Methodological Appendix for "Rebel Mobilization through Pandering: Insincere Leaders, Framing, and Exploitation of Popular Grievances," *Security Studies*.

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This article's case study of the *Fuerza Democrática Nicaragüense* (FDN) of Nicaragua includes archival evidence from multiple sources. The National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) case study includes evidence from field interviews and court transcripts. In this methodological appendix, I discuss in greater detail sources and methods used to collect these data, as well as research ethics, and provide a table of interviewees in Liberia.

Nicaragua: The FDN Case

Archival evidence on the FDN was collected in multiple stages. In July and August 2013, I conducted research in Nicaragua at the Instituto de Historia de Nicaragua y Centroamérica (IHNCA) at the Universidad Centroamericana in Managua. I examined collections related to government security forces and the different *contra* rebel forces, including the FDN. Documents from the IHNCA collections are cited with their call number at the end of the citation, denoted by 'IHNCA' or 'IHCA.' I also analyzed books written by officials and fighters from the belligerent groups and Nicaraguan and foreign analysts. I sought access to the military historical archive, the Centro de Historia Militar, but it is closed indefinitely to outside researchers.

From June to July 2014, I conducted research on the Nicaraguan civil war through the archival record available in the United States. Political and social concerns create selection biases available documents in archives, with only a sample of those that were originally produced included and/or accessible to researchers (Brown and Davis-Brown 1998; Burton 2006; Schwartz and Cook 2002). I wanted to see what documents on the FDN and the civil war were available in the United States and how the organization and the government it fought

looked from the perspective of an FDN ally. I spent two months examining documents at the Hoover Institution at Stanford University (cited as 'Hoover Institution,' since authorship was not attributed for many documents in the collections). I examined the following collections: Anaya; Bermúdez; Fagen; Fuerza Democrática Nicaragüense; Hassan; Miranda; Nicaragua, Ministerio de Defensa; Nicaragua, Ministerio del Interior; Pastora; Resistencia Nicaragüense (Organization) Ejercito; and Robelo (each citation provides the collection name and box number).

I also examined documents from subscription Digital National Security Archive (DNSA) service. These declassified documents from the US State Department, Department of Defense, and intelligence agencies provided an external view of the FDN and its activities. I examined documents from the collection "Nicaragua: The Making of U.S. Policy, 1978–1990." In this article, I cite one document found in the DNSA collections, but the document, a report from the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), is available openly through the CIA's Freedom of Information Act Electronic Reading Room (cited as 'CIA,' with a public link provided).

Liberia: The NPFL Case

I conducted three months of interview research in Liberia on the NPFL case in late 2015. Research plans and interview protocols were approved by Harvard University's Committee on the Use of Human Subjects. I sought to interview the following types of subjects: former NPFL military officers and political officials who had been involved with the NPFL during its rebellion or the organization's time in power after its candidates won the 1997 elections[1]; former officers in the government Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL) who fought the NPFL; and scholars,

[1] NPFL leader Charles Taylor won the presidency and the NPFL's newly-created political party, the National Patriotic Party (NPP), won a majority of legislative seats.

journalists, and civil society actors. I conducted 54 interviews with 102 subjects. Interviewees are listed below. Two interviewees were each interviewed on three separate occasions.

Interviewees were selected through a mix of purposive sampling, in which I directly contacted them, and limited snowball sampling, where interviewees suggested additional potentially useful contacts. Two local research assistants helped with initial contacts and navigating geographic and social terrain. A local journalist provided further contacts among political elites. The war is distant enough that enmities among former combatants have largely subsided, so talking to certain interviewees did not impede talking with others and there was little foreseeable risk to my research assistants.

Interviews were conducted in and around Monrovia, the capital. Approximately one-fifth of the national population lives in Monrovia and it is Liberia's political and economic center. Due to limited time and the logistical difficulties and costs of travel to the interior (especially during the rainy season), I did not conduct interviews elsewhere in the country. The presence of former military officers and civilians from throughout the country living in Monrovia should reduce the risk of information collected from my subjects in Monrovia being unrepresentative.

Military interviewees' preference was often for the interviews to be conducted in groups. Group interviews were only conducted when suggested and agreed to by interviewees. After explaining the project and receiving interviewees' informed consent, I asked each person for a brief description of his/her role and experience in the NPFL or AFL, before continuing to more specific questions about the dynamics and policies of the NPFL, with individuals able to respond when they wanted. A few interviewees also had fought as members of the Independent National Patriotic Front of Liberia (INPFL), the Liberian Peace Council (LPC), the United Liberation Movement of Liberia (ULIMO), and Liberians United for Reconociliation and Democracy

(LURD), as noted in the 'subject names/positions' column. I also note positions held or organizations served during the Taylor presidency, including those NPFL officers who transitioned to the AFL or specialized forces like the Special Security Unit (SSU), Anti-Terrorist Unit (ATU), or National Security Agency (NSA). I told interviewees they did not need to relate any personal experiences of suffering or committing violence and I asked no questions about these issues to try to avoid retraumatization.

I attempted to ensure each person who wanted to could respond to each question. Interviews took place in private homes or private rooms in restaurants. Almost all interviews were recorded, though on two occasions, military interviewees requested no recording, and so I took handwritten notes. Having formerly been in a military organization, security and secrecy were concerns expressed by many military interviewees, and so I asked these interviewees to not state their names while the recorder was on (and did not write them down). This practice is in line with other interview-based works on Liberia's civil wars, which omit the names of interviewees who were combatants (Gerdes 2013; Lidow 2016). I told interviewees I had limited funds, but wanted to recognize their time and sharing of experiences, and so depending on the number of interviewees present, I offered compensation of around US$3 cash and a soft drink or US$4 cash, a not insignificant amount, but not high enough to be a major pressuring incentive for participation and divulging their stories and experiences.

Quoted and named non-military interviewees are today national-level public figures in Liberia in government or civil society, and while I offered anonymity, all agreed to speak on the record and their names are included. In my judgment, there is minimal risk of negative future consequences (Knott 2019) for named interviewees based on their statements. Interviews with non-military subjects took place in private offices, homes, or private rooms of restaurants.

Interviews are cited in the article with the number listed below and the name and/or position of the interviewee.

There are few archival records preserved in Liberia from the first civil war and the NPFL's time in power (1989-2003). On two occasions in the article, I cite transcripts of Charles Taylor's testimony at his war crimes trial in the chambers of the Special Court for Sierra Leone (SCSL) in The Hague. The citations include the document number, title, date, and page number for the relevant citation, and direct links on the SCSL website (http://www.scsldocs.org), where documentation for Taylor's trial is openly available.

Liberia Interview List

Interviews each have a number based on the temporal order in which they were conducted. Following the number, I list the interview date, number of subjects in the interview session, and participant(s) identities. Interviews cited in the article are denoted with an asterisk (*).

Table I. Interviews for NPFL Case Study

Number	Date (all 2015)	Subjects	Subject Names/Affiliation
1*	5 October	4	NPFL, then SSU and ATU during Taylor presidency NPFL, then pro-government militia during Taylor presidency NPFL, then pro-government militia during Taylor presidency NPFL
2	7 October	2	NPFL NPFL, then joined INPFL, then rejoined NPFL
3*	7 October	4	NPFL, then NSA during Taylor presidency NPFL, then ATU during Taylor presidency NPFL NPFL
4	7 October	3	NPFL, then SSU during Taylor presidency NPFL, then SSU during Taylor presidency NPFL, then ATU during Taylor presidency
5*	9 October	1	NPFL
6	11 October	2	NPFL, then SSU during Taylor presidency NPFL, then pro-government militia during Taylor presidency
7*	12 October	4	NPFL, then ATU during Taylor presidency

			NPFL NPFL NPFL
8	12 October	2	NPFL, then AFL during Taylor presidency NPFL, then ATU during Taylor presidency
9	12 October	1	Former AFL, then joined NPFL, then AFL during Taylor presidency
10	14 October	1	Former UNHCR refugee official, was refugee in Côte d'Ivoire and Guinea
11	14 October	2	NPFL, then SSU during Taylor presidency NPFL, then AFL during Taylor presidency
12	14 October	1	Community leader
13*	15 October	4	NPFL, then SSU and ATU during Taylor presidency NPFL, then ATU during Taylor presidency NPFL, then ATU during Taylor presidency NPFL
14	16 October	1	Community leader
15	16 October	1	Former AFL colonel, left before war, rejoined AFL during Taylor presidency
16	16 October	2	NPFL, then ATU and SSU during Taylor presidency NPFL, then ATU during Taylor presidency
17	17 October	1	NPFL, then on Executive Mansion staff during Taylor presidency
18*	19 October	6	Former AFL, then joined NPFL, then police during Taylor presidency Former AFL, then police during Taylor presidency NPFL NPFL, then LURD during Taylor presidency NPFL, then LURD during Taylor presidency INPFL, then joined NPFL, then LURD during Taylor presidency
19*	20 October	2	NPFL, then ATU during Taylor presidency NPFL, then ATU during Taylor presidency
20	21 October	7	NPFL, then AFL during Taylor presidency NPFL, captured and joined LPC, then AFL during Taylor presidency INPFL, then policy during Taylor presidency NPFL, then pro-government militia during Taylor presidency NPFL NPFL ULIMO, then LPC, then LURD during Taylor presidency
21*	22 October	5	NPFL NPFL NPFL

			NPFL, then ULIMO Pro-government (Taylor) militia, then LURD
22	22 October	3	Former AFL, then joined NPFL, then AFL during Taylor presidency NPFL, then AFL during Taylor presidency NPFL
23	23 October	1	NPFL, then AFL during Taylor presidency
24	23 October	1	INPFL, then joined NPFL, then AFL during Taylor presidency
25	26 October	5	NPFL NPFL NPFL NPFL War widow of NPFL officer
26	26 October	4	NPFL NPFL NPFL Former journalist from NPFL areas
27	26 October	4	NPFL, then ATU during Taylor presidency NPFL, then pro-government militia during Taylor presidency NPFL, then AFL during Taylor presidency NPFL
28	26 October	1	NPFL, then SSU during Taylor presidency
29	26 October	1	NPFL, then ATU during Taylor presidency
30	27 October	2	NPFL, then military police during Taylor presidency NPFL, then SSU during Taylor presidency
31*	27 October	2	Former AFL Former AFL
32	28 October	2	NPFL, then pro-government militia during Taylor presidency NPFL, then ATU during Taylor presidency
33	28 October	2	Former AFL Former AFL, then captured by and joined NPFL, then AFL during Taylor presidency
34	29 October	1	Former AFL
35*	31 October	1	Joseph Saye Guannu, political historian and professor, University of Liberia and Cuttington University
36*	2 November	1	Nathaniel Barnes, Minister of Finance (1999-2002) in Taylor government
37	3 November	1	Rev. J. Emmanuel Bowier, historian, former government minister
38	4 November	1	Philip N. Wesseh, journalist
39	10 November	1	Rep. George Mulbah, NPP Vice Chair, worked with Taylor in Gbarnga and became superintendent for Bong County in Taylor government

40	12 November	1	Rev. J. Emmanuel Bowier (2nd)
41	13 November	1	Hassan Bility, journalist and human rights advocate
42	13 November	1	Kenneth Y. Best, journalist
43	16 November	1	Rep. Jefferson S. Kanmoh, rural political activist in 1980s and 1990s
44*	17 November	1	Sen. Prince Y. Johnson, former NPFL general and INPFL commander-in-chief
45	18 November	1	Dr. S. Byron Tarr, social scientist, former political activist and government minister
46	19 November	1	Sen. Dr. Peter Coleman, Minister of Health and Social Welfare in Taylor government
47*	20 November	2	Dr. S. Byron Tarr (2nd) Nakomo Duche, legal scholar and former UN official
48	23 November	1	Monie Captan, , Minister of Foreign Affairs (1997-2003) in Taylor government, former professor and newspaper publisher
49*	24 November	1	Dr. Jonathan Taylor, Minister of State for Presidential Affairs (2000-2003) in Taylor government, professor and dean at University of Liberia
50	27 November	1	E. Reginald Goodridge, Deputy Minister of State for Presidential Affairs and Press Secretary, later Minister of Information, Culture, and Tourism in Taylor government
51	2 December	1	Dr. S. Byron Tarr (3rd)
52*	2 December	1	John Richardson, former NPFL commander and political official, Minister of Public Works and National Security Advisor in Taylor government
53*	9 December	1	Sen. Conmany Wesseh, former student leader and peace negotiator, member of IGNU
54	11 December	1	Rev. J. Emmanuel Bowier (3rd)

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