in identifying and protecting against secondary trauma. The trauma specialist also made herself available to field staff by phone throughout the study.

Ensuring that participation was truly informed and voluntary was another important ethical consideration. Because the interview was carried out in two parts, participants had the chance to opt out of the more intensive follow-up interview after experiencing the interview content. They went through a second abridged consent process before the second interview.

## 4.4 Coding interview content

We conducted two parallel analyses on the data: first, a quantitative coding based on a structured guide to identify expected patterns in the interviews, and second, and a less structured content analysis to identify emerging and more refined findings. In this section we describe each of those in turn.

For our quantitative analysis we converted our interview transcripts into individual crime events. From these we further coded crime characteristics, types of moral reasoning, and punishment preferences for each crime event. Using the research software Dedoose, research assistants coded transcripts following a codebook.[5] Table 2 summarizes our coding categories.

Our outcome variable of interest is whether a participant says that they would prefer an extralegal physical or lethal response to a particular crime event. Lethal responses, whether carried out by state agents or community members, are coded as extralegal lethal.[6] Other physical responses such as non-lethal beatings or torture are also included in our outcome variable in some specifications. Our coding of a preferred response as legal or extralegal are based on whether the response was legal under Mexican law at the time of the interviews, rather than whether the participant explicitly stated that they wanted to carry out a response legally or extralegally. Non-physical, legal responses are the default category. This includes jail time, community service, rehabilitation, or no response at all.

Two research assistants independently coded each anonymized transcript. All research assis-

Table 2: Codebook categories and values

| Category | Value | Examples |
|---|---|---|
| Severity of the crime | Violent (harm to physical integrity) | -Murder, femicide, kidnapping, disappearance, assault, rape, sexual abuse |
| | Other | -Theft, extortion, house robbery, threats |
| Relationship to the crime event | Personal | -Personally victimized |
| | | -Family victimized |
| | Heard/Witnessed | -Witnessed crime in community |
| | | -Heard about crime in community or elsewhere in Mexico |
| | Hypothetical/General | -Hypothetical crime introduced by interviewer or interviewee |
| | | -Crime discussed generally such as "home burglary," "theft" or "rape" |
| Type of moral reasoning | Consequentialist | -"Prevents crime" |
| | | -"Makes the community safer" |
| | Deontological | -"Deserves the same violence they committed" |
| | | -"Has a right to the law" |
| | | -"It's the duty of state authorities to punish" |
| | Dehumanization | -"Contaminates people" |
| | | -"Is like a dog" |
| | Empathy | -"Has a family too" |
| | | - "My son also makes mistakes" |
| Preferred crime response | Legal | -Jail time |
| | | -Community service |
| | | -Nothing |
| | Extralegal physical | -Non-lethal beatings |
| | | -Torture |
| | Extralegal lethal | -Death penalty |
| | | -Lynchings |
| | | -Police killings |

tants were masters or advanced undergraduate students at Mexican universities who met with the researchers in weekly meetings. Because we had two independent coders score each interview, we can calculate a measure of inter-rater reliability (IRR). Because each coder identified both the excerpt itself, and the tags associated with that excerpt, a first step in calculating the IRR is identifying which excerpts from the two coders identify the same event. Coders were instructed to identify unique crime events starting at the beginning of a discussion of an event and the discussion of the interviewee's preferred response. 16% of our crime event excerpts could be exactly matched across the two sets of coders. For these exact matches, the IRRs range from .86 to .99. Appendix B.2

presents a complete analysis of the reliability of our coding process.

Table 3 presents summary statistics for the 570 unique crime events in our dataset. On average, our participants discussed just over 11 unique crime events in each interview. On average, each of our crime events is about 840 words long, excluding interviewer speech. There is a significant range, with the shortest crime event excerpt at just 20 words and the longest at almost 5000. Deontological moral reasoning is identified the most frequently, with an average of 0.44 usages of deontological moral reasoning for each crime event. There are also on average 0.21 usages of consequentialist moral reasoning, 0.06 usages of dehumanization, and 0.04 usages of humanizing or empathetic moral reasoning in the crime excerpts.[1] About one in five of the crime events discussed in the interviews were personally experienced (by the participant or an immediate family member), two in five were crimes that occurred in their community, and almost two in five were general or hypothetical crimes. More than half of the crimes discussed involved physical violence. Respondents ultimately said that they preferred a lethal punishment in 13% of the crimes discussed, and a physical punishment (including lethal punishments but also torture or other physical abuse) in 24%. Respondents did not identify a preferred response in about 150 identified crime events. These were often hypothetical crimes mentioned in passing during the interview and are dropped from the dataset.

Second, we analyzed the interviews inductively in a parallel content analysis to identify emerging, refined themes. First, at least one of the study PIs reviewed all excerpts on crime events, preferred responses, and moral reasoning justifications produced by the coders. We looked for sub-themes within each umbrella category of moral reasoning justifications. Second, one of the PIs listened to and read through all of the interview transcripts in the original Spanish. In this analysis, we reviewed each interview holistically, keeping in mind how the discussion developed and varied across different crime events. In this more interpretive analysis, we sought to identify cross-cutting themes, justifications, and phrases that uncover "shared understandings of what it means to act appropriately, legitimately, or strategically," in our case vis-a-vis crime and punitive violence (Fujii,

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[1] After breaking our interviews into specific crime events, we coded each event for passages that used the four types of moral reasoning. We coded each application of moral reasoning as a separate "usage", marking where the respondent started and stopped using a certain type of moral reasoning when discussing a specific crime in the transcript.

Table 3: Crime event summary statistics

|  | MEAN | SD | MIN | MAX |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Number of Words | 842.23 | 685.37 | 20.00 | 4820.00 |
| MR: Deontological | 0.44 | 0.50 | 0.00 | 1.00 |
| MR: Consequentialist | 0.21 | 0.41 | 0.00 | 1.00 |
| MR: Dehumanization | 0.06 | 0.24 | 0.00 | 1.00 |
| MR: Empathic | 0.04 | 0.20 | 0.00 | 1.00 |
| Relationship: Personal | 0.23 | 0.42 | 0.00 | 1.00 |
| Relationship: Heard/Witnessed | 0.42 | 0.49 | 0.00 | 1.00 |
| Relationship: Hypothetical | 0.35 | 0.48 | 0.00 | 1.00 |
| Crime: Physical Violence | 0.58 | 0.49 | 0.00 | 1.00 |
| Preferred Response: Lethal | 0.13 | 0.33 | 0.00 | 1.00 |
| Preferred Response: Any Physical | 0.24 | 0.43 | 0.00 | 1.00 |

2018, 74).

# 5   Analysis

## 5.1   Quantitative patterns in moral reasoning and punishment preferences

Our central research question is how different forms of moral reasoning are used to justify support for punitive, extralegal violence. In this section we test for correlations between the type of moral reasoning used in discussions of a crime and whether participants want the crime to be punished with physical violence. Though this analysis collapses a lot of the variation in types of moral reasoning rhetoric down to just a few dimensions, it enables us to analyze and visualize broad patterns in our interviews.

Our outcome variable is an indicator for whether a participant wanted a harsh physical punishment for a particular crime. We construct two versions of this variable: one that takes a value of 1 if the respondent prefers a lethal punishment, and a second that takes a value of 1 if the respondent preferred either a lethal or non-lethal physical punishment. The death penalty and other physical punishments are illegal in Mexico, so these variables also indicate support for an extralegal response.

Figure 1 breaks our data down into cases where each type of moral reasoning was used, and

then calculates the percent of those events in which the interviewee preferred a lethal or any physical response. Starting from the left, the figure shows that when an interviewee uses deontological moral reasoning to discuss a crime response, they prefer a lethal response in 17% of cases, and a physical response (including lethal violence) in 31% of cases. By contrast, when an interviewee uses consequentialist moral reasoning, they prefer a lethal response in 25% of cases, and a non-lethal physical response in 43% of cases. This analysis therefore suggests that consequentialist reasoning is more strongly associated with a preference for harsh punishment than deontological reasoning. However, both deontological and consequentialist reasoning are less associated with a preference for lethal punishment than dehumanization: when an interviewee uses dehumanizing moral reasoning, they prefer a lethal response in 78% of cases, and a generally physical response in a full 92% of cases. Finally, when interviewees express empathy with the perpetrators of crime they are least likely to prefer a harsh response.

Figure 1 suggests that interviewees are most likely to prefer a punitive response when they use dehumanizing moral reasoning, and to a lesser extent consequentialist reasoning. Do those correlations hold up to controls for some of the factors that might make different types of moral reasoning and response preferences more likely? Since our outcome variable is binary and we are interested in characteristics that vary both at the individual level and across the specific type of crime, we use a multilevel logit model (Gelman and Hill, 2006). We control for characteristics of the crime and characteristics of the individual respondent and test for a systematic relationship between using the four types of moral reasoning and preferring a punitive response to a crime.

The multivariate analysis presented in Appendix Table A2 confirms that the patterns in Figure 1 hold up to these controls. Consequentialist moral reasoning is strongly associated with both measures of preference for harsh, physical punishment. Averaging across our interviewees, the predicted probabilities imply that using consequentialist moral reasoning more than triples the average marginal probability of preferring a lethal punishment from 4% to 13%, holding other variables at their means or modes. Deontological reasoning is also positively correlated with a preference for harsh punishment, but the relationship is smaller and less consistently significant.

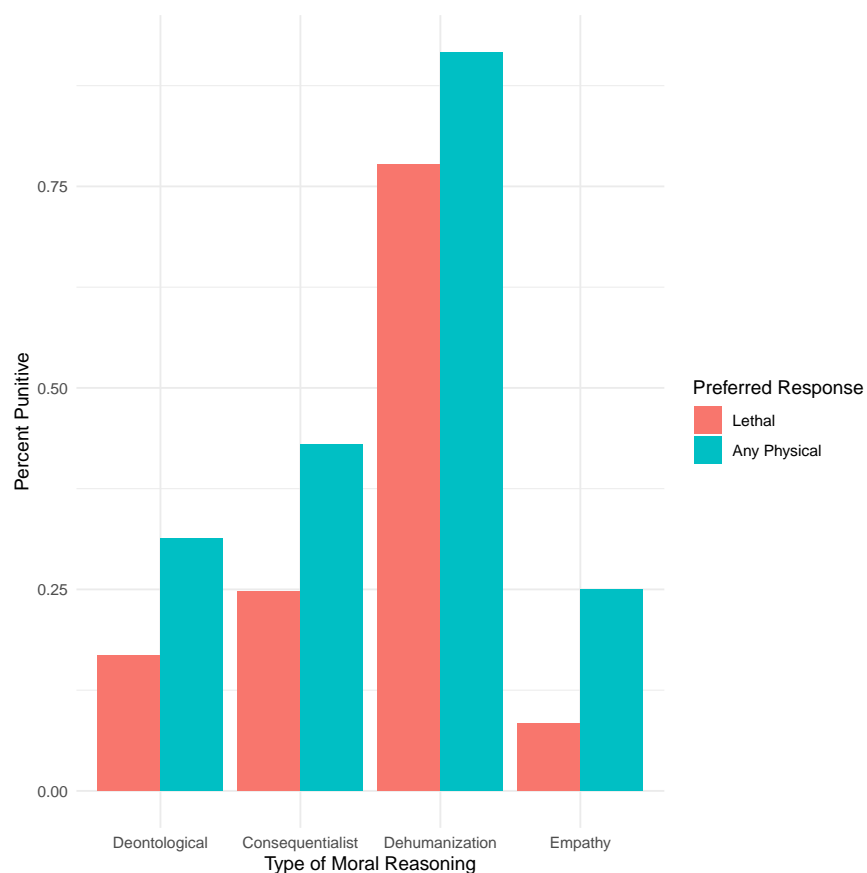Moral reasoning that dehumanizes the perpetrator is also very strongly associated with a

Figure 1: Proportion of crime events in which a lethal or physical response was preferred, by type of moral reasoning used

preference for a lethal punishment. When dehumanizing moral reasoning is used, the probability of preferring a lethal punishment implied by the analysis in Column 5 of Table A2 jumps from 4% to 81%. This result is in line with the expectation that dehumanizing moral reasoning would be used to justify extremely harsh punishments. By contrast, expressing empathy for accused perpetrators is not significantly associated with the likelihood of supporting harsh physical punishments.

The analysis so far has shown that across many different types of crime events and respondents, there is a persistent correlation between consequentialist and dehumanizing moral reasoning and support for harsh punishments. In the next sections we use interpretivist methods to better understand why these relationships exist, and what specific form different arguments for and against harsh punishments take.

## 5.2    Emerging themes

Why is dehumanization so strongly associated with arguments for punitive violence? Are there common types of consequentialist or deontological arguments that are invoked, and where might they come from? To identify unanticipated themes and explore the origins of different arguments, we use an interpretive approach to analyzing the interview data.

### 5.2.1    Dehumanization and empathy toward alleged perpetrators

Respondents who employed dehumanization in their justifications of their preferred crime responses used both animalistic and mechanistic blatant dehumanization, as well as more subtle forms that suggested that accused perpetrators did not have essential human traits like emotionality. Dehumanizing arguments were almost always employed to justify lethal punishments by state authorities, other incarcerated perpetrators, and ordinary citizens.

Blatant dehumanization involved explicitly reducing accused perpetrators to animals or to mechanistic processes. One respondent justified capital punishment for accused murders as the appropriate response, likening perpetrators to rabid dogs: "as my grandmother used to say, when the dog dies the rabies ends" (10C). Another participant described community self-defense as a process of "herding" criminals to watch them and track their movements. He viewed constant surveillance as necessary because criminals could not be deterred: "[a] dog that swallows butter, even if its snout burns, swallows it again, right?" (11A). In another case, a respondent argued that a mother accused of infanticide should be killed in jail because when crimes like infanticide occur, "it is always better, it is preferable that such a type of person doesn't exist, to contaminate or intoxicate other people" (22B).

Other respondents used more subtle forms of dehumanization that removed critical elements of humanity from the accused. Respondent 13A argued that those who treat victims as less than human must be less than human themselves, or people "who do not have feelings"(13A). Yet others argued that the perpetrators of crimes could never change. One participant explained their preference for the death penalty by arguing that criminals "are irredeemable" and that it is therefore impossible to integrate them into society (18B). Another suggested that becoming criminals makes

individuals subhuman, arguing that members of organized criminal groups should be punished with the death penalty because "there are people who can no longer improve, eh? They no longer have ... there's no longer a fix, [they are] already criminals" (6F).

While most of these examples pair dehumanization with consequentialist reasoning, it is notable that individuals using dehumanizing moral reasoning also invoked both deontological arguments. In the discussion of infanticide in interview 22B, for example, dehumanizing reasoning was used in conjunction with deontological arguments that perpetrators should suffer the pain that they had themselves inflicted on others before an eventual lethal punishment. Whether paired with deontological or consequentialist reasoning, dehumanization was almost always used in pro-punishment arguments.

In contrast, other participants explicitly rejected the logic of dehumanization, instead emphasizing perpetrators' inherent humanity or putting themselves in the position of the accused. One respondent imagined the pain that punitive violence would cause to its target when discussing why she was opposed to it: "because they are people, they are human beings, and one well... does not have to cause that pain to... to the bodies, because well, every stone, every stick is a pain that they give him, it is a pain he suffers, and even if he is the most criminal in the world, because I think that no, one should not do justice by his own hand" (13E).

Some of the ability to empathize appears to come from actual social ties between victims and accused perpetrators of crimes, and sometimes through active imagining of the life conditions or motives of the accused. Respondent 7A shared a story in which she interacted with the mother of a boy who broke into her house and by recognizing the mother's suffering came to consider that the accused might also have the capacity to change his behavior. In her telling, the interaction with the mother enabled her to see a shared ability for growth between herself and the accused. In some cases without known social ties, respondents began imagining the life conditions of the accused. When discussing the case of a man who was beaten by neighbors after stealing bread, respondent 10E walked us through her reflections: "the fact is that sometimes people steal out of hunger, or, I don't know, out of necessity. One does not know what need they have, maybe they have young children... In other words, you cannot know what, what forced you to do that, and the other people

arrive and with violence, it's not right" (10E).

In sum, participants who used dehumanizing arguments to describe their preferred punishment preferences used both blatant animalistic or mechanistic metaphors or subtle dehumanization that portrayed them as incapable of essential human capacities like emotions. Dehumanizing arguments were often but not always used in conjunction with consequentialist reasoning. In contrast, those who expressed empathy toward alleged perpetrators put themselves in the shoes of the accused or their family members, and also emphasized the inherent, embodied humanity of individuals to argue against inflicting physical pain, as well as a person's capacity to change and moral strictures against judging others.

### 5.2.2 Consequentialist reasoning: Incapacitation, inducing fear, and cycles of violence

Two main expressions of consequentialist reasoning were associated with preferences for punitive violence. First, a number of participants expressed that harsh punishments, such as castration, especially for rape, or capital punishment, would incapacitate repeat offenders or induce fear in potential offenders and thus reduce future crime. Consequentialist reasoning against punitive violence was most often expressed as fear of retaliation and contributing to harmful cycles of violence.

Multiple participants cited capital punishment as their preferred response to prevent future crime by the same perpetrator, particularly for severe offenses like murder and kidnapping. For *sicarios* or hired assassins, for example, one participant remarked,"as I told you, they are already *sicarios*, and if you give them jail time, if they leave, they will continue working [as assassins]. Few people can change [...] they are *sicarios* and they are going to be *sicarios*" (11A). Another suggested, "if they have already killed several people, I feel that they deserve to die, because if you give them jail time and they escape, they are going to continue doing the same thing, but to avoid that [...] you reduce [the number of] those people, just like that" (10C). For kidnappers suspected of organ trafficking (a prevalent rumor in Mexico) one participant expressed: "Well, the truth is that I would like them to be punished, but I would not like them to be killed because we cannot take justice into our own hands, but I would like them to be punished the same, with death, so that there wouldn't

continue to be more of those people" (2C). Currently prohibited in Mexican law, capital punishment was mentioned favorably by multiple participants. Some explicitly made reference to a desire for it to be made legal, as in the United States, and others simply mentioned a desire for the death penalty (*pena de muerte*) without reference to whether it should be legal or extrajudicial.

Second, many participants indicated a belief that severe punishments are effective deterrents of crime because they induce fear of the consequences of potential transgressions or intimidate perpetrators by signaling that the community is capable of punishing criminal behavior. Participants cited both state and non-state punitive violence as deterrents: "[to prevent future crime], for example, uniting among the entire community, so that when one sees a person, a kidnapper or a rapist, if one takes justice into their own hands and then those guys realize that the whole community is united to defend ourselves, well I think that would be good...I think [the community] would be safer, because as the whole community comes together, they see that we are all together and they think about it, with fear, that the same thing will happen to them" (2C). Another participant suggested the community is safer with self-help justice as potential perpetrators become aware of the likelihood of extralegal punishments: "we know which neighbor does indeed help. By taking justice into our own hands, thieves also know that they are not going to get out of here alive, so in that way we do help each other" (1A).

While consequentialist reasoning was generally associated with support for harsh punishments, participants who used consequentialist reasoning but rejected punitive violence tended to focus on its costs. One participant said that even for a crime like kidnapping, she would not favor punitive violence because of the possibility that it could set off a cycle of violence. In her words, "I would not like [the response] to be with violence, because the truth is violence brings about more violence and more violence, so I don't know, [the crime should be punished] with jail time." This participant recognized that violence could have benefits for the victim, but she saw these benefits as outweighed by the risk that "we will never end it, violence brings more violence and more violence" (10E). By contrast, participants who used consequentialist reasoning and favored punitive violence were more likely not to mention any potential costs.

Beliefs about the effectiveness of punitive and non-punitive responses, such as recidivism

and impunity rates, institutional corruption, and the capacity of accused criminals to retaliate should shape their perceived trade-offs. Why would one individual in the same community perceive punitive violence as carrying some costs while another would not? First, people could have different vulnerability to the risks of punitive violence. However, many of the costs cited by participants are not strictly personal, but are about risks to the community broadly or high-risk groups like young men. An alternative explanation could be that the same costs are perceived or weighed differently by different individuals. Individuals who do not perceive any costs of punitive violence may be more focused on immediate costs and benefits, rather than long-term risks of cycles of retaliation. They may also perceive that punitive violence is more effective than it actually is.

### 5.2.3 Deontological reasoning: A moral community in self-defense versus committed to the law

In our interviews, deontological reasoning was used to describe preferences for physical and lethal punishments, on the one hand, and commitments to the rule of law, on the other, including the hope that perpetrators can be rehabilitated. Pro-punitive deontological justifications tended to emphasize the justness of violent punishments for those who have inflicted violence, irrespective of their effects on future crime, as well as the obligation of the community, depicted as morally just and law-abiding, to protect itself against criminal "outsiders." Deontological reasoning was also the most common form of moral reasoning in our interviews, occurring in 45% of the excerpts. In 11% of our crime events, participants employed both deontological and consequentialist reasoning, supporting the idea that these two modes of reasoning represent two distinct categories on a spectrum of moral reasoning.

Pro-punitive deontological arguments advanced the moral imperative of retribution to justify lynching and other harsh punishments. For example, one participant argued that "if you have already killed several people... you also deserve to die as well" (10C). Others using deontological reasoning to justify harsh punishments emphasized the need for perpetrators to "pay" for what they had done (7A) and to experience themselves the same or similar forms of harm that they had caused others, such as physical abuse in jail, particularly in the case of sexual abuse of children (3C).

Other deontological arguments for punitive violence emphasized the moral imperative to

protect the law-abiding "community" or "neighbors" against criminal outsiders when the state does not do so. These arguments revealed a view of the "community" as a solidaristic identity group. Multiple participants highlighted a duty to to protect the community, not only because it would be an effective deterrent, but also because it was right to act in solidarity with neighbors against criminals. Accused criminals themselves were often framed as geographic "outsiders," although this term seemed to apply to those who found themselves outside the community's morality instead of physical boundaries. Some participants even recognized that this view of a moralized community introduced a risk that innocent "outsiders" might be misperceived as criminals and targeted with violence (10E).

However, participants also used deontological reasoning to explain their preferences for less punitive responses to crime and for the importance of due process. Much of the conventional wisdom is that deontological thinking plays a central role in support of violence, and consequentialist thinking with the rule of law. Our interviews suggest that this is not necessarily the case. Nevertheless, arguments linking deontological reasoning to an aversion to harsh punishments or a preference for the rule of law are not common in the scholarly literature. Our interviews show numerous examples of deontological arguments in favor of the formal legal system, despite its ineffectiveness. For example, one participant argued that meting out justice "is not a task that is directly our responsibility as citizens; it is our responsibility indirectly to help and prevent [crime], but not to do justice by our own hand " (15A). Similarly, 13C reflected that she is against self-help justice despite knowing that the formal justice system is ineffective and believing that lynching might make her community safer because she is committed to the rule of law. She argued that an accused criminal "also has the right, as I said, to be tried in court. You cannot give a verdict to a person, to a criminal; not on my part, for that there are laws." Others emphasized the moral imperative to give the accused the chance to rejoin society: as 15A argued, even those convicted of home invasion "should also have a second chance to join the productive part of life and society."

In sum, deontological reasoning was the most commonly used justification in both pro-punitive as well as anti-punitive preferences. Commitments to the rule of law and the rightful duties of citizens versus authorities shaped explanations for anti-punitive preferences; the idea that a

moralized community should act against crime and eye-for-an-eye retributive justifications were the most common pro-punitive explanations. Participants often articulated anti-punitive deontological justifications with the acknowledgement that working with judicial rules of the game would not necessarily redress harm, and pro-punitive justifications without explicit considerations of potential negative consequences.

## 5.3   Interpretation

Our evidence shows how individuals in a high-crime, low rule-of-law setting use moral reasoning to decide on appropriate punishments for different crimes. Understanding how moral reasoning is used in the setting of an interview about crime responses illuminates how people view and make meaning of crime events and responses in a social environment. While individuals are much more likely to prefer a harsh physical punishment when they dehumanize accused perpetrators, deontological and consequentialist reasoning are used to make arguments both for and against harsh punishments and extralegal violence. Consequentialist reasoning can be used to argue for harsh punishments when individuals focus on effectively incapacitating or deterring the accused, but when individuals consider the potential cost of cycles set off by harsh punishments, they are less likely to endorse punitive violence. Deontological arguments that emphasize the moral imperative to protect a righteous community are deployed in favor of harsh punishments, while those that consider the normative roles of citizens vis-a-vis the state or the need to give offenders second chances weigh against them.

Could these findings be explained by social desirability bias? As discussed in Section 4, we used a number of practices to make participants feel comfortable expressing opinions for and against punitive violence. We ultimately think that the social and political context at the time of our interviews provided little pressure to hide or embellish support for harsh punishments. Both citizens and opinion leaders in our context discuss legal and extralegal punishments openly.[7]

Where should we expect these patterns to generalize? We conducted these interviews in and around the city of Morelia, a context with high levels of civilian victimization and high levels of impunity. The patterns around dehumanization and empathy that we identified in our interviews

seem likely to hold in many different contexts. The relationship between dehumanization and support for punitive violence has been documented in places with relatively reliable state responses to violence like the US and Australia (Bastian, Denson and Haslam, 2013), as well in violent conflicts where the ability of the state to respond is less certain (Leidner, Castano and Ginges, 2013; Bruneau and Kteily, 2017). Qualitatively, dehumanization has seemed to play a role in many atrocities with civilian participation in violence against co-citizens in relatively low-capacity states in conflict such as Rwanda or Sudan. What is in some ways surprising in our interviews given the level of civilian victimization is that is that dehumanization is relatively rarely used. We suspect that this may be because there are no highly salient identity cleavages in our context, and that in contexts with more ethnic diversity or migration that dehumanization may be more common.

By contrast, we expect that our findings around types of moral reasoning may be more context dependent. Consequentialist justifications are especially dependent on beliefs shaped by context about the costs and benefits of different actions. In a context where it is more plausible that the state would effectively incapacitate offenders, consequentialist arguments that punitive violence is necessary to deter or disable them should be less convincing. Of course, in many high capacity states there are populations who do not trust the state for whom consequentialist arguments may still fall in favor of punitive violence, including far-right extremists, marginalized minorities, and those engaged in other illegal activities. To this end, we expect our findings on consequentialist justifications for violence to generalize primarily to other countries with nationally high levels of violence and impunity, including other parts of Latin America and the Caribbean. However, it is important to note that consequentialist justifications depend on *beliefs* about costs and benefits, as we note above, rather than objective values. To this end, they could also hold in places where criminal justice has been politicized, such as in the US in the wake of the war on terror (Hassner, 2023).

# 6  Conclusion

In this article we have presented rich descriptive evidence about how individuals living in violent contexts justify their preferences for how to respond to crime. The evidence from our semi-structured interviews supports the view that how people talk about crime responses is associated with their views about how crime should be punished. Conditional on characteristics of individuals and crime events, the justifications that individuals use when discussing their preferred response to a crime is strongly associated with whether they favor punitive violence.

The results provide support for some theories in the existing literature, and raise new questions. In line with others, we find that individuals who dehumanize criminals are much more supportive of harsh, physical punishments. In addition, there is evidence that deontological reasoning is associated with support for harsh punishments, although the correlation is less robust. Our qualitative analysis shows that deontological justifications are extremely common and take a variety of forms, including arguments that harsh punishments are morally wrong. Finally, our interviews show little support for the idea that consequentialist reasoning is less likely to be used to justify punitive violence. In fact, in this context using consequentialist moral reasoning is actually associated with support for a harsher response to a crime.

Two of our findings are especially worth further discussion. First, our finding that consequentialist justifications are associated with more support for punitive violence raises questions about how individuals perceive and weigh the costs and benefits of punitive violence. Are individuals' perceptions of the costs and benefits of punitive violence accurate? Why do some people perceive that punitive violence has few costs, while for other the risks of it are too high? It is possible that different individuals face different costs. However, it is also possible that they differ in how much they discount future versus present welfare, or overestimate benefits and underestimate costs of punitive violence. Our findings here echo past research on the importance of efficacy beliefs in support for torture in the U.S. (Houck et al., 2019). Future research should investigate the accuracy and roots of the beliefs in the efficacy and costs of punitive violence, and whether support for it is related to steeper discounting of future welfare.

Second, our findings show the importance of separately investigating deontological and dehumanizing moral reasoning justifications. Some past research on sacred values has conceptualized deontological reasoning as inextricably connected with dehumanization (Atran, Axelrod and Davis, 2007; Atran and Ginges, 2015). Individuals identify with a group, sacrilize their values as moral imperatives, and then dehumanize the outgroup. We find that dehumanization and deontological thinking are separable, and are used to argue for or against punitive violence in a variety of different ways.

Finally, our findings also speak to a more methodological point. They suggest that researchers trying to understand support for punitive violence should analyze arguments both for and against violence. Our data suggests that deontological justifications are more commonly used than consequentialist ones in arguments in favor of violence – but since it is also very common in arguments against violence it is actually not highly associated with support for punitive violence. In this way, our analysis highlights the benefits of combining both qualitative and quantitative text analysis to analyze interview data.

# Notes

[1]These estimates are based on official data from the National Institute of Statistics and Geography (INEGI) and the National Registry of Missing or Disappeared Persons (RNPDNO).

[2]We also asked introductory questions, and a final set of more general questions about crime and justice.

[3]See Appendix F for the interviewer observation and debrief questionnaire.

[4]Two female participants could not complete the second interview due to restrictions from male family members. Three second interviews had to be cancelled by field staff due to security concerns in one locality; another second interview was cancelled due to scheduling incompatibilities; four participants declined to complete the second interview; two participants could not be interviewed after multiple attempts. Audio recordings of two interviews were not successful and recruitment questionnaires for two participants were not registered.

[5]See Appendix G for the codebook.

[6]Capital punishment was formally abolished in Mexico in 2005.

[7]For instance, in the most recent presidential election, independent candidate "El Bronco" repeatedly suggested that corrupt officials' hands should be cut off, and the national Green Party campaigned on the reinstatement of the death penalty.

Recent surveys also show that citizens feel comfortable talking about their support for vigilantism (García-Ponce, Young and Zeitzoff, 2022; Schedler, 2018). We were also concerned that participants might believe that more a dramatic narrative of events would be more desirable in this research and try to please the interviewer by embellishing events. However, even if some participants were keen to invent "untruthful" narratives about crime events, follow up questions asking participants how these events make them feel and preferences about responses can reveal sincere emotional experience and moral convictions (Fujii, 2010).

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# Appendix to

# "Moral reasoning and support for punitive violence after crime"

## A    Research ethics

Ethical considerations were a principal concern in our research design (Baron and Young, 2020). The main risks associated with this study involved the possibility of emotional distress and retaliation against participants or research staff. The main potential benefits were satisfaction with sharing opinions and experiences. To determine whether the balance between risks and benefits was justifiable, we consulted local Catholic Church staff, security experts, NGOs, and survey firm leadership while planning our fieldwork. During fieldwork we took additional steps to minimize and monitor risks in four areas: prevention of emotional distress, prevention of retribution, prevention of secondary trauma, and implementation of a rigorous consent process.

To mitigate the risk of distress during interviews, we hired a local trauma specialist to train our interviewers on contextually relevant signs of emotional distress, and strategies to prevent distress from escalating. Interviewees were also provided with the contact information of a reliable, free tele-counseling and referral service.

To prevent retaliation, we trained interviewers to recognize and prevent sharing of identifying information during the interviews. To monitor the actual incidence of longer-term potential risks associated with participating in the study, we solicited impressions of the study's afterlife from our local contacts. We kept audio files encrypted and deleted them from devices shortly after each interview.

To prevent secondary trauma of field staff, our trauma specialist provided ongoing support to the interviewers in pre- and post-study group sessions. These sessions involved emotional support and training in identifying and protecting against secondary trauma. The trauma specialist also made herself available to field staff by phone throughout the study.

Ensuring that participation was truly informed and voluntary was another important ethical consideration. Because the interview was carried out in two parts, participants had the chance to opt out of the more intensive follow-up interview after experiencing the interview content. They

went through a second abridged consent process before the second interview.

As discussed above, to assess risks prior to initiating interviews we sought the input from a diversity of local actors and organizations to ensure that we were hearing about potential risks from a broad range of perspectives. These included local researchers, ex-security officials, activists, non-governmental organizations, and programs run by the Archdiocese of Morelia. The two field managers who facilitated locality entry and all participant recruitment had extensive experience living and working in the region and their input was critical to the risk assessment process. To facilitate participant and field staff safety, in each rural community, field managers requested permission to conduct our study from local authorities, and if approved, asked the authorities to alert neighborhood networks about the study. In urban localities, we connected field team leaders with local Catholic Church staff. To assess risks on an ongoing basis during study implementation, at the end of each day of fieldwork PIs in Morelia held in-person security debriefs with field managers and also received written, independent debriefs from interviewers via WhatsApp (Appendix F). These debriefs with structured questions for field staff informed decisions about whether or not certain locations were continuously safe for research. These daily debriefs led us to abandon one research locality before finishing scheduled interviews given security concerns expressed by an interviewer. He judged that one participant shared excessively sensitive information during the interview and felt that this may have compromised the team's safety if they returned.

To prevent and mitigate participant distress as well as secondary trauma for staff, we enlisted the support of a trauma specialist who works with survivors of violence and other vulnerable populations. During part of the 10-day training for interviewers, the trauma specialist provided an in-person orientation on recognizing and mitigating potential participant distress and secondary trauma among staff. Our key concern was for our interviewers to be able to identify relevant signs of distress, and respond to them in appropriate ways–eg. reminding interviewees that they could take breaks, offering water–before the participants were more significantly affected. In addition to being available by phone during fieldwork, the trauma specialist met with the research team upon returning to Mexico City from Morelia to debrief as a group when the study ended. We also provided interviewers with a list of free or affordable psychological support and counseling services

in the Mexico City area, where our research team is based, compiled by a researcher-social worker. Participants received a card with contact information for the National Autonomous University of Mexico's (UNAM) free phone counseling and referral services available to all Mexican residents.

To enable consent as an ongoing process, we split interviews into two parts. We used a 20-minute recruitment questionnaire (Appendix D) with closed and open-ended questions centered around fictionalized crime scenarios based on recent news stories. We then asked what participants thought and felt about these crimes, and what they would do or would like to be done if these crimes happened in the community. The recruitment questionnaire thus exposed participants to the kind of reflection on their own lives and experiences that would be prompted in the follow-up in-depth interview, and participants were able to consider whether or not they wanted to participate in the interview after discussing topics from a hypothetical perspective. The second interview included an additional shorter version of the oral consent script that participants had consented to prior to initiating the recruitment questionnaire.

We append a copy of our oral consent.

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## CONSENTIMIENTO VERBAL

Hola, mi nombre es _____. Estoy realizando una investigación sobre la seguridad en México y me gustaría hacerle algunas preguntas. Este estudio académico está a cargo de los investigadores Hannah Baron de la Universidad de Brown, Omar Garcia-Ponce y Lauren Young de la Universidad de California en Davis, y Thomas Zeitzoff de la American University.

Si decide participar, la entrevista durará aproximadamente dos horas. Le haremos preguntas sobre su comunidad y le pediremos que describa cómo le afectan emocionalmente los acontecimientos que sucedan en ella. Comenzaremos con alrededor de 20 minutos de preguntas hoy. Después regresaremos a una hora que le sea conveniente a usted la próxima semana para hacer la entrevista completa. Después de completar la entrevista, le compensaremos por su tiempo. Como gesto de agradecimiento le daremos 300 pesos en efectivo. Si elige finalizar la entrevista antes de tiempo, su compensación será proporcional al tiempo que haya completado.

Algunas de las cosas que discutiremos durante estas entrevistas pueden hacer que se sienta emocional. La participación es completamente voluntaria. Puede detener la entrevista en cualquier momento o saltarse preguntas. No hay beneficios directos para usted si participa en este estudio, pero podría beneficiar a México al ayudarnos a comprender el comportamiento de las personas en situaciones diversas.

Todo lo que diga será completamente confidencial. No recopilaremos ninguna información sobre su identidad, como nombre o número de teléfono. Durante la entrevista, le pediremos que no proporcione ninguna información que permita a las personas identificarlo a usted o a otros. No nos dé ningún nombre durante la entrevista, ni detalles que sea tan específicos que alguien que escuche la entrevista más adelante pueda identificar a las personas de las que habla.

Nos gustaría grabar la entrevista en audio. Dentro de un año, transcribiremos el archivo de audio en un documento de texto y luego destruiremos la grabación de su voz de manera permanente para que sea imposible rastrear la información. Si no desea ser grabado en audio, no podrá participar en la entrevista.

Si tiene preguntas sobre la investigación o su participación, comuníquese con nuestro supervisor, Carmen Rangel, de Buendia y Laredo, el Co-investigador, el Dr. Omar Garcia-Ponce, o la junta de ética de investigación de UC Davis en los Estados Unidos. Esta tarjeta tiene direcciones de correo electrónico y teléfono. Números para todas esas personas. [Entregar tarjeta de información de contacto.]

¿Tiene alguna pregunta? [En caso afirmativo, responda a las preguntas de los encuestados. SI NO, CONTINUE]

¿Le gustaría participar en el estudio? [SI SÍ, PROCEDA A LA PRIMERA PREGUNTA. SI NO, DAR GRACIAS AL ENCUESTADO Y TERMINAR LA ENTREVISTA.]

# B Data quality

## B.1 Social desirability bias

One concern with our data is that individuals may not be willing to reveal information during the interview. To what extent is the willingness or ability to discuss a crime event or willingness or ability of an interviewee to fully explain their moral reasoning correlated with the type of exposure that they have experienced? We assess this question by analyzing the 1) number of words and 2) number of moral reasoning tags that are associated with different types of crime exposure (personal, secondary, and hypothetical). If participants were less willing to talk in depth about crimes that are more personal, we might be more concerned that the data could be biased by an unwillingness to reveal information.

In fact, individuals generally used more words to discuss crimes that they experienced personally, and the least to discuss hypothetical crimes. The number of moral reasoning tags is very similar across the three types of exposure. This evidence presented in Figure A1 suggests that our participants were in fact as open about their personal experiences as they were about hypothetical crimes and crimes that they heard about or witnessed. Participants used more words to discuss crimes that they had personally experienced, although the differences are not statistically significant, and they used an almost equal number of moral reasoning tags overall across the three types of relationship to the crime that we coded.

Figure A1: Richness of information by type of exposure

(a) Number of words
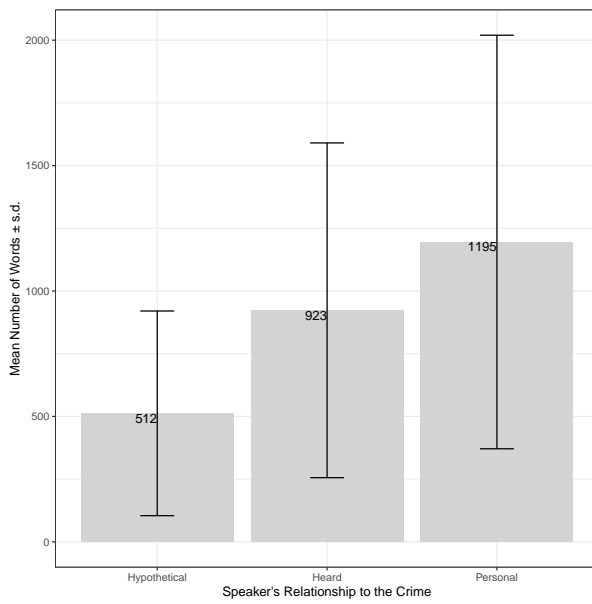
(b) Number of moral reasoning tags
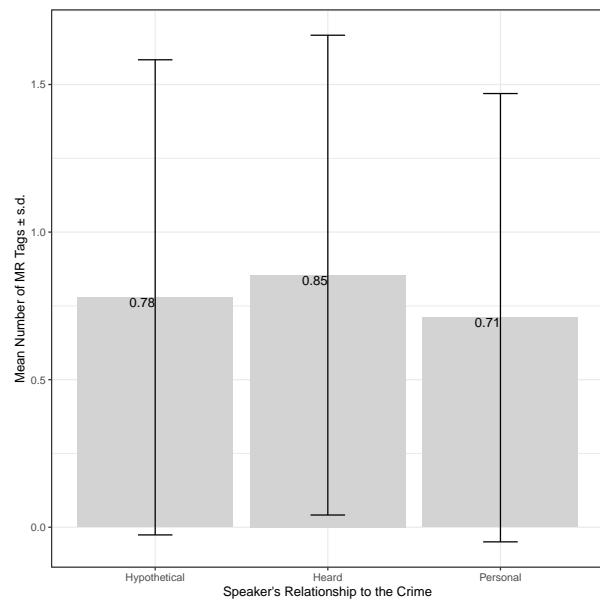
## B.2 Inter-rater reliability

The research assistants who coded the content of our interviews according to our guide were responsible for both identifying crime events and coding their characteristics. Thus, we calculate inter-rater reliability in two steps: first, we identify whether two coders identified the same crime event, and second, we calculate whether they identified the same characteristics.

We can use several different metrics to identify whether two coders identified the same crime event. The most straightforward is an exact match: does the excerpted text exactly match across the two coders? Second, we can identify whether the start and end points of the total excerpts (which may combine text from multiple parts of the interview) are within a certain number of characters of each other. Third, we can identify excerpts identified by the second coders that are contained within those identified by the first coder. Finally, we can identify whether the start and end points of only the longest unique excerpt are within a certain number of characters of each other. Applying these methods to our two datasets, 16% of the units in dataset 1 can be exactly matched to a unit in dataset 2. Between 34 and 54% can be matched using one of the four less stringent criteria, as shown in the first row of Table A1. One reason that units seem not to match exactly is that one coder identified multiple excerpts as relating to the same crime event, while the second identified them as separate crime events. This was often ambiguous in the interviews, particularly as participants would switch between discussions of similar real and hypothetical crimes.

Table A1: Proportion matched and inter-rater reliability across matching methods and variables

| | Exact | Total Start and End w/in 1000 Characters | Total Start and End w/in 2000 Characters | Contained w/in Total Start-End Plus 1000 Characters | Longest Start and End w/in 1000 Characters |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Proportion of Dataset 1 Units Matched | 0.15 | 0.34 | 0.44 | 0.54 | 0.41 |
| Relationship to Crime | 0.86 | 0.37 | 0.36 | 0.39 | 0.41 |
| Violent Crime | 0.98 | 0.49 | 0.49 | 0.50 | 0.47 |
| Prefer Lethal Punishment | 0.95 | 0.85 | 0.83 | 0.84 | 0.86 |
| Prefer Any Physical Punishment | 0.86 | 0.62 | 0.63 | 0.66 | 0.67 |
| Deontological MR | 0.97 | 0.55 | 0.54 | 0.55 | 0.58 |
| Consequentialist MR | 0.90 | 0.64 | 0.64 | 0.63 | 0.62 |
| Empathic MR | 0.93 | 0.91 | 0.93 | 0.93 | 0.92 |
| Dehumanization MR | 0.93 | 0.90 | 0.91 | 0.89 | 0.91 |

# C   Additional results

## C.1   Full multilevel model results

In our application, the unit level is the crime event and the group level is the respondent. We use a varying-intercept, fixed-slope model to estimate the following specification:

$$Pr(y_i = 1) = logit^{-1}(MR_i\beta + X_i\gamma + \alpha_{j[i]}), \text{ for } i = 1,...,n,$$

Here, $i$ denotes the specific crime event and $j[i]$ indexes individual $j$ discussing crime $i$. Our independent variables of interest are $MR_i$, the four types of moral reasoning used in the discussion of a specific crime event (deontological, consequentialist, dehumanization and empathy). $X_i$ is a matrix of crime event control variables, including the number of words used by the respondent to discuss a particular crime event. We also incorporate individual-level characteristics to model the intercept $\alpha$ for each participant:

$$\alpha_j \sim N(U_j\gamma, \sigma_\alpha^2), \text{ for } j = 1,...,62$$

where $U$ is a matrix of individual-level characteristics and $\sigma_\alpha$ is the standard deviation of the individual-level errors. We also include individual-level characteristics and the individual-level means of our event-level variables in some specifications as controls.[8]

Table A2 shows that, contrary to recent literature suggesting that deliberate weighing of costs and benefits can reduce violence, consequentialist moral reasoning is strongly associated with both measures of preference for harsh, physical punishment. Averaging across our interviewees, the predicted probabilities from the estimations in Column 4 of Table A2 imply that using consequentialist moral reasoning more than triples the average marginal probability of preferring a lethal punishment from 4% to 13%, holding other variables at their means or modes. Deontological reasoning is also positively correlated with a preference for harsh punishment, but the relationship is smaller and less consistently significant. The correlation between consequentialist reasoning and a preference for harsh, illegal punishments changes little with the addition of individual- and crime-level controls.

Table A2: Consequentialist moral reasoning and dehumanization are correlated with a preference for harsh physical punishments

| | | | Lethal Punishment | | | | Any Physical Punishment | | | |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) | (9) | (10) |
| MR: Deontological | 0.56 | 0.32 | 0.55 | 0.64 | 0.81* | 0.56** | 0.44* | 0.55** | 0.60** | 0.81*** |
| | (0.38) | (0.39) | (0.45) | (0.48) | (0.48) | (0.26) | (0.27) | (0.28) | (0.29) | (0.30) |
| MR: Consequentialist | 1.33*** | 1.38*** | 1.41*** | 1.46*** | 1.19*** | 1.20*** | 1.18*** | 1.14*** | 1.16*** | 1.08*** |
| | (0.37) | (0.38) | (0.41) | (0.42) | (0.46) | (0.27) | (0.27) | (0.28) | (0.28) | (0.31) |
| MR: Dehumanization | 4.87*** | 4.90*** | 4.77*** | 4.84*** | 4.53*** | 4.00*** | 4.02*** | 3.77*** | 3.79*** | 3.49*** |
| | (0.74) | (0.74) | (0.79) | (0.81) | (0.85) | (0.67) | (0.67) | (0.67) | (0.67) | (0.68) |
| MR: Empathy | −0.07 | 0.002 | −0.08 | −0.04 | 0.22 | 0.28 | 0.22 | 0.20 | 0.22 | 0.64 |
| | (0.87) | (0.87) | (0.94) | (0.94) | (0.98) | (0.56) | (0.55) | (0.56) | (0.57) | (0.61) |
| Age | | −0.21 | −0.07 | −0.04 | 0.26 | | −0.31 | −0.23 | −0.22 | −0.04 |
| | | (0.34) | (0.36) | (0.37) | (0.39) | | (0.20) | (0.21) | (0.21) | (0.20) |
| Female | | 0.07 | 0.06 | 0.08 | 0.32 | | −0.44 | −0.48 | −0.47 | −0.13 |
| | | (0.52) | (0.56) | (0.57) | (0.53) | | (0.30) | (0.32) | (0.32) | (0.28) |
| Married | | −0.81 | −0.82 | −0.82 | −1.05* | | −0.18 | −0.16 | −0.16 | −0.21 |
| | | (0.58) | (0.62) | (0.63) | (0.58) | | (0.34) | (0.36) | (0.36) | (0.31) |
| HS Degree | | −1.14** | −1.36** | −1.35** | −1.45** | | −1.07*** | −1.07*** | −1.06*** | −1.30*** |
| | | (0.57) | (0.62) | (0.63) | (0.59) | | (0.34) | (0.36) | (0.36) | (0.32) |
| Kids | | −0.26 | −0.27 | −0.28 | −0.34 | | −0.003 | 0.01 | 0.01 | −0.16 |
| | | (0.40) | (0.43) | (0.44) | (0.43) | | (0.22) | (0.23) | (0.23) | (0.21) |
| Social Aid | | −0.42 | −0.47 | −0.43 | 0.38 | | −0.22 | −0.20 | −0.19 | 0.35 |
| | | (0.54) | (0.59) | (0.60) | (0.60) | | (0.31) | (0.33) | (0.33) | (0.32) |
| PTSD | | −0.48 | −0.41 | −0.42 | −1.00 | | −0.004 | 0.05 | 0.05 | −0.41 |
| | | (0.54) | (0.58) | (0.59) | (0.62) | | (0.31) | (0.32) | (0.32) | (0.30) |
| Confidence in the State | | −0.97** | −0.88* | −0.89* | −1.69*** | | −0.62** | −0.61** | −0.61** | −1.17*** |
| | | (0.48) | (0.51) | (0.52) | (0.56) | | (0.28) | (0.29) | (0.29) | (0.29) |
| Crime: Heard | | | −0.60 | −0.51 | −0.51 | | | −0.62** | −0.57** | −0.58* |
| | | | (0.40) | (0.43) | (0.45) | | | (0.27) | (0.28) | (0.30) |
| Crime: Personal | | | −1.93*** | −1.78** | −1.74** | | | −0.82** | −0.74* | −0.71* |
| | | | (0.74) | (0.78) | (0.76) | | | (0.36) | (0.39) | (0.40) |
| Crime: Violent | | | 1.84*** | 1.88*** | 1.92*** | | | 0.52** | 0.54** | 0.68** |
| | | | (0.49) | (0.50) | (0.49) | | | (0.26) | (0.26) | (0.27) |
| Word Count | | | | −0.15 | −0.03 | | | | −0.08 | −0.07 |
| | | | | (0.25) | (0.26) | | | | (0.15) | (0.15) |
| Group Means | | | | | ✓ | | | | | ✓ |
| Observations | 570 | 550 | 550 | 550 | 550 | 570 | 550 | 550 | 550 | 550 |
| Log Likelihood | −153.47 | −143.51 | −127.78 | −127.60 | −121.56 | −256.06 | −241.46 | −233.12 | −234.77 | −223.37 |
| AIC | 318.95 | 315.02 | 289.55 | 291.20 | 293.13 | 524.11 | 510.92 | 506.24 | 505.53 | 496.74 |
| BIC | 345.02 | 375.36 | 362.82 | 368.78 | 400.88 | 550.19 | 571.26 | 592.44 | 583.11 | 604.49 |

*Dependent variable:*

Standard errors in parentheses.
*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01
Models estimated using a varying-intercept multilevel logit model. The unit of analysis is the crime event. Continuous variables (age, children, confidence in the state, word count) are standardized.

## C.2 Correlates of types of moral reasoning

Table A2 shows that, conditional on important characteristics of individuals and crime events, the type of moral reasoning used to discuss a crime response is systematically associated with the likelihood of preferring a harsh punishment. To what extent could these results be driven by selection into certain types of moral reasoning? More substantively, under what circumstances are people most likely to use consequentialist and dehumanizing reasoning – the type of thought processes that are most correlated with support for harsh and extrajudicial punishments? Are individuals consistent in the type of moral reasoning that they use?

Figure A2 shows the frequency of each type of moral reasoning for each of our 62 interviewees. Several patterns are evident. First, this figure shows the high frequency of deontological moral reasoning in the crime event discussions. Second, it shows that there is significant variation in the type of moral reasoning used within each individual across crime scenarios. Two-thirds of the participants use both deontological and consequentialist moral reasoning at least once when discussing crimes. One in five uses both dehumanizing and empathic moral reasoning across the crimes that they discuss. This within-individual variation alone suggests that a significant proportion of the variation in moral reasoning is determined by situational factors.

Next we present a quantitative analysis of the individual and situational correlates of different types of moral reasoning. To carry out the quantitative analysis, we continue to use a varying-intercept, fixed-slope multilevel logit model. In this case we estimate the following specification:

$$Pr(MR_i = 1) = logit^{-1}(X_i\gamma + \alpha_{j[i]}), \text{ for } i = 1,...,n,$$
$$\alpha_j \sim N(U_j\gamma, \sigma_\alpha^2), \text{ for } j = 1,...,62$$

where $i$ indexes the specific crime event, and $j[i]$ indexes the individual participant $j$ discussing crime $i$. Our main coefficients of interest are $X_i$, a matrix of crime event variables, and $U_j$ is a matrix of individual-level characteristics. The outcome $MR_i$ are four indicator variables that take a value of 1 if a respondent invoked a particular type of moral reasoning in response to a crime event.

Table A3 shows a few systematic patterns in when different types of moral reasoning are used. First, individual characteristics are only very weakly predictive of the type of moral reasoning

Table A3: Individual and crime characteristics are correlated with type of moral reasoning

| | MR: Deontological | | MR: Consequentialist | | MR: Dehumanizing | | MR: Empathy | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Dependent variable:* | | | | | | | |
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) |
| Age | 0.31 | 0.24 | −0.33 | −0.36 | −0.43 | −0.44 | −0.18 | −0.23 |
| | (0.21) | (0.22) | (0.24) | (0.26) | (0.33) | (0.35) | (0.30) | (0.31) |
| Female | −0.12 | −0.20 | −0.50 | −0.52 | −1.00* | −1.16** | 0.54 | 0.54 |
| | (0.31) | (0.33) | (0.37) | (0.39) | (0.52) | (0.52) | (0.46) | (0.46) |
| Married | −0.26 | −0.19 | 0.25 | 0.24 | −0.08 | −0.03 | 0.70 | 0.71 |
| | (0.35) | (0.37) | (0.42) | (0.44) | (0.55) | (0.55) | (0.53) | (0.54) |
| HS Degree | −0.31 | −0.33 | 0.23 | 0.28 | 0.44 | 0.51 | 0.28 | 0.31 |
| | (0.23) | (0.24) | (0.27) | (0.29) | (0.39) | (0.40) | (0.33) | (0.34) |
| Kids | −0.18 | −0.44 | 0.17 | 0.14 | 0.40 | 0.41 | −0.36 | −0.38 |
| | (0.33) | (0.35) | (0.38) | (0.40) | (0.51) | (0.51) | (0.50) | (0.51) |
| Social Aid | 0.52 | 0.32 | −0.43 | −0.48 | −0.45 | −0.54 | 0.31 | 0.22 |
| | (0.33) | (0.35) | (0.39) | (0.40) | (0.52) | (0.53) | (0.46) | (0.48) |
| PTSD | −0.42 | −0.53 | 0.59 | 0.66* | 0.01 | −0.01 | −0.77 | −0.78 |
| | (0.33) | (0.35) | (0.39) | (0.40) | (0.53) | (0.54) | (0.48) | (0.49) |
| Confidence in the State | −0.37 | −0.31 | 0.21 | 0.21 | −0.32 | −0.20 | −0.62 | −0.58 |
| | (0.30) | (0.32) | (0.34) | (0.36) | (0.49) | (0.49) | (0.42) | (0.43) |
| Crime: Heard | | 0.27 | | −0.24 | | −0.63 | | 0.34 |
| | | (0.25) | | (0.27) | | (0.45) | | (0.46) |
| Crime: Personal | | −0.02 | | −0.98*** | | −0.77 | | 0.21 |
| | | (0.30) | | (0.37) | | (0.64) | | (0.55) |
| Crime: Violent | | 0.43** | | −0.05 | | 1.93*** | | 0.09 |
| | | (0.21) | | (0.24) | | (0.57) | | (0.38) |
| Word Count | | 0.79*** | | 0.28** | | 0.40** | | 0.13 |
| | | (0.14) | | (0.14) | | (0.19) | | (0.18) |
| Constant | 0.64 | 0.43 | −1.80** | −1.49* | −2.08** | −3.22*** | −2.58*** | −2.87*** |
| | (0.61) | (0.68) | (0.70) | (0.77) | (0.98) | (1.15) | (0.85) | (0.97) |
| Observations | 550 | 550 | 550 | 550 | 550 | 550 | 550 | 550 |
| Log Likelihood | −353.95 | −329.01 | −275.33 | −270.44 | −125.06 | −113.46 | −122.29 | −121.56 |
| AIC | 727.90 | 686.03 | 570.66 | 568.88 | 270.12 | 254.91 | 264.58 | 271.12 |
| BIC | 770.99 | 746.37 | 613.76 | 629.22 | 313.22 | 315.25 | 307.68 | 331.45 |

Standard errors in parentheses.
*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01
Models estimated using a varying-intercept multilevel logit model. The unit of analysis is the crime event. Continuous variables (age, children, confidence in the state, word count) are standardized.
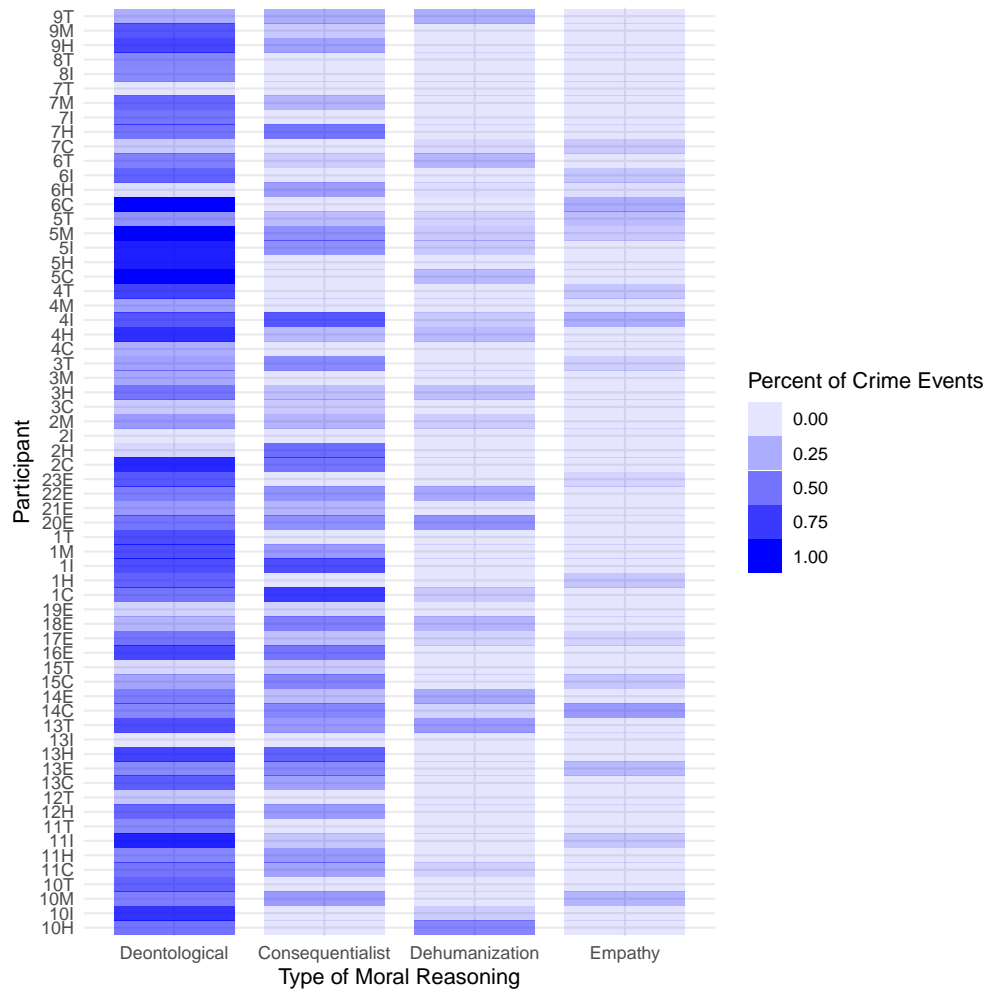
Figure A2: Proportion of crime excerpts exhibiting four types of moral reasoning by interviewee

used. By contrast, several crime characteristics are significantly associated with the type of moral

reasoning used.

First, in terms of individual characteristics, we find that women are significantly less likely

to use dehumanizing moral reasoning, and that those who expressed less confidence in the state

are less likely to express empathy for accused perpetrators. The correlation between gender and

dehumanization is in line with some past research in the US that argues that empathy mediates a

negative relationship between being female and preferring harsh punishments (Gault and Sabini,

2000). In addition, people who expressed more confidence in the state at baseline are less likely to

express empathy with accused perpetrators of violence. By contrast, none of the individual-level

characteristics are significant predictors of the use of deontological or consequentialist moral reason-

ing. This includes many of the individual characteristics that we expected to predict deontological or consequentialist reasoning, including the level of education and post-traumatic stress disorder.

Turning to the crime-level characteristics, we find that both the interviewee's relationship to the crime and the type of crime are predictive of the type of moral reasoning used in discussing the preferred response. Specifically, we find that individuals are significantly less likely to use consequentialist logic when discussing crimes that are experienced personally than when discussing hypothetical scenarios. In addition, interviewees are significantly more likely to use dehumanizing reasoning when discussing violent crimes (kidnapping, murder, assault, sexual crimes, and domestic violence) as compared to property crimes (extortion or theft).

## C.3 Robustness to second dataset

Table A4 replicates the analysis from Table A2 using the second independent coding. The results are largely consistent: dehumanization is highly positively correlated with support for harsh punishments, and to a lesser extent so are deontological and consequentialist moral reasoning. Deontological moral reasoning is more robustly related to support for harsh punishments, and consequentialist reasoning somewhat less so when harsh punishments are operationalized as only lethal punishments. However, both coefficients in Table A4 are within the confidence intervals of those in Table A2.

Table A4: Types of moral reasoning are correlated with a preference for harsh physical punishments - Dataset 2

|  | *Dependent variable:* | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | Lethal Punishment | | | | | Any Physical Punishment | | | | |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) | (9) | (10) |
| MR: Deontological | 1.29*** | 1.18*** | 1.27*** | 1.22*** | 1.23*** | 1.08*** | 0.94*** | 0.95*** | 0.96*** | 1.04*** |
|  | (0.37) | (0.39) | (0.41) | (0.41) | (0.44) | (0.29) | (0.30) | (0.30) | (0.30) | (0.32) |
| MR: Consequentialist | 0.70* | 0.78* | 0.67 | 0.64 | 1.08** | 0.92*** | 0.91*** | 0.87*** | 0.89*** | 1.27*** |
|  | (0.38) | (0.40) | (0.41) | (0.41) | (0.44) | (0.29) | (0.30) | (0.30) | (0.30) | (0.32) |
| MR: Dehumanization | 3.74*** | 3.60*** | 3.32*** | 3.34*** | 2.97*** | 3.48*** | 3.49*** | 3.24*** | 3.24*** | 2.89*** |
|  | (0.45) | (0.46) | (0.49) | (0.49) | (0.53) | (0.48) | (0.48) | (0.49) | (0.49) | (0.50) |
| MR: Empathy | 0.16 | 0.15 | 0.07 | 0.06 | −0.11 | −0.93 | −0.96 | −0.98 | −0.98 | −0.93 |
|  | (0.74) | (0.75) | (0.79) | (0.79) | (0.89) | (0.71) | (0.71) | (0.71) | (0.71) | (0.76) |
| Individual Controls |  | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |  | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| Crime Controls |  |  | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |  |  | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| Word Count |  |  |  | ✓ | ✓ |  |  |  | ✓ | ✓ |
| Group Means |  |  |  |  | ✓ |  |  |  |  | ✓ |
| Observations | 743 | 702 | 702 | 702 | 702 | 743 | 702 | 702 | 702 | 702 |
| Log Likelihood | −155.38 | −145.88 | −135.00 | −134.73 | −128.58 | −272.38 | −253.09 | −249.32 | −249.28 | −239.58 |
| AIC | 322.75 | 319.75 | 304.01 | 305.45 | 307.15 | 556.77 | 534.19 | 532.63 | 534.57 | 529.16 |
| BIC | 350.42 | 383.51 | 381.42 | 387.42 | 421.00 | 584.43 | 597.94 | 610.05 | 616.54 | 643.01 |

Standard errors in parentheses.
*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01
Models estimated using a varying-intercept multilevel model using the second codings of our interview data. The unit of analysis is the crime event. Continuous variables (age, children, confidence in the state, word count) are standardized.

# D   Recruitment questionnaire

**Basic demographics**

1. (DO NOT READ) Gender of respondent

2. How old are you?

3. What is your marital status?

4. How many children do you have?

**Deontological-Consequentialist closed questions**

Now I'm going to read you a number of statements that describe attitudes that different people have. There are no right or wrong answers, only opinions. Do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

1. Rules and laws should only be followed when they maximize the public interest.

2. The only moral principle that needs to be followed is that one should maximize the public interest.

3. It is important to only perform actions that are honorable.

4. Lynching a person is morally justifiable as long as it reduces violence in the community.

5. We have a moral obligation to ensure that criminals get punished, and if the state can't do it, then the citizens must.

6. There are some criminals that should just be killed regardless of possible violent consequences for the community.

7. The only criteria that should be taken into account for dealing with crime in Mexico is reducing the levels of violence.

**Trust in government**

1. How confident are you in the military?

2. How confident are you in the president?

3. How confident are you in the federal police?

4. How confident are you in the state police?

5. How confident are you in the municipal police?

6. How confident are you in the national congress?

7. How confident are you in the justice system? How confident are you in the municipal government?

**PTSD**

In the last week, have you...

1. Had nightmares about such event(s) or thought about the event(s) when you did not want to?

2. Tried hard not to think about the event(s) or went out of your way to avoid situations that reminded you of the event(s)?

3. Been constantly on guard, watchful, or easily startled?

4. Felt numb or detached from people, activities, or your surroundings?

5. Felt guilty or unable to stop blaming yourself or others for the event(s) or any problems the event(s) may have caused?

**News-based hypothetical crime scenarios**

We will now describe to you scenarios that are similar to crimes that have recently occurred in some parts of Mexico. We will then ask you how you would think and feel about these crimes, and what would you do or like to see done if these crimes happened in your community. If you don't mind, we'd like to turn on the recorder for these questions so that we can accurately capture everything you say. This is only for research purposes and we guarantee that your identity will remain anonymous. Is that okay?

**Scenario 1**

1. Ok, let me start with the first scenario. A few years ago, parents of students at a private preschool in a small municipality learned that a 50-year-old male sports teacher had been sexually abusing their children. One mother discovered the crime when her son had strange behaviors and then told her that "El maestro me mete el dedo por atrás, también lo hace con otros compańeros y a las nińas también les mete la mano debajo de su ropa." Other parents saw through a window into the classroom that the sports teacher was touching their children.

(a) How would you react if something similar happened in your community?

(b) Would you want the accused to be punished? How?

(c) Would you want the teacher to be investigated? What would a good investigation look like to you?

(d) What emotions would you feel if this happened in your locality? Why?

(e) Now I'd like to know a bit more about what you think would actually happen if this occurred in your municipality. How would your neighbors react if something similar happened in your community?

(f) And what about the local authorities like the police? What do you think they would actually do if this occurred here?

2. In this particular case, a group of 30 parents went to the school one Monday morning to wait for the sports teacher. They intended to lynch the sports teacher but other teachers and the school director intervened to protect him until municipal police arrived to transfer him to the Public Ministry. A few weeks after the teacher was arrested, a local judge ordered the teacher be freed "por falta de elementos para procesarlo."

(a) Do you think that the parents' actions were justified? Why or why not?

(b) Do you think that the other teachers and school director's actions were justified? Why or why not?

(c) Do you think the judge's decision was justified? Why or why not?

(d) How would you react if this event (an attempted lynching of an accused rapist of children) had happened in your community?

(e) What do you think the local authorities in your community would do if something like this happened?

**Scenario 2**

1. Now here is the second scenario. In October of last year, a young man stole a commercial van from a local business in a Mexican municipality. There had been a number of vehicle robberies in the area in recent weeks and many residents believed that they were being organized by a ring of petty thieves that included this man. Various people had denounced

him, but nothing happened. So far the municipal police had not taken any visible steps towards stopping the thefts. In this case residents had seen the theft and could identify the thief.

    (a) How would you react if something similar happened in your community?

    (b) Would you want the accused to be punished? How?

    (c) Would you want the accused to be investigated? What would a good investigation look like to you?

    (d) What emotions would you feel if this happened in your locality? Why?

    (e) Now I'd like to know a bit more about what you think would actually happen if this occurred in your municipality. How would your neighbors react if something similar happened in your community?

    (f) And what about the local authorities like the police? What do you think they would actually do if this occurred here?

2. In this case, a group of 20 residents were alerted by the eye witnesses. They took trucks and guns and set up checkpoints around the municipality to look for the van. A few hours later they found the thieves in the van. The thief was also armed and there was a shootout. In the confrontation, one thief was killed as well as one bystander, a local youth who was in the area shopping. After the thief was killed, his friends and relatives vandalized city hall demanding justice for the death of the thief. The residents tried to kill two more people from this group of friends and relatives, saying that they were also part of the ring of car thieves, but were stopped by the municipal police.

    (a) Do you think that the residents' actions were justified? Why or why not?

    (b) Do you think the police's action (stopping the additional lynchings) was justified? Why or why not?

    (c) How would you react if this event (a lynching of a car thief) happened in your community?

    (d) What do you think the local authorities in your community would do if something like this happened?

**Scenario 3**

1. Now here is the last scenario. Several years ago, a rural municipality was controlled by a criminal gang. The criminals were extorting local business people, demanding they pay a share of their profits and higher fares for services. For example, men who worked in fields had to pay a share of their wages, and also a criminal tax on the bus fare that they paid to go to the fields. Business owners complained that they had to pay criminals on almost every revenue, and people even said the criminals made them pay a share of the money they spent improving their homes. The criminals killed several residents who couldn't pay. Furthermore, instead of killing business owners who couldn't pay, the criminals began taking the daughters or wives of local business people.

    (a) How would you react if something similar happened in your community?

    (b) Would you want the accused to be punished? How?

    (c) Would you want the accused to be investigated? What would a good investigation look like to you?

    (d) What emotions would you feel if this happened in your locality? Why?

    (e) Now I'd like to know a bit more about what you think would actually happen if this occurred in your municipality. How would your neighbors react if something similar happened in your community?

    (f) And what about the local authorities like the police? What do you think they would actually do if this occurred here?

2. In this case a group of residents decided to confront several of the gang members at a municipal event. First they captured 15 men they believed to be criminals and handed them over to the state prosecutor. However, within 12 hours the prosecutor had released them all. After that they killed several men they recognized as criminals. They left the body of one of the criminals in the town square with a sign saying ‚Äúthe town is no longer safe for criminals.

    (a) Do you think that the residents' actions were justified? Why or why not?

    (b) Do you think the prosecutor's action (releasing the 15 accused gang members) was

justified? Why or why not?

(c) How would you react if this event (murder of suspected criminals) happened in your community?

(d) What do you think the local authorities in your community would do if something like this happened?

**Sociodemographics**

Thanks so much for answering those questions. We just have a couple more before we finish.

1. What is the highest level of school that you have completed?

2. What is the employment situation of the head of your household?

3. Are you or any member of your household a beneficiary of Seguro Popular?

4. Do you or any member of your household have any of the following:

    (a) Refrigerator?

    (b) Cellular telephone?

    (c) Smartphone?

    (d) Washing machine?

    (e) Computer?

    (f) Internet?

    (g) Flat panel TV?

5. Do you own your house or apartment?

6. How many cars do you have?

# E Interview questionnaire

Our questionnaire was organized around specific crime events, and then concluded with two short sections on general perceptions on vigilante punishments and state approaches to security and justice.

## I.       Introducción

*Nota de introducción al entrevistador y procedimiento de consentimiento informado.*

1.  En su opinión, ¿cuál es el principal problema que enfrenta México hoy en día?

2.  ¿Y el principal problema de su comunidad?

*Si el entrevistado menciona el tema de seguridad, pasa a la siguiente sección. Si el entrevistado*

*menciona otro tema, continúa:*

3.  En muchos lugares de México, la violencia ha sido un gran problema para la vida

    comunitaria. ¿Cómo describiría usted la situación de la seguridad en su comunidad?

## II.      Resumen de violencia y seguridad y Emociones después de episodios específicos

de violencia.

1.  ¿Ha sucedido recientemente alguna situación de violencia en su comunidad?

    a.   ¿Qué pasó?

    b.   ¿Cómo se sintió después de esta situación violenta?

    c.   ¿Cómo se sintieron otras personas de la comunidad después de esta situación

        violenta?

    d.   ¿Cómo quisiera que se manejara el delito?

        i.   ¿Por qué tenía esa preferencia?

    e.   ¿A quién acudió [ud. / la víctima] después del delito?

    f.   ¿Cómo respondió ud.?

        i.   ¿Cómo respondieron otras personas de la comunidad después de esta

            situación violenta?

g. ¿Algunas personas de la comunidad querrían o hacían justica por propia mano después del delito?

    i. ¿Algunas personas de la comunidad se opusieron a hacer justica por propia mano?

h. ¿Qué hicieron las autoridades después de la situación?

    i. ¿Cómo se siente con respecto a la respuesta de las autoridades?

    ii. ¿Qué piensa que deberían haber hecho las autoridades en esta situación?

    iii. ¿Por qué cree que deberían haber hecho eso las autoridades?

2. ¿Me puede describir por favor otra situación de violencia en su comunidad?

a. ¿Qué pasó?

b. ¿Cómo se sintió después de esta situación violenta?

c. ¿Cómo se sintieron otras personas de la comunidad después de esta situación violenta?

d. ¿Cómo quisiera que se manejara el delito?

    i. ¿Por qué tenía esa preferencia?

e. ¿A quién acudió [ud. / la víctima] después del delito?

f. ¿Cómo respondió ud.?

    i. ¿Cómo respondieron otras personas de la comunidad después de esta situación violenta?

g. ¿Algunas personas de la comunidad quisieron hacer o hicerion justica por propia mano después del delito?

      i. ¿Algunas personas de la comunidad se opusieron a hacer justica por propia mano?

    h. ¿Qué hicieron las autoridades después de la situación?

      i. ¿Cómo se siente con respecto a la respuesta de las autoridades?

      ii. ¿Qué piensa que deberían haber hecho las autoridades en esta situación?

      iii. ¿Por qué cree que deberían haber hecho eso las autoridades?

3. *[Si no han mencionado la extorsión]* ¿Ha habido episodios de extorsión en la comunidad?

    a. ¿Qué pasó?

    b. ¿Cómo se sintió después de esta situación violenta?

    c. ¿Cómo se sintieron otras personas de la comunidad después de esta situación violenta?

    d. ¿Cómo quisiera que se manejara el delito?

      i. ¿Por qué tenía esa preferencia?

    e. ¿A quién acudió [ud. / la víctima] después del delito?

    f. ¿Cómo respondió ud.?

      i. ¿Cómo respondieron otras personas de la comunidad después de esta situación violenta?

    g. ¿Algunas personas de la comunidad quisieron hacer o hicerion justica por propia mano después del delito?

      i. ¿Algunas personas de la comunidad se opusieron a hacer justica por propia mano?

    h. ¿Qué hicieron las autoridades después de la situación?

i.    ¿Cómo se siente con respecto a la respuesta de las autoridades?

ii.   ¿Qué piensa que deberían haber hecho las autoridades en esta situación?

iii.  ¿Por qué cree que deberían haber hecho eso las autoridades?

4.  *[Si no han mencionado violencia sexual o violación]* ¿Han habido episodios de violencia sexual en la comunidad?

   a.  ¿Qué pasó?

   b.  ¿Cómo se sintió después de esta situación violenta?

   c.  ¿Cómo se sintieron otras personas de la comunidad después de esta situación violenta?

   d.  Cómo quisiera que se manejara el delito?

      i.   ¿Por qué tenía esa preferencia?

   e.  ¿A quién acudió [ud. / la víctima] después del delito?

   f.  ¿Cómo respondió ud.?

      i.   ¿Cómo respondieron otras personas de la comunidad después de esta situación violenta?

   g.  ¿Algunas personas de la comunidad quisieron hacer o hicerion justica por propia mano después del delito?

      i.   ¿Algunas personas de la comunidad se opusieron a hacer justica por propia mano?

   h.  ¿Qué hicieron las autoridades después de la situación?

      i.   ¿Cómo se siente con respecto a la respuesta de las autoridades?

      ii.  ¿Qué piensa que deberían haber hecho las autoridades en esta situación?

      iii. ¿Por qué cree que deberían haber hecho eso las autoridades?

5. *[Si no han mencionado homicidio]* ¿Han habido homicidios en la comunidad?

    a. ¿Qué pasó?

    b. ¿Cómo se sintió después de esta situación violenta?

    c. ¿Cómo se sintieron otras personas de la comunidad después de esta situación violenta?

    d. Cómo quisiera que se manejara el delito?

        i. ¿Por qué tenía esa preferencia?

    e. ¿A quién acudió [ud. / la víctima] después del delito?

    f. ¿Cómo respondió ud.?

        i. ¿Cómo respondieron otras personas de la comunidad después de esta situación violenta?

    g. ¿Algunas personas de la comunidad quisieron hacer o hicerion justica por propia mano después del delito?

        i. ¿Algunas personas de la comunidad se opusieron a hacer justica por propia mano?

    h. ¿Qué hicieron las autoridades después de la situación?

        i. ¿Cómo se siente con respecto a la respuesta de las autoridades?

        ii. ¿Qué piensa que deberían haber hecho las autoridades en esta situación?

        iii. ¿Por qué cree que deberían haber hecho eso las autoridades?

6. ¿Me puede describir una situación reciente en personas de la comunidad decidieron tomar justicia por propia mano?

    a. ¿Qué pasó?

b.  Qué medidas específicas toman las personas cuando deciden castigar estos delitos como comunidad?

c.  ¿A qué tipo de delito estaban respondiendo?

d.  ¿Cómo se sintió después de esta situación?

   i.  ¿Cómo se sintieron otras personas de la comunidad después de esta situación?

e.  ¿Cómo respondió ud.?

   i.  ¿Cómo respondieron otras personas de la comunidad después de esta situación violenta?

f.  ¿Algunas personas de la comunidad quisieron hacer o hicerion justica por propia mano después del delito?

   i.  ¿Algunas personas de la comunidad se opusieron a hacer justica por propia mano?

g.  ¿Qué hicieron las autoridades después de la situación?

   i.  ¿Cómo se siente con respecto a la respuesta de las autoridades?

   ii.  ¿Qué piensa que deberían haber hecho las autoridades en esta situación?

   iii.  ¿Por qué cree que deberían haber hecho eso las autoridades?

h.  ¿Cree que la persona castigada por la comunidad era inocente o culpable del delito?

*Transición: Muchas gracias por haber compartido sus perspectivas. Ahora vamos a hablar de manera más general sobre su experiencia emocial en situaticiones difíciles y sus perspectivas en cuanto a la justicia.*

**III.** **Emociones y fundamentos morales en cuanto a la violencia, más general.**

1. ¿Qué delitos en su comunidad le hace sentir más enojo?

    a. ¿Por qué le hizo sentirse particularmente enojado/a?

    b. *Profundizar:*

        i. ¿Y si la víctima es un niño o una niña?

        ii. ¿Y si la víctima es adulto?

        iii. ¿Y si la víctima es policía?

        iv. ¿Y si la víctima es delincuente?

    c. ¿Cómo se siente estar enojado?

    d. ¿Qué quiere hacer cuando te sientes enojado/a?

    e. ¿Qué hace para ya no sentirse enojado/a?

2. ¿Qué delitos le producen más miedo en su comunidad?

    a. ¿Por qué le hizo sentirse particularmente miedoso/a?

    b. *Profundizar:*

        i. ¿Y si la víctima es un niño o una niña?

        ii. ¿Y si la víctima es adulto?

        iii. ¿Y si la víctima es policía?

        iv. ¿Y si la víctima es delincuente?

    c. ¿Cómo se siente tener miedo?

    d. ¿Qué quiere hacer cuando se siente con miedo?

    e. ¿Qué hace para ya no sentirse con miedo?

3. ¿Qué delitos le hacen sentir más *[impotente / triste / una emoción que ha compartido]*?

a. ¿Por qué le hizo sentirse particularmente *[impotente / triste / una emoción que ha compartido]*?

b. *Profundizar:*

   i. ¿Y si la víctima es un niño o una niña?

   ii. ¿Y si la víctima es adulto?

   iii. ¿Y si la víctima es policía?

   iv. ¿Y si la víctima es delincuente?

c. ¿Cómo es sentirse *[impotente / triste / una emoción que ha compartido]*?

d. ¿Qué quiere hacer cuando se siente *[impotente / triste / una emoción que ha compartido]*?

e. ¿Qué hace para ya no sentirse *[impotente / triste / una emoción que ha compartido]*?


**IV.   Preferencias sobre la justicia**

1. En general, ¿cómo cree que se deben manejar los delitos?

2. ¿Cuál debería ser el objetivo principal de responder a un delito?

3. ¿Considera que el proceso legal es importante para atender a los delitos?

   a. ¿Por qué o por qué no?

   b. ¿Para todos los delitos?

   c. ¿Para cuáles?

4. ¿Considera que algunos delitos deben ser castigados de manera más severa que otros?

   a. ¿Por qué o por qué no?

   b. ¿Para cuáles?

5. ¿Qué castigos considera que previenen delitos en el futuro?

    a. ¿Qué castigos para cuáles delitos?

    b. ¿Por qué?

**V.      Presencia y percepciones de los fuertes castigos comunitarios.**

4. ¿Ha escuchado de otras situaciones en que las personas deciden hacer justicia por propia mano?

    a. ¿Para qué tipo de delitos hicieron justicia por su propia mano?

    b. ¿Qué medidas específicas toman las personas cuando deciden castigar estos delitos como comunidad?

5. ¿Por qué cree que las personas eligen hacer justicia por su propia mano?

6. ¿Qué hacen las autoridades cuándo la gente hace justicia por propia mano?

7. ¿Cree que la justicia por propia mano le hace más segura tu comunidad?

**VI.    Opiniones y experiencias con el gobierno.**

8. ¿Cuán *capaz* considera al gobierno para proveer la seguridad en su comunidad?

    a. ¿Y en México?

9. ¿Cuán *comprometido* considera al gobierno para proveer la seguridad en su comunidad?

    a. ¿Y en México?

10. ¿Qué tipo de liderazgo con respecto a la seguridad le gustaría ver de los políticos?

11. ¿El ejército ha ingresado a su comunidad?

    a. Si lo hizo, ¿por qué fue?

        i. ¿por cuánto tiempo?

12. ¿Cree que el sistema de justicia se ha fortalecido o debilitado en los últimos años?

    a. ¿Por qué tiene esa opinión?

    b. ¿Qué cambios ha visto?

13. ¿Cree que el sistema de justicia tiene el equilibrio correcto entre los derechos de los acusados y los derechos de las víctimas?

    a. ¿Por qué sí o por qué no?

14. ¿Cree que debe haber límites en las tácticas que la policía puede usar para obtener confesiones?

    a. ¿Por qué o por qué no?

# F   Interviewer debrief and observations

E01: Did you have any problems finding or setting up the interview with this participant? If so, what happened?

E02: Did you have any security concerns during or before this interview?

E03: Did the respondent need to stop or pause any time during the interview? If so, when?

E04 Did the respondent cry at all during the interview? [Yes/No]

E05: Did the respondent get angry or visibly upset during the interview? [Yes/No]

E06: Are there any subjects or questions that in your opinion the respondent did not answer sincerely? [open ended]

E07: Were there any subjects or questions that were particularly difficult for you to get information on? [open ended]

E08: Is there anything else noteworthy or out of the ordinary that occurred during the interview? [Open-ended]

E09: Did you learn anything about how to conduct interviews well?

# G   Manual for coding interviews

# Code-Manual Book for MX Qual Analysis
## Updated June 25, 2020

Tabla de contenido.

# 1.0 Introducción.

El presente documento busca facilitar el proceso de aprendizaje para el análisis de textos basados en entrevistas cualitativas realizadas en el Estado de Michoacán durante la primavera de 2019. El proyecto es una iniciativa implementada por un Consorcio de Universidades de EEUU que busca entender de mejor manera los procesos de violencia que se han vivido en dicho estado.

El documento denominado Codebook-Manual se integra de dos grandes secciones. La primera da una breve explicación del proyecto y del proceso de análisis, así como de las categorías que se utilizan para analizar los textos, estas también se denominan "códigos" o "etiquetas". La segunda parte es una explicación detallada del proceso de trabajo mediante la plataforma Dedoose, la principal herramienta de trabajo para el análisis digital de los textos. Si bien esta sección se presenta como abundante en información, la práctica real en la plataforma facilitará el entendimiento de los diferentes procesos a realizar. Por lo que únicamente se requiere apertura al aprendizaje para familiarizarse con las instrucciones más adelante. Cualquier duda o comentario al presente documento se agradecerá mediante los canales de comunicación acordados en las sesiones de práctica.

## 1.1. Visión general de Proyecto.

El consorcio universitario integrado por los investigadores Lauren Young de UC Davis, Hannah Baron de Brown University, Thomas Zeitzoff de American University y Omar García Ponce de George Washington University, desarrollaron el proyecto basado en anteriores investigaciones con el objetivo de entender las actitudes y las acciones de los ciudadanos al lidiar con la delincuencia en sus comunidades. Las preguntas de estudio en que se centra el presente trabajo son ¿Por qué apoya la gente los castigos severos para los delitos? ¿Los castigos severos previenen los delitos u otorgan más seguridad a las personas? ¿O el apoyo para castigos severos es por un deseo de retribución? ¿Hasta qué punto cuentan los ciudadanos con una información precisa sobre las diferentes formas de tratar los delitos en su comunidad? ¿Hasta qué punto están midiendo las ventajas y desventajas de las diferentes respuestas? ¿Cómo afectan las emociones, después de los delitos, a sus procesos de toma de decisiones?

Este estudio busca aclarar estas preguntas,mediante entrevistas grabadas con una duración de dos horas aproximadamente. Se realizaron 65 entrevistas voluntarias a personas que habitan la zona conurbada de Morelia y municipios colindantes, no se recopiló información sobre su identidad y se solicitó que no se proporcionará ninguna información que permita la identificación del participante, de otras personas o de lugares específicos. Las grabaciones fueron transcritas para realizar su análisis mediante un sistema de códigos, proceso llevado a cabo por un equipo de transcriptores, codificadores y revisores con el fin de sacar la mayor cantidad de información de las mismas.

## 1.2 Acercamiento a Dedoose.

Para trabajar la información en las entrevistas, se eligió a Dedoose, una plataforma que sirve para realizar análisis cualitativos y métodos de investigación mixtos a través de diferentes formatos. De manera general, el proceso será trasladar los documentos de texto de las transcripciones a la plataforma, para realizar la codificación de distintos elementos que serán expuestos en la tabla de códigos más adelante. Posteriormente se llevará a cabo una revisión de dicha codificación para validar las etiquetas aplicadas a las entrevistas. El proceso se explicará a detalle en la sección de Manual.

Las herramientas que proporciona Dedoose ayudarán a identificar de mejor manera las diferentes opiniones que se expresan en torno los temas de la investigación, los cuales se centrarán en el crimen como evento-respuesta, actitudes hacia el Estado, actitudes frente a la justicia por propia mano y razonamiento moral frente a los castigos de delitos. La información será seleccionada conforme los criterios que se describirán más adelante, así como el proceso para realizar la captura de la misma. Es necesario establecer que debido al contexto en habitan los participantes, las opiniones pueden contener experiencias críticas relacionadas con los delitos por lo que se sugiere discreción. También se requiere de atención al realizar la lectura pues los participantes suelen intercalar diferentes relatos frente a una pregunta o en medio de un hecho.

Finalmente, las transcripciones tuvieron un proceso de filtración de datos personales para mantener la privacidad de los participantes, así como datos específicos de ubicación de los lugares donde se llevó cabo y están identificadas por XXXX.

## 1.3 Proceso de trabajo.

1. Al realizar la lectura de una entrevista se debe tener en claro el uso de las diferentes etiquetas para realizar la selección de manera adecuada y con apego a las mismas. Se recomienda que la iniciar el trabajo exista concentración total para relacionar los diferentes hechos que se relatan, así mismo es recomendable tener una libreta y lápiz para llevar un listado de los delitos que se van mencionando de tal manera que se pueda diferenciar los eventos que menciona el entrevistado.
2. Se debe seleccionar el evento desde la pregunta que realiza en entrevistador y qué motiva al participante a hablar sobre dicho evento. Es importante que la etiqueta de ID Crime termine hasta que el entrevistado finalice el relato por completo. Sin embargo es posible que durante el mismo se pueda mencionar uno o más delitos, en este caso se deben seleccionar estos eventos aunque se encuentren dentro del primero. Para lo anterior se recomienda guiarse por la escala de tiempo de tal manera que se identifique el principio y final de cada caso.
3. En algunos eventos existe la respuesta de los participantes sobre su preferencia o justificación de castigo para delitos, estos se seleccionan de manera particular si se encuentran dentro de un relato o fuera. En algunas ocasiones los participantes responden con relación a ciertos delitos, en estos casos se coloca la etiqueta de Moral Reasoning (razonamiento moral) que corresponda y una de ID Crime que pueda corresponder al evento.
4. Para el caso de las etiquetas de actitudes hacia el Estado y justicia por propia mano, las respuestas pueden encontrarse dentro de los eventos o en diferentes secciones de la entrevista. En algunas ocasiones se puede colocar etiqueta de razonamiento moral o con relación a un ID Crime.
5. La selección de etiquetas se realiza colocando el cursor del mouse desde el inicio de la oración, apretando el botón izquierdo del mismo hasta el final del evento. En ocasiones se finaliza en el medio de un párrafo, pero siempre se inicia la selección de un evento desde la viñeta de P (pregunta entrevistador) o R (respuesta entrevistado).
6. Algunos Codes contiene flechas que indican menús desplegables de etiquetas, las cuales se colapsan o de contraen para mejor visualización dentro del cuadro de Codes.

7.  Las citas (Excerpt) seleccionadas aparecerán con diferentes colores en la pantalla de trabajo, para verificar los Codes aplicados se debe pasar el cursor sobre la línea de selección ubicada a la izquierda en cada párrafo subrayado.
8.  Para la lectura de la entrevista se utiliza la barra de desplazamiento ubicada al lado derecho del documento. Debido a la plataforma, en ocasiones los movimientos llevan retraso, por lo que se recomienda paciencia para moverse en la lectura.

## 2.0 Códigos.

Los códigos o etiquetas serán los conceptos que ayudarán a analizar las transcripciones de tal manera que se pueda homologar la información. Se dividen en tres secciones: Crime (delitos), Moral Reasoning (razonamiento moral frente a delitos) y Attitudes (actitudes frente a acciones del Estado y Actitudes frente a justicia por propia mano). A su vez cada sección se subdivide en las diferentes etiquetas con su respectiva explicación para ser identificadas en los textos.

### 2.1 Crime.

For discussions of specific crimes, the text should be highlighted from the start of the discussion of the crime to the end, including tangents that might be interspersed. **Two elements of the crime itself should be tagged: the speakers' relationship to the crime and the type of crime.** Tag with all categories that are relevant (ex. a woman harassed and then assaulted by a neighbor could count as harassment, sexual, and assault).

The crime tag should start at the beginning of a discussion about a specific crime event. **The tag should include the description of the crime \*and\* the discussion of the interviewee's preferred response to the crime, including any intervening tangents.** For example, if the interviewee starts talking about an assault and then goes on a tangent about experience with the police in another episode before finishing the discussion of the assault, the tag should extend to the end of the discussion of the preferred response to the assault.

#### 2.1.1 Crime ID number.

- For each unique crime, select the tag "CrimeID" and then select a number from 1 to 20 as a "Code Weight". A "unique crime" can include multiple events (a robbery and assault, for example) but should be discussed in the transcript as a single case. When you see a respondent refer back to a crime that s/he has previously discussed, give the new excerpt the same CrimeID number. For the first crime mentioned, start with the CrimeID:1, and increase consecutively as the respondent mentions new crimes.
- You should add the CrimeID tag to all Crime excerpts. You should also add it to any Moral Reasoning or Attitudes towards the State excerpts that are referring to a specific crime.

#### 2.1.2 Speakers' relationship to crime.

Contiene los tres tipos de etiquetas correspondiente a la relación del entrevistado respecto del delito narrado.

#### 2.1.2.1 Rel: Personal

- Personal victimization should be applied when the crime occurred to the interviewee him or herself, or close family members. This includes "individuals who, individually or collectively, have suffered damages, including physical or mental injuries, emotional distress, financial loss or substantial impairment of fundamental rights, as a result of actions or omissions that violate current criminal law. The expression "victim" also includes, where appropriate, family members or dependents who have an immediate relationship with the direct victim and persons who have suffered damage by intervening to assist the victim in danger or to prevent victimization." (101 concepts to understand insecurity, CIDAC, page 15)

- The interviewee expresses being a direct victim of the crime described.

2.1.2.2 Rel: Heard/Witnessed

- Heard or witnessed refers to the interviewee learning about a crime that she did not experience directly or indirectly.
- The interviewee does not personally experience the crime but the interviewee witnesses the crime in real time and in person, or hears about the crime second-hand. This could include crimes that were heard in the news, through virtual social networks or through people. Also can hear via word of mouth by comments from relatives, friends, or acquaintances.

2.1.2.3 Rel: Hypothetical/General

- The interviewee describes or explains a hypothetical crime or crimes in general in response on her own initiative or at the interviewer's request.
- Hypothetical crimes can be crime categories in general or more specific incidences. These are specific crimes that the interviewee has not personally experienced, witnessed, or heard about.
- The interviewee talks about a crime in general, such as theft of kidnapping.
  - Example: "y el segundo, de... de este levantamiento de mujeres que en todas partes se oye que ya se perdió una muchacha, que ya perdió una niña, y dicen que no es cierto pero si está. Dice no es cierto y más al rato aparece después muertas entonces,quiere decir que si es cierto, osea que no, no más es invento de la gente, yo digo que…"

### 2.1.3 Type of crime.

The type of crime categories should be applied both for attempted and realized crimes. **These categories should also be added to the crime tag (in addition to the speaker's relationship categories).**

2.1.3.1 Cri:Murder

- The intentional killing of one human being by another (murder is legally indefensible except in the carrying out of capital punishment, the performance of any law-enforcement or military duty, in self-defense or in the defense of someone whom it is one's duty to defend) (De Sola 1982 97).

2.1.3.2 Cri:Robbery/Property Loss

- Stealing accomplished by actual violence or by the threat of violence; unlawful taking or attempted taking of property in the immediate possession of another by force or the threat of force (De Sola 1982, 129-130)

2.1.3.3 Cri:Sexual

- Crimes in which the intent or effect is related to sexuality or gender. Examples include rape, sexual harassment, unwanted touching, etc.

2.1.3.4 Cri:Extortion

- Unlawful demanding or receiving of favors, money or property through the use of fear or force of the authority of office; blackmail, ransom demands and threats are forms of extortion (De Sola 1982, 48)

2.1.3.5 Cri:Kidnapping

- Transport [and detain] a person unlawfully without her or his consent or, if she or he is a minor, without the consent of her or his guardian or parent (De Sola 1982, 79)

2.1.3.6 Cri: Verbal threat and intimidation

- The perpetrator exerts pressure against the victim, threatening to cause him harm on any of his legal assets or on those persons linked to him, if he refuses to meet their

demands or grant certain benefits. (Statistical classification of crimes 2012. INEGI, page 37)

2.1.3.7 Cri: Drug trafficking/dealing
- The production, unauthorized trade, sale, purchase, acquisition or disposal of narcotic drugs, psychotropic substances and other substances or plants.

2.1.3.8 Cri: Domestic violence
- Violent or aggressive behavior within the home, typically involving the violent abuse of a spouse, partner, or children.

2.1.3.9 Cri: Assault (con violencia)
- Attempting or inflicting physical injury on another person.


**-2.2 Type of Response.**

**The parent category *Type of Response* refers to the desired action taken in response to a crime (either a preventive measure or a specific punishment the interviewee proposes). This should be coded/added for any excerpt with a Crime ID tag (both specific crimes and crime in general).**
If you can identify whether the punishment is community service, jail time, capital punishment, etc., tag with the relevant subcategory. If not, you can still tag the content with the parent category but leave it without the child category.
Please note that an interviewee might propose several responses for the same crime episode meaning that several tags could be added to the same excerpt (e.g. reparations plus jail time).


2.2.0 Res: Missing.
- The interviewee does not identify a specific preventive measure or punishment for a particular or general type of crime.
- Hypothetical examples:
  - 'Pienso que los deben de castigar porque si no los castigan pues van a seguir haciendo de las suyas y por eso el país está como está'.
- Real examples:

2.2.1 Res: No response.
- The interviewee says that they do not think that the crime should be responded to in any way.
- Hypothetical examples:
  - 'I think that there is nothing that can be done to respond to this crime.'Real examples:

2.2.2 Res: Prevention.
- Measures to prevent a particular or general type of crime such as (but not limited to) street lights, security cameras, community patrol, deeper investigation, sharing information, organized neighborhood group, more police, or better trained and equipped police.
- Hypothetical examples:
  - 'Pues que haya más patrullas, más seguridad. Luego le marcas a la poli y pues nadie viene. Si hubiera más policías pues yo creo que estos crímenes ya no pasarían tan seguido aquí en la comunidad'.
- Real examples:

2.2.3 Res: Social reintegration.
- Any kind of support provided to criminals for their reentry into society such as (but not limited to) psychological help, counseling, job programs, drug or alcohol treatment, vocational training, and/or education.
- Hypothetical examples:
  - 'Los criminales necesitan tener ayuda psicológica para poder ser reinsertados en la sociedad porque uno no sabe por lo que pasaron en su infancia, o si hubo maltrato. Y debido a esto se comportan así y por eso delinquen. Es por esto que yo creo que los criminales deben tener este tipo de ayuda para que no vuelvan a reincidir'.
- Real examples:


2.2.4 Res: Reparations/compensations.
- Punishment understood as replenishment of a previously inflicted loss. Reparations might include (but not limited to) return of property, monetary restitution, and/or symbolic measures such as apologies or memorials. Reparations/compensations can be provided by either the perpetrator of the crime, or the broader community. Although reparative sanctions allocated to the victims might be considered as community sentences, in this research we differentiate reparations from community service. The main difference lies in whether the reparations provided are financial (reparations) or are service-based (community service).
- Hypothetical examples:
  - 'Me deberían regresar las cosas que me robaron, yo creo que eso es lo que se debería hacer en el caso de robo porque es parte de mi patrimonio y eso me ayuda más a que los encierren o que sólo los metan a la cárcel'.


2.2.5 Res: Community service.
- Sanction intended to give back or benefit the community that was harmed by a perpetrator's crime. While reparations/compensations are intended to repair the financial harm to the specific/individual victims, community service aims to repair the harm to the community through the perpetrator's actions. Community service provides a symbolic form of restitution for the harm committed by the criminal and it commonly consists in unpaid work such as making improvements to the local area.
- Hypothetical examples:
  - 'Pues deben poner a los delincuentes a trabajar, que por lo menos limpien las calles o que pinten bardas para devolver algo a la comunidad'.
- Real examples:

2.2.6 Res: Arrest.
- Detain a criminal by legal authority to take her into custody. Note that this differs from just catching a criminal (seize someone until the authorities arrive to proceed with the arrest). The interviewee states that the perpetrator(s) of the crime in question should be arrested without specifying any punishment followed by this detention.
- Hypothetical examples:
  - 'La policía debe detener a esos pandilleros que no más andan haciendo maldades. Que los detengan para que baje la criminalidad aquí en el municipio'.

- Real examples:

2.2.6 Res: Some jail time.
- The interviewee states that the perpetrator(s) of the crime in question should be imprisoned for a specific time period (commonly measured in years). Note that life sentences are excluded from this subcategory.
- Hypothetical example:
  - 'Que los metan al bote por unos 10 o 20 años pa que aprendan a no hacer eso y pa que no anden sueltos. Si el castigo fuera ése, pues igual y los criminales ya la piensan y dejan de hacer eso'.

2.2.6 Res: Life sentence.
- The interviewee states that the perpetrator(s) of the crime in question should be imprisoned for life.
- Hypothetical example:
  - 'Pues que ya no salgan de la cárcel, que se queden ahí para que ya no puedan lastimar a nadie más'.
- Real examples:

2.2.7 Res: Physical punishment/torture
- Punishment for crime intended to harm or cause physical pain to the perpetrator. Corporal punishment might include (but not limited to) beating, branding, mutilation or any kind of torture.
- Hypothetical example:
  - 'Pues si la tortura es necesaria para que confiesen lo que hicieron, pues yo creo que sí se debe hacer porque luego no hay suficientes pruebas y los delincuentes salen impunes y vuelven a delinquir'.
- Real examples:

2.2.8 Res: Capital punishment/death
- Killing of an individual as punishment for a crime.
- Hypothetical example:
  - 'Que los maten ahí mismo, sin juicio ni policía porque luego les pasan una lana y salen. Lo mejor es matarlos y así eliminamos rápido el problema de la criminalidad porque ya no van a cambiar'.
- Real example:

## 2.3 Legal/Extrajudicial measures.

**The parent category legal/extrajudicial measures refers to (1) the authority or actor(s) who should administer the preventive measure or punishment and (2) whether this administration is legal or extrajudicial. For this research project, we consider a response to be legal whether it explicitly follows the law *or* does not contradict it. Thus, extrajudicial measures are the ones that explicitly contravene the law.**
**As with the previous variable, *Legal/Extrajudicial measures* should be coded/added for any excerpt with a Crime ID tag (both specific crimes and crime in general).**

If you can identify whether it is State/legal, State/extrajudicial, Community/legal, or Community/extrajudicial, etc, tag with the relevant subcategory. If not, you can still tag the content but leave it without the child category.

**You should add this tag if the interviewee talks about who should administer the preventive or corrective sanction, and/or the legality of such sanction.** Please note that an interviewee might propose several responses for the same crime episode that fall in several of the following subcategories meaning that several tags could be added to the same excerpt (e.g. *State/extrajudicia*l plus *Community/extraducial* in the case of capital punishment administered either by the state or the community).

2.3.1 LE: State/legal
- The interviewee identifies any state authorities (e.g. police, army, judges, national guard) as the ones administering any of the preventive measures or punishments described in the previous section. Both measures and punishments should adhere to the laws in force at the time the interview was conducted.
- Hypothetical example:
  - 'Que haya un juicio con todas las de la ley y si lo encuentran culpable, pues que lo metan a la cárcel el tiempo que indique el juez encargado del caso'.
- Real example:

2.3.2 LE: State/extrajudicial
- The interviewee identifies any state authorities as the ones administering any of the preventive measures or punishments but such sanctions do not abide by the law in force at the time of the interview.
- Hypothetical example:
  - 'La policía los debe de torturar. Si ellos causaron tanto sufrimiento a sus víctimas, pues de menos deben de sufrir igual. Además, así podrían confesar todos los delitos que han cometido y dar un poco de tranquilidad a otras familias que han sufrido por sus crímenes'.
- Real example:

2.3.3 LE: Community/legal
- The interviewee identifies any actors who are *not* state authorities (neighbors, community patrols, vigilante organizations) as the ones administering any of the preventive measures or punishments described in the previous section. Both measures and punishments should adhere to the laws in force at the time the interview was conducted.
- Hypothetical example:
  - 'The community should provide the woman who has suffered with some assistance. We can come together to help her reopen her business, pool some funds to refurbish the store front and the goods that were lost.'

2.3.4. LE: Community/extrajudicial
- The interviewee identifies any actors who are *not* state authorities as the ones administering any of the preventive measures or punishments but such sanctions do not abide by the law in force at the time of the interview.

- Hypothetical example:
  - 'We knew who the thief was in this case. I think we should have come together to catch him and teach him that he shouldn't be harassing people in this community. In other localities thieves are beaten and branded, and so they learn that they need to leave the life of crime.'

**2.4 Moral reasoning.**

**Highlight the whole text-example of parent category moral reasoning which refers to the justification the interviewee makes for how crimes (both specific crimes and crime in general) should be responded to.** If you can identify whether it is deontological, consequentialist, dehumanizing, etc, tag with the relevant subcategory. If not, you can still tag the content but leave it without a category.
**You should start this tag wherever the interviewee begins talking about why they think a particular or general type of crime should have a certain punishment, and stop it when they move on to another topic.**

2.4.1 MR:Deontological.

- Deontological reasoning is based on arguments that a certain action is right because it adheres to a moral principle, duty, or rule -- not necessarily because it will have desirable consequences. Deontological arguments prioritize what is "right" over what is "good." One example of deontological reasoning are arguments that you should not tell a "white lie" because lying is wrong, even if the lie would make someone happier. Reasoning based on arguments that an action is perceived *rightness (justness, fairness, etc)* of different justice policies and practices, irrespective of their perceived impact on preventing future crime or helping victims (see more: http://www.bbc.co.uk/ethics/introduction/duty_1.shtml).
- Hypothetical examples:
  - Deontological reasoning in favor of harsh punishments: "Criminals deserve harsh punishments, and the community has a duty to carry them out if the state does not." "An eye for an eye is the only just response to violent crime."
  - Deontological reasoning against harsh punishments: "Even if it would help prevent crime, we cannot become murderers ourselves." "It is morally wrong for citizens to violate the rule of law."
  - Real examples:
    P [00:55:21] Ok. ¿Cómo le gustaría que las autoridades respondieran especialmente a esta clase de delitos?
    R [00:55:30] Pues, que ya, ahora sí que se hiciera una nueva ley donde pudiera pues, haber algo que los castigara para que ya no lo siguieron haciendo o, un escarmiento para los demás que lo están haciendo porque, no por el hecho de ser hombre, pues nos van a sobajar a nosotras las mujeres. Porque ahorita pues, ya somos iguales, tanto hombre como mujeres somos iguales.

2.4.2 MR:Consequentialist.

- Consequentialist reasoning judges acts based on their consequences, arguing that the best action has the best consequences. Utilitarianism, or the belief that people should act to maximize human well-being, is an example of consequentialism. In our context, reasoning based on the perceived *effectiveness* in reducing or deterring future crime of different justice policies and practices would be consequentialist. (see more: http://www.bbc.co.uk/ethics/introduction/consequentialism_1.shtml)

- Hypothetical examples:
  - Consequentialist reasoning in favor of harsh punishments: "After seeing a friend thrown in jail for life, other criminals will think twice about stealing from us." "We must organize as a community to protect ourselves and help victims of crime."
  - Consequentialist reasoning against harsh punishments: "Jail is like a school of crime. We need to do something more effective to reduce crime, like stop youth from getting involved in the first place." "I told my neighbors that we need to organize, but not use force. If we take justice into our own hands we will just have more disorder in the future."
  - Real examples:

    P [00:50:27] Solamente..., ¿cómo cree que pudieran evitar todo esto?

    R [00:50:32] Yo me imagino que uniéndose el pueblo, y haciendo justicia por mano propia. Solamente, yo me imagino, que así voltearía el gobierno a vernos y decir, "saben que pues ya las cosas se están que se derrumban ahí, ya tienen que ir a ver qué..., ¡vayan a poner un poquito de orden!", pero no. A mí me gustaría si la verdad es que se hiciera justicia...

    P [00:50:56] ¿Por mano propia?

    R [00:50:56] Sí. Yo sí Creo en eso, y sí me da gusto a veces cuando veo en redes sociales que.... que los agarraron, y los golpearon, y que casi los linchaban por... A mi sí me da gusto porque yo he vivido cosas bien fuertes que digo yo, si hubiéramos hecho..., o sea sí estuviéramos unidos a lo mejor no pasara tanta cosa tan fea aquí. O sea ya no los niños por ejemplo, a las 9 yo con mis hijos, a las 9 tienen que estar adentro porque si no yo salgo como una loca y los meto de donde estén porque, o sea, tiene uno mucho miedo.

  - P [00:56:44] Preferiría que ¿se llevara justicia por mano propia? O, pues, ¿que se acudiera a las autoridades?

    R [00:56:55] Pues mira, tan mal uno, como la otra porque es, como te digo, malo este... te haces justicia por tu propia mano y ¿qué pasa? te vas al bote, sí.. Y también, pues, vas y denuncias y no te hacen caso. Osea, sale lo mismo. Yo por eso, yo por eso también pensé mucho dejar a mi primer marido porque yo ya sentía que ya no aguantaba más. Y haz de cuenta que yo me iba a hacer justicia por mis propias manos sentía que si duraba más con él, sí lo iba a hacer. Yo pensaba mucho en la cabeza con el machete. Y luego también me ponía a pensar en mis hijas: ¿qué va a ser de ellas? Dije: "-no, mejor vale cortar por lo más sano, ahí nos vemos

### 2.4.3 MR: Dehumanization.

- Arguments that state (implicitly or explicitly) that certain groups are sub-human and thus less deserving of moral consideration. If we have moral rules (do not kill) or are trying to maximize public benefits, then dehumanization excludes certain people or groups from falling under those rules or "counting" in those calculations. The dehumanization tag should be applied to any form of dehumanization -- those that apply to the perpetrators, victims, etc. Arguments that certain people can never change or are fundamentally bad can also fall under dehumanization.
- Hypothetical examples
  - Dehumanization in favor of harsh punishments: "Anyone who could commit a crime like that is an animal. You can never rehabilitate them, so the government should just kill them to protect the rest of us."

- - Dehumanization against harsh punishments: "The guy who was killed was in organized crime, so we shouldn't waste time trying to punish the killer."

### 2.4.4 MR: Empathy/humanization.

- Arguments that emphasize the essential humanity of people, especially those from low-status or disliked groups like the perpetrators of crimes.
- Hypothetical examples
  - Empathy/humanization in favor of harsh punishments: "This guy who was assaulted was a father, a good neighbor, a member of his church community… he deserves to know that the community will protect him." (these arguments will probably involve humanization of the victim)
  - Empathy/humanization against harsh punishments: "This perpetrator is not only his crime - he has a family, was a child once, and maybe if he has a second chance he will become a good person again."

## 2.5 Attitudes.

### 2.5.1 Attitudes /Actions by the state.

- Attitudes towards the police, security forces, politicians, judges, and other state authorities as well as the criminal justice system and other government institutions in both specific cases and in general.
- Perceptions on the disposition, image, and performance of state authorities and institutions.
- Any time the state or authorities (police, government, security forces, politicians, etc.) are mentioned or do something.

### 2.5.2 Attitudes toward justicia por propia mano.

- Attitudes toward general acts or specific episodes of justicia por propia mano or lynching.
- Perceptions of the effectiveness and justness of justicia por propia mano or lynching, in general and in specific cases.
- Perceptions on responses to justicia por propia mano or lynching.

## 3.0 Manual.

La siguiente parte del documento trata a detalle el proceso de trabajo que se realizará para analizar las entrevistas. A grandes rasgos se presentan tres secciones, la primera es la preparación del documento para ser analizado en la plataforma de Dedoose; la segunda explica el proceso para etiquetar extractos del texto en donde se identifique los códigos que se describieron en la sección dos del presente documento; la tercer sección sugiere el uso de un algoritmo implementado de manera previa para el análisis de las transcripciones, esta es una metodología que podrá ser adaptada al ritmo de trabajo personal de cada codificador, por ello se recomienda realizar tal cual se describe y conforme se avance en el trabajo, el analista podrá agilizar su implementación.

### 3.1 Edición de los archivos.

El anonimato del entrevistado, entrevistador y equipo de investigadores debe observarse en todas las transcripciones. Por ello, el primer paso es reemplazar cualquier información que pueda identificarlos (usualmente esta información ya ha sido previamente resaltada en el documento de Word) reemplazando dicha información con 4 Xs: XXXX. Consideramos confidencial el siguiente tipo de información:

- Figuras públicas al nivel estatal o municipal. Por ejemplo, los **nombres** propios de legisladores estatales, gobernadores, líderes de organizaciones de vecinos, etc.
- Nombre de estados, municipios, colonias, barrios, grupos vecinales. Por ejemplo, 'Morelia' es una ciudad que se menciona frecuentemente por lo que debe reemplazarse por XXXX.
- Cualquier otro nombre propio al nivel local o estatal. Por ejemplo, el nombre del entrevistado, entrevistador, investigadores, vecinos, criminales, etc.

Excepciones. La siguiente información NO debe reemplazarse:

- Figuras públicas a nivel nacional u otro ente a este nivel. Por ejemplo: Andrés Manuel López Obrador, El Chapo, México, etc.
- El nombre de las universidades de los investigadores el cual usualmente está al inicio de la entrevista: University of California, Davis, The American University, etc.

### 3.2 Codificación.

El proceso requiere de una lectura detallada de la transcripción de la entrevista, así como un conocimiento profundo de los códigos. Dentro de la página de inicio (*Home*), haz doble clic en el archivo a codificar en la lista del recuadro *Media*. Esto abrirá la pestaña *Media*:
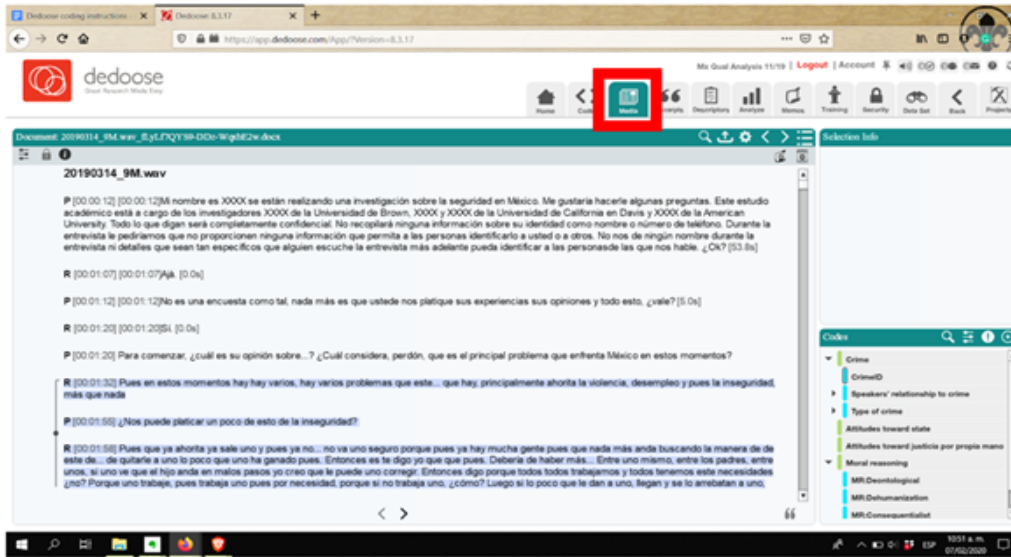
Aquí aparecerán tres recuadros:
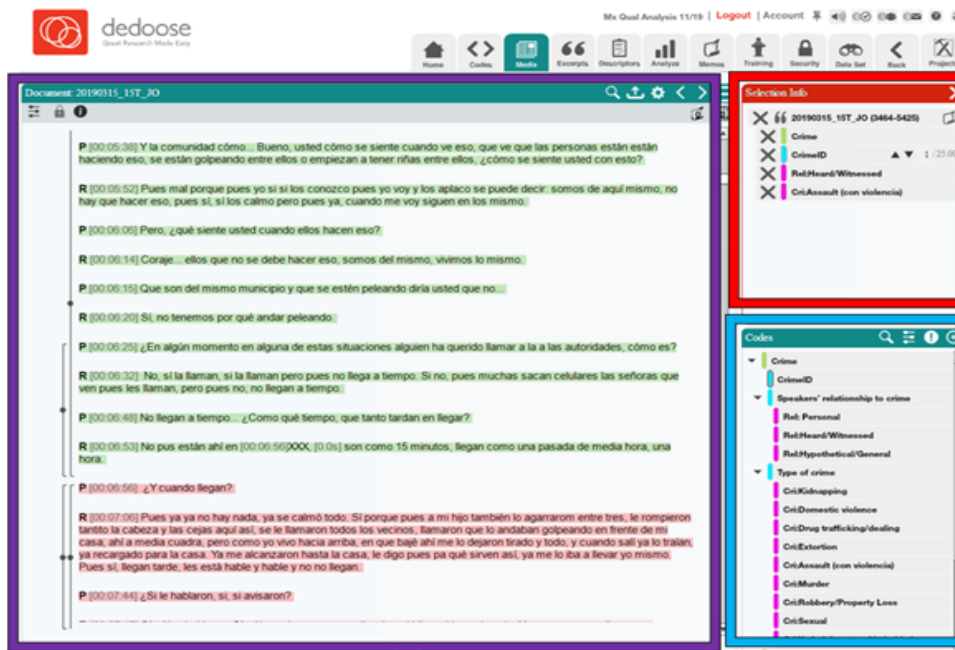


**1)** el primero contiene la transcripción de la entrevista titulado *Document* y el **nombre del archivo**;

**2)** el recuadro titulado *Codes* el cual contiene las 23 etiquetas (tags) descritas anteriormente en la sección 2 que se pueden asignar a los extractos de la entrevista (haz clic en las flechas para desplegar o colapsar las etiquetas disponibles); y, finalmente,

**3)** el recuadro titulado *Selection Info* el cual contiene aquellas etiquetas que le fueron asignadas al extracto (*excerpt*) que en ese momento esté seleccionado.

### 3.2.1 Edición del texto.

En el caso de que la entrevista todavía presente información personal, ésta se puede editar al hacer clic en el icono del candado cerrado ubicado en la parte superior izquierda del recuadro de *Document*. Esto permitirá que se edite la transcripción de la entrevista. Una vez que se haya editado la información personal, vuelve a hacer clic en el candado abierto para cerrarlo y evitar modificar la entrevista por accidente:



Recuerda que aunque esta opción está disponible, procura subir a Dedoose archivos editados que no contengan información personal.

### 3.2.2 Generación de extractos.

El proceso de codificación requiere la selección de alguna parte de la entrevista en el **recuadro de *Document*** y asignar el(los) código(s) correspondiente(s) al hacer doble clic en los códigos disponible(s) en el **recuadro *Codes***. Este proceso generará un extracto nuevo el cual aparecerá coloreado con un corchete a su margen izquierdo y que las etiquetas seleccionadas aparezcan en el **recuadro *Selection Info***. Al colocar el cursor sobre algún corchete se mostrarán las etiquetas asignadas a ese extracto.

La selección del texto puede realizarse a través del mouse (o touchpad) o presionando la tecla Shift + los cursores de navegación (las flechas) en el teclado. Los extractos SIEMPRE deben iniciar desde la viñeta P (pregunta del entrevistador) o la viñeta R (respuesta del entrevistado). En contraste, los extractos pueden finalizar en cualquier parte del texto que se considere apropiada.

Por ejemplo, en la imagen previa se seleccionó un **extracto en el recuadro *Document*** al cual se le asignaron cuatro códigos de **la lista *Codes***: ***Crime, Crime ID (1), Rel:Heard/Witnessed y Cri: Assault (con violencia)***. La etiqueta *Crime ID* requiere de una acción adicional: elige el número correspondiente ya sea con las flechas dentro de la misma etiqueta o modifica el número directamente al hacer clic sobre dicho número y usa el teclado para ingresar el nuevo número.

### 3.2.3 Añadir comentarios a un extracto.

En algunas ocasiones es necesario añadir *Memos* a los extractos generados para colocar comentarios. Los comentarios son el medio básico mediante el cual se comunican

codificadores e investigadores. Para este fin, los comentarios deben ser claros, concisos y realizarse en inglés.

En general, los *Memos* para los codificadores cumplen dos funciones. Primero, plantean alguna pregunta/duda al investigador sobre el extracto en cuestión. El extracto puede ser difícil de entender, tener varias interpretaciones o inclusive provocar alguna revisión de los códigos.

En segundo lugar, los comentarios son muy útiles para explicar la asignación (o la ausencia) de etiquetas en un extracto que se considere difícil de codificar. Esto es particularmente útil para casos límites donde se dificulta la asignación de las etiquetas existentes. También se puede utilizar para explicar alguna confusión del entrevistado o entrevistador. Inclusive se puede explicar el significado de ciertos modismos utilizados en México que puedan explicar la codificación.

En suma, los comentarios son útiles para añadir información que ayude al investigador a comprender la elección de etiquetas por parte del codificador. Usualmente dichos memos serán más comunes en aquellos extractos que contengan etiquetas de *Moral Reasoning* debido a que éstas son más difíciles de asignar.

Para añadir un memo a un extracto haz clic en el icono a la derecha del nombre del extracto que se encuentra en la parte superior del recuadro *Selection Info*:
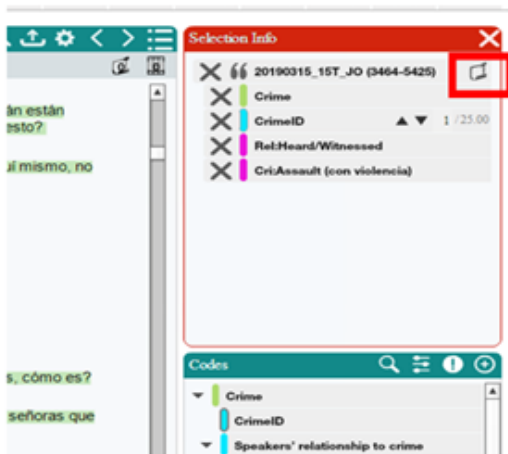


Esto abrirá una ventana en donde se puede ingresar el comentario. Recuerda que el comentario debe ser claro, conciso y estar en inglés:
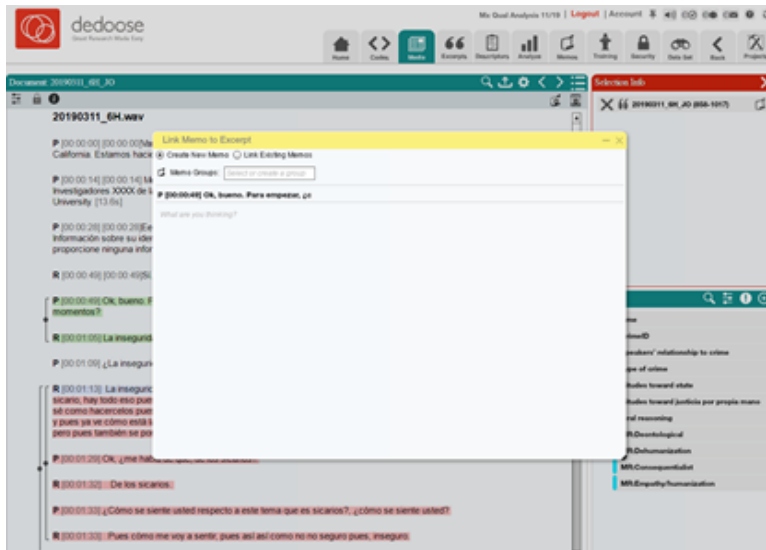
3.2.4     Modificación de extractos.

Para seleccionar un extracto previamente generado, simplemente haz clic en su corchete ubicado al margen izquierdo:
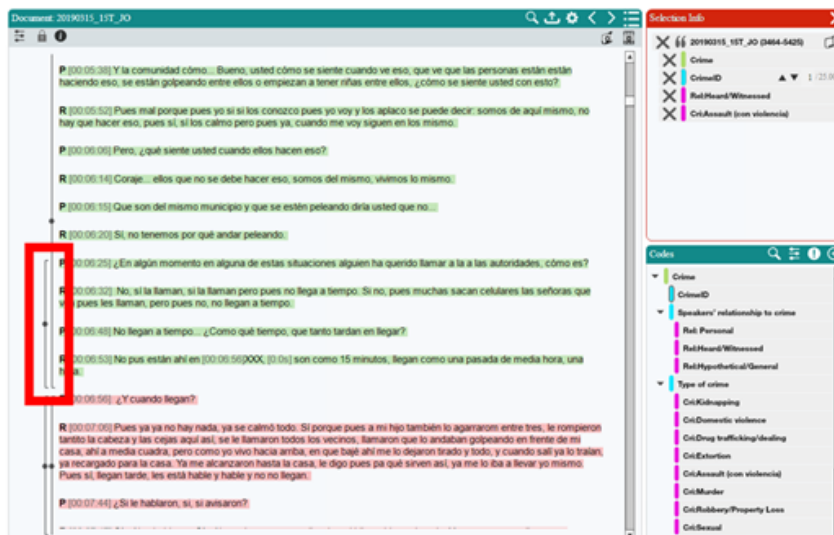


Una vez seleccionado el extracto puedes realizar las siguientes acciones: añadir etiquetas/memos, borrar etiquetas, eliminar el extracto (esto NO borra el texto de la entrevista) y/o modificar el inicio/final del extracto. Aquí las primeras cuatro acciones de las cinco posibles:

A. Para **añadir etiquetas** simplemente sigue el proceso antes descrito: haz doble clic en la etiqueta deseada del **recuadro Codes**.
B. Para **añadir memos** se sigue el proceso antes descrito: haz clic en el **icono** a la derecha del nombre del extracto.
C. Para **borrar una etiquet**a previamente asignada, haz clic en la **'X'** que se encuentra a la izquierda de la etiqueta en cuestión en el recuadro *Selection Info*.

D. Asimismo, para **eliminar el extracto** haz clic en la **'X'** a la izquierda del nombre del extracto ubicado en la parte superior del recuadro *Selection Info* (esta acción no borra el texto de la entrevista, sólo la selección del extracto).
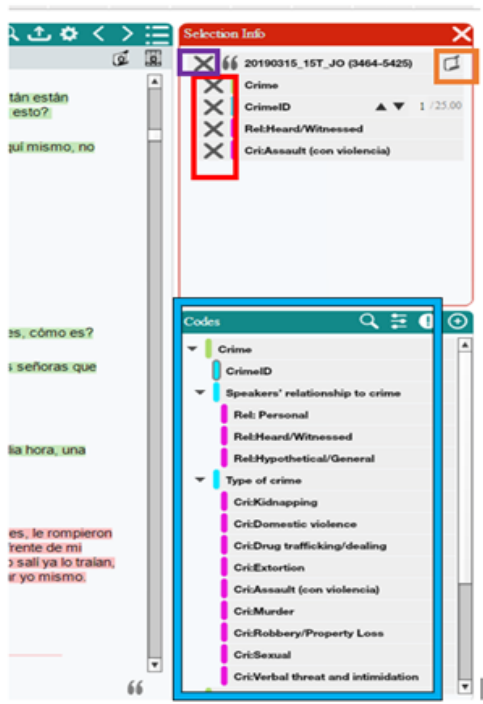


E. Finalmente, para modificar el inicio y final de un extracto selecciónalo haciendo clic en el corchete correspondiente, posiciona el cursor en la parte del texto donde deseas que inicie o termine el extracto y haz clic derecho. Al hacer esto se abrirá un menú de opciones donde podrás elegir cómo modificar el extracto



Selecciona *Set Excerpt Start* para cambiar el principio o *Set Excerpt End* para modificar el final del extracto seleccionado.

Todos los cambios que realices son automáticamente guardados por Dedoose así que no hay necesidad de salvar el documento manualmente.

## 3.3 Algoritmo sugerido para codificar.

En esta última sección se expone una serie de pasos para codificar eficientemente y como medio para estandarizar el procedimiento.

### 3.3.1 Estructura de la entrevista.

En primer lugar, hay que familiarizarse con el guión de la entrevista para tener una mejor idea de lo que se va a codificar. A grandes rasgos las entrevistas siguen esta estructura:

I. Introducción
   A. Presentación.
   B. ¿Cuál es el problema más importante que enfrenta México actualmente?
II. Violencia, seguridad y emociones después de episodios específicos de violencia
   A. Episodios violentos en la comunidad
   B. Emociones generadas por dichos episodios
   C. ¿Cómo se respondió a dicho acto (autoridades, justicia por propia mano)?
   D. ¿Cómo se debió castigar el delito (opinión del entrevistado)?
   E. Misma serie de preguntas para otros delitos: asesinato, violación, robo, etc.
III. Eventos violentos en los cuales ciudadanos tomaron justicia por propia mano:
   A. ¿Cuál fue el delito?
   B. ¿Cómo debió ser manejado (opinión del entrevistado)?
   C. ¿Cómo respondieron las autoridades y la comunidad?
IV. Emociones generadas por evento violentos no específicos (abstractos):
   A. ¿Qué crímenes te hacen sentir enojado y por qué?
   B. Sondeo de cómo cambia la sensación dependiendo del tipo de víctima y del perpetrador del crimen (niños, mujeres, hombres, policías.
   C. Descripción de la sensación.
   D. Misma serie de preguntas para otras sensaciones (tristeza, miedo, etc.)
V. Preferencias sobre justicia.
   A. En general, ¿cómo se debe responder a los delitos y por qué? (castigos severos, diferenciación de los castigos dependiendo del delito)
   B. ¿Los castigos previenen delitos?
   C. ¿Las autoridades deben administrar los castigos?
VI. Presencia y opiniones sobre justicia por propia mano.
   A. Episodios sobre justicia por propia mano en la comunidad.
   B. A favor o en contra de dichos episodios (opinión del entrevistado).
   C. ¿Qué hace las autoridades frente a estos episodios?
VII. Opiniones sobre el Estado
   A. ¿Cómo percibe la capacidad del Estado para proveer seguridad?
   B. ¿El ejército ha tenido que involucrarse en su comunidad para proveer seguridad?
   C. ¿El sistema de justicia provee un equilibrio entre los derechos del acusado y de la víctima?
   D. Uso de la tortura por parte de la policía

En esta sección se describe una distribución de etiquetas esperada a lo largo de una entrevista promedio. Si bien estos patrones han sido detectados a partir de nuestra experiencia en la codificación de un número importante de entrevistas, dicha descripción NO se debe tomar como una regla ya que pueden presentarse entrevistas atípicas que no sigan los patrones aquí descritos. Alternativamente, puede ser que las entrevistas hasta ahora examinadas no sean representativas.

Después de leer la estructura de la entrevista expuesta en la sección anterior, el codificador puede anticipar algunos patrones generales. Por ejemplo:

I.    En la sección I habrá pocas etiquetas en comparación a las demás secciones. Es probable que el entrevistado mencione algunos delitos sin discutirlos a profundidad.

II.   La sección II contendrá muchas etiquetas sobre distintos delitos (*Crimes*, *CrimeID*). Es más probable que en esta sección los crímenes sean específicos (*Heard/Witnessed, Personal*) que en otras secciones subsecuentes. Las preguntas sugieren la presencia de tanto etiquetas de *Attitudes toward State* como de *Attitudes toward justicia por propia mano*. Asimismo, es muy probable que haya etiquetas dentro de la categoría *Moral Reasoning* debido a que se pregunta por los castigos adecuados para los delitos cometidos. En suma, esta sección es, en promedio, la que contiene mayor número de etiquetas diferentes.

III.  Se espera que la sección III presente mucho material para etiquetarse bajo *Attitudes toward justicia por propia mano*. Otras etiquetas que son comunes en esta sección son *Attitudes toward State*, *Moral Reasoning* y *Crime*.

IV.   Se espera que la sección IV contenga delitos más generales (*General/Abstract*) que las secciones previas, aunque no es poco común que los entrevistados retomen los eventos específicos discutidos en dichas secciones (*Heard/Witnessed, Personal*). Se espera una menor frecuencia respecto de las otras secciones de las demás categorías.

V.    Al igual que en la anterior sección, la sección V se caracterizará por crímenes más generales (*General/Abstract*) y menos específicos (*Heard/Witnessed, Personal*). Se espera que haya un número relativamente alto de *Moral Reasoning* en esta sección ya que se discuten los castigos. Etiquetas de *Attitudes toward state* son más comunes que las de *Attitudes toward justicia por propia mano* en esta sección.

VI.   Se espera que en la sección VL haya muchas etiquetas sobre *Attitudes toward justicia por propia mano* ya que es el tema central de la sección. Los episodios implican etiquetas de delitos (*Crime, Crime ID*, etc.) y comúnmente se yuxtaponen los episodios de justicia por propia mano con las acciones por parte de la autoridad (*Attitudes toward state*).

VII.  Para la última sección VII, las etiquetas de la categoría *Crime* se reducen sustancialmente en promedio en comparación con las secciones previas. También se reducen las etiquetas respecto a justicia por propia mano. Aquí las etiquetas sobre el Estado (*Attitudes toward state*) se espera que sean muy numerosas. En suma, este tipo de etiquetas aparecen a lo largo de todas las secciones y suelen ser

las más numerosas debido a su codificación (se deben añadir cada vez que algún tipo de autoridad es simplemente mencionada).

### 3.3.3    El Algoritmo.

Antes de leer esta sección favor de seguir todas las instrucciones hasta aquí expuestas. El algoritmo o la receta será mucho más fácil de entender una vez que se hayan familiarizado con Dedoose y con su primera entrevista.Tanto el guión de la entrevista como la distribución esperada de etiquetas le dan al codificador una guía de cómo procesar y etiquetar la información. En esta última sección se resume la estrategia para estandarizar el modo de codificación. Es decir, aquí se presentan los pasos sugeridos para asignar etiquetas de una forma eficiente que a la vez minimiza la probabilidad de errores.

**PASO I. IDENTIFICAR Y ASIGNAR LAS ETIQUETAS DE CRIMEN (*Crime id, Speaker's relationship to the crime, Type of crime*).**

I.1 El primer paso sugerido es identificar el inicio de la narración de un delito por parte del entrevistado. Regularmente esto es sencillo de detectar debido a la pregunta del entrevistador: ¿Ha sucedido algún evento de violencia en su comunidad? Aquí un ejemplo:



I.2 Después de identificar el posible inicio de un delito a codificar, se debe diferenciar si el entrevistado simplemente está mencionando/enumerando delitos o si los discute con cierto nivel de profundidad que merezca la asignación de etiquetas. Aquí un ejemplo de un participante que enumera delitos sin discutirlos por lo que NO se debe etiquetar el siguiente texto:



I.3 Una vez que se haya detectado un delito al que se deban asignar etiquetas, comienza la selección del texto (debe iniciar desde las viñetas P o R). Se recomienda utilizar el teclado en lugar del touchpad o mouse ya que la selección de texto es mucho más rápida con las teclas Shift + cursores de navegación (flechas).
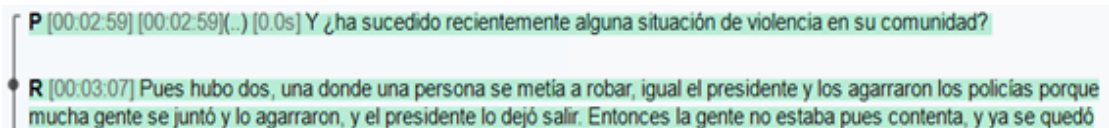
I.4 Cuando comiences la selección del texto, identifica y anota las siguientes tres etiquetas dentro de la categoría Crime en un documento por separado (un Word, Excel o en alguna libreta). Es decir, todavía no las asignes dentro de Dedoose:

- A. UNA etiqueta de *CrimeID* (con su número correspondiente),
- B. UNA etiqueta dentro de la categoría *Speaker's relationship to the crime:*
  - i. *Personal*,
  - ii. *Heard/Witnessed* o
  - iii. *Hypothetical/General*, y
- C. AL MENOS UNA etiqueta dentro de la categoría *Type of crime* (*Kidnapping, Murder, Sexual*, etc.).

¿Por qué todavía no asignar las etiquetas en Dedoose? Si asignas las etiquetas al texto seleccionado se creará el extracto y su extensión sólo podrá modificarse mediante el método descrito en la sección 3.2.4. Este método es mucho más lento que el de seguir seleccionando texto hasta el final de la narración del delito.

Es recomendable anotar esta información por separado por dos razones:

a. Primero, algunas narraciones de delitos son bastante extensas (varias páginas) y la información de las tres etiquetas arriba mencionadas regularmente se encuentra al inicio de la narración por lo que es probable que el codificador se pierda en la narración y no recuerde o confunda la información con otros delitos. Regresando al ejemplo anterior:



P [00:02:59] [00:02:59](..) [0.0s] Y ¿ha sucedido recientemente alguna situación de violencia en su comunidad?

R [00:03:07] Pues hubo dos, una donde una persona se metía a robar, igual el presidente y los agarraron los policías porque mucha gente se juntó y lo agarraron, y el presidente lo dejó salir. Entonces la gente no estaba pues contenta, y ya se quedó

En este primer enunciado, el entrevistado ya mencionó toda la información necesaria para identificar las tres etiquetas dentro de la categoría *Crime*. Suponiendo que éste es el primer crimen que se discute dentro de la entrevista, el codificador deberá anotar en un documento algo similar a esto:

1. *Heard/Witnessed. Robbery/Property Loss. 'El presidente dejó salir al ladrón'.*

El número '1' corresponde al *Crime ID* (primer crimen discutido en la entrevista). Se asigna la etiqueta *Heard/Witnessed* debido a que el entrevistador escuchó o presenció el evento. Se asigna la categoría *Robbery/Property Loss* porque se habla de un robo. El último enunciado se discute a continuación.

b. El segundo motivo por el cual se debe anotar esta información en un documento por separado es porque es muy probable que el entrevistado posteriormente retome y discuta este delito nuevamente. En ese caso, el último enunciado que aparece en el ejemplo anterior ('El presidente dejó salir al ladrón') ayuda al codificador a recordar e identificar a qué delito se está refiriendo el entrevistado. Así, el codificador puede mirar sus notas e identificar este delito con la etiqueta Crime ID = 1 antes asignada.

I.5 Después de anotar esta información en un documento por separado continúa con la selección del texto que identifica a un delito en particular y detente hasta que el entrevistado deje de discutirlo SIN detenerte a asignar otras etiquetas o identificar otros delitos. Cuando el entrevistado termine de discutir el delito en cuestión, consulta tus notas y asigna las

etiquetas correspondientes al hacer clic en los códigos correspondientes en el recuadro Codes. Esto creará el extracto. Si es necesario, también asigna un Memo (sección 3.2.2). Usualmente es sencillo identificar el punto donde el entrevistado deja de discutir otro delito y comienza a discutir otro nuevo. Aquí un ejemplo que muestra una transición entre delitos:



Y aquí otro ejemplo:



¿Por qué NO debes asignar etiquetas adicionales? La mayoría de las veces los entrevistados no hablan de forma estructurada, mezclan delitos y otras categorías, o simplemente divagan. Es mucho más eficiente concentrarse en un único delito (u otra etiqueta) a la vez y terminar la codificación del mismo.

 Además, si te detienes a identificar otro delito o categoría, esto implica que debas terminar el extracto que estabas seleccionando por lo que ya sólo podrás modificarlo con el método descrito en la sección 5.3. el cual es muy lento.

**PASO 2. Regresar al inicio del extracto apenas generado e identificar y asignar otras etiquetas.**

Una vez generado el extracto con las etiquetas dentro de la categoría Crime regresa al inicio del extracto. Ahora podrás generar más extractos dentro de éste al asignar otras etiquetas.

Extractos de distintos delitos que comparten partes del mismo texto. En el caso de que el extracto previamente generado contenga otro delito que se discute al mismo tiempo, pero

que debe codificarse por separado, se debe seguir el mismo proceso anteriormente descrito.

Por lo tanto, es posible (aunque poco probable) que dos extractos que se refieren a dos delitos distintos compartan exactamente el mismo texto. En este caso, el codificador debe poner especial atención al etiquetar nuevos extractos dentro de este texto ya que éstos pueden referirse a sólo uno de los delitos. Por ello se recomienda que los nuevos extractos generados sean acompañados de la etiqueta *Crime ID* correspondiente.

Por ejemplo, si dentro del extracto identificado con las etiquetas *Crime ID: 3, Personal* y *Sexual* se genera un nuevo extracto donde se menciona a la policía en el contexto de ese delito, éste nuevo extracto debe contener las categorías *Crime ID 3* y *Attitudes toward state*. Nota que ya no es necesario colocar las etiquetas correspondientes al *Type of Crime* y *Speaker's relationship to the crime*.

**PASO 3. Sigue el mismo procedimiento aun con etiquetas que no pertenecen a la categoría *Crime*.**

De acuerdo a lo expuesto en las secciones anteriores (3.3.1 y 3.3.2), es muy común que lo primero que tenga que etiquetar el codificador sean delitos debido al contenido de los apartados II, III y IV en el guión de entrevista.

Sin embargo, en cualquier punto de la entrevista es posible que el entrevistado no hable de delitos sino de otros eventos a los cuales deben asignarse otras etiquetas. Por ejemplo, en la sección V es probable que el entrevistado se concentre en eventos de justicia por propia mano sin mencionar algún delito correspondiente. En este caso, dicho extracto no contendrá ninguna etiqueta dentro de la categoría *Crime*. Aquí un ejemplo:



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El extracto anterior no hace referencia a un delito, pero habla sobre un evento de justicia por propia mano (en este caso linchamiento) y el papel de las autoridades. Por ello este extracto tiene las etiquetas *Attitudes toward justicia por propia mano* y *Attitudes toward state* únicamente.

A continuación, se presenta otro ejemplo que no contiene etiquetas de la categoría *Crime*:

P [01:09:28] Ahora vamos a ver sus preferencias sobre la justicia igual en general. ¿Cómo cree que se deban manejar los delitos, generalizando los delitos, cómo cree que los deban de manejar estos delitos?

R [01:09:44] Pues creo que hay por etapas, ¿no,? creo que aquí el legislativo, aquí en [01:09:53]XXXX, [0.0s] van por etapas. Va por etapas de que la violencia una parte, secuestro una parte, suicidio una parte, creo que van por etapas. Creo que no me ha tocado..., he yo andado por allá porque he tenido situaciones de problemas con mi esposo y hemos llegado hasta allá en [01:10:14]XXXX, [0.0s] y he visto, he escuchado situaciones así como que: "es que aquí no hace nada, pinche gente impotente que na' más están sentadas tragando". Le digo a mi esposo: "no pues sí me han atendido muy bien, han llegado a mi casa muy bien, han llegado desplazamiento de lo que yo he demandado, muy bien". Creo que aquí ya no..., como digo, cada quien en cada situación llevan una etapa diferente y llevan los procesos, unos más lentos otros más rápidos, unos como que te ignoran como que no dan importancia mientras y otros que si les estás exige y exige ahí, creo que sí va avanzando. Pero sí hay unos que sí de a tiro te dejan al abandono.

R [01:11:05] ¿Y usted cómo cree que se deben de manejar estos delitos?, ¿su punto de vista cuál es en cuanto a este manejo de delitos?, ¿cómo se debe manejar?

P [01:11:15] Pus así como van llegando tienen que..., harto personal tienen que empezar la averiguación, de no dejarlo al olvido. ¿Por qué?, porque por eso muchas personas ya no tienen mucha confianza en ir a denunciar porque no hacen caso. Si fueran así unas personas que digamos cada constantemente están investigando, constante constante están investigando, que están investigando acá: "mire, llevamos esto de avance"; creo que la gente acudiría más, pero si los ignoran pues no, es como hablar con nadie allá, mejor acá tomamos nuestras medidas.

P [01:12:02] ¿Cuál cree que es el objetivo principal de que la policía o el..., enfrente estos delitos, el poder responder a un delito?, ¿cuál cree que es el objetivo de responder al delito?

El extracto anterior discute algunos organismos del Estado (legislatura y policía) y su papel en la impartición de justicia. En este caso el extracto debe marcarse únicamente con la etiqueta *Attitudes toward the state*. De hecho, tal como se expuso en la sección anterior, es muy común que en la última parte de la entrevista (VII) los extractos sólo correspondan a esta categoría

Finalmente, se presenta el algoritmo como un diagrama de flujo: