Appendix - The Political Legacies of Exile: How Inclusive Reception Policies Shape Refugee Long-Term Political Engagement

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1 Additional Evidence to Support the Natural Experiment Assumption

1.1 Unconfoundedness Assumption

In addition to the discussion of probabilistic assignment in the main text, and following Titiunik, 2021, p. 118, I address the additional unconfoundedness assumption necessary for the 1984 refugee camp assignment to constitute a natural experiment. The section on probabilistic assignment in the main text showed that refugee selection into either treatment condition was due to operational decisions in the execution of the relocation process and shortcomings that led to the halfway abandonment of the transfer. In other words, the chance of the draw was based on the location of the refugee camps at the time of transfer. In this section, I address an important threat to the unconfoundedness assumption: the odds that patterns of refugee settlement in Mexico were due to geographic sorting in Guatemala in ways that correlate with post-return participation. Although the Guatemalans initially settled in Mexico based on their municipality of origin, I show that the municipalities were similar on important prewar characteristics, suggesting that the refugees from the relocated area were likely no different on average than those who stayed on prewar characteristics relevant to post-war political engagement.

I address the possibility that the Guatemalans initially established camps in Mexico following patterns of displacement and resettlement endogenous to the outcome of interest, post-return participation in non-violent protest. Indeed, previous research has shown that armed groups resort to collective targeting to eliminate disloyal civilians from a territory (Steele, 2011) and that individuals are selected on the basis of presumed loyalties to rival organizations (Balcells & Steele, 2016). It is therefore possible that the Guatemalan regime targeted first and foremost civilians associated with the guerrillas, and therefore that those who left and first settled in Mexico were politicized guerrilla sympathizers. Thus, although the Mexican government adopted an indiscrim-

inate relocation strategy, the settlement patterns of the refugees could have led the authorities to relocate refugees that were significantly different from those who stayed, thereby threatening the unconfoundedness assumption. This is particularly important given the fact that the Mexican government primarily relocated the refugees settled in two zones of Chiapas: Ocosingo and Marques de Comillas, as shown on Figure 2 in the main text. I rely on two strategies to determine whether there was significant variation in the Guatemalans' settlement patterns. First, I reconstruct the timing of violence in the refugees' municipalities of origin to elucidate whether potentially more politicized communities were displaced first. Second, I use data from the 1979 agricultural census, the 1973 population census, and redistribution claims from the 1952 Agrarian Reform to examine whether the relocated and non-relocated groups differed on important prewar characteristics.

1.2 Displacement from Guatemala to Mexico

During the 1960s, state repression in Guatemala targeted urban dissidents through selective killings. By the late 1970s, under General Romeo Lucas García, repression extended to rural areas (Ball et al., 1999: 3). The year 1981 marked a significant escalation in state violence (CEH, 1999). After 1981, violence in the countryside became indiscriminate, culminating under General Efraín Ríos Montt's "scorched earth" policy in 1982, which destroyed nearly 600 villages (CEH, 1999). Refugees began flooding Mexico's southern border in 1981, with the first camps in Chiapas recorded that year. The majority of victims were Maya villagers, often killed in large groups that included women and children, reflecting a counterinsurgency ideology that deemed indigenous populations inherently subversive and susceptible to guerrilla influence (Ball et al., 1999). Mass abuses against civilians led to the recognition of a genocide committed by the Guatemalan state against the Maya between 1982 and 1983 (Brett, 2016; Rivas Cifuentes, 1990).

In Northern Guatemala, the Guatemalan army pursued a strategy of "scorched

earth" aiming to drain the area of civilian populations that could support the guerrillas. The army launched several and simultaneous counterinsurgency operations in Quiché and Huehuetenango between 1981 and 1982, producing three massive waves of displacement (Pérez Mendoza, 2023, p. 54), shown on Figure A1. Between the end of 1981 and December 1982, the military targeted the border municipalities of Santa Ana Huista, San Miguel Acatán and Nentón. Civilians fled to the areas of La Trinitaria and Comalapa in Chiapas. In June and July 1982, the army committed a series of massacres in the municipalities of Barillas, San Mateo Ixtatán and Nentón, in the department of Huehuetenango. The exactions provoked a second, concomitant wave of displacement to Mexico, with Guatemalan peasants fleeing to the neighboring zones of Tizscao-Montebello and Margaritas-Maravilla Tenejapa in Chiapas. Finally, a series of army-led massacres in Ixcán triggered a third wave of displacement from the municipality to the zone of Marqués de Comillas between February and July 1982 (Pérez Mendoza, 2023). Military repression in Northern Guatemala therefore spanned a total of five months and indiscriminately targeted indigenous villages. In the municipality of Ixcán, all but 9 of the 150 villages that existed before 1982 were destroyed or partially destroyed (Falla, 2013). The adoption of a "scorched earth strategy", the short time lapse of the campaigns, as well as their highly destructive nature suggest that the Guatemalan army did not single out specific communities for displacement but rather sought to indiscriminately empty the border region of its civilian population.

Figure A1: Refugee Displacement from Guatemala to Mexico. Author's elaboration based on information and sketch from Pérez Mendoza (2023)

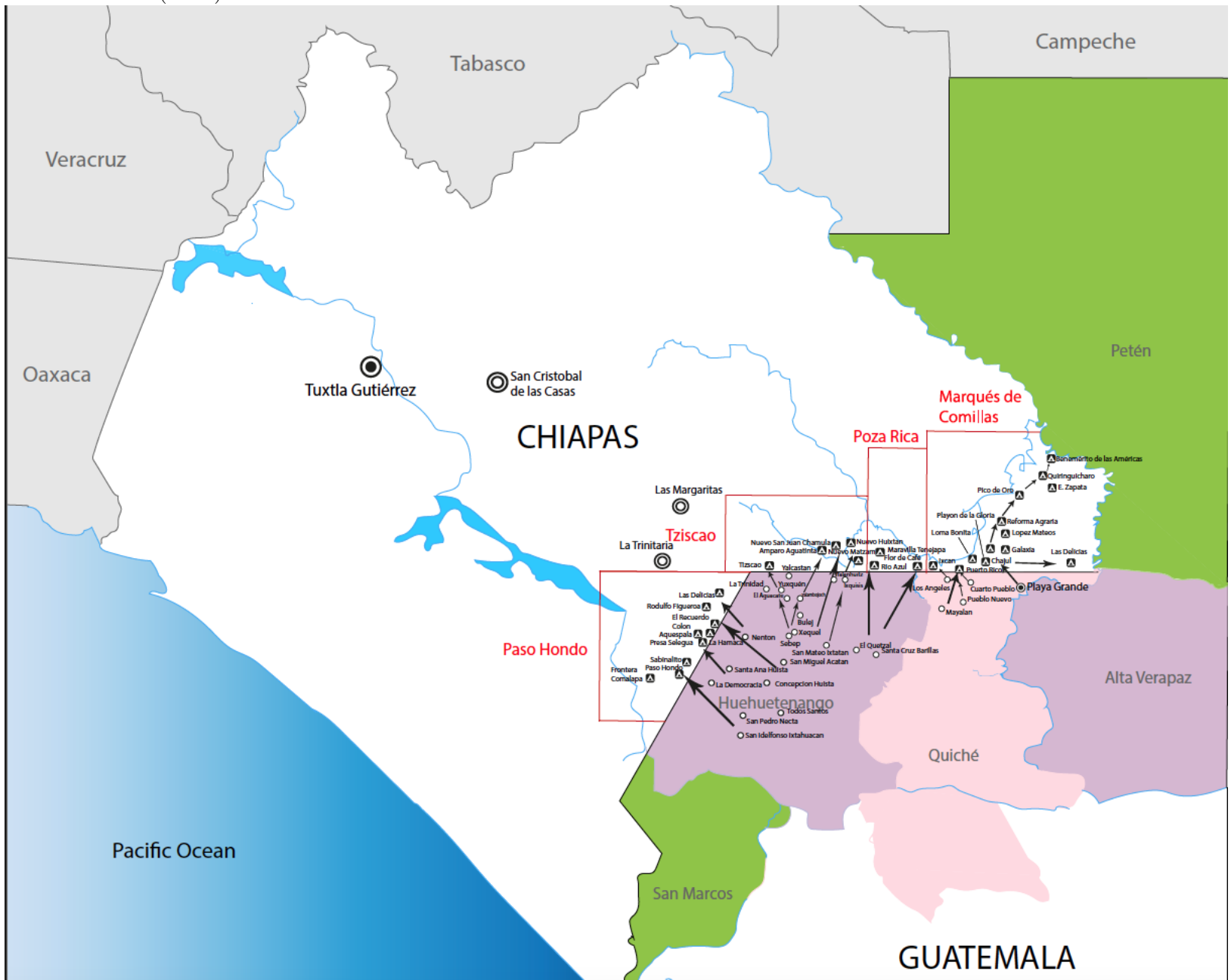


Figure A1 present patterns of displacement of indigenous civilians from Guatemala to Mexico between 1981 and 1982. Following concomitant waves of counterinsurgent repression, Guatemalan civilians fled their villages and sought refuge in Mexico. Although the refugees initially settled in Mexico, directly across the border from their villages of origin, subsequent displacements within Mexico led to the mixing of different populations. This is evidenced by the highly heterogeneous composition of the camps (see census data compiled by Aguayo et al. 2000) and the relocation of refugees from ethnic groups whose traditional areas of presence in Guatemala were far from the border (see Figure A1). Archival documents from UNHCR record several instances of "spontaneous resettlement" among the refugees. Resettlement often occurred due to violent incursions of the Guatemalan army, family reunification, disagreements between refugees, or space availability, resulting in population movements between zones that left some camps empty while overcrowding others. A letter from Pierre Jambor, the UNHCR Representative in Mexico, dated December 20, 1983, highlights major changes in the camps (UNHCR 3):

> a) El Mango, Niagara, La Palma, Nuevo Horizonte, Nuevo San Francisco joined together in a new location called Sinaloa, which had not been previously detected by COMAR and where 125 refugees were originally located. El Coban joined to San Jose Belem (not previously recorded by COMAR). b) José Ma. Morelos, Cieneguitas, Nuevo Mexico, Carmen Xhan (see item c), Rio Azul: Increase of number of refugees coming from internal movements (e.g. refugees returning from their temporary work at "fincas" when work permit expires). c) New arrivals: Carmen Xhan: 21 new arrivals on 19th October. d) Decrease: Guadalupe Victoria from 701 to 417. This is an ejido where refugees had been working as "jornaleros" (paid per day). However, a group of them, 284, decided to separate and settled in Nanzalito.

Other memos similar to Jambor's list were sent by local UNHCR staff to headquarters between early 1983 and the 1984 relocation. These resettlements posed logistical

challenges, complicating efforts to maintain consistent census data (UNHCR 1-3). Notably, some of these population movements involved refugees entering and leaving Las Margaritas and Ocosingo, the areas from which the camps would eventually be relocated in 1984 (UNHCR 4-5).

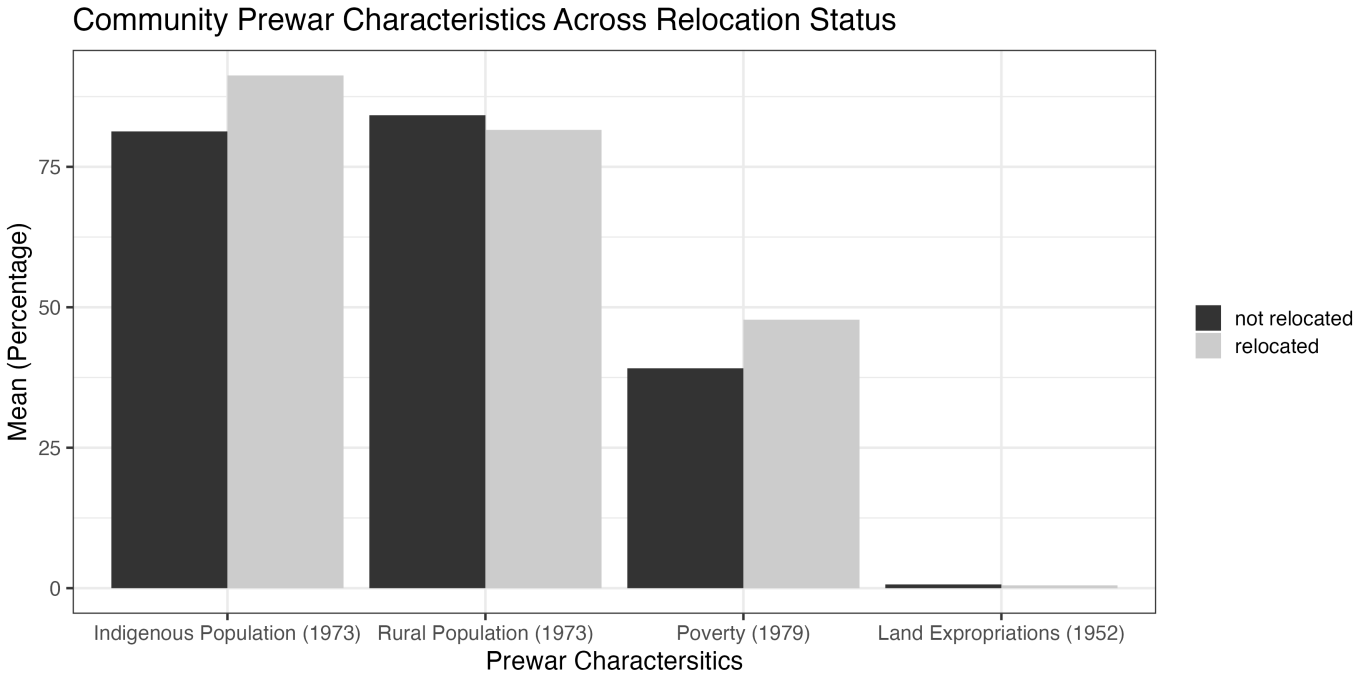
1.2.1 Prewar Characteristics of the Communities of Origin

Based on patterns of resettlement in Mexico, the Guatemalans who were later relocated to Yucatán were predominantly displaced during the third wave of counterinsurgent repression discussed above. I turn to examine the prewar characteristics of refugees' villages of origin. I compare the refugees displaced during the third wave and who were relocated to Yucatán, and the refugees of the first and second waves, who were not. Figure 3 presents data on the distribution of indigenous populations, rurality, poverty, and prewar political activism across the relocation divide. Information comes from the 1973 Guatemalan Population Census, the 1979 Agrarian Census, and the Agrarian Reform archives of the Archivo General de la Nación.

Figure A2 presents four main prewar variables. The first variable, *Percentage Indigenous* (1973) computes the percentage of the population that identified as indigenous in a given municipality in 1973 based on municipal-level total population and total indigenous numbers taken from Table 1 of the VIII Population census of 1973. The second variable, *Percentage Rura*l comes from the same table and is a ratio of municipal-level rural population to municipal-level total population in 1973.

The *Poverty* (1979) variable is an indirect measure computed from the 1979 Agricultural Census. Anthropologist Victoria Sanford in her book, *La masacre de Panzós*, cites a nutritional study from 1977 indicating that, for families that cultivate parcels of 1.9 manzanas (land measuring unit in Guatemala) or less, child malnourishment amounts to about 38%. This rate falls to 17% for children whose families cultivate 5 manzanas of land. She writes: "the difference between 0.55 manzanas and 2.3 manzanas per family is the possibility of their children's survival" (Sanford, 2009, p. 51). Using the 1979 agricultural census, I calculate the proportion of fincas(farms) smaller than 2

Figure A2: Prewar Characteristics of the Refugees' Communities of Origin Across Relocation Status.



manzanas per municipality, taking this measure as an indicator of extreme poverty in each locale.

Finally, the measure *Land Expropriations* (1952) captures prewar political activity in municipalities during the 1952 Agrarian Reform. The Agrarian Reform promoted by progressive President Jacobo Arbenz during Guatemala's so-called "Democratic Decade" (1944-1954) involved an ambitious land redistribution program. Redistribution involved the formation of local peasant's committees, often encouraged by local unions, which would identify vacant land in large estates. The committees would then report the estates to a special commission, which would proceed to expropriations and land redistribution. The data were compiled from the special fund Decree 900/Instituto Nacional de Transformación Agraria at the Archivo General de Centroamérica in Guatemala City. I collected a count of land expropriations in 1952 per municipality. The measure is useful for two reasons.

First, the 1952 Agrarian Reform represented an unprecedented moment for the organization of the Guatemalan peasantry (Handy, 1994). Landless peasants living under quasi-feudal conditions of exploitation were suddenly given a voice, the right to organize, and a chance to push back against their work conditions. Land expropriations involve the existence of active peasant-led committees at the municipal level and indicate a strong politicization process. Second, land expropriations may have triggered local elites, who saw in Arbenz's reform the materialization of their worst nightmares of indigenous rebellion. One could therefore expect that those municipalities most active during the Agrarian Reform could have been identified as more politicized and therefore targeted first and foremost during the genocide. Figure A2 shows that this was not the case, probably due to the almost immediate reversal of the Agrarian Reform after a military coup removed Arbenz from office in 1954[1].

Figure A2 shows important similarities across the villages of origin of the relocated and non-relocated groups. First, similar socioeconomic and political characteristics across the displacement waves suggest that repression and displacement timing were not correlated with important prior political activity or defining population characteristics. Second, prior research shows that responses to violence vary by socioeconomic factors. For example, owning physical capital reduces migration likelihood, as individuals weigh the potential loss of property against migration benefits (Adhikari, 2013; Bohra-Mishra & Massey, 2011), while social capital influences the timing of departure (Schon, 2019). The data suggest that the municipalities were relatively homogeneous in ethnicity, rurality, and poverty levels. These similarities imply that, although specific groups within villages (e.g., poorer villagers) may have been more prone to displacement, the overall pool of potential displaced individuals was consistent across relocated and non-relocated groups.

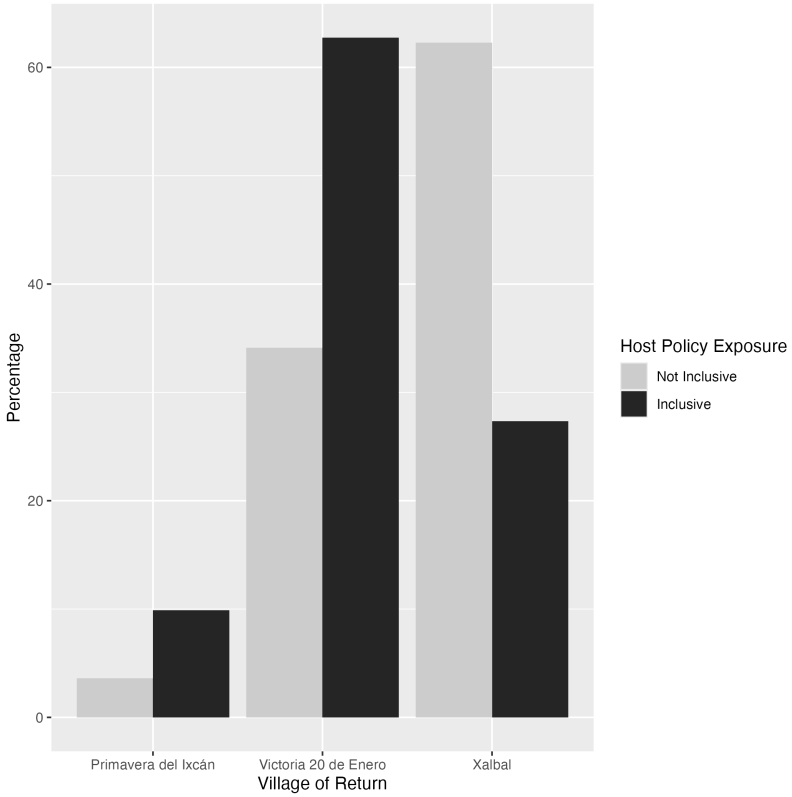
[1]Importantly, Figure A2 does not include Ixcán, the return municipality where this study took place. This is due to the fact that Ixcán was only recognized as a separate municipality in 1985 and belonged to the municipality of Chajul and the department of Huehuetenango prior to that date

1.2.2 Return to Mexico

About half of the total number of refugees in Mexico returned to Guatemala between 1993 and 1998, with 23,000 returning and 22,000 staying in Mexico (MINUGUA, 1999). In 1993 alone, about 3,773 refugees returned in two waves to Ixcán. Of those, 2,480 (575 families) returned as part of the first wave of return in January 1993 and are the focus of the present study (Nolin Hanlon & Lovell, 2000). About half of the returnees of the first wave came from Yucatán (1,200 individuals) and the other half were from Chiapas (1,280 individuals) based on estimates by Nolin Hanlon and Lovell (2000). Those who remained in Mexico started the process of naturalization as Mexican citizens: by 1998, 5,323 refugees had received a FM2 immigrant visa in Yucatán and 5,080 had received it in Chiapas, awaiting naturalization (Kauffer Michel, 2002, p. 23).

While one could expect that camp governance would have affected the refugees' decision to return, no discernible pattern emerges from the first return wave based on the numbers cited above. It is also unclear in which direction camp governance would have influenced preferences for return. On the one hand, embeddedness in local communities in Chiapas may have prompted the refugees to want to stay. On the other, greater politicization may have motivated individuals to return to Guatemala and demand better life conditions. Multiple accounts also highlight the high attachment to land -an important component of Mayan cosmovision (Worby, 2002)- as well as the desire to reunite will family back home (Nolin Hanlon, 1997) as important drivers of return in both Yucatán and Chiapas. Figure A3. shows the breakdown of return origin in the three villages surveyed:

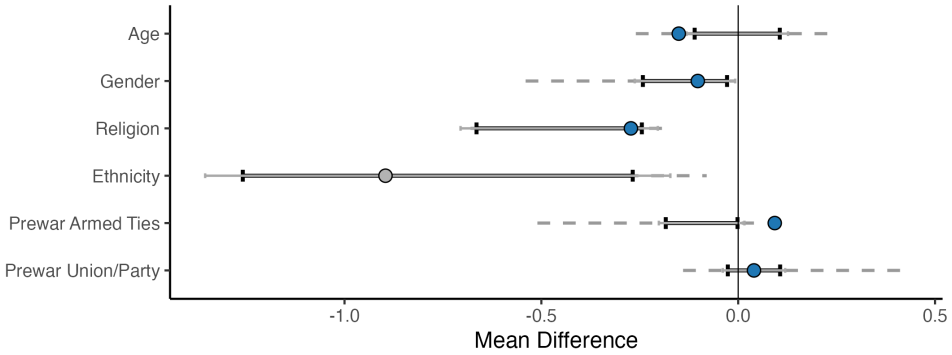
Figure A3: Origin of Returnees in the Surveyed Villages



1.3 Equivalence Testing

Figure A4 shows the results of an equivalence test on main demographic covariates for the full sample of former refugees. It includes refugees relocated in 1984 (older than 45) and refugees born after 1984 (aged between 31 and 45). It complements the equivalence test presented in the main text, that only examines balance for the refugees who experienced relocation (those who were already born in 1984). The test examines balance on key demographic variables and two political factors: Prewar Guerrilla Ties and Prewar Political Activism. The first is a binary variable indicating whether the respondent was affiliated with guerrillas before exile, while the second indicates membership in a union or political party before exile. These variables are critical as they likely correlate with both treatment assignment and post-return participation.

Figure A4: Equivalence Test for Full Sample (N = 379)

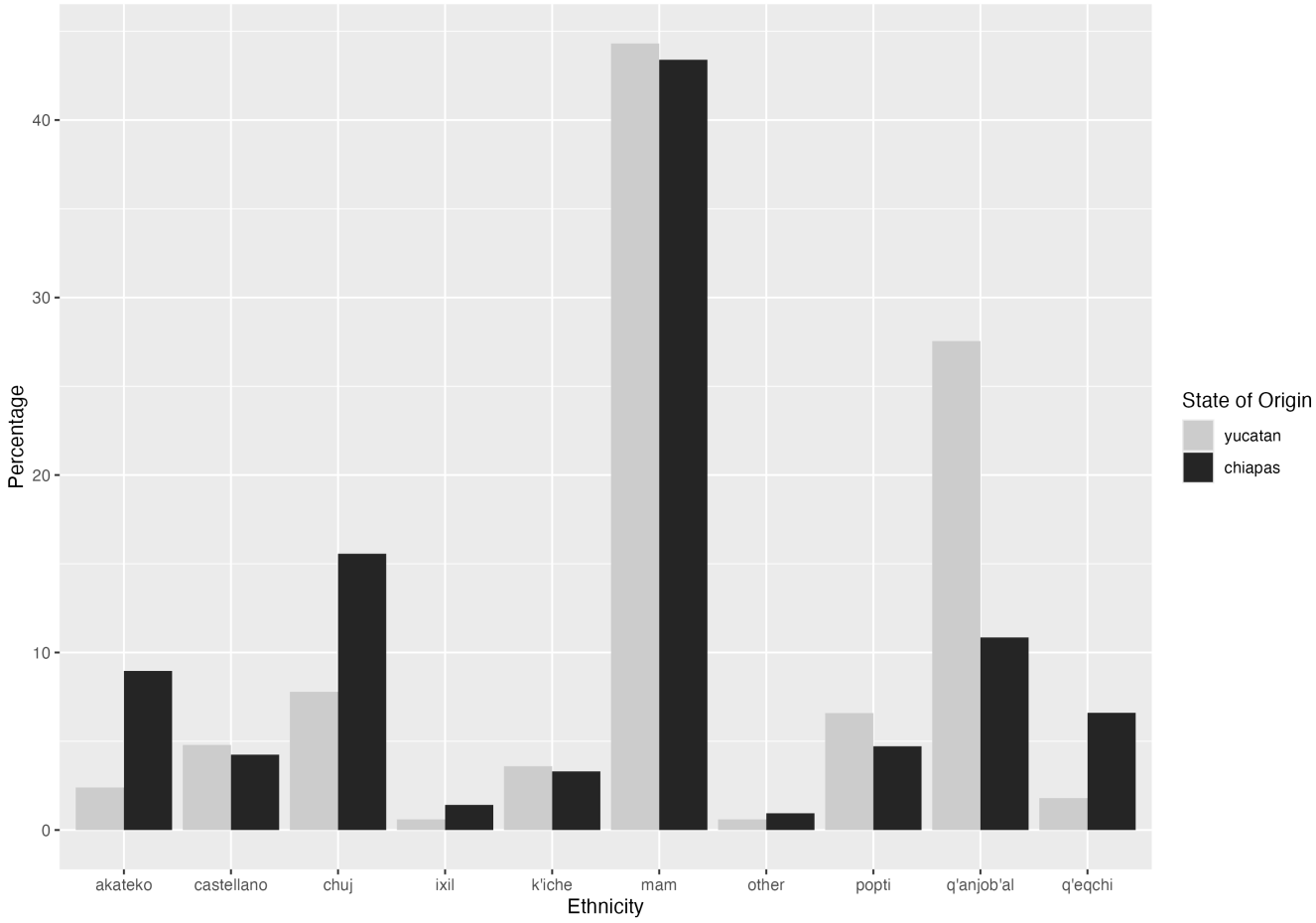


Equivalence test for the full survey sample, including former refugees born after the relocation (aged 31-44). The graph compares the means of the group of refugees who spent exile in Yucatan with the group of refugees who remained in Chiapas (N = 379). The baseline is the Chiapas group. Coefficients in blue show which coefficients are within equivalence bounds, based on a two-sample equivalence test (TOST). Equivalence bounds are plotted using horizontal dash lines for every coefficient and represent the range of effect sizes considered practically equivalent based on a

As the test presented in the main text, the full sample balance test indicates equivalence across all covariates except ethnicity. The sample includes ten ethnic groups with varying sizes, making full balance challenging to achieve. As discussed in the next subsection, selection into relocation is unlikely to explain this imbalance. Instead, it likely reflects differing ethnic group distributions across the border and their representation in the surveyed communities. I include models with controls for ethnicity in the analysis to account for this imbalance.

1.4 Addressing Ethnic Imbalance

Figure A5: Distribution of Ethnic Groups Across Treatment and Control Groups (N= 379)



I address the imbalance on ethnicity across relocated and non-relocated groups detected in the equivalence test. Figure A5 plots the distribution of ethnic groups across treatment status. While the K'iche, Mam, Ixil, and Popti ethnic groups are equitably distributed across treatment status, important imbalances exist among the Akateko, Chuj, Q'anjob'al and Q'eqchi'.

Although the distribution of ethnic groups is likely a reflection of the distribution of these populations in the communities where the survey was fielded, I examine the

possibility that imbalances in ethnic assignment across treatment and control are due to intentional selection by the Mexican government at the time of relocation. As mentioned in the main text, the militarized and forceful nature of the relocation process made refugee self-selection into treatment or control highly unlikely. The hypothesis that the Mexican Navy could have singled out individuals for relocation also appears improbable for at least two reasons.

First, due to the ethnic affinities between the Mexican and Guatemalan Mayas, the Mexican authorities may have wanted to single out specific groups for relocation. However, although some but not all Mayan languages are mutually intelligible across Guatemala and Mexico, all the refugees shared ethnic affinities with their Mexican neighbors. This is largely documented in the letters sent by Mexican farmers to the Diocese and the Mexican governments to oppose the relocation of "their brothers" across all areas of Chiapas (SCLC 9, SCLC 10). Therefore, relocating a specific ethnic group would not have proved a particularly efficient strategy to limit connections between the Guatemalans and their Mexican co-ethnics, and the Mexican government opted for a blanket relocation policy instead.

Second, while the Guatemalan army held unsubstantiated beliefs about the perceived rebelliousness of certain ethnic groups (in particular the Ixil group) and tried to identify them by their traditional dress (Guatemalan counterinsurgency manuals trained soldiers to recognize the dresses of different indigenous groups) (Smyth, 2022), the Mexican military lacked this ability, as the Guatemalan swiftly traded their traditional indigenous dress for local clothing to avoid being targeted based on their ethnic group (Menting, 2023, p. 379). Declassified SEDENA cables about refugee relocation do not explicitly mention ethnicity as a decisive factor for relocation either. Furthermore, the presence of individuals from all ethnic groups in both Chiapas and Yucatán shown on Figure A3 supports the argument that the 1984 relocation was probabilistic across groups. Figure A3 shows that some individuals who originated from Guatemalan villages located far from the transfer zone (i.e. the Chuj and the Q'anjob'al, who originate from the North of Huehuetenango) were relocated to Yucatán, and that individuals

from areas close to the relocation zone (i.e. the Q'eqchi) remained in Chiapas. The distribution suggests that internal resettlements posterior to arrival in Mexico led to the mixing up of individuals from different ethnic groups, leading to the relocation of individuals representing all the northern ethnic groups of Guatemala to Yucatán.

2 Sample Description

Table A1: Sample Composition

Statistic	N	Percentage
Mexican State of Refuge	379	
... Chiapas	212	56%
... Yucatán	167	44%
Survey Location	379	
... Primavera del Ixcán	27	7%
... Victoria 20 de Enero	190	50%
... Xalbal	162	43%

Table A1 reports the sample composition, showing the Mexican states where the refugees lived in exile, and their distribution across resettlement villages. More than half of the refugees sampled returned from the Chiapas camps and 44% came from the Yucatán camps. About 10% (45 respondents) of the initial refugee sample was composed of refugees who were dispersed and not formally attached to camps. This group of refugees was dropped from the analysis in this article.

Table A2 reports summary statistics of the sample for ethnicity, religion, gender, prewar activism, and the measure of participation in non-violent protest used in the article. The variable on protest participation records whether the respondent ever attended a protest since return. About 49% of respondents reported ever attending a protest. The variable "education" measured educational attainment, and took the values of "no schooling", "primary school", "middle or high school" and "higher education". Catholic is a dummy variable which records whether a respondent is catholic. Female is a dummy variable recording whether the participant is a woman. Finally, ethnicity takes 11 values based on the main language spoken by the respondents at home:

Table A2: Summary Statistics

Variable	N	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Protest Participation	0.49	0.5	0	1	
Education	359				
... No schooling	76	20%			
... Primary school	186	49%			
... Middle or High School	83	22%			
... University of superior	14	4%			
Female	379	0.56	0.5	0	1
Catholic	379	0.51	0.5	0	1
Ethnicity	379				
... Akateko	23	6%			
... Spanich	17	4%			
... Chuj	46	12%			
... Ixil	4	1%			
... K'iche	13	3%			
... Mam	166	44%			
... Other	3	1%			
... Popti	21	6%			
... Q'anjob'al	69	18%			
... Q'eqchi	17	4%			
Guerrilla ties	235	0.23	0.42	0	1
Union ties	226	0.11	0.31	0	1

akateko, castellano, (Spanish only, proxy for mixed-race), chuj, ixil, k'iche, mam, popti, k'anjob'al, k'ekchi, and other.

3 Methodological Details

3.1 Case Selection and Entering the Field

I selected the municipality of Ixcán, in the northern department of El Quiché as my main field site for two mains reasons. First, per the CEH's report Memory of Silence, the department of Quiche suffered the highest number of massacres (a total of 344) and human rights violations (45.52% of all the human rights violations committed during the conflict) committed during the armed conflict between 1962 and 1996. Most of the violations took place in the north, in the Ixil area (municipalities of Nebaj, Chajul and San Juan Cotzal) and in Ixcán (which was until 1985 part of the municipio of Chajul), which was the municipality most hardly hit by the genocide according to the CEH (CEH 1998, 321, 1743). Therefore, many of the refugees who fled to Mexico initially came from Ixcán. Second, due to their origin, most of the Guatemalans who had sought refuge in Mexico resettled in Ixcán after the war, with 7,731 individuals, or 58% of the returnees settling in the municipality (Nolin Hanlon, 1997). The three villages surveyed were selected based on refugee timing of return, as explained in the main text.

I conducted a first round of fieldwork at CIRMA in Winter 2020 and at the Diocese of San Cristóbal in Chiapas in Fall 2021. The second round of fieldwork took place from August to December 2022. During that second round, I spent the first two months in Guatemala City interviewing civil society actors and visiting new archives. The objective of the trip was establishing a first access point to get in touch with the communities of Ixcán. Not only are the communities located twelve hours away from Guatemala City, which makes impromptu visits complicated, but conducting research with and within indigenous communities requires observing a research protocol that respects customs and traditional structures of authority (George et al., 2020). I finally was able to establish contact with a local NGO who made the first connection with the community of Primavera del Ixcán. After I introduced the purpose of my research, they consulted with village leadership, and the community invited me to stay with them.

I conducted another four months of fieldwork in Ixcán during this second trip,

staying three weeks in the first village, doing interviews, focus groups, and participating in community activities. Based on inter-community ties, I secured access to the two other villages, Victoria 20 de Enero and Xalbal. In every new village, I presented the research design and goals to community leadership prior to entering the village. The survey phase of the research took place during my third field visit, between May and July 2023. In each village, I recruited a team of 15 survey enumerators and trained them over several days on research ethics, survey administration, and the use of mobile devices. The survey questionnaire was previously workshopped with community leadership, who provided guidance on question wording.

3.2 Ethical Considerations

Working with war legacies involves assessing the sensitivity of the research and the physical and psychological harm it could cause to participants. I presented my project to human rights and indigenous activists in Guatemala prior to fieldwork and asked for their feedback about the feasibility and risks associated with the project. My interlocutors credibly evaluated that the antiquity of the historical facts I was investigating should prevent potential retaliation against respondents. I continued to assess the security conditions of my research by regularly consulting my research assistants and local colleagues. In addition, I anonymized participants' responses, and stored identifiers in a secure database. Information that could cause any bodily or reputational harm was withdrawn from publication, and participants were always given the opportunity to withdraw from the study.

My investigation also potentially presented potential psychological harms through retraumatization of victims of violence. This was particularly important given the fact that the municipality of Ixcán does not count with a psychological infrastructure to which interviewees could be referred. I sought to minimize the possible of retraumatization through three strategies. First, interview participants were first approached by community leadership and informed of the research. Second, all three selected villages

had been previously visited by program representatives of the National Reparation Program and by truth-seeking initiatives, and the community of Primavera del Ixcán also interviewed villagers for its own memorialization initiative. Many respondents had previously participated in these initiatives and therefore had a good idea of the nature of the discussion and had already told their stories before. Third, I avoided asking direct questions about possibly traumatic events, adopting instead a life-story format in which the respondent narrated their life prior, during, and after the war. I did not insist when I sensed that topics were sensitive. The respondents frequently expressed gratefulness and satisfaction after the interviews, thanking me for my interest in their story and the opportunity to tell it. Some of them asked for a copy of the recording, which I provided.

Doing research in indigenous settings also requires cultural appropriateness, which involves producing knowledge not on but with indigenous participants under principles of trust, respect, and genuine reciprocity (George et al., 2020). This requires going beyond the ethical framework provided by the IRB, through situating the practice of securing informed consent within the bounds of traditional indigenous authority. In addition to completing an IRB, I engaged with indigenous authorities prior to the beginning of research to ensure that they had appropriate knowledge of the research goals and procedures. Since there is no singular indigenous approach to research ethics (Hayward et al., 2021), I made sure that my research was grounded in culturally relevant ethical principles by working constantly with indigenous research assistants, and by securing approval of my methodologies by indigenous authorities beforehand. Individual respondents also provided consent at the beginning of each interview and survey. In other words, I worked to secure both community and individual consent, which is consistent with the current concern in indigenous research ethics for balancing collective and individual rights (Hayward et al., 2021).

My research involves two main groups of participants. First, I collected experiences, perceptions, and narratives from former refugees of both Chiapas and Yucatán. The interviews were semi structured and were aimed at reconstructing the refugees'

experiences in exile. The interviews generally lasted two hours and took the form of life histories. I first asked the respondent to tell me about their life prior to the war, then to tell me what happened and what they did when exposed to violence, to tell me about their life in exile, and to comment on their return and current community life and local politics. Second, I interviewed community leaders in the different villages to have a sense of local politics and the political engagement of former refugee communities. Most of the leaders were also former refugees and the interviews followed the same general structure, with additional questions related to their responsibilities.

3.3 Interview Strategy and Historical Document Selection

Like any method, the use of qualitative research methods presents a number of challenges, including reliabillity (non-systematic measurement error) and respondent bias (systematic measurement error) for interviews (Gerson & Damaske, 2021), and selection bias for archives (Lustick, 1996; Thies, 2002).

3.3.1 Interview Strategy

For the interviews, I tackle these issues using different strategies: I draw on interviews stemming from different recruitment strategies, and in different villages. Working in indigenous communities, I had to balance the importance of giving the community enough control over the research process with the need for an unbiased sample. Upon validating the research program, leadership in each of the three villages selected volunteers that they thought would be most knowledgeable about the experience of refuge. While these volunteers turned out to be key informants, limiting my interviews to hand-picked volunteers would have ran the risk of systematically biasing the sample selection. To select new participants, I leveraged a feature of the indigenous community system in the villages I visited. The families of the community would take turns to feed me, and each day, a new family would come and pick me up at my house and bring me to their home for breakfast, lunch, and dinner. The rotations followed the geographic ordering

of the homes in each neighborhood[2], picking up where a foreign host had been hosted last. Every other week the hosting turn switched neighborhoods and a family from a different neighborhood would pick me up. I took advantage of the three meals I shared with the family that day to ask questions about community life and family trajectories. If someone in the family was a former refugee, I came back on a different day to see if they would accept to be interviewed. Overall, while the leadership and researcher selected interviewees showed discrepancies on their interpretation of current political events in the community – with the community hand-picked group being more positive about current community leadership – their accounts of the experience in refuge were fairly aligned.

Yet, what people say and what they do are different things (Small, 2017). What interviewees report to the researcher may be fraught with social desirability bias. Among returned refugees, talking in positive light about the experience in exile, and overreporting protest participation are two potential biases. Indeed, former refugees continue to identify with their experience in exile, and their responses may originate from a collective story forged among returnee communities that frame protest engagement as desirable, and paint exile as the idealized "origin story" of a positive political identity. I adopted two mitigation strategies to address social desirability bias. First, I avoided asking direct questions about returnee judgment of their life in exile and about attitude change, as this direct method has been shown to yield biased inferences (Graham & Coppock, 2021). Rather, the interviews followed a life history format, where I asked respondents to tell me about their life before the war, during it, and after. The narratives flowed naturally, and I only asked punctual questions to highlight specific moments or relevant aspects of the stories. I asked respondents to first discuss their lives in Guatemala prior to the war, asking about their family, parents' occupation,

[2]Although I did not explicitly leverage this fact in the research design, one person told me that the land assigned to the refugees had been adjudicated through a lottery process. Both farmland and house lots were raffled when the refugees returned, to avoid claims of unfair assignment. The families neighboring each other are therefore often part of a different ethnic group and not always related.

schooling. The respondents then recounted their experience witnessing violence, and the reasons that led them to flee to Mexico. I then asked them about their area of settlement in Mexico, and what life was like in the camps, sometimes asking more specifically about organizational participation, occupation, schooling, and specific challenges of life in exile. The interviews finished with the respondents talking about return and resettlement, and I asked them general questions about their opinion about current politics in Guatemala, community organization, and their participation in protest and other forms of political engagement. At key points in the interviews, I sometimes asked the respondents to tell me what they think their lives would have looked like had they taken another path (e.g. not gone to Mexico, not been through the war, not returned) in line with the approach proposed by Graham and Coppock, 2021. Several participants did so without being prompted.

Second, following the advice of Small and Cook, 2023, I triangulate interview data with ethnographic observations. While direct observation of past events is not possible, I frequently integrate information from observations during my ethnographic fieldwork in the empirical section on contemporary refugee participation. For instance, I was present in returnee communities in the months leading to and during the Guatemalan general elections of 2023. I was able to observe protests and corroborate returnee protest participation visually, lending support to reported levels of participation in interviews and in the survey.

3.3.2 Historical Document Strategy

While working with historical documents, potential bias that comes with source selection also presents potential challenges. In this article, I rely on archive evidence from a wide range of sources to produce *causal process observations* (CPOs) that support the plausibility of exogenous assignment of refugees to camps, provide information about exposure to inclusive hosting, and evidence regarding the proposed mechanisms. Several layers of bias can emerge from archive research (Darnton, 2018). The first layer is the composition of the archive fund itself; the researcher needs to take into account the

selection criteria followed to incorporate documents to the fund and possible bias in the selection process. The second layer comes from what the researcher chooses to consult from the fund and what conscious or unconscious selection criteria they follow. The third layer is what excerpts the researcher selects from each source. While selection bias can come from the structure of the archive fund, it may also emerge from conscious or unconscious investigator bias[3].

I adopted several strategies to mitigate possible sources of bias during the archive phase of my research. I followed two strategies to mitigate bias stemming from archive fund composition and document selection. First, I collected data from a diversity of sources with divergent aims and ideological leanings and compared their contents, seeking similarities and divergences in their record of historical events. For each fund, I asked what type of evidence would constitute "smoking gun evidence" (e.g. evidence that would not present the actor who compiled the documents in a positive light), and what type of evidence would be more typical to find, weighting the evidence accordingly. I triangulated information across funds, making sure I had at least two sources for each CPO type. Second, I conducted both targeted searches based on key words such as "refugees" or "Guatemalans" (and other key words as well since this research was conducted as part of a greater project), as well as "vacuum style" revisions of the fund, selecting folders randomly and copying any document that seemed relevant for my search. This allowed me to make sure I did not miss relevant information and make it plausible that I reached information saturation.

[3]Other sources of bias may emerge from the selective use of secondary sources, which I do not address here given my limited reliance on such sources. For a great methodological discussion see Thies (2002) and Darnton, 2018.

Table A3: Archive Sources and Research Use

Archive Fund[4]	**Search Strategy**	**Boxes and Folders Consulted**	**Use in the Research**
Archivo General de Centroamérica, Guatemala City	Indexes of the "Archivo MAGA-INTA", List of properties affected by Decree 900 in Alta Verapaz, Baja Verapaz, Chimaltenango, Huehuetenango, and Quiché	Indexes only	*Treatment assignment CPO*: Compute numbers of fincas expropriated to compute the Land Expropriations measure in Appendix 1
Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City	Targeted search with keywords: "refugiados", "Guatemala", "campamentos", "Chiapas", "Quintana Roo", "Campeche"	SEDENA cables: Cards under "asilados politicos guatemaltecos", "ejército guyerrillero de los pobres en Guatemala", and intelligence cards about refugee leaders	*Treatment assignment CPO*: Intelligence of the Mexican Marine and Army about the refugees, decision-making process about relocation, relocation policy execution

[4]All funds were consulted by the author, except for the fund at the Library of Congress, which was visited by a graduate research assistant.

Center for Mesoamerican Research (CIRMA), Antigua, Guatemala	Combined strategy: review of Dutch Solidarity Committee archive, ACPD, Iglesia Guatemalteca en el Exilio + targeted search for Patrullas de Autodefensa Civil and Refugiados	"EGP I"; "FAR, PGT, MRP"; "ONU II- MINUGUA"; "CPR (Sierra, Ixcán, Petén)"; "CIREFCA/GRICAR"; "Retorno-CONGCOOP"; "Comisiones permanentes (CCPP)"; "Refugiados en México"; "Boletin informative, coordinación de ayuda a refugiados"; "Iglesia Guatemalteca en el Exilio"; "FDCR"; "Tierra CONIC"; "CUC (1978-1986)", "CUC (1987-1992", "CUC, Sol a Sol (1975-1988)", "Recortes de Prensa FDCR"; "Noticias de Guatemala 1978-1983", "Noticias de Guatemala 1984-1997"; "Voces del Tiempo", "Noticias de Guatemala 1992-1996"	*Independent Variable CPO*: Information about camp policies in Chiapas and Yucatán. *Mechanism CPO*: Information about refugee organization, contacts with peers, refugee letters denoting efficacy and institutional expectations. Information about refugee return to Guatemala
Center for Mesoamerican Research Library	Search for prewar census data	1973 Population census; 1979 Agricultural Census	*Treatment assignment CPO*: Compute Poverty measure + Percentage indigenous in Appendix 1

Diocese of San Cristóbal de Las Casas, Chiapas, Mexico	Revision of over 25% of the fund, alternated between revisions of boxes with low numbers; middle and high numbers based on list provided by fund. Selection of all boxes that included information 1) about refugee settlement in Chiapas in 1981; 2) direct letters from the refugees to the Diocese and other actors; 3) camp maps and census data; 4)about the 1984 relocation; 5) about camp administration policies and living conditions in the camps of Chiapas and Yucatán (receipts, reports about productive projects; education/health plans, etc). I left out local newspapers about Chiapas and Mexican politics, folders about local guerrilla activity (Zapatista), reports about the socioeconomic situation of Chiapas and the Central American peace process	1-10; 31-37; 41; 43; 63; 72-177; 179-195; 197; 199-217; 230-299; 301; 309-317; 320-333; 339; 343; 354-359; 361; 362; 364; 369; 371; 373; 413; 439; 441; 498; 499; 506; 511; 514; 516; 520; 524; 537; 545; 547; 590; 592; 678; 762; 773; 789; 803; 867; 870; 891; 893; 906; 909; 920; 930; 935; 938-940; 951; 1004; 1005; 1012; 1037; 1038; 1041; 1045; 1059; 1081; 1145; 1167; 1170; 1182; 1183, 1190, 1212; 1215; 1216. (314/1228 folders)	*Treatment assignment CPO*: Information about 1984 relocation policy: decision-making process of Mexican authorities, refugee opposition to relocation; information about which camps were relocated; *Independent Variable CPO*: Information about camp policies in Chiapas and Yucatán; *Mechanism CPO*: Information about refugee organization, contacts with peers, refugee letters denoting efficacy and institutional expectations; Information about refugee return to Guatemala

Guatemala News and Information Bureau, Princeton University	Targeted search with keywords : "refugiados", "Guatemala", "campamentos", "Chiapas", "Quintana Roo", "Campeche"	Caminante journal, scattered documents	*Independent Variable CPO*: Complementary evidence about refugee livelihoods in Chiapas
Library of Congress, Washington DC	"Vacuum style" revision of Agrarian Reform boxes and selective departmental documents	Boxes 10, 14, 39–44; Reels 50–52	*Treatment assignment CPO*: Additional measures of union presence in municipalities of Guatemala (not reported)
National Security Archive (online)	Revision of declassified documents on Guatemalans in Mexico	Mexico Project, "Mexico's Southern Front" collection	*Treatment assignment CPO*: Intelligence of the Mexican Marine and Army about the refugees, decision-making process about relocation, relocation policy execution

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)	Online request for all boxes on Guatemalan refugees in Mexico. Some files not shared for confidentiality	11/2/61–610.MEX.GUA Vols B, F, G, H (some files requested but not made available)	*Treatment assignment CPO:* Information about 1984 relocation policy: decision-making process of Mexican authorities, refugee opposition to relocation; information about which camps were relocated; *Independent Variable CPO*: Information about camp policies in Chiapas and Yucatán; *Mechanism CPO:* Information about refugee organization, contacts with peers, refugee letters denoting efficacy and institutional expectations

Regarding researcher selection bias, it is useful to say that I had no *a priori* knowledge about exogenous refugee assignment to Yucatán. I initially traveled to Chiapas to revise the fund of the Diocese of San Cristóbal for information about refugee livelihoods in exile and stumbled upon documents about the relocation policy. With the hunch that the 1984 relocation could constitute a natural experiment, I visited the Archivo General de la Nación in Mexico City, consulted documents from the National Security Archive, and requested documents from UNHCR to uncover specific aspects of the decision-making process that would confirm or disconfirm this preliminary finding. Information about prewar activism in Guatemala had been collected previously as part of a broader project on wartime violence. Using source triangulation, I compared information about the three CPOs, systematically seeking disconfirmatoy evidence and empirical nuance. Following the advice of Darnton (2018), Table A3 specifies the location of the documents consulted, placing them in their larger documentary context. It also explicitly articulates the search logic that led to the uncovering and selection of specific documents.

4 Robustness Checks

Figure A6: ATE, CBPS adjusted ATE, and Regression-adjusted ATE

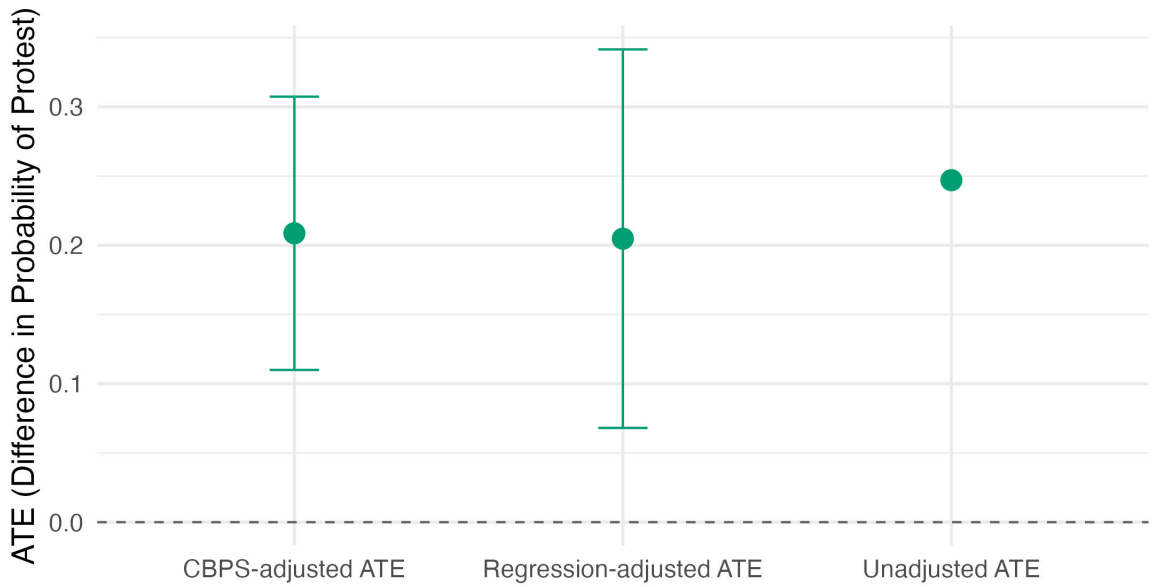


Figure A6 presents three models, in addition to the average treatment effect (ATE) presented in the main text. I present a linear probability model with demographic controls. Following Imai and Ratkovic, 2014, I also use covariate propensity score balancing (CBPS) to adjust for the imbalance on ethnicity detected in the equivalence tests. The results are robust to weighting and the introduction of pretreatment controls. Table A4 provides the full models.

Table A4: Full Models - Regression and CBPS adjusted ATE

	Dependent variable:	
	Protest Participation	
	(Regression)	(CBPS)
Inclusive Hosting	0.205***	0.214***
	(0.070)	(0.066)
Primary school	0.057	0.067
	(0.076)	(0.075)
Middle or high school	0.200	0.284**
	(0.131)	(0.125)
Higher education	0.589***	0.620***
	(0.226)	(0.183)
Age 57+	0.043	0.049
	(0.073)	(0.073)
Female	−0.030	−0.034
	(0.066)	(0.065)
Catholic	0.164**	0.186***
	(0.072)	(0.069)
Chuj	−0.043	−0.116
	(0.162)	(0.138)
Ixil	−0.141	−0.179
	(0.305)	(0.244)
K'iche	0.217	0.221
	(0.213)	(0.198)
Mam	−0.047	−0.048
	(0.137)	(0.113)
Other	−0.473	−0.447
	(0.498)	(0.366)
Popti	−0.070	−0.088
	(0.191)	(0.183)
Q'anjob'al	−0.140	−0.145
	(0.150)	(0.138)
Q'eqchi	−0.061	−0.076
	(0.248)	(0.243)
Prewar union membership	0.181*	0.202*
	(0.108)	(0.109)
Prewar guerrilla ties	0.051	0.013
	(0.083)	(0.082)
Constant	0.231	0.214
	(0.165)	(0.138)
Observations	226	226
R^2	0.181	0.230
Adjusted R^2	0.110	0.163
Residual Std. Error (df = 207)	0.472	0.480
F Statistic (df = 18; 207)	2.541***	3.436***
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01	

5 Additional Measures of Participation

Figure A7: Returnee Protest by Topic

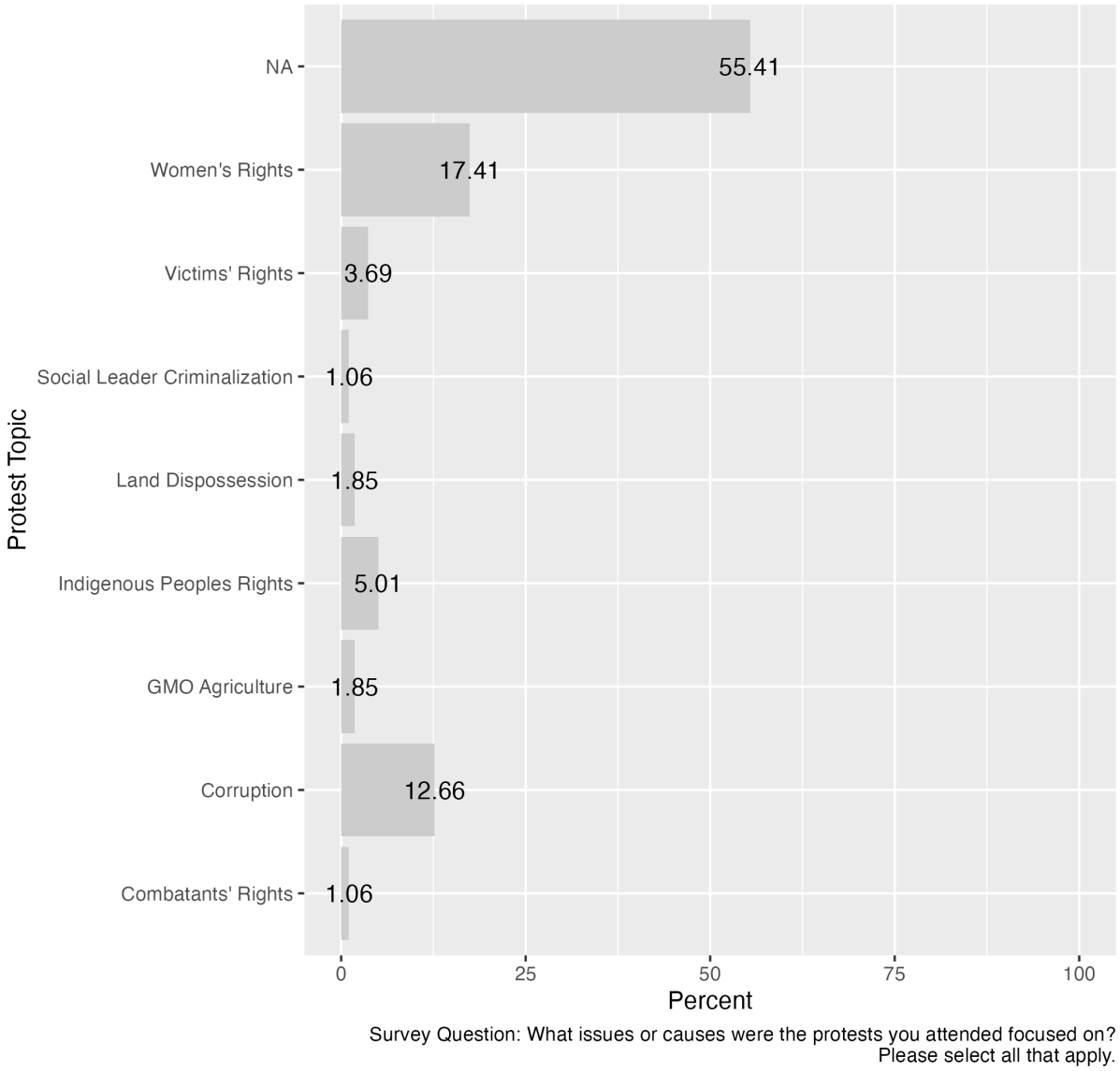


Figure A7 leverages the household survey to provide additional information about the type of protests the returnees attended, based on the original household survey. I also provide additional information about returnee engagement in community chores, a

fundamental component of indigenous village activities, and participation in the 2023 elections.

Figure A8: Returnee Participation in Community Chores

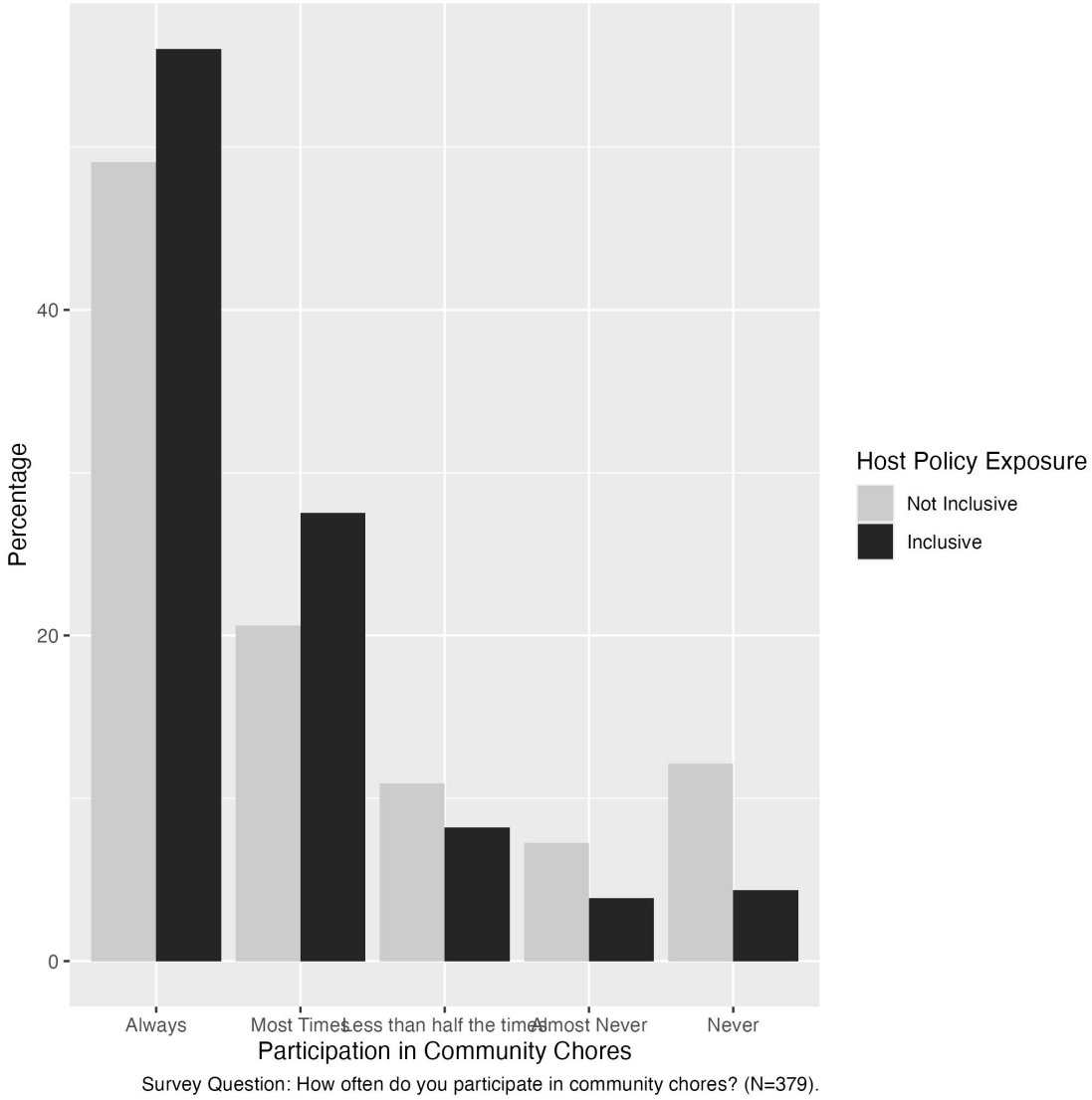
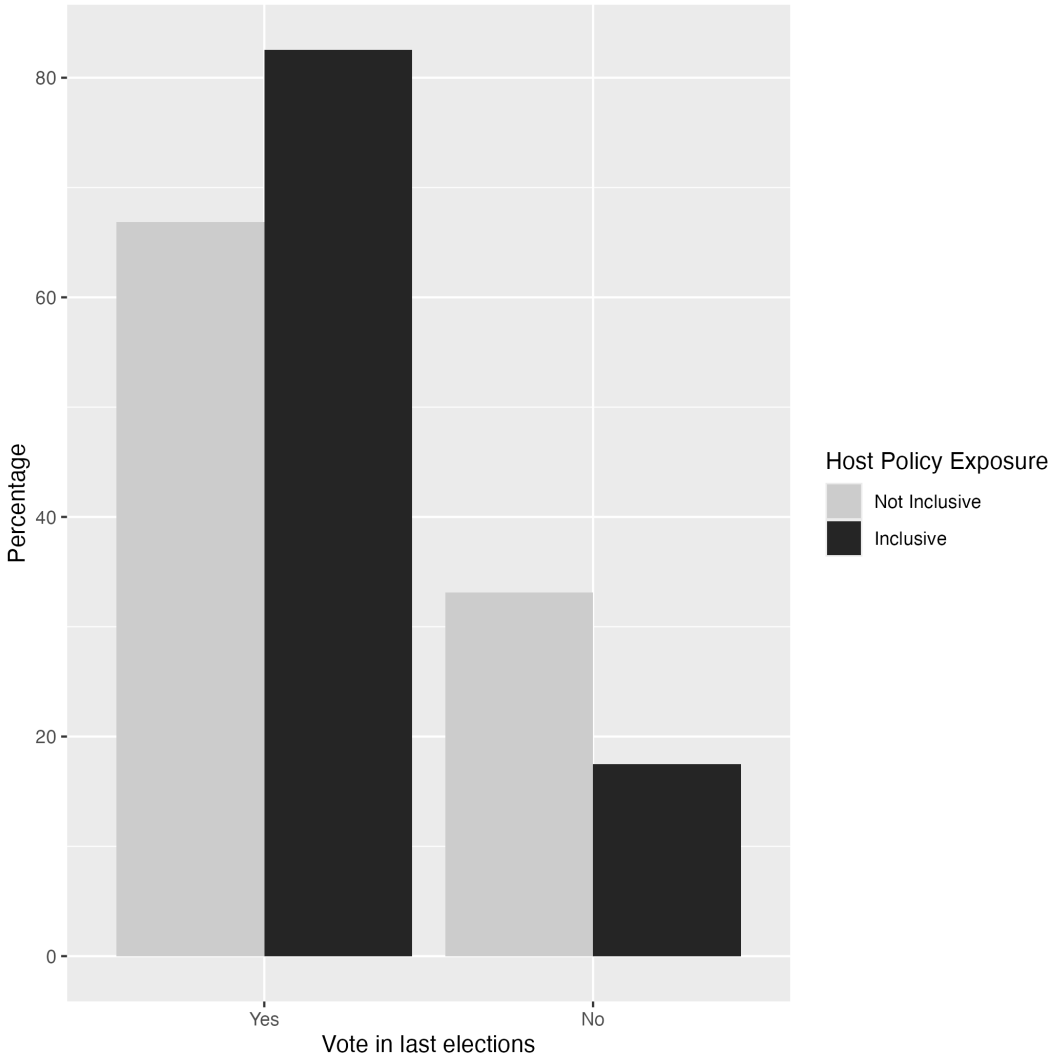


Figure A8 suggests that returnees from Chiapas report participating more frequently in community chores than their counterparts of Yucatán. Likewise, as displayed on Figure A9, they are also more likely to report voting in the June 2023 general elections.

Figure A9: Returnee Vote in June 2023 Elections



Although this article focused on returnee participation in protests, these descriptive results suggest greater engagement of the returnees of Chiapas across both formal, informal, and community-based participation modalities.

6 Archive Data Sources

The following table reports the archive sources cited in this article. Abbreviations in the table and in text refer to the following archive funds: AGN- Archivo General de la Nación in Mexico City; CIRMA – Center for Mesoamerican Research, Antigua Guatemala; NSA – National Security Archive, Washington DC; SCLC – Diocese of San Cristóbal de Las Casas, San Cristóbal de Las Casas, Chiapas, Mexico; UNHCR – United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Geneva, Switzerland.

Table A5: Archive Sources Cited in the Main Text

In-text reference	**Full Source**
AGN 1	Secretaría de la Defensa, slides. Circa May 1984. "Why relocate the refugee camps?", Mexico's Archivo General de la Nación, SEDENA Caja 19, expediente 62, pages 605–625
AGN 2	Secretaría de la Defensa, report. *Problemática Existente en el Sureste del País*. Mexico's Archivo General de la Nación, SEDENA Caja 19, expediente 62, pages 494–496
AGN 3	Secretaría de la Defensa, intelligence cable. *Estudio de Estado Mayor*. Circa July 16, 1984. Mexico's Archivo General de la Nación, SEDENA Caja 19, expediente 62, pages 533–541
AGN 4	Secretaría de la Defensa, *Estudio de Estado Mayor*, Circa November 15, 1984. Mexico's Archivo General de la Nación, SEDENA Caja 19, expediente 62, pages 542–548
CIRMA 1	Aguilar Zinser, Adolfo. "En Campeche las cámaras, en Chiapas la acción", *Unomasuno*, July 15, 1984. Centro de Investigaciones Regionales de Mesoamérica. Fondo del Comité Holandés de Solidaridad. Refugees Folder.

CIRMA 2	Fazio, Carlos. "Soldados mexicanos y guatemaltecos juntos. Depredaciones en Chiapas, dice la Diócesis; sólo traslado: Gobernación", *El Proceso*, July 16, 1984. Centro de Investigaciones Regionales de Mesoamérica. Fondo del Comité Holandés de Solidaridad. Refugees Folder.
CIRMA 3	"Refugiados guatemaltecos en Chiapas: Respecto a su naturaleza cultural". Entrevista a Monseñor Samuel Ruiz, obispo de San Cristóbal de las Casas, Chiapas, *Estudios Ecuménicos*, December 1984. Fondo del Comité Holandés de Solidaridad. Refugee Folder.
CIRMA 4	Asamblea Consultiva de las Poblaciones Desarraigadas, internal document, "Valoraciones sobre el avance en el cumplimiento del Acuerdo para el reasentamiento de la población desarraigada por el enfrentamiento armado", Archivo ACPD.
CIRMA 5	Asamblea Consultiva de las Poblaciones Desarraigadas, communiqué. "Three public forums on the return", June 1992. Archivo ACPD.
GNIB 1	*Caminante informaciones*, Diocese of San Cristóbal de Las Casas, August 1985, page 8. Guatemala News and Information Bureau Archive 1963–2000, Latin American and Iberian Studies Collections.
GNIB 2	Press communiqué, Christian Solidarity Committee, January 15, 1986. "A propósito de la reubicación de los refugiados de Chajul, Chiapas, hacia Quintana Roo". Guatemala News and Information Bureau Archive 1963–2000.
NSA 1	State Department Bureau of Intelligence and Research, secret assessment. *Guatemala's Guerrillas Retreating in the Face of Government Pressure*. March 1983. Released to NSA under FOIA, October 1999, Archive Request No. 13296

NSA 2	Central Intelligence Agency, secret analysis. *Guatemala: Reluctant Central American Partner*, November 23, 1984. Released to NSA under FOIA, March 1998, Archive Request No. 15468
SCLC 1	Collection of letters sent by the refugees. Folders 62 to 77. Archive of the Diocese of San Cristóbal de Las Casas, Chiapas. Refugee Fund.
SCLC 2	Permanent Commission for the Representation of Guatemalan Refugees in Mexico, "Comunicado de Prensa", February 1995. Folder 497.
SCLC 3	"Relaciones para la propuesta de presupuesto proyectos productivos. Zona de refugiados Chiapas, México." June 1990. Folder 169, doc. 4.
SCLC 4	"Resistencia de los campesinos refugiados guatemaltecos sobre la operación de los centros comunitarios de ecodesarrollo El Porvenir y La Gloria". Folder 81.
SCLC 5	Letter from the camp of La Gloria to Don Samuel Ruiz, March 2, 1990. Folder 520, doc. 1.
SCLC 6	Letter from the camp of La Gloria to the Diocesan Council, April 23, 1991. Folder 520, doc. 5.
SCLC 7	Report by Gunter Hoppenmuller and Anita Kuhr, German Green Party, after visiting refugee camps. Folder 516, doc. 5.
SCLC 8	Map of relocated camps. Folder 511.
SCLC 9	Comité Cristiano de Solidaridad. "Acta de la reunión de solidaridad", August 21, 1984. Folder 537.
SCLC 10	Letter from Comisión Ejidal of ejido Guadalupe Miramar. Folder 76.
SCLC 11	Leaflet "Me encuentro con Jesús. Me dice: Te quiero...". Jean Vanier. Folder 1045, doc. 1.
SCLC 12	"Informe de la comisión...", July 8, 1985. Folder 515, doc. 1.
SCLC 13	Minutes from Porvenir I camp meeting, May 15, 1994. Folder 389, doc. 12.

SCLC 14	Census, productive projects, education/health report. Folder 172.
SCLC 15	Refugee testimonies, "Historia de nuestra salida...", August 26, 1990. Folder 803, doc. 1.
SCLC 16	Minutes, Asamblea General de la Vertiente Norte. Campeche, October 10–12, 1994. Folder 498, doc. 49.
SCLC 17	Refugee testimonies, "La reubicación de Chajul". Folder 516, doc. 2.
SCLC 18	Coordinadora de ayuda a refugiados guatemaltecos, communiqué. May 21, 1987. Folder 592, doc. 3.
UNHCR 1	Cable from C. Bertrand to UNHCR HQ. February 7, 1984. Vol. 7. Fonds 11, Series 2, Box 12.
UNHCR 2	Report from Alfredo Witschi. "Situation Report on Chiapas". April 10, 1984. Vol. 7. Fonds 11, Series 2, Box 126.
UNHCR 3	Report from Pierre Jambor. "Guatemalan refugees in Chiapas". December 20, 1993. Vol. G. Fonds 11, Series 2, Box 126.
UNHCR 4	Report from Alfredo Witschi. "Activities in Chiapas". March 22, 1984. Vol. 7. Fonds 11, Series 2, Box 126.
UNHCR 5	Report from Pierre Michaëllis. "Situation Report in Chiapas". February 28, 1984. Vol. 7. Fonds 11, Series 2, Box 126.

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