

# Diaspora status and citizenship rights

A comparative-legal analysis of the quasi-citizenship schemes of China, India and Suriname

Ngo Chun Luk



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#### LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABTC APEC Business Travel Card

ACHPR African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights

**ACHR** American Convention on Human Rights

ACIT Access to citizenship and its impact on immigrant

integration project

anor./a.o. and another/ others

APEC Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation

Art. Article

**BDTC** British Dependant Territories Citizenship

BIICL British Institute of International and Comparative Law

BIT(s) Bilateral Investment Treaty/Treaties

**BNO** British National (Overseas)

**BOTC** British Overseas Territories citizenship

**CARICOM** Caribbean Community

**CCJ** Caribbean Court of Justice

**CESCR** Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights

**cf.** *confer* (compare)

CITLAW Citizenship Law Indicators

**CJ** Chief Justice

**CSME** CARICOM Single Market and Economy

**e.g.** *exempli gratia* (for example)

**ECHR** European Convention on Human Rights

**ECtHR** European Court of Human Rights

ed./eds. editor(s)

**ESC** European Social Charter

et al. et alii (and others)

EU European Union

**EUDO** European Union Democracy Observatory (on Citizenship)

(Citizenship)

**FAO** Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations

**FEMA** (India:) Foreign Management Exchange Act, 1999

FRRO Foreigners Regional Registration Officer(s)

#### LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

**HKSAR** Hong Kong Special Administrative Region

i.e. id est (that is)

ibid. ibidem (in the same place)

ICCPR International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights

ICESCR International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural

Rights

ICJ International Court of Justice

ICRMW International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of

All Migration Workers and Members of their Families

ILC International Law Commission
ILO International Labour Organization

IOM International Organization for Migration

MEA (Indian) Ministry of External Affairs

MHA (Indian) Ministry of Home Affairs

MLA Member(s) of the Legislative Assembly

MOIA (Indian) Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs

MPI Migration Policy Institute

MSARMacau Special Administrative Regionn.n.nomen nescio ("I do not know the name")No.issue (for references to journals) / number

NPCSC Standing Committee of the National People's Congress

NRI Non-Resident Indian

OCI Overseas Citizenship of India

OCIC Overseas Citizen of India Card(holder)

**OECD** Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

**op. cit.** *opere citato* (in the work cited)

**p./pp.** page(s)

para./paras. paragraph(s)

PIO Person of Indian Origin
PRC People's Republic of China

**PSA** persoon/personen van Surinaamse afkomst (person(s) of

Surinamese origin)

**PSB** Public Security Bureau (of the PRC)

RMB renminbi

**RWN** (Netherlands) Rijkswet op het Nederlanderschap

s./ss. section(s)

SAARC South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation

TFEU Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union

TK (Netherlands) Tweede Kamer (der Staten-Generaal)

**TOS** Toescheidingsovereenkomst inzake nationaliteiten tussen het

Koninkrijk der Nederlanden en de Republiek Suriname

**UAE** United Arab Emirates

**UDHR** Universal Declaration on Human Rights

**UK** United Kingdom (of Great Britain and Northern Ireland)

**UN** United Nations

**UN DESA** United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs

US\$ United States dollar

**US/USA** United States (of America)

**USSR** Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (Soviet Union)

VCCR Vienna Convention on Consular Relations

Vol. volume

**WNI** (Netherlands): Wet op het Nederlanderschap en het

ingezetenschap

**WSI** (Suriname:) Wet op het Surinamerschap en het

ingezetenschap

#### LIST OF LATIN EXPRESSIONS

a priori Beforehand (literally: from the former)

ad hocCreated for a particular purpose (literally: for this)conditio sine qua nonLiterally: condition without which [cause] not

de facto in fact

dies ad quemLiterally: day it is to beex legeby operation of lawex postafter the event

in absentia while not present/while absent

inter alia among other things

*ius cogens* Peremptory norm (literally: compelling law)

ius/iure sanguinis Literally: (by) law of the blood

Refers to the acquisition of the nationality at birth from one's

parents

lus/iure sanguinis a

patre

Refers to the acquisition of the nationality at birth from one's father

*lus/iure soli* Literally: (by) law of the soil

Refers to the acquisition of the nationality at birth from one's

country of birth

*ne bis in idem* Double jeopardy (literally: not twice for the same)

opinio iuris from opinio iuris sive necessitαtes (literally: opinion of law but of

necessity)

tertium comparationis Literally: the third [part] of the comparison

## Chapter 1. Introduction

"We have amidst us today entrepreneurs, scientists, economists, scholars, writers, social workers, public figures and national leaders. The Indian diaspora has made a distinctive impact on everyone [sic] of the countries in which they live by virtue of their loyalty, dedication, hard work and success. Each one of you who has maintained and at the same time is maintaining your commitment to Bharatiyata or Indianness has done India proud. Every one of you here is an achiever in your own right and as you succeed, India succeeds with you."

Yashwant Sinha, Minister for External Affairs of India

The preceding quote from the former Indian Minister of External Affairs, Mr Yashwant Sinha, during the Inaugural Address of the first *Pravasi Bharatiya Divas* in 2003 indicates the importance of the Indian Diaspora vis-à-vis the Indian State. Diaspora or emigrant population is a substantial phenomenon. According to the Migration Policy Institute (based on data from the United Nations), the international migration population has tripled in the last five decades, from around 77 million persons in 1960 to around 230 million persons in 2013.<sup>2</sup> In the European Union alone, there are an estimated 33.5 million foreign-born persons residing in the EU in 2013.<sup>3</sup> This substantial foreign-born population in the world is only part of the larger Diaspora, if one considers subsequent (e.g., second) generations of emigrant offspring, i.e., those persons born in the country of residence from migrant parents.

In their countries of residence, these Diasporas retain a certain level of uncertainty insofar as they have not obtained the nationality of this "host State". This uncertainty may consist of a level of "incomplete integration", lack of full access to the labour market, fear of expulsion (including withdrawal or non-renewal of residence titles) and fear of being unable to return after leaving the country of residence.

Full integration, in the form of naturalisation, may lead to the rupture of the nationality link with the migrants' "countries of origin". This is due to two factors. First, some States (still) require aspiring *naturalisandi* to renounce their foreign nationalities. Second, some States, contrary to the global trends, still attach the loss

1

Y. Sinha (2003), 'Address at the Inaugural Session', Pravasi Bharatiya Divas 2003, New Delhi, 9 January 2003 (http://indiandiaspora.nic.in/ch2.pdf).

See MPI (2013), 'International Migrants by Country of Destination, 1960-2013', Migration Policy Institute (www.migrationpolicy.org/programs/data-hub/charts/international-migrants-country-destination-1960-2013). It should be noted that the term 'international migrants' used here is defined by the MPI and the UN Population Division as "foreign born, i.e. people born outside of the country of current residence', or where this data is not collected by the national statistical offices, as non-citizens. See Ibid.; see also UN Population Division (2015), 'Trends in International Migrant Stock: Migrants by Destination and Origin', POP/DB/MIG/Stock/Rev.2015, United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, New York City, December.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> See Eurostat (2017), 'Migration and migrant population statistics', Statistics Explained (http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Migration\_and\_migrant\_population\_statistics).

of their nationality to the voluntary acquisition of any other nationalities. These two factors, either separately or in combination, place migrants in a difficult situation. They may forego the process of naturalisation, which entails the "acceptance" of the risks associated with incomplete integration; alternatively, they may proceed with obtaining the nationality of their countries of residence, resulting in the loss (or renunciation) of their former nationality. Second-generation migrants may also face this situation, when they lose or do not obtain the nationality of their parents' countries "of origin".

This loss of the nationality of this "State of origin" leads to a surprising legal conclusion: these first (and second) generation migrants will thenceforth be considered as *foreign nationals* in their "own" country! The effects of the loss of their "original" nationality and (subsequent) treatment as foreign nationals can have farreaching consequences. Being foreign nationals, these migrants would fall under the regular migration law regime, requiring them to obtain visas and permits to enter, reside, and work in their "country of origin". Furthermore, some countries prohibit the ownership of (real) property by foreign nationals.<sup>4</sup> Losing their "original" nationality may therefore result in the loss of any property that they may hold.

It is not difficult to imagine that the loss of these rights by these migrants in their "countries of origin" may have consequences for their decision as to whether or not to return, either temporarily or permanently, to their "own" country. If returning migrants do not have the rights and benefits necessary to achieve their goals for returning, one can seriously question whether they would choose to do so. This would be detrimental not only to the migrants themselves, but also to these countries of "origin", especially given the global trend whereby states endeavour to retain ties with their diaspora. States may have many reasons to engage with their diaspora. Remittances play an ever-increasing role in this decision. For many

See inter alia S. Castles, H. de Haas and M.J. Miller (eds.) (2014), The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 143-144; A.

See inter alia S. Hodgson, C. Cullinan and K. Campbell (1999), 'Land Ownership and Foreigners: A Comparative Analysis of Regulatory Approaches to the Acquisition and Use of Land by Foreigners', FAO Legal Papers Online #6, Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations, Rome, December.

See inter alia F. Bovenkerk (1974), The Sociology of Return Migration: A Bibliographic Essay, The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff; J.-P. Cassarino (2004), 'Theorising Return Migration: The Conceptual Approach to Return Migrants Revisited', International Journal on Multicultural Societies, Vol. 6, No. 2, pp. 253–279; J.-C. Dumont and G. Spielvogel (2008), 'Return Migration: A New Perspective', in, International Migration Outlook 2008, Paris: Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, pp. 161–222; J. Gibson and D. McKenzie (2011), 'The Microeconomic Determinants of Emigration and Return Migration of the Best and Brightest: Evidence from the Pacific', Journal of Development Economics, Vol. 95, No. 1, pp. 18–29; G. Gmelch (1980), 'Return Migration', Annual Reviews of Anthropology, Vol. 9, pp. 135–159; M. Ip (2006), 'Returnees and Transnationals: Evolving Identities of Chinese (PRC) Immigrants in New Zealand', 人口學刊, No. 33, pp. 62–102; K. Jonkers (2008), 'A Comparative Study of Return Migration Policies Targeting the Highly Skilled in Four Major Sending Countries', Migration de Retour au Maghreb Analytical Report MIREM-AR 2008/05, European University Institute, Florence; A. Wiesbrock (2008), 'Return Migration as a Tool for Economic Development in China and India', International Migration and Diaspora Studies Project (IMDS) Working Paper Series No. 3, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi.

developing countries, this source of capital inflow may represent a substantial sum,<sup>7</sup> and the loss of ties with these migrants may have disastrous economic and other consequences. States may also want to benefit from the human capital at their disposal in their Diasporic populations.<sup>8</sup>

Many "sending" States that recognise the importance of their diaspora have turned towards alternative means of encouraging return, even if they cannot yet fully accept dual nationality. This may range from economic incentives for returning migrants – particularly for highly skilled migrant and investors – to facilitated access to residence permits and citizenship, from retention of social security rights to less cumbersome tools to remit. One particular tool employed by a growing number of sending countries is creating a privileged legal status for diaspora. This intermediate status accords its holder with more rights than a non-citizen resident may have, while still not going as far as offering them the option of (dual) nationality. It is these "privileged" statuses for the Diaspora that forms the focus of this publication.

#### 1.1. Remarks on the use of the term "quasi-citizenship"

At this juncture, it is important to find a suitable term for these privileged diaspora statuses. From the outset, the link to full nationality/citizenship is immediately noticeable in some of these statuses. For example, the Indian scheme for the Indian Diaspora is officially called the "Overseas Citizen of India Card" scheme. This link to full nationality/citizenship will need to be adequately reflected in whichever term is

Chander (2006), 'Homeward Bound', *New York University Law Review*, Vol. 81, No. 1, pp. 60–89; A. Gamlen (2006), 'Diaspora Engagement Policies: What are they, and what kinds of states use them?', COMPAS Working Paper No. 32, Centre on Migration, Policy and Society, Oxford, pp. 14–17; A. Gamlen (2008), 'Why Engage Diaspora?', COMPAS Working Paper No. 63, Centre on Migration, Policy and Society, Oxford; B. Khadria (2009), 'Adversary Analysis and the Quest for Global Development. Optimizing the Dynamic Conflict of Interest in Transnational Migration', *Social Analysis*, Vol. 53, No. 3, pp. 106–122.

- Cf. K. Barry (2006), 'Home and Away: The Construction of Citizenship in an Emigration Context', New York University Law Review, Vol. 81, No. 1, pp. 28–31; C. Încalţărău, S.-Ş. Maha and L.-G. Maha (2011), 'A Broader Look on Migration: A Two-Way Interaction between Development and Migration in the Country of Origin', Review of Economic & Business Studies, Vol. 4, No. 2, pp. 288–289; P. Martin (2007), 'Migration and Development: Toward Sustainable Solutions', Willamette Journal of International Law and Dispute Resolution, Vol. 15, No. 2, pp. 199–206; H. Rapoport and F. Docquier (2005), 'The Economics of Migrants' Remittances', IZA Discussion Paper No. 1531, Institute for the Study of Labor (IZA), Bonn, pp. 5–6; J.E. Taylor (1999), 'The New Economics of Labour Migration and the Role of Remittances in the Migration Process', International Migration, Vol. 37, No. 1, pp. 67–71.
- Cf. Chander (2006), 'Homeward Bound', op. cit., p. 75; Wiesbrock (2008), 'Return Migration as a Tool for Economic Development in China and India', op. cit.
- See for example Chander (2006), 'Homeward Bound', op. cit.; Jonkers (2008), 'A Comparative Study of Return Migration Policies Targeting the Highly Skilled in Four Major Sending Countries', op. cit.; K. Lum (2012), 'India's Engagement with its Diaspora in Comparative Perspective with China', CARIM-India Analytical and Synthetic Note 2012/01, Migration Policy Centre, Florence; Wiesbrock (2008), 'Return Migration as a Tool for Economic Development in China and India', op. cit.
- L.R. Fischer and R. Shah (2015), 'The Right to Belong: An Overview of Historical and Recent Developments in Indian Citizenship Laws', Journal of Immigration, Asylum and Nationality Law, Vol. 29, No. 3, pp. 256–272.

employed as the "overarching" term.

One could potentially look towards well-established concepts in the migration and citizenship literature. An often-cited term denoting a status granted to foreign nationals which grants them rights that do not completely equate with full nationality/citizenship is the term "denizenship". In the migration literature, the first usage of this term is attributed to Tomas Hammar's writing in 1989, 11 referring to the status of "long-term residents with many of the rights of citizenship, but not the right to vote". "Denizenship" as a concept is unsuitable to cover the schemes examined in this publication, however, and this is so for a number of reasons. First, "denizenship", as defined above, begins from the perspective of the State of residence of the "denizen". This contrasts with the schemes that are to be examined, which start from the perspective of the State "of origin". Related to this, "denizenship" as defined, is inextricably linked to permanent residence or settlement in the country of residence. Essential for the schemes examined in this publication, however, is often the lack of residence in the State(s) concerned. Third, the status of "denizen" is almost exclusively determined by residence. On the other hand, the titles granted to the Diaspora under review in this publication are – as will be demonstrated – generally determined by factors of "diasporicness" or "origin".

A more suitable term has been coined by inter alia Groenendijk. In a study examining the statuses of long-term migrants in Europe, Groenendijk identified a category of persons who

"[...] are granted a status that is almost similar but not completely identical to citizenship. The alien residents are granted the same rights as the citizens of the host state in almost all fields of social life. Only a few rights are exclusively reserved for citizens."13

Owing to the resemblance to citizenship, Groenendijk called these statuses "quasicitizenship". 14 This term seems more appropriate. First, the connotation of approximation to full nationality/citizenship covers the purported aim of many of the statuses examined in this publication. Furthermore, the link between "quasicitizenship" and full nationality/citizenship also indicates the optimal method for the

See references to T. Hammar (1989), 'State, Nation, and Dual Citizenship', in: W.R. Brubaker (ed.), Immigration and the Politics of Citizenship in Europe and North America, Lanham: University Press of America, pp. 83–84 in inter alia M. Benton (2010), 'A Theory of Denizenship', Thesis submitted for the degree of PhD in Political Science at the Department for Political Science, London, p. 13 (http://discovery.ucl.ac.uk/624490/1/624490.pdf); C.A. Groenendijk (1996), 'The Legal Status of Long-Term Migrants in Europe', European Committee on Migration (CoE) Paper CDMG (96) 27, Council of Europe, Strasbourg, September, p. 9; C.A. Groenendijk (2006), 'The status of quasicitizenship in EU member states: Why some states have "almost-citizens", in: R. Bauböck et al. (eds.), Acquisition and Loss of Nationality. Policies and Trends in 15 European States. Volume 1: Comparative Analyses, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, pp. 385-386; A. Kraler (2006), 'The legal status of immigrants and their access to nationality', in: R. Bauböck (ed.), Migration and Citizenship: Legal Status, Rights and Political Participation, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, p. 33.

Benton (2010), 'A Theory of Denizenship', op. cit., pp. 13–14.

Groenendijk (1996), 'The Legal Status of Long-Term Migrants in Europe', op. cit., p. 8.

Ibid.

analysis and comparison of quasi-citizenship schemes, namely in terms of (the presence or absence of) citizenship rights.

This publication will therefore borrow the term "quasi-citizenship", with one caveat. As briefly indicated above, the statuses under examination in this research concern the granting of special statuses to Diasporas. This connection to a non-resident "population" is more restrictive than the coverage of "quasi-citizenship" as was coined by Groenendijk. For the purposes of this publication, "quasi-citizenship" will therefore exclusively refer to *external* forms of quasi-citizenship, i.e., forms of quasi-citizenship where the target group is resident *outside* of the State of issuance.

## 1.2. Research question, scope, method(ology) and limitations

This publication will examine and compare a number of quasi-citizenship statuses. The aim is to examine the relationship between quasi-citizenship and full nationality/citizenship. Other concepts related to these analyses are dual nationality (as many of these quasi-citizenship statuses are created in a context in which dual nationality is not possible) and return migration/mobility/circularity (given that these quasi-citizenship statuses aim to maintain a link with the Diaspora, possibly with a view to unlocking the potential financial and human capital benefits).

At this point, it is important to consider which quasi-citizenship statuses to examine. This choice is determined by several factors, including the number of existing statuses falling within the scope of "quasi-citizenship", the size and importance of the Diaspora for the States/countries chosen, and other considerations related to comparability. This publication will focus on three countries, namely China, India, and Suriname.

As one of the first countries to introduce a "diaspora" status in 1999, India is an appropriate first choice. Examining the developments of the quasi-citizenship status(es) of India will provide valuable insight into the considerations which may be(come) relevant for States intending to introduce a comparable scheme. Furthermore, India has one of the largest Diasporas in the world, with around 17.8 million persons of "Indian origin" currently located throughout the world. 17

In terms of comparability, an interesting comparison is to examine a recently introduced "quasi-citizenship" status. For this reason, Suriname's quasi-citizenship scheme is appropriate. <sup>18</sup> Furthermore, the Surinamese Diaspora, though restrictive in absolute terms, is equal to half of the Surinamese resident population. Furthermore, the Surinamese Diaspora is almost exclusively concentrated in one

<sup>15</sup> One of the examples of quasi-citizenship used by Groenendijk that covers persons *residing* in the country of 'quasi-citizenship' is the status of Moluccans in the Netherlands; see ibid.

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These statuses are the Person of Indian Origin (PIO) Card scheme (1999) and the Overseas Citizenship of India (OCI) scheme (2003/2005), both of which were merged into the Overseas Citizen of India Cardholder (OCIC) scheme in 2015.

MEA Overseas Indian Affairs Division (2016), 'Population of Overseas Indians', Official Website of the Ministry of External Affairs (http://mea.gov.in/images/attach/NRIs-and-PIOs\_1.pdf).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> The Surinamese quasi-citizenship scheme (the *persoon van Surinaamse afkomst* [Person of Surinamese Origin] or PSA) was introduced in 2014.

"host State", namely the Netherlands. This dynamic may prove interesting when compared to the Indian (and Chinese) quasi-citizenship scheme.

The final choice, namely China, is partly based on the size of its Diaspora and its importance as a global economic power. More interestingly, however, is the nature of the Chinese scheme examined in this publication. From a quick glance at the Chinese "Green Card" scheme, one would not consider this as a status targeting the Diaspora. As will be shown in the forthcoming analysis, however, the Chinese Green Card has become a *de facto* status for overseas Chinese. This repurposing of the Chinese Green Card as a *de facto* quasi-citizenship presents an interesting comparison.

The main research question of this publication is the following: which of the quasicitizenship schemes of China, India, and Suriname best approximates full (or dual) nationality as concerns the rights and duties for individuals? This thesis will therefore describe the different forms of quasi-citizenship, in order to explore to what extent these schemes, in sending countries, have created a legal framework with rights that best approximate the rights granted by full nationality/citizenship. The underlying context, as highlighted in the introduction, is the removal of legal-institutional barriers to return migration, particularly where dual nationality/citizenship cannot be achieved. The focus will be on three quasi-citizenship schemes, namely the Chinese "Green Card" scheme, the "Overseas Citizenship of India" scheme, and the Surinamese "Person of Surinamese Origin" scheme.

The principal method chosen for approaching this main research question is a *comparative legal method*. For this comparative legal analysis, two aspects need to be clarified, namely the *legal systems* to be compared, as well as the objects of comparison (i.e., *tertium comparationis*). In respect of the legal systems to be compared, the examination will exclusively focus on the highest national/municipal legal system within China, India, and Suriname. The exclusive focus on the national level of China, India, and Suriname's legal systems can be justified as follows. First, one can easily note that the principal legislative document forming the legal bases for the quasi-citizenship schemes of China, India, and Suriname, have been adopted by national legislative or executive authorities. This also entails that, minor differences in its implementation notwithstanding, the general rules concerning the acquisition and loss of the quasi-citizenship statuses, as well as the substance of these statuses – i.e., rights, benefits and duties – are determined at the national level of the States' legal systems.

The objects of comparison in the comparative legal analyses chosen are "citizenship

There are numerous recent publications about what this comparative legal method actually entails. The comparative legal research in this publication is primarily premised on the functional method of comparative legal research (see G. Samuel (2014), An Introduction to Comparative Law Theory and Method, Oxford: Hart Publishing, in particular Chapter 4), in that the comparison consists of an examination of how the legal systems of China, India and Suriname (to the extent these can be considered as legal systems) resolve the problem of a lack of citizenship rights by members of its Diaspora due to the lack of the nationality of the respective States.

Diasporas who have not obtained the nationality of their State of residence retain a certain level of uncertainty. On the other hand, naturalisation may lead to the loss of the nationality of their "countries of origin". Do they forego naturalisation, thereby "accepting" the risks associated with incomplete integration? Or do they naturalise and thereby lose (or renounce) their former nationality? Second-generation migrants may also face this situation, where they lose or do not obtain the nationality of their parents' countries "of origin". If they lose the nationality of their "State of origin", they will be considered as foreign nationals in their "own" country.

Many "sending" States that recognise the importance of their Diaspora have turned towards alternative means of retaining a bond with their Diaspora, even if they cannot yet fully accept dual nationality. One particular tool employed by a growing number of sending countries is to create a privileged legal status for their Diaspora. This intermediate status grants them more rights than a non-citizen resident may have, while still not going as far as offering them the option of (dual) nationality. It is these "privileged" statuses for the Diaspora that forms the focus of this publication.

The research in this publication examines three existing forms of external quasi-citizenship schemes, namely the Chinese "Green Card" scheme, the Indian "Overseas Citizen of India Cardholder" scheme, and the Surinamese "Person of Surinamese Origin" scheme. The research question, namely "which of the quasi-citizenship schemes of China, India, and Suriname best approximate full or dual nationality as concerns the rights and duties of individuals", is approached from a comparative legal method. By employing an analytical framework, based on the selection and examination of a number of "citizenship rights and duties", this publication examines the extent to which these forms of external quasi-citizenship schemes approximate the rights and duties of the Diaspora in comparison to full nationality.