

Citizen diplomacy in the covid-19 pandemic: Between sharp power and soft power

Diplomacia do cidadão durante a pandemia covid-19:
Entre *sharp power* e *soft power*

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Niedja de Andrade e Silva Forte dos Santos *

Center for Administration and Public Policies, Institute of Social and Political Sciences,
University of Lisbon, Portugal

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ABSTRACT

Given the huge challenge imposed by the covid-19 pandemic, countries have stepped up actions aimed at citizen security. At the same time, driven by different purposes, citizens are also involved in actions, which have had international repercussion, such as the development of citizen diplomacy. From the standpoint of public diplomacy, citizen diplomacy is a source of soft power. This research debates how citizen diplomacy performs under sharp power, and highlights the impact on foreign policy. Working within constructivism, the paper uses the case study method and is aimed at identifying the fight against the covid-19 pandemic by China, Portugal, and Brazil. To this end, the key concepts are operationalized, namely public diplomacy, citizen diplomacy, soft power, and sharp power. Then, a matrix of variables and attributes of soft and sharp power is built. The matrix guides collection of quantitative and qualitative data by content analysis. The news agency, Reuters, is the source of news collected from February 1 to April 30, 2020. After presentation and discus-

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* Email: niedjasantos@edu.ulisboa.pt | niedjasantos@icloud.com | niedjaandrade@uol.com.br
ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-7313-2296>

sion of results, the last session presents conclusions, including recommendations for public policies, and opportunities for future developments.

Keywords: public diplomacy, citizen diplomacy, sharp power, soft power, constructivism, content analysis, covid-19

RESUMO

Frente ao enorme desafio global imposto pela pandemia da covid-19, os países aceleraram ações visando a segurança dos cidadãos. Por outro lado, movidos por impulsos diversos, os cidadãos também promoveram ações com impacto no cenário internacional, que caracterizam a diplomacia do cidadão. Sob a perspectiva da diplomacia pública, a diplomacia do cidadão normalmente é tida como fonte de *soft power*. O artigo objetiva evidenciar os impactos da diplomacia do cidadão na política externa e apontar de que forma esta pode também revestir-se de *sharp power*. A partir do enquadramento construtivista, a investigação aplica o método de estudo de caso centrado no enfrentamento da pandemia da covid-19 pela China, Portugal e Brasil. Para tanto, os conceitos chave diplomacia pública, diplomacia do cidadão, *soft power* e *sharp power* são operacionalizados. Depois é construída a escala de variáveis e atributos do *soft* e do *sharp power*. A escala guia a coleta de dados e a análise de conteúdo quantitativa e qualitativa em notícias da agência Reuters no período de 1 de fevereiro a 30 de abril de 2020. Após a apresentação e discussão dos resultados, a última sessão apresenta as conclusões, incluindo indicações para políticas públicas e oportunidades para futuros desenvolvimentos.

Palavras-chave: diplomacia pública, diplomacia do cidadão, *sharp power*, *soft power*, construtivismo, análise de conteúdo, covid-19

1. Introduction

The covid-19 pandemic is probably the greatest challenge imposed on humanity in the 21st century (World Health Organization [WHO], 2020a). The illness caused by the SARS-CoV-2 virus was initially identified as a pneumonia of unknown etiology in the Chinese city of Wuhan in December 2019 (WHO, 2020b). The pandemic was declared by WHO on March 11, 2020 (Ghebreyesus, 2020). By December 2020, covid-19 had already affected around 80 million people and caused more than 1.7 million deaths around the world (WHO, 2020c). Despite the efforts of the global medical and scientific community, no effective treatments had been identified to contain the disease (Becher & Frerichs, 2020; Jaffe, 2020). As of December 2020, particularly in Europe and North America, starting of immunization process had not been effective in stopping the exponential curve of new cases and deaths in the short term (John & Clarke, 2020). In this respect, January 2021 ended with more than 98 million people infected and 2.1 million deaths worldwide (WHO, 2021). Thus, the pandemic has evolved demanding solutions that go beyond medicine.

In the face of adversity, nations have articulated actions for the safety of their people. However, many of these measures depend on the discipline and compliance of citizens (Kuiper et al., 2020; Zhao & Wu, 2020). In this case, individuals are motivated by self-protection, solidarity (Cheng, Lam & Leung, 2020), fear of moral judgments (Casciano, 2020), enforcement, or monitoring (Cha, 2020). On this wise, some citizens stood out, not only domestically, but also internationally, impacting on their countries' public diplomacy.

Public diplomacy is intricately linked to soft power (Nye, 2019). Additionally, since 2017 (Walker & Ludwig, 2017a, 2017b), the concept of sharp power has been gaining ground on the discipline (Biersteker, 2020; Santos, 2019; Walker, 2018). Although scarce, there are some research on citizen diplomacy involving the soft power approach (Clinton, 2011; Fulda, 2019; Nye 2010). The same is not true of sharp power. Additionally, notwithstanding the fact that the "Web of Science" catalog reveals the existence of more than 20,000 papers with the term "covid-19", only eight relate the topic to diplomacy (Web of Science, 2020). Indeed, studies of public diplomacy (Santos, 2020a; Zhao, 2020) and citizen diplomacy in this context are scarce. Thus, by promoting debate, this research fills an academic gap.

Conducted in the sphere of international relations, within the context of constructivism, the research aims to shed light on the impacts that can be caused by citizen diplomacy in foreign policy, especially in international emergencies. In particular, the research aims to demonstrate that citizen's diplomacy can vest sharp power in addition to soft power. Specifically, it aims to answer the research question: how does citizen diplomacy differ whether guided by soft power or to sharp power? To address the question, the case study method is adopted, and focuses on international reactions of citizens from China, Portugal, and Brazil during the first wave of the covid-19 pandemic between mid-winter to mid-spring in the northern hemisphere (Larrauri et al., 2020, p. 8). The data source is the Reuters news agency database, between February 1 and April 30, 2020. Information was collected and analyzed with the content analysis technique. Thus, by involving public diplomacy, citizen diplomacy within the scope of international relations, as well as media representation in the field of international communication, the research sets out a contribution in the interplay of the public diplomacy, civic participation, and communication studies.

The next section features constructivism. Then the literature review comprises the theoretical, conceptual and analytical frameworks. After that, it describes the methodology. Subsequently, findings are presented and discussed. The last section highlights the conclusion, brings insights that can guide public policies, and indicates opportunities for future developments.

2. The constructivist framework for citizen diplomacy

The theory of international relations known as constructivism considers international actors, their interests and identities, the result of the impact of ideas, norms, and discourse (Reus-Smit, 2005, p. 193). Slaughter and Thomas state that in constructivism, “the perception of friends and enemies, in-groups and out-groups, fairness and justice all become key determinants of a state’s behavior” (2013, p. 4). Indeed, constructivism interprets international relations as a social construction with a sense of identity centered on the agent-structure issue, seeking to understand how agents produce structures and how structures produce agents (Barnett, 2014, pp. 157-158, 162). Thus, the theory differs from neorealism and neoliberalism, which link international interests to material factors such as power or trade, holding that actors in the international sphere are unitary entities with interests prior to social interaction.

The theory explains transformations in the international system with the argument that interests and identities of states are a highly malleable product (Walt, 1998, p. 40). For constructivists, the interaction between people and states forms new ideas that can give rise to new norms. Ideas are structural factors that influence actors’ interpretation of the world by assigning meanings grounded in the underlying culture (Barnett, 2014, p. 162). Thus, identity, norms, and the historical variation of meaning affect the interests of states (Fierke, 2010, p. 188), limiting control over destiny (Barnett, 2014, p. 162). Indeed, the balance of power does not exist objectively, as interests are subordinated to collectively constructed ideas, discourses, and social norms (Barnett, 2014, p. 580). Ultimately, the behavior of states is determined by the beliefs of elites and influential individuals, collective norms, and social identities. In short, ideas and discourse are the main tools of constructivism.

The constructivist perspective enables the observation of the potential impact of citizen diplomacy on the international perception towards a country. Social interactions in the domestic dimension of the state can lead to the shaping of the country’s identity and interests, impacting international perception. This can even alter the nature of relations in the international system. In other words, as a form of social manifestation, citizen diplomacy can show positive or negative perceptions to the rest of the world, influencing how the world relates to the respective country. In this context, foreign policy cannot preempt citizen diplomacy, as the concept can either improve or harm foreign policy.

3. Operationalizing key concepts

The research explores the interplay between soft and sharp power in citizen diplomacy during the covid-19 pandemic as reflected in public diplomacy. To pave the way for the analytical framework, key concepts are operationalized, namely: public diplomacy, citizen diplomacy, soft power, and sharp power.

3.1 Public diplomacy

The idea of public diplomacy is associated with international influence (Melissen & Wang, 2019, p. 1) and state reputational security (Cull, 2019, p. 135). Despite being, the concept encompasses centuries-old mechanisms. The Alexandrian library, built by the Greeks in Egypt around 250 BCE, is an example of public diplomacy in the cultural sphere (Cull, 2019, pp. 28-29). Similarly, in the 1400s, Gutenberg's press was a tool of international influence for the Protestant reformation initiated in Germany (Hayden, 2011). Today, international broadcasters and social media are among the most relevant instruments of public diplomacy (Nye, 2019, pp. 9, 14; Snow, 2020, p. 5). In short, the practice now known as public diplomacy is millennial, but is constantly being renewed, keeping pace with social developments.

The term "public diplomacy" was first mentioned in the British newspaper, *The Times*, in 1856, with a reference to the civility and behavior of Franklin Pierce (Cull, 2020, p. 13). The term gained traction after Woodrow Wilson's "Fourteen Points" peace speech (1918, p. 5), in which he referred to public diplomacy as opposed to secret diplomacy. However, to the meaning of "influencing foreign publics" coined to public diplomacy is credited to Edmund Gullion, former United States ambassador and first dean of the Fletcher College of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University (Cull, 2020, p. 13).

Themes beyond war and peace began to receive greater attention, involving new international actors alongside representatives recognized by the Vienna Convention (Melissen, 1999, pp. xiv-xv). In the 1990s, public diplomacy was already understood as a tool to consolidate image and build long-term relationships. Thus, the concept became central to traditional diplomacy (Jesus, 2014, p. 152) as a peaceful means to deal with global publics (Magellan, 1982, pp. 11-19; Mendes, 2017, p. 154). In the early 21st century, public diplomacy became known as communication with foreign audiences (Melissen, 2005, pp. 3, 6; Nye, 2008, p. 101), aimed at influencing and leveraging state interests and values (Sharp, 2005, p. 106). In the post-9/11 era, instruments such as international broadcasters, culture, exchanges, and social media stood out in international politics (Nye, 2008, pp. 94-95; Zaharna, 2010, pp. 80-87). However, the "plenty of information" has increased the risk of distraction (Nye, 2019, pp. 9-11).

Cull defines public diplomacy as “listening to the other side and working to develop a relationship of mutual understanding” (2019, p. 23). The author also identified five components of public diplomacy: listening, advocacy, cultural diplomacy, exchanges, and international broadcasting. Listening is the mechanism of engaging foreign audiences by understanding their expectations (Cull, 2019, pp. 38-45; Martino, 2020, pp. 23-25). Advocacy corresponds to international advocacy for arguments, policies, and narratives (Cull, 2019, pp. 49-61; Gilboa, 2008, pp. 72-73). Cultural diplomacy involves the dissemination of messages through culture (Cull, 2019, pp. 64-73; Goff, 2020, pp. 31-34), while exchanges encompass receiving or sending citizens abroad, usually for educational purposes (Cull, 2019, pp. 77-84; Scott-Smith, 2020). Finally, international broadcasting refers to the large-scale international transmission of news (Arceneaux & Powers, 2020, pp. 52-59; Cull, 2019, pp. 87-103). Such a matrix has been widely adopted (Goff, 2020, p. 30; Hartig, 2019, p. 1; Santos, 2020b; Schindler, 2018, p. 28; Snow & Cull, 2020, pp. 19-75; Velikaya & Simons, 2020, p. 9).

Succinctly, Snow states that public diplomacy is the “management of persuasion and social influence in the service of international legitimacy” (2020, p. 4). The author also highlights that “soft actions” work best when combined with “more forceful and threatening forms of compliance and persuasion” (Snow, 2020, p. 4). This reinforces the Nye’s point of view, which (2019, p. 8), indicates hard power as a complement to soft power.

It is important to clarify that while traditional diplomacy comprises government-to-government (G2G) relations, public diplomacy is the dialogue between the government and global publics (G2P), and is aimed at engaging them in foreign policy goals (Snow, 2009, p. 6). New public diplomacy, on the other hand, means the way in which government, individuals, and private groups influence foreign policy (P2P) (Snow, 2009, p. 6). This research is based on the “new public diplomacy” view: the P2P model. This pattern approximates the liquid environment described by Bauman, in which the “world of authorities” is scrutinized by “individuality”, and political scandals accelerate the search for “examples” rather than “leaders” (2006, pp. 63-71). Along these lines, credibility, self-criticism, and civil society engagement assume a prominent role in public diplomacy (Nye, 2019, pp. 9-11). Thus, it is of utmost importance to pay special attention to the relationships that develop among individuals (citizens), narratives, and foreign policy.

Snow stresses that contemporary public diplomacy is interactive and networked, with an emphasis on citizen diplomats acting at the grassroots, while foreign ministries interact institutionally (2020, pp. 9, 11). She invokes Kennedy’s inaugural speech, with the famous phrase “And so, my fellow Americans: ask not what your country can do for you – ask what you can do for your country” (Ken-

ned, 1961, para. 25-26). Thus, citizen diplomacy deserves attention in the scope of public diplomacy.

3.2 Citizen diplomacy

One could say that, at the end of the 15th century, Bacon had drafted the idea of citizen diplomacy as a source of soft power in the essay “Of Goodness and Goodness of Nature,” when he dealt with the “citizen of the world” (1908, p. 57). However, the origin of the term is not consensual. Some claim that the term dates back to the 1980s (Samuel-Azran, Ilovici, Zari & Geduld, 2019, p. 39). However, in the late 1940s, the then president of the UNESCO National Commission in the US had published the article “Citizen Diplomacy”. Therein, the author described the intense state control over citizen diplomacy (Marshall, 1949, p. 89), and pointed out the need for democratization of foreign policy (Marshall, 1949, p. 83).

The vision of citizen diplomacy engaged in the foreign policy strategy is explained by the “multi-track diplomacy” (Diamond & McDonald, 1996). In this pattern, at least nine diplomatic avenues (government, professional conflict resolution, business, private citizens, research, peace activism, religion, funding, media, and public opinion) are articulated to achieve a common goal (Diamond & McDonald, 1996, p. 249). The diplomacy carried out by states through their foreign ministries is always track-one diplomacy (Wehrenfennig, 2008, p. 81). In multi-track diplomacy, all actors involved work in an integrated way around shared goals.

The intensified globalization in the 1990s was an invitation to individuals to act internationally alongside diplomats (Sharp, 2001, p. 136). Thus, diplomacy became democratized and composed by the dispersion of interests (Melissen, 2001, pp. 2, 10). In this scenario, the multi-track approach was no longer sufficient to explain citizen diplomacy. Then, “half-track diplomacy” perspectives emerged, based on the premise that state diplomacy is ineffective (Wehrenfennig, 2008, p. 81), being complemented by the actions of other actors. On the wise, the “track-one & track-two diplomacy” model stands out, in which “track-two” is unofficial diplomacy, exercised by non-state actors with their own resources independently from “track-one” (Fulda, 2019, p. 197; Jones, 2015, pp. 8-10). In this case, citizen diplomacy is carried out in parallel to that of the state (Nan, Druckman & Horr, 2009, pp. 65-66). An alternative theoretical framework is the top-down/bottom-up approach (Samuel-Azran et al., 2019, pp. 38-40). Bottom-up means citizen diplomacy carried out, on free initiative, and top-down is that articulated by states.

Incidentally, it is worth noting that the multi-track and top-down conceptions align with Nye’s three-dimensional game theory. This thesis points to citizens as important agents of international influence in parallel to states: Military apparatus is on game board one; economic issues on game board two; while board three

encompasses individuals and transnational issues, such as transnational crime, climate change, and infectious diseases, among others (Nye, 2004, p. 4). In the face of the wide dispersion of power among state and non-state actors, international actors should be skilled in managing three boards simultaneously (Nye, 2004, p. 4). It is noteworthy that alongside traditional diplomacy, a series of “hyphenated diplomacies” have arrived to the diplomacy stage (Sharp, 2001, p. 136). In fact, although this means a plethora of new practices, played by a wide range of diplomatic actors. In this context, professional diplomats need to be skilled at the “integrative diplomacy” (Hocking, Melissen, Riordan & Sharp, 2012, p. 13). Thus, innovative citizen diplomacy is a challenge to traditional diplomacy.

Social participation is inherent in democratization, especially by including groups like elites and pressure groups (Haerpfer, Bernhagen, Inglehart & Welzel, 2009, p. 4). However, “casting members as individuals is the trademark of modern society” (Bauman, 2000, p. 31). In this context, the notion of individualization of society may explain citizen diplomacy. Nevertheless, the concept can also be framed as a form of social or political participation, since it characterizes the “active intervention of citizens in public life” (Martins, 2004, pp. 75, 83, 137), especially when dealing with shared issues of democratic society (Martins, 2004, p. 138) with potential impact on public policy. (Sharp, 2001, p. 140). Markedly individualization is observed both in democracies and non-democratic (Yan, 2010). In short, citizen diplomacy is intricately linked to the individualization of society.

Besides recognizing diplomacy as a complex activity, Sharp notes the emergence of ordinary citizen diplomacy (2001, p. 134). Remarkably representation as a key feature of diplomacy (Vienna Convention), Sharp states that the citizen diplomat can represent himself or herself, state actors, or non-state actors (2010, p. 137), often attracting media attention (2001, p. 148). Indeed, “access to the Internet or global news media” has made international communication accessible to anyone beyond official diplomats and government agents (Van Dyke & Verčič, 2009, p. 907). Along this line, Samuel-Azran et al. state that “citizen diplomacy is a concept that considers citizens, specifically those participating in various forums beyond the national borders (e.g., international students, businesspeople, or tourists), as diplomats of their country, potentially helping to promote its image globally” (2019, p. 38). Indeed, direct two-way communication is more effective than one-way communication. It is easier to overcome cultural barriers and build credibility (Nye, 2010). Indeed, citizen diplomacy is a potential source of international influence because “real soft power comes from a society, not from government” (Shambaugh apud Nye, 2010, para. 14). Therefore, the concept is broad and includes a citizen diplomat to be the one who, in some way, acts internationally, impacting the image of his or her country.

Citizen diplomacy is increasingly developed on an individual, independent, and non-agency basis. Thus, it is usually not aligned with foreign policy. Nye states that therein lies the paradox of citizen diplomacy, as attempts to control individuals can undermine a country's soft power (2010). The author emphasizes that decentralization of diplomacy, difficult management and the potential misalignment of messages and goals explain why political authorities are usually resistant to citizen diplomacy. But these are inevitable risks to democracies in the age of global communication (Nye, 2010).

Citizen diplomacy differs from citizen activism. The latter is linked to advocacy of system interests, such as human rights, gender, nuclear disarmament, and environmental protection (Vera & Casa, 2020, p. 629). Actions are mainly directed at the government, legislators, and even private actors restricted to the domestic dimension of the country (Norris, 2004, p. 5). It is often utilized by political parties, unions, and non-governmental organizations (Norris, 2004, pp. 6-7). Citizen advocacy can also flow internationally, involving other activism networks, the most notable examples being Greta Thunberg and Malala Yousafzai (Vera & Casa, 2020, p. 629). In this case, actions does not always impact their country of origin, but rather countries or international actors with negative performance in the advocated cause. On the other hand, citizen diplomacy is characterized by international citizen participation with impacts for their country not necessarily linked to advocacy (Samuel-Azran et al., 2019, p. 38; Fulda, 2019, p. 197). Thus, in some cases, citizen activists are also citizen diplomats, but citizen activism is not synonymous with citizen diplomacy.

The role of citizens in foreign policy has changed and should not be ignored (Pisarska, 2016, pp. 13-50). Individuals effectively are diplomatic agents and may act independently of state foreign policy, although they can be "used" by authoritarian governments to promote actions that cannot be officially promoted (Fulda, 2019, p. 211). As a matter of fact, globalization has decreased multi-track diplomacy and expanded track-two diplomacy. Indeed, this research starts from track-two diplomacy, but seeks to indicate paths toward integration between citizen diplomacy and foreign policy in the wake of multi-track diplomacy.

3.3 Soft power

The ability to influence determines the country's level of international interaction. Indeed, a good impression with foreign audiences can determine the level of power (Nye, 2019, p. 7), as well as attract long-term relationships and alliances. Soft power features influence and attraction as variables, and materializes through attributes such as institutions, policies, culture, and values (Nye, 2004, p. 8), which are pivotal to public diplomacy (Melissen, 2005, p. 4; Nye, 2019, p. 11).

The term soft power was coined in the 1990s by Nye in *Bound to Lead: The Changing Nature of American Power*. The book analyzes the geopolitical position of the United States (US) in the contemporary international system (1991, p. XVII), grounded on two arguments: the changing nature of power (1991, pp. 5, 22); and the strengthening of the US by virtue of the triple dimension of power: military, economic, and soft power (1991, pp. xi, 22).

After defining power as “the ability to achieve one’s purposes or goals” (Nye, 1991, p. 3), the author states that soft power is an attractive power, composed mainly of intangible factors (Nye, 1991, pp. xvi, 29-31), constituting a counterpoint to hard power (military force) (Nye, 1991, p. 3). Soft power is as relevant to the international system as hard power (Nye, 1991, pp. 175, 182), because “a country may achieve the outcomes it prefers in world politics because other countries want to follow it or have agreed to a system that produces such effects” (Nye, 1991, p. 31). This flexible approach to power confers legitimacy on soft power (Nye, 1991, p. 32).

Later, in *Soft Power: The means to success in world politics*, Nye conceptualized soft power as “the ability to achieve what you want to do, through attraction rather than coercion or payments...ability to shape the preferences of others... [, a] co-optive power” (2004, pp. x, 5, 7). Then, he also described the main sources of soft power: (1) culture, mainly related to internationally attractive elements; (2) values and policies, essentially when international perception coincides with image perceived at home; and (3) foreign policies endowed with moral authority (Nye, 2004, pp. 11-15). The author warns that the effectiveness of attraction depends on the context. For example, audiovisual productions commending female freedom and empowerment, often appreciated in Latin America and India (Powers & Samuel-Azran, 2015, pp. 3-4), undermine soft power in countries such as Saudi Arabia (Nye, 2004, pp. 12, 16, 52).

The main limitation of soft power is the fact that, especially in democratic societies, it is not under the absolute control of the state, such as hard power (Nye, 2004, pp. 15, 17). Much of the attractiveness of the United States, for example, has not been produced by the American government, but by civil society, notably Hollywood.

As noted earlier, technological democratization has placed non-state actors such as non-governmental organizations, lobby groups, transnational corporations, and individuals on the international stage (Nye, 2004, p. 90), as potential agents of soft power. Paradoxically, besides influencing internationally on behalf of the respective country, such actors can negatively affect soft power by transmitting questionable values, such as those that express prejudice, discrimination, racism, social disrespect, among others.

3.4 Sharp power

Sharp power is the ideological model that privileges authoritarian bias over the attraction and influence inherent in soft power (Nye, 2019, p. 16; Walker & Ludwig, 2017a, p. 6).

Although it has already been related to other realities (Biersteker, 2020; Waler, 2018, p. 16), the concept is predominantly associated with China and Russia as a tool for dominance in international geopolitics (Ash, 2019; Bandurski, 2019; Cole, 2018; Walker, Kalathil & Ludwig, 2020, p. 125). However, Asian authors classify such claims as Western narratives without proper backing (Jun, 2017; Peng, 2019; Si, 2018). In this regard, Wang Guoqing, spokesperson of the 13th National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, stated the following: "Accusing China of showing 'sharp power' by some western people is full of hype and bias [...] western countries demonstrate their 'soft power' or 'smart power,' while claiming the same demonstration from China is 'sharp power'" (Guoqing apud Yamei, 2018, para. 1-2). Thus, the nature and legitimacy of sharp power remains an open discussion.

Some experts study sharp power from the perspective of soft power (Bouvin, 2019), while others frame it as a form of hard power (Nye, 2019, p. 17). There are also those who consider it a tool of smart power, a kind of strategy that integrates soft and hard power (Buchanan, 2018). However, Walker and Ludwig, the father of sharp power, had in mind a power with more negative than positive effects, defining it as one that "pierces, penetrates, or perforates the political and information environments in the target countries" (2017b, p. 7).

Sharp power is realized through state actions laden with hostility to free speech, open debate, and individual liberties (Walker & Ludwig, 2017b, p. 7). It is most often applied to media, academia, political elites, the publishing sector, and think tanks, potentially provoking self-censorship around the world (Nye, 2018). Specifically, it is revealed in actions such as manipulating opinions, masking policies, suppressing voices (Walker & Ludwig, 2017b, p. 9), bullying, pressuring, rejecting visas, cutting concessions, spying (The Economist, 2017), constricting access to information (Nye, 2018), manipulating diasporas, interfering in foreign elections, censorship, fake news, caviar diplomacy (corruption), and controlling individuals through artificial intelligence and big data capabilities (Walker, 2018, pp. 11-17). Such sharp power attributes can be categorized into two variables: imposition and dominance. Imposition encompasses attributes such as misinformation and manipulation. On the other hand, dominance encompasses authoritarian attributes like control, censorship, and interference with freedom (Santos, 2019, p. 82).

Those characteristics sets out sharp power as a negative stance clashing with ethical standards. The situation is often identified with terms such as "China

threat 3.0” (Koetse, 2018; Mandip, 2018, p. 9) or “foreign political influence operations” (FPIO) (Cole, 2018, pp. 9-10). However, the covid-19 pandemic has been demonstrating that sharp power can be useful and necessary tool for the state’s diplomacy (Santos, 2020a, p. 90), being as important as soft and hard power, in the contemporary world, especially when combined with soft power. Indeed, ethics involves the choice of right or good actions over bad or evil ones, the good being realized by the application of appropriate moral norms. However, the complexity and fragmentation of the international, alongside diversity of nations and values, make ethical consensus difficult (Amstutz, 2013, p. 11).

Despite the distinction between sharp power and public diplomacy made by some due to the means of implementation (Taehwan, 2018), sharp power is studied in the domain of public diplomacy (Melissen & Wang, 2019, p. 4), being a efficient complement to soft power (Santos, 2019; Santos 2020a). From this perspective, this study highlights how citizen diplomacy, as one of the dimensions of public diplomacy, can also be coated with sharp power, impacting on foreign policy.

3.5 Analytical framework

The analytical framework will pave the way for empirical exploration, which aims to identify how soft and sharp power materialize in citizen diplomacy.

The literature review shows that state’s soft power reveals the variable “influence” through solid institutions and the variable “attraction” through attributes related to policies, culture, and values (Nye, 2004, p. 8). The framework for empirical analysis is constructed from the projection of the soft power variables and attributes in citizen diplomacy. Thus, when practiced by individuals, “influence” encompasses attributes such as openness and respect, competence and capabilities, cultural manifestations, and scientific development. In turn, “attraction” can be observed in attributes such as discipline, social and civil respect, and solidarity. The same procedure is adopted in relation to sharp power. In the realm of citizen diplomacy, the “dominance” variable has attributes such as civil disobedience, violent protests, crime, abandonment, and attitudes of insecurity. “Enforcement” has attributes such as distraction, misinformation, disrespect, prejudice and bullying, hostility, and racism. Thus, the analytical matrix to guide the empirical analysis of this research combines soft and sharp power variables and attributes in citizen diplomacy (Figure 1).

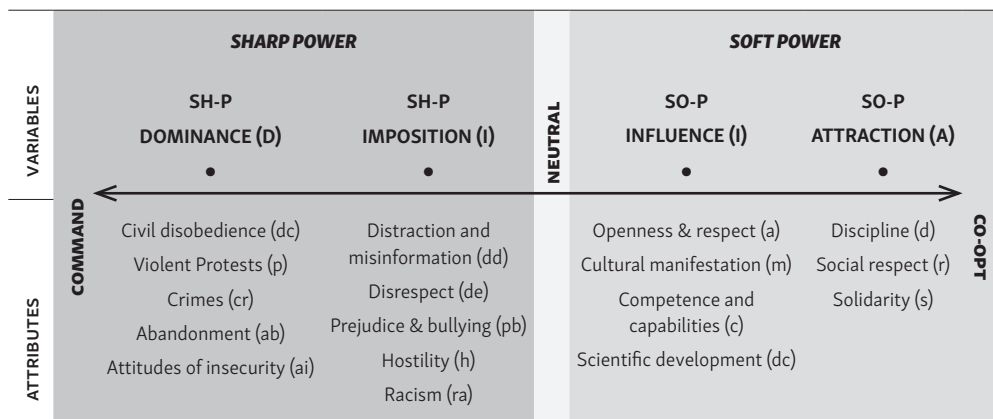


FIGURE 1. Scale of variables and attributes of sharp power and soft power in citizen diplomacy

Source: Prepared by the author, with inspiration from Santos (2019, p. 82)

In this way, domestic actions of individuals with international repercussion framed within the scope of dominance, imposition, influence, and attraction are covered by citizen diplomacy within the scope of sharp and soft power. The next section clarifies how such kind of events are analyzed in this research.

4. Methodology

The research aims to answer the question: how does citizen diplomacy differ whether guided by soft power or sharp power? To obtain the answer to the “how” question, a case study is adopted (Denzin & Lincoln 2005, p. xii), which is a method pointed out as ideal to capture details of a situation, offering detailed understanding of an object (Thomas, 2016, p. 37; Yin, 2002, pp. 2-5).

Given the qualitative nuance, some measures are adopted to promote objectivity and consistency, seeking to ward off risks to scientific quality (Flick, 2007, pp. 2, 15-16). These are: (1) adoption of a multiple case study, and (2) setting a quantitative-qualitative standard for data collection and analysis (Yin, 2002, pp. 32-35).

The multiple case study is developed as “embedded style” (Yin, 2002, pp. 52-54), which considers subunits of analysis in a larger unit (Thomas, 2016, p. 177). The observation goes to the subunit and aligns with the larger context. In this way, it highlights differences and similarities, leading to greater consistency and better understanding of the central theme. Namely, the larger unit of analysis is citizen diplomacy in coping with the first wave of the covid-19 pandemic. The subunits of analysis are China, Portugal, and Brazil. China was chosen because it was the

first country to tackle the pandemic (WHO, 2020b), getting it done exemplary (The Lancet, 2020). Portugal was selected because of the global recognition of its success in controlling the pandemic during the first wave (Ames, 2020; Fernandes & Moynihan, 2020), although this scenario has changed during the second wave (Silva, 2021). Finally, the choice of Brazil stems from its transformation into one of the world's covid-19 epicenters during the analyzed period (Freitas, Silva & Cidade, 2020).

Notwithstanding their cultural, social, economic and political diversity, the comparability relies on two main premises: (1) the need imposed on them to confront the pandemic, and (2) the fact that the three countries institutionally exalt the centrality of the individual to the State, through the respect for human dignity (People's Republic of China, 1982, art. 38; Federative Republic of Brazil, 1988, art. 1; Portuguese Republic, 1976, art. 1). The countries' general profile are summarized in Table 1, through characteristics pertinent to the object of this research.

TABLE 1. General data from the countries selected for empirical research

COUNTRY	POPULATION (NO.)	AREA (KM ²)	PIB PER CAPITA (US\$)	POSITION IN THE DEMOCRACY INDEX	INFECTED (BY DEC/2020)	DEATHS (BY DEC/2020)
China	1.397.715.000	9.388.210	8.254,30	153. ^o	96.324	4.777
Portugal	10.269.417	91.605	24.590,40	22. ^o	392.996	6.556
Brazil	211.049.530	8.358.140	11.121,70	52. ^o	7.448.560	190.488

Source: Prepared by the author, with data from The Economist (2020), World Bank (2020) and WHO (2020c).

Data collection and analysis combined quantitative and qualitative techniques. Through quantitative analysis, the citizen diplomacy actions in the three countries were mapped, offering a numerical view. The observation was made from internationally disseminated news. It is noteworthy that although the perspective of international communication interprets news as mediated communication of citizen diplomacy, which would lead one to consider ethnography as an ideal approach to the topic, the international relations perspective is quite different. From this standpoint, "mediated public diplomacy" is one of the strategies for developing the public diplomacy, especially when aiming to reach a "vast majority of foreign citizens" (Golan, Manor & Arceneaux, 2019, pp. 3-6). Nye frames such a situation

among the power conversion strategies (Figure 2), constituting a fundamental step in the public diplomacy process, which favors the conversion of resources such as citizen diplomacy into international outcomes (2011, pp. 99-100). Additionally, due to travel restrictions, direct observation or ethnography research are not feasible during pandemic, therefore, the analysis of citizen diplomacy through the news published in an internationally influential source is the viable research path. This strategy also has the benefit of highlighting the intersection between diplomacy, civic participation and communication sciences, and can inspire future research over the data analyzed from other perspectives beyond international relations.

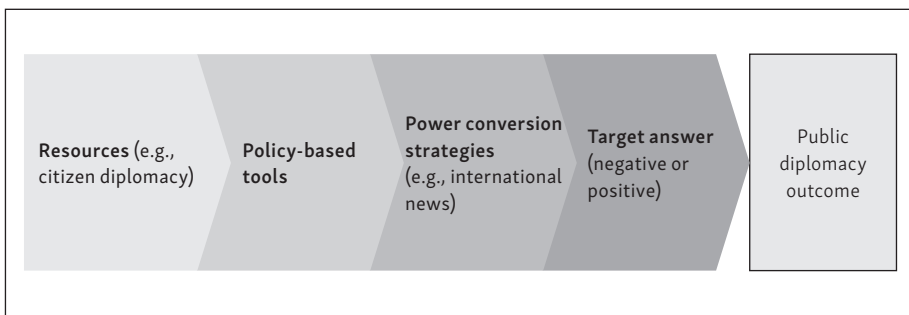


FIGURE 2. Conversion of resources into public diplomacy results

Source: Prepared by the author, based on Nye (2011, p. 100)

The international news agency, Reuters, was chosen as a research base because, alongside AFP (Agence France-Press) and AP (Associated Press), it is among the most influential agencies in the world (Aukia, Heimonen, Pahikkala & Salakoski, 2017, p. 252; Palmer, 2019, pp. ix-xi). Moreover, unlike AFP and AP, which have roots respectively in Europe and the US (Thomson), Reuters resulted from a European and US merger (Palmer, 2019, pp. 212-230). Annually, Reuters distributes over two million news stories in print and audiovisual media to over 780 television stations and 2000 media services in 128 countries (Reuters, 2020). Thus, broad global exposure, promoting international influence, aligns Reuters with power conversion strategies in the public diplomacy.

Data was collected on the agency's website (<https://www.reuters.com>) in the period from February 1, 2020 to April 30, 2020 (wave one) through three sequential Boolean searches (Bryman, 2012, p. 655): (1) China + covid, (2) Portugal + covid, and (3) Brazil + covid, considering the English language. After excluding duplicates, news corrections and updates, the total number of news were: 1591, 61,

and 242, respectively. Subsequently, the author reviewed all the news, selecting those that mentioned individual or collective actions of citizens, carried out in their own name or representing collective or institutional interests. Considering that the research is based on the track-two diplomacy perspective, the selection excluded actions by representatives of the state powers (executive, legislative, and judiciary), since this would be track-one diplomacy. This selection resulted in a total number of cases (N) of 1894 and 122 cases in the sample (n), as shown in Table 2.

TABLE 2. Reuters' news collection on citizen diplomacy (01.02 to 30.04.2020)

COUNTRY	BOOLEAN SEARCH	NEWS		
		TOTAL (EXCEPT DUPLICATIONS) (N)	SELECTED (n)	CITIZEN DIPLOMACY IN RELATION TO THE TOTAL
China	China + covid	1591	58	4%
Portugal	Portugal + covid	61	10	16%
Brazil	Brazil + covid	242	54	22%
		N = 1894	n = 122	

Source: Prepared by the author, with data collected.

News of the sample (n) were categorized by the coding technique (Krippendorff, 2004, pp. 99-101, 129-137). A table was constructed for each country. The first column contains the titles of the news, with the respective weblink in the second column and the publication dates in the third. The fourth column identifies each citizen with a group, such as: business, think tanks, sports, unions, citizens in general, and others. In the fifth column, the main message conveyed is summarized, such as social duties, confinement and repossession, openness and respect for diversity, among others. In the sixth column, the information is codified among soft power (SO-P), sharp power (SH-P) or neutral (n), with the identification of the variable, according to the analytical matrix (Figure 1): dominance (D), imposition (I), influence (I) or attraction (A). Finally, the seventh column points out the attribute related to each action. It should be highlighted that some of the news refer to two or more individuals' interventions. In this case, each one of them was analyzed separately starting from the fourth column, generating a bifurcation (e.g., Brazil in Table 3). In other words, the same news may refer to more than one citizen diplomacy action. Table 3 shows examples in relation to each country.

TABLE 3. Examples of coding methodology applied on mapped news from China, Portugal and Brazil

NEWS	WEBLINK	DATE	GROUP	ADVOCACY / MESSAGE	(SO-P) / (SH-P) / (N)	ATTRIBUTE
[China] China tightens Russia border checks, approves coronavirus vaccine trials	https://reuters/2xrELSx	Apr 15	Universities	Science development	SO-P (I)	scientific development
			Health sector	Control of pandemic	SO-P (I)	competence and capacities
[Portugal] Portugal relaxes coronavirus lockdown with 'sector-by-sector' plan	https://reuters/3d3ps1z	Apr 30	Citizens in general	Social duties (safety)	SO-P (A)	discipline
[Brazil] As Latin America locks down, trans sex workers struggle to survive	https://reuters/34ZByWy	Apr 24	LGBT+	Government financial aid	SO-P (I)	openness and respect
			NGO	Human rights: LGBT+ bias	SH-P (I)	bias and bullying

Source: Prepared by the author from cases extracted from the research database (coding tables).

The coding enabled the quantification of cases in the sample (Appendix). From this, applying the frequency criterion (Krippendorff, 2004, pp. 115-116), the qualitative analysis focused on the cases of soft and sharp power that represent at least 50% of the occurrences in each country. The findings lead to the answer to the research question, as outlined in the next section.

5. Soft and sharp power in citizen diplomacy: results, discussion and analysis

The quantitative analysis of the sample (n) 110 citizen diplomacy actions in China, 12 in Portugal, and 64 in Brazil. In Portugal, all of them are aligned with soft power. China and Brazil feature soft, sharp power, and neutral actions as can be seen in Table 4, which also shows the quantification of variables. The analysis showed that citizen diplomacy emanates both soft power and sharp power. In fact, during the confrontation of the covid-19 pandemic in the first wave, citizen diplomacy was exercised preponderantly through soft power (71% of actions) in those countries. On the other hand, the total number of sharp power actions (21%) is not negligible. Despite similarities, a closer look at each country reveals different behaviors. Thus, the quantitative analysis and the qualitative diagnosis, in the following subsections, offer the answer to the research question.

TABLE 4. Overall quantitative results

COUNTRY	CASES IN SAMPLE (n)	ACTIONS OF CITIZEN DIPLOMACY	SHARP POWER			NEUTRAL	SOFT POWER		
			DOMINANCE	IMPOSITION	TOTAL		INFLUENCE	ATTRACTION	TOTAL
China	58	110	5	20	25	10	48	27	75
Portugal	10	12	0	0	0	0	6	6	12
Brazil	54	64	5	9	14	5	26	19	45
TOTAL	122	186	10	29	39	15	80	52	132

Source: Prepared by the author, with data summarized from the research database.

5.1 Soft power in citizen diplomacy

Overall, soft power was observed in the citizen diplomacy of the countries through the attributes of openness and respect, competence and capabilities, and scientific development within influence. Attraction was observed in discipline, social respect, and solidarity. In the specific cases of China and Brazil, the influence variable was predominant. In Portugal, the 12 occurrences are equally classified between influence and attraction. In the Appendix, Table 5 presents a summary of the complete quantitative analysis.

In all three countries, the attribute competence and capabilities stood out in the influence variable, but in different ways. In Portugal, more than 50% of the actions under this attribute originate from the Portuguese diaspora. An example is the professionalism of Portuguese health workers in the UK, praised by the British Prime Minister (Kaye & MacLellan, 2020). In Brazil, more than 50% of the actions of this attribute were promoted by people from the business area. Among them are business leaders with signs of optimism about the recovery from the crisis, such as leader of a beverage company (Strauss, Jacob-Phillips & Sithole-Matarise, 2020), or the advocacy of private economic bailout programs for small businesses (Alves, 2020).

In China, 50% of the actions of the attribute competence and capabilities (influence variable) come from the business area, including not only individuals connected to large businesses, as in Brazil, but also small entrepreneurs. Examples of the former include the head of multi-asset solutions of a Hong Kong financial entity, exalting the positive reaction of the Chinese market to the crisis (Muru-gabopathy & Westbrook, 2020). Among the later, there are the testimonies of Chinese small businessmen about their management during the pandemic crisis (Wang & Crossley, 2020).

TABLE 5. Quantitative summary of soft power in citizen diplomacy

VARIABLE	SOFT POWER	NUMBER OF ACTIONS PER COUNTRY		
	ATTRIBUTE	CHINA	PORTUGAL	BRAZIL
Influence (I)	Openness and respect (a)	1	1	2
	Competency and capacities (c)	34	5	19
	Scientific development (dc)	12	0	5
	SUBTOTAL	47	6	26
Attraction (A)	Discipline (d)	13	3	11
	Social respect (r)	7	2	2
	Solidarity (s)	8	1	6
	SUBTOTAL	28	6	19
TOTAL (ATTRIBUTES I + A)		75	12	45

Source: Prepared by the author, with data summarized from the research database.

With regard to the attraction variable, the attribute discipline stood out as a source of soft power in all three countries. In China and Brazil, the main actors in this attribute were those from sports industry. In China, an example is the CEO of Guangzhou R&F of the Chinese Super League who stated that the start of the season would follow social security guidelines (Nair & Rutherford, 2020). Furthermore, there is the example of Brazilian players in major world teams demonstrating compliance with confinement (Homewood & Sarkar, 2020; Nair & Ferris, 2020). In Portugal, citizens who are members of the political elite stand out, such as former minister and consultant Bruno Maçães who advocated measures to combat the virus (Barker, Tostevin & Ghoshal, 2020), as well as immigrants living in Portugal who witnessed respectful treatment during quarantine (Waldersee & Cawthorne, 2020). Furthermore, citizens, in general, showed great discipline and adherence to the rules of lockdown and social distancing (Demony, Gonçalves & Waldersee, 2020).

In the global analysis, taking into account the combined picture of the three countries, 89 of the 132 soft power actions (67%) were practiced by individuals from businesses (23 actions), workers (18), citizens in general (15), sports (13), advisory (10), and universities (10). In addition to the examples related to the attribute competence and capabilities (influence) and discipline (attraction), there are other highlights. Individuals connected to business and sports, as well as citizens in general, stand out with regard to solidarity (attraction). This is the case with

the philanthropic contributions of Chinese businessmen (Baker, 2020a) and donation campaigns led by soccer players (Downie & Davis, 2020; Downie & Osmond, 2020), as well as housing made available by Portuguese owners for health professionals (Waldersee, 2020).

Additionally, there are meaningful actions of diplomats and citizens in the spectrum of the attribute social respect (attraction). Examples are the respect and empathy during the withdrawal of the lockdown in Wuhan (Goh, 2020a). Actions of citizens linked to universities stood out in the scientific development attribute (influence), in the field of research conducted about the new disease in China and Brazil (Goh, 2020b; Spring & Fonseca, 2020).

5.2 Sharp power in citizen diplomacy

Sharp power was found only in Brazilian and Chinese citizen diplomacy. In these cases, it was observed under the dominance variable in the attributes violent protests, crime, abandonment, and attitudes of insecurity. It was also found under the variable imposition, in the attributes distraction and information, prejudice and bullying, and hostility (Table 6). In both China and Brazil, more than 50% of those actions were operated under the imposition variable. In China the attributes prejudice and bullying (12 actions, 48%), as well as and distraction and misinformation (5 actions 20%) stood out. In Brazil, the actions were concentrated on the attribute distraction and misinformation (8 actions, 57%).

TABLE 6. Summary table of the quantitative profile of sharp power in citizen's diplomacy

VARIABLE	SHARP POWER ATTRIBUTE	NUMBER OF ACTIONS PER COUNTRY	
		CHINA	BRAZIL
Dominance (D)	Violent protests (p)	1	0
	Crimes (cr)	0	1
	Abandonment (ab)	0	1
	Attitude of insecurity (ai)	4	3
	SUBTOTAL	5	5
Imposition (I)	Distraction and misinformation (dd)	5	8
	Prejudice and <i>bullying</i> (pb)	12	1
	Hostility (h)	3	0
	SUBTOTAL	20	9
TOTAL (ATTRIBUTES D + I)		25	14

Source: Prepared by the author, with data summarized from the research database.

The attribute distraction and misinformation appeared in eight actions in Brazil. They were practiced by individuals from different groups: citizens in general, political elites, indigenous people, religious leaders, NGOs, workers, lawbreakers, and universities (details in the Appendix). In these cases, most of the demonstrations were related to negationism. Examples are crowded citizens holding demonstrations in support of President Jair Bolsonaro (Fonseca, Orlofsky & Bell, 2020), escaped prisoners who revolted against the enactment of preventive measures (Baker, 2020b), or religious leaders pleading for the exclusion of churches from social distancing guidelines (Boadle, Paraguassu & Osterman, 2020).

In China, measures under the attribute distraction and misinformation were observed in relation to citizens in general, as well as those in the healthcare sector. Such is the case of the Wuhan residents, dissatisfied with the quarantine and isolation measures, and the statement of the head of Jinyintan Hospital related to the excess implicit to some measures (Goh, 2020b).

Most of the Chinese actions under the imposition variable (48%) operated on the prejudice and bullying attribute and were mostly practiced by citizens and businessmen. Examples are the prejudice expressed against Africans in Guangzhou by both citizens in general and businessmen (Kirton, 2020), and, in the city of Suifenhe, against Chinese nationals returning from abroad (Tian & Wu, 2020).

Finally, it is worth noting that in both China and Brazil, actions related to the domain variable prevailed in the attitude of insecurity attribute, illustrated by Brazilian and Chinese workers in unsafe conditions (Chandran, 2020; Teixeira, 2020). In Brazil, an occurrence was also identified in the crime attribute, in which narcotic traffickers lamented the drop in international traffic, due to restrictions in port traffic (Stargardter & Jorgic, 2020). In China, clashes between people and the police during demonstrations on the streets of Hong Kong (Tam & Jim, 2020) relate to the attribute violent protests.

5.3 Final analyses

Indeed, citizen diplomacy is a relevant instrument for public diplomacy. In this context, the analysis highlighted two points to pay attention: variations in operationalization in the countries and the need for mediation or government agency, so that citizen diplomacy would benefit the state's strategy. In this regard, besides being power conversations strategies, news collect from international agencies can be monitored by public relations professionals for inferring the perceptions of international audiences (Sebastião, 2015, pp. 92-93). Therefore, governments may use them as sources for building policies which favor country's reputation, attractiveness, and influence in the international system. In this regard, the international convergence model by Van Dyke & Verčič's point of intersection between public

diplomacy, international relations, and communication alongside the operational flow (2009, pp. 918-919). In the case of citizen diplomacy, actions of individuals with international impact may be seen as inputs to the process.

In this context, the awareness of citizens over their rights and duties related to democratic values, as well as about their twofold role as global audience and as international actors is of utmost relevance. This may result from self reflection of training provided by the state (Martins, 2004, pp. 82, 138; Snow, 2020, pp. 9-10). State-citizen closeness may be filled through national conversation structures (Nye, 2010). An interesting example is the Center for People Diplomacy, tied to the Korea Foundation and the South Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In May 2018, this Foundation promoted citizen involvement in the planning, implementation, and evaluation of public diplomacy, as an institutional measure of sustainable development (Choi, 2019). Thus, the mediation promoted by citizen diplomacy is crucial to states, some procedures may be universally applied, however specific contents should result from context analysis. For example, identifying groups of citizens most active in some situations may be helpful to public diplomacy plans. The fact is that solutions are not 'one size fits all'.

6. Conclusion

In the era of global communication, citizen diplomacy should not be neglected. The constructivist perspective contributes to the understanding that the ideas, norms, and discourse resulting from the interactions of citizen diplomacy in the domestic dimension can impact the shaping of the country's identity and interests, influencing international perception. Even more, it can constitute a vigorous tool for public diplomacy, complementing state activity. However, the paradox of citizen diplomacy reveals that it can be a deadly shot for soft power when the actions of individuals are targeted by authoritarianism on the part of the state or when there is no proper address by foreign policy, especially in cases where citizens act through sharp power.

Citizen diplomacy founded on track-two diplomacy is a contemporary trend. However, its integration into the foreign policy strategy, as a tool of public diplomacy, demands multi-track diplomacy model. This is illustrated through an analysis of the confrontation of the covid-19 pandemic by China, Portugal, and Brazil, during the first wave.

A consequence of this research is the analytical matrix built from the literature review on soft and sharp power. The so-called "scale of variables and attributes of sharp power and soft power in citizen diplomacy" (Figure 1) provides the operationalization of sharp and soft power in citizen diplomacy, serving future research and development.

The analysis through the lens of the scale enable the answer to the research question by showing how citizen diplomacy is operationalized through soft and sharp power. The former appears in actions of individuals endowed with openness and respect, competence and capabilities, scientific development, discipline and social respect, and solidarity. On the other hand, sharp power is inherent in measures such as participation in violent protests, crimes, promotion of abandonment, attitudes that cause social insecurity, misinformation or distraction, prejudice and bullying, as well as hostility.

Findings evidenced the potential of citizen diplomacy as an instrument of public diplomacy. However, mediation or governmental agency is essential for the concept not to become an obstacle to the state's international influence. In this regard, new skills are needed for foreign ministries, because the new scenario requires effective integration of the plethora of hyphenated diplomacies, such as citizen diplomacy, into the diplomatic repertoire. At least those should be detected and taken into account in strategic analyses.

The study also revealed that development differs in different realities, making 'one size fits all' solutions difficult. A wide range of policies may be adopted to foster city diplomacy, as an illustration, committees, cultural and educational activities, social gatherings, training on democracy concepts, among others. In any case, are those set after a careful diagnosis. Citizen diplomacy should be addressed in the strategy of public diplomacy.

Future developments may involve analysis in other geographic regions, as well as evaluating and measuring the impact and repercussion of Reuters' news on citizen diplomacy in specific countries. The data of this research may also be the subject of future analysis from the perspective of communication and political science, placing greater emphasis on political participation and media representation of citizen diplomacy. Moreover, similar analysis adopting Asian international news agencies as a research source may complement the findings presented here, offering new insights into the potential and avenues for integrating citizen diplomacy into official public diplomacy efforts.

Acknowledgments

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Appendix

Table of the quantitative analysis of soft and sharp power actions in citizens' diplomacy

Group	China										Portugal										Brazil										Overview																	
	SH-P					SO-P					SH-P					SO-P					SH-P					SO-P					T O I A S U M L	T O I A S U M L																
	D	I	S	M	A	p	a	c	d	r	s	L	D	I	S	M	A	p	a	c	d	r	s	L	D	I	S	M	A	p			a	c	d	r	s	L										
	cr	ab	ai	dd	pb	h	cr	ab	ai	dd	pb	h	cr	ab	ai	dd	pb	h	cr	ab	ai	dd	pb	h	cr	ab	ai	dd	pb	h	cr	ab	ai	dd	pb	h	cr	ab	ai	dd	pb	h						
Citizens in general	1					1	0	0	1	8	15	0					0						2	1	1			2	1	1			5	7	9			15	24									
Advisory						0	5				5	5																						5	5	0			10	10								
Culture						0					1	1	1																						0	0	0			1	1							
Unemployed						0					1	1	1																						0	0	0			1	1							
Diaspora						2	1	1			3	5	4					0						1	1				1	1				2	7	9			3	5								
Political elites						0	1				1	1	1	1					0						1	1				1	1				3	2	3			5	13							
Sports						0					4	1	5	5						0					0					4	8	8			0	13	13											
Lobby groups						0	2				2	2	2	1					0					1	1				2	2	2			5	5													
Immigrants						1	1				0	1	1						0					1	1				0	0	1			1	2													
Press						1	1				1	1	1						0					1	1				0	0	1			1	2													
Indigenous people						0					0	0	0						0					1	1				0	2	2			0	2													
LGBT+						0					0	0	0						0					1	1				0	1	1			0	2													
Religious leaders						0					0	0	0						0					0	0				1	1	2			2	3													
Businesses						3	3	10			3	13	16						0					0	0				10	10	3			23	26													
NGOs						2	2				0	2	2						0					1	1				1	1	4			5	5													
Small business						2	2	2	3		5	7						0					0	0				0	0	2			5	7														
Health sector						0					0	0	0						0					1	1				0	2	3			2	3													
Unions						0					0	0	0						0					0	0				0	0	2			5	7													
Think tanks						1	1	3	1	1	1	6	7						0					0	0				1	1	1			7	8													
Workers						1	1	2	1	3	1	4	12	14						2	2				1	1	3			4	5	3			18	21												
Lawbreakers						0					0	0	0						0					1	1				0	2	2			0	2													
Universities						2	1	3	3	2	1	8	11						0					1	1				2	3	4			10	14													
Activists						1	1				0	1	1						0					0	0				0	0	1			1	1													
Subtotal (attributed)	1	0	0	4	5	12	3	25	1	34	12	13	7	8	75	0	0	0	0	0	1	5	0	3	2	1	12	0	1	1	3	8	1	0	14	2	19	5	11	2	6	45	39	132	171			
Subtotal (variables)																																																
Subtotal (SH-P-SO-P)	25					47					28			0					5					14		26		19	45					59														
Subtotal (country)						100					75			0					12					59		26		19	45				59															
Neutral actions						10					0			0					0					5		0		0	0				5															
Total (country)						110					75			12					12					64		26		19	45				64															
General total						166					106			186					186					166		166		166	166				166															

Source: Prepared by the author from the research database.