

Brazilians Abroad:

*Emigrant Voting and Political
Engagement*

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By

Denise Frizzo and
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This book is dedicated to
Maria Cristina and Nelson Frizzo
and Cristiano Fischer

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FOREWORD

CELSO AMORIM

BRAZILIAN GOVERNMENT FORMER MINISTER
FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND DEFENCE

For hundreds of years Brazil had been characterised as a migration receiving country, which felt this strong influence of immigrants in the course of its national development. Since the 1980s, a new wave of Brazilians leaving their country of origin has become a new demographic feature with Brazilian nationals settling and residing across the globe. The Brazilian emigrant community is characterised by its strong cultural and family connections back in Brazil. Many are also economically well connected with their home, they remit money back to their families, and some even invest in properties and business.

This book offers an insightful analysis on the experience of Brazilian emigration and the subsequent emigrant political engagement and connections developed with the home country. The journey starts with historical information of Brazilian migration, explaining the shift in Brazil's position from being an immigration country to an emigration country, partially as a result of economic difficulties and political crises.

Throughout the book, details are discussed about how the Brazilian government has attempted to maintain connections between emigrants and Brazil. The authors provide detailed explanations of the policies implemented in Brazil addressing nationals abroad, such as programs to attract remittances, to facilitate documentation, cooperation with Brazilian scientists abroad, promotion of the Brazilian culture and expansion of the network of consulates. They show the growing interest of the Brazilian government and policy makers in maintaining connections with emigrants abroad since the mid-1990s, in matters, such as recognition of dual citizenship; the creation of a specific department in the Foreign Ministry to address exclusively Brazilian emigrants (The General Sub-Secretary of Brazilian Communities Abroad - SGEB) in 2007, and the implementation of the Council of Brazilian Representatives Abroad (CRBE) to promote dialogue between the government and expatriates in 2010.

The authors have analysed data collected through an online survey with Brazilians living in seven countries and through interviews conducted with Brazilian authorities and emigrant leaders of communities abroad. As such, this book offers a pioneering analysis on themes related to emigrant political engagement, and including voting behaviour, from the perspective of those directly involved in the issues. Representatives of the government (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Justice, and the Electoral Court) and of the Brazilian Congress (Deputies and Senators) were interviewed to reflect on the policies and laws implemented towards Brazilians abroad. Emigrants surveyed were also given the opportunity to think further about their rights, obligations and desires in relation to Brazilian politics, elections, and transnational connections with Brazil.

I was Minister for Foreign Affairs in two different periods. In my short tenure (1993-1994) during Itamar Francos' government, I was confronted with two difficult questions relating to Brazilian individuals who were involved in one way or another with political activities abroad. These were two young ladies: one in Chile (Tânia Maria Cordeiro Vaz) and the other in Palestine (Lamia Maruf Hassan), having them repatriated back to Brazil and becoming involved in a prolonged negotiation at the highest level. In the case of the latter, the "happy ending" only came when I was no longer at the helm of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, during Fernando Henrique Cardoso's government.

In my eight years as Minister for Foreign Affairs of President Lula da Silva's government (2003-2010), there were several similar cases. Two of them had important political connotations. In 2005, the killing of Jean Charles de Menezes by the London Police, wrongly mistaken for being a terrorist in the London subway, made me raise the case, in very strong terms, with the head of the British Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs at the time, Jack Straw. The Brazilian government continues to give whatever support it could to the family, but I cannot say, in relation to this case, that justice was achieved. Another situation, which ended tragically, was the kidnapping of a Brazilian Construction Engineer in Iraq. Despite all our efforts, which included cooperation with intelligence services of several countries, João José Vasconcellos Junior, was killed by his abductors. The only assistance we could provide, along with the company that employed him, was in bringing back his belongings to Brazil. A rare instance of large-scale action in relation to Brazilians was the rescue operation of about three thousand Brazilians (most of them with dual citizenship) in Lebanon at the time of the conflict with Israel in 2006.

I mention these two episodes to illustrate how diversified and complex the task of protecting Brazilians abroad has become in the last decades. I,

and sometimes the President, have been personally engaged in cases involving Brazilian residents in Portugal, mainly dentists, and also the poor agricultural workers in Bolivia. The very creation of the above mentioned SGEB resulted directly from contacts between the President, myself or other high officials of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs with organizations representing Brazilian communities in receiving countries.

The inward and outward flow of Brazilian migrants will of course vary in accordance with the economic fluctuations in Brazil and the receiving countries. However, as this book shows, the large presence of Brazilians abroad is a fact of life. It would not be inappropriate to say that the protection of Brazilians will certainly require a growing portion of the Foreign Ministries' resources and attention. It will also require a spirit of devotion on the part of the officials who will be in the front line of this task. In some cases, it may demand political sensitivity and expeditiousness on the part of whoever is in charge of the Brazilian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. I wholeheartedly extend my compliments to Denise Frizzo and Bruno Mascitelli who were responsible for this important, innovative and comprehensive study on the Brazilian communities abroad.

10 October 2017,
Rio de Janeiro

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This book is a product of a fascinating four-year research journey embarked on by the authors to what was an unknown field: Brazilian emigrant political engagement. This journey was a PhD undertaken at Swinburne University of Technology, in Melbourne Australia and the two authors came to discover fascinating and at times inexplicable aspects of Brazilian expatriate engagement. From the beginning to the end, every new challenge was a motivation for us to confront and explore each topic and do so from different perspectives. While this publication began as a social study on migration, it inevitably needed to go to the next step of the ongoing political engagement, which in this case Brazilians would pursue despite no longer residing in Brazil. We are sure many Brazilian emigrants will identify with numerous aspects mentioned and explored in this book.

We are grateful to the many Brazilians involved in this project, and offer them our sincere gratitude for the effort they went to in sharing their knowledge and experiences with us. This includes those Brazilian emigrants living around the world who responded to our survey and provided instructive commentary on the life of emigrants and their political relationship with Brazil. Our special thanks go to the Brazilian emigrant leaders who, as volunteers, dedicate themselves to their respective Brazilian communities abroad, and who happily offered their time to be interviewed. Thank you Adieme Mathias, Carlos Mellinger, Carlos Vianna, Claudia Tamsky, Flávio José Carvalho da Silva, Heloisa Maria Galvão, Ivo Pasa, Judith Moura de Oliveira, Miguel Kamiunten and Norberto Mogi.

Our sincere gratitude to government representatives and members of the Brazilian Congress who provided invaluable information for this book. These include Cristina Ribeiro Fernandes Quadra Rocha, João Guilherme Lima Granja Xavier da Silva, Luiza Lopes da Silva, Tarciso Dal Maso Jardim, Senator Cristovam Buarque, Senator Eduardo Suplicy, Senator Valdir Raupp, Deputy Eduardo Barbosa, and Member of the Italian Parliament for South America Renata Bueno. Thank you also to interviewees who preferred not to be identified but who equally made important contributions to this book.

We would like to thank Brazilian Former Minister for Foreign Affairs and Defence Celso Amorim for doing the foreword to this book. Thank you Bruno Coccozza for your great work in designing the book cover. Our

gratitude to Brazilian researchers Marcia Anita Sprandel and Alvaro Lima who provided invaluable insights on Brazilian emigration and contributed to identify potential interviewees. We offer a final and special thank you to the publisher of this book Cambridge Scholars Publishing who have given us much latitude and understanding in meeting realistic deadlines. We hope our readers will find this study of value and we are sure we are only the first of many who will embark on this similar journey.

The authors
Denise Frizzo and Bruno Mascitelli
October 2017

ABBREVIATIONS

CRBE	Council of Brazilian Representatives Abroad
MDB	Brazilian Democratic Movement
MRE	Brazilian Ministry of Foreign Affairs
PCB	Brazilian Communist Party
PC do B	Communist Party of Brazil
PDT	Democratic Workers Party
PMDB	Party of the Democratic Movement of Brazil
PP	Progressive Party
PR	Party of the Republic
PRB	Brazilian Republican Party
PROS	Republican Party of Social Order
PSB	Brazilian Socialist Party
PSD	Social Democratic Party
PT	Workers Party
PSDB	Party of Brazilian Social Democracy
SGEB	General Sub-Secretary of Brazilian Communities Abroad
STF	Federal Supreme Court
TRE	Regional Electoral Tribunal
TRE-DF	Regional Electoral Tribunal of the Federal District Brasilia
TSE	Superior Electoral Tribunal

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CHAPTER ONE

THE JOURNEY TOWARDS EMIGRANT POLITICAL CONNECTIVITY

The history of Brazil and its people movement would not normally be associated with emigration. Until the 1980s Brazil was a people receiving country not known for any significant level of emigration. Itself a former colony of the Portuguese empire, Brazil stood as a country that may have attracted immigration both from former colonial powers as well as from bordering South American states. During the 1980s, this immigration flow was transformed into a negative net migration flow meaning that the country presented for the first time a large emigration outflow (Rios-Neto 2005). Alongside this background, and in part as a result of this apparent inversion of people movement, this book addresses the very consequences of the emergence of Brazilian emigration – or the movement of Brazilians to the outside world.

Though this study is about voting behaviour and political engagement of Brazilian emigrants, it is not an analysis of Brazilian voting behaviour *per se*. This and related themes are addressed by many other specialist and competent scholars. Nor can this book examine the rich and turbulent history of Brazil of the last centuries, which is well documented by many other qualified historians. Nonetheless, we are very conscious of the irony in this story that expatriate voting for Brazilian emigrants was first introduced under the rule of the military dictatorship. More will be said on this matter later in the book. This study is in the first instance one that addresses Brazilian emigration and the political connections of these emigrants once they have left their home country. While the Brazilian experience with emigration is quite limited since becoming noticeable in the 1980s, it is now growing by the year. The characteristics of this emigration, its timing, and participants of this exodus will feature prominently in this study. This study will examine the government and parliamentary approach towards emigration, its attitude towards Brazilians abroad maintaining a political connection with its origin country and the future of this connection. Equally, we address the questions of connections

that emigrants maintain while abroad, how they might reinforce Brazilian identity and how emigrants remain connected to Brazil. In conclusion, we seek to also address what the consequences are to democratic processes for the emigrants and political privileges bestowed on Brazilian emigrants abroad as well as for the current Brazilian democratic process.

Emigration—A growing phenomenon in the global people movement?

The advent of global migration has transformed demography over the centuries affecting both the relationships of migrants with their origin nation as well as the host nation *per se*. Many emigrants who leave their country of origin to start a new life in another nation maintain transnational connections with their homeland while building new relationships in their host country. Those connections known as transnationalism are intrinsic to migrants who live between two or more nations. These transnational ties can be reflected abroad, where emigrants voluntarily become advocates of their homeland in hosting countries through the promotion of cultural activities, language, and businesses dedicated to its emigrant communities. In their country of origin, many emigrants maintain investments or help their families financially and therefore promote economic contributions to their homeland.

Migration and all its features are today key priorities for almost all nations. People movement in the world is now reaching proportions never encountered previously. Moreover, tragedies, war, economic injustice, as well as the more innocuous desire by ordinary people, mostly youth, to seek out new global experiences, is becoming more mainstream. The study of people movement across the world has assumed greater importance in our elite institutions of study and we are all becoming more informed of this phenomenon and its varied features. Each nation has a unique history in terms of its demography – some are emigration nations – some immigration nations and some face movements of both phenomena at the same time. Curiously, a growing number of nations may have been emigration nations and at some point found that this trend was reversed. To some extent, Brazil falls into this category of having initially been an immigration nation which at some point began to see an inversion of this movement.

Alongside the people movement, we have also seen an accompanying and evolving legal framework in the field of citizenship, dual citizenship, residency and transnational rights. This legal framework surrounding these fields has, in most circumstances, found itself trailing the events – often

without clear and encompassing regulations. Questions around these matters are being tackled in many nations globally in what can only be called a legal minefield with little global consistency, empathy or guarantees. There is much experimenting with new legal interpretations, which, in some cases, push expatriate rights to higher levels. This is an area which is very much a work in progress. This inconclusive state is also relevant to our study on Brazil and its expatriate community.

Citizenship, transnational rights and identities

Citizenship is a core theme in international migration and transnationalism studies. That is because citizenship defines peoples' identity, connecting them with the culture and habits of their country of origin and provides a legal framework for doing so. When people move from their origin country to another, they maintain their citizenship even though living elsewhere, becoming emigrants from their original home, and immigrants to their host country until and if they are eligible to apply for their country of residence's citizenship. Most migrants maintain their original citizenship, or transnational citizenship, even when living permanently in another nation. Debates on transnational citizenship generally concentrate on two aspects: the emotional connections of emigrants with their homeland (Easthope 2009); and rights and duties that emigrants maintain while residing abroad (Barry 2006; Baubock 2005). The first aspect addresses the identities of expatriates in their home country, while the second approaches the normative and legal aspects of citizenship of nationals living in other countries.

Emigrant identities and citizenship implications

Recently, governments of modern states have had to grapple with the arrival of new populations into their country and the need to reconcile different background people alongside those citizens already residing in the host state (Kondo 2001). The growth and extension of emigration has motivated debates on citizenship concerning a citizen's identity as a sentiment of belonging to certain states through emotional ties. Citizenship has a subjective significance for emigrants beyond political and legal aspects. This subjective significance is related to identity, which is the way that emigrants perceive the changes in their personal identity caused by the experience of living abroad (Brettell 2006).

A number of socio-political theories attempt to explain the relations between emigrants and their sending and host countries. They address

factors related to loyalty and attachments with the country of citizenship and the engagement with the culture of the country of residence. Approaches concerning migrant assimilation and incorporation to host societies, for example, suggest that the more people live and socialise in a country, the more likely they are absorbed by the new society (Guarnizo, Portes & Haller 2003). Consequently, the tendency of losing connections with the home country increases over time.

Other approaches dismiss the idea of emigrants being completely incorporated into one society or another. These approaches defend the notion that expatriates never forget or abandon their ties with the country of origin and citizenship but they co-exist in both societies (Portes 2011). In her study comparing identities and citizenship among four different migrant communities, Brettell (2006) identified the approach of how individuals identify themselves in the migration scenario. Expatriates shared the idea that both political and cultural belonging can influence the way they construct their identities. Thus, the context of living abroad and acquiring citizenship of another country will make them create another identity without giving up the identity of their homeland.

Emigrant citizenship in a legal context

There are two main principles traditionally adopted by states to define the legal basis of ascertaining the provenance of citizens. They are the *jus sanguinis* principle, which defines the citizenship of people based on their family ancestry; and *jus soli*, which defines the citizenship of individuals based on their birthplace. The phenomenon of international migration has contributed to the development of new interpretations and definitions of citizenship and eligibility in a number of countries. As such, many states currently allow citizenship based on residency status, and permit citizenship in the country of residency for nationals of other countries and their children.

The legal citizenship status of emigrants once they have departed from their country of origin is not uniform in its availability or application. In some cases emigrants are provided significant legal privilege of contact and connection with their home country. Debates often address these legal rights of emigrants once they have departed from their country of origin. These approaches can include connectivity in terms of residence, citizenship and voting rights in relation to the emigrant's homeland (Barry 2006).

Currently, many countries adopt citizenship legislation that enables emigrants to take part in the public life of their country of origin through a

number of ways including voting, by having special representation, and access to benefits including welfare (Smith 2003). The normative debate in the literature that discusses the legal rights and obligations of citizens living abroad, addresses these transnational contemporary changes. A connectivity feature is related to dual citizenship, which is the right to acquire another citizenship by ancestry, marriage or residency.

Dual or multiple citizenship has proliferated in the world because of global interconnections, communication, commerce, and travel by migrants (Martin 2003). In the present time, dual citizenship is allowed in many host and sending countries. Receiving countries allow their residents to keep their original citizenship when acquiring another, and in some cases even promote dual citizenship (Martin 2003). Sending nations encourage multiple citizenship abroad for reasons such as improving international relations with countries that host dual citizens of both states (Rubio-Marin 2006). In some countries like Brazil, a more expansive citizenry has been developed based on a mixture of principles, combining birthplace, ancestry and residency principles.

The modern context of emigration has forced states to revise their legal approach towards access and continuation of citizenship of its population irrespective of their place of residence. One argument is that the global scenario is affecting the legal and political framework of nation-states, reducing their dominance over a national's citizenship (Rubenstein 2007, p. 96). Governments of sending countries may be interested in promoting dual citizenship due to their difficulties related to participating in the world economy, which makes many states dependent on foreign capital (Rubio-Marin 2006). For this reason, expatriates play an important role through remittances and investments in their homeland. Sending countries are also interested in having their citizens as dual nationals to provide a political lobby in favour of national interests in hosting states as evidenced in the case of Mexico (Jones-Correa 2001, p. 1010).

The interest of emigrants in becoming dual citizens includes the acquisition of transnational rights as nationals of two countries, although they are also required to meet the obligations of the two countries. Emigrants believe that it is a two-way privilege that enables them to return to their home country if they desire; and face reduced restrictions in the host country which grants them the second citizenship (Jones-Correa 2001, p. 1006). Other factors also make dual citizenship attractive for expatriates, as outlined by Barry (2006, p. 22): only citizens can enter, reside and leave the country of citizenship without any restrictions; and when abroad, emigrants can generally count on their home country's protective intervention on their behalf.

Transnational citizenship rights contribute directly to the construction of relationships and ties of emigrants in their country of origin. Citizenship legislation builds the rights and duties of citizenship holders. In particular, it determines political rights of citizens, delineating who and how the franchise is granted. In the emigration context, citizens living abroad may have political rights in their homeland, including voting rights, permission to run for office, and be affiliated to political parties. Such rights determine the types and levels of their transnational practices in the political arena. Many of these considerations are addressed in the literature under the umbrella of transnationalism, identified as political transnationalism.

Transnational practices and activities have been transforming structures in the social, economic and political arenas of countries (Vertovec 2009). The literature defines political transnationalism as the political linkages of emigrants and their home countries. Two major approaches identify different patterns of transnationalism: from below and from above (Al-Ali & Koser 2002). They address the drivers of transnational activities, which can be emigrants or powerful institutions such as governments or multinationals companies. Sending countries have begun to create ties with citizens abroad only relatively recently (Faist 2013) as governments have started to understand the economic, political and cultural value of expatriates abroad. Many sending countries in the past, in contrast, tended to be hostile or at best dismissive towards emigrants for leaving their homeland in the first place (Faist 2013, p. 456). In the political arena, empirical comparative studies have evidenced that an increasing number of nations have been developing policies to politically engage expatriates with their home country (Gamlem 2006; Tintori 2011). It is established that political parties and government institutions have had a significant role in shaping transnational political practices (Ostergaard-Nielsen 2003, p. 760).

Political transnationalism from below addresses the motivations for political engagement and activism of emigrants in their country of origin. One of the approaches is that the desire of expatriates to be involved in domestic politics is likely to be for change and to reduce corruption and violation of human rights at home (Portes 1999, p. 475). The uncertainty of emigrants about returning to live in their country of origin can also motivate the desire to keep them involved in domestic politics. Many emigrants who are politically engaged in their homeland maintain property, investments and political networking in case of their return (Pogonyi 2014, p. 126).

A number of empirical studies investigate the political practices of emigrants in their country of origin (Ostergaard-Nielsen 2003; Tintori

2011). Portes (2003) surveyed expatriates in order to investigate the level of transnational engagement of Colombians, Salvadorians and Dominicans living in the United States. His findings demonstrate that only a small number of these expatriates have strong transnational connections with their homeland. The study evidenced that those who have political practices do so by affiliation and financial support to domestic political parties and participating in electoral campaigns and rallies.

The participation of emigrants in home country elections is another important political transnational practice. Voting rights are recognised as a fundamental component of the citizenship rights and in many cases are acknowledged in formal constitutions. Most states request citizens to live within the country of voting as a condition to participate in its elections (Baubock 2005; Rubio-Marin 2006). Therefore, citizens living abroad are often disenfranchised or have their voting rights restricted. An increasing number of countries, however, have recently been reviewing their citizenship and electoral legislation towards the adoption of expatriate voting legislation.

Brazilian citizenship

Although citizenship is a key topic approached by the international scholarly community of migration studies, it is not a theme heavily addressed in the Brazilian emigration literature. This study was unable to locate research addressing the question of Brazilian citizenship law and its impact on Brazilians abroad. Studies on Brazil mostly borrow from what occurs in other nations and focus mostly on the issue of dual citizenship (Jones-Correa 2001). The maintenance of Brazilian citizenship for those acquiring another citizenship was permitted by Brazil in 1994 after an amendment to the nationality law (Brazil Federal Constitution 1988). Dual citizenship is seen as a form of maintaining emigrants' connection with their homeland and promoting remittances back to Brazil (Jones-Correa 2001; Reis 2011).

Brazil adopts a mixture of principles that concede citizenship to individuals born within the territorial area (*jus soli*); descendants of at least one Brazilian citizen (*jus sanguinis*); or foreigners living in the country for a certain period (*residency*). Many nations in the world offer dual citizenship eligibility to Brazilians who are their descendants. For example, Italy offers citizenship to former Italian migrants residing in Brazil for many generations even if the first generation migrated to Brazil in the late nineteenth century. As such, dual citizenship appears as one of the characteristics of encouraging Brazilian expatriates to reside in Europe. Many authors of Brazilian emigration in Europe outline this characteristic

of the Brazilian movement to Italy, Germany, Portugal and Spain (Jones-Correa 2001; Ushijima 2012).

Although the legal framework is not a focus in the Brazilian emigration literature, the symbolism represented by Brazilian nationality is addressed in the literature. Oliveira (2014) believes that the way emigrants understand themselves as Brazilian nationals, influences important decisions in the migratory process. Their ties with the country make emigrants refuse the reality that living abroad may be permanent. Thus, they live abroad indefinitely until the day they return to Brazil, knowing that day may never come.

What this book is about

This study is for the most part derived from a four-year doctorate, which one of the authors¹ successfully undertook. Initially as a PhD but later re-composed and written as a book, this study is almost unrecognisable from its original state and rendered in a contemporary context integrating many of the new circumstances and new considerations since the examination of the doctorate. Producing a book of this kind on the theme it is treating was a rare opportunity but also with the knowledge that this was not a heavily researched area of literature. While Brazilian emigration was well represented in the international literature, a matter that will be discussed in more detail in later chapters, the question of political connectivity of emigrants with its origin country was poorly explored and can be said to have been under researched. The PhD approach provided a strong investigatory direction, which is fully embodied in this book, as readers will see. Moreover, readers will be provided with a chronological history of the migratory formation of Brazil and how this changed in the twentieth century into the first large migratory movement of people. This in effect became the basis for political connectivity with Brazilians abroad.

This study is primarily an analysis of Brazilian emigration and the attempts by emigrants to maintain a political connection with their home country Brazil. This book is not a history of Brazilian migration – though reference to history and specific people movement will naturally be addressed. The manner in which Brazilians have maintained a political connection has been through external (or expatriate) voting in Brazilian

¹ The doctorate was successfully completed in 2016 at Swinburne University of Technology (Melbourne, Australia) by Denise Karina Ernst Frizzo and was entitled “Brazilian external voting and transnationalism: emigrant connections, drivers and agenda”. The second author was the Coordinating Supervisor of the study.

Presidential elections, which take place every four years. Brazilian legislation has permitted Brazilians abroad to vote in domestic presidential elections. The aim of the book is to bring this phenomenon to the fore, to explain how it works, to examine its drivers and equally to underscore its pitfalls. Fundamentally, this relationship of Brazilians abroad voting in domestic elections is understood as a transnational relationship of emigrants. More than just a history and political analysis of the facts, the study engages with the policy makers, the emigrants abroad, as well as the leaders of emigrants abroad to understand and evidence the feelings about this form of connectivity and understand why it exists, as well as its future. This study is empirically based, moving across multidisciplinary fields like migration, citizenship and transnationalism and all related to expatriate voting. In the preparation of this book, the authors have sought out previous studies, which may have been related to the specific task of this study. As best as can be ascertained other authors have not examined the topic of this book. Hence, we feel we need to tackle this topic with extra caution.

This theme of expatriate connections with the home country at the global level is very new as a researched theme and not very strong in the literature. Yet we are in no doubt that it will grow as a subject of discussion and contention. As is often the case, there were few studies on this theme, which were able to provide any blue print or idea on how to pursue this theme. Therefore, when it comes to why we wrote this book, the answer is: “there was no such book”!

Readers will see that the question of emigrant political connectivity has far greater traditions and history in many other emigrating nations. Brazil is not a historic nation of emigration; therefore, this phenomenon is relatively new and formative. This too will be examined in this study as it has ramifications for Brazil. Some Brazilian policy makers for instance, have held up the Italian expatriate vote and representation model, enacted in 2001, as a model for the Brazilian Congress to emulate. Our study has a few things to say both about the Italian model and about its applicability to the Brazilian context.

Motivations for this book and initial assumptions

Investigating the theme of Brazilian emigrants and their political connectivity with Brazil also became a theme of interest due to personal journeys. One of the authors has the personal experience of being Brazilian and residing in Australia. This interest was further motivated by the involvement with the local community as a volunteer in a Brazilian

emigrant association and in the local Brazilian Citizens Council of Victoria. These institutions, amongst other activities, promote actions that connect emigrants with Brazil in different ways. They include serving as a channel of communication with the Brazilian government through policies addressing expatriate communities in accordance with their demands.

Brazilian elections abroad and external political rights are topics discreetly debated among emigrants in general. The impression we have is that they were a topic of conversation primarily during the Presidential elections as many rustled around to work out the mechanics of voting and the obligatory nature of voting for Brazilians, including those abroad. We had the distinct impression that emigrants abroad appeared to express dissatisfaction in being obliged to vote in Brazilian Presidential elections. Given apparent dissatisfaction from emigrants abroad in terms of the obligatory nature of voting, many policy makers and party leaders are of the view that there is a need to expand these voting rights through laws providing greater political connectivity for Brazilians abroad.

Based on the literature on Brazilian emigration and combined with the literature on expatriate voting, the study began with a few initial assumptions. The first one was that external voting might not be of interest to Brazilian emigrants living abroad. This idea was reinforced by the fact that Brazilian emigrants never claimed (nor even desired at first) voting rights abroad and continue to register low turnout in elections even though the vote is compulsory. Another assumption was that policy makers and political parties were the strongest drivers of the vote abroad and for the further extension of emigrant voting rights. These views emerged from the analysis of the law proposals currently under examination by the Brazilian Congress.

As the next pages of this book will demonstrate, initial assumptions raised in this study were not entirely confirmed. This study focused on the experience of people involved with the Brazilian external vote – emigrants and authorities. Their experience and opinions were the major contribution to help explore the many themes related to the Brazilian expatriate vote. They also demonstrated the real actors involved and interests behind this legislation. The findings of this study evidence that the Brazilian external vote has been driven by actors and interests dissimilar to other national scenarios.

The road map and the terminology used

There are many forms of political connectivity for Brazilians abroad to engage in while they are abroad. This includes associations and councils

of Brazilians abroad. The activity which is the most relevant and which this book will focus on is for Brazilians abroad voting in Brazilian elections. When we indicate voting in Brazilian elections, today, this means voting in the Brazilian Presidential elections – not other elections. For the reader the question of voting might appear straightforward. The terminology across the literature has not chosen one indivisible term to define this activity. We have been able to identify at least four terms, which are used interchangeably to define this act by emigrants of voting in domestic elections from abroad. These include: expatriate voting, external voting, emigrant voting, and voting from abroad. Equally, when discussing emigrants, expatriates, and Brazilians abroad, the book does not seek to subtly separate these categories. In addition, the terms are used interchangeably. Besides this variability in the use of some terms, there are also a range of topic relevant terms, which feature in a study of this kind, and our use of them in the context in which they appear, which we need to make clearer to the reader. Even though this study adopts terms and meanings already used in the literature by other authors, a definition of meanings of some terms in this study becomes necessary.

Emigrant, expatriate, transnational: These three terms are used interchangeably to refer to people who leave their country of origin in a permanent way. Due to the nature of this empirical study investigating a large emigrant community, details about time and temporary or permanent status living abroad cannot be gathered. For this reason, the terms are used for all persons who no longer live in their country of origin.

Citizenship and nationality: The two terms have different meanings depending on the context in which they are used. Citizenship defines the character of rights and duties of members within their national polity, while nationality is often used to refer to the formal legal status of state membership (Jones-Correa 2001). In this study, these technical distinctions are not pertinent to the discussion and therefore the two terms are used interchangeably to refer to the legal status of members of a particular nation-state.

Citizen, national and dual citizen: Following the definitions of their variations, citizenship and nationality, the terms citizen and national are used synonymously. They refer to a person holding citizenship and/or nationality of a country, regardless of its acquisition (by birth, ancestry or residency). Dual citizenship refers to a person holding more than one citizenship.

Migration, emigration and immigration: In this study, these terms are mostly used in the context of movement of people between countries. Migration refers to a general movement of people in-and-out of countries; emigration means migration out of a country to another; and immigration means migration into a foreign country. The variations migrant, emigrant and immigrant follow the same logic.

Undocumented emigrant: emigrant living in a country without a valid visa, in an irregular immigration situation.

Irresponsible voting: the term irresponsible voting may be interpreted differently across disciplines. This study follows the use of this term in the field of external voting, which refers to the vote of emigrants abroad who may not be well informed and unaware about the electoral process and about country politics due to the distance.

Policy maker: This study adopts the term policy maker to refer to politicians and authorities responsible for the laws and policies in a country. They may hold political positions of responsibility such as senators, or be a staff member of a government agency, such as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Expatriate community: The definition of community can differ widely from one discipline to another. In this study, expatriate or emigrant community refers to a large group of people originally from a certain country living in other countries. A variation of this expression is also used to refer to groups of nationals of a country living in one specific country (e.g. the Brazilian expatriate community in the United States).

Other terms which are used include transnationalism, which is intrinsic to migrants who live between two or more nations. Transnational ties which many emigrants engage in involve emigrants who become advocates of their homeland in their new host country, often manifested through the promotion of their ethnic identity. Their connection with their origin country can be reflected in a multitude of ways – family, business, cultural, personal and others.

Another road map requirement for all readers, whether they are familiar with Brazilian politics or not, is to understand the key political institutions in Brazil. This is relevant because for the expatriate Brazilian, voting involves voting for some but not all these institutions. These institutions include the Chamber of Deputies and National Congress. This