

Human Rights across National Borders

António Pedro Dores

*Department of Sociology, Lisbon University Institute and
Sociology Research Centre (CIES/ISCTE-IUL)*

Abstract

In Pakistan are visible thousands of children living alone in the streets, used by different kind of people for underground proposes. Then one finds them older entering Greece borders, bringing with them the underground exploitative activities as well as the solidarity support of local population living where migrant pass. Looking to the youngsters migrant flow from Afghanistan to Europe, is it possible to understand it when sociologist look at it as a problem of national stock and flow? Or does sociology need to adopt without borders methodologies?

Keywords

social theory, without borders, neoliberalism, migration

Introduction

Greece receives one hundred immigrants daily in the winter and two hundred and fifty daily during the summer. Of these immigrants 80 percent are under 18 years old. These statistics are the results of research conducted by immigration experts working at the prison system at Lesbos Island, a few miles away from Anatolia. They estimate that one million immigrants live in Greece, the EU country in the Balkans. Many of these immigrants come from neighboring Albania but an indeterminate number are Afghani, Somali, and Sudanese, who cross the border as refugees of war zones.

The European Union faces the results of discriminative and ill-conceived policies towards immigrants, particularly the younger immigrants. These policies lead to high rates of incarceration.¹ Near the mountain village of

¹ Palidda 2009.

Agiassos, on Lesbos Island, in the Aegean Sea miles from Turkey, an old sanatorium has been transformed into a hostel to receive immigrants under 18 years old. Some social workers do try to translate European laws to the newcomers. Most of them understand the message in one or two days, time enough to continue the trip where they want to reach. Probably some address in the north of Europe. Meanwhile the older immigrants are detainees in the prison the State covers with secrecy, even from social researchers.

The little knowledge that we have about the retention camp is that the first young people who arrived at Agiassos hostel were in relatively good spirits, or seemed to be. This is demonstrated in the photographs that are exhibited on the walls of the hostel for visitors to see. For the majority of young immigrants, the next steps will be taken down the mountain on foot (there is no bus from the hostel to the village), a bus ride to Mytilene, to take a boat to the continent, probably to Athens. Then they try illegally to reach the ports they know they should not reach, if they will obey the Greek State orders. Legally, they can only stay 30 days in Greece (except near by the areas of the ports that link Greece to other European countries) and then they must leave the country.

Of course, there are no means to enforce this kind of policy. And that is common knowledge. The common Mytilene citizen is used to seeing and helping the youngsters (giving them food, for instance). The young immigrants stay only time to find a way to the continent, but some of them stay to work the fields in conditions that are unknown to the international community. While the situations are different in the various areas of Greece, but yet throughout Greece, people talk about the abysmal conditions in which immigrants are received.

In the west side of European Union too, Portugal, like Greece, succeeded in transforming itself from a country that only exported its own people as emigrants (and imported money from them to their families) into a country that receives immigrants too (and exports money back home from where they come from). With the financial crises, the flow of emigrants continues.

Much of Portugal's work force is made up of immigrants from Africa (mostly from the former colonies), Brazil and, since the beginning of the century, from former communist countries, such as Ukraine and Moldova. There were 41.530 immigrants from Ukraine legalized in Portugal in the year 2006. In 2007 the number falls to 39.480 and the experts estimate that the number of immigrants continues to diminish to the present day.

In Portugal 571 immigrants completed the forms for the repatriation subsidies in the first five months of the year 2009.

The political discussion about immigration control in the European Union can turn 180 degrees from the anti-immigration stance that immigrants taking jobs away from Europeans into the pro-immigration argument that immigrant work in Portugal represents 6 percent of GNP and immigrants' families develop around 10 percent of the total births in Portugal. The growth of Portuguese economy and society depends on immigrants' contribution. Even the social security system and the reforms of the today active working people depend on the existence of immigrants in Portugal.

Sociology without Borders

The goal of this paper is not to present or develop information about European migration. It intends to use the case of immigrants to discuss the possibilities for the course of Europe as well as the ways sociology would better address human rights if it becomes without borders. Hitherto, sociological analysis has been contained within the boundaries of the nation-state thereby duplicating some of the single state's perspectives. The challenge is reflected in the following: does the nature of most of sociological analysis become an obstacle in the call "to engage in human rights work (. . .) as an integral part of their occupation,"?²

Neo-liberalism has been society-phobic. Margaret Thatcher's revelatory statement that "there is no such thing as society" is expressed in a political alliance between capital and state politicians, and working with global media, leads to what can be termed a greedy culture.³ Yet this culture insists upon terms such as "flexibility of production" and "competitiveness," even at the expense of workers and consumers. The injustice of neoliberalist globalism is summarized in the following way: while the corporate actors insist upon the flexibility of production, they are simultaneously closing borders to immigrants.

Are not we, as sociologist within borders, reinforcing the stigma of the generalized Other whenever we work as if immigrants, as well as outsiders in general, have no differentiated history and *habitus* background? Should

²) Blau and Moncada 2009, p. 2.

³) Osborne 2008/2007.

one present as a cultural problem the alleged lack of rationality and/or universality of values, as if we (within borders) do not have anything to learn and discuss with outsiders and immigrants?⁴

This paper will present two cases: the immigrant flow from Afghanistan to Europe and the flow from Guatemala to USA. Both cases, unfortunately, are not much known or studied because they ask, for a full research process, a borderless research infrastructure that is not available. This lack of cross-national data shows the need of organizing future research in order to address human rights issues, as a more scientific way to understand a global society.

In the absence of cross-cultural exchanges and global research methodologies, there arise some significant gaps in our understanding of contemporary society. The most dramatic example in the West is our lack of understanding of the roots and sources of religious extremism. We cannot address this complex topic in these pages but it suffices to say that our miscomprehension of the solidarity of fanatical groups prevents us from fully grasping terrorism and what can be used to prevent it.

To understand global society, we must tackle some of the most difficult quagmires. Another of these challenges is confronting the number of immigrants who die every year while crossing borders. We need to look at the factors involved when people commit “solidarity suicide,” in the Durkheimian sense, as an immigrant.⁵ That is why people flow and sacrifice themselves as migrants, the same way people accept to join armies, activist groups, religious groups, etc. After joining it is not easy to backpedal. Sometimes to stay in the family or the in-group, sacrifices are required, even death.

The immigrant flow into Europe means that these people, those who die during the trip, those who stay in the middle of the journey, those who arrive at the end of their programmed adventure, all of them, plus most of their families and friends, are experiencing submission to society.⁶ As much

⁴ To read rear example of historical and *habitus* kind of approach to migrant flux read Roger Ballard from CASAS www.arts.manchester.ac.uk/casas/personalpages/ballard.html.

⁵ Durkheim example for solidarity suicide is the warrior. The migrant, too, as economic warrior, start his/her adventure thinking about human solidarity they want to develop linking their families and people at home with new more advanced societies which they want to develop, earning this way the resources to help people back home.

⁶ For a Portuguese discussion of what is the submission spirit read Dores (2009) for Portuguese readers or Dores (2008) for Spanish readers.

as they can understand, this means human rights contradictions within local practices – a strong political battlefield in western countries.

When one observes immigrant flows from a static national point of view, as mainstream sociology does, one can ideologically think that all humans are created equal, but one does not consider that according to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), “all humans have equal rights.”⁷ The difference is that what seems, at first glance, to be the domain of human rights activism, in fact, becomes a moral and civic universal (and modern) obligation if one looks at the problem using a human rights approach.

The epistemological difference is that mainstream sociology approaches immigration as stock and flow workforce commodities available for exchange at each national work market. In fact, all social situations, including the social perceptions about migration, public opinion, scientific opinion and political opinion, both at home and in the receiving country, concerns what is happening and the way human rights statements are (or are not) being respected.⁸

Afghanistan’s Emigrant Flow

Afghanistan and Pakistan share a large isthmus between Iran in the Southwest and former Soviet Union (actually Uzbekistan and Tajikistan), China and India by North and Southeast. These countries represent two very different political approaches to western society. The people share a common antagonism to the West, despite the efforts of State leaders to reconcile these feelings with some kind of acceptance of US domination in the region. For the time being, this dominance is military and not diplomatic, cultural, social, or even economic.

“In Pakistan we have more than 1.5 million street children and majority of them migrants from Afghanistan and Kashmir” wrote Waheed Ahmad,⁹ a lawyer and movement leader for the reposition of President of the Supreme Court in Pakistan, against government manipulation of judicial

⁷ Blau and Moncada 2009.

⁸ Elias and Scotson (1994) did explain that the social production of outsiders is human social nature.

⁹ See <http://internationalpeaceandconflict.ning.com/profile/waheed2000>.

institutions. His presentation was called “Street children in Pakistan.” He listed some of the causes of this horrific situation they face:

Poverty, without a doubt, leads to other social problems: family breakdown, imprisonment, natural and man-made disasters, “runaway” children, physical and sexual abuse, armed conflict, dislocation through migration, urbanization and overcrowding. The rights of street children are often ignored by governments. Street children beg and search around rubbish dumps or industrial waste sites or take on unskilled jobs as cart pushers or dish washers, working 12-15 hours a day to earn around 50 rupees or EURO 0.5, if they are fortunate.

He goes on to say that they lack adequate nutrition, suffer injuries and lack medical treatment, they are vulnerable to reproductive health problems and common childhood diseases that can be prevented with basic preventative practices that are not offered to them, they suffer from psychological disorders and mental problems.

“Child rental” for begging is a new and increasingly popular phenomenon among poor households. Parents “rent” their children out to an individual or group and both parties share the child’s earnings. The inhumane treatment drives children to drugs and into the arms of criminal gangs who promise protection, food and a better life. Most survive by prostituting themselves, stealing or smuggling, making them vulnerable to contracting sexually transmitted infections, HIV/AIDS, tuberculosis, jaundice and liver or kidney disorders. A dramatic proportion of homeless children around the world snort cheap, readily available solvents to starve off hunger, loneliness and fear.

When it comes to presenting the core social problems, Waheed Ahmad cites “poverty, illiteracy, discrimination and lack of accessible resources, violent environment and stigmatization”. Many different institutions are aimed to combat such problems, such anti-poverty programs, schools, social security systems, and security systems. There are also many venues for the expression of public opinion, such as political and media mass discussions, and increasingly, on-line news blogs. Yet, astonishingly, discussion of human rights rarely, if ever, takes place in these forums.

Within a capitalist framework, neither the marketplace nor its institutions will ever take responsibility for social problems, such as the homelessness of children, even if, in a given situation, market factors are the direct cause of such social problems. Capital, while seeming benevolent will always distance itself from the problems it causes, but give charitably to causes that have no economic cause.

The problem is compounded if you see both governmental and non-governmental agencies as competing in the model of market competition. Institutions devoted to solving problems, such as job training, education, family planning, health care, and social work must compete for the same resources. In order to survive, each non-profit or state organization must defend its own resources at the expense of other organizations. This model flies in the face of the human rights approach that insists that we give priority to the holistic needs of human beings.

Most of the time institutions fall back on the view that new social problems are always arising and they need time to understand them and to build a comprehensive and adequate answer to the special issue. Maybe that is true. The report of the facts, however, shows that some of these institutions do move fast – not against the causes and not even against the consequences of social problems, but against the victims themselves, as if they were the causes of the social problems.

The main problem in Pakistan is that street children are particularly vulnerable to abuses in juvenile justice systems; they are more likely to come into (actual or perceived) conflict with the law, and they are less able to defend themselves from abuse. Once within the system, they need to earn money or food to survive. Street children are common subject to physical abuse by the police. They are frequently detained arbitrarily, simply because they are homeless, or criminally charged with petty offenses such as loitering, chaws or petty theft. They are tortured or beaten by police and often held for long periods of time in poor conditions.¹⁰

The same judicial system that neglects the enforcement of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child does not control the abuses against the victims. Should not we ask, now, if there are lawyers in the European countries raising these issues in European countries, where similar cases happen? Does it not happen in Europe? Or one just does not have the opportunity to address this kind of questions, as Waheed Ahmad has, for nationalist reasons?

Of course, sociologists can argue that these are no social problems since they are still justice and enforcement problems. They should be addressed by special disciplinary professionals, such as criminologists or police or lawyers. Sociological sub-disciplines addresses these external fields of action, in separate fields, such as sociology of law, sociology of crime, sociology of law enforcement, sociology of justice, sociology of social control,

¹⁰ <http://internationalpeaceandconflict.ning.com/profile/waheed2000>.

sociology of punishment, and so on. The problem arises because this frame analysis frees the scholar and even the audience from the responsibility to address the social problems of the real people involved in abysmal and unacceptable social situations.

Framing the Migrant Moves between Geo-strategic and Social Control Politics

The World Bank estimates that migrants worldwide contribute about U.S.\$232 billion for poverty reduction and development assistance, which is three times the world's official development aid, or U.S.\$78.6 billion. On the one hand, Bill Gates celebrates 'frictionless capitalism,' while on the other hand, poor migrant women risk their lives crossing the border to support their families, really providing development aid – what western countries promised and cannot together accomplish. How unfair can it get!¹¹ Indeed!

In Mytilene, Lesbos Island, Greece, a woman activist followed the migrant flow up the hill till Afghanistan. Livaditou Zoi found out that is not impossible to become friend of the Afghanis (cf. <http://sports.espn.go.com/oly/news/story?id=1824220>) as much as western countries should prefer to support this kind of natural emphatic type of relations than to make war. Her memory shows how sensitive migrations are to the shifts in geo-strategic actions on the part of governments and intervention (see Table 1).

Some of the same children one hears about in Pakistan, when they are strong enough to plan a trip, believe in the legal support they will have in the European Union even when they know the entry process can be fatal. Of course they have heard all the complaints and accusations from the enemies of modern civilization. However, they decided to give it a chance. It is up to them to decide what is right. In security matters too, as well as in development issues, migrants are more influential than officials can imagine.

¹¹ Blau and Moncada 2009, p. 86.

Table 1 Estimated arrivals to Greece by the eastern borders:

Year	Nationalities	Origin	Cause	Numbers
1999–2000	Kurds	Iraq	Deathly repression	100 000
1999–	Somalis	Somalia	UN intervention	20 000
2001–	Non-Muslims Sudanese	Sudan	Darfur genocide	30 000
2001–2004	Afghanis	Afghanistan	NATO intervention	100 000
2005–	Afghanis	Iran/Pakistan	Expelled by force	500 000 (80% children)

Incarceration is, as one will see in the next case, the symbol of this wrong thinking, since penitentiary becomes not only the centre of epidemic physical diseases caused by promiscuity and institutionalized abuse. It becomes a centre of revolt, a symbol of official injustice, prejudice and lack of dignity, as referred to by Khosrokhavar¹² in the case of France, not to mention Abu-Grahib and Guantanamo, which have become symbols of the decline of the West's moral authority. It perseveres as a historical reality that has flown in the face of human rights, even after the presidential campaign of Barack Obama who promises to put an end on it.

Guatemala Did Become a Central American Problem

The migrant flux is a social event lasting through time. It begins as an historical emergency, caused by wars, for instance, and it drains people from one place to another. The flux can stop in the first spot or continue for a while, linking several spots. It must drive some kind of resources that allow people to survive and it must produce communication nets that regulate the flux. One day, as it happens to every historical event, the migrant flux will stop, when the initial impetus for the migration ends. During all this time its social character will change, from clandestine and unknown to other kind of situations, depending on the professionalization of the tasks of delivering the people from each spot to the next (e.g., state regulation of the flow or only private regulation), depending on the economic exploitation of the people (the way the payments of the goods and services needed are obtained, money or otherwise), depending on the strategies of profit developed by professionals in charge (flowing legal procedures or using

¹²⁾ Khosrokhavar 2004.

black market ways of delivering), depending on the charge of illicit businesses involved (slavery, sex industries deliveries, drugs, guns, etc.), and depending on the repression involved (private security agents or police or army officers).

There are many migrant fluxes these days and they mix. Wars in Somalia and in Sudan (with Darfur humanitarian crises) draw immigration fluxes that end in Greece. They mixed with the flux coming from Afghanistan and after that with the fluxes coming from the Balkans wars of independence of parts of former Yugoslavia, as well as from the post-communist transitions, as it is the case of Albanians. They mix people, resources and social frames of power and economics.

It is impossible to understand what is happening and to improve pacification strategies without mapping all these fluxes carefully, not as segments and marginal dimensions of modern societies, but as veins of the overarching trend of globalization. To gather the needed information one will need to have observation laboratories in the different main spots where migrants produce large and visible stocks of people, as if one try to know a net by knowing its dots and calculating the fluxes by estimating their results at the dots.

Another example of flux migration, this time in America, brings up the relevance of the social and political knowledge about how to draw scientific pictures of the migrant flux in order to inform public policies. It comes from a Guatemala migration flux that links South American and California. Marco Lara Klahr, a Mexican journalist, trying to understand more about youngsters' street gangs in Los Angeles, found the peril of spreading for all Central America a crime net supported by the abundance of desperate youngster using the migrants flux to come back to their homes.¹³ The California policy of "tough on crime" led to the expulsion of young criminals to Central America. Those people, charged with penal offenses and who were not North American citizens, began to be sent to the countries that acknowledge them as nationals, by virtue of "blood" or ethnicity, even when they ever have any contact with their supposed home land.

Those *xicanos*, as they are known in the US regardless of their nationality, are sent to different Central American countries. They enter the penitentiary where they submit to the local criminals leaders. They are submitted in large numbers and become available to work for them as violent people. They voluntary join migrant fluxes to go back to Califor-

¹³) Klahr 2006.

nia, exploring for their bosses and for themselves the defenseless migrants, transporting illicit goods for selling in the US, as guns and drugs, risking to go back to jail in the US and being send back again to Central America, linking all kind of people interested in being submissive to the affluent criminal bosses, wherever they are.

Tucked right below Mexico, Guatemala, with a population of 13 million people, is gradually becoming controlled by drug money. In a December 2008 interview with *Time*, U.S. Ambassador Stephen G. McFarland said 400 metric tons of cocaine now pass through Central America, mostly through Guatemala, each year.

(...) I was struck by what I heard and what could be the future for this fragile country, as well as how that might impact our own. (...) 'doesn't matter who is president – they will represent the drug cartels', he answered (...) 'What is an election but money?' (...) Today, the drug trade is no longer hidden. (...) People living in rural areas, especially youth, often have only the option of going along or being killed. It is that black and white. (...) We've heard a lot recently about drug cartels and violence in Mexico. But we seldom hear about the price paid in the rest of Central America.¹⁴

Social Secrecy and Social Theory

In Europe, except for France, where one dispose of victimization pools including a foreigner sample and face to face interviews, there is not available data about foreigner/immigrant victimization, when some punctual studies and many liable information point out to a very hard situation. For instance, as Garland reports, in Italy these pools are developed by phone and samples not including foreigners.¹⁵ Comparing international statistical between different European countries becomes an impossible task, given the different legal frameworks and the different statistical definitions, mention the report. Anyway, since the 90's, it is clear the trend of growing percentage and absolute values of foreigner in European penitentiary, jails and holding centers for migrants with legal papers. This trend does not result from an equivalent trend of crime records. The reverse seems to be true. Less crime has been committed by foreigners while more foreigner prisoners sit behind bars.

¹⁴ Clapp 2009.

¹⁵ Palidda 2009.

The correlation between the xenophobic or racist opinion waves and the evolution of foreigner criminalization seems clear wherever it happens (...) Another correlation should be developed in the future between black markets and non legal regularized number of people and foreigner imprisonment (...)

The evidence shows that Spain, Greece and Italy use migrants to support internal black markets, one can read in the report, taking advantage, so to speak, of the new culture of social control that prescribe that it is impossible to integrate people from abroad, the celebrate “nothing works.”¹⁶

Amnesty International (AI), too, is concerned about “new slavery in the rich countries,” as titled *Diário de Notícias*, Lisbon newspaper, reporting by Patrícia Jesus, the 28th May 2009, the worldwide presentation of the human rights report of this organization.¹⁷

It bothers me the persistence of domestic violence and the disrespect for immigrant’s rights – said the representative of Portuguese session of the AI. I am afraid that this is just the tip of the iceberg. (...) Does the economic crisis affect human rights? – asks the reporter. This (AI) report underscores it. The global economic crisis is making the human rights situation much, much worse.

Immigration policies as well as repression and penal use policies result often in police and judicial habits regarding not only immigrants but also nationals. Other wise, the immigrant/foreigner treatment is a mirror effect (...) because it anticipate and aligns what will become the treatment of nationals.”

In the first months of 2009, in Lisbon, Portugal: on two different occasions, two different kind of protest (pacifist and public protests as well as spontaneous and violent attacks on police stations) developed strong political discussion between left-wing and right-wing ideological approach to security, the later accusing the first of complicity on street violence. For the first time in the country, there is the existence of group of people screaming and writing on the walls in public their hatred of police violence.

Everywhere, after 9–11, the terrorist argument against alleged terrorist’s supporters has been used, sometimes by judicial courts; not only in the US but also in Europe (for instance, the Spanish State suffers at the moment accusations from UN special reporter for Human Rights for declining to address its international obligations on preventing torture in its territory. This situation came about after the scandal stopped the Spanish State dirty

¹⁶ Palidda 2009.

¹⁷ Quotes and information in this paragraph from Palidda (2009), translated from the French by the author.

war against Basque terrorists, and when “incommunicado” legal system covers torture against Basque prisoners as well as other prisoners, from Cataluña or Galicia, from Andalusia or Extremadura).¹⁸

Ensuring human rights (and avoiding human rights violations) is an ongoing struggle for countries and human rights violations can happen if the humanitarian social control does not work efficiently enough. It is hard to think of a country that ensures the protection of the human rights of its citizens. Yet, it is even harder to think of a country that insists on its own accountability. One presumes that economically developed countries do not have impediments to Human Rights regulation and control but of course, human rights violations occur all the time.

After 9–11, the USA policies and missteps foregrounded human rights abuses in the international community’s discussions. Despite the recent abuses, it is still difficult to acknowledge, and it is even more difficult to accept, the idea of our own (personal or national) involvement in human rights violations. The easiest way to avoid accountability is to argue one does not have information about it or, if it is impossible to avoid or deny the available information, one can argue that it is not systematic violation: it is only an isolated event without any social or institutional meaning. Of course, that is exactly what the top echelons of the American military did when it came to addressing the abuses at Abu Ghraib.

In Europe or in the US, it is much easier – and less controversial – to talk and pass information about brutal events in China or Korea than to talk of violence in our own country or in western countries in general. The contrast between the resistance to assume personal or national responsibility for violent events and the ability to recognize perpetrators responsibility whenever our personal or social identities are not at stake shows a characteristic human trait. Social secrecy is the name one can adopt to address this social phenomenon. People sharing the same social identity trace will be unable to accept as causes and consequences of common human behavior – namely in violent situations – social facts that everybody can acknowledge as evidence.

¹⁸⁾ About the subject, read for instance the news in these links: <http://www.gara.net/azkenak/05/139409/es/Finaliza-acuerdo-vista-contra-jovenes-acusados-declaraciones-bajo-tortura> and <http://www.xornal.com/artigo/2009/05/27/espana/amnistia-internacional-acusa-espana-consentir-torturas/2009052722573962158.html> and <http://www.xornal.com/artigo/2009/05/27/extras/esculca/declaracion-interese-publico-tortura/2009052717550773619.html>.

Final Remarks

“Neoliberalism is one logic in the world today; human rights the other”.¹⁹ Why is there the need for sociologists to oppose neoliberalism? The best reason is that the neoliberal ideology (as Margaret Thatcher clearly stated) denies the existence of society, and sociologists recognize the value of society for many reasons, including its significance for embedding human rights.

There are many similarities between the 21st and 19th century regarding the social understanding of the contrast of the *habitus* of urban people and rural people looking for jobs. (As it happens today, urban people accepted, then, the “good” part of the peasant *habitus* in town – the strong will to work hard – and rejected other “bad” parts of the same *habitus* that they prefer did not exist – the presence of different cultural habits interpreted as “violent” or “uncivilized”). Globalization raises the same social question: the natural emergency of an irrational prohibitionist spirit developed by insiders facing the outsiders, which are never felt deep enough by insiders. The clash of civilizations and the new global crusades represent the cognitive and institutional recognition of the raise of these moral movements, with all the violence involved.

It is the task of human rights policy to avoid this violent ongoing trend. Mainstream social theory, behind national borders, can and does avoid addressing the violence issue, arguing that it is out of its field of action. In so doing, social theory effectively avoids addressing globalization, human rights and social pacification with its renewed problematic, when one lives the story of reshaping the structural relations between state, economy and society.

National protectionism in the era of globalization aims to stop freedom of movements of working migrants. To denounce this historical and structural contradiction and to develop international approaches would help social theory. One needs both new frameworks, without which sociologists will support – saying nothing – these generalized national protectionism that favor the developed countries at the expense of migrants worldwide. If this work to globalize sociology is not done, how can sociologists describe human rights failures in a scientific way? If the project is underway, we have much to be hopeful about sociology’s relevance.

¹⁹⁾ Blau & Moncada 2009, p. 15.

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