

# Country reports for the LYLA dataset

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**Description of contents:** For each country of the Lynching in Latin America (LYLA) dataset, this document reports the following information:

- ***Country map*** with distribution of reported lynching events including summary figures.
- ***Lynchings over time*** compared to existing datasets on lynching in each country wherever available (to the best of our knowledge).
- ***Lynchings across the country*** compared to existing datasets on lynching in each country.
- ***Reported lynchings*** registered by the LYLA dataset compared to the source material available on Factiva. A dataset of the encountered sources on Factiva can be encountered [here](#).<sup>1</sup>
- ***Qualitative information*** including examples of emblematic lynching cases.
- ***Recommended studies*** on lynching in each country.
- ***Sources of additional datasets*** used for comparison.

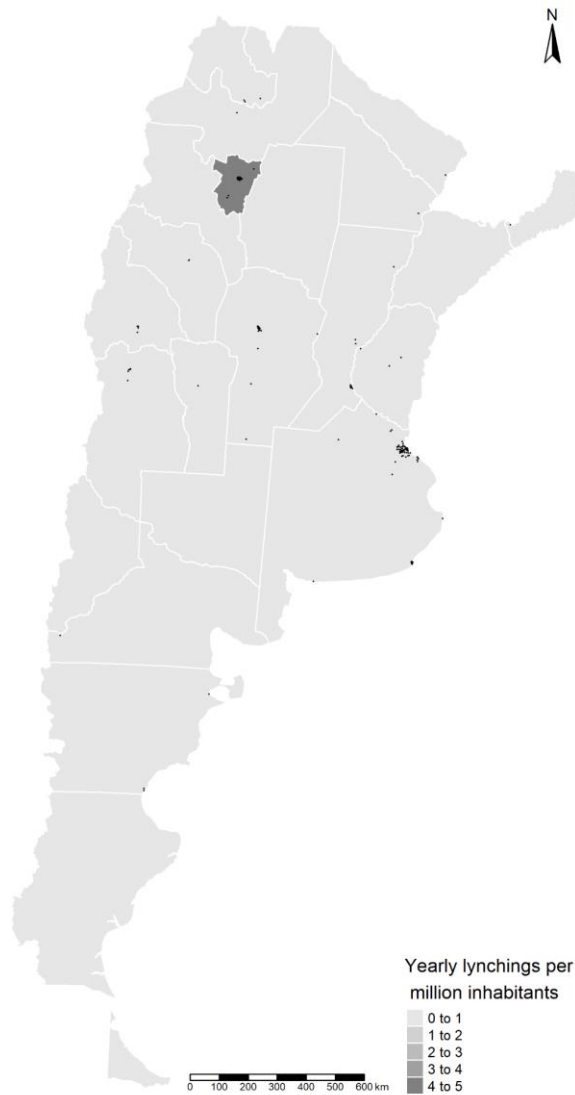
Countries are listed in alphabetical order.

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<sup>1</sup> This document presents the total amount of articles for each country contained in Factiva and the amount of articles that have a chance to contain information about lynching events (results generated with our search string).

### Country report: Argentina

For Argentina, the LYLA dataset records 213 lynchings between 2010 and 2019. As shown on Figure 1, these lynchings are concentrated in the provinces of Tucumán and Buenos Aires in the cities of San Miguel de Tucumán and Buenos Aires.



*Figure 1. Map of lynchings in Argentina*

### Lynchings over time

Figure 2 shows the evolution of reported lynchings in the LYLA dataset (black line) along with lynchings registered in other sources. We observe a generally increasing trend in the LYLA data. Another notable aspect of figure 2 is the spike in lynchings (62 events) recorded by Gamallo in 2014. Quiroz registered less cases, but similar trends to the LYLA dataset between 2015 and 2017.

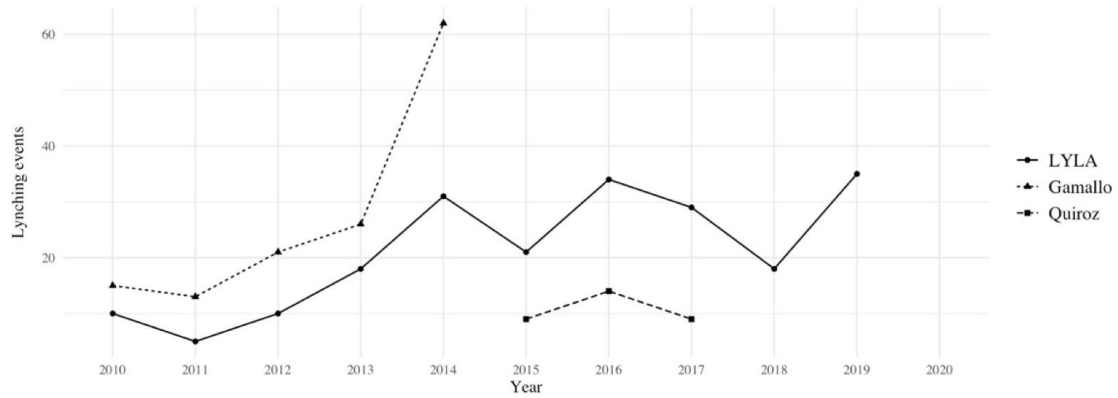


Figure 2. Yearly evolution of lynching in different data sources

### Lynchings across the country

Only a few sources have gathered data on lynchings at the provincial level in Argentina. Alvarito & Schwartzman (2014) identified 159 lynching events in Buenos Aires between 2010 and 2014. In comparison, the LYL A data identifies 76 lynching events for the same period. La Gaceta Tucumán, a local newspaper from the state of Tucumán, identified 15 lynching events during the year 2019. In comparison, the LYL A data records 10 lynching events that same year in the province of Tucumán.

### Reported lynchings and Factiva reports

LYLA data is based on Factiva reports. We show how reported lynchings developed in comparison to the overall news coverage of Factiva in Argentina (Figure 3). Overall, we have an average of 243,373 articles per year in the observation period and a mean of 8.7 lynching events per 100.000 articles. Lynchings (dotted line) fluctuated over the whole study period. Lynchings peaked in the year 2014 after a notable and shocking lynching event (see below for details) and again in 2016 and 2019. The number of newspaper reports in Argentina was relatively stable over time but increased considerably starting in 2017.

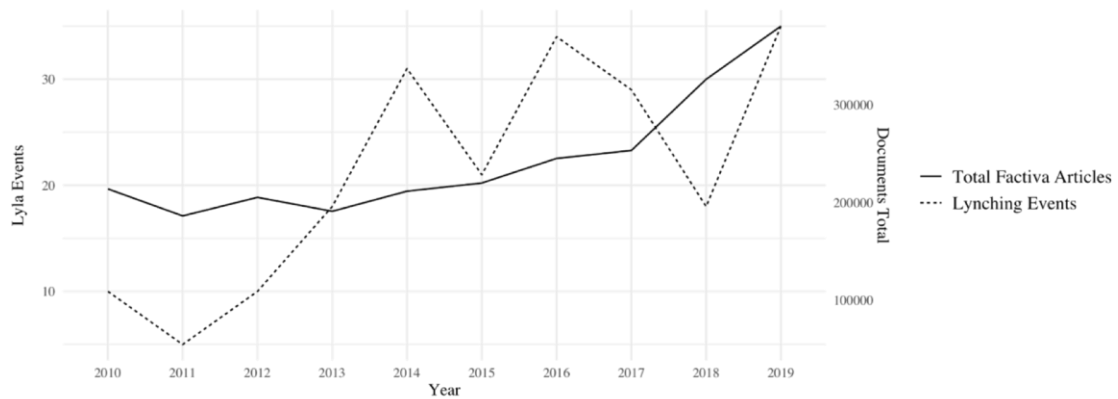


Figure 3. Yearly Articles published on Factiva and number of lynching events

## Qualitative information

Lynchings gained national attention in Argentina following the execution of 18 years-old David Moreira on March 22, 2014. The teenager, who stole a woman's bag with the help of an accomplice, was beaten to death by a mob of around eighty neighbors. The event immediately attracted nation-wide news coverage and started a general debate about the explanatory factors, aims and consequences of such acts. This event is also extensively described by Gamallo (2020, 182–84).

Following this event, some media sources attempted to identify the number of lynchings occurring each year by counting the number of news articles recounting lynching events. For instance, one source established that 15 lynchings occurred in 2019 across the province of Tucumán (Gaceta de Tucumán, 2019).

## Recommended studies

Several studies have been published on lynching in Argentina. For interested readers, we recommend the following selection: Gamallo (2020) and Alvarito and Schwartzman (2014).

Gamallo studies the main characteristics and dimensions of lynchings in Argentina using data collected through the monitoring of national and local news sources. He studies lynchings through the lens of collective violence and its potential relation to social protests. He finds that lynching events typically occur in urban settings, with almost half of the cases occurring in the greater Buenos Aires area and in the Pampas region (2020, p. 68), that lynchings are primarily perpetrated by what the press describes as neighbors and relatives (p. 71) and that perpetrators and victims alike are overwhelmingly men (p. 74).

Alvarito and Schwartzman (2014) seek to describe the characteristics of the phenomenon of lynchings in the province of Buenos Aires by using a sample of cases mentioned in newspaper articles and completed through the study of their prosecution. They find that lynchings are typically perpetrated in the Greater Buenos Aires area (p. 67), that a large majority of the mobs are described as neighbors and relatives (p. 70), and that most lynching victims are adult men (p. 86).

## Sources of additional datasets

Gamallo (2020):

- Data collected using local newspaper articles from Argentina.
- Provides numbers of lynching events on a yearly basis between 2009 and 2014. 2015 is not included as Gamallo's data only reports events perpetrated between January and June.
- Lynching events are defined as “collective actions of punitive violence”, which describe events whereby a group of people intend to repudiate, punish and/or demand a sanction in relation to a previous grievance based on violent actions directed towards those considered responsible (directly or indirectly), their property and/or their relatives (p.2) [loose translation from Spanish to English] (*Éstas constituyen eventos en los que un colectivo de personas pretende repudiar, sancionar y/o demandar una sanción en relación a un agravio previo a partir de acciones de violencia dirigidas hacia los considerados responsables (directos o indirectos), sus bienes y/o sus familiares, p.2*).
- Between 2010 and June 2015, Gamallo reported a total of 152 lynching events, while the LYLA dataset records a total of 97 lynching events. A significant difference lies in the data recorded for the year 2014, where Gamallo reports 62 events and the LYLA dataset reports 33. Such discrepancies may be due in part to Factiva's limited coverage of local newspapers and Gamallo's wider definition of lynching.

Quiroz (2019a):

- Data based on a collection of newspaper articles from Argentina & Chile.

- Provides numbers of lynching events in Argentina and Chile on a yearly basis between 2015 and 2017.
- Lynching events are defined as “a collective and punitive action, which can be anonymous, spontaneous or organized, with different levels of ritualization, and pursues physical violence against individuals who are presumed to have infringed a rule, whether formal or virtual (i.e., instituted by the community), and who are considerably outnumbered.” (p.125) (*“Una acción colectiva, punitiva, que puede ser anónima, espontánea u organizada, con diferentes niveles de ritualización, que persigue la violencia física sobre individuos que presumiblemente han infringido una norma, sea esta formal o virtual (es decir, instituida por la colectividad), y que se encuentran en considerable inferioridad numérica (Fuentes, 2011, p. 125)”*).
- As can be seen in Figure 2, for the period of 2015 to 2017, Quiroz reported 32 lynching events in Argentina, while the LYLA data accounts for 84 cases in the same period.

Alvarito & Schwartzman (2014):

- Data based on a collection of newspaper articles from Argentina.
- Provides numbers of lynching events in the province of Buenos Aires on a yearly basis between 2004 and 2014.
- Lynching events are defined as “popular executions” [ajusticiamientos populares], which describe “acts of popular collective violence and the use of private revenge without waiting for the intervention of the authorities, i.e. a violence that is intended and justified as self-sufficient, of a punitive or instrumental (criminal) nature by indeterminate collective groups (neighbors and family members) in reaction to aberrant crimes and even with respect to not so serious acts (e.g. thefts and petty thefts)”. [(...) *estos hechos de violencia colectiva popular, (...) el uso de la venganza privada sin esperar la intervención de las autoridades, es decir una violencia que se pretende y justifica como autosuficiente, de carácter punitivo o instrumental (criminal) de grupos colectivos indeterminados (vecinos y familiares) en reacción a delitos aberrantes y aún respecto de hechos no tan graves (ej. hurtos y robos menores), o aún peor, hechos que ni siquiera son delitos, que abiertamente desconoce la potestad o monopolio del Estado sobre la fuerza pública. p.21/22*]
- For the period of 2010 to 2014, Alvarito & Schwartzman reported 159 lynching events in the province of Buenos Aires, while the LYLA data accounts for 41 cases in the same period. Discrepancies may be due to the wide definition of lynching that Alvarito & Schwartzman used.

La Gaceta Tucumán (2019):<sup>2</sup>

- Data based on a review of lynching cases reported in La Gaceta Tucumán articles.
- Provides number of lynching events in the province of Tucumán during the year 2019.
- Includes no specific definition of lynchings.
- According to the data gathered by La Gaceta Tucumán, 15 lynchings occurred in the province of Tucumán during the year 2019 while LYLA recorded 10 lynchings for the same year and region.

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<sup>2</sup> See video reported here: <https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=2297166683653696>

## Country report: Bolivia

For Bolivia, the LYLA dataset records 122 lynchings between 2010 and 2019. As shown in Figure 1, these lynchings are concentrated in the department of La Paz and Cochabamba, around the cities carrying the same names respectively.

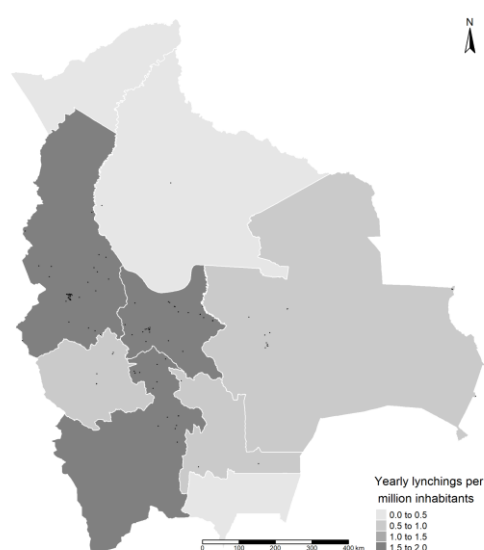


Figure 1. Map of lynchings in Bolivia

### Lynchings over time

Figure 2 shows the development of reported lynchings in the LYLA dataset (black line) along with lynchings registered in other sources. We observe a generally decreasing trend in the LYLA data. After spikes in 2013 and 2014 (29 and 37 respectively), the number of lynchings remained under 20 events per year. Luna Acevedo (2011) reported 30 and 16 lynching events for 2010 and 2011 respectively. The *Ministerio de Justicia* recorded 79 lynchings in 2013 compared to 18 for the Defensoría del Pueblo for the same year. An article from *Correo del Sur*, using Defensoría del Pueblo data, also shows decreasing numbers for 2014-2015. The UNHCR report undertook an analysis for 2014 based on the activities of its office in Bolivia and registered 20 lynchings from January to November.

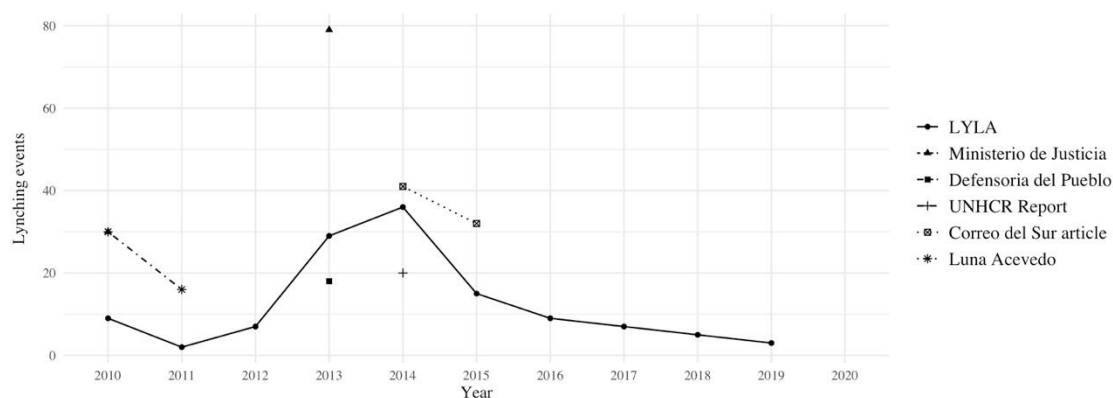


Figure 2. Yearly evolution of lynching in different data sources

### Lynchings across the country

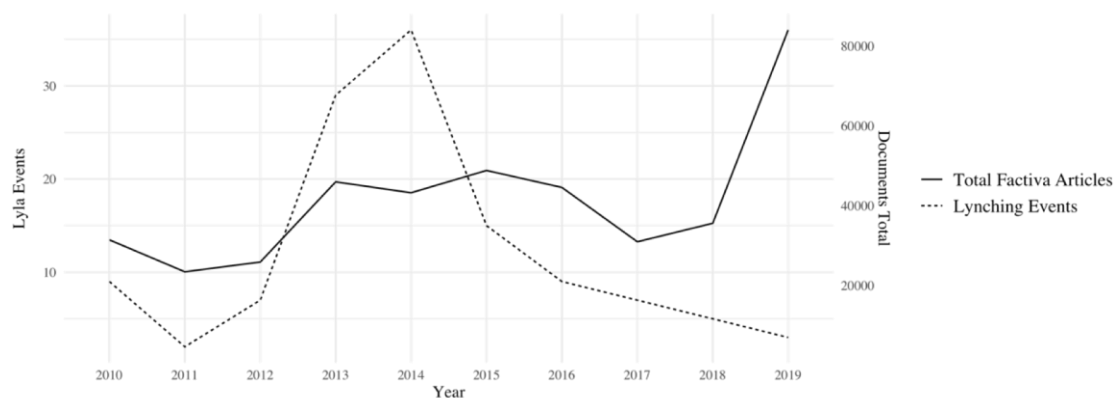
Some sources include data on lynchings at the departmental level in Bolivia. Luna Acevedo (2011) identified 24 lynching events in La Paz between 2010-2011. In comparison, the LYLA data identifies 3 lynching events for the same period. The Inter Press Service (IPS) focused on the provinces of Cochabamba and La Paz in 2013 registering 11 and 15 lynching events respectively. In comparison, the LYLA data records 9 and 10 lynching events for each province for the same year. Correo del Sur focused in 2015 on four provinces, namely Cochabamba (5 lynchings), La Paz (9 lynchings), Potosí (2 lynchings) and Santa Cruz (14 lynchings).

*Table 1: state level distribution of lynching events next to other data sources*

	<i>LYLA data, 2010-2011</i>	<i>Luna Acevedo (2011), 2010-2011</i>	<i>LYLA data, 2013</i>	<i>Inter Press Service, 2013</i>	<i>LYLA data, 2015</i>	<i>Correo del Sur, 2015</i>
<i>La Paz</i>	3	24	10	15	9	9
<i>Cochabamba</i>	5	17	9	11	4	5
<i>Potosí</i>	3	5	4	-	1	2
<i>Santa Cruz</i>	1	8	4	-	-	14

### Reported lynchings and Factiva reports

LYLA data is based on Factiva reports. We show how reported lynchings developed in comparison to the overall news coverage of Factiva in Bolivia (Figure 3). Overall, we have an average of 41,405 articles per year in the observation period and a mean of 31.1 lynching events per 100.000 articles.



*Figure 3. Yearly Articles published on Factiva and number of lynching events*

## Qualitative information

One particular lynching event was the subject of an investigative report by journalist Roberto Navia, whose work inspired Spanish director Mabel Lozano to produce the critically acclaimed documentary titled 'Tribus de la Inquisición'. The event took place on June 1<sup>st</sup>, 2013, in Ivirgarzama, a small town located in the province of Carrasco in Cochabamba, where a mob lynched six individuals who had allegedly stolen a truck. Roberto Ángel Antezana, the man accused of leading the theft, was beaten for 17 hours, and eventually burned alive. He was later hospitalized with burns over 90% of his body and died in the hospital the next day. The other victims, Álvaro, Nelson, Melquiadesa and Gunnar Antezana Ángel as well as Rubén Aguilar Cuéllar, who were all relatives of Roberto, were also beaten, burned alive and sustained grave injuries. The documentary relating this event attracted international attention to the subject of lynchings in Bolivia and their relation to community justice.<sup>3</sup>

## Recommended studies

Several studies have been published on lynching in Bolivia. For interested readers, we recommend the following selection: Luna Acevedo (2016), Goldstein (2003), Risør (2010) and Yates (2017).

Luna Acevedo (2016) used data emanating from a study on acts of lynchings in Bolivia from 2005 to 2011 conducted by the Vice-Ministry of Native Indigenous Justice Campesina, the Ministry of Justice and the German Development Cooperation GTZ to investigate lynchings and their specific characteristics in Bolivia. He argued that lynchings are motivated by the collective indignation of a community and express the de-legitimization of state institutions, particularly the judiciary and the police. He highlighted that lynchings in Bolivia mainly occurred in the urban areas of the cities of El Alto, Cochabamba and Santa Cruz but also took place in some rural areas around the country.

Goldstein (2003) qualitatively studied lynchings in Bolivia in the perspective of vigilante violence and the ways in which it interacts with state authority and competence as well as analyses discursive patterns surrounding lynchings in contemporary Bolivian society. Focusing on a single lynching event which occurred in the barrio of Villa Sebastián Pagador, Goldstein (2003) highlighted the population's critical lack of trust in the state and finds that, in these communities, lynchings were perpetrated as a clear demonstration of the population's frustration amid a democratic transition.

Risør (2010) provided an ethnography of lynchings in the city of El Alto by linking everyday insecurity and violence to the notion of *vecindad* (neighborliness), as an indicator of citizenship. She showed that rampant insecurity allows lynchings to become a proclamation of sovereign citizenship, subsequently undermining state sovereignty.

Going beyond the characterization of lynchings in Bolivia as a primarily urban phenomenon, Yates (2017) studied lynching events in the context of rural indigenous communities. Using a specific rural case of lynching as a starting point, she found that the lack of knowledge regarding lynchings in poor indigenous Bolivian communities was partly due to the "(...) remote, exclusive, autonomous nature of these communities" (ibid.:15).

## Sources of additional datasets

Luna Acevedo (2011):

- Provides number of lynchings, number of persons lynched and number of deaths in the departments of Chiquisaca, Cochabamba, La Paz, Potosí, Santa Cruz and Tarija.

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<sup>3</sup> See: [https://eldeber.com.bo/opinion/una-tribu-contra-los-linchamientos\\_123150](https://eldeber.com.bo/opinion/una-tribu-contra-los-linchamientos_123150) And: <https://www.elcomercio.com/tendencias/entretenimiento/linchamientos-bolivia-documental-premios-goya.html>



- Lynching is defined as “an event to which a group of people participate in an attempt to take the law into their own hands against a criminal or alleged criminal, bypassing any ordinary procedure, which results in the death of the victim or in the victim's survival in the face of cruel suffering.” [Loose translation]. “Entendemos por casos de linchamiento a un hecho donde participan un conjunto de personas que pretenden establecer justicia con sus propias manos a un delincuente o supuesto delincuente, soslayando cualquier procedimiento ordinario, lo cual deriva en el fallecimiento de la víctima o logra sobrevivir ante el cruel sufrimiento. (p.3).
- As can be seen in Figure 2, Luna Acevedo reported 46 lynching events in the provinces mentioned between 2010 and 2011 while the LYLA data reports 13 cases in the same period.

#### Ministry of Justice:<sup>4</sup>

- Data collection based on a collection of newspapers articles from Bolivia.
- Provides number of lynching events on a yearly basis at a national level in 2010 and 2013.
- As can be seen in Figure 2 above, the Ministry of Justice recorded 30 and 79 lynching events for 2010 and 2013 respectively, while the LYLA dataset records a total of 10 and 30 respectively.

#### Defensoría del Pueblo (Ombudsman's Office), 2013:<sup>5</sup>

- Data collection based on newspaper articles from Bolivia compiled by the Observatory for Civil Security and reported by the Ombudsman's Office.
- Provides number of lynching events as well as the number of persons lynched at a national level between April and August 2013.s
- Lynchings are defined as “the violent action of a group of people against one or more individuals who have presumably committed a crime or violated a social norm” (p.28). « *El delito del linchamiento al que se puede definir como la acción violenta de un grupo de personas con uno o más individuos que presumiblemente han cometido un delito o violado una norma social* ». (p.28)
- As can be seen in Figure 2 above, the Ombudsman's Office recorded 18 lynching events between April and August 2013, while the LYLA dataset records a total of 13.

#### Correo del Sur, 2015:<sup>6</sup>

- Newspaper article.
- Data collection conducted by Defensoría del Pueblo based on newspaper articles and reported in a Correo Del Sur article.
- Provides number of lynching events, number of persons lynched as well as number of deaths at a national and state level in 2014 and 2015.
- Lynchings are defined as “executions used as a justification to sanction those who committed robberies, attempted robberies and rapes”. *Los ajusticiamientos se produjeron como justificativo para sancionar a aquellas personas que incurrían en robos, intentos de robo y violaciones principalmente.*
- As can be seen in Figure 2 above, the Correo del Sur records 41 lynching events which resulted in 13 deaths in 2014 and 33 lynching events involving a total of 55 people and

<sup>4</sup> Referred to here: <https://www.vanderbilt.edu/lapop/news/040116.Bolivia-LosTiempos.pdf>

<sup>5</sup> See <https://www.defensoria.gob.bo/uploads/files/informe-sobre-el-ejercicio-de-los-derechos-humanos-en-el-estado-plurinacional-de-bolivia-2013.pdf>

<sup>6</sup> See [https://correodelsur.com/seguridad/20151213\\_santa-cruz-lidera-los-casos-de-linchamiento-durante-2015-en-el-pais.html](https://correodelsur.com/seguridad/20151213_santa-cruz-lidera-los-casos-de-linchamiento-durante-2015-en-el-pais.html)

resulting in 5 deaths in 2015. In comparison, the LYLA dataset records a total of 37 lynching events in 2014 and 15 lynchings in 2015.

UNHCR report, 2014:<sup>7</sup>

- Report by the UNHCR on the situation regarding lynchings in Bolivia.
- Data collection based on newspaper articles as well as police reports.
- Provides number of lynching events at a national level between January and November 2014.
- The report does not provide a definition of lynchings.
- As can be seen in Figure 2 above, the UNHCR's Bolivian mission recorded 20 lynching events between January and November 2014, while the LYLA dataset records a total of 37.

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<sup>7</sup> See [http://www.nu.org.bo/wp-content/uploads/2015/04/Informe\\_2014.pdf](http://www.nu.org.bo/wp-content/uploads/2015/04/Informe_2014.pdf)

## Country report: Brazil

For Brazil, the LYLA dataset records 408 lynchings between 2010 and 2019. As shown on Figure 1, these lynchings are spread over several federative units, mainly on the Southern Atlantic coast (Federal District, São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Minas Gerais).

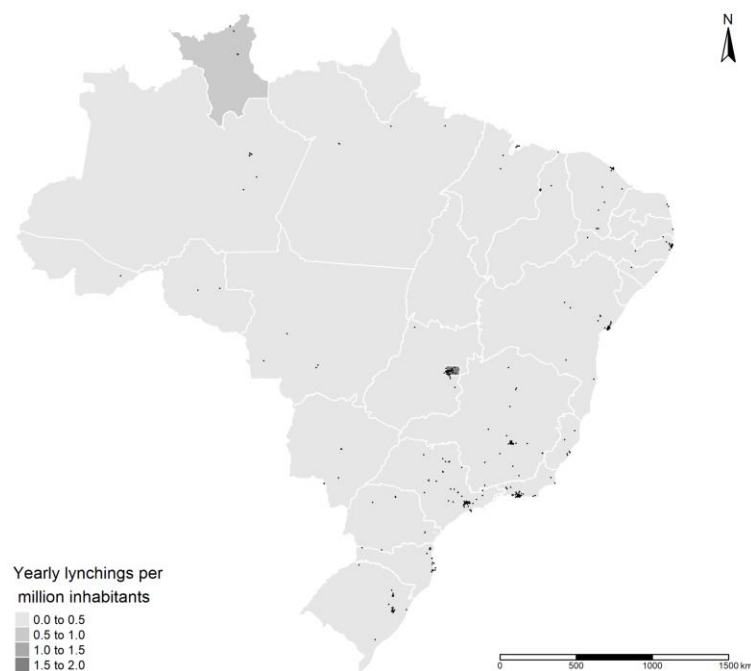


Figure 1. Map of lynchings in Brazil

### Lynchings over time

Figure 2 shows the development of reported lynchings in the LYLA dataset (black line) along with lynchings registered in other sources. We observe a generally increasing trend in the LYLA data. 2014, 2015 and 2019 show elevated levels of lynchings (49, 51, and 98 respectively). O Globo registered 50 events between January and June 2014. The Guardian recorded 173 deaths in relation to lynchings in 2016, based on an analysis of local newspapers (not included in this graph as definitions and sources remain unclear).

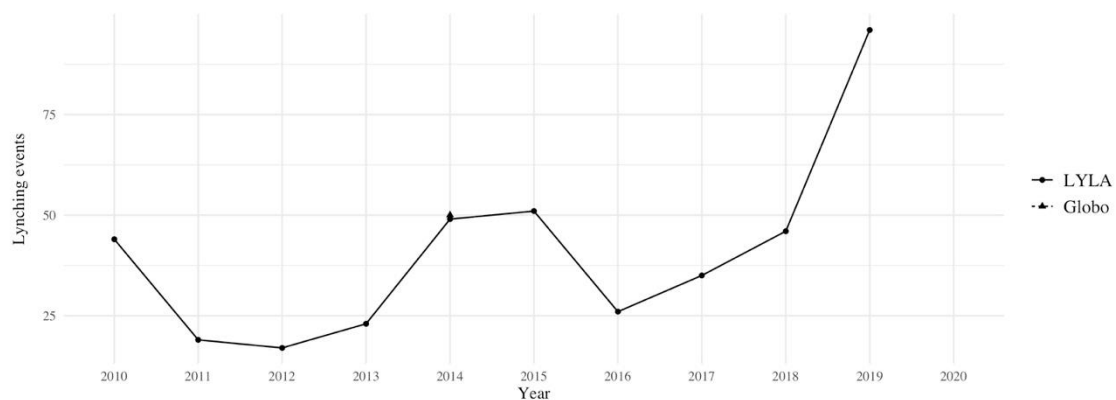


Figure 2. Yearly evolution of lynching in different data sources

### Lynchings across the country

Only a few sources have gathered data on lynchings at the federal unit level in Brazil. Between June 2019 to May 2020, the Security Observatory [*Observatorio de Segurança*] identified 15 events in Bahia, 16 in Ceara, 26 in Pernambuco, 9 in Rio de Janeiro, and 8 in Roraima. A comparison with the LYLA data for this period would not be accurate as the dataset only covers lynching events up until the end of 2019. The Maranhense Society for Human Rights [*Sociedade Maranhense de Direitos Humanos*] (SMDH) focused on the province of Maranhão in 2015 and 2016 and recorded 28 and 38 lynching events respectively. In comparison, the LYLA data records 4 lynching events for the same province in 2015 and 0 in 2016.

### Reported lynchings and Factiva reports

LYLA data is based on Factiva reports. We show how reported lynchings developed in comparison to the overall news coverage of Factiva in Brazil (Figure 3). Overall, we have an average of 928,880 articles per year in the observation period and a mean of 4.3 lynching events per 100,000 articles.

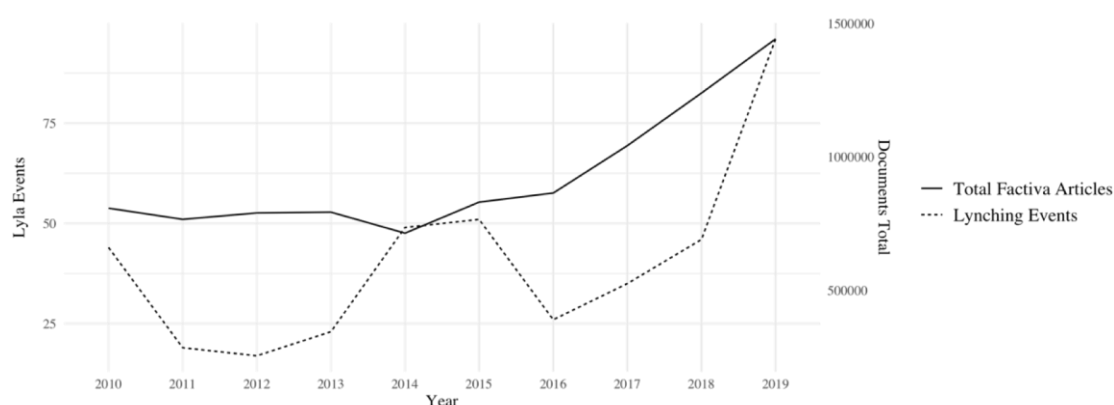


Figure 3. Yearly Articles published on Factiva and number of lynching events

### Qualitative information

A shocking lynching event occurred on the 31<sup>st</sup> of December 2015 during celebrations in the city of Fortaleza in the neighborhood of Dias Macedo. Clayton Souza, a twenty-one-year-old man, was lynched by a mob after an eight-year-old girl revealed to her family that he had sexually assaulted her. The allegation quickly circulated and soon the young man was violently attacked by a mob. He was beaten up with sticks, kicked in the head and even ran over by a car while the footage of the assault was being shared across social media. He died on January 1<sup>st</sup> because of his injuries.<sup>8</sup>

### Recommended studies

Some studies have been published on lynching in Brazil. For interested readers, we recommend the following selection:

Martins (2015) studies the phenomenon of lynchings in Brazil over 60 years using statistical data based on newspaper articles and three case studies. He argues that lynchings are a product of social disintegration and highlights the primacy of the rights of the community

<sup>8</sup> See Fortaleza, Cleuci de Oliveira. "Brazil Grapples with Lynch Mob Epidemic: 'a Good Criminal Is a Dead Criminal.'" *The Guardian*, 6 Dec. 2016, [www.theguardian.com/world/2016/dec/06/brazil-lynch-mobs-vigilante-justice-fortaleza](http://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/dec/06/brazil-lynch-mobs-vigilante-justice-fortaleza)

rather than the individual in its most oppressive and punitive dimension. His empirical findings reveal that over a million Brazilians directly or indirectly participated in a lynching. While 2500 people were victims of lynching (including lynching attempts), 1150 were saved and 1221 were physically attacked. 64% of those physically attacked were killed, 36% were wounded. He also emphasizes that, in Brazil, lynchings are more likely to occur in neighborhoods where such events have already happened.

Rodrigues (2017) examines lynchings by focusing on a single case through the lens of a rational or instrumental approach based on a deductive method as well as a bibliographical procedure. Further emphasizing the seriousness of human rights violations emerging because of such a phenomenon, he finds that lynchings are a community-sanctioned expression of popular justice.

Benevides & Fischer (1991) examine the phenomenon of lynchings in Brazil in order to understand its roots as well as the social contexts facilitating it. They establish the immediate historical causes of lynchings and the kinds of popular participation they entail. Using data collected by reviewing newspaper articles reporting cases of lynchings published between 1979 and 1982, they find that a majority of the reported lynchings occurred in the urban areas of São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, that lynchings often took place after alleged sexual abuse of women and children and that lynchings were facilitated by a climate of collective fear and insecurity as well as negative images of police forces and the justice system.

### **Sources of additional datasets**

O Globo (2014):<sup>9</sup>

- Article relating data collected using a compilation of news articles.
- Provides number of lynching events at a national level between January and June 2014.
- The report does not provide a definition of lynchings.
- As can be seen in Figure 2, between 2010 and 2011, Acevedo reported 46 lynching events in the provinces mentioned, while the LYLA data accounts for 13 cases in the same period.

The Guardian (2016):<sup>10</sup>

- Article relating data collected by reviewing local news coverage.
- Provides number of deaths because of lynchings at a national level between January and December 2016.
- The article does not provide a clear definition of lynchings.
- In 2016, the Guardian reported 173 deaths because of lynching events in Brazil.

The Security Observatory (2020):<sup>11</sup>

- Report based on data gathered by close monitoring of newspapers, websites, social media, and WhatsApp groups.
- The report does not provide a definition of lynchings.
- Provides number of lynching events in the federative units of Pernambuco, Ceará, Bahia, Rio de Janeiro, and São Paulo from June 2019 to May 2020.
- Between June 2019 to May 2020, the Security Observatory identified a total of 74 lynchings in the federal units in question.

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<sup>9</sup> See D'Agostino, Rosanne. "Especial: Dias De Intolerância". *GI.Globo.Com*, 2014, <http://g1.globo.com/politica/dias-de-intolerancia/platb/>.

<sup>10</sup> See The Guardian. "Brazil Grapples With Lynch Mob Epidemic: 'A Good Criminal Is A Dead Criminal'". *The Guardian*, 2016, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/dec/06/brazil-lynch-mobs-vigilante-justice-fortaleza>.

<sup>11</sup> See Observatório de Segurança. *Rede Divulga Dados Inéditos Reunidos Em Um Ano De Monitoramento*. 2020, <http://observatorioseguranca.com.br/rede-divulga-dados-ineditos-reunidos-em-um-ano-de-monitoramento/>.

The Maranhense Society for Human Rights (2017):<sup>12</sup>

- Report based on a review of newspaper articles on lynchings in 2016.
- Provides number of lynching events and the number of deaths in the federative unit of Maranhão in 2016.
- The report does not provide a definition of lynchings.
- Between 2015 and 2016, the Maranhense Society for Human Rights recorded 66 lynching events in Maranhão, while the LYL data accounts for 4 lynching events.

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<sup>12</sup> See Sociedade Maranhense de Direitos Humanos – Sociedade Maranhense de Direitos Humanos. "Nota De Repúdio Face Às Declarações Do Secretário De Segurança Pública Do Estado Do Maranhão.". *Smdh.Org.Br*, 2021, <https://smdh.org.br>.

## Country report: Chile

For Chile, the LYLA dataset records 50 lynching events between 2010 and 2019. As shown on Figure 1, these lynchings are concentrated in the Metropolitan Region of Santiago, around the capital Santiago de Chile.



*Figure 1. Map of lynchings in Chile*

### Lynchings over time

Figure 2 shows the development of reported lynchings in the LYLA dataset (black line) along with lynchings registered in other sources. The LYLA data shows an increase in reported cases of lynchings with 12 events in 2019. Quiroz (2015) conducted research by collecting newspaper articles on lynchings in Chile in 2012 and reported 17 cases. In comparison, the LYLA data recorded 8 lynching cases during that same year. Quiroz (2019b) focused on lynching in Chile in the period between June 2014 and March 2018, with a peak of 23 cases in 2015. For the years 2014 and 2018, only six months and three months were covered respectively, reporting 7 cases and one case, which are thus not included in the graph.

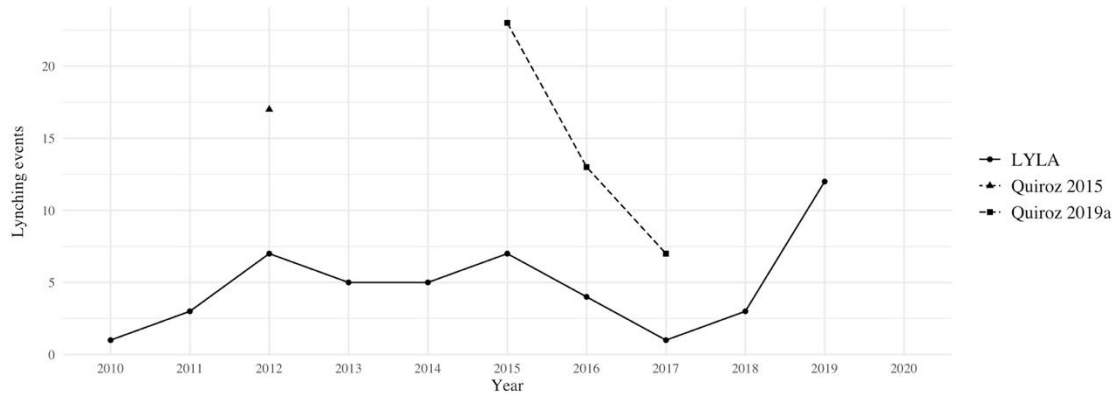


Figure 2. Yearly evolution of lynching in different data sources

### Lynchings across the country

At the regional level, Quiroz represents the main source of data on lynchings in Chile. For 2012, the Metropolitan and Antofagasta regions saw 5 and 4 lynching events respectively (Quiroz 2015). In comparison, the LYLA data identified 6 lynching events in the Metropolitan region and 1 in Antofagasta in the same year. Quiroz (2019a) wrote a PhD thesis on lynching in Buenos Aires in Argentina and in Santiago de Chile. For Santiago de Chile, she reported 2 lynchings in 2014, 3 lynchings in 2015, 2 lynchings in 2016, and 5 lynchings in 2017. For this period, the LYLA dataset identifies four lynchings in 2015 and none in the other years

### Reported lynchings and Factiva reports

LYLA data is based on Factiva reports. We show how reported lynchings developed in comparison to overall news coverage of Factiva in Chile (Figure 3). Overall, we have an average of 173,384 articles per year in the observation period and a mean of 3.18 lynching events per 100.000 articles.

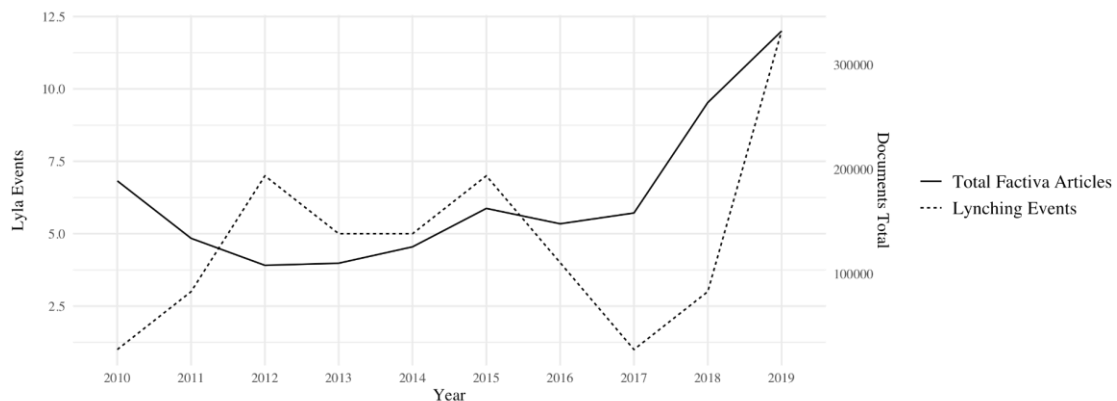


Figure 3. Yearly Articles published on Factiva and number of lynching events

### Qualitative information

In June 2018, five men assaulted Margarita Ancacoy as she was walking to her workplace as a cleaning lady at the Engineering Faculty of the University of Chile. They hit her with fists and



a piece of wood repeatedly on her skull causing her death. 5 thousand pesos and a cell phone were the proceeds of the robbery. A camera near the scene captured the moment when the five assailants fled the crime scene. Police investigations led to the arrest of 4 suspects, all of them of Ecuadorian nationality. They were prosecuted for the crime of robbery with homicide and faced preventive imprisonment. After the start of pretrial detention, a group of inmates decided to take justice into their own hands and subjected two of the detainees to various forms of torture. Beatings, application of electricity to their bodies and the demand that they apologize to Chile for the acts they had committed was part of the record that one of the inmates captured with his phone and that later went viral on social networks.<sup>13</sup>

In January 2019, Luis Alberto Araki Pao, 34 years old, was killed after being injured with a knife. Carabineros arrested the accused and handed him over to the PDI Homicide Squad. The next day, the accused was taken to be sentenced. Once the hearing was over, the accused was remanded in custody and ordered to be transferred to Valparaíso. After a mob tried to lynch the man, they set fire to the local courthouse, by throwing a Molotov cocktail inside. The accused suffered multiple injuries. Mayor Pedro Edmunds Paoa, who was the victim's uncle, recognized that what happened was the uprising of a whole family to do justice against the stabbing of the victim.<sup>14</sup>

### **Recommended studies**

A few studies have been published on lynching in Chile. For interested readers, we recommend the following selection: Quiroz (2015) & Quiroz (2019).

In a first article, Quiroz (2015) examined the phenomenon of lynching in Chile from a social science perspective and investigated its legal implications. Using newspaper articles, Quiroz found a paradoxical relationship between lynchings, and the law since acts of lynching, though inherently in contradiction with modern law, often coincided with the objectives of authorities mandated to enforce it. In other words, although lynchings sometimes obstructed the actions of competent authorities, the latter's intervention was often aimed at subduing the subject on whom the lynchers intend to exercise violence. In this context, lynchings represented localized and temporary states of exception of modern law.

In more recent work, Quiroz (2019a) studied the phenomenon of lynching through its relationship with the law in both Chile and Argentina with the hypothesis that lynchings expressed a particular configuration regarding the legitimacy of the law. To conduct this research, Quiroz interviewed judges, prosecutors and lawyers, reviewed newspaper archives and focused on two particular legal processes, which she also examined through archival reviews and interviews. These sources were then analyzed using the content analysis technique with a focus on the habitus of agents mandated to enforce the law. The results indicated that lynchings are the expression of a tension between symbolic power and ineffectiveness.

### **Sources of additional datasets**

Quiroz (2015):

- Academic article reporting lynchings in Chile in 2012.
- Data collection based on the review of newspaper articles.
- Lynching is described as "a collective, punitive action, which may be anonymous, spontaneous or organized, with different levels of ritualization, that pursues physical violence against individuals who have presumably infringed a rule, whether formal or virtual (i.e., instituted by the community), and who are in considerable numerical inferiority"(Fuentes, 2011, p. 125). [Los linchamientos, entendidos estos como "una acción

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<sup>13</sup> See <https://www.lanacion.com.ar/el-mundo/filtran-un-video-en-el-que-torturan-a-dos-detenidos-en-una-carcel-de-chile-nid2146237/>

<sup>14</sup> See <https://chiletoday.cl/murder-and-arson-on-easter-island-lynch-mob-goes-after-assassin/>

colectiva, punitiva, que puede ser anónima, espontánea u organizada, con diferentes niveles de ritualización, que persigue la violencia física sobre individuos que presumiblemente han infringido una norma, sea esta formal o virtual (es decir, instituida por la colectividad), y que se encuentran en considerable inferioridad numérica].

- Provides the number of lynching events in 2012 in Chile, containing information on subnational level; namely for Antofagasta, Araucania, Atacama, Biobio, Metropolitana & Valaparaíso.
- In 2012, Quiroz identified a total of 17 lynchings in Chile, while the LYLA data accounts for 8 lynchings.

Quiroz (2019b):

- Academic article reporting lynchings in Chile between June 2014 and March 2018.
- Data collection based on the review of archives newspaper articles.
- Lynching is described as “a collective, punitive action, which can be anonymous, spontaneous or organized, with different levels of ritualization, that pursues physical violence on individuals who presumably have infringed a rule, whether formal or virtual (i.e., instituted by the community), and who are in considerable numerical inferiority (Fuentes, 2011, p. 125)”. [Este autor sostiene que los linchamientos constituyen una acción colectiva, punitiva, que puede ser anónima, espontánea u organizada, con diferentes niveles de ritualización, que persigue la violencia física sobre individuos que presumiblemente han infringido una norma, sea esta formal o virtual (es decir, instituida por la colectividad), y que se encuentran en considerable inferioridad numérica].
- Provides the number of lynching events in Chile between June 2010 and March 2018.
- Between June 2010 and March 2018, Quiroz identified a total of 51 lynchings in Chile, while the LYLA data accounts for 36 lynching events for the same period.

Quiroz (2019a):

- PhD thesis on lynchings in Santiago de Chile as well as Buenos Aires in Argentina.
- Data collection through interviews with judges, prosecutors as well as lawyers and the review of newspaper archives.
- Lynching is described as “a collective, punitive action, which can be anonymous, spontaneous or organized, with different levels of ritualization, that pursues physical violence on individuals who presumably have infringed a rule, whether formal or virtual (i.e., instituted by the community), and who are in considerable numerical inferiority (Fuentes, 2011, p. 125). It is important to point out that the violence deployed in these actions is exercised by agents who do not belong to State institutions. (p.7)”. [Este autor sostiene que los linchamientos constituyen una acción colectiva, punitiva, que puede ser anónima, espontánea u organizada, con diferentes niveles de ritualización, que persigue la violencia física sobre individuos que presumiblemente han infringido una norma, sea esta formal o virtual (es decir, instituida por la colectividad), y que se encuentran en considerable inferioridad numérica. Es importante precisar que la violencia desplegada en estas acciones es ejercida por agentes que no pertenecen a las instituciones del Estado].
- Provides the number of lynching events in the greater Santiago area between 2014 and 2017.
- Between 2014 and 2017, Quiroz identified a total of 12 lynchings in Santiago de Chile while the LYLA data also records 12 lynching events for the same period.

## Country report: Colombia

For Colombia, the LYLA dataset records 184 lynchings between 2010 and 2019. As shown on Figure 1, these lynchings are most concentrated in the central capital district, Bogotá, and parts of the Atlantic coast.



Figure 1. Map of lynchings in Colombia

### Lynchings over time

Figure 2 shows the development of reported lynchings in the LYLA dataset (black line) along with lynchings registered in other sources. We observe a strong increase in the LYLA data in 2019 with 45 events. EILUSOS covered the years 2010-2011 and 2014-2018 and registered less cases than the LYLA dataset.

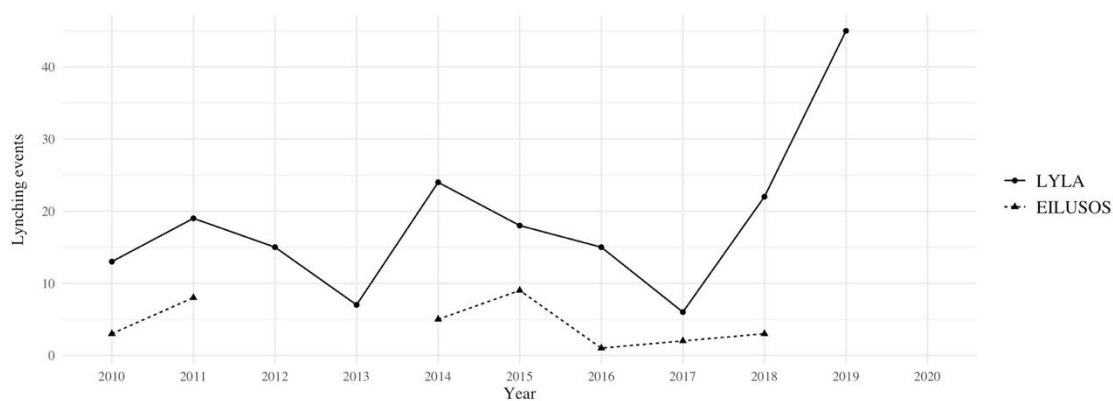


Figure 2. Yearly evolution of lynching in different data sources

### Lynchings across the country

One comparable source gathered data on lynchings at the departmental level in Colombia. Ariza and EILUSOS (2014) published an academic article counting the number of lynchings in the district of Bogotá based on a register of citizen's arrests obtained from the police (see below) and identified 102 lynching events in 2014. In comparison, the LYLA data identified 6 lynching events in Bogotá in the same year. The large discrepancy is explained in the different sources.

### Reported lynchings and Factiva reports

LYLA data is based on Factiva reports. We show the evolution of reported lynchings in comparison to the overall news coverage of Factiva in Colombia (Figure 3). Overall, we have an average of 142,088 articles per year in the observation period and a mean of 12.1 lynching events per 100.000 articles.

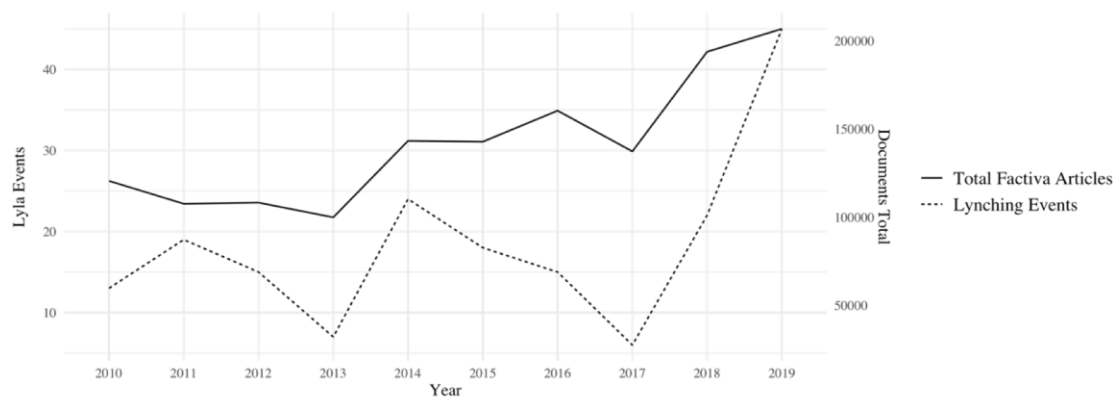


Figure 3. Yearly Articles published on Factiva and number of lynching events

### Qualitative information

On October 26, 2018, three men were attacked by a mob in Bogotá. During the week prior to the lynching event, rumors had been circulating on social networks in several Colombian cities concerning the alleged kidnapping of six minors in Ciudad Bolívar. Policemen trying to rescue the victims were injured and one of the victims, a 24-year-old man, died because of his injuries. The event quickly prompted journalistic reporting about rapidly circulating rumors and their impact regarding community violence. State officials urged calm and asked citizens to refrain from sharing these rumors.<sup>15</sup>

### Recommended studies

For readers interested in lynchings in Colombia, we recommend a study conducted by Ariza (2019). He investigated lynchings in Bogotá through practices of urban wars and territorial control by armed groups. Using the National Police's record of citizen's arrests provided by the Crime Observatory of the Office of the Mayor of Bogotá, the article showed that lynchings occur most often in commercial areas, were almost exclusively perpetrated by men against

<sup>15</sup> See RPP. "Un hombre muere linchado en Colombia por una noticia falsa en WhatsApp." *RPP*, 31 Oct. 2018, <https://www.rpp.pe/mundo/colombia/un-hombre-muere-linchado-en-colombia-por-una-noticia-falsa-en-whatsapp-noticia-1160067?ref=rpp>. And: Miranda, Boris. "La ola de cadenas falsas de WhatsApp sobre secuestros de niños que provocaron el linchamiento de una persona en Bogotá." *BBC News Mundo*, 31 Oct. 2018, [www.bbc.com/mundo/noticias-america-latina-46051654](http://www.bbc.com/mundo/noticias-america-latina-46051654).

other men and were most often retributions for theft. Moreover, his findings partially support the hypothesis that lynchings studied after the paramilitary demobilization process contributed to the establishment of forms of legitimate urban violence and to their consolidation as practices of social hatred.

### **Sources of additional datasets**

EILUSOS:<sup>16</sup>

- The University of Colombia provides an online timeline of lynchings in Colombia based on the Violence Observatory.
- Lynching is described as “a phenomenon of violence present in Colombian society. A practice of collective violence historically established in Colombian society, however, silent and/or unnoticed, in part, due to the multiple actions and practices of violence carried out during the internal armed conflict”. [El linchamiento es un fenómeno de violencia presente en la sociedad colombiana. Una práctica de violencia colectiva instaurada en la sociedad colombiana históricamente, sin embargo, silenciosa y/o desapercibida, en parte, debido a las múltiples acciones y prácticas de violencia realizadas durante el conflicto armado interno].
- Provides the number of lynching events in Colombia between 2010 and 2019.
- Between 2010 and 2019, the Violence Observatory identified a total of 31 lynchings in Colombia, while the LYLA data accounts for 186 lynching events for the same period.

Ariza (2019):

- Academic article counting the number of lynchings in the district of Bogotá based on a register of citizen's arrests
- Lynchings are described as “a social practice that has a particular dynamic in which social control or judgment is exercised over certain actions that are considered criminal, from a collective and autonomous exercise of the use of physical violence that is illegal but legitimate for an important group of people. (p.84). [El fenómeno del linchamiento lo entendemos como práctica social que reviste una dinámica particular en la que se ejerce control social o juzgamiento de determinadas acciones que son consideradas delictivas, desde un ejercicio colectivo y autónomo del uso de la violencia física que es i-legal pero legítima para un importante grupo de personas].
- Provides number of lynching events in the capital district of Bogotá in 2014.
- In 2014, Santamaría & EILUSOS identified a total of 102 lynchings in the department of Bogotá, while the LYLA data accounts for 6 lynchings.

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<sup>16</sup> See <https://www.humanas.unal.edu.co/eilusos/investigacion/linchamiento-en-colombia>

## Country report: Dominican Republic

For the Dominican Republic, we have not found additional data sources or independent studies.

For the Dominican Republic, the LYLA dataset records 26 lynching events between 2010 and 2019.

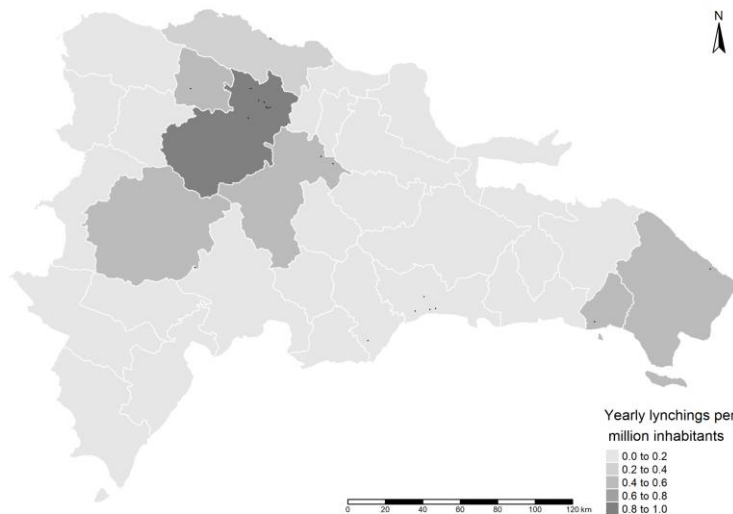


Figure 6. Map of lynchings in Dominican Republic

## Reported lynchings and Factiva reports

LYLA data is based on Factiva reports. We show how reported lynchings developed in comparison to the overall news coverage of Factiva in the Dominican Republic (Figure 4). Overall, we have an average of 10,199 articles per year in the observation period and a mean of 2.4 lynching events per 1,000 articles.

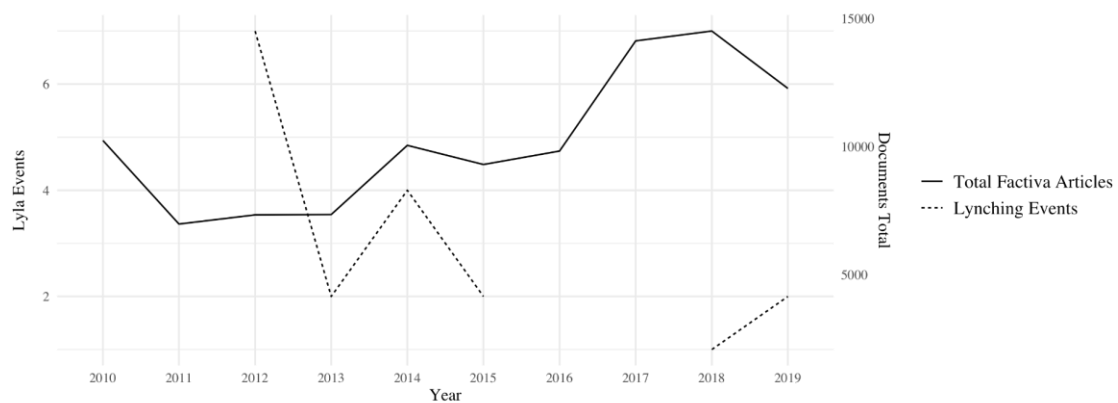


Figure 7. Dominican Republic Yearly Articles published on Factiva and number of lynching events

## Country report: Ecuador

Note: For Ecuador, we have not found any additional sources of data on lynching for the relevant time period.

For Ecuador, the LYLA dataset records 23 lynching events between 2010 and 2019.

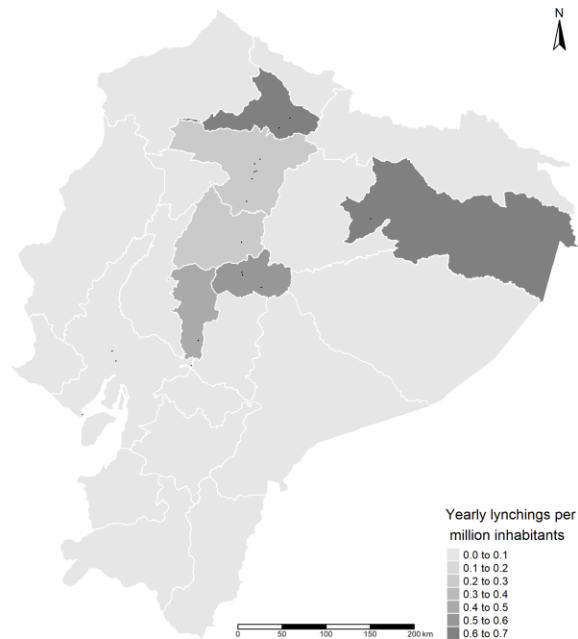


Figure 8. Map of lynchings in Ecuador

## Reported lynchings and Factiva reports

LYLA data is based on Factiva reports. We show how reported lynchings developed in comparison to the overall news coverage of Factiva in Ecuador (Figure 6). Overall, we have an average of 33,914 articles per year in the observation period and a mean of 1.8 lynching events per 1,000 articles.

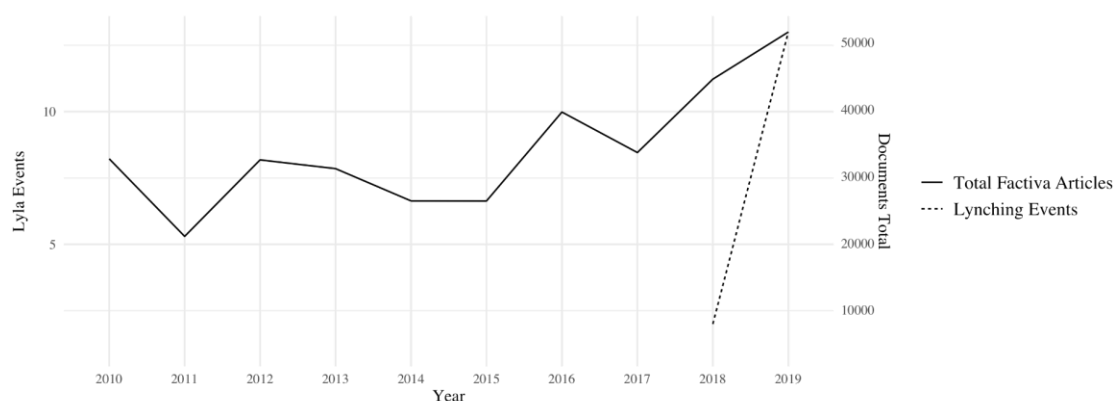


Figure 9. Ecuador Yearly Articles published on Factiva and number of lynching events

## Qualitative information

Ecuador: In October 2018, a violent mob lynched two men and a woman who were accused of stealing children, in Ecuador. The incident also left three police officers injured. The victims had been arrested for allegedly stealing US\$200 and two cell phones in the coastal town of

Posorja and were taken to the police facility to be investigated for common robbery. Soon after the arrest, residents, who mistook them for child thieves, arrived at the station and attacked them with clubs and stones, according to images of the incident broadcast on social networks. Authorities deployed police and military reinforcements to restore order, but the three persons were lynched to death, a cab, six motorcycles and a police station were burned.<sup>17</sup>

### **Recommended studies**

Some studies have investigated the phenomenon of lynchings in Ecuador. For interested readers, we recommend Krupa (2009), Guerrero (2000) and Santillán (2008).

Krupa (2009) examines the phenomenon of lynchings in highland Ecuador from the perspective of its impact on the population's hostility toward the indigenous movement. By conducting a case study on the lynching of an Afro-Ecuadorian migrant, he argues that lynchings have become society's window into what feels like the reality of indigenous communities. Moreover, he shows that they generate opportunities for citizens and media to consider the political tensions affecting the country.

Guerrero (2000) also investigates lynchings in relation to indigenous communities. Based on data emanating from newspapers as well as field work, this essay highlights the mediatization of such violence as a public spectacle as well as fueling the ideological conflict between the State and these communities.

Santillán (2008) studies lynchings in Ecuador in a perspective linking violence, citizen vigilantism to a sense of community participation. His research focuses on lynchings (or lynching attempts) that occurred in Quito in 2007 and shows that discrepancies in community security work in combination with growing insecurity and helplessness create a fertile ground for collective forms of violence such as lynchings.

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<sup>17</sup> See <https://www.elcomercio.com/actualidad/seguridad/linchamiento-posorja-familias-guayaquil.html>



## Country report: Guatemala

For Guatemala, the LYLA dataset records 261 lynching events between 2010 and 2019. As shown on Figure 1, these lynchings are widely spread across the country but somewhat concentrated in departments located in the West of Guatemala, namely Huehuetenago, Retalhuleu, San Marcos, and the capital department Guatemala.

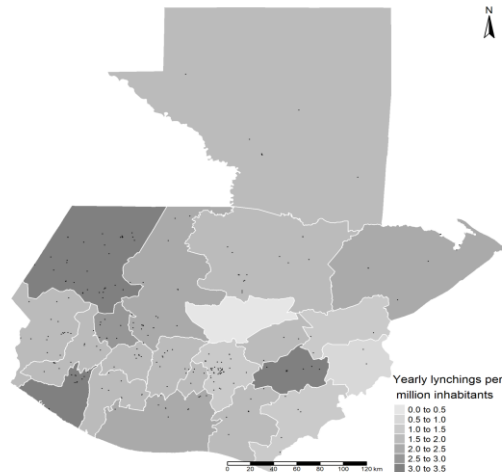


Figure 1. Map of lynchings in Guatemala

### Lynchings over time

Figure 2 shows the evolution of reported lynchings in the LYLA dataset (black line) along with lynchings registered in other sources (dotted lines). We observe an overall decrease in LYLA cases of lynching, with a peak of 73 cases in 2013 to 5 lynchings in 2019. An article on lynchings in Bolivia by La Nación includes a section on cases in Guatemala and reports 65 lynching events in 2012 and 90 in 2013. Mendoza relied on a dataset on homicides in Guatemala from 2001 to 2019 to identify cases of lynchings. Additional sources are not included in the figure as they either report number of lynched people or number of people who died because of lynching (rather than lynching events): The United Nations, concerned with the rise in lynching in Guatemala, published an article reporting 234 persons lynched in 2011. The Mutual Support Group [*Grupo Apoyo Mutuo*] (GAM) examined lynchings in Guatemala from 2008 to 2017 with a particular focus on the number of persons lynched and number of deaths reporting yearly lynchings between 83 (2015) and 209 (2013). Focusing on the same variables, the National Institute of Statistics [*Instituto Nacional de Estadística*] (INE) studied fatal lynchings in Guatemala between 2010 and 2018; while Mendoza and Chavez examined the period between 2019 and 2020.

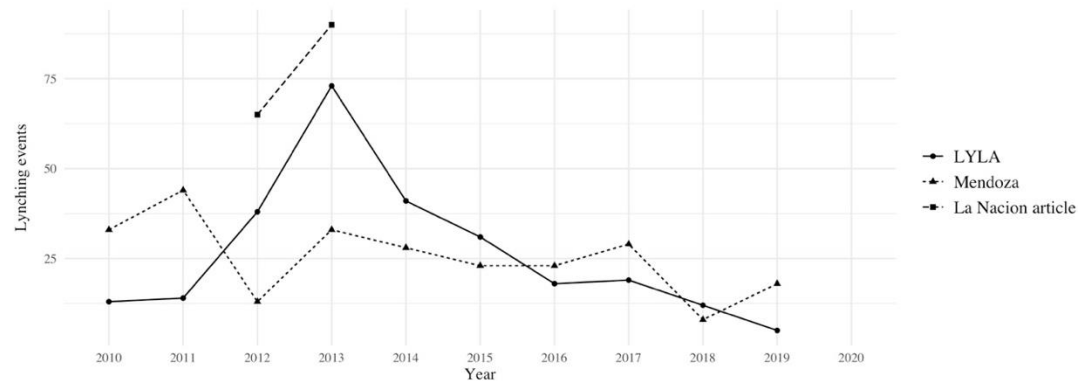


Figure 2. Yearly evolution of lynching in different data sources

### Lynchings across the country

At the departmental level, the Mutual Support Group (GAM) gathered data on lynchings in Guatemala in 2017. The focus of the research is on the number of persons lynched and the number of deaths with the highest numbers in Solola and Quiché, 17 and 13 persons lynched respectively and 2 deaths each. For the year 2017, LYL A captured 0 and 1 case respectively.

### Reported lynchings and Factiva reports

LYLA data is based on Factiva reports. We show how reported lynchings developed in comparison to the overall news coverage of Factiva in Guatemala (Figure 3). Overall, we have an average of 31,874 articles per year in the observation period and a mean of 85.3 lynching events per 100.000 articles.

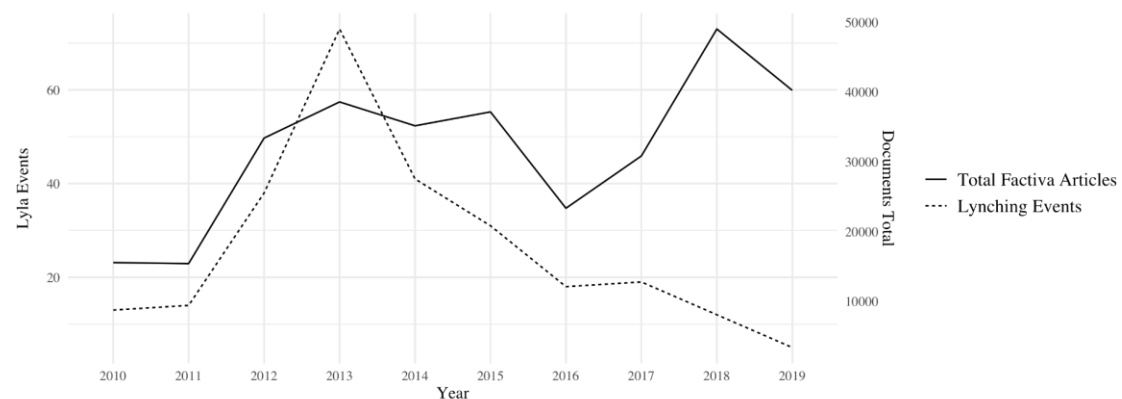


Figure 3. Yearly Articles published on Factiva and number of lynching events

### Qualitative information

On May 12th, 2015, a 16-year-old girl was lynched by a mob of citizens of Río Bravo in the department of Suchitepéquez. The victim, who was burned alive and died, was accused of participating in the murder of local taxi driver Carlos Enrique Gonzales Noriega. The crowd

allegedly attempted to prevent the intervention of police forces. Video footage of the lynching emerged days after the event and quickly attracted international attention.<sup>18</sup>

### **Recommended studies**

Several studies have been published on lynching in Bolivia. For interested readers, we recommend the following selection: Mendoza (2003), Handy (2004), Godoy (2006) and MINUGUA (2000).

Mendoza (2003) studied the phenomenon of lynchings in Guatemala using concepts emanating from evolutionary psychology, collective action and institutional theory with the aim to explore common explanations for their origin and/or cause. He found that, in poor indigenous communities, lynching may be a collective action to achieve justice as well as maintain order and security. Although lynchings were not necessarily a component of indigenous law, these communities provided a fertile ground for communal mobilization through means of coordination, the existence of leaders or instigators as well as ethnic and territorial identities. Mendoza further argued that, in well-organized communities, acts of extreme violence such as lynchings could be used to condition the behavior of citizens and reduce the likelihood of betrayal and/or aggression by increasing the severity and the frequency of punishment against someone who harms a member of the community.

Handy (2004) studied the expansion of the phenomenon of vigilante justice in contemporary Guatemala through a qualitative analysis of three cases of lynchings. He argued that the origin of lynchings can be found in a failing peasant economy, growing insecurity, and a transformation of the social structures of rural communities due to the militarization of Guatemala's countryside. He also contended that lynchings were partially the product of a conflict created by the Guatemalan government's efforts to establish a state sanctioned legal order irrespective of customary law, which contributed to the perceived lack of legitimacy of the legal system.

Godoy (2006) examined rising numbers of lynchings in Guatemala in order to understand their cause and origin. Using interviews conducted with members of communities where lynchings occurred, Godoy asserted that lynchings, beyond being the product of grievances against the inefficacies of the criminal justice system, highlighted the profound transformation of community bonds following decades of government violence as well as the social and economic developments emanating from globalization.

The report from the United Nations Verification Mission in Guatemala (MINUGUA) expressed its concern over the phenomenon of lynchings in hopes to appeal to Guatemalan public authorities and society (MINUGUA 2003). It emphasized how lynchings undermined basic human rights as well as how they impacted the legitimacy of the State's use of force, and duty to provide security to its citizens. Using MINUGUA's own database, the report finds that the victims of lynchings were often people branded as criminals and that the perpetrators of such acts were generally men over 35 years of age. It also underlined that lynchings occurred more often in departments where models of coexistence as well as distributions of social power were lacking and where the militarization of communities were most prominent and notorious.

### **Sources of additional datasets**

La Nación (2013):<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> See Infobae. "Queman viva a una joven de 16 años en Guatemala." *vanguardia.com.mx*, 24 May 2015, <https://www.vanguardia.com.mx/noticias/internacional/2967024-queman-viva-una-joven-de-16-anos-en-guatemala-BWVG2967024>

<sup>19</sup> See Calero, C. G. La justicia boliviana, en la mira por los linchamientos. La Nación. (2013). Retrieved from <https://www.lanacion.com.ar/el-mundo/la-justicia-boliviana-en-la-mira-por-los-linchamientos-nid1594571/>

- Article on lynchings in Bolivia which includes a section on Guatemala.
- Data collection
- The article does not provide a specific definition of lynching but notes that rather than being related to communal justice, popular executions of alleged criminals are the product of the *lex talionis*, more commonly known as “an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth”. [los ajusticiamientos populares de presuntos delincuentes no guardan relación alguna con esa justicia comunitaria. Responden más bien a la universal ley del Tali3n, al ojo por ojo y diente por diente, en un pa3s sin magistrados en la mitad de su territorio p.].
- Provides the number of lynching events in Guatemala between January to May 2012 and 2013.
- Between January to May 2012 and 2013, La Naci3n identified a total of 155 lynchings in Guatemala, while the LYLA data also accounts for 22 lynching events during the same periods.

Mendoza (2019):<sup>20</sup>

- Dataset on homicides in Guatemala between 2001 and 2019. Data is sorted according to several variables including whether the incident was a lynching.
- Data collection
- The author does not provide a specific definition of lynching.
- Provides the number of lynching events in Guatemala between 2010 and 2019.
- Between 2010 and 2019, Mendoza identified a total of 252 lynchings in Guatemala, while the LYLA data accounts for 264 lynching events for the same period.

United Nations (2011):<sup>21</sup>

- News article from the United Nations.
- The article does not give a specific definition of lynching but mentions that “(...) lynchings are generated by the power vacuum left by armed confrontation, the destruction of traditional models of coexistence, the rupture of the indigenous governance and justice system, and the imposition of a militarized social model”. [El relator especial de Naciones Unidas sobre ejecuciones extrajudiciales, sostiene que los linchamientos se generan a partir del vac3o de poder dejado por el enfrentamiento armado, la destrucci3n de los modelos de convivencia tradicionales, la ruptura del sistema de gobernanza y justicia ind3gena, y la imposici3n de un modelo social militarizado. P. ]
- Provides the number of persons lynched in Guatemala between January and October 2011.
- During this time, the UN identified a total of 234 persons lynched in Guatemala.

The Mutual Support Group (2018):<sup>22</sup>

- Report on lynching in Guatemala during 2008 and 2017.
- The source does not specify its data collection method.
- The report bases its understanding of lynchings on definitions provided by dictionaries. The Royal Spanish Academy dictionary defines the act of lynching as “to execute without trial and tumultuously a suspect or a defendant”. The Elementary Legal Dictionary of Guillermo Cabanellas defines the word “lynching” as a “Popular form of executing justice, applying capital punishment, without waiting for the pronouncement of the condemnatory judgment by the competent court, produced as an excessive reaction to the commission of a crime”.

<sup>20</sup> Data received from Mendoza, based on Polic3a Nacional Civil.

<sup>21</sup> United Nations. Guatemala: ONU expresa alarma por aumento de linchamientos. Noticias ONU Mirada global Historias humanas. (2011). Retrieved from <https://news.un.org/es/story/2011/10/1229201>

<sup>22</sup> See Grupo Apoyo Mutuo (GAM). Informe de situaci3n de linchamientos en Guatemala. Issuu. (2018). Retrieved from [https://issuu.com/grupodeapoyomutuogt/docs/linchamientos\\_una\\_d\\_cada](https://issuu.com/grupodeapoyomutuogt/docs/linchamientos_una_d_cada)

[El diccionario de la real academia Española define el linchar como: “Ejecutar sin proceso y tumultuariamente a un sospechoso o a un reo”[1]. Por otro lado el Diccionario Jurídico Elemental de Guillermo Cabanellas define la palabra “Linchar” como: Forma popular de ejecutar la justicia, aplicando la pena capital, sin esperar al pronunciamiento del fallo condenatorio por el tribunal competente, producido como reacción excesiva ante la comisión de un crimen (p.2)].

- Provides the number of persons lynched and the number of deaths in Guatemala between 2010 and 2017.
- During this time, GAM identified a total of 1227 persons lynched and 276 deaths in Guatemala.

National Institute of Statistics (2018):<sup>23</sup>

- Database containing number of homicides and lesions due to lynchings.
- Data based on number of homicides per type of weapon reported to the police.
- The database does not provide a specific definition of lynching.
- Provides the number of deaths from lynchings in Guatemala during 2010 and 2018.
- During this time, INE identified a total of 234 deaths due to lynching.

Mendoza and Chavez (2020):<sup>24</sup>

- Report on violence and homicides in Guatemala.
- Data based on number of homicides per type of weapon reported to the police.
- The document does not provide a specific definition of lynching.
- Provides the number of deaths because of lynching in Guatemala between January and October 2020.
- During this period, Mendoza and Chavez identified 8 deaths. The LYLA data covers the period between 2010 and 2018 so no data is provided for 2020.

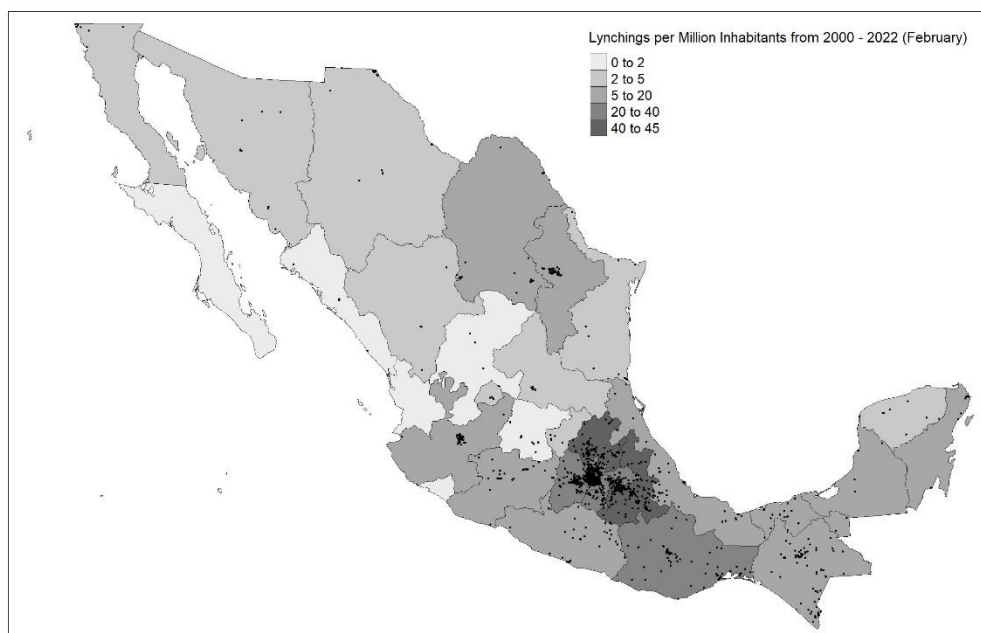
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<sup>23</sup> See Instituto Nacional de Estadística (INE). Indicadores de homicidios por tipo de arma reportados por la Policía Nacional Civil. (n.d.). Retrieved from <https://www.ine.gob.gt/ine/estadisticas/bases-de-datos/hechos-delictivos/>

<sup>24</sup> Mendoza, C. & Chavez, O. Informe sobre la violencia homicida en Guatemala - Septiembre 2020. Observatorio de la Violencia - Diálogos - Ciudad de Guatemala. (2020). Retrieved from <https://www.dialogos.org.gt/sites/default/files/2020-11/INFORME%20SOBRE%20LA%20VIOLENCIA%20GUATEMALA%20SEPTIEMBRE%202020%20F.pdf>

## Country report: Mexico

For Mexico, the LYLA dataset records 1859 lynching events between 2000 and February 2022, 1134 of which took place between 2010 and 2019. As shown on Figure 1, these lynchings are concentrated in the central states, namely the State of Mexico, Mexico City, Puebla, Tlaxcala, Hidalgo, and Morelos.



*Figure 1. Map of lynchings in Mexico (2000-2022 February)*

### Lynchings over time

Figure 3 shows the development of reported lynchings in the LYLA dataset (black line) along with lynchings registered in other sources. We observe a generally increasing trend in the LYLA data. Another notable aspect of figure 2 is the similarity in the pattern between the different sources. Between 2006 and 2011, Gamallo (2015) and Godínez (2017) have comparable observations. BBC Mundo's research (2016) collected 56 events in 2015, while the CNDH report (CNDH 2019) records 43 lynchings and the LYLA dataset 98. Rodríguez and Veloz (2019) conducted an analysis for the period from 1988 to 2018. CEC records 150 lynching events for the year 2020.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> See [http://causaencomun.org.mx/beta/wp-content/uploads/2021/01/210106\\_Informe-anual-atrocidades-2020\\_VF\\_compressed-1.pdf](http://causaencomun.org.mx/beta/wp-content/uploads/2021/01/210106_Informe-anual-atrocidades-2020_VF_compressed-1.pdf)

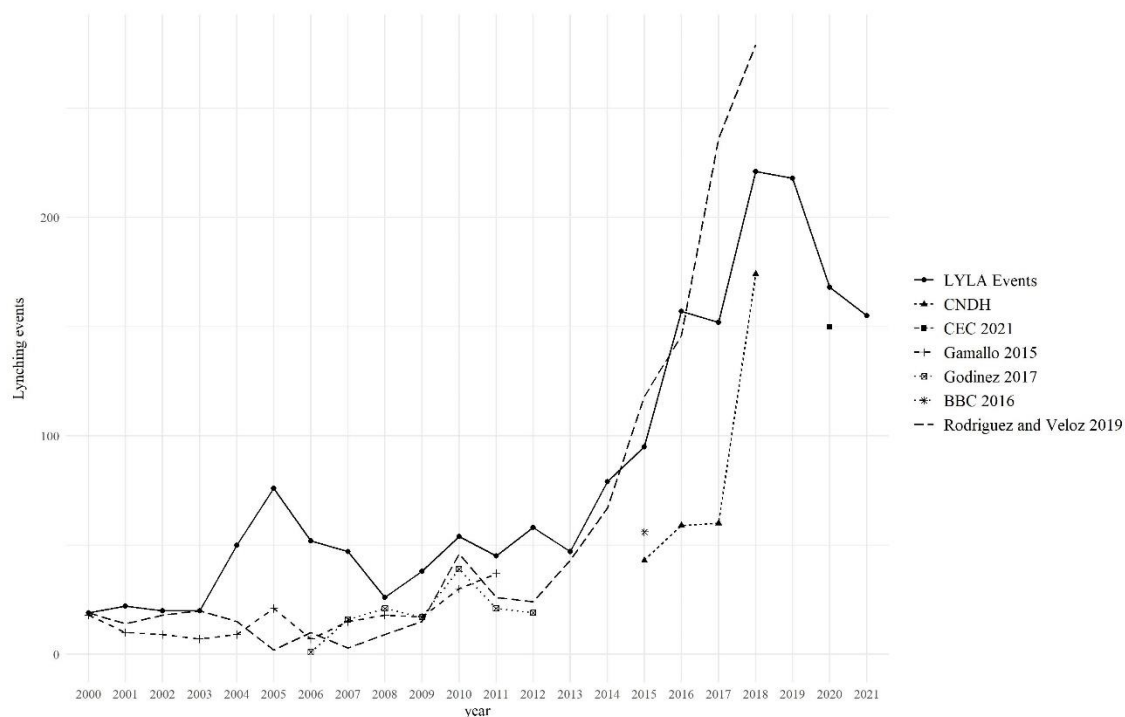


Figure 3. Yearly evolution of lynching in different data sources

### Lynchings across the country

Several sources include data on lynchings at the state level in Mexico. The table below summarizes some of these findings for the time periods covered. The states displayed in the table were selected based on how often they were included across sources reporting on lynchings.

Table 1: state level distribution of lynching events next to other data sources

	<i>LYLA data, 2006-2012</i>	<i>Godínez 2006-2012</i>	<i>LYLA data, 2010-2014*</i>	<i>Rodríguez &amp; Veloz, 2010-2014*</i>	<i>LYLA data, 2015-2018</i>	<i>CCSJ, 2015-2018<sup>26</sup></i>
<i>Mexico State</i>	104	51	80	50	81	85
<i>Ciudad de México</i>	45	17	29	14	37	33
<i>Hidalgo</i>	26	5	9	2	16	14
<i>Oaxaca</i>	24	6	15	-	13	7

<sup>26</sup> It is important to note that much of the data from the Consejo Ciudadano de Seguridad y Justicia del Estado de Puebla (CCSJ), was aggregated and systemized using CNDH reports.

<i>Puebla</i>	20	11	15	33	63	70
<i>Chiapas</i>	13	9	16	6	10	11
<i>Tabasco</i>	2	1	1	2	8	39

### Reported lynchings and Factiva reports

LYLA data is based on Factiva reports. We show how reported lynchings developed in comparison to the overall news coverage of Factiva in Mexico (Figure 3). The two curves representing the number of lynching events and the number of documents available on Factiva follow a similar path. This would suggest that the number of lynching events is linked to the number of articles published. However, lynchings decrease in 2020, while reporting still increases. We have an average of 837,159 articles per year in the observation period and a mean of 9.57 lynching events per 100,000 articles.

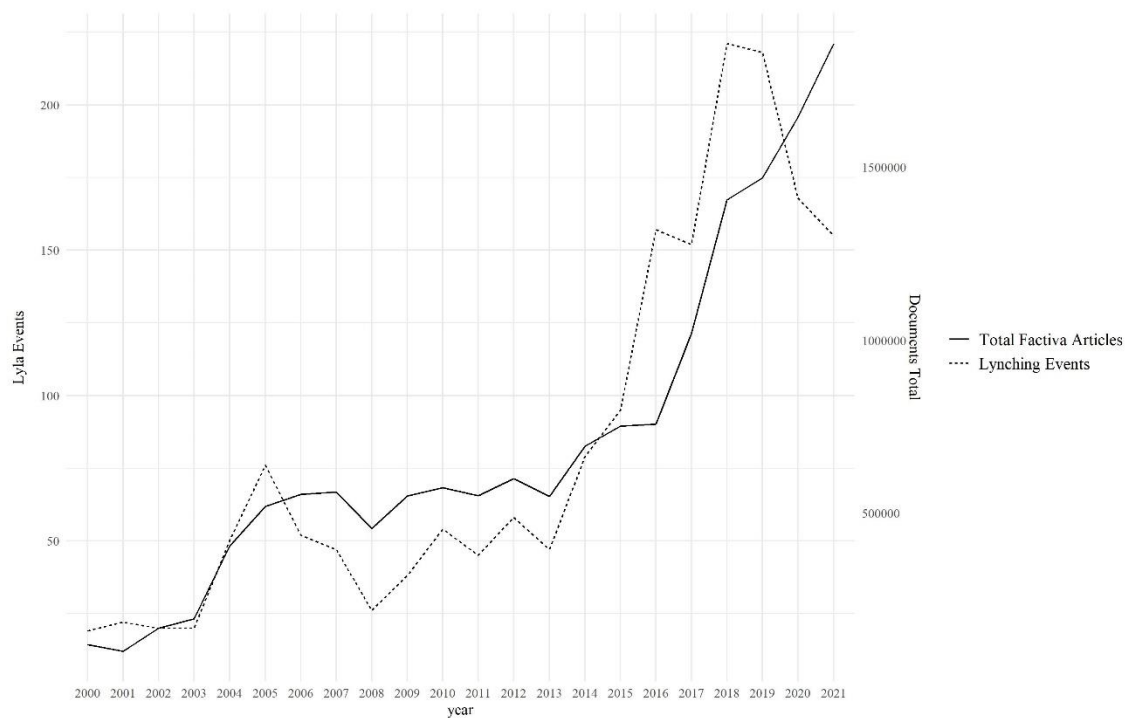


Figure 3. Yearly Articles published on Factiva and number of lynching events

### Qualitative information

One of the most impactful cases of lynchings in Mexico occurred in San Juan Ixtayopan in the Mexico City area of Tláhuac in 2004. On November 24, 2004, two federal policemen were killed, and one was seriously injured after they were caught allegedly taking photographs of children outside a school. Assuming these men intended to steal children, over 300 residents of the area brutally beat them up and burned two of them alive. As it turned out, the three men were Federal Preventive Police officers who were investigating drug deals. The case quickly



drew national and international attention and became an infamous example of this kind of violence in Mexico.<sup>27</sup>

### **Recommended studies**

Several studies have been published on lynching in Mexico. For interested readers, we recommend the following (this is not an exhaustive list): CNDH (2019), Gamallo (2015), Rodríguez & Veloz (2014), Fuentes Díaz (2006) and Godínez (2017). For a historical analysis of lynching Mexico, see Kloppe-Santamaría (2020).

The CNDH report sought to give an overview of the issue of lynchings in Mexico upon request of the Permanent Commission of the Congress of the Union. The aim of the report was to reach broad conclusions regarding the nature, characteristics, and drivers of lynchings in Mexico. Its analysis was based on a collection of newspaper articles regarding lynching events between 2015 and 2018. The report's main findings established a growing trend in lynching events across the country. It found that only a minority of lynching events resulted in the death of the victim(s), that most victim(s) of lynchings were men and that lynching events were reported in 23 states out of 32.

Gamallo (2015) presented a typology of lynchings in Mexico between 2000 and 2011 by building a database using newspaper articles. His main findings showed a yearly increase in the occurrence of lynchings in Mexico between 2000 and 2011, highlighted a high concentration of lynching events in the central-southern region of the country, especially in the Federal District and the state of Mexico, revealed a prominent involvement of lynching perpetrators described as 'neighbors' and established the occurrence of lynchings mainly due to grievances against property. Most importantly, Gamallo found that the phenomenon of lynching could be considered as the people's means to guarantee its security when the state was unable to provide it.

Rodríguez and Veloz (2014) studied the changing characteristics of lynchings in Mexico from 1988 to 2014 using data collected using local and national newspaper articles. They found a clear increase in the number of lynching cases throughout the country and a geographical distribution mainly centered around the central-southern region of Mexico. Rodríguez and Veloz (2019) is an updated version.

Fuentes Díaz (2006)(2006) examined the phenomenon of lynchings in Mexico in an attempt to establish its motives and underlying causes. He collected data by reviewing local and national newspapers and identifying articles related to lynching cases throughout the country between 1984 and 2001. Fuentes Díaz argued that lynching events were mainly caused by the state's inability to provide specific services, such as access to justice. The results showed that a majority of lynchings occurred in rural areas, in the central and south-eastern regions of Mexico, that most lynching cases resulted in injuries, but a significant percentage resulted in the death of the victim and, finally, that lynchings were primarily perpetrated because of crimes against property (such as theft) or, to a lesser extent, because of crimes against physical integrity (such as kidnapping).

Godínez (2017) studied lynchings as a phenomenon of collective violence and sought to characterize how the phenomenon had evolved in Mexico between 2006 and 2012, from an anthropological and political standpoint. She collected data by retrieving lynching-related articles from three national newspaper sources. She argued that lynchings were a product of the state's failure to provide security and administer justice. Her results showed that lynchings occurred more frequently in the central part of the country as well as in other urban margins, were highly heterogeneous in terms of the identity of its perpetrators, location and type of

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<sup>27</sup> See Proceso. 2004. "Linchan en Tláhuac a tres agentes de la PFP," November 24, 2004. <https://www.proceso.com.mx/nacional/2004/11/24/linchan-en-tlahuac-tres-agentes-de-la-pfp-62363.html>.

collective action and arose most often in reaction to alleged crimes against property and integrity. A more recent case study of Godínez is also recommended (2020).

### Sources of additional datasets

Gamallo (2015):

- Data collected using newspaper articles from Mexico.
- Provides number of lynching events on a yearly basis at the national level as well as for several states between 2000 and 2011.
- Lynching events are defined as “any civil (non-state) act of public nature, whether spontaneous or organized, which considers itself as legitimate and, in response to an act or a conduct, exercises violence against a victim who is in overwhelming numerical inferiority to the perpetrators” [loose translation] (p.191) “*Para los fines de la recolección, se ha considerado como linchamiento a toda acción colectiva civil (no estatal) de carácter público, espontánea u organizada, que pretende para sí misma legitimidad y que ejerce violencia sobre la víctima, en respuesta a actos o conductas de ésta, quien se halla en inferioridad numérica abrumadora frente a los linchadores. (p. 191)*”
- As can be seen in Figure 2 above, between 2000 and 2011, Gamallo recorded 198 lynching events, while the LYLA dataset records a total of 475.

Godínez (2017)

- Data based on a review of three national newspapers in Mexico.
- Provides number of lynching events on a yearly basis at a national level as well as for several states between 2006 and 2012.
- Lynching events are defined as “an act of extra-legal collective violence committed by a mob against one or a few suspects in which physical force is used as a means to punish an alleged or certain grievance” [loose translation] (p.33). [*“Parto de esta definición propia: en México y en la actualidad, un linchamiento es un acto de violencia colectiva extra-legal cometido por una multitud en contra de uno o pocos sospechosos en el que se utiliza la fuerza física como una forma de castigar un agravio supuesta o realmente cometido. (p.33)”*]
- As can be seen in Figure 2 above, between 2006 and 2012, Godínez recorded 134 lynching events, while the LYLA dataset records a total of 326.

BBC (2016):<sup>28</sup>

- Source of data is unknown.
- Provides number of lynching events for the year 2015.
- Lynching events defined as “the execution of someone by a multitude without due process”. [El acto de ejecutar a alguien por parte de una multitud y sin mediar un proceso legal”].
- As can be seen in Figure 2 above, the BBC Mundo articles records 56 lynching events for the year 2015, while the LYLA dataset records 98.

CNDH (2019):

- Data based on a review of newspaper articles.
- Provides the number of lynching events on a yearly basis between 2015 and 2018.
- Lynching events are defined as “the act of physical aggression, which, according to the National Commission for Human Rights, is carried out and incited by a group of people, against one person or more, with the pretext of being sanctioned by the community for an alleged criminal conduct or for an act committed against the community, and justified by

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<sup>28</sup> See <https://www.bbc.com/mundo/noticias-america-latina-36496161>

the ineffectiveness of state authorities, considered to be unable to punish the alleged criminal(s), whereby the group takes justice into its own hands and punishes the allegedly responsible individual(s) in a direct, immediate and physical manner, which does not allow the possibility to defend oneself and may even cause death [very loose translation]. (p.9) *“El acto de agresión física que, de conformidad con lo establecido por la Comisión Nacional de Derechos Humanos, lleva a cabo un grupo de personas, incitado por la propia multitud, en contra de una o más personas, con el pretexto de ser supuestamente sancionada(s) por la colectividad por la presunta comisión de una conducta delictiva o en agravio de comuniad, justificandose en la inoperancia de la autoridad, a la que consideran no sancionará al responsable(s), por lo tanto deciden tomar la justicia en sus manos y castigar de manera corporal, directa e inmediata al sujeto, presuntamente responsable(s), sin permitirle(s) defensa alguna, lo que puede llegar a provocar su muerte” (Gobierno del Estado de Puebla, 2019, p.9).”*

- As can be seen in Figure 2 above, between 2015 and 2018, the CNDH report recorded 336 lynching events, while the LYLA dataset records a total of 293.

Rodríguez and Veloz (2014; 2019):

- Data collection based on the systematic review of local and national newspapers from Mexico.
- Provides number of lynching events at a state and national level between 2000 and April 2014. However, it should be noted that, due to data availability, Table 1 only compares numbers of events at the subnational level from 2010 to April 2014.
- Lynching events are understood using Carlos M. Vilas’ (2001) definition, according to which lynchings are “1) a collective action, 2) that is private and illegal, 3) can lead to the death of a victim, 4) as a response to his or her actions or conducts, 5) who is overwhelmingly outnumbered against the perpetrators of the lynching” (p.187). [1) una acción colectiva, 2) de carácter privado e ilegal, 3) que puede provocar la muerte de la víctima, 4) en respuesta a actos o conductas de ésta, 5) quien se encuentra en inferioridad numérica abrumadora frente a los linchadores”] (p.187)]
- As can be seen in Figure 2 above, between 2000 and 2014\*, Rodríguez & Veloz recorded 235 (updated number) lynching events, while the LYLA dataset records a total of 606. For the year 2014, the comparison is until the month of April due to data availability.

Consejo Ciudadano de Seguridad y Justicia del Estado de Puebla (2019):

- Data collection based on a systematic review of newspaper articles from Mexico.
- Provides number of lynching events on a yearly basis for several states between 2015 and 2018.
- Lynching events are defined as “a type of vigilante justice that goes against legality (extralegal) and violates human rights. Although there are different conceptual approaches, there is also a kind of generalized agreement regarding several elements that an act of lynching must contain to be considered as such: the existence of collective violence; that it occurs in response to the commission of crimes or threats to the interests of a group; and that it involves a greater number of aggressors than victims.” (page numbers not included but hand-counted = 6) [*“El concepto de linchamiento se ha definido como un tipo de justicia vigilante que va en contra de la legalidad (extralegal) y que atenta contra el respeto de los Derechos Humanos. Si bien existen diferentes aproximaciones conceptuales, hay también una especie de acuerdo generalizado respecto a varios elementos que debe contener un acto de linchamiento para ser considerado como tal: la existencia de violencia colectiva; que se presente en respuesta a la comisión de delitos o amenaza de los intereses*

*de un grupo; y que involucre un mayor número de agresores que de víctimas. (p.6, hand counted as page numbers not included)"]*

CEC (2021):

- Source of data is: Newspaper articles.
- Provides number of lynching events for the year 2020.
- Lynching events defined as “Agresión física cometida por un grupo, turba o multitud contra una persona que provoca su muerte.” (Physical aggression committed by a group, mob or crowd against a person resulting in death.)
- As can be seen in Figure 2 above, CEC records 150 lynching events for the year 2020, while the LYLA dataset records 168.

## Country report: Paraguay

For Paraguay, the LYLA dataset records 31 lynching events between 2010 and 2019.

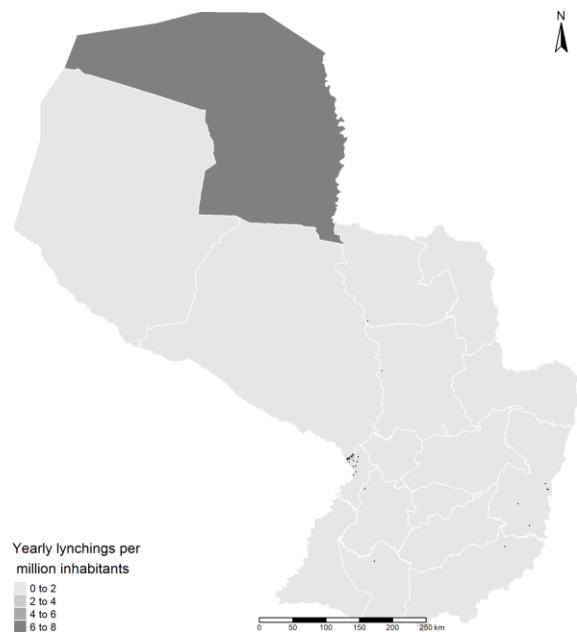


Figure 10. Map of lynchings in Paraguay

## Reported lynchings and Factiva reports

LYLA data is based on Factiva reports. We show how reported lynchings developed in comparison to the overall news coverage of Factiva in Paraguay (Figure 8). Overall, we have an average of 37,859 articles per year in the observation period and a mean of 1.4 lynching events per 1,000 articles.

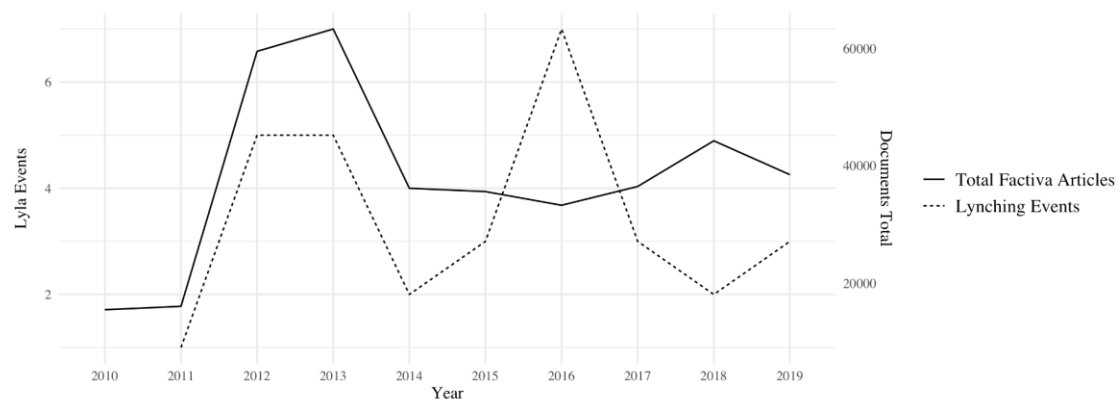


Figure 11. Paraguay Yearly Articles published on Factiva and number of lynching events

### Country report: Peru

For Peru, the LYLA dataset records 243 lynching events between 2010 and 2019. As shown on Figure 1, these lynchings are concentrated in the provinces of Piura, Arequipa, and Lima.



*Figure 1. Map of lynchings in Peru*

### Lynchings over time

We have not encountered any other data source which provides information on yearly lynchings in Peru. The time trend for Peru can be identified in Figure 3.

### Lynchings across the country

Two sources have gathered data on lynchings at the provincial level in Peru. Sánchez (2017) wrote a bachelor's thesis studying lynching in the region of Huanuco in 2010. Sánchez identified 7 lynching events, while the LYLA data gathered 2 events for the same year. RPP Noticias (2016) published an article reporting the number of lynchings in Juliaca in 2015. It accounts for 70 lynchings. In comparison, the LYLA data identifies 19 lynching events in the same year

### Reported lynchings and Factiva reports

LYLA data is based on Factiva reports. We show how reported lynchings developed in comparison to the overall news coverage of Factiva in Peru (Figure 3). Overall, we have an average of 114,402 articles per year in the observation period and a mean of 15.2 lynching events per 100,000 articles.

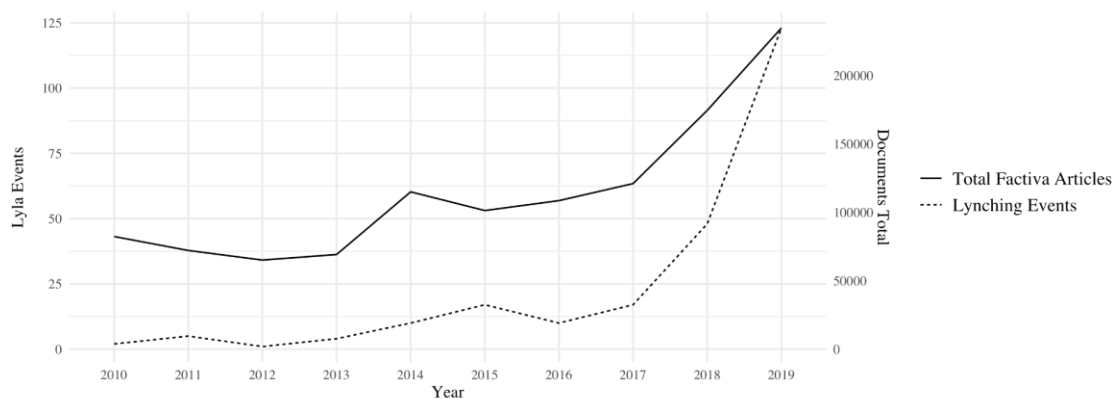


Figure 3. Yearly Articles published on Factiva and number of lynching events

### Qualitative information

A campaign by a former Fujimorista launched in August 2015, spurred on by the controversial slogan "Chapa tu choro y déjalo paralizado" [Catch your thief and leave him paralyzed], led to increased public attention to the topic of lynchings.<sup>29</sup>

### Recommended studies

At least two studies have been published on lynching in Peru. For interested readers, we recommend Lossio Chávez (2008) and Onken (2011).

Lossio Chávez (2008) examined lynchings in contemporary Peru from the perspective of perpetrators' justification for their actions. He found that perpetrators justify mob violence using four arguments, namely "(...) the lack of material resources, the difficulties of the legal process, the antagonistic discourse between police and neighbors, and the lack of knowledge of the accused as a subject of rights" (ibid.:118). He also emphasized that lynchings, or the prospect of lynchings, sufficed to generate a feeling of collective justice, which was likely to increase their occurrence.

In his historical account of lynchings in Peru in the 19th and 20th century, Onken (2011) showed that victims of lynchings were more likely to be members of the country's elites who were attacked by marginalized groups. In the Peruvian case, lynchings were the product of a "subaltern resistance" opposing the injustices and violence experienced by indigenous communities. This form of collective violence only took place periodically, emanated from groups united by powerful social bonds and occurred during times of political and social disarray. However, anecdotal evidence suggested that the circumstances favoring the emergence of mob violence seem to have changed in the 21st century.

### Sources of additional datasets

Sánchez (2017):<sup>30</sup>

- Bachelor thesis analyzing lynchings in the region of Huanuco.

<sup>29</sup> See BBC Mundo. "'Chapa tu choro', la peligrosa campaña que busca combatir la delincuencia en Perú." *BBC News Mundo*, September 16, 2015.

[https://www.bbc.com/mundo/noticias/2015/09/150911\\_peru\\_delincuencia\\_chapa\\_choro\\_ilm](https://www.bbc.com/mundo/noticias/2015/09/150911_peru_delincuencia_chapa_choro_ilm).

<sup>30</sup> See Sánchez, A. T. "Factores Legales que Inciden en el Delito de Justicia por Mano Propia en los Distritos de Huánuco 2008-2010". Universidad de Huánuco. (2017). Retrieved from <http://repositorio.udh.edu.pe/bitstream/handle/123456789/814/CARBAJAL%20SANCHEZ%2C%20ALDO%20TEOFILO.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y>

- Data collected by retrieving data from newspaper articles.
- The thesis does not give a specific definition of lynching but emphasizes that “(...) customary justice should not be confused with justice by one's own hand, since the latter has to do with the law of talion, that is, "an eye for an eye", a tooth for a tooth. (...) It is also understood in this way when someone does something outside the law and punishes for a crime, this is called justice by one's own hand”. [La Justicia consuetudinaria no debe ser confundida con la justicia por mano propia, ya que esta última tiene que ver con la ley del talión, esto es, “ojo por ojo”, diente por diente. (...) También se entiende así cuando alguien hace algo por fuera de la ley y castiga por un crimen, esto se llama justicia por mano propia. (p.34)]
- Provides the number of lynchings and the number of persons lynched in 2010 in Huanuco.
- During that year, Sánchez identified 7 lynchings and 10 persons lynched.

RPP Noticias (2016):<sup>31</sup>

- Newspaper article based on reports by the Juliaca’s authorities.
- Data collection?
- The article does not provide a specific definition of lynching.
- Provides the number of lynchings in Juliaca in 2015.
- RPP Noticias identified 70 lynchings in Juliaca in 2015.

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<sup>31</sup> See RPP Noticias. “Juliaca: 70 manifestaciones de justicia popular se registraron en el 2015”. (2016). Retrieved from <https://rpp.pe/peru/puno/juliaca-70-intentos-de-linchamiento-se-registraron-durante-el-2015-noticia-928316?ref=rpp>



## Country report: Uruguay

For Uruguay, the LYLA dataset records 11 lynching events between 2010 and 2019.

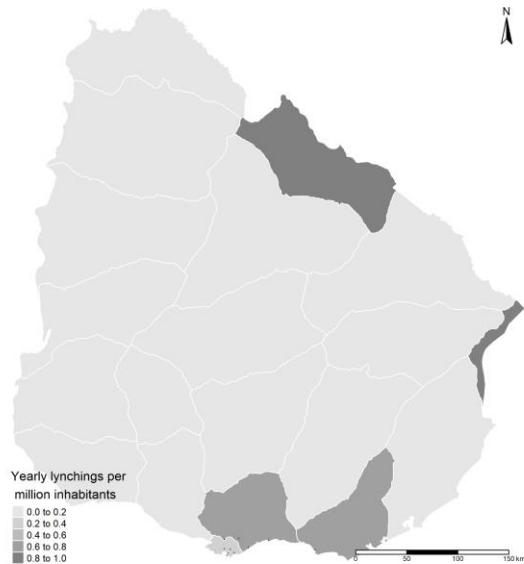


Figure 12. Map of lynchings in Uruguay

## Reported lynchings and Factiva reports

LYLA data is based on Factiva reports. We show how reported lynchings developed in comparison to the overall news coverage of Factiva in Uruguay (Figure 10). Overall, we have an average of 39,491 articles per year in the observation period and a mean of 1.8 lynching events per 1,000 articles.

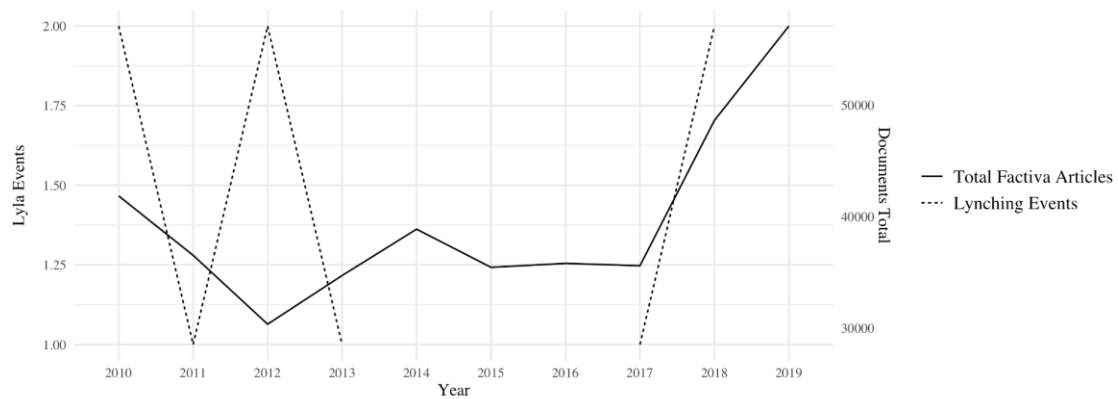


Figure 13. Uruguay Yearly Articles published on Factiva and number of lynching events

## Country report: Venezuela

The LYLA dataset records 50 lynching events in Venezuela between 2010 and 2019. As shown on Figure 1, these lynchings are concentrated in the northern province of Caracas.

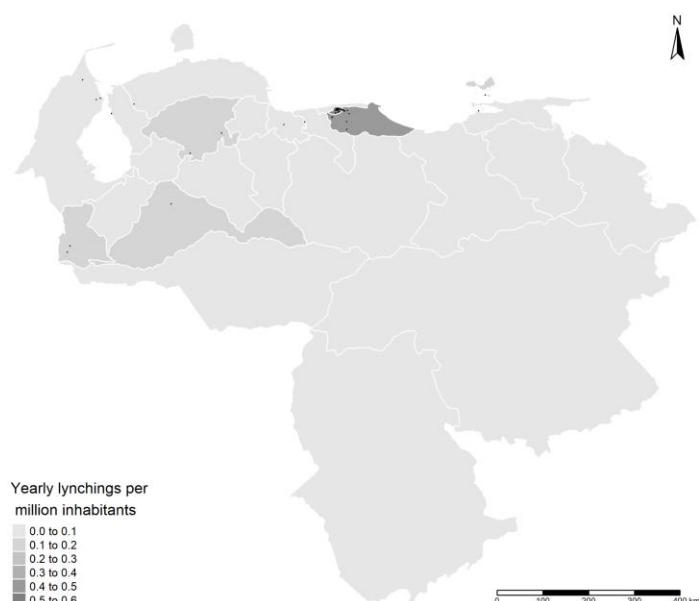


Figure 1. Map of lynchings in Venezuela

### Lynchings over time

Figure 2 shows the evolution of reported lynchings in the LYLA dataset (black line) along with lynchings registered in other sources. We observe a relatively flat progression in the LYLA data. Esther G. Pineda (2019) published an academic article analyzing lynchings between the period of January 2015 to July 2017. InSight Crime based its 2015-2016 data on a report by the Ministry of Internal Relations [*Ministerio de Relaciones Internales*] but focusing on the number of deaths. The Venezuelan Observatory of Social Conflict [*Observatorio Venezolano de Conflictividad Social*] registered 200 lynchings in 2017. Oré and Ulmer published a newspaper article reporting 40 lynchings in 2014 and 30 in 2015. The same year, Aguilar reported 46 lynching events published by the Violence Observatory [*Observatorio de violencia*], while the LYLA registered its highest number with 11 lynching events.

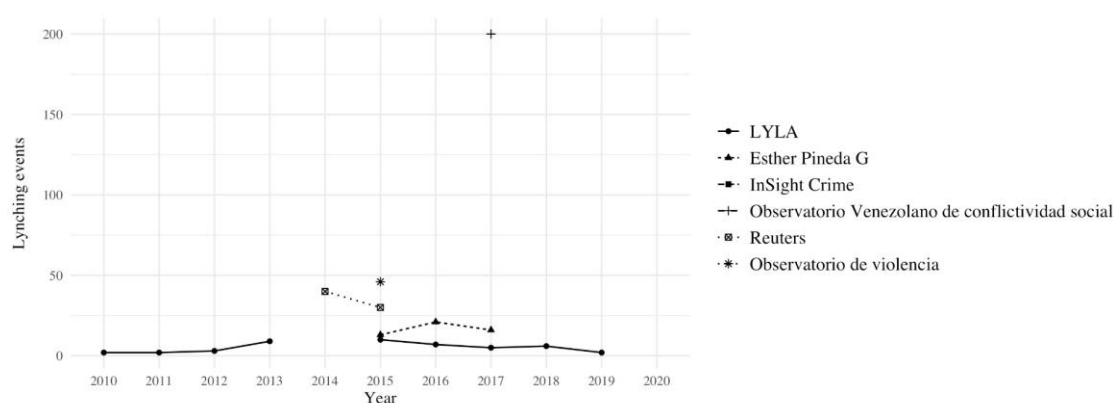


Figure 2. Yearly evolution of lynching in different data sources

### Lynchings across the country

A few sources have gathered data on lynchings at the provincial level in Venezuela. Esther G. Pineda focused on different provinces of the country between 2016 and 2017. Between January 2016 and July 2017, 8 lynchings occurred in both provinces of Monagas and Zulia. In 2015, InSight Crime reported 20 lynchings in Monagas, 9 in Miranda, and 7 in Zulia and Carabobo each. Vidal published a newspaper article in *El Impulso* in 2016 referring to data emanating from the Lara Observatory of Social Conflict [Observatorio Larense de Conflictividad Social] developed by the Civil Association Force, Union, Justice, Solidarity and Peace (Funpaz) and reported 21 lynchings in the province of Lara. Rodríguez published a news article in *Efecto Cocuyo* and reported 20 deaths because of lynching events in the province of Monagas in 2017.<sup>32</sup>

### Reported lynchings and Factiva reports

LYLA data is based on Factiva reports. We show how reported lynchings developed in comparison to the overall news coverage of Factiva in Venezuela (Figure 3). Overall, we have an average of 137,794 articles per year in the observation period and a mean of 4.4 lynching events per 100.000 articles.

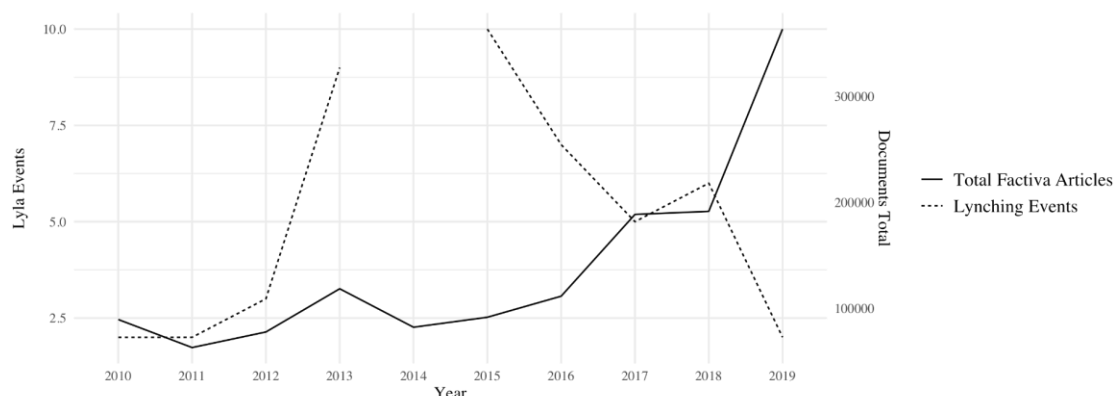


Figure 3. Yearly Articles published on Factiva and number of lynching events

### Qualitative information

In May 2017, a retired officer of the Venezuelan National Guard was allegedly lynched during the funeral of a victim of anti-government protests, when he was mistaken for a police informer. A report indicated that the retired officer was approached by a group of people who attacked him, beat him, shot him, and set his motorcycle on fire. According to local press, the event occurred during the funeral of a man who died on Thursday amid a demonstration against Nicolás Maduro's government. Those attending the funeral accused Subero of being an infiltrator of the National Guard and attacked him for taking photographs and videos.

<sup>32</sup> Rodríguez, R. R. Aumentan los Linchamientos comunitarios por Delitos Menores en Venezuela. *Efecto Cocuyo*. (2017). Retrieved from <https://efectococuyo.com/sucesos/aumentan-los-linchamientos-comunitarios-por-delitos-menores-en-venezuela/>

### **Recommended studies**

Several studies have been published on lynching in Venezuela. For interested readers, we recommend the following selection: Pineda (2019), Han & Leonte (1998) and Romero & Rujano (2007).

Pineda (2019) investigated the increasing frequency of lynchings in Venezuela from 2015 onwards, based on data collected by reviewing and monitoring cases of lynchings reported in newspapers between January 2015 and July 2017. The article found that the number of cases of lynchings in Venezuela has increased, that they occur more frequently in urban spaces, that most victims of lynchings were men and theft was the crime most often punished by lynchings. Additionally, the article highlighted that lynchings occurred more frequently and were more accepted by the population in times of political and social conflict.

Han & Leonte (1998) examined lynchings in Venezuela by reviewing one national as well as one local newspaper and found that the phenomenon was more present in marginal or peripheral areas where the population was poorer, denser, shared a feeling of non-inclusion in the judicial system and was in a state of socio-cultural precariousness.

Romero & Rujano (2007) studied the phenomenon of lynching in Venezuela by considering it as a response to criminal violence in the framework of denial of justice and focusing on two popular neighborhoods of Maracaibo with differentiated spatial and cultural conditions. Using a survey and in-depth interviews, they found that distrust in judicial institutions and impunity for crimes were factors likely contributing to the occurrence of such events in popular neighborhoods.

### **Sources of additional data**

Pineda (2019):

- Academic article analyzing reported cases of lynching from various sources.
- The article defines lynching as “a collective action of private and illegal nature, involving a great deal of physical violence, which eventually culminates in the death of the victim. It is generally an action that is undertaken in response to acts or behaviors that are real or imputed to the victim, who is overwhelmingly outnumbered by the lynchers. However, some authors exclude the attempt and define lynching as its consummation, i.e., as the murder committed by a mob of three or more persons. This execution is carried out without due process, it is the application of capital punishment without waiting for the ruling of the court, therefore, lynching is an arbitrary action executed by individuals unauthorized to exercise punitive actions; a practice that represents a violation of fundamental rights, a violation of the legality sanctioned by the State and the institutionalization and legitimization of the death penalty in an informal manner. [El linchamiento ha sido definido como una acción colectiva de carácter privado e ilegal, de gran despliegue de violencia física, que eventualmente culmina con la muerte de la víctima. Generalmente es una acción que se emprende en respuesta a actos o conductas reales o imputadas a la víctima, quien se encuentra en inferioridad numérica abrumadora frente a los linchadores. Sin embargo, algunos autores excluyen la tentativa y definen el linchamiento a partir de su consumación, es decir, como el asesinato cometido por una turba de tres o más personas. Esta ejecución se realiza sin un debido proceso, es la aplicación de la pena capital sin esperar el pronunciamiento del fallo condenatorio del tribunal, por ello, el linchamiento es una acción arbitraria ejecutada por individuos no autorizados para ejercer acciones punitivas; práctica que representa la vulneración de los derechos fundamentales, una violación de la legalidad sancionada por el Estado y la institucionalización y legitimación de manera informal de la pena de muerte.]

- Provides the number of lynchings and the number of deaths between January 2015 to July 2017 in Aragua, Barinas, Bolívar, Carabobo, Cojedes, Distrito Capital, Falcón, Lara, Miranda, Monagas, Nueva Esparta, Táchira, Trujillo, Zulia, and Estados Anzoátegui.
- Between January 2015 to July 2017, Pineda identified 50 lynchings and 68 deaths, while the LYLA data registered 21 lynchings during the same period.

Insight Crime (2017):<sup>33</sup>

- Analysis based on a report by the Ministry of Internal Relations.
- The article does not provide a specific definition of lynching but mentions that “until 2015 the deaths of criminals at the hands of popular mobs were sporadic, occurred in rural or suburban sectors and did not represent a concern for the government”, suggesting that lynchings are regarded as events resulting in deaths. [Hasta 2015 las muertes de delincuentes a manos de turbas populares eran esporádicas, ocurrían en sectores rurales o suburbanos y no representaban una preocupación para el gobierno.]
- Provides the number of deaths from lynchings across the nation between January 2015 to September 2016.
- Insight Crime identified 75 deaths between January 2015 to September 2016.

The Venezuelan Observatory of Social Conflict (2017):<sup>34</sup>

- The source does not provide its data collection method.
- The source does not give a specific definition of lynching but includes lynching attempts in its data.
- Provides the number of lynchings across the nation between January to November 2017.
- The Observatory identified 200 lynchings (including lynchings attempts) in 2017, while the LYLA data registered 6 lynchings during that year.

Oré & Ulmer (2015):<sup>35</sup>

- Newspaper article presenting data collected by Reuters using other news sources.
- The article does not provide a specific definition of lynching.
- Provides the number of lynchings across the country between January 2014 to September 2015.
- Oré and Ulmer identified 70 lynchings in 2014 and 2015, while the LYLA data registered 7 lynchings during the same period.

Aguilar (2016):<sup>36</sup>

- Article by the Observatory of Violence in Venezuela, which relates numbers emanating from the government.
- The article defines lynching as “a form of violence promoted by a group of people who catch a criminal committing some misdeed. According to psychologist Alberto De Luca, lynching “is a tumultuous execution against a person who has transgressed certain

<sup>33</sup> See Insight Crime. Linchamientos en Venezuela aumentan 650% en 2016. (2017). Retrieved from <https://es.insightcrime.org/noticias/analisis/linchamientos-alza-venezuela/>

<sup>34</sup> See Observatorio Venezolano de Conflictividad Social. Linchamientos e Intentos de Linchamiento en Venezuela 2017. (2017). Retrieved from <https://www.observatoriodeconflictos.org.ve/derechos-humanos/200-casos-de-linchamientos-e-intentos-en-venezuela-en-2017>

<sup>35</sup> See Oré, D. & Ulmer, A. Cansados de la delincuencia, Venezolanos hacen Justicia por sus propias manos. Reuters. (2015). Retrieved from <https://www.reuters.com/article/portada-venezuela-linchamientos-idLTAKCN0R14FL20150901>

<sup>36</sup> See Aguilar, M. J. El Linchamiento Satisface la Necesidad de Justicia en la Poblacion Venezolana. Observatorio de Violencia. (2016). Retrieved from <https://observatoriodeviolencia.org.ve/news/el-linchamiento-satisface-la-necesidad-de-justicia-en-la-poblacion-venezolana/>

intolerable limits for a population". [Una forma de violencia promovida por un grupo de personas que sorprende a un delincuente cometiendo alguna fechoría. De acuerdo al psicólogo Alberto De Luca, el linchamiento "es una ejecución tumultuaría en contra de una persona que ha trasgredido ciertos límites intolerables para una población.]

- Provides the numbers of persons lynched and the number of deaths across the country in 2016.
- Aguilar identified 74 persons lynched and 37 deaths in 2016.

Vidal (2016):<sup>37</sup>

- Newspaper article referring to data emanating from the Lara Observatory of Social Conflict.
- The article does not provide a specific definition of lynching.
- Provides the number of lynchings, the number of persons lynched, and the number of deaths in Lara between May to September 2016.
- Vidal identified 21 lynchings, 33 persons lynched, and 5 deaths, while the LYLA data does register any lynching during this year in Lara.

Rodríguez (2017):<sup>38</sup>

- Newspaper article.
- The article does not provide a specific definition of lynching but includes an interview of Esther G. Pineda, suggesting that Rodríguez's definition of lynching matches Pineda's.
- Provides the number of deaths in Monagas in 2017.
- Rodríguez identified 20 deaths from lynching in Monagas in 2017.

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<sup>37</sup> See Vidal, B. Linchamientos: Síntoma de una Crisis de Autoridad. El Impulso. (2016). Retrieved from <https://www.elimpulso.com/2016/10/02/linchamientos-sintoma-una-crisis-autoridad/>

<sup>38</sup> See Ramirez, L. Linchamientos se esconden tras el anonimato Comunitario. Observatorio de Violencia. (2016). Retrieved from <https://observatoriodeviolencia.org.ve/news/linchamientos-se-esconden-tras-el-anonimato-comunitario/>

## Country report: Costa Rica, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, Panamá

Note: We combine the reports for Costa Rica, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, Panamá as we have not found additional sources of data on lynching on these countries nor independent studies.

For Costa Rica, the LYLA dataset records 21 lynching events between 2010 and 2019. For El Salvador, the LYLA dataset records 0 lynching events between 2010 and 2019. For Honduras, the LYLA dataset records 9 lynching events between 2010 and 2019. For Nicaragua, the LYLA dataset records 6 lynching events between 2010 and 2019. For Panamá, the LYLA dataset records 26 lynching events between 2010 and 2019.



*Figure 1. Map of lynchings in Costa Rica, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, Panamá*

### Reported lynchings and Factiva reports

LYLA data is based on Factiva reports. We show how reported lynchings developed in comparison to the overall news coverage of Factiva in Costa Rica, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Panama (Figure 2). For Costa Rica, overall, we have an average of 27,009 articles per year in the observation period and a mean of 8.5 lynching events per 100,000 articles. For Honduras, overall, we have an average of 13,577 articles per year in the observation period and a mean of 6.8 lynching events per 100,000 articles. For Nicaragua, overall, we have an average of 14,616 articles per year in the observation period and a mean of 4.8 lynching events per 100,000 articles. For Panamá, overall, we have an average of 86,150 articles per year in the observation period and a mean of 2.8 lynching events per 100,000 articles. We did not identify any lynching events in the case of El Salvador.

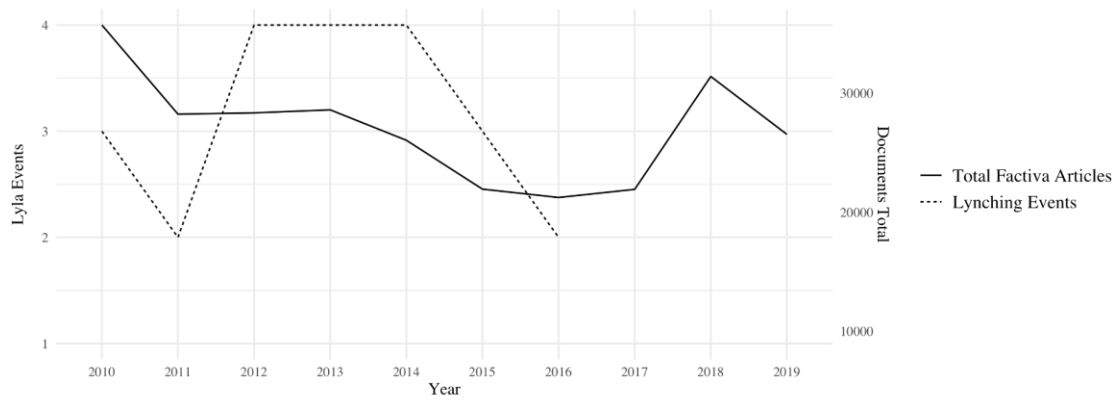


Figure 2. Costa Rica Yearly Articles published on Factiva and number of lynching events

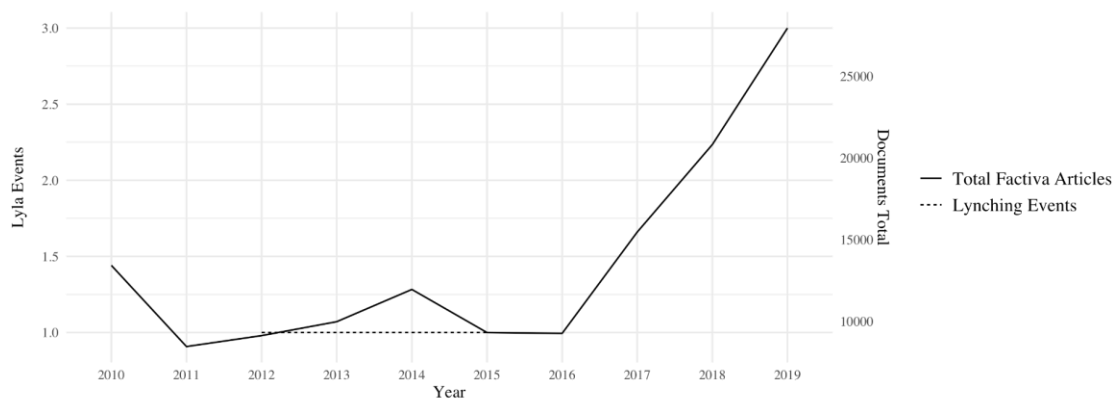


Figure 3. Honduras Yearly Articles published on Factiva and number of lynching events

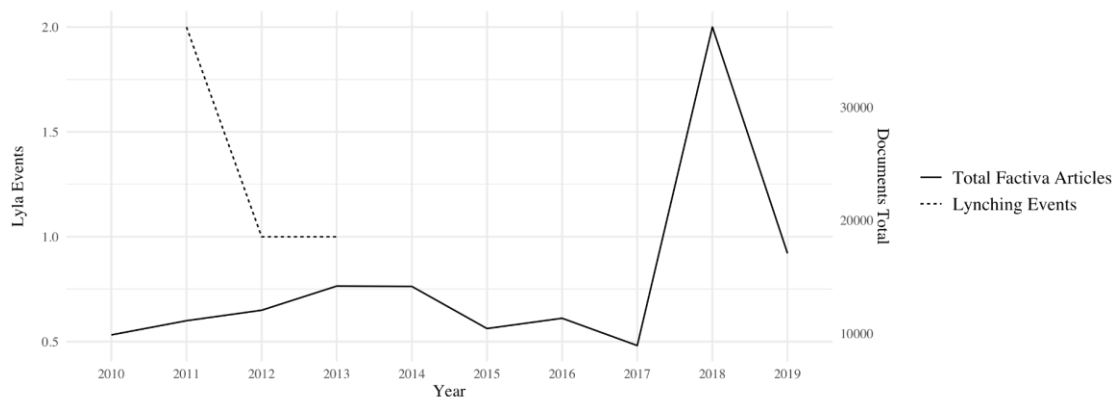
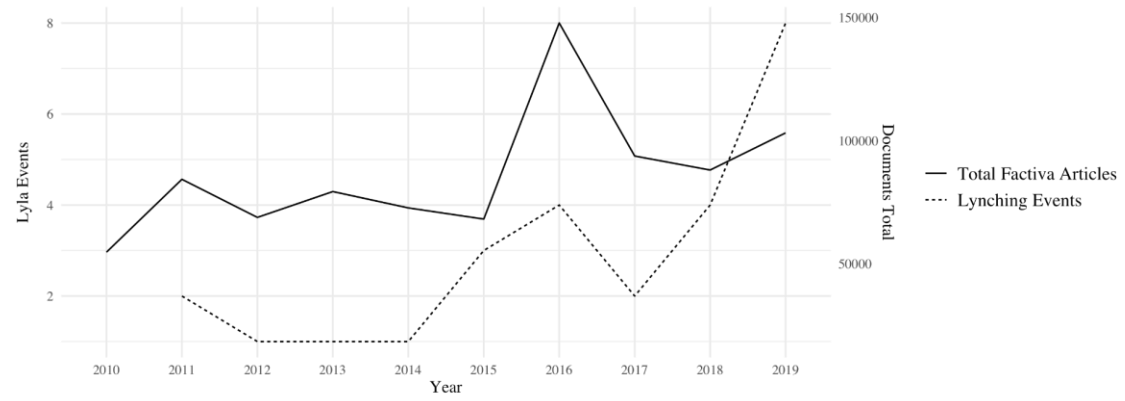


Figure 4. Nicaragua Yearly Articles published on Factiva and number of lynching events





*Figure 5. Panama Yearly Articles published on Factiva and number of lynching events*

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