

Extortion, Civic Action, and Political Participation Among Guatemalan Deportees

Supplementary Appendices

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A.1 Deportees' Context

Table A1: Recent Deportation Statistics (Guatemalans)

	Deportations to Guatemala	
	US	Mexico
2019	54919	50794
2020	29790	26149
2021	7778	53156
2022	6612	41824

Sources:

<https://www.ice.gov/doclib/news/library/reports/annual-report/eroReportFY2020.pdf>

<https://www.ice.gov/doclib/eoy/iceAnnualReportFY2022.pdf>

http://politicamigratoria.gob.mx/work/models/PoliticaMigratoria/CEM/Estadisticas/BoletinesMyH/2022/Cuadros2022/cuadro_3.3.xls

http://politicamigratoria.gob.mx/work/models/PoliticaMigratoria/CEM/Estadisticas/Series_historicas/3b_EDxPaisySexo_11_21.xls

Figure A1: Characteristics of Communities One Month After Arrival

The Deportee's Life One Month After Arrival

Characteristics of arrival community, one month after deportation.

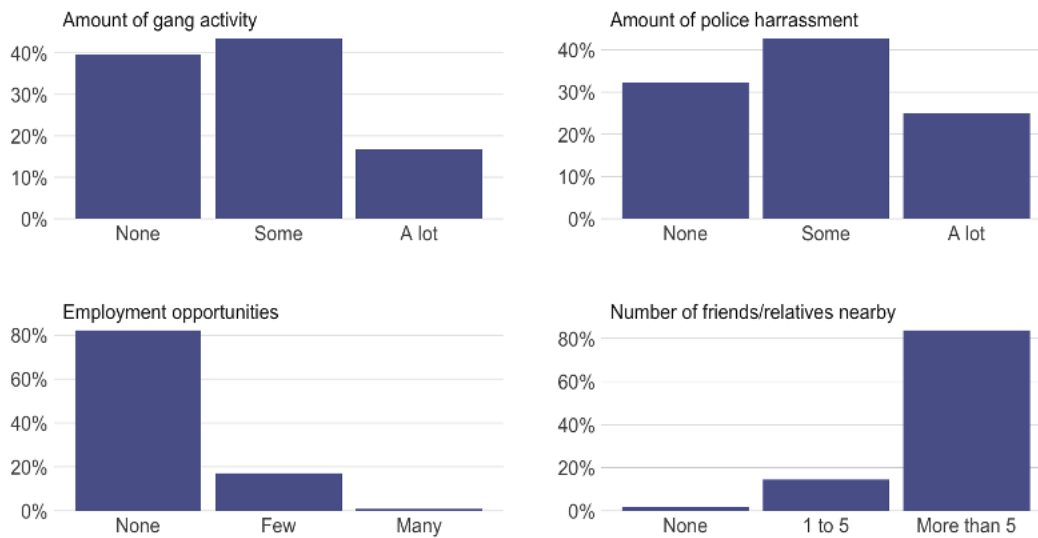
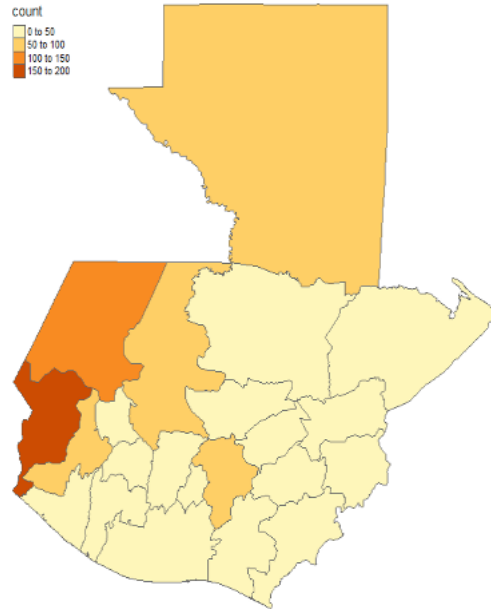


Figure A2: Department of Origin



A.2 Question Language, Key Variables

All questions are asked in waves 2-3, except *Extortion*.

Extortion (*Asked only if respondent used a coyote on most recent migration trip, whether to enter the US or within the US*)

Coyotes, people who work with coyotes, and other individuals who transport people to and within the United States may use threats or other intimidating acts to make you feel too afraid to try to leave. At any stage during your most recent trip to the U.S., did any of the following happen to you?

You/your family were required to pay more smuggling fees than originally agreed or bad things would happen to you or your family?

(0) No, (1) Yes

Fear of Crime (Any): 0 if no to all A-F, 1 if yes to at least one A-F

Fear of Crime (Count): Count of how many yes responses to A-F (0-6)

Out of fear of being a crime victim, since you arrived back in Guatemala:

- A. Have you avoided leaving your home by yourself at night?
- B. Have you avoided using public transportation?
- C. Have you prevented children from leaving the house?

- D. Have you felt the need to move to a different neighborhood out of fear of crime?
- E. Since you arrived, have you changed your job or place of study out of fear of crime?
- F. Since you arrived, have you obtained a weapon for personal security?

[For A-F:] (0) No, (1) Yes

Currently Unemployed

Do you currently have a job?

(0) No, (1) Yes

Economic Difficulties

Your economic hardship in Guatemala is:

(1) Low difficulty, (2) Medium difficulty, (3) High difficulty

Economic Situation (Bad)

In general, how would you rate your current economic situation? Would you say that it is very good, good, neither good nor bad, bad or very bad?

(1) Very good, (2) Good, (3) Neither good nor bad, (4) Bad, (5) Very bad

Monthly Income

What is your total monthly income in Quetzales? If this varies month to month, try to give an average you expect to make.

(1) Q0, (2) Q1 – Q1,000, (3) Q1,001 – Q2,000, (4) Q2,001 – Q3,000, (5) Q3,001 – Q4,000, (6) Q4,001 – Q5,000, (7) Q5,001 – Q8,000, (8) Q8,001 or more

Civic Action Index: average of answers to [civic] questions

Political Action Index: average of answers to [political] questions

There are many ways of getting involved in one's community. Do you think you will or will not do each of the following in the coming year?

- A. Attend a community meeting [civic]
- B. Volunteer with a local organization [civic]
- C. Mentor young people around here [civic]

- D. Participate in a peaceful protest [political]
- E. Affiliate with a political party [political]
- F. Vote in a future national election [political]

[For A-F:](1) I definitely won't, (2) I probably won't, (3) I'm feeling about 50/50, (4) I probably will, (5) I definitely will

A.3 Qualitative Interviews

In order to more deeply contextualize the mechanisms of our main results, we conducted 18 semi-structured interviews with deportees that used a coyote for crossing into the US. We divided these individuals in four groups based on their intentions to remigrate and their experience of extortion. We then randomly selected ten from each group to contact by phone with the goal of interviewing between 4 and 5 people per group. The final number of interviewees per group can be found in Table A2. Given the COVID-19 restrictions, we conducted all of these interviews by phone. The interviews lasted an average of 30 minutes, and participants were compensated with 50 Quetzales of phone credit. Group 1 individuals were extorted and intended to remigrate, group 2 respondents were extorted and did not intend to remigrate, group 3 interview subjects were not extorted and intended to remigrate, and group 4 individuals were neither extorted nor intended to remigrate.

Table A2: Number of Interviews per group

		Extorted	
		Yes	No
Intent to Remigrate	Yes	4	5
	No	4	5

A.3.1 Semi-Structured Interview Questions, English

1. First of all, can you please tell me a little about what it has been like to reestablish yourself in Guatemala? What has gone well for you and what has been challenging?

- How easy or hard is it to get by financially since you returned from Guatemala? (Why? Can you give examples?)
 - Do expenses from the U.S. or the migration journey make your economic situation easier or more difficult? Can you give examples?
- How does your economic situation affect how you feel about the future? Why?
 - Do these feelings affect whether you want to stay in Guatemala or return to the U.S.? How so?
- There are different ways that we all experience stress. Stress can make us more emotional, more forgetful, and more likely to make mistakes. Stress also may make it harder to sleep or to make healthy choices. To what extent do you feel stress these days, and in what ways? (Why? Examples?)
 - Is your economic situation a source of stress? Why?
 - Does this stress affect whether you want to stay in Guatemala or return to the U.S.? How so?

2. Now, I'd like you to think back to your migration experience getting to the U.S. I know that this journey can sometimes be very difficult in many different ways. Can you tell me a little about what was easy or hard about the journey? What parts of your experience would you like people in the U.S. to be aware of?

- Did you consider using a coyote on the journey? If so, what made you decide to use one or not?
- If you did use a coyote, was it someone familiar to you or people you know, or was it a stranger? On what parts of the journey did you use a coyote?
- In our research, we have seen that some returnees were tricked or taken advantage of by coyotes. In your experience or the experience of people you know, do you think this is common? What kinds of experiences have you heard of like this?

3. How safe or unsafe do you feel in your community these days? Why do you feel that way?
 - How do your feelings about community safety affect the ways you are (or are not) active in your community? Why?
 - (ask if some level of discomfort or fear) What kinds of actions would you like to take if you felt more comfortable or established in your community? Are there programs, meetings, or organizations you would like to be more involved in? Why?
4. Are there ways in which your migration experience has changed who you are today? For example, are there ways you are stronger and more confident? Are there ways you are more cautious or skeptical?
5. If you could tell other Guatemalans thinking about going to the U.S. how the journey may affect them long-term, what would you say? What should they be prepared for, and how can they best move past any negative experiences they might have?

A.4 Summary Statistics

Table A3: Summary Statistics for Analysis Sample

	Count	Mean	S.D.	Min	Max
Extortion	520	0.20	0.40	0.0	1.0
Assault	520	0.07	0.25	0.0	1.0
Civic Action Index	517	4.53	0.87	1.0	5.0
Community Meeting	517	4.47	1.16	1.0	5.0
Volunteer	519	4.49	1.11	1.0	5.0
Mentor Youth	519	4.62	0.92	1.0	5.0
Political Action Index	510	3.54	1.14	1.0	5.0
Protest	520	3.28	1.75	1.0	5.0
Affiliate with Party	517	2.81	1.77	1.0	5.0
Intent to Vote	513	4.52	1.18	1.0	5.0
Economic Hardship Index	520	-0.02	0.70	-2.1	1.2
Econ Situation (Bad)	519	3.41	0.91	1.0	5.0
Economic Difficulties	520	2.21	0.75	1.0	3.0
Monthly Income	518	2.03	1.22	1.0	8.0
Currently Unemployed	519	0.52	0.50	0.0	1.0
Fear of Crime (Count)	520	1.94	1.45	0.0	6.0
Fear of Crime (Any)	520	0.79	0.41	0.0	1.0
Female	520	0.13	0.34	0.0	1.0
Age	520	30.85	9.10	19.0	63.0
Indigenous	520	0.37	0.48	0.0	1.0
Highest Education	520	7.08	4.52	0.0	17.0
Visible Tattoos	520	0.06	0.24	0.0	1.0
Children in GT	520	0.38	0.88	0.0	7.0
Children in US	520	1.15	1.44	0.0	7.0
Assets	520	0.13	0.34	0.0	1.0
Ln(Years in US)	520	0.25	2.06	-5.9	3.4
Local Social Network	520	2.81	0.43	1.0	3.0
Detained at Border	520	0.65	0.48	0.0	1.0

Note: Economic Hardship Index is a summary index of Monthly Income, Current Unemployment, Economic Difficulties, and Economic Rating.

A.5 Attrition and Balance

Table A4: Attrition after Arrival Survey

Variable	(1) Dropped Out After Round 1	(2) Panel Sample	(3) Difference
Extortion	0.174 (0.379)	0.184 (0.388)	0.010 (0.024)
Age	31.428 (9.681)	30.919 (9.173)	-0.509 (0.561)
Indigenous	0.399 (0.490)	0.336 (0.473)	-0.063* (0.029)
Female	0.067 (0.250)	0.109 (0.312)	0.043** (0.016)
Highest Education	5.917 (4.433)	7.212 (4.467)	1.295** (0.263)
Married	0.284 (0.451)	0.278 (0.449)	-0.007 (0.027)
Children in US	1.222 (1.682)	1.190 (1.484)	-0.032 (0.096)
Children in GT	0.429 (1.036)	0.382 (0.925)	-0.046 (0.059)
Detained at Border	0.659 (0.474)	0.645 (0.479)	-0.014 (0.029)
Ln(Years in US)	0.119 (2.319)	0.257 (2.103)	0.138 (0.134)
No. of Migrations	1.686 (1.140)	1.570 (0.888)	-0.115+ (0.063)
Visible Tattoos	0.092 (0.289)	0.076 (0.265)	-0.016 (0.017)
Intend Return U.S.	0.443 (0.497)	0.399 (0.490)	-0.043 (0.031)
Intend Visit Local Relatives	0.722 (0.448)	0.707 (0.456)	-0.015 (0.027)
Econ Situation in US	3.040 (1.017)	3.110 (1.031)	0.070 (0.061)
Econ Expectation in GT	1.969 (0.815)	1.939 (0.837)	-0.030 (0.050)
Observations	916	421	

Notes: Displays differences between group means in two-tailed t-test

+ $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$

Table A5: Survey Attrition & Personality from Rounds 2 to 3

Variable	(1) Dropped Out After R2	(2) Round 3 Sample	(3) Difference
Reserved	4.766 (0.756)	4.720 (0.699)	-0.046 (0.081)
Critical	1.444 (1.046)	1.284 (0.907)	-0.159 (0.109)
Anxious	1.524 (1.172)	1.540 (1.151)	0.016 (0.131)
Observations	124	212	

Notes: Personality variables only measured in round 2 of follow-up survey
 Displays differences between group means in two-tailed t-test

+ $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$

Table A6: Extortion During Migration - Follow-Up Respondents Only

Variable	(1) No Extortion	(2) Extortion	(3) Difference
Age	30.665 (8.934)	30.523 (8.818)	-0.142 (1.228)
Indigenous	0.345 (0.476)	0.400 (0.494)	0.055 (0.066)
Female	0.101 (0.301)	0.185 (0.391)	0.084+ (0.044)
Highest Education	7.198 (4.505)	6.769 (4.530)	-0.429 (0.621)
Married	0.288 (0.454)	0.246 (0.434)	-0.042 (0.062)
Children in US	1.162 (1.486)	1.031 (1.237)	-0.131 (0.199)
Children in GT	0.331 (0.866)	0.538 (1.017)	0.208+ (0.123)
Detained at Border	0.676 (0.469)	0.538 (0.502)	-0.138* (0.065)
Ln(Years in US)	0.372 (1.891)	0.134 (2.323)	-0.238 (0.273)
No. of Migrations	1.532 (0.881)	1.738 (1.020)	0.206 (0.125)
Visible Tattoos	0.068 (0.253)	0.046 (0.211)	-0.022 (0.034)
Intend Return U.S.	0.398 (0.490)	0.414 (0.497)	0.016 (0.072)
Intend Visit Local Relatives	0.692 (0.462)	0.683 (0.469)	-0.010 (0.065)
Local Social Network (Avg)	2.809 (0.435)	2.762 (0.477)	-0.048 (0.061)
Critical	1.375 (1.017)	1.364 (0.950)	-0.011 (0.151)
Reserved	4.741 (0.761)	4.709 (0.658)	-0.032 (0.112)
Anxious	1.567 (1.211)	1.564 (1.118)	-0.003 (0.180)
Observations	278	65	343

Notes: Displays differences between group means in two-tailed t-test

+ $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$

A.6 Use of coyote

Table A7: Using Coyote to Attempt Entry

Variable	(1) No Coyote In	(2) Coyote Into US	(3) Difference
Age	32.422 (10.176)	30.952 (9.324)	-1.470* (0.661)
Indigenous	0.293 (0.456)	0.400 (0.490)	0.107** (0.034)
Female	0.082 (0.275)	0.080 (0.271)	-0.002 (0.019)
Highest Education	6.203 (4.470)	6.357 (4.479)	0.154 (0.312)
Married	0.254 (0.436)	0.288 (0.453)	0.034 (0.031)
Children in US	1.266 (1.804)	1.199 (1.575)	-0.066 (0.113)
Children in GT	0.328 (0.955)	0.434 (1.012)	0.106 (0.070)
Detained at Border	0.704 (0.458)	0.642 (0.480)	-0.062+ (0.034)
Ln(Years in US)	0.057 (2.365)	0.182 (2.223)	0.125 (0.159)
No. of Migrations	1.664 (0.901)	1.645 (1.104)	-0.019 (0.074)
Visible Tattoos	0.094 (0.292)	0.084 (0.278)	-0.010 (0.020)
Observations	256	1,063	1,337

Notes: Displays differences between group means in two-tailed t-test

+ $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$

A.7 Regression Tables

Table A8: Extortion Predicts Poor Outcomes: Economic and Safety

	(1)	(2)
	Fear of Crime	Econ Hardship Index
Extortion	0.30*	0.29*
	(0.12)	(0.12)
Female	0.19	0.36*
	(0.14)	(0.16)
Age	0.02*	0.01
	(0.01)	(0.01)
Indigenous	-0.07	-0.04
	(0.10)	(0.10)
Highest Education	-0.01	0.00
	(0.01)	(0.01)
Visible Tattoos	0.25	0.19
	(0.20)	(0.20)
Children in GT	0.08	0.10
	(0.05)	(0.06)
Children in US	0.02	0.04
	(0.04)	(0.05)
Local Social Network	-0.12	0.07
	(0.10)	(0.13)
Ln(Years in US)	-0.07*	-0.06*
	(0.03)	(0.03)
Assets	-0.17	-0.19
	(0.14)	(0.17)
Employed	-0.27**	
	(0.09)	
Detained at Border	0.08	-0.20 ⁺
	(0.11)	(0.11)
Round 3	0.35***	0.19**
	(0.07)	(0.07)
Constant	-0.34	-0.76
	(0.39)	(0.49)
Observations	520	520

Robust standard errors clustered by respondent
Standardized DVs for each model

⁺ $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table A9: Extortion Predicts Poor Outcomes: Economic and Safety

	(1) Fear of Crime (Count)	(2) Fear of Crime (Any)	(3) Monthly Income	(4) Currently Unemployed	(5) Economic Difficulties	(6) Economic Situation (Bad)	(7) Debt Barrier
Extortion	0.22** (0.08)	0.65* (0.32)	0.19+ (0.11)	0.28 (0.27)	0.23* (0.11)	0.23+ (0.12)	0.91*** (0.23)
Female	0.13 (0.09)	0.95+ (0.58)	0.32* (0.16)	0.55+ (0.31)	0.30* (0.14)	0.12 (0.18)	0.39 (0.37)
Age	0.01* (0.01)	0.03 (0.02)	-0.00 (0.01)	0.03 (0.02)	0.01 (0.01)	0.02** (0.01)	-0.01 (0.02)
Indigenous	-0.05 (0.08)	-0.20 (0.26)	0.05 (0.09)	-0.44* (0.22)	0.12 (0.09)	-0.09 (0.10)	0.65** (0.20)
Highest Education	-0.01 (0.01)	0.00 (0.03)	-0.02* (0.01)	0.03 (0.02)	0.00 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	-0.04 (0.02)
Visible Tattoos	0.17 (0.13)	0.11 (0.53)	-0.05 (0.24)	0.49 (0.46)	0.08 (0.15)	0.27 (0.18)	0.59 (0.37)
Children in GT	0.06 (0.04)	0.44* (0.21)	0.07 (0.07)	0.16 (0.15)	0.09+ (0.05)	0.02 (0.05)	-0.09 (0.13)
Children in US	0.01 (0.03)	0.02 (0.11)	-0.02 (0.06)	-0.10 (0.09)	0.11** (0.04)	0.04 (0.05)	0.18* (0.08)
Local Social Network	-0.09 (0.07)	-0.43 (0.31)	0.10 (0.12)	0.13 (0.24)	0.06 (0.10)	-0.02 (0.14)	
Ln(Years in US)	-0.05* (0.02)	-0.02 (0.08)	-0.02 (0.03)	-0.07 (0.06)	-0.05* (0.03)	-0.06* (0.03)	-0.19*** (0.05)
Assets	-0.13 (0.11)	0.29 (0.41)	-0.18 (0.19)	-0.18 (0.31)	-0.20 (0.14)	-0.05 (0.16)	0.01 (0.30)
Employed	-0.21** (0.07)	-0.60* (0.24)					
Detained at Border	0.06 (0.08)	0.45 (0.28)	-0.09 (0.11)	-0.34 (0.23)	-0.22* (0.10)	-0.06 (0.11)	0.67** (0.23)
Round 3	0.26*** (0.05)	0.70** (0.22)	0.10 (0.07)	0.09 (0.16)	0.37*** (0.08)	-0.07 (0.07)	
Constant	0.42 (0.28)	1.01 (1.17)	-0.10 (0.52)	-1.03 (0.92)	-0.64 (0.39)	-0.73 (0.46)	6.55*** (0.57)
Observations	520	520	518	519	520	519	1078
Model	Neg. Binomial	Logit	OLS	Logit	OLS	OLS	OLS

Standard errors in parentheses

Robust standard errors clustered by respondent

+ $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table A10: Extortion and Fear of Crime Mediation

	(1) Fear of Crime	(2) Civic Action Index	(3) Fear of Crime	(4) Political Action Index
Extortion	0.30* (0.12)	0.21* (0.08)	0.32** (0.12)	0.23+ (0.14)
Female	0.19 (0.14)	-0.03 (0.14)	0.18 (0.14)	0.02 (0.19)
Age	0.02* (0.01)	0.01+ (0.01)	0.02* (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)
Indigenous	-0.07 (0.10)	-0.10 (0.09)	-0.08 (0.10)	0.13 (0.12)
Highest Education	-0.01 (0.01)	0.02+ (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)
Visible Tattoos	0.24 (0.20)	-0.21 (0.22)	0.28 (0.20)	-0.08 (0.26)
Children in GT	0.09 (0.05)	0.04 (0.04)	0.08 (0.05)	-0.09 (0.07)
Children in US	0.02 (0.04)	-0.03 (0.04)	0.01 (0.04)	-0.05 (0.05)
Local Social Network	-0.13 (0.10)	0.08 (0.09)	-0.14 (0.10)	0.27* (0.13)
Ln(Years in US)	-0.07* (0.03)	0.02 (0.02)	-0.08* (0.03)	0.03 (0.03)
Assets	-0.17 (0.14)	-0.03 (0.10)	-0.17 (0.13)	-0.01 (0.19)
Employed	-0.26** (0.09)	-0.01 (0.08)	-0.27** (0.09)	0.06 (0.11)
Detained at Border	0.08 (0.11)	0.01 (0.09)	0.09 (0.11)	-0.15 (0.13)
Round 3	0.35*** (0.07)	0.10 (0.08)	0.36*** (0.07)	-0.24** (0.09)
Fear of Crime		-0.01 (0.05)		0.02 (0.06)
Constant	-0.35 (0.39)	3.78*** (0.36)	-0.30 (0.39)	2.55*** (0.50)
Observations	517	517	510	510

Robust standard errors clustered by respondent in parentheses

All models are OLS Linear Regressions

Column 1 is first-stage model for civic outcome in Column 2

Column 3 is first-stage model for political outcome in Column 4

+ $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table A11: Extortion and Economic Hardship Mediation Analysis

	(1) Econ Hardship Index	(2) Civic Action Index	(3) Econ Hardship Index	(4) Political Action Index
Extortion	0.20*	0.18*	0.20*	0.23 ⁺
	(0.09)	(0.08)	(0.09)	(0.14)
Female	0.26*	-0.05	0.26*	0.01
	(0.11)	(0.14)	(0.11)	(0.19)
Age	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Indigenous	-0.03	-0.09	-0.03	0.14
	(0.07)	(0.09)	(0.07)	(0.12)
Highest Education	0.00	0.02 ⁺	-0.00	-0.01
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Visible Tattoos	0.11	-0.22	0.14	-0.08
	(0.15)	(0.22)	(0.15)	(0.27)
Children in GT	0.07 ⁺	0.03	0.07	-0.10
	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.07)
Children in US	0.03	-0.03	0.03	-0.05
	(0.03)	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.05)
Local Social Network	0.05	0.08	0.06	0.26*
	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.13)
Ln(Years in US)	-0.04*	0.02	-0.04*	0.03
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.03)
Assets	-0.13	-0.01	-0.12	-0.01
	(0.12)	(0.10)	(0.12)	(0.19)
Detained at Border	-0.14 ⁺	0.02	-0.13	-0.14
	(0.08)	(0.09)	(0.08)	(0.13)
Round 3	0.13*	0.08	0.13*	-0.23**
	(0.05)	(0.07)	(0.05)	(0.08)
Economic Hardship Index		0.10		0.04
		(0.06)		(0.08)
Constant	-0.54	3.83***	-0.57 ⁺	2.60***
	(0.34)	(0.35)	(0.34)	(0.49)
Observations	517	517	510	510

Robust standard errors clustered by respondent

All models are OLS Linear Regressions

Column 1 is first-stage model for civic outcome in Column 2

Column 3 is first-stage model for political outcome in Column 4

⁺ $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table A12: Extortion and Engagement Items Disaggregated

	(1)	(Civic: 1-3) (2)	(3)	(4)	(Political: 4-6) (5)	(6)
	Community Meeting	Volunteer	Mentor Youth	Protest	Affiliate Party	Vote
Extortion	0.26* (0.11)	0.25* (0.10)	0.09 (0.10)	0.41* (0.19)	0.22 (0.21)	0.08 (0.15)
Female	-0.07 (0.18)	-0.04 (0.18)	0.02 (0.12)	0.24 (0.25)	-0.11 (0.26)	-0.06 (0.19)
Age	0.01 ⁺ (0.01)	0.01 ⁺ (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.02 (0.02)	0.02* (0.01)
Indigenous	-0.00 (0.11)	-0.21 ⁺ (0.12)	-0.07 (0.09)	-0.05 (0.18)	0.22 (0.19)	0.21 ⁺ (0.12)
Highest Education	0.02 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.02 ⁺ (0.01)	-0.00 (0.02)	-0.03 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)
Visible Tattoos	-0.14 (0.29)	-0.26 (0.29)	-0.24 (0.17)	-0.00 (0.32)	0.03 (0.37)	-0.23 (0.32)
Children in GT	0.03 (0.05)	0.04 (0.05)	0.03 (0.04)	-0.18 ⁺ (0.11)	-0.08 (0.12)	-0.01 (0.09)
Children in US	-0.03 (0.05)	-0.04 (0.05)	-0.01 (0.04)	-0.10 (0.08)	-0.05 (0.08)	-0.00 (0.04)
Local Social Network	0.05 (0.13)	0.19 (0.13)	0.02 (0.11)	0.42* (0.19)	0.26 (0.19)	0.13 (0.16)
Ln(Years in US)	0.02 (0.03)	0.02 (0.03)	0.01 (0.02)	0.12* (0.05)	-0.00 (0.05)	-0.02 (0.03)
Assets	0.00 (0.15)	-0.19 (0.13)	0.12 (0.09)	-0.16 (0.27)	0.23 (0.29)	-0.11 (0.20)
Employed	-0.11 (0.11)	0.01 (0.10)	0.08 (0.08)	0.24 (0.16)	-0.09 (0.17)	0.03 (0.11)
Detained at Border	0.01 (0.11)	-0.02 (0.11)	0.03 (0.10)	-0.27 (0.19)	-0.12 (0.20)	-0.03 (0.14)
Round 3	0.26** (0.10)	0.12 (0.09)	-0.09 (0.08)	-0.57*** (0.14)	-0.16 (0.14)	0.05 (0.09)
Constant	3.67*** (0.52)	3.47*** (0.49)	4.21*** (0.43)	2.27** (0.73)	1.92** (0.74)	3.45*** (0.60)
Observations	517	517	517	510	510	510

Standard errors in parentheses

Robust standard errors clustered by respondent

All models are OLS Linear Regressions

⁺ $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table A13: Extortion and Engagement - Robustness Checks

	(1) Civic Action Index	(2) Political Action Index	(3) Civic Action Index	(4) Political Action Index
Extortion	0.26** (0.09)	0.26+ (0.15)	0.19* (0.09)	0.25+ (0.14)
Anxious	0.03 (0.04)	0.07 (0.06)		
Reserved	0.01 (0.06)	-0.02 (0.11)		
Critical	-0.10+ (0.06)	-0.15+ (0.08)		
Fear of Crime (Count)	-0.01 (0.05)	0.02 (0.06)	-0.01 (0.05)	0.03 (0.06)
Female	-0.03 (0.15)	0.09 (0.19)	-0.06 (0.15)	-0.08 (0.19)
Age	0.01+ (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.01+ (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)
Indigenous	-0.08 (0.10)	0.17 (0.13)	-0.09 (0.12)	0.21 (0.15)
Highest Education	0.02* (0.01)	-0.00 (0.02)	0.02+ (0.01)	-0.01 (0.02)
Visible Tattoos	-0.32 (0.26)	-0.40 (0.29)	-0.19 (0.25)	-0.07 (0.28)
Children in GT	0.04 (0.05)	-0.12 (0.08)	0.03 (0.04)	-0.10 (0.07)
Children in US	-0.03 (0.04)	-0.02 (0.06)	-0.04 (0.04)	-0.06 (0.06)
Local Social Network	0.13 (0.10)	0.31* (0.14)	0.09 (0.09)	0.21 (0.14)
Ln(Years in US)	-0.00 (0.02)	0.04 (0.03)	0.02 (0.02)	0.02 (0.03)
Assets	-0.02 (0.11)	0.05 (0.22)	-0.02 (0.10)	0.02 (0.20)
Employed	-0.01 (0.09)	0.10 (0.11)	-0.02 (0.09)	0.08 (0.12)
Detained at Border	-0.04 (0.10)	-0.19 (0.15)	0.02 (0.10)	-0.18 (0.14)
Round 3	0.03 (0.09)	-0.24* (0.10)	0.10 (0.08)	-0.24** (0.09)
Constant	3.63*** (0.47)	2.69*** (0.73)	3.68*** (0.39)	2.67*** (0.54)
Observations	453	444	517	510
Department Fixed Effects	No	No	Yes	Yes

Standard errors in parentheses

Robust standard errors clustered by respondent

All models are OLS Linear Regressions

+ $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table A14: Assault Not Correlated with Engagement

	(1)	(2)
	Civic Action Index	Political Action Index
Assault	0.06	0.16
	(0.16)	(0.22)
Female	-0.01	0.05
	(0.14)	(0.19)
Age	0.01 ⁺	0.01
	(0.01)	(0.01)
Indigenous	-0.08	0.14
	(0.09)	(0.12)
Highest Education	0.02 ⁺	-0.00
	(0.01)	(0.01)
Visible Tattoos	-0.22	-0.08
	(0.22)	(0.26)
Children in GT	0.04	-0.09
	(0.04)	(0.07)
Children in US	-0.03	-0.05
	(0.04)	(0.05)
Local Social Network	0.09	0.27*
	(0.09)	(0.13)
Ln(Years in US)	0.01	0.03
	(0.02)	(0.03)
Assets	-0.01	-0.00
	(0.10)	(0.19)
Employed	-0.01	0.06
	(0.08)	(0.11)
Detained at Border	-0.01	-0.17
	(0.09)	(0.13)
Round 3	0.10	-0.23**
	(0.07)	(0.08)
Constant	3.83***	2.57***
	(0.37)	(0.50)
Observations	517	510

Standard errors in parentheses

OLS Linear Regressions; Robust standard errors clustered by respondent

⁺ $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$ **Table A15:** Romano-Wolf Adjusted p-values for Extortion Variable

	Model p-value	Resample p-value	Romano-Wolf p-value
Civic Action Index	0.013	0.016	0.043
Political Action Index	0.078	0.076	0.076
Economic Hardship Index	0.009	0.016	0.043
Fear of Crime	0.010	0.016	0.043

Note: We calculate Romano-Wolf p-values using the “rwolf” package in Stata. We conduct 1000 bootstrap replications to estimate the resampled p-values across our main dependent variables: civic action, political action, economic hardship, and fear of crime. All standard errors calculated with clustering at the respondent level. All models include battery of controls: Female, Age, Indigenous, Highest Education, Visible Tattoos, Children US, Children GT, Assets in US, ln(Time US), Employment (for non-econ DVs), Detained at Border, Round 3 dummy

A.8 Guatemala in Context

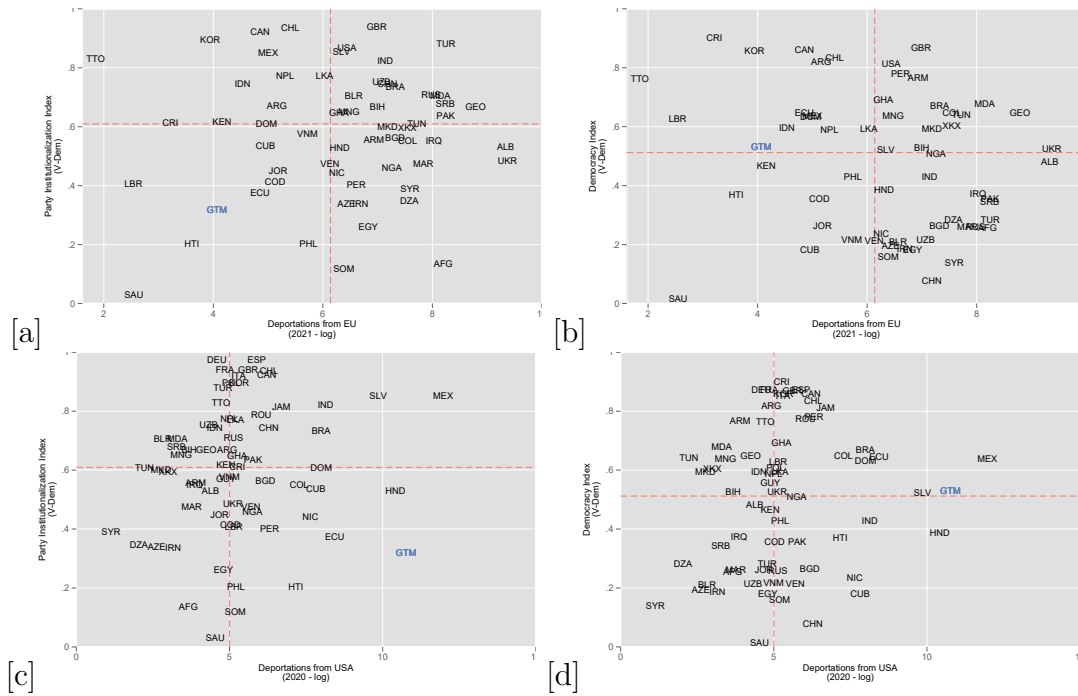
How does the Guatemalan case fit within the other countries that receive deportees? In order to answer this question, we looked at the numbers of deported individuals from the United States and the European Union. For the United States, we looked at ICE Removals in 2020 (ICE, 2020), and from the European Union, we collected data on voluntary and involuntary forced returns for 2021 (Eurostat, 2023). Given the large number of countries that receive deportees, we focused only on the top quartile for both the US and the EU. We merged this information with data on V-dem’s Party Institutionalization (Bizzarro et al., 2017) and Electoral Democracy (Coppedge et al., 2017) indexes. The results from this exercise can be found in Figure A3.

Panels b and d from Figure A3 illustrate that Guatemala’s Electoral Democracy Index (EDI) is very close to the average for all countries that receive deportees from both the United States and the European Union. This shows that in terms of democratic engagement, our results might travel to other similar cases. Moreover, these plots show the large variety of democratic settings where deportees need to return. While some are returning to places with high and functioning levels of electoral democracies, a lot have to return to places where both their civic and political engagement is constrained.

Panels a and c from Figure A3 show the correlation between the number of deportees (logged) and the Party Institutionalization Index (PII). In both panels, it is plausible to observe that Guatemala has a PII below the average of the top quartile of countries that receive the most deportees. However, Guatemala is not an extreme case. Countries like Afghanistan, Haiti, The Philippines, and Egypt also have similar or worse levels of party institutionalization. Despite this, the information in Figure A3 could be an indication that our results from party membership are conducive to a very weak party system.

It might be plausible to think that Guatemala’s low PII might drive some of the other measures of political and civic engagement. In order to investigate this, we looked at data from the 2018/19 wave of LAPOP in Guatemala. This survey had a series of measures of civic and political engagement as well as a question that allowed us to identify if individuals

Figure A3: Democracy Index of countries (top quartile) with Returned Individuals from the European Union and United States (a) PII EU (b) DI EU (c) PII USA (d) DI USA



Note: Y-axis displays the Party Democratization Index (panels *a* and *c*) or the Democracy Index (panels *b* and *d*). The x-axis displays the log of the number of deportees in the top quartile of countries with more deportees from the USA (panels *c* and *d*) and The European Union (panels *a* and *b*). Data from the indexes come from the Varieties of Democracy Project, the number of deportees in the European Union comes from Eurostats, and the number of deportees from the US comes from ICE enforcement statistics

lived in another country in the last five years. We then divided respondents between those who lived abroad and those who did not and calculated simple differences in mean estimates between groups. The results can be found in Table A16. These results indicate that migrants have lower rates of vote registration and lower turnout in the 2015 elections. The latter might be a result that some respondents were outside the country in 2015. However, there are no other significant differences across groups in terms of political and civic engagement.

Table A16: Descriptive Statistics by Migratory Status in Guatemala (LAPOP’s 2018/19)

	Not Migrated			Migrated			Difference
	N	Mean	S.D.	N	Mean	S.D.	
Registered to Vote	1545	0.66	0.47	39	0.51	0.51	-0.147*
Voted last Elections (2015)	1541	0.63	0.48	37	0.43	0.50	-0.196**
Willingness to Vote	1449	0.82	0.39	38	0.89	0.31	0.078
Clientelism	1528	0.23	0.42	37	0.24	0.43	0.013
Protest	1546	0.10	0.30	39	0.10	0.31	-0.000
Go to Church	1525	0.69	0.46	39	0.62	0.49	-0.071
Go to PTA	1531	0.49	0.50	39	0.49	0.51	-0.001
Go to community meetings	1527	0.40	0.49	39	0.51	0.51	0.111
Go to Political Party Meetings	1524	0.13	0.34	39	0.15	0.37	0.024

* $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Note: Displays the descriptive statistics and its difference between Guatemalan’s that have lived in another country in the past 5 years. Data comes from LAPOP’s Guatemala survey from 2018/19.

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