

iscte

INSTITUTO
UNIVERSITÁRIO
DE LISBOA

Diasporic Diffusion and Public Policies - a Portuguese Case Study

Andrea Nunes Gonçalves

Mestrado em Políticas Públicas

Orientador(a):
Doutor Helge Jörgens, Professor Auxiliar,

ISCTE - Instituto Universitário de Lisboa

Novembro, 2021



SOCIOLOGIA
E POLÍTICAS PÚBLICAS

Departamento de Ciência Política e Políticas Públicas

Diasporic Diffusion and Public Policies - a Portuguese Case Study

Andrea Nunes Gonçalves

Mestrado em Políticas Públicas

Orientador(a):

Doutor Helge Jörgens, Professor Auxiliar,

ISCTE - Instituto Universitário de Lisboa

Novembro, 2021

“Por vezes sentimos que aquilo que fazemos não é senão uma gota de água no mar. Mas o mar seria menor se lhe faltasse uma gota”

Madre Teresa de Calcutá

Acknowledgments

The below project wasn't easy to carry through, but we did it.

I want to thank in the first place my professor, Helge Jörgens, who oriented this project from the start, for the inspiration for the theme and for not allowing me to give up on it.

For all the constant support, I would like to thank my mum, Maria Nunes, for believing in me when I clearly didn't. For the same reason, I would like to thank the Pedro's in my life (they know who they are) as you were the solid rocks that carried me to the end.

To my colleague Daniela Marques for all the help since day one, and for reminding me constantly of why we do this – I wouldn't have done these two years without your friendship and company.

To everyone else who never gave up on me and helped me remember I started this for a reason, and that it was meant to be – a huge thank you.

Resumo

Com a reorientação do debate sobre a relação entre migração e desenvolvimento, fugindo muitas vezes à ideia pré-concebida de que o emigrante escolhe a saída em vez de voz, a diáspora tem sido cada vez mais reconhecida como um potencial ator na governança do seu país de origem, mas ainda assim constantemente mantida fora da lista de atores não-estatais envolvidos na governança. Características como a sua ligação a dois países diferentes e sua capacidade para atuar como agentes de mudança fazem da diáspora uma forte candidata a possível canal de difusão de políticas públicas, mas esta possibilidade mantém-se largamente inexplorada na literatura. Durante vários séculos, Portugal foi considerado um país de emigração. Isto resultou na criação de uma diáspora significativa, tornando-se interessante perceber qual a influência (se existente) dessa diáspora nas políticas públicas do país de origem. Partindo do modelo analítico proposto por Jörgens e Neves (2017), o presente trabalho propõe-se a analisar essa influência, colmatando ao mesmo tempo a ausência de literatura que conecte a diáspora aos processos de difusão, especialmente no caso português. A partir de uma abordagem mais teórica, abre-se caminho para futuras análises empíricas, que permitam analisar políticas públicas em concreto.

Palavras-chave: Diáspora; Transnacionalismo; Difusão; Migração; Políticas Públicas

Abstract

With the re-orientation of the debate on migration and development, drifting many times away from the pre-conceived idea that the migrant chooses to exit over voice, the diaspora has been increasingly recognized as a potential actor on the governance of the homeland. Still, it has been systematically left out of the list of non-state actors involved in it – and characteristics as its in-betweenness and capacity to ask a producer of change, that make it a potential channel for policy diffusion remain largely unexplored in the literature. For many centuries, Portugal has been a country of emigration. This has resulted in the creation of a sizeable diaspora, with several Portuguese communities spread around the globe – so it becomes key to understand what the influence (if existing) of that diaspora is in the public policies of the homeland. Using the analytical framework proposed by Jörgens & Neves (2017) as a starting point, this thesis aims to analyze that influence, while filling the gap in the literature that connects diaspora and cross-national diffusion processes, especially in the Portuguese case. Standing as a more theoretical approach, the thesis paves the way for future empirical work, that allows to study the cross-national diffusion of public policies through the diaspora.

Keywords: Diaspora; Transnationalism; Diffusion; Migration; Public Policies

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements	iii
Resumo	v
Abstract	vii
Chapter 1. Introduction	1
Chapter 2. Diasporas, Transnationalism and Homeland Governance – the State of the Art	3
Chapter 3. Diasporic diffusion – Concepts and Methodology	7
3.1. Policy Diffusion – Concept and Mechanisms	7
3.2. Diaspora and policy diffusion – an analytical framework	9
Chapter 4. The Portuguese Diaspora – a Case Study	13
4.1. Portugal, a Country of Emigration	13
4.1.1. Migratory Flows, Demographic Balance and the Importance of Migrants	13
4.1.2. The Diaspora and the State – Evolution of Diaspora Policies	15
4.2. The Portuguese Diaspora Today - Applying the Diasporic Diffusion Model	17
4.2.1. The motivation behind the engagement: Migrant’s Return vs Self-Interest	18
4.2.2. <i>Pull</i> Factors	19
4.2.3. <i>Push</i> Factors	26
Chapter 5. Conclusions – First Remarks and Calls for Future Research	31
References	33

List of Figures

Fig. 1: % of UN Member States with diaspora institutions, by institution type, 1980-2014	4
Fig. 2: Three mechanisms of global governance	7
Fig. 3: Emulation: Indirect Mechanisms of Diffusion	8
Fig. 4: Diffusion mechanisms following direct influence model	9
Fig. 5: Actors and strategies in diasporic diffusion	10
Fig. 6: Diasporic Diffusion Model	12
Fig. 7: Estimation of the total exits of Portuguese emigrants, 2011-2019	13
Fig. 8: Annual Migratory Balance, 2000-2020	14
Fig. 9: Portuguese citizens living abroad	15
Fig. 10: Plans for the future (%)	19
Fig. 11: Voters residing abroad in the elections for the Assembly of the Republic: total, voters and abstention	23

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Diasporas are increasingly considered important actors in the governance of their homeland, and not only because of their economic remittances – migrants now play a major role in the development of their country of origin also through their political and social remittances. Levitt (1998:927) defines social remittances as “the ideas, behaviors, identities, and social capital that flow from receiving- to sending-country communities”, and even distinguishes between “three types: normative structures, systems of practice, and social capital” (Levitt, 1998:933). Regarding political remittances, Krawatzek & Müller-Funk (2020:1004) define them as “the act of transferring political principles, vocabulary and practices between two or more places, which migrants and their descendants share a connection with”. By having roots in two different societies (see, for example, Délano 2019), diasporas have evolved to constitute potential communication channels between sending and receiving countries (Jörgens & Neves 2017) . Even though the concept of social remittances has been “coined over fifteen years ago to capture the notion that, in addition to money, migration also entails the circulation of ideas, practices, skills, identities and social capital” (Lacroix, Levitt, & Vari-Lavoisier 2016:1), the diaspora has been continuously left out of the discussion about the actors of their homeland governance. Combining their in-betweenness with their unique capacity to think outside the box of each of their countries, diasporas “are enabled to become active participants in the cross-national diffusion of ideas, values, norms and practices” (Jörgens & Neves 2017:2). However, the “exit over voice” concept (Burgess, 2012) has dominated the literature for too long, and so this potential remained underexplored.

The present thesis seeks to fill this research gap, using Portugal as a case in study. Relying on the analytical framework for diasporic diffusion proposed by (Jörgens & Neves, 2017), we seek to demonstrate that the Portuguese diaspora constitutes a potential channel for policy diffusion, paving the way for future empirical studies of concrete public policies.

The next chapter of this thesis provides an overview of the state of the art when it comes to diasporas, transnationalism, and homeland governance, aiming to establish an evolutionary road of the main concepts of the thesis, whilst highlighting the research trends and gaps. For chapter 3, we will elaborate on the analytical framework proposed by (Jörgens & Neves, 2017) to operationalize our research and frame the ways in which the diaspora can be involved in the diffusion of public policies from the receiving country to the homeland. For chapter 4, we move on to our specific study case, which will be the Portuguese diaspora – Portugal has a “longstanding tradition of emigration with a

powerful demographic, economic and cultural impact” (Santana-Pereira & Horta, 2017:122), which makes it an interesting case for the study of diaspora influence. By applying the analytical framework established on the previous chapter, we aim to show that the Portuguese diaspora constitutes a potential channel for a diffusion of policy innovations, paving the road for future empirical studies. Finally, in chapter 5 we draw our conclusions and suggest future research paths.

CHAPTER 2

Diasporas, Transnationalism and Homeland Governance – the State of the Art

The diaspora represents, with no shadow of doubt, an important part of its homeland, being considered an extension of the same. As it happened with the very concept of diaspora, the way we see and think its interaction with the homeland also evolved. If the term “diaspora” first appeared in the social sciences field to describe forced displacement and dispersion of ethnic groups (Craven, 2018), making the “trauma” the differentiating element from other migrants, being a part of a country diaspora now means to be positioned in-between spaces, to be a connection between two locations, territorial or not (Craven, 2018). This unique characteristic provides the diaspora a unique capacity to influence and be influenced – which hasn’t gone unnoticed, making it more and more recognized as potentially influential and consequential actors in the governance of their countries of origin (Jørgens & Neves, 2017:1). In this regard, Craven defines governance as “the production and implementation of collectively binding rules, goods and services” and diasporas as “individual and collective agents that are mobilizing socially, politically or economically towards a homeland in which they do not reside”, which sets the grounds to consider “diasporas as governance actors” (Craven, 2018:12). Although the concept of governance itself considers the existence of other actors other than the state, and the literature includes a variety of other actors from non-governmental organizations to the private sector, the diaspora is continuously excluded from the dialogue.

This unexplored potential comes from the fact that the research on migration hasn’t always followed the current paradigm, where we have a more actor-centered perspective concerned with “migrants’ contributions to development” (Piper 2009a:94). Before, the predominant mindset followed the idea that emigrants had chosen “exit” over “voice” when they decided to leave the homeland (Hirschman, 1993) – so any contributes to the development of the country of origin may have been systematically overlooked by scholars. This changed with the introduction of transnationalism into the study of migration and diasporas, and the studies moved past the “brain drain” trend towards the mutual interactions between sending and receiving countries caused by the migratory flows (Jørgens & Neves, 2017). Glick Schiller et al. (1992:1) defines transnationalism “the processes by which immigrants build social fields that link together their country of origin and their country of settlement”, which has brought to the floor a lot of new elements of actorhood for the diaspora. A good example of

transnationalism are the state-diaspora relations, as “states spill over across borders in search of their people” (Délano & Gamlen, 2014:45).

Research now starts paying attention to the diaspora’s potential role as an actor in the governance of their homeland, and a re-interpretation of migration as a potential driver of development (Jörgens 2017) arises, where remittances are identified as “the most viable and efficient means to ensure economic and social growth for migrant-sending regions” (Muniandy & Bonatti, 2014:1837). As in 2019 the number of international migrants globally was 272 million, representing 3.5% of the world’s population (IOM 2020), and with the increased attention to the diaspora’s actorness potential, there is an “explosion” of diaspora institutions (as shown by Gamlen et al. 2019 and illustrated in Figure 1) and consequently the need for home-states to create means of empowering these institutions with governance capabilities (Gamlen, 2006).

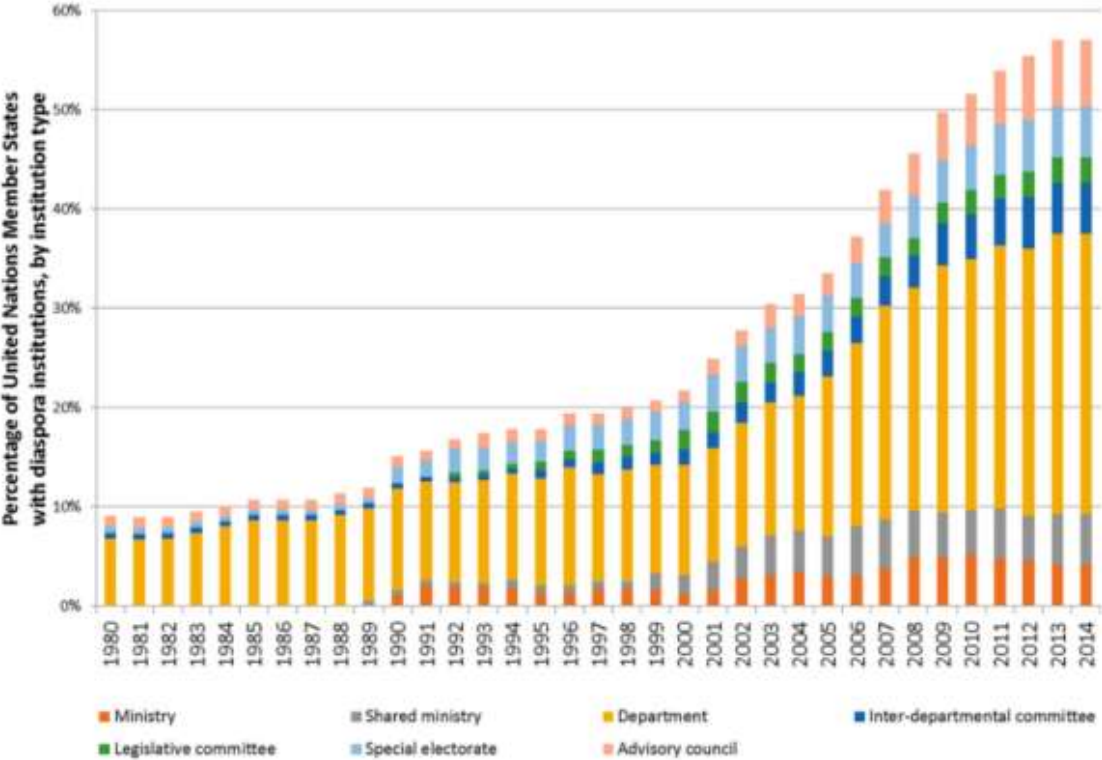


Figure 1: Percentage of United Nations Member States with diaspora institutions, by institution type, 1980-2014 (Source: (Gamlen, Cummings, & Vaaler, 2019:494)

The increasingly recognized potential of the diaspora, along with the proliferation of diaspora institutions, makes it crucial for the homelands to find ways to engage the diaspora and fully channel the potential of their remittances. While economic remittances are the most studied among researchers, political and social remittances also have a major part to play in the actorness of the diaspora. On their journey between sending and receiving countries, migrants carry along with them

ideas, values and practices, and their actions are filled with cultural and social meaning (Levitt & Lamba-Nieves, 2011). These practices that they bring along “shape who and what they encounter” in their receiving country, and then shapes what they send back to the homeland (Levitt & Lamba-Nieves, 2011:2). These social remittances might be individual or collective, and this distinction will be helpful when studying the impact of the diaspora, distinguishing between “social remittances exchanged and deployed by individuals and those that circulate and are harnessed in collective, or organisational settings (Levitt & Lamba-Nieves, 2011:2). We will see in the present thesis that both can be true at the same place and the same time. The importance of channeling this potential correctly makes it necessary to try and map the way this engagement is done, focusing on how this is done by states and what and who is captured by it. This kind of positioning, where the states manage emigration by engaging with their communities abroad is defined by Gamlen (2006:3) as “diaspora engagement policies”. As Gamlen (2006) notes, diaspora engagement policies can usually fit into 3 main categories: (i) capacity building policies, whose aim is to produce a state-centric diaspora; (ii) extending rights policies and (iii) benefits extracting policies, based on a sense of loyalty (Gamlen, 2006:5). These are not independent of one another, as we will see throughout the present thesis.

But are all the migrants of a certain country part of the country’s diaspora, and should or can all be engaged? (Jørgens & Neves, 2017) clearly shows that despite the supposed “vagueness” of the concept pointed out by Brubaker (2005) there are two characteristics of the diaspora that clearly distinguish it from other related concepts: (i) the explicit recognition of their potential actorship in the domestic policymaking process and that (ii) their specific characteristics differ then from other migrants as they keep an active and sustained connection to their country of origin as well as other countries of destination (Newland 2010, Safran 1991 and Cohen 2008). Diaspora networks can contribute to the governance of their home country with the information and social mechanisms at their disposal, as their in-betweenness allows them to know about the characteristics and resources of the host country that might interest the home country, and vice versa (OECD, 2007). Their relevance is not to be dismissed, as these networks more than often possess “high levels of entrepreneurial skills, experience, ideas, technology and knowledge, which are likely to facilitate entrepreneurial development in their homelands” (Kshetri, Rojas-Torres, & Acevedo, 2015:12). Muniandy and Bonatti highlight this by stating that “a major element of agency is people’s ability to seek out opportunities, through entrepreneurialism or through networks of information” (Muniandy & Bonatti, 2014:1850) - which is a major characteristic of the diaspora.

Combining the above-mentioned characteristics and the active connection with both the origin and destination countries, diaspora thus constitute a potential channel for communication between both locations, making it possible for their active participation in the transnational diffusion of ideas, values, norms and practices (Jørgens & Neves, 2017), as they have the social “mandate” for diffusion and

empirical legitimacy that Grabowska et al (2017) and Craven (2018) consider crucial to define an actor as an agent of change. Yet, this potential remains systematically underexplored (exceptions include Levitt 1998, Rüländ et al. 2009, Levitt and Lamba-Nieves 2011, Pérez-Armendáriz and Crow 2010 and Piper 2009b; see Jörgens & Neves 2017). Also, in spite of the paradigm change over the past few years, the lack of an analytical framework that moves past the standard and predominantly structural perspective associated to the migration-development nexus (Faist and Fauser 2011) and places the diaspora in the actorness arena, with a focus on their impact in the homeland development as well, calls for new research on this matter. The general trend, when diaspora is associated with the homeland development in the literature, is to approach its utility for the homeland's international image – and not to assess their impact on the elaboration of domestic policies back home. This is particularly visible in the case of Portugal's diaspora studies where foreign policy is the main and almost exclusive focus (see, for example, Ponte & Sousa 2017 and Ribeiro 2015).

For the present thesis, we will try to work on this research gap, more specifically for the case of Portugal¹, building on some ground concepts, as the one of diffusion provided by Simmons et al. 2008 defined as a process where “policy decisions in a given country are systematically conditioned by prior policy choices made in other countries”, and Levitt's concept of “social remittances” defined as “the ideas, behaviours, identities, and social capital that flow from receiving to sending-country communities” Levitt (1998:927). Linking these two concepts, (Jörgens & Neves, 2017:4) states that “the transfer of ideas and practices between individuals can be an important channel of policy diffusion, linking the policies and programs that are in place in one country to policy agendas and decisions in another” – providing the foundation for our research.

¹ Portugal has a longstanding tradition of emigration with a particularly powerful demographic, economic and cultural impact, which makes it a perfect case study for diasporic diffusion.

Diasporic Diffusion – Concepts and Methodology

3.1. Policy Diffusion – Concept and Mechanisms

Busch & Jörgens (2005:865) define diffusion as “the process by which policy innovations are communicated throughout the international system and voluntarily adopted by an increasing number of countries over time”. The main feature of policy diffusion is that it occurs in the absence of any formal obligation, contrary to other policy convergence mechanisms such as harmonization or imposition - the process occurs without any pressure from any authority figure. Jörgens (2004) summarizes these mechanisms very succinctly:

	Harmonization	Imposition	Diffusion
Mode of operation	Multilateral cooperation and decision-making	Unilateral conditionality (political or economic)	Decentral imitation, persuasion/learning
Level of obligation	Medium to high	High	Low
Principal motivations of national policymakers	Address transboundary problems Avoid trade distortions	Join existing international organizations or treaties Obtain financial or technical aid	Search for solutions to domestic problems Reduce uncertainty Avoid negative externalities of other states' actions Gain internal and external legitimacy
Principal driving force	Interest	Power	Knowledge

Figure 2: Three mechanisms of global governance (Source: Jörgens 2004:250)

For this thesis, we will focus on the diffusion mechanism, leaving behind harmonization and imposition, as diasporas cannot rely on formal obligation to influence the development of public policies in their homelands.

Börzel & Risse (2012) go a bit further, disaggregating the mechanisms behind the process of diffusion:

Method of Influence	Type of Influence
Instrumental Rationality or Logic of Consequences	Direct / Indirect Influence
Normative Rationality or Logic of Appropriateness	
Communicative Rationality or Logic of Appropriateness	

Table 1: The Different Mechanisms of Policy Diffusion (Source: based on Börzel & Risse, 2012)

The table above summarizes the different mechanisms explained by Börzel & Risse (2012) based on the logic behind them (instrumental, normative and communicative rationality) and the way influence is exerted (direct or indirect). Instrumental rationality conceives actors as orienting their actions based on cost-benefit calculations (they want to maximize the utility of their actions), normative rationality conceives them as trying to do the right thing (they are guided by the rules they were socialized in) and communicative rationality conceives them as deliberative and persuasive, leaning on the legitimacy of their arguments (Börzel & Risse, 2012). Other than the method behind the influence, they also distinguish between direct and indirect influence, and each of these have very different mechanisms behind it:

EMULATION: INDIRECT MECHANISMS OF DIFFUSION	
Underlying theory of social action	Mechanism
Instrumental rationality	Competition (functional emulation) Lesson drawing (functional emulation)
Normative rationality	Mimicry (normative emulation)

Figure 3: Emulation: Indirect Mechanisms of Diffusion (Source: Börzel e Risse 2012: 9)

For the indirect influence model, the authors distinguish two types of social mechanisms (associated with their own theory of social action), being emulation the main concept behind it. Emulation is one of the three main mechanisms of diffusion distinguished in the literature: learning, competition and emulation (Gilardi & Wasserfallen, 2017). Learning means policy makers gather information on how policies are implemented in other countries, observe their success or unsuccess, and learn from it; competition is based on the idea that policy makers compete against each other to attract resources and investment; and finally, emulation focuses “on the social construction of appropriate policies (...). Accordingly, norms and conventions are socially constructed, and policy makers conform to these norms with the adoption of appropriate policies” (Gilardi & Wasserfallen, 2017:7).

For the present thesis however, we are more interested in the mechanisms of the direct influence model:

DIFFUSION MECHANISMS FOLLOWING DIRECT INFLUENCE MODEL	
Social mechanism and underlying theory of social action	Promoter of ideas (sender)
Coercion (force or legal imposition)	Coercive authority (<i>Herrschaft</i>), legal force
Manipulating utility calculations (instrumental rationality)	(Positive and negative) incentives and capacity-building
Socialisation (normative rationality)	Promote ideas through providing an authoritative model (normative pressure)
Persuasion (communicative rationality)	Promote ideas as legitimate or true through reason-giving

Figure 4: Diffusion mechanisms following direct influence model (Source: Börzel e Risse 2012:6)

The reason we will focus more on this model is because “norm entrepreneurs such as epistemic communities or advocacy networks socialise domestic actors into new norms and rules of appropriateness through persuasion and social learning, and they redefine their interests and identities accordingly” (Börzel and Risse 2007:8), and we can include diasporas into this category.

The authors also define four scope conditions for the diffusion to occur: domestic incentives, degrees of statehood, democracy quality of a regime and power symmetries (Börzel & Risse, 2012). We will see that each of these things is important to allow actors to have influence and promote policy diffusion. Even though we have introduced the concept of diffusion using policy convergence as a starting point, we follow Gilardi’s notion that diffusion is “a process, as opposed to an outcome” (Gilardi, 2013:3). This means we don’t consider diffusion the same as convergence, but a way to achieve convergence.

3.2. Diaspora and Policy Diffusion – an Analytical Framework

An important characteristic of policy diffusion it that it is mediated by institutions (Gilardi 2017). This means “diffusion can be channeled by the networks in which governments are embedded, which can help their members make them most of shared information and experiences” (Gilardi 2017:9), and this is where the in-betweenness of the diaspora that we previously discussed comes to play. This influence of the diaspora can be included in the notion of transnational activism (Zajak, 2014), whose actors are defined as “people and groups who are rooted in specific national contexts, but who engage in contentious political activities that involve them in transnational networks and contacts” (Tarrow 2005:29). This is relevant because as Gilardi (2013:2) states, “diffusion can take place also within countries, among a wide range of public and private actors, and it can lead to the spread of all kinds of

things, from specific instruments, standards and institutions, both public and private, to broad policy models, ideational frameworks and institutional settings”.

Now that we have established that the role of the diaspora can be included in the notion of transnational diffusion of policy innovations, it is important to outline what we will consider to be a policy innovation. For this, we will use the definition set by Gilardi & Wasserfallen (2017:2) that states policy innovation as “a program that is new to the government adopting it”. It means even though a policy was previously adopted in many other places before, it can still be considered an innovation for any government adopting it.

We have established what we will consider as policy diffusion and policy innovation for the next steps of our thesis. We now need to map how the diaspora will fit in this logic, and for that we will base our analytical framework on the model proposed by Jörgens & Neves (2017):

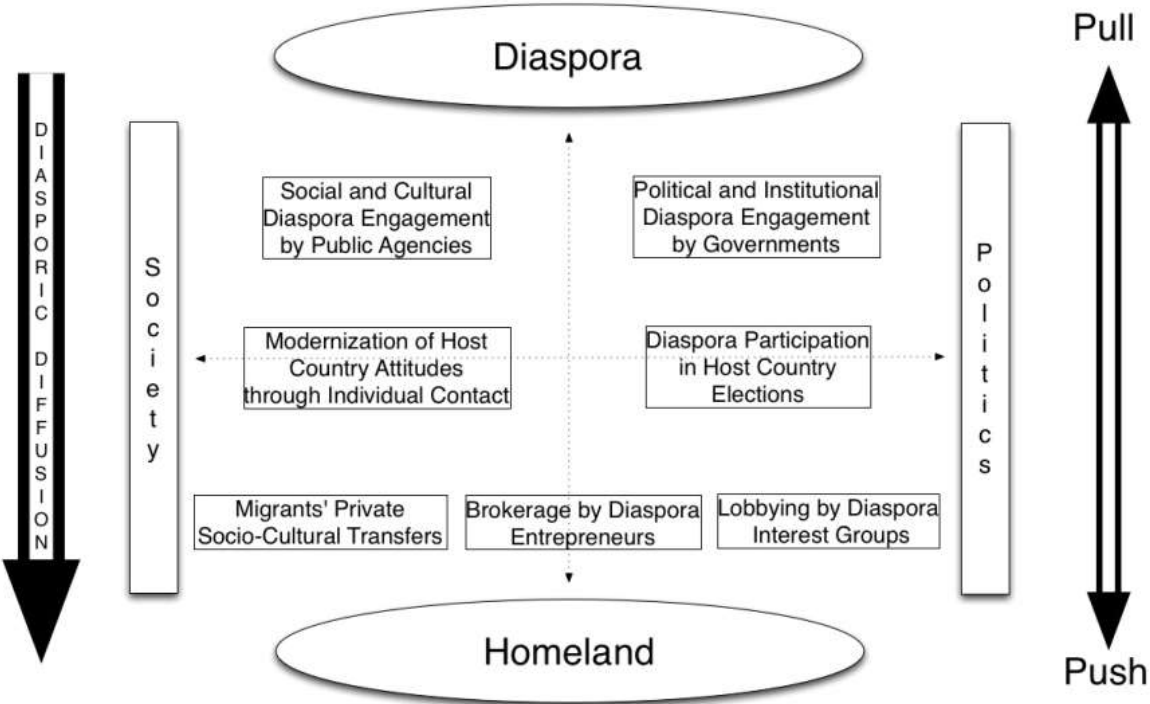


Figure 5: Actors and strategies in diasporic diffusion (Source: Jörgens 2017:9)

The model proposed by the author is an attempt to capture the multiplicity of actors embraced by the diaspora, and is based on three assumptions (Jörgens 2017:6):

- i. The involvement of the diaspora in the public policymaking of their homeland is better analyzed through the lenses of a policy diffusion framework. The reason for this lies behind the characteristics of the diaspora we previously mentioned, specially their in-betweenness, as their privileged knowledge might be the missing link to explain the adoption one of policy

above many others available internationally. Also, their legitimacy and knowledge regarding both the sending and receiving countries makes their recommendations far more credible than many other policy entrepreneurs;

- ii. The diaspora can affect domestic policy as policy entrepreneurs but also as “drivers of a slow and gradual process of modernization of values and attitudes of citizens of their home country”. We will develop this dynamic in the Portuguese case, but it means that the diaspora can produce change in a formal and more visible way as policy or norm entrepreneurs, but also in a gradual and informal way, through the socialization of the citizens of their homeland they still maintain contact with;
- iii. The diaspora ability to influence goes “hand in hand” with the will of country governments to tap the political potential of their diaspora. This means that the diaspora influence isn't possible without a certain will from the homeland to be influenced, which is usually related to their will to tap the diaspora's economic, social or political potential – creating an ecosystem of push and pull factors as shown in the analytical framework above.

Jörgens (2017) develops and fundamentes each of these assumptions in more detail in his paper. For the purpose of this thesis, we consider that the diaspora's motivation to engage with the homeland, and vice-versa, are not to be discarded, and that a model that intends to fully capture the actorhood of the diaspora in the homeland can't discard it as well.

We propose two main motivations behind this engagement that apply both to the diaspora and the homeland, and can affect the way the policy diffusion occurs, as it will influence the decision on the choice of what will be diffused:

- i. The prospect of the diaspora return to the homeland: we argue that both the actions of the diaspora and the homeland are, in a way, conditioned by the prospect of a future return of the migrants, being on a short or long term;
- ii. The diaspora and homeland self-interest: we argue as well that the self-interest of the actors involved will be a key player on the process of diasporic diffusion. For the diaspora, this can happen on the form of trying to improve the conditions of life of the people they left in the homeland, or even to try and improve economic conditions for their own investment back home. For the homeland, this can happen in the form of utilizing the diaspora to better compete internationally, seeking their knowledge about the receiving countries, or simply to attract their investment back to the homeland instead.

Adding the motivation factor do the analytical framework, our model to apply to the Portuguese case on the next chapter of this thesis would be the following:

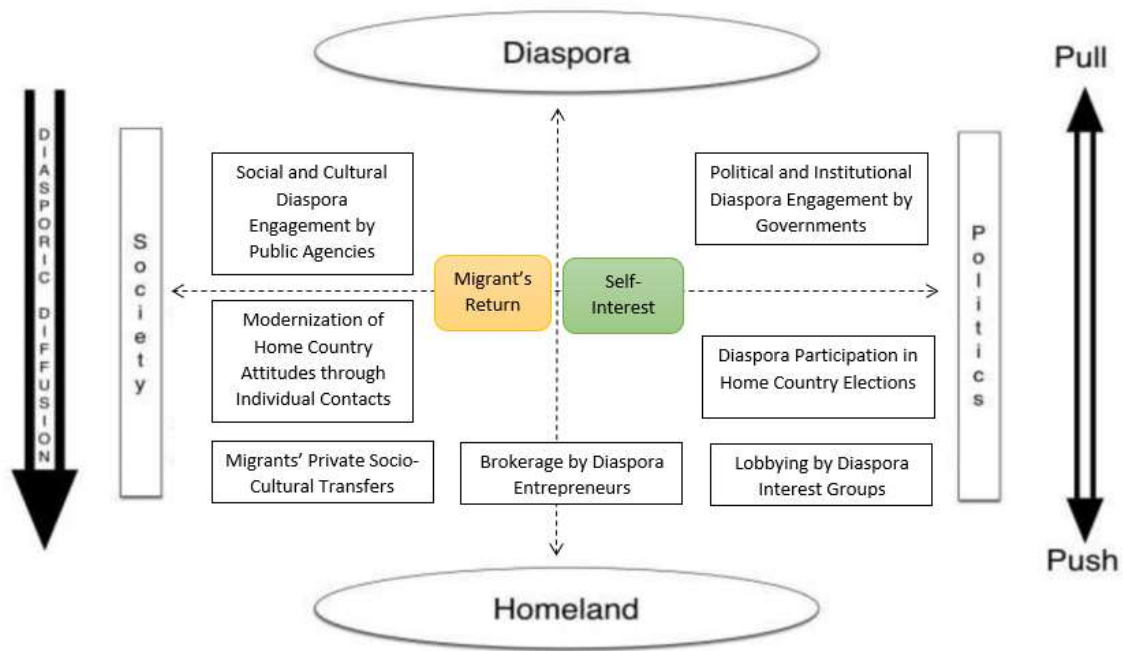


Figure 6: Diasporic Diffusion Model (Based on Jörgens 2017, page 9)

For the next chapter, we will apply the above model to the Portuguese case, but not to any specific policy innovation – the goal is to apply the entire model and analyze each quadrant, to determine if the Portuguese diaspora can or not be considered an actual channel of diffusion. We will provide concrete examples for each type of engagement (*pull* or *push*) to enable future empirical studies on this matter.

The Portuguese Diaspora: A Case Study

4.1. Portugal, a Country of Emigration

4.1.1. Migration Flows, Demographic Balance and the Importance of Migrants

The Portuguese Emigration 2020 report brought together by the Emigration Observatory team of investigators², confirms Portugal's portrait of a country of emigration. It is important to note that given a citizen's right to leave their home country, there are usually no administrative records of "exits" (emigration) but only of "entries" (immigration). This means that to estimate the emigration numbers of a country, it requires the analyses of the entries of the countries of destination for the Portuguese emigrants (Pena Pires, Azevedo, Vidigal, & Moura Veiga, 2020).³

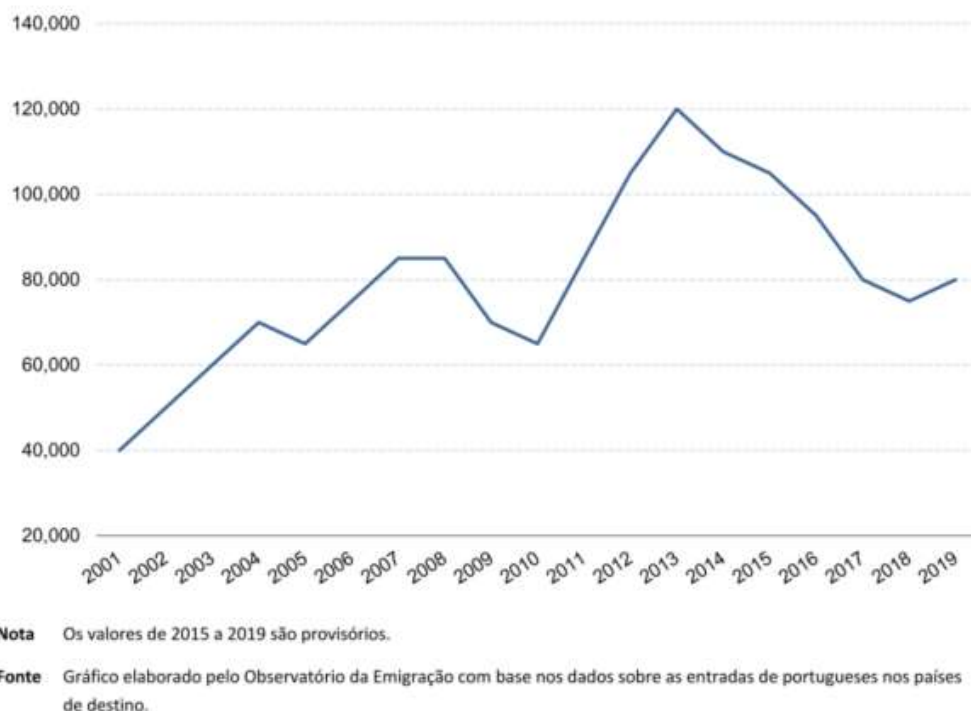


Figure 7: Estimation of the total exits of Portuguese emigrants, 2011-2019

² Rui Pena Pires, Joana Azevedo, Inês Vidigal and Carlota Moura Veiga.

³ This means that these mirror statistics don't reflect exactly the exit data, as they include the re-emigration from previous destination countries. However, it is the best existent approach to measure emigration in terms of flow.

As Figure 6 suggests, the data indicates a tendency for the stabilization of Portuguese emigration⁴ on high numbers from 2017, in the order of 75 thousand people each year, which represents 0.8% of the total resident population.⁵ The report previews that this tendency for stabilization will surely be affected by the global crisis associated with the COVID-19 pandemic, but there is no way to foresee exactly what will happen. Marked by episodic situations, the migratory flows in Portugal present a remarkable variability throughout the last few years. There was a significant increase of the resident foreign population between 2000 and 2010, and the exit migratory flows remained constant until 2008, where they increased significantly because of the economic crisis and the austerity measures implemented by the state. The migration balance, between 2000 and 2010, maintained positive values, despite of tendentially decrescent – however, from 2000 on this tendency has been inverted, and positive values only returned in 2017 (Figure 7).

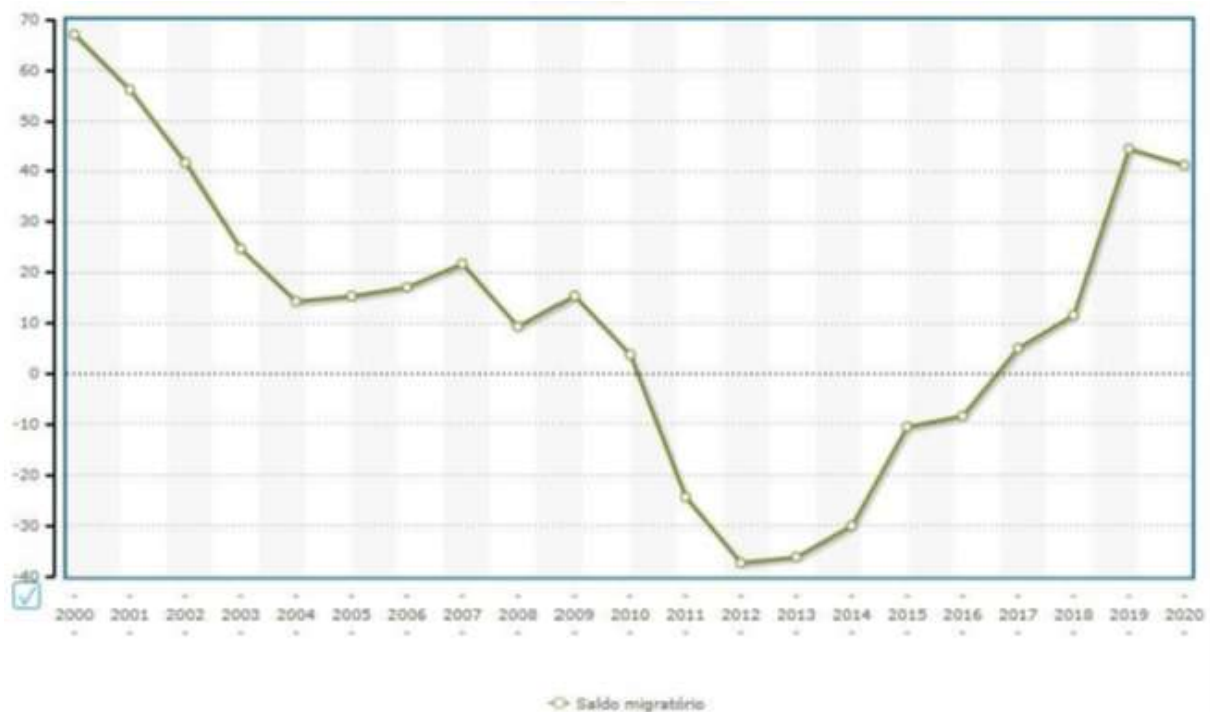


Figure 8: Annual Migratory Balance, 2000-2020 (Sources: INE, PORDATA)

Recognizing that migrations have a positive impact in society in more than one way, Portugal faces today five challenges related to migrations (PEM, 2015): (i) combating the demographic deficit and balancing the migratory balance; (ii) consolidating the integration and empowerment of immigrant communities living in Portugal; (iii) the inclusion of new nationals, by virtue of the acquisition of

⁴ For a very clear pathway of the evolution of Portuguese emigration numbers and flows, see Góis and Marques (2013)

⁵ The increase registered between 2018 and 2019, from 75 to 80 thousand migrants, corresponded to the variation observed in the emigration to the United Kingdom, which could have been induced by the proximity of the Brexit, not being possible to determine if it was an actual increase or an attempt of the already existing migrants to legalize their situation (Pena Pires et al. (2020)

nationality or descent from immigrants; (iv) the response to international mobility, through the internationalization of the Portuguese economy, with a view to attracting migrants and valuing migration and talent as incentives to economic growth; and last but not least (v) monitoring Portuguese emigration, by strengthening ties and conditions for the return and reintegration of national citizens who have emigrated. This will be explained in more detail in the next subchapter of this thesis.

As a result of the migratory flows that we described previously, Portuguese communities developed in several countries. The most significant ones, in terms of numbers, can be found in the US, Brazil and in Europe (France, Switzerland, Germany, UK and Luxembourg) (Góis & Marques, 2013). In 2008 and 2009, these seven countries together accounted for more than 70% of the total emigrants' percentage (figure 8).

Table 11.2 Portuguese citizens living abroad (selected countries)

Country	Number
Germany	113,260**
Spain	140,870*
France	492,502**
Luxembourg	80,000*
United Kingdom	95,000*
Switzerland	196,168**
Brazil	337,304*
United States	176,323**
South Africa	77,139*
Angola	74,600*
Rest of the World	221,789
Total	2,004,955

Notes: *2009; **2008.

Source: <http://www.observatorioemigracao.secomunidades.pt/np4/home.html>.

Figure 9: Portuguese citizens living abroad (taken from Góis and Marques 2013:262)

4.1.2. The Diaspora and the State – Evolution of Diaspora Policies

With this amount of citizens living abroad, the legal (and institutional) framework of Portuguese emigrations had to evolve, shifting from the “subordination of the freedom to emigrate to the national interest⁶ to the inscription of the right to emigrate in the national Constitution of 1976” (Góis & Marques, 2013:262). In the last years of the dictatorship, the first steps to what we understand today as diaspora policies were taken, aimed at “strengthening the emigrants’ link with the home country and ensure they kept their Portuguese culture and identity” (Santana-Pereira & Horta, 2017:123). These included establishing holiday camps for the children of emigrants, and even provide support for

⁶ This refers to the authoritarian regime of Estado Novo.

the emigrant associations (Rocha-Trindade 2000; Santos 2004), while accompanied with “travel” restrictions to serve the interest of the regime.

A lot more changes occurred from the dictatorship until today – but it is not the purpose of this chapter to enlist those changes. We will, instead, focus on the ones that are directly involved in the diasporas’ engagement and representation – like the Council of Portuguese Communities (*Conselho das Comunidades Portuguesas*) that was instituted in 1980, that has a consultative role in advising the Portuguese government in all matters that are related to the Portuguese communities abroad. The Council has two clear purposes, as Góis and Marques (2013:264) explain: (i) in the country of origin, “it is intended to act as a promoter of the anxieties and aspirations of the Portuguese emigrants on behalf of the Portuguese authorities” and (ii) in the country of destination “it was meant to promote dialogue between the Portuguese and the institutions and authorities of the host country”. Additionally to the CCP, there are a lot of social organizations that act as a mediator between the migrants and Portuguese institutions and then between the Portuguese citizens abroad and the context of the host country, such as Instituto Camões (with the Teaching of Portuguese Abroad program), the Portuguese Catholic Mission, among others.

Since after the right to emigrate was embedded in the Constitution, the protection of emigrants’ rights became key aspects of the political discourse at that time, and the term “emigrants” is replaced tendentially by “Portuguese resident abroad”, “Portuguese Communities” and then “diaspora” (Santana-Pereira & Horta, 2017:124). As a result of this paradigm change, extending citizenship to the Portuguese living abroad and voting rights became key issues on the political agenda. This is where the State first starts to look at the Portuguese emigrants as agents of economic diplomacy – but still from the point of view of influencing the country of destination, not the homeland. From this moment, diaspora policies always have a place in governmental discourse and political agenda.

With the 2008 crisis, the Portuguese migratory flows suffer a trend change: (i) immigrants started to return to their country of origin to escape the austerity measures and (ii) the flow of emigrants increased significantly, which lead to a necessity for the government to go a step further on their diaspora policies. As the Portuguese State was very much aware of the integration of the diaspora in the “business, science, culture and political spheres within the societies in which they have made their home” (Santana-Pereira & Horta, 2017:126), it sought to promote a closer relationship with the diaspora in order to promote the Portuguese economic interests abroad and “the internationalization of its economy though exports and diaspora economic investments in Portugal” (Santana-Pereira & Horta, 2017:126). We start to see a shift from exclusively external policy diaspora engagement to a focus on policies that could strengthen the socio-economic link between Portugal and its’ diaspora. The major focus is still economic, but the political and citizenship ties are still there, and start to pave

the way for cultural ties as well⁷. After the decolonization, with no relevant hard power resources, Portugal now starts to see in its diaspora agents for development, which led to seeking of stronger relationships with the Portuguese around the world to “retain their loyalty and promote them as informal ambassadors” (Rodrigues et al. 2013:128). For the twentieth century, Portugal’s most profitable export is its’ people (Santana-Pereira & Horta, 2017:128), and they remain to be of value on the beginning of the twenty first century: there is now less interest in remittances and more interest in the potential for direct foreign investment, promotion of Portugal’s name and modernization resulting from the professional and social capital acquired abroad (Santana-Pereira & Horta, 2017:128). The empowerment of its’ citizens abroad is now a priority, and the discourse intends to pass the idea that “Portugal moved from being a country of poorly educated and illiterate emigrants who nourished a desire to return to a nation with integrated communities in third countries, many of which in an excellent position to contribute towards the country’s development as informal ambassadors, investors and lobbyists, and who have broad recognized citizenship and political rights” (Santana-Pereira & Horta, 2017:128).

We had a look at the evolution of the relationship between the State and the Portuguese Diaspora, with a focus on the engagement of the citizen abroad to potentiate their influence as promoters of the country. The reason for this focus is because it is all we have in the literature about Portuguese Diaspora – there is no research regarding the potential of the diaspora to influence the homeland as well, and not just the receiving country. This is the gap we try to fill in the next sub-chapter, by applying the diasporic diffusion model previously present to the Portuguese case.

4.2. The Portuguese Diaspora Today - Applying the Diasporic Diffusion Model

As we have previously discussed, this model contemplates two main forms of engagement between the state and the diaspora: *pull* and *push*. Within each of these types, there are several sub-areas of action, divided between society and politics, and by their their level of actorness of the diaspora or the state. We will now proceed to analyse and apply each and one of those sub-areas to the Portuguese case – but before we will further explain what we mean by the importance of the motivation behind the engagement.

⁷ With the expansion of the Portuguese language teaching programs, cultural exchanges and diaspora-focused media contents. (Santana-Pereira and Horta (2017)

4.2.1. The motivation behind the engagement: Migrant’s Return vs Self-Interest

In our analytical framework, we have added the motivation behind the engagement as key element to help us to understand the influence of the diaspora in the homeland policies. We believe this is crucial to understand why the diaspora and the state engage the way they do, and when they do – specifically for the Portuguese case. The fundamentals behind this are as below:

- i. Migrants’ return: we argue that it is one of the major motivations between the action of both the diaspora actors and the state, for different reasons. For the diaspora, we argue that the prospect of return to the homeland (on a short or long term) will guide any actorness they might have in the country, as it will be oriented towards making things more favorable to a future return, or even to the current living of any relatives they left “behind” until their return. For the state, in a country with such migratory instability as Portugal (alongside with a growing demographic issue, with the aging of the population), incentivizing the return of the migrants can help to stabilize the flows and turn the “exit” curve around. Figure 9 confirms that the intention to return is widespread and that many emigrants, at least implicitly, accept that their current migration project is not definitive.

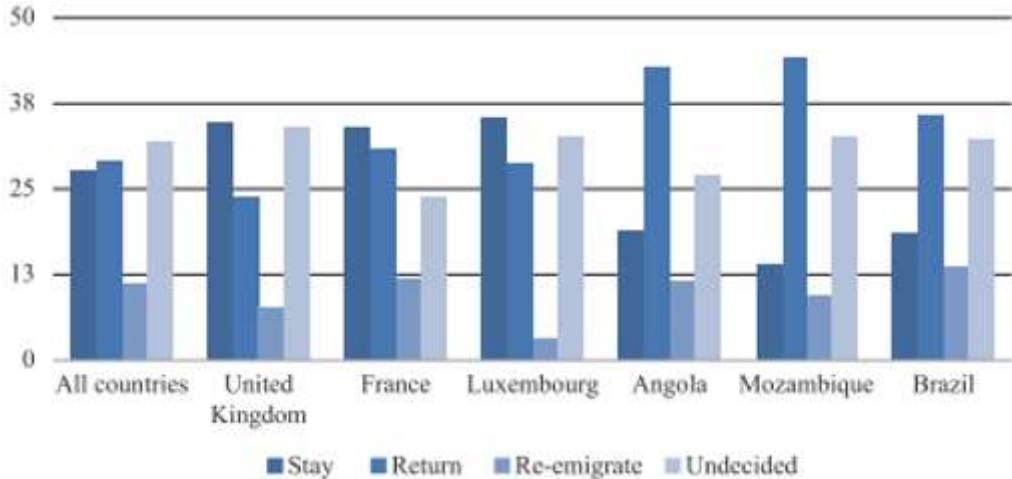


Figure 10: Plans for the future (%) (taken from Pereira, 2019:57 – Source: Survey of Portuguese Abroad – REMIGR Project)

- ii. Self-interest: here, we argue that other than the return prospect, other self-interests might guide both the diaspora and the state actions, such as economic and political interests. For the diaspora, it might be a matter of changing the economic landscape in the homeland so they can bring their investments home, even if living abroad – or even just maneuvering the political landscape to its own profit; for the state, it’s a matter of attracting investment, maintaining a

good brand abroad and having “inside knowledge” of the receiving countries context to better increase their odds for competing internationally.

These are important to understand the adherence (or lack of) to any of the factors we will discuss next, from both the diaspora and the state.

4.2.2. Pull Factors

Diasporas have been linked to economic development, war, conflict and foreign policy, so “the ways that various actors participate in the design and implementation of diaspora policies at local, state, national and regional levels, and their interactions with different groups that constitute the diaspora” (Délano Alonso & Mylonas, 2019:474) have been gaining relevance in the research literature.

The *pull* factors included in our analytical model refer to the engagement of the diaspora from the State, and this can occur in two different ways: (i) social and cultural diaspora engagement by public agencies and (ii) political and institutional diaspora engagement by governments.

Social and Cultural Diaspora Engagement by Public Agencies

Diaspora engagement can be done by many actors other than the state, and it often happens in the form of promoting their entrepreneurship, like the awards given out by COTEC and the Gulbenkian Foundation – Innovative Entrepreneurship Award in the Portuguese Diaspora (*Prémio Empreendedorismo Inovador na Diáspora Portuguesa*⁸) or the Ideas of Portuguese Origin Contest⁹ (*Concurso Ideias de Origem Portuguesa*). These were developed, respectively, with the purpose of distinguishing Portuguese citizens who have stood out for their entrepreneurial and innovative role in the business, social, or cultural environment, in countries where they have been for more than five years, or any Portuguese emigrants with outstanding projects in the areas of Environment and Sustainability, Intercultural Dialogue, Aging and Social Inclusion. The adherence to both programs was quite high – for the Innovative Entrepreneurship Award, in 2013, 176 applications were received, from 37 different countries¹⁰. Both programs together form the FAZ – Innovative Entrepreneurship in the

⁸⁸ The original web page for the contest is no longer available, but you can find more details in <https://embpomex.wordpress.com/arquivo/premio-empreendedorismo-inovador-na-diaspora-portuguesa-2012/>.

⁹ For more information see <https://gulbenkian.pt/noticias/faz-ideias-de-origem-portuguesa/>

¹⁰ 21% of the applications came from France, 16% from the United States, 10% from Brazil, 5% from Canada and another 5% from Spain (see <https://expresso.pt/feeds/lusa/lusaactualidade/empreendedorismo-cotec-lanca-terceira-edicao-do-premio-que-distingue-portugueses-da-diaspora=f560814>).

Portuguese Diaspora, that was created with the purpose of strengthening the ties between the country and the diaspora.

Several projects arose from this initiative, like “Requalification at Zero Cost” (*Requalificação a Custo Zero*) that was materialized in *Arrebata!Porto* in the rehabilitation of vacant buildings, which was the winner of the first edition. For the second edition, three other projects were distinguished: *Orquestra XXI*, that gathers portuguese musicians to regularly play in Portugal; the *Fruta Feia*, that fights food waist and the *Rés-de-Chão*, that dynamizes the ground flows of vacant buildings to promote local creative industries. In 2013, the awards went to three new projects: the *Sumos Portugal*, that created mobile units of production and sale of natural juices dynamized by disabled people; the *Salva a Lã Portuguesa*, to revitalize the production and consumption of Portuguese wool yarn; and the *Plantei.eu*, that shares knowledges and experiences of biological agriculture.

These are very good examples of non-state actors engaging the diaspora to capture its potential and are the most known ones on a national level. Even though the programs are now over, their success was tremendous and inspired a lot of other contests on sub-national levels.

Other platforms had a big success, like *Portugal Agora* (platform for the submission of project proposals and even policy innovations) or *Link to Portugal* (which is a partnership between *Link to Leaders* and *Portugal Agora* to produce a magazine in which diaspora entrepreneurs provide their opinion on several homeland sociopolitical issues).

If the diaspora engagement, timeline wise, started with the non-state actors – for the past few years it’s the political and institutional engagement by the governments that has risen, as we will now see.

Political and Institutional Diaspora Engagement by Governments

Institutional Engagement

Governments have realized that the Diaspora potential is too important to be left unchanneled, and that resulted in a growth of the engagement through the political and institutional channels. As Ahmadov & Sasse (2016:2) note, “most instances of diaspora engagement in governance run the gamut of direct and indirect, simple and complex interventions” and they aren’t always easy to deconstruct.

The latest governmental attempt to engage the Portuguese diaspora was the *National Program to the Investment of the Diaspora*¹¹, that was launched in 2020 with the objective to enhance the potential and size, dispersion, rooting and attachment to Portugal of the Portuguese communities living abroad,

¹¹ See <https://pnaid.mne.gov.pt/pt/>.

as well as the support to the internationalization of the Portuguese economy, including in its dimension of attracting investment and territorial cohesion, as a vector for the development, competitiveness and qualification of the territories, their endogenous resources and their specificities. It was included in the agenda of the Portuguese communities and the national agenda and is destined to any Portuguese migrants that want to invest or expand their economic activity in Portugal, as well as to national entrepreneurs who want to internationalize their business through the diaspora.

In 2019, the AEP Foundation signed a collaboration protocol with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to implement a project named *Rede Global da Diáspora*¹², which is a cooperative network that seeks to tighten the connection between national corporations and the diaspora. This has been presented at national and international levels by the Portuguese government and was greatly adhered to¹³.

Other than programs related to the diaspora economic potential, the engagement goes to social and cultural entities as well – each year, the General Directorate of Consular Affairs and Portuguese Communities (DGACCP) of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs opens a contest for applications for the Diaspora Associativism program¹⁴. The program is destined to associations and federations of Portuguese communities, legally established for more than a year, without profit or partisan purposes, whose object is to benefit the socio-cultural benefit of these communities, as well as other national or foreign legal entities established for more than a year, without profit or partisan purposes, which propose the implementation of activities that result in benefit of the Portuguese communities may apply for this support. The priority areas to be supported will be projects that focus on the promotion of the Portuguese language and culture, young people, social inclusion, training and professional development, civic and political participation, combating xenophobia and dialogue with micro and small businesses of Portuguese citizens living abroad who wish to invest in Portugal.

These are just the most recent examples of institutional engagement of the diaspora, which has grown significantly for the past few years.

Political Engagement

Politically speaking there are two main ways for a government to engage a diaspora: with external voting rights and dual citizenship.

¹² See <https://redeglobal.pt/>.

¹³ Several news articles show the impact the network had nationally and internationally – see for example <https://www.portugalglobal.pt/PT/PortugalNews/Paginas/NewDetail.aspx?newId=%7BDF850B70-C67A-4B83-B7A6-1438EB35E940%7D>.

¹⁴ For the applications for 2020, see <https://www.portugal.gov.pt/pt/gc22/comunicacao/comunicado?i=candidaturas-a-apoios-ao-associativismo-da-diaspora-2020>

Lisi et al (2019:74) define external voting rights as “the active and passive voting rights of qualified individuals, independently of their professional status, to take part from outside the national territory in referenda or in supranational, national, subnational, or primary elections held in a country of which they hold citizenship but where they permanently or temporarily do not reside” (Lafleur 2013: 31). When it comes to voting rights, Portugal was one of the first countries to extend voting rights to emigrants. Portuguese citizens living abroad have had the right to participate in homeland elections since 1978. It started with the possibility to elect deputies to the Portuguese parliament, started to include European Parliament Elections in 1993 and, in 1997, the Presidential elections as well. With the latest updates¹⁵ to the previous external vote regime, it got easier for the Portuguese citizens living abroad to exercise their voting rights (see (Lisi, Belchior, Abrantes, & Azevedo, 2019) for the evolution of electorate laws in Portugal, since adoption to 2019), but looking at the low numbers for emigrants voting, there is still a long way to go.

Table 4.2 Main laws regulating the external vote in Portugal

Laws	Year	Type of election	Main changes
Decree-law 95c/76 (30 January)	1976 (1976)	Legislative	Establish emigrants' right to vote in legislative elections
Decree-law 319-A/76 (3 May)			
Law 14/87 (29 April)	1987 (1987)	European	Establish emigrants' right to vote in European elections
Directive 93/109/CE			
IVth constitutional revision and Organic law 3/2000	1997 (2001)	Presidential	Establish emigrants' right to vote in presidential elections and referenda
Organic law 5/2005		Referendum	
Organic law 5/2005	2005 (2009)	European	Eligibility criteria: voting rights expanded to citizens living outside Europe Voting methods: in person
	2005 (2006)	Presidential	Clarification of eligibility requirements
Organic law 3/2010	2010 (2011)	Presidential	Reduce voting period (2 days)
			Changes in eligibility criteria
			Changes in the rules for establishing polling stations

Note: in parentheses the year of the first election that applied the new regulation

Table 2: Main laws regulating the external vote in Portugal (taken from Lisi et al., 2019:83)

¹⁵ Before, there were some limitations that would difficult the entire process of registering and voting abroad: for example, only citizens living in national territory were automatically enrolled for voting and the census of Portuguese citizens residing abroad was voluntary, and now was automatic (and the emigrants have the option to revoke it after).

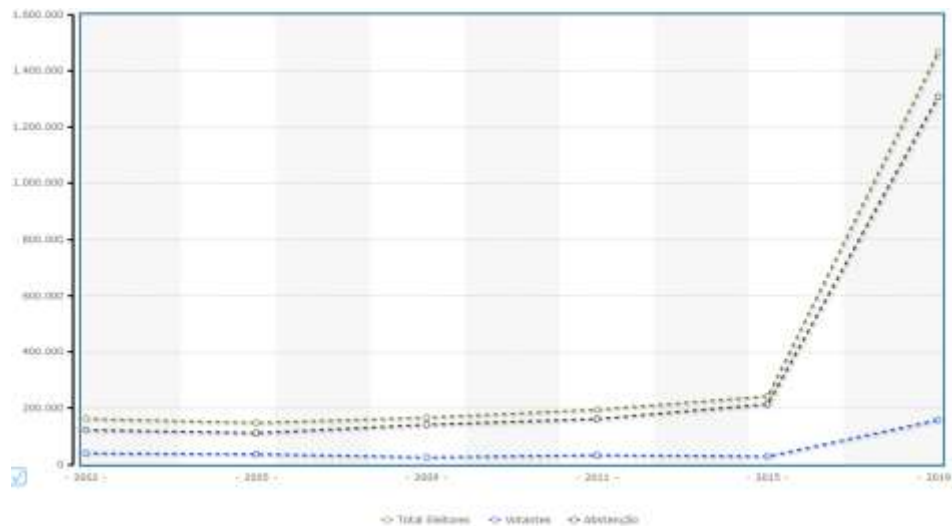


Figure 11: Voters residing abroad in the elections for the Assembly of the Republic: total, voters and abstention (Source: PORDATA)

Although the debate on external voting has been a constant in the political agenda, the conflicts between political parties have made it impossible to reach a consensus on how to improve voting methods for abroad electoral districts. There have been several problems in the implementation of the voting rights of emigrants, “specially with regards to fairness, political equality and turnout” (Lisi et al., 2019:88). Overall, the implementation of the external vote has displayed significant shortcomings, which have been brought to light by the incongruent reforms implemented during the democratic period (Lisi et al., 2019).

The other side of the political engagement is related to dual citizenship. For a long time, Portuguese nationality law has been based on the principle of *jus soli*¹⁶ which means only children born in Portuguese territory had the right of nationality by birth - children born abroad could only acquire it by will¹⁷. The law in effect when Portugal witnessed its major emigration flows limited the possibility of dual citizenship, terminating Portuguese nationality if an emigrant voluntarily acquired a foreign nationality (Base XVIII, of Law 2098, from 29 July 1959) (the same was true for a Portuguese woman marrying a foreign citizen, except if she did not acquire the husband’s nationality or if, before the marriage, she declared that she intended to keep her Portuguese nationality). If the acquisition of foreign citizenship was directly or indirectly imposed by the Portuguese citizen’s state of residence, the decision on the maintenance or loss of the Portuguese citizenship was determined by the Council of Portuguese Ministers (Góis & Marques, 2013). Ever since, the law has suffered a lot of changes – being some of them relevant to the diaspora. To facilitate the understanding of the normative

¹⁶ Latin expression for “right of soil”.

¹⁷ Declared personally if of adult age or by their legal agent if underage.

evolution from a temporal point of view, the analysis will be done article by article (instead of organic law by organic law), so that it is possible to verify the impact of each change in a more objective way. Let's start with Title I of the Nationality Law, which concerns Attribution, acquisition and loss of nationality.

Title I - Attribution, acquisition and loss of nationality	
Capítulo I - Attribution, acquisition and loss of nationality	
<u>Article 1º Original nationality</u>	
Original Text	<p>1 - The following are Portuguese by origin:</p> <p>(a) the children of a Portuguese father or Portuguese mother born in Portuguese territory or under Portuguese administration, or abroad if the Portuguese parent is in the service of the Portuguese State there;</p> <p>b) The children of Portuguese father or Portuguese mother born abroad if they declare they want to be Portuguese or register the birth in the Portuguese Civil Registry;</p>
Organic Law Nº2/2006	<p>1 - The following are Portuguese by origin:</p> <p>(a) the children of a Portuguese mother or Portuguese father born in Portuguese territory;</p> <p>b) Children born abroad to a Portuguese mother or Portuguese father if the Portuguese parent is employed by the Portuguese State;</p>
Organic Law Nº9/2015	<p>1 - Are Portuguese by origin:</p> <p>(a), (b), (c).</p> <p>d) Individuals born abroad with at least one ascendant of Portuguese nationality of the 2nd degree in the straight line who has not lost this nationality, if they declare that they want to be Portuguese, have effective ties to the national community and, once these requirements are verified, register the birth in the Portuguese civil registry;</p>
Organic Law Nº2/2018	<p>1 -</p> <p>a), b), c), d), e).</p> <p>f) Individuals born in Portuguese territory, children of foreigners who are not in the service of their respective State, who do not declare that they do not wish to be Portuguese, provided that, at the time of birth, one of the parents has resided legally here for at least two years;</p>

As far as the changes produced to Article 1 are concerned, it should be noted:

- Organic Law Nº2/2006 (Lei Orgânica nº 2/2006, 2006):
 - (i) Children of a Portuguese father or Portuguese mother residing abroad are also automatically considered to have Portuguese nationality if the Portuguese parent is serving the Portuguese State;
- Organic Law Nº9/2015 (Lei Orgânica nº 9/2015, 2015):
 - (ii) "Individuals born abroad with at least one ascendant of Portuguese nationality of the 2nd degree in the straight line who has not lost this nationality, if they declare that they want to be Portuguese, have ties of effective connection to the national community and verified such requirements, register the birth in the Portuguese civil registry" will now be considered Portuguese of origin;

The broadening of the criteria that considers an individual Portuguese of origin and the removal of certain limitations means that the number of individuals falling under the criteria for Portuguese nationality is increasing, which reflects a strong attempt to keep engaging the Portuguese people living abroad.

It was this new perception of Portugal as a small European territory and an emigrant population estimated at more than 4 million people that led the main political forces to pass a law that had as a key objective to facilitate the right to Portuguese nationality of emigrants and their descendants spread around the world (Góis & Marques, 2013). "(...) the legislators' concern in facilitating the acquisition of Portuguese nationality by all members of the communities of Portuguese descent across the world, went even further. It allowed for dual nationality and reacquisition of nationality by all those who had lost it through previous legislation, or as a result of voluntary acquisition of a foreign nationality or due to marriage." (Baganha & Sousa, 2006:449).

Other than political ways of engaging the migrants, it is also worth mentioning the political institutions involved in the engagement of the diaspora:

- Portuguese Consular Network – with 117 stations spread around the world¹⁸, the Portuguese Consular Network is dedicated to providing the migrants and members of the diaspora around the world any assistance they might require from the Portuguese State.
- Council of the Portuguese Communities (CCP)¹⁹ is the Government's advisory body for policies concerning emigration and Portuguese communities abroad. The CCP is composed of a maximum of 80 members, elected by the Portuguese citizens living abroad who are voters for

¹⁸ 23 in Africa, 31 in America, 20 in Asia, 41 in Europe and 2 in Oceania (see https://portaldascomunidades.mne.gov.pt/images/GADG/Atividade_consular_no_Mundo_2020.pdf).

¹⁹ See <https://portaldascomunidades.mne.gov.pt/pt/conselho-das-comunidades-portuguesas>.

the Assembly of the Republic and has some very important duties related to the diaspora, such as: (i) issue opinions, at the request of the Government or the Assembly of the Republic, on bills and draft bills and other legislative and administrative acts, as well as on international agreements or community regulations regarding Portuguese communities living abroad; (ii) examine questions submitted to it by the Regional Governments of the Azores or Madeira regarding the Portuguese communities from those autonomous regions; (iii) produce information and issue opinions, on its own initiative, on all matters concerning the Portuguese living abroad and the development of the Portuguese presence in the world, and send them to the member of the Government responsible for emigration and Portuguese communities; and (iv) formulate proposals and recommendations on the objectives and application of the principles of the policy for the Portuguese communities.

Even from a migration strategy point of view, the Portuguese government is concerned about tapping the diaspora's potential: the *Migration Strategic Plan* (PEM- Plano Estratégico para as Migrações – ACM, 2015) that has been implemented in 2015, included as two of its' main challenges the following: (i) better articulation between immigration and emigration and the support to return and reintegration of Portuguese emigrants and (ii) international mobility, talent management and valorization of the country's appeal. For this, they developed an entire axis of measures destined to promote incentive policies, accompaniment and support for the return of emigrant nationals. Altogether, we can clearly see the existence of political engagement attempts towards the diaspora.

4.2.3. Push Factors

Now that we have covered the *pull* factors of our analytical framework, that show the way the homeland engages the diaspora, it is time to see how the diaspora pushes its' ideas and values to the homeland.

In the *push* factors of the model, we cover five main points:

- i. Modernization of the home country attitudes through individual contacts;
- ii. Migrants' private socio-cultural transfers;
- iii. Brokerage by diaspora entrepreneurs;
- iv. Lobbying by diaspora interest groups;
- v. Diaspora participation in home country elections.

We will analyze how each of these factors applies to the Portuguese Diaspora, having a first look at what it means to be in the presence of diaspora advocacy.

Diaspora communities, organizations, and individuals are increasingly vocal and influential in their countries of origin and of settlement (Newland, 2010). While government is their primary target, they also seek to influence international organizations, the media, the private sector, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), and other actors. Their influence can be both formal and informal, moving from their own relatives to the actual government.

When it comes to their participation in the homeland elections, we have seen that the participation rates are not exactly high – however, this is due to the several constraints associated with the external vote that we covered previously as well.

We saw in the previous section that the number of platforms from non-state actors to engage diasporas increased in the past few years, but it also happened the other way around: web sites, discussion groups, and social networks of diaspora members have proliferated, resulting in a multiplication of the organizational potential of groups and even individuals (Newland, 2010). Diaspora organizations are enormously diverse – “advocates are drawn from ethnic affinity groups, associations of migrants originating from the same locality, alumni associations, religious organizations, professional associations, charitable organizations, development NGOs, investment groups, affiliates of political parties, protest movements, humanitarian relief organizations, schools and clubs for the preservation of culture, virtual networks, and federations of associations” (Newland, 2010:4). This associativism is quite present in the numbers of application the Portuguese Communities Council receives every year, for diaspora related projects (to be put in place in the home country) submitted by diasporas’ several associations spread around the country and the world.

Many diasporas are fragmented – competing factions advocate for competing agendas (Newland, 2010). A priority of many diaspora organizations, therefore, is to gain recognition from the “targets” of their advocacy – whether these are the governments of origin or destination countries, the public in these countries, donors, mass media, or others (Newland, 2010). One important thing to take in consideration here is that the targets of diaspora advocacy, especially the state and state-related institutions, have the legitimacy of their diaspora partners held very highly, and this can be the factor that determines the success or unsuccess of the diaspora engagement with the homeland. Although we can’t state for sure that there is no fragmentation in the Portuguese diaspora, if there is, it is not what first comes to mind – what does, though, is the image of an organized, goal-oriented and very well internationally placed diaspora network. The personification of this is the Portuguese Diaspora Council²⁰, that was founded in December 2012, highly sponsored by the President of the Republic at the time, Cavaco Silva. The purpose of the association is to strengthen relations between Portugal and its Diaspora, Portuguese and their descendants, so that through their merit, talent and influence, they

²⁰ See <https://www.diasporaportuguesa.org/>.

may contribute to the universal affirmation of the values and culture that unite all Portuguese people, as well as to the enhancement of the country's reputation and thus the development and prosperity of Portugal (see the association's manifesto in <https://www.diasporaportuguesa.org/conselho/>).

The main instrument of intervention of the Portuguese Diaspora Council is the World Portuguese Network²¹, which involves a wide range of Portuguese influences in four areas: Economy, Sciences, Culture and Citizenship, and they have four main axis of action:

- i. Promote and organize the institutionalization of a network of contacts between Portuguese and Luso-descendants living abroad;
- ii. To structure and coordinate a regular communication process among the network members;
- iii. To foster and deepen the relations and liaison activities between the members of the association and national institutions;
- iv. To establish and deepen the association's connections with other networks of Portuguese communities abroad.

Just this Council alone covers all five of our *push* factors: with a net of counselors spread around the world and around several areas of social, cultural and economic areas, they are definitely a channel for modernization of the home country attitudes through their individual contacts; with homeland based businesses, families based in Portugal and constant homeland based conferences and meetings, they will have their own private socio-cultural transfers from their host country; being such a legitimate and highly recognized political actor, the Council is asked several times to provide their input on several policy innovations, or any laws that affect the diaspora; they are one of the biggest Portuguese diaspora interest groups, and they lobby over and over for the diaspora interest; they also participate in the homeland elections, and advocate for other migrants to do the same.

A quick look at the media trends on the Portuguese diaspora shows us the lobbying we were talking about just now:

- The diaspora is responsible for advocating for better external voting conditions;
- The diaspora business owners have “created” a European Federation for Portuguese Chambers of Commerce and Industry,²² that now brings together the different chambers of commerce of Portuguese companies throughout the European Union;
- They lobbied for more investment in the Portuguese Communities Council, so more diaspora related associations can see their projects come to life;

²¹ As defined by the organization itself in <https://www.diasporaportuguesa.org/tag/world-portuguese-network/>

²² See <https://www.ccip.pt/en/about-us/history>.

- They have been responsible for helping with the increase of exportations, aggressively lobbied for better action plans for the covid-19 pandemic (especially regarding the lay-off policies).

These are just a few of the many examples we can find that prove the diasporas' close involvement in the homeland socio-cultural panorama. Their influence goes way beyond the economic level, with significant cultural, social and political ties. The Portuguese diaspora engages with the homeland to express their identities, to acquire power and resources but also to maintain a collective memory of the homeland and keep alive the prospect of a future return. The strength of the Portuguese diaspora networks, inside and outside of Portugal is so evident that it has been considered a case of study, since there are no major integration related issues in the receiving countries, while at the same time the migrant is able to keep a close connection to Portugal and its traditions.

Conclusions – First Remarks and Calls for Future Research

Diasporas have been increasingly recognized as an important actor in the governance of the homeland - combining their in-betweenness with their unique capacity to think outside the box of each of their countries, diasporas have a very strong potential to become diffusion channels for policy innovations. However, the “exit over voice” concept has dominated the literature for too long, and so this potential remained systematically underexplored. The present thesis had the goal to fill this research gap, using Portugal as the case in study, and I believe that we were able to provide the theoretical base that will allow for future empirical studies that can prove the existence of that diasporic diffusion.

What we did, developing on the analytical framework proposed by Jörgens & Neves (2017), was show that all the conditions are met for the diffusion to occur: we have provided strong evidence of homeland engagement of the diaspora, even stronger evidence of the diaspora pushing its’ own normative, political and economic agenda into the homeland, and a very strong common factor between both the diaspora and the homeland – the motivation to induce (or receive) the change, that overlaps most of the time for both parties.

We saw that the homeland engages with the diaspora through the establishment of specific formal offices, investment plans, migration and integration policy instruments, and through the most obvious tools: citizenship and external vote. The engagement can also come from non-state actors, as we saw with the Gulbenkian Foundation programs for diaspora entrepreneurs. The point is to capture the entire potential of such a rich umbrella of political actors – socially, culturally, politically and even economically.

On the other side of the coin, the diaspora is not a passive spectator to this process. While the homeland engages the diaspora to fill their own interests, the diaspora does the same thing with the homeland. As we saw in the previous chapter, the diaspora networks aggressively lobby for any items on their agenda – and they use their legitimacy to do so. Capturing the social remittances of the diaspora is something we did not dare to try for this thesis, as it calls for a much more empirical work that we could not make happen. However, I dare to say we were successful in proving the other types of influence the diaspora can exert.

Previous papers have established the importance of the Portuguese diaspora in the external policy of the homeland, but very few did that work for the homeland internal policies – and even fewer did it for the Portuguese case itself. Now, with a stronger theoretical base, a future path calls for more empirical studies that can show a specific policy innovation being diffused from the host country through the diaspora, or even norms, ideas and values.

We have discussed that the two main motivations for a diaspora to engage with the homeland, or allow itself to be engaged by it, were the self-interest and the prospect of return – and the same applies for the homeland’s motivations. This sheds some light on the areas of public policies that would better benefit from this kind of research – which would be the ones directly related to the diaspora (economic, migration and environmental policies, for example) as they will more likely catch the diaspora’s attention (in the sense they can either improve the homeland’s conditions for return or assure a good living for the migrant’s relatives that stayed, or even the migrant’s investments itself). It might be useful to cross-check these policies with the ones in which the diaspora’s legitimacy is more relevant – and that will provide a solid start for the empirical work (here we can look, for example, at public policy areas where the diaspora’s in-betweenness and cross-national knowledge are of best use to the homeland).

To perform such endeavor, future studies need to develop indicators that specifically show the diaspora’s influence – and this can be better applied, for example, to social remittances, as most of the diasporas’ influence when it comes to diffusing values is done on an informal level. Field work is required to develop and test those indicators including for example, interviews to representative members of the diaspora.

More analytical models that can frame the diaspora’s influence need to be developed but keeping the concepts in analysis coherent throughout the board, to ensure consistency in the results. This is required within the Portuguese case, but also outside of it – as the diffusion literature could only benefit from the contributions the migration literature can bring to the table, as we have shown alongside with Jörgens & Neves (2017) that the two of them have a significative potential to walk alongside together.

References

- Ahmadov, A.K.; Sasse, G. (2016): A Voice Despite Exit. In: *Comparative Political Studies* 49 (1), pag. 78–114.
- Almagro, M.M (2018): Lost boomerangs, the rebound effect and transnational advocacy networks: a discursive approach to norm diffusion. In: *Rev. Int. Stud.* 44 (4), pág. 672–693.
- Alto Comissariado para as Migrações (2015). Plano Estratégico para as Migrações. Lisboa: ACM.
- Arroteia, J. (2010): Portugueses em diáspora: identidade e cidadania. In: *População e 2010* (18), pag. 145–159.
- Assembleia da República (17/04/2006): Lei Orgânica nº 2/2006. Resultado: Quarta alteração à Lei n.º 37/81, de 3 de Outubro.
- Assembleia da República (29/07/2013): Lei Orgânica nº 1/2013. Resultado: Quinta alteração à Lei n.º 37/81, de 3 de outubro.
- Assembleia da República (2015): Resolução do Conselho de Ministros N.º12-B/2015, de 20 de Março. Resultado: Plano Estratégico para as Migrações (2015-2020).
- Assembleia da República (22/06/2015): Lei Orgânica nº 8/2015. Resultado: Sexta alteração à Lei n.º 37/81, de 3 de outubro (Lei da Nacionalidade).
- Assembleia da República (29/07/2015): Lei Orgânica nº 9/2015. Resultado: Sétima alteração à Lei n.º 37/81, de 3 de outubro (Lei da Nacionalidade).
- Assembleia da República (27/08/2017): Consolidação Lei n.º 37/81 - Diário da República n.º 228/1981, Série I de 1981-10-03, de 10. Resultado: Lei da Nacionalidade.
- Baganha, M. I. and Sousa, C. U. (2006) 'Portugal', in R. Bauböck, E. Ersboll, K. Groenedijk, and H. Waldrauch (eds), *Acquisition and Loss of Nationality* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press), 435–476.
- Belchior, A. M.; Azevedo, J.; Lisi, M.; Abrantes, M. (2018): Contextual reasons for emigrants' electoral participation in home country elections: the Portuguese case. In: *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* 26 (2), pag. 197–214.
- Börzel, T. A.; Risse, T. (2012): From Europeanisation to Diffusion: Introduction. In: *West European Politics* 35 (1), pag. 1–19.
- Brinkerhoff, J. M. (2013): Understanding the diaspora diversity and its impact on development. In: *Realizing the Development Potential of Diasporas*, pag. 19-38.
- Brubaker, R. (2005). 'The 'Diaspora' Diaspora', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 28:1, 1–19.
- Burgess, K. (2012): Migrants, Remittances, and Politics: Loyalty and Voice after Exit. In *Fletcher Forum of World Affairs* 36 (1), pp. 43–55
- Busch, P.; Jörgens, H. (2005): International patterns of environmental policy change and convergence. Em: *Eur. Env.* 15 (2), pag. 80–101.
- Busch, P.; Jörgens, H. (2005): The international sources of policy convergence: explaining the spread of environmental policy innovations. In: *Journal of European Public Policy* 12 (5), pág. 860–884.
- Candeias, P.; Góis, P.; Marques, J. C.; Peixoto, J. (2014): Emigração portuguesa: bibliografia comentada (1980-2013). In: *SOCIUS Working Papers* N.º 01/2014.

- Chauvet, L.; Mercier, M. (2014): Do return migrants transfer political norms to their origin country? Evidence from Mali. In: *Journal of Comparative Economics* 42 (3), pag. 630–651.
- Chikezie, C. (2011): Developing capacity: Diasporas as transnational agents of development. In: Krishnan Sharma (Ed.): *Realizing the development potential of diasporas*. Tokyo, New York: United Nations University Press.
- Cohen, R. (2008). *Global Diasporas: An Introduction*. London: Routledge.
- Collyer, M. (Ed.) (2013): *Emigration Nations*. London: Palgrave Macmillan UK.
- Craven, C. R. (2018): Thinking About Governance Through Diasporas. *Decentering the State and Challenging the External/Internal Binary*. In: *Decentering the State and Challenging the External/Internal Binary* (76).
- Déano Alonso, A.; Mylonas, H. (2019): The microfoundations of diaspora politics: unpacking the state and disaggregating the diaspora. In: *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 45 (4), pag. 473–491.
- Déano, A.; Gamlen, A. (2014): Comparing and theorizing state–diaspora relations. In: *Political Geography* 41, pag. 43–53.
- Déano, Alexandra (2018): *From Here and There: Diaspora Policies, Integration, and Social Rights Beyond Borders*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- DRE (2020): Resolução do Conselho de Ministros n.º 64/2020 (160/2020), Série I de 2020-08-18, pages 77 - 97.
- Stokes Berry, F.; Berry, W. D. (2019): Innovation and Diffusion Models in Policy Research. In: Paul A. Sabatier (Ed.): *Theories of the policy process*. Second edition. London: Routledge, pag. 223–260.
- Faist T., Fauser M. (2011) The Migration–Development Nexus: Toward a Transnational Perspective. In: Faist T., Fauser M., Kivisto P. (eds) *The Migration-Development Nexus*. Migration, Diasporas and Citizenship Series. Palgrave Macmillan, London. https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230305694_1.
- Gamlen, A. (2006): *Diaspora Engagement Policies*. Em: University of Oxford (32).
- Gamlen, A.; Cummings, M. E.; Vaaler, P. M. (2019): Explaining the rise of diaspora institutions. Em: *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 45 (4), pag. 492–516.
- Gilardi, F. (2013): *Transnational Diffusion: Norms, Ideas, and Policies*. Em: Carlsnaes Walter, Thomas Risse e Beth A. Simmons (Ed.): *Handbook of International Relations*.: SAGE, pag. 453–477.
- Gilardi, F. (2016): Four Ways We Can Improve Policy Diffusion Research. Em: *State Politics Policy Q.* 16 (1), pag. 8–21.
- Gilardi, F.; Wasserfallen, F. (2017): *Policy Diffusion: Mechanisms and Practical Implications*. Em: *Governance Design Network (GDN) Workshop 2017*.
- Glick Schiller, N.; Basch, L. and Blanc-Szanton, C. (1992). 'Transnationalism: A New Analytic Framework for Understanding Migration', *ANNALS of the New York Academy of Sciences*, 645, 1–24.
- Góis, P.; Marques, J. C. (2013): Portuguese Emigrants and the State: An Ambivalent Relationship. Em: Michael Collyer (Ed.): *Emigration Nations*. London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, pag. 252–276.
- Grabowska, I.; Garapich, M. P. (2016): Social remittances and intra-EU mobility: non-financial transfers between U.K. and Poland. Em: *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 42 (13), pag. 2146–2162. DOI: 10.1080/1369183X.2016.1170592.
- Grabowska, I.; Garapich, M. P.; Jaźwińska, E.; Radziwinowiczówna, A. (2017): *Migrants as Agents of Change*. London: Palgrave Macmillan UK.

- Graham, E. R.; Shipan, C. R.; Volden, C. (2013): The Diffusion of Policy Diffusion Research in Political Science. Em: *British Journal of Political Science* (43), pág. 673–701.
- Hirschman, A. O. (1978). 'Exit, Voice, and the State', *World Politics*, 31:1, 90–107.
- Hirschman, A. O. (1993): Exit, Voice, and the Fate of the German Democratic Republic: An Essay in Conceptual History. In *World Politics* 45 (2), pp. 173–202
- Jörgens, H. (2004): Governance by diffusion: implementing global norms through cross-national imitation and learning. Em: William M. Lafferty (Ed.): *Governance for Sustainable Development: The Challenge of Adapting Form to Function*: Edward Elgar, pág. 246–283.
- Jörgens, H.; Neves, J. M.: Diasporic Diffusion. Em: *International Workshop: "Diasporas and Homeland Governance – Decentering the State as an Analytical Category"*.
- Kern, K.; Jörgens, H.; Janicke, M. (2005): The Diffusion of Environmental Policy Innovations: A Contribution to the Globalisation of Environmental Policy. Em: *SSRN Journal*.
- Krawatzek, F.; Müller-Funk, L. (2020): Two centuries of flows between 'here' and 'there': political remittances and their transformative potential. Em: *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 46 (6), pág. 1003–1024.
- Kshetri, N. I. R.; Rojas-Torres, D.; Acevedo, M. C (2015): Diaspora Networks, Non-Economic Remittances and Entrepreneurship Development: Evidence from Some Economies in Latin America. In: *J. Dev. Entrepreneurship* 20 (01).
- Lacroix, T.; Levitt, P.; Vari-Lavoisier, I. (2016): Social remittances and the changing transnational political landscape. Em: *CMS* 4 (1).
- Lafferty, W. M. (Ed.) (2004): *Governance for Sustainable Development: The Challenge of Adapting Form to Function*: Edward Elgar.
- Lafleur, J.; Vintila, D. (Ed.) (2020): *Migration and Social Protection in Europe and Beyond (Volume 2)*. Cham: Springer International Publishing (IMISCOE Research Series).
- Leblang, D. (2017): Harnessing the Diaspora. Em: *Comparative Political Studies* 50 (1), pág. 75–101.
- Levitt, P. (1998): Social Remittances: Migration Driven Local-Level Forms of Cultural Diffusion. Em: *The International Migration Review* (32), pág. 926–948.
- Levitt, P., and Lamba-Nieves, D. (2011). 'Social Remittances Revisited', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 37:1, 1–22.
- Lisi, M.; Belchior, A. M.; Abrantes, M.; Azevedo, J. (2019): Portuguese Emigrants' Political Representation: The Challenges of External Vote. Em: Cláudia Pereira e Joana Azevedo (Ed.): *New and Old Routes of Portuguese Emigration*. Cham: Springer International Publishing, pág. 73–94.
- Maggetti, M.; Gilardi, F. (2016): Problems (and solutions) in the measurement of policy diffusion mechanisms. Em: *J. Pub. Pol.* 36 (1), pág. 87–107.
- Marques, J. C.; Góis, P. (2020): Diaspora Policies, Consular Services and Social Protection for Portuguese Citizens Abroad. Em: Jean-Michel Lafleur e Daniela Vintila (Ed.): *Migration and Social Protection in Europe and Beyond (Volume 2)*. Cham: Springer International Publishing (IMISCOE Research Series), pág. 387–407.
- McAuliffe, M. D. J.; Khadria, B. (Ed.) (2019): *World migration report 2020*. International Organization for Migration. Geneva: International Organization for Migration (World Migration Report, 2020).

- Melo, D. (2006): *Aquém do Marão: O Associativismo Regionalista Transmontano em Portugal e na Diáspora*. Em: *Sociologia, Problemas e Práticas* (50), pág. 67–87.
- Mintrom, M. (1997): *Policy Entrepreneurs and the Diffusion of Innovation*. Em: *American Journal of Political Science* 41 (3), pág. 738.
- Muniandy, P.; Bonatti, V. (2014): *Are Migrants Agents or Instruments of Development? The Case of ‘Temporary’ Migration in Malaysia*. Em: *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 40 (11), pág. 1836–1853.
- Neivskaitė, L. (2016): *Social Remittances from the Professional Diaspora: The Issue of Home-Country Receptivity*. Em: *Central and Eastern European Migration Review* 5 (2), pág. 135–153.
- Newland, Kathleen (2010). *Voice After Exit: Diaspora Advocacy*. Washington, DC: Migration Policy Institute.
- OECD (Ed.) (2007): *Policy Coherence for Development 2007*: OECD.
- OECD (2007): *Diaspora Networks*. Em: OECD (Ed.): *Policy Coherence for Development 2007*: OECD, pág. 93–103.
- OECD (2015): *Connecting with Emigrants: A Global Profile of Diasporas 2015*, OECD.
- Peixoto, J.; Candeias, P.; Ferreira, B.; Oliveira, I. T.; Azevedo, J.; Marques, J. C. et al. (2019): *New Emigration and Portuguese Society: Transnationalism and Return*. Em: Cláudia Pereira e Joana Azevedo (Ed.): *New and Old Routes of Portuguese Emigration*. Cham: Springer International Publishing, pág. 49–72.
- Pena Pires, R.; Azevedo, J.; Vidigal, I.; Moura Veiga, C. (2020): *Emigração Portuguesa 2020: Relatório Estatístico 2020*.
- Pena Rodríguez, A.; Formoso, D. (2020): *CRÓNICAS INMIGRANTES DEL SUEÑO AMERICANO. VÍNCULOS HISTÓRICOS ENTRE LA DIÁSPORA PORTUGUESA Y SU PRENSA EN ESTADOS UNIDOS*. Em: *vdh* 9, pág. 417–434.
- Pereira, C.; Azevedo, J. (Ed.) (2019): *New and Old Routes of Portuguese Emigration*. Cham: Springer International Publishing.
- Pérez-Armendáriz, C. and Crow, D. (2010). ‘Do Migrants Remit Democracy? International Migration, Political Beliefs, and Behavior in Mexico’, *Comparative Political Studies*, 43:1, 119–48.
- Piper, N. (2009a). ‘Guest Editorial: The Complex Interconnections of the Migration-Development Nexus: A Social Perspective’, *Population, Space and Place*, 15:2, 93–101.
- Piper, N. (2009b). ‘Temporary Migration and Political Remittances: The Role of Organisational Networks in the Transnationalisation of Human Rights’, *European Journal of East Asian Studies*, 8:2, 215–43.
- Ponte e Sousa, P. (2017): *A diáspora portuguesa como prioridade da política externa de Portugal: entre o discurso e a prática*. Em: *Revista da FLUP, IV Série* (7), pág. 57–58.
- Portes, A. (2010): *Migration and Social Change: Some Conceptual Reflections*. Em: *The Center for Migration and Development Working Paper Series* 36 (36), pág. 1537–1563. DOI: 10.1080/1369183X.2010.489370.
- Rapoport, H. (2018): *Diaspora externalities. A view from the South*. Helsinki, Finland: United Nations University World Institute for Development Economics Research (WIDER working paper, 2018, 25).
- Ribeiro, M. (2015): *Estudo sobre o impacto de comunidades emigrantes nas exportações*.
- Rocha-Trindade, M. B. (2001) ‘As políticas portuguesas para a emigração’, *Janus* 2001 – *Anuário de Relações Exteriores*, 140–141.

- Rüland, J.; Kessler, C. and Rother, S. (2009). 'Democratisation Through International Migration? Explorative Thoughts on a Novel Research Agenda', *European Journal of East Asian Studies*, 8:2, 161–79
- Sabatier, P. A. (Ed.) (2019): *Theories of the policy process*. Second edition. London: Routledge.
- Safran, W. (1991). 'Diasporas in Modern Societies: Myths of Homeland and Return', *Diaspora*, 1:1, 83–99.
- Santana-Pereira, J.; Horta, A. P. (2017): *A Global Nation? The Evolution of Emigration and Diaspora Policies in Portugal (1960–2016)*. Em: Agnieszka Weinar (Ed.): *Emigration and Diaspora Policies in the Age of Mobility*, vol. 9. Cham: Springer International Publishing (Global Migration Issues), pág. 121–137.
- Santos, V. (2004) *O Discurso Oficial do Estado sobre a Emigração dos Anos 60 a 80 e a Imigração dos Anos 90 à Actualidade* (Lisboa: ACIME).
- Sharma, K. (Ed.) (2011): *Realizing the development potential of diasporas*. United Nations University; ebrary, Inc. Tokyo, New York: United Nations University Press.
- Simmons, B. A.; Dobbin, F. and Garrett, G. (2008). 'Introduction: The Diffusion of Liberalization', in: Beth A. Simmons, Frank Dobbin and Geoffrey Garrett (eds.), *The Global Diffusion of Markets and Democracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1–63.
- Tran, N. T.M.; Cameron, M. P.; Poot, J. (2021): *How Robust Is the Evidence on the Impact of Diasporas on Institutional Quality in Home Countries?* Em: *Kyklos* 74 (1), pág. 126–152.
- Triandafyllidou, A.; Isaakyan, I. (2016): "Sending so much more than money": social remittances, transnational mobility and the Re-positioning of the Migrant. Em: *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 40, pág. 2787–2805.
- Turcu, A.; Urbatsch, R. (2020): *Go Means Green: Diasporas' Affinity for Ecological Groups*. Em: *Global Environmental Politics* 20 (1), pág. 82–102. DOI: 10.1162/glep_a_00538.
- Van Hear, N. (2010): *Theories of Migration and Social Change*. Em: *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 36 (10), pág. 1531–1536.
- Walter, C.; Risse, T.; Simmons, B. A. (Ed.) (2013): *Handbook of International Relations*. 1 Oliver's Yard, 55 City Road, London EC1Y 1SP United Kingdom: SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Weinar, A. (Ed.) (2017): *Emigration and Diaspora Policies in the Age of Mobility*. Cham: Springer International Publishing (Global Migration Issues).
- Weinar, A. (2017): *From emigrants to free movers: whither European emigration and diaspora policy?* Em: *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 43 (13), pág. 2228–2246.
- Zajak, S. (2014): *Pathways of Transnational Activism: A Conceptual Framework*. Em: *MPIfG Discussion Paper 2014* (14/5).