

DECLARATION OF JONATHAN HISKEY

I, Jonathan Hiskey, hereby declare:

1. I am currently an Associate Professor of Political Science at Vanderbilt University. I also serve as Associate Chair of the department and Director of Graduate Studies for the Political Science graduate program. In addition, I have a courtesy appointment as Associate Professor in the Department of Sociology at Vanderbilt University.
2. I received my Ph.D. from the University of Pittsburgh in 1999, winning the 2001 American Political Science Association's Gabriel A. Almond award for best dissertation in comparative politics. After spending five years on the faculty of the political science department the University of California-Riverside, I joined Vanderbilt University in 2005.
3. My research interests center on migration and local development in Latin America. I have engaged in extensive research and published a number of articles in leading academic journals on these topics. I was a contributor and co-editor of a special volume of the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* entitled "Continental Divides: International Migration in the Americas" (July 2010) as well as co-author of a 2014 article in *Studies in Comparative International Development* entitled "Democracy, Governance, and Emigration Intentions in Latin American and the Caribbean.
4. I am a co-author of a recent Report entitled "Americas Barometer Insights: 2014, Violence and Migration in Central America" ("2014 Americas Barometer Report"), available at <http://www.vanderbilt.edu/lapop/insights/IO901en.pdf>. The Americas Barometer Insights series, for which I was chief editor during 2013-2014, represents an effort by Vanderbilt University's Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP) to offer condensed, "user-friendly" analyses of public opinion and behavior trends in Latin America that allow us to reach a broader audience of policymakers, media, and the general public than the more in-depth, lengthy analyses typically allow.
5. With this objective in mind, the Report on the links between violence and migration intentions in Central America represents a condensed version of a more extensive analysis of the larger question of the determinants of migration intentions across Latin America and the Caribbean that can be found in the journal *Studies in Comparative International*

Development.¹ In both reports, the most significant finding that contributes in novel ways to extant research on this question is that individuals who report being victimized by crime and/or corruption are significantly more likely to express intentions to emigrate than non-victims, once controlling for an assortment of other factors. In the more extensive analysis, we also find that the probability that a crime victim will seek to leave her country increases when that individual resides in a country with a flawed political system that has proven incapable of addressing crime.²

6. I am aware that the Department of Homeland Security (“DHS”) has cited the 2014 Americas Barometer Report in justification of its current detention practices with respect to women and children who have recently arrived from Central America and are seeking asylum in the U.S. Specifically, I understand that DHS cites my Report in two declarations submitted in bond proceedings for detained Central American women and children seeking asylum, for whom DHS opposes release.
7. I have carefully reviewed both declarations, submitted by Philip T. Miller and Traci A. Lembke (“Declarations”), who are officials at U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (“ICE”). In my opinion, the declarations of Mr. Miller and Ms. Lembke cite my 2014 Americas Barometer Report (“Report”) for contentions that are not supported by my Report and its underlying research.

¹ Hiskey, Jonathan, Daniel Montalvo, Diana Orces. 2014. "Democracy, Governance, and Emigration Intentions in Latin America and the Caribbean." *Studies in Comparative International Development*, 49(1): 89-111.

² Our 2014 reports did not engage in analysis of crime victimization specific to the nature of crime, identity of perpetrator, or motivation of perpetrator. Analysis of related AmericasBarometer data suggests a clear correlation between violence and crime victimization-particularly in the countries of Guatemala, El Salvador, and Honduras, where the majority (56.8%) of women respondents who reported being a victim of a crime indicated that the crime involved violence. These data, however, provide only a nationally representative assessment of this relationship between crime victimization and violence among respondents living in Central America at the time of the survey. Not having conducted a representative survey of the women asylum seekers from Central America who are currently in immigration detention in the United States prevents me from offering an empirical assessment of the relationship between crime and violence among this population or offering an opinion on these women’s decision calculus with respect to migration.

8. The Declarations cite my Report with regard to “active migration networks,” (also known as the “friends and family effect”) a phenomenon that they contend justifies the detention of Central American women and children seeking asylum. However, the discussion of “active migration networks” in my Report *does not* in fact support DHS’ conclusion that detaining these mothers and their children during the course of removal proceedings will deter illegal migration to the United States.
9. The references to the Report represent a superficial and selective understanding of its main findings. Both Declarations choose to focus only on one of the control variables in the model, and ignore the central finding that highlights the critical role that crime victimization in Central America plays in causing citizens of these countries to consider emigration as a viable, albeit extremely dangerous, life choice.
10. Both Declarations fail to mention that the Report finds females are significantly less likely to consider emigration than males, suggesting that the Central American women that do decide to leave are atypical, generally confronted by an unusual set of circumstances that led them to take such a decision.
11. As noted above, the Report’s inclusion of and reference to “active migration networks” in the analysis of an individual’s consideration of emigration is not the central focus of the analysis but serves as a control in order to better and more confidently identify the impact that crime and corruption victimization have on the emigration decision.
12. The term “active migration networks,” also known as the “friend and family effect,” refers to a well-established finding in migration research that individuals who have family members living abroad and, most importantly for the Report, receive remittances from those family members, are more likely to consider emigration due to the lowering of the economic and informational costs of migration that migrant family members can provide to those left behind.³ Such an effect, then, is far more likely to manifest itself in situations where the migrant family member is legally established in the host country, has a steady income that allows for remittances to be sent back home, and has spent sufficient time in the host country to help a potential immigrant become more settled upon arrival.

³ See for example Massey, Douglas S., Joaquin Arango, Graeme Hugo, Ali Kouaouci, Adela Pellegrino, and J. Edward Taylor. 2005. *Worlds in Motion: Understanding International Migration at the End of the Millennium*. New York: Oxford University Press.

13. In making the claim that the Central American women and children currently being detained on the border represent a risk for the United States because they will simply add to and “become a part of such active migration networks” (p. 2), and referencing the findings of the Report to support this claim, the Miller declaration ignores the theoretical logic behind the “friends and family effect” as well as the actual measure we use in the analysis to capture this effect. Theoretically, it is a tremendous leap in logic to suggest that women and children fleeing violence in Central America will be able to establish themselves in the United States to a point where they can become facilitators for future migration. Given the precariousness of their situation, the role for current women and children migrants in an “active migration network” is marginal at best.
14. Empirically, the fact that the Report uses receipt of remittances as a proxy for a Central American’s involvement in a migration network also raises doubts about the plausibility of claims made in the Declarations. The idea that the women and children currently being detained at the border will, if released, begin sending remittances back to family members back home is highly unlikely given that the children will not be working and the women will be focused on simply feeding their own children and will be dependent on the income of sponsors or family members to which they are released. As economic remittances are a critical feature of this “active migration network” referenced by both Declarations, it is highly unlikely that the women and children now being detained will become part of such networks upon release.
15. In a paragraph citing the Report, the Miller declaration additionally states that “[i]llegal migrants to the United States who are released on a minimal bond become part of such active migration networks” and that “[d]etention is especially crucial in instances of mass migration.” As stated above, this assertion is not substantiated by the Report’s analysis and represents a very superficial understanding of the actual operation of such migration networks and the individual migrant profiles that are most likely to participate in such networks. Such participation is far more likely among migrants that have secured stable employment and residences within the United States to the point where they are able to send remittances to family members back home and provide the type of information to potential migrants that would reduce the costs of a subsequent migration by one or more of those family members. Given that many of the individuals now being detained after

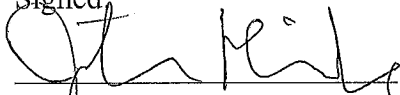
being apprehended at the border are mothers with dependent children, the detainees clearly do not fit the theoretical or empirical profile of participants in a migration network.

16. There is no empirical evidence of which I am aware, nor is any offered by the Declarations, that suggests these mothers will establish lives here, during the course of their immigration proceedings, that would enable them to become contributors to a migration network. With regards to individual migrants adding to existing and future migration networks, it is far more credible to focus on migrants who arrive to the U.S. from countries all around the world with full documentation through either student or temporary work visas rather than women and children fleeing crime and violence in Central America. A detention policy targeted specifically toward women and children migrants fleeing crime and violence for the purposes of diminishing “active migration networks” is not empirically supported.
17. Further, there is absolutely no evidence in the Report that U.S. policy with respect to detention has any influence at all on the decisions women and their children are making with respect to migration.
18. To conclude, based on my own research and my knowledge of the field of migration studies, the phenomenon of “migration networks” does not justify the blanket detention of Central American mothers and children seeking asylum in the U.S.

I declare under penalty of perjury that the foregoing is true and correct to the best of my knowledge.

Executed on __September 22, 2014__ in __Nashville, TN.

Signed:

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Jonathan Hiskey', written over a horizontal line.

Jonathan Hiskey