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## **Making nonresident citizens' votes count: external voting in Latin American and Southern European Countries (1962-2021)**

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## Introduction

Today external voting rights are a salient topic worldwide. This is largely due to the media coverage some cases stir, the controversial role in homeland politics when external voting alters election results as well as the challenges that it brings to state authorities (see e.g., Collyer, 2014b; Gamlen, 2015). In 2016, for instance, the Turkish constitutional referendum was a delicate matter in various European states such as Austria, Belgium, Germany, and the Netherlands with a large number of Turks and Kurds. Although the bilateral relations between the European Union (EU) and the government of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan had weakened prior to the direct democracy initiative, given EU-Members' perspective on the suppression of political opponents after the failed coup in 2015, Turkey dispatched high-profile politicians to campaign in favor of the indefinite reelection of Erdoğan. The campaign in Europe was essential to back up Erdoğan's strategy, since overseas votes were decisive in the outcome of the referendum, demonstrating larger support for the constitutional reform as compared to domestic preferences (Aydemir & Vermeulen, forthcoming; Capone & de Guttry, 2017). Beyond the singularity of this example, it hints at the pitfalls and promises of external voting as a relevant issue to address in social science and humanities.

Overall, countries worldwide have gradually granted political rights to their nonresident citizens (emigrants and their descendants). Currently, around 130 countries have enacted such a provision for external voting (Peltonimi *et al.*, 2022; Wegschaider *et al.*, 2022; Wellman *et al.*, 2022). Participation, consultation, and representation have thus extended into the transnational realm to create, control, or foster the state-diaspora nexus (Délano, 2013; Kernalegenn & van Haute, 2020; Østergaard-Nielsen, 2016; Pedroza & Palop-García, 2017; Ragazzi, 2014). In parallel, a linear trend is visible showing a linear increase in the number of nonresident citizens around the globe, meaning an augment of potential voters across borders decade by decade. Bearing this puzzle in mind, in this dissertation I ask: (1) what explains nonresident citizens' voter turnout? and (2) which effects do overseas votes generate in homeland politics?

There is a growing number of normative and empirical contributions seeking to understand: (a) how countries enact, regulate, and apply emigrant enfranchisement (e.g., Lafleur, 2015; Palop-García & Pedroza, 2019; Rhodes & Harutyunyan, 2010; Wellman, 2021), and (b) which external voting effects impact domestic and transnational realms (e.g., Arrighi & Lafleur, 2019; Bauböck,

2006; Collyer, 2014b; Lafleur, 2013; Østergaard-Nielsen & Ciornei, 2019a). Nonetheless, several research questions about external voting remain unanswered.

Different groups of individuals in a given district (whether outside or within the national borders), may have different political preferences and patterns of electoral behavior (e.g., Ciornei & Østergaard-Nielsen, 2020; Peltoniemi, 2018a; Potter & Olivella, 2015; Turcu & Urbatsch, 2020a; 2020b; 2020c; 2021; Umpierrez de Reguero & Dandoy, 2021). With ever-increasing human mobility, decision-making has extended beyond the classic notion of a nation-state bounded by territoriality (Bauböck, 2006; Collyer, 2014b). For most countries, universal suffrage does not apply solely to resident citizens; which is why it is necessary to re-examine the means of political participation and representation of emigrants (Bauböck, 2015; Caramani & Grotz, 2015). Accordingly, it is highly relevant to study the incentives, constraints, and opportunities of external voting rights, as well as their consequences for homeland politics.

At a methodological level, cross-national studies on nonresident citizens' voter turnout are still uncommon. Single and multiple case studies are the most recurrent research practices to analyze the political effects of nonresident citizens' voter turnout (e.g., Arcioni, 2006; Burean, 2011; Gamlen, 2015). Scholars have recently attempted to explain the drivers of this type of turnout (e.g., Belchior *et al.*, 2018; Burgess & Tybursky, 2020; Ciornei & Østergaard, 2020; Lafleur & Calderon-Chelius, 2011), but there are some missing institutional and political factors which might be key to complement those pioneering efforts (e.g., concurrent elections or compulsory voting).

In Croatia, overseas votes facilitated Franjo Tudjman's win in the 1995 elections (Waterbury, 2009), while in Peru external voting reduced the already close electoral margin between Pedro Pablo Kuczynski and Keiko Fujimori in the 2016 election (Castillo, 2018). The Romanian presidential elections in 2009 and the Italian legislative elections in 2006 are two other examples of overseas votes' impact on home countries' electoral results (Østergaard-Nielsen & Ciornei, 2019b; Vintila & Soare, 2018). Despite such empirical evidence from select case studies, the impact of overseas votes on homeland politics has not been examined in a comparative manner. In general, comparative research refines existing theories and allows us to evaluate hypotheses with a broad scope comprehensively (see e.g., King, Keohane & Verba, 1994; Przeworski & Teune, 1970). Thus, comparing the institutional-political effects of nonresident citizens' voter turnout in the homeland arena is a much-needed step. Scholars have long overlooked this connection because most experiences of external voting produce low emigrant voter turnout (Peltoniemi, 2018b).

In this research, I have two main interests related to external voting rights. On one hand, I examine: to what extent do different electoral rules and home-country political institutions affect

nonresident citizens' voter turnout? On the other hand, I analyze: to what extent does nonresident citizens' voter turnout impact electoral results, coalition formation, and the party system in the origin country? To answer these questions, I start by defining concepts that I employ throughout this dissertation such as nonresident citizens and homeland politics. Thereafter, I also define and conceptualize external voting. In the third section of this Introduction, I outline the research design and case selection. Correspondingly, I present the structure of this document in the fourth section.

## **Theoretical Overview**

In this dissertation, two related theoretical-conceptual elements are essential to understanding the contours of external voting rights. The first is transnationalism, which is the commonly used approach to analyze migrants' political practices, such as external voting rights (see e.g., Levitt & Jaworski, 2007; Martiniello & Lafleur, 2008; Østergaard-Nielsen, 2003a). The second is citizenship; that is, the sufficient condition to vote from abroad (Lafleur, 2013). In this section, I briefly justify why these elements are relevant to the study of external voting rights. Likewise, I define key concepts, such as nonresident citizens and homeland politics.

### **Migrant Political Transnationalism**

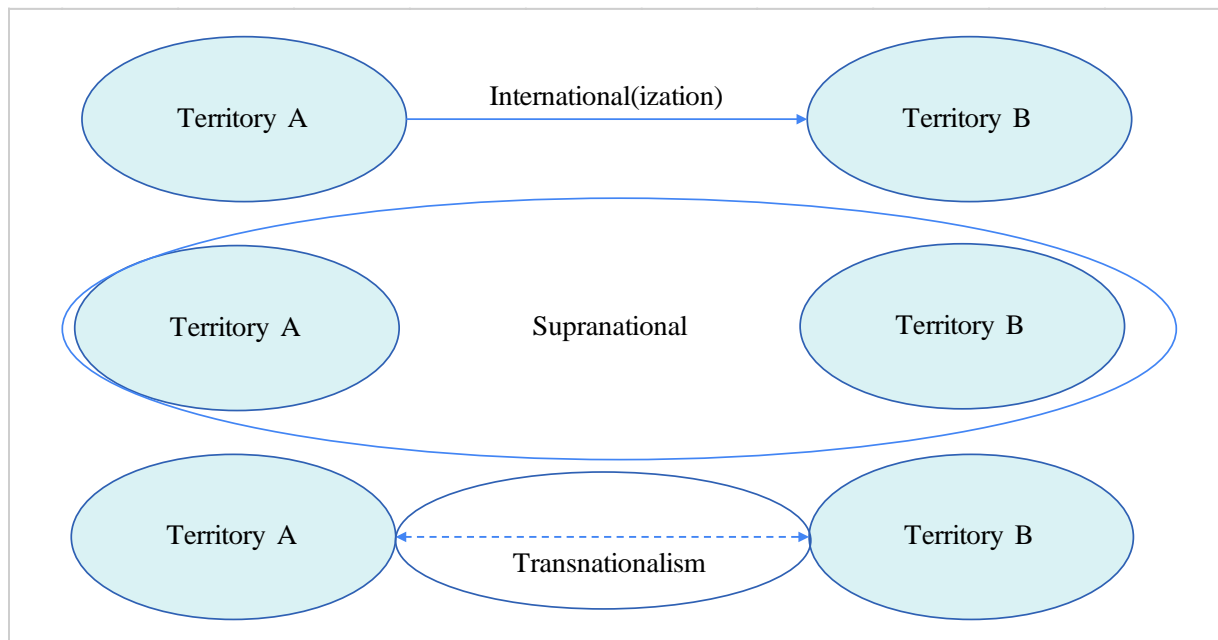
Transnationalism as a theoretical approach is related to the 'new global order.' Held (1995) classifies three schools of global studies: (1) the skeptics or those who deny the advances and/or have a negative perception about the means of globalization; (2) the (hyper) globalists or those who believe that the nation-state is a secondary actor in world politics, partially replaced by the presence of international organizations such as the United Nations (UN) and the World Bank; and (3) the transformationalists or those who defend a predominant role of nation-states in the global order, simultaneously that tend to perceive globalization as a positive outcome (Held, 1995; Jones, 2010; Thomas, 2007/2016). Transnationalism can be seen as the bridge between the skeptics and (hyper) globalists (Morgan, 2001). In that sense, it functions as a 'third way' (Jakobson, 2014).

Currently, every political activity might be transnational (Østergaard-Nielsen, 2003b). Transnationalism, however, arrived in the political arena via three avenues. The first is directly associated with the inter-paradigm or the Great Third Debate of International Relations. In this perspective, transnationalism is perceived as competence of political connections among nations

outside formal foreign policy arrangements (Barbé, 1997; Hoffman, 1989; Keohane & Nye, 1974). Importantly, scholars who sought to explain these transnational interactions did not exclude the increasingly relevant role that individuals, mass media, civil society organizations (CSOs), and networks (i.e., agents) played in the incidence of policy making. As Jakobson (2014) portrayed under the inter-paradigm great debate, transnational politics do not only reach policy goals but also delve into democratic diffusion, the expansion of global norms, as well as repertoires of contention other than those endorsed by a state-level approach (Khagram, 2004; Nye & Keohane, 1971; Pérez-Armendariz & Crow, 2010).

Second, transnationalism can be linked to political activism and the new theory of social movements (Tarrow, 1998/2011). Transnational political activism began decades ago but given the new developments in technologies of information and communication, it has expanded (e.g., von Bülow, 2022). Today, the creation of off- and online interactions of all kinds can easily facilitate processes of policy diffusion and framing of political opportunities, alongside human rights advocacy networks (Keck & Sikkink, 2002; Tarrow, 2005). In this context, it is pertinent to clarify that transnational(ism) does not equate to international(ization) or supranational relations (see Figure 1.1).

Figure 1.1. Political International Phenomena and Relations among Nation-States

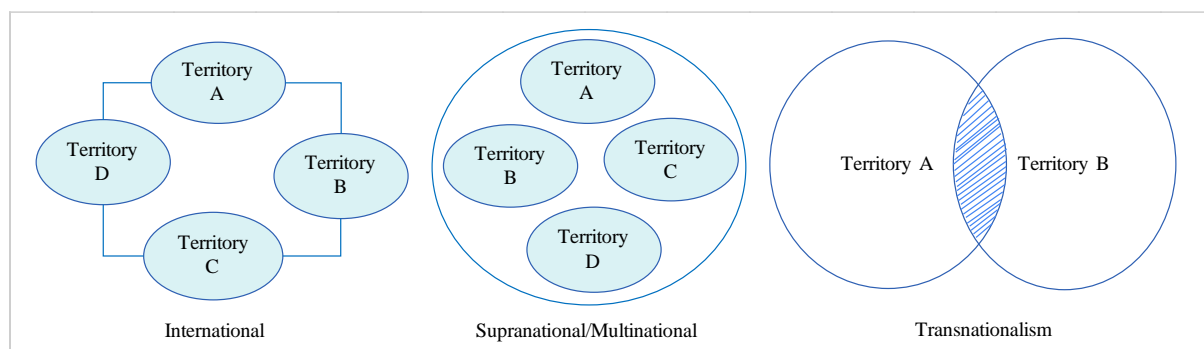


*Source:* Author's own elaboration.

The word 'international' should be understood as a one-direction action conducted by institutions and/or agents of one nation-state to affect another (Putnam, 1988; Tarrow, 2001). Supranational

refers to a larger polity among nation-states that pursue similar goals, and at its core depends on a long-standing relation to concede sovereignty and rights for the common good within the larger polity, such as the EU (Bauböck, 2003). Analogously to supranational, the terms ‘bi-’ or ‘multi-national’ can be conceived as actions conducted by institutions whose goals and interests exceed the national boundaries. That is, for instance, why some scholars tend to merge supranational with multi-national, as they do share multiple commonalities. Yet, bi- or multi-national practices often take place within a single-nation context instead of a larger polity (see Figure 1.2; Peltoniemi, 2018a). In this way, transnationalism should be understood as the overlapping activities that are conducted by agents (almost always non-state actors) between two countries (Bauböck, 2003; Østergaard-Nielsen, 2003b; Portes, 2005).

Figure 1.2. Political Cross-Border Phenomena and Relations between Nation-States



Source: Author’s own elaboration based on Peltoniemi (2018a).

This definition of transnationalism brings this dissertation into a third route: migrant political transnationalism. The literature on migrant political transnationalism is relatively new. Although some scholars locate its origins a long time ago in the wake of modern diplomacy (e.g., the Convention of Vienna) or the transatlantic developments between Europe and the Americas (Bourne, 1916; Østergaard-Nielsen, 2016), the founding set of contributions in the field appear in the recent 1990s (e.g., Bauböck, 1994; Levitt, 2001; Østergaard-Nielsen, 2001; Vertovec, 1999; Glick Schiller *et al.*, 1992). This concurs with what I call below ‘the third wave of emigrant enfranchisement.’

Prior to delineating migrant political transnational activities, sending country policies, and extraterritorial citizenship as the key elements to tackling international migration, I need to dive deeper into the different conceptualizations of migration (political) transnationalism. In the seminal approaches, migration transnationalism seems to comprise every activity conducted in the middle of Territory A and Territory B, namely between the country of origin and the country of residence (see Figure 1.2). In consequence, transnationalism is the “process by which immigrants

forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement” (Basch *et al.*, 1994/2005, p. 7). This meta-geographic construction may recreate cross-border activities (e.g., Waldinger, 2015), networks and ties of all sorts (Keck & Sikkink, 2002; Levitt & Jaworski, 2007; Portes, 2003; Vertovec, 2001), or simply political participation that surpasses state borders and overlap the loyalties of the non-state actor between one country and another (Bauböck, 2003; Østergaard-Nielsen, 2003b).

Transnationalism can be understood as a simultaneous process instead of an overlapping one. This definition supports the statement of Pedroza and Palop-García (2017) that boldly assumes that ‘all international emigrants are immigrants (or vice versa).’ In terms of electoral participation, this simultaneity allows scholars to examine migrant voting as a multi-territorial process and create the concept of ‘dual transnational’ for those who previously voted or have the intention to vote in more than one country, as emigrant and immigrant (Finn, 2020b; Mügge *et al.*, 2021; Szulecki *et al.*, 2021; Umpierrez de Reguero *et al.*, 2020). Overall, recent contributions have suggested that even when in the country of residence, migrants still feel connected to their country of origin, by sentiments of nostalgia, patriotism, duty, and/or solidarity with the ones they left behind (Bocagni, 2011b; Guarnizo & Smith, 1998; Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2004; Portes *et al.*, 1999; Vertovec, 2009). That is the reason why some scholars are interested in the migrants’ political engagement when analyzing external voting rights (e.g., Guarnizo *et al.*, 2003; Lafleur, 2013; McCann *et al.*, 2019). This type of political engagement equates to every activity that migrants develop to affect the decision-making process of the country of origin.

The theoretical appraisal of transnationalism as a simultaneous process helps us to differentiate it from long-term nationalism (Tsuda, 2012). It also builds reasonable scenarios for migrant voting: (1) *co-existence* or the engagement with both countries without a clear-cut preference over either one; (2) *zero-sum relation*, in which migrants prefer to retain ties with one country over the other, whether origin or residence; (3) *positive reinforcement* or when the attachment with one country encourages the political participation with the other; and (4) *negative reinforcement*, in which the attachment with one country discourages the political participation with the other (Tsuda, 2012).

By understanding the migrant vote as a puzzle of at least two different pieces (Arrighi & Bauböck, 2017), existing literature has lately leaned towards two perspectives: ‘complementarity’ and ‘resocialization’ (Chaudhary, 2018). Complementarity indicates some degree of association between voting in the country of origin and voting in the country of residence (Guarnizo *et al.*, 2019). Conversely, the perspective of resocialization assumes a decrease in political interest toward the country of origin, redirecting migrants’ attention to the residence country as an assimilation

process (Waldinger, 2008). Although these perspectives and the above-mentioned models explain why transnationalism can be a simultaneous process, they fit better in individual-level studies. Accordingly, manuscripts –such as this dissertation– seeking to examine nonresident citizens’ voter turnout using aggregate units, cannot fully untangle the transnational relations as a simultaneous process. Therefore, I proceed to unpack the concept of transnational politics.

Transnational politics can be divided into several subcategories, considering local, national, supranational, and international arenas of participation (Bauböck & Faist, 2010). In her seminal contribution, Østergaard-Nielsen (2003b) created a typology in which she separates immigrant politics from homeland politics. According to her perspective, immigrant politics refers to the involvement of migrants in practices to ameliorate their legal and/or economic situation in the country of residence. By homeland politics, in turn, she associates migrants’ political practices, including refugees’ activities, with the domestic/national politics (of their country of origin). These include both supporting the *status quo* and the opposition. Homeland politics can be thus split into emigrant, diaspora, and trans-local politics. On one hand, emigrant politics comprise migrants’ political engagement with their countries of origin. They exercise pressure to obtain state-led policies (from their countries of origin) to forge connections with their relatives and friends, as well as to gain fiscal reimbursements and legal support in case they face any problems in their country of residence. On the other hand, diaspora politics is for those subsets of individuals who reside abroad and fail to obtain direct representation in their countries of origin. Frequently, diaspora politics relates to religion-based studies, coupled with topics of sovereignty and security (see Koinova & Tsourapas, 2018). Finally, trans-local politics incorporate all the migrants’ activities that contribute to their countries of origin, but with a specific aim in the local arena (see e.g., Smith, 2016). As the research questions of this dissertation are explicitly associated with homeland politics, specifically emigrant and trans-local politics, this typology is useful despite its exploratory-descriptive scope of analysis.

## **Extraterritorial Citizenship**

Considering the overlapping, at times simultaneous, and often multi-level context, political transnationalism has a prerequisite to make sense of the various activities that migrants carry out around their homeland: citizenship.<sup>1</sup> Without citizenship, migrants have no membership, no voice,

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<sup>1</sup> In Latin America, citizenship can be understood as nationality (see e.g., Acosta [2018] and Finn [2021] for more details on the differences between citizenship and nationality within the Latin American context).



and thereby, no participation in the decision-making processes of their countries of origin (Bauböck, 2005). Hence, those emigrants who have lost the citizenship of their countries of origin and who have not recovered it throughout their tenure abroad, cannot vote, much less be formally represented and consulted by the state of their origin country. In this section, I thus introduce the concept of extraterritorial citizenship.

Seminal conceptualizations of ‘bounded citizenship’ created an overlapping relation between institutions, territory, and individuals. These traditional ways to approach citizenship exclude international migration backing the ‘crisis of citizenship’ in the early 1990s (Collyer, 2014a). In the attempts of filling this gap, scholars have conceptualized post-national citizenship, transnational citizenship, and extraterritorial citizenship (Basch *et al.*, 1994/2005; Bauböck, 1994; Soysal, 1994).

These three new ways to conceive citizenship have substantial differences. For instance, they fluctuate in their states-citizen nexus as territorial entities (Collyer, 2014a). For the first two, territory is not an ontological issue, as post-national citizenship suggests that citizens and noncitizens practically enjoy the same rights, and transnational citizenship focuses merely on the agency. It is solely in extraterritorial citizenship that both territory (i.e., bounded citizenship) and territorial locus (i.e., residence) of individuals are important in tandem. This extraterritorial citizenship allows questioning the convention of nation-state bounded by the “analytic triad” or “dynamic nexus” denominated as “identity-borders-order” (see Vertovec, 2009, p. 86). In this regard, extraterritorial citizenship grants certain rights beyond the territory, such as the act of voting (Bauböck, 2006).

By applying the latter citizenship model, I use the term ‘nonresident citizens’ to incorporate not only emigrants but also their descendants (following e.g., Erdal [2016]). As mentioned, nonresident citizenship includes the principle of *ius sanguine* or the international legal principle by which citizenship is acquired or determined by the legal status of ascendants. In doing so, I consider individuals who participate in elections because they have a direct link with the country of origin, either with or without dual citizenship and because they inherited the citizenship of their (grand)parents, whether with or without formal membership in the country of their birth (i.e., country of residence for their [grand]parents). Nonresident citizens also incorporate exiled persons, who at the moment of their migration lost their citizenship, but years later manage to recover it, along with their political rights to participate in homeland elections. On this ground, I define and conceptualize external voting.

## **Conceptualizing External Voting**

There are manifold ways to conceptualize external voting. Nohlen and Grotz (2000) define this type of suffrage as provisions and procedures that allow nonresident citizens to exercise their right to vote. External voting should fulfill two conceptual criteria. The first is associated with residency, while the second relates to the act of voting. In that sense, citizens but not residents in their country of origin comprise those who can enjoy external voting rights. Likewise, the act of voting needs to be carried out in a territory other than the country of origin (Nohlen & Grotz, 2000). The latter is the main criterion to differentiate external voting from other types and provisions of migrant voting (e.g., noncitizen voting or when nonresident citizens travel to vote in the country of origin during the election day). Strictly speaking, where nonresident citizens cast their votes is central—if it is abroad or outside the national boundaries, then scholars and practitioners can refer to this act as external voting.

External voting is also defined as a set of procedures that allow all citizens living in any other country or autonomous territory to partake in the elections of their country of origin (Lafleur, 2013). This definition comprises three operations: (1) voter registration, (2) casting the vote, and (3) vote counting. For Nohlen and Grotz (2000), these three operations can be explored by using three reference dimensions: (a) formal-legal dimension; (b) political-procedural dimension, and (c) institutional-political dimension. I discuss each one in detail below.

## **Unraveling the Logistics of External Voting**

Under the formal-legal dimension, voter registration is a key aspect of every electoral system. Enrollment or voter registration is a prerequisite by which a citizen, otherwise eligible to vote, enrolls on an electoral registry prior to formally taking part in elections. In most countries, electoral commissions or ministries of interior oversee the enrollment process, and it is automatic for resident citizens. Usually, the voting age criterion determines those who might participate. However, in a few countries, state authorities still require a voter to register domestically as a precondition to voting (e.g., Costa Rica, Jamaica, and the United States [US]), either for every election or periodically (Colomer, 1991).

In the transnational arena, enrollment is essential. It refers to the process by which qualified nonresident citizens, as recognized in the electoral legislation, are incorporated into the electoral pull of overseas or external voters (Hutchenson & Arrighi, 2015; Lafleur, 2013). Correspondingly,

some countries choose to grant suffrage rights solely to certain groups of emigrants (e.g., Chile, Serbia, and the United Kingdom [UK]), whereas others are more generous allowing all types of emigrants and their descendants to participate in elections and even to stand as candidates (e.g., Ecuador, Mexico, and France).

Voter registration is the first step to voting from afar. Passive (or automatic) voter registration means that nonresident citizens are automatically included on the electoral roll by state authorities, while active enrollment comprises nonresident citizens requiring registration each election or within a certain lag of time (Lafleur, 2013; Schmid *et al.*, 2019; Wegschaider *et al.*, forthcoming). Hence, when states only require that nonresident citizens visit the diplomatic office to change their domicile, from the previous one in the country of origin to the current one in the country of residence, this procedure constitutes an active, but flexible, case of enrollment. It is rightly defined as a ‘one-off process’ (Arrighi *et al.*, 2019; Schmid *et al.*, 2019). Yet, there are cases where not even a change of domicile is required such as Argentina and Iceland.

Since the 2017 reform, Argentineans residing abroad can vote mainly at diplomatic offices globally if they present an identification card issued by their homeland authorities, meaning that neither previous voter registration nor a change of domicile is necessary. Nonresident Spaniards have similarly been able to vote without electoral registration since the democratic transition in the 1980s (Lugilde Pardo, 2010). Regardless, the Spanish government approved an electoral reform in 2011 to include a restrictive form of electoral registration called the ‘begged vote’ (*voto rogado*), under which nonresident Spaniards must register before each election, and a reversal policy eliminating some local-level voting rights for non-resident citizens (Rodríguez, 2013; Østergaard-Nielsen & Ciornei, 2019b; Vintila *et al.*, forthcoming). Accordingly, Spain shifted the registration process for its nonresident population, from passive (or automatic) to active renewal enrollment.

As nonresident citizens, being enfranchised and formally registered to participate in the elections of their origin countries, is a necessary but not sufficient condition to exercise external voting. Under the political-procedural dimension suggested by Nohlen and Grotz (2000), vote casting is the requirement when it comes to accessing electoral rights. For voters within a domestic scenario, voting often includes electoral mobilization to a precinct or local polling station, with designated alternatives in most countries for those who are unable to vote in person (e.g., persons with disabilities, elderly individuals, adult citizens with prison sentences).

In the transnational arena, vote casting is somehow more diverse than in the last scenario. There are variegated options to partake in homeland elections, namely: in-person, by mail or postal, by proxy, and e-voting (e.g., Ellis *et al.*, 2007; Lafleur, 2013; Luna *et al.*, 2016; Nemčok & Peltomieni, 2021; Nohlen & Grotz, 2000). Several scholars include the provision of in-country

voting, which is when emigrants return to the country of origin during election days such as in Israel or Uruguay, either subsidized or non-subsidized by the homeland politicians (Collyer, 2014a; Collyer & Vathi, 2007; Hutchenson & Arrighi, 2015; Schmid *et al.*, 2019).

In-person voting reproduces the act of domestic voting, in which the nonresident voter goes to an overseas polling station in the country of residence to vote. These polling stations are often located in consulates or embassies (i.e., diplomatic offices). Yet, homeland authorities also rent public spaces in countries of residence such as universities, churches, or stadiums, to organize external voting, when it is needed (Ramírez Gallegos, 2018). The in-person voting method is the most popular one in Africa and the Americas, as well as the second most frequent in Europe and Oceania (Ellis *et al.*, 2007; Umpierrez de Reguero, Bauböck & Wegschaider, forthcoming). Despite being a voting method that almost satisfies the fairness principle of democracy, in-person voting requires higher costs and time for both the country of origin and the nonresident voter (Hutchenson & Arrighi, 2015; Nohlen & Grotz, 2000). In particular, scholars and policy makers highlight the distance between the residence of the overseas voter and the voting booth as one of the main problems of in-person voting (e.g., Chaudhary, 2018; Dandoy & Umpierrez de Reguero, 2021; Peltoniemi, 2016).

Postal voting involves dispatching ballots by mail to the country of origin or the diplomatic offices. The costs of postal voting can be also subsidized by the homeland authorities (e.g., Mexico) or not (e.g., Finland). Proxy voting, in turn, implies that nonresident citizens hold the right to legally delegate their vote(s) to another citizen (e.g., a friend or a family member) residing in the country of origin. Overall, it may imply in-person bureaucratic arrangements with the diplomatic authorities prior to voting (Wegschaider *et al.*, forthcoming). E-voting allows suffrage through electronic means such as computers and smartphones (Lafleur, 2013; Luna *et al.*, 2016). For this project, fax voting is included as part of the e-voting method. Still, these three voting methods, compared to in-person voting, display greater levels of inclusion, but lower degrees of secrecy (Hutchenson & Arrighi, 2015). An influential example of electoral fraud within the transnational realm stems from the 2008 Italian elections, in which the Calabrese mafia was able to intercept multiple ballots sent by mail from abroad to Rome (Lafleur, February 28, 2013).

Moreover, countries can apply more than a single voting method. That is the case of Mali in Africa or Belgium in Europe. There are other cases where they even separate voting methods per category of nonresident citizens, such as the Netherlands (see De Groot & Vink, 2018). Indeed, several countries generate additional constraints in terms of electoral mobilization within the transnational arena. While diverse states such as Canada and Papua New Guinea allow only one voting method from abroad; some countries are more *avant-garde* (e.g., New Zealand and Panama),

in which nonresidents can vote using electronic devices from abroad. In New Zealand, fax is one of the pathways to take part in homeland elections from abroad. Meanwhile, in Panama, its electoral commission implements Skype accounts for this purpose. Of course, the rule allowing multiple ways to vote might be a feature of a country, within and across national borders. Generally, by employing different combinations of voting methods, countries can be labeled as more inclusive; otherwise, electorally restrictive (Hutchenson & Arrighi, 2015; Wegschaider *et al.*, forthcoming; Wellman, 2021).

Collyer (2014a) designs a typology in which the differences in vote counting create two systems in which nonresident citizens can vote externally: (1) vote abroad for home district, and (2) vote abroad for direct representation. In his conceptualization, Collyer (2014a) also includes cases of internal or in-country voting as a third system: (3) vote in home district (see Table 1.1). As mentioned, in this scenario nonresident citizens need to travel to their country of origin during the elections if they want to vote.<sup>2</sup> Nonetheless, I do not consider the third scenario in this dissertation, since it presents an inconsistency in the conceptualization of ‘external’ voting.

Table 1.1. Collyer’s Typology of Nonresident Citizen Voting

		Casting the vote	
		Internal	External
Counting the vote	Internal	Vote for home district	Vote abroad for home district
	External	--	Vote abroad for direct representation

*Source:* Collyer (2013, p. 63).

Under the institutional-political dimension underscored by Nohlen and Grotz (2000), the third procedure refers to the assignment of overseas districts or vote counting. In a similar logic of seat allocation within a domestic context or merely the conversion of votes into seats, overseas votes have at least two options to be counted: (1) either states materialize overseas districts to count nonresident citizens’ votes, or (2) they aggregate overseas votes within the country. In this latter scenario, electoral management bodies count overseas votes for home district, (a) whether in the previous (or biographical) district (e.g., Norway and Switzerland), or (b) in a special (or [sub]national) district (Latvia and Poland). Indeed, this goes beyond a formal-legal operation

<sup>2</sup> Including this scenario is a way to incorporate those who return to vote because they do not want to go through the hassle to register, or because they could not enroll to vote from afar since their emigration occurred recently (for instance, less than four months).

because it involves possible consequences for the political systems of origin countries. This distinction is also present in the last version of the electoral rights for noncitizen residents and nonresident citizens of the Global Citizenship Observatory (GLOBALCIT) as vote aggregation (Umpierrez de Reguero, Bauböck & Wegschaider, forthcoming).

### **External Voting: A Contested System**

External voting rights generate natural difficulties for sending countries when it comes to identifying potential voters abroad. Unlike cases of universal (unrestricted) inclusion in which noncitizen residents vote in local and national (multi-level) elections, such as Chile, Malawi, and Uruguay (Altman, 2021; Escobar, 2015; Finn, 2021), a precise identification of overseas voters is quite impossible considering the spatial dispersion of emigration. Several countries force their citizens to notify home authorities of their intention to live abroad temporarily or permanently—mostly EU Members, but also authoritarian regimes (Collyer, 2014b; Umpierrez de Reguero *et al.*, 2021; Vintila & Soare, 2018). Furthermore, citizens who enroll with diplomatic authorities in their country of residence might later change their residence to a third country without notifying again diplomatic authorities (Martiniello & Lafleur 2008). Likewise, nonresident citizens who contradict the political regime of their country of origin might be reluctant to share their contact information and current address with diplomatic authorities due to a lack of trust (Lafleur, 2011; Østergaard-Nielsen, 2003b).

Moreover, registration procedures are often complex for unregulated emigrants, asylum seekers, or refugees (Collyer, 2014b; Dedieu, 2013; Umpierrez de Reguero *et al.*, 2020). Fear of deportation and legal uncertainty are sturdy motivations to keep distance from diplomatic authorities, whether they represent the country of origin or residence (Boccagni, 2011b; Smith, 1998). Also, emigrants attempting to arrive in a country of residence without proper requirements, such as with the help of smugglers, might be pressed into throwing away all their previous identity registration (Lafleur, 2013).

As underlined by Nohlen and Grotz (2000), external voting must be distinguished from two other rights. External voting rights do not encompass the rights of noncitizen residents to vote and/or stand as candidates in elections of the country of residence. Although there are examples in which these two types of provisions were enacted, regulated, and even applied simultaneously, such as in the Netherlands, noncitizen resident voting and nonresident citizen voting are evidently different (Umpierrez de Reguero, Finn & Erdilmen, unpublished). In sum, “external voting is the

right for an individual to participate in the elections of a country where s/he holds citizenship” (Lafleur, 2013, p. 26), and these nonresident citizens cast a ballot from abroad.

### **External Voting Right or Rights**

Contrary to the idea that assumes out-of-country voting is a single provision, external voting provides a diverse set of rights and thereby creates variation across cases. Let us think about the number of different types and levels of elections in which a nonresident citizen might get involved. In most, this is restrictive to national elections, at times including referenda (Arrighi & Bauböck, 2017). That is the case of a latecomer in Latin America, which allows its emigrants and some of their descendants to vote in presidential elections and national plebiscites: Chile (Finn, 2021; Luna *et al.*, 2016). Contrariwise, there are rather generous provisions, such as in Finland, which permit its citizens residing abroad to vote in national, local, and European Parliament Elections (Peltoniemi, 2018b). Similar to Finland, Ecuador has granted extensive candidacy and voting rights to its nonresident population since the constitutional reform in 2007–2008 (Fliess, 2021; Palop-García, 2018; Umpierrez de Reguero & Dandoy, 2020).

At first glance, external voting is conducive to various types of political representation. Around 17 countries have granted passive rights to their nonresident citizens (Lafleur, 2015; Palop-García, 2017; 2019). Other forms of referring to this phenomenon are an ‘inside-out,’ ‘special’ or even, ‘direct’ representation of emigrants (Collyer, 2014b). First, sending countries establish (an) overseas district(s). Then, overseas votes are counted in those districts by homeland authorities, separated from other domestic votes. Finally, they convert these votes into one or multiple seats to the national parliament or legislature.<sup>3</sup> Importantly, a minority set of cases such as Peru has allowed emigrant legislative representation, but its external voting provision did not comprise overseas districts up to 2020 (see Law 31032). Thus, the pull of overseas votes had to be added to the Lima district –the capital district of the country– and proportionally convert the votes (i.e., Lima District + Peruvians residing abroad) into seats, merging unevenly the two electorates. That exception Palop-García (2017) denominates a ‘general’ representation of emigrants.

By contrast, some scholars refer to this provision as a ‘discrete’ representation. That is basically to separate from the ‘assimilated’ representation, which many EU-Members (e.g., Austria, Germany, Estonia, and Spain) use to count and properly assign overseas votes to a pull of national votes in home districts (Hutcheson & Arrighi, 2015). Under this frame, discrete representation is more a way to count the vote than a formal type of nonresident citizens’ political representation.

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<sup>3</sup> Except in Mexico where emigrants’ special representation is a regional- or a local-level feature.

Is external voting therefore the previous stage of all nonresident citizens' political representation? Interpreting the doctoral dissertation of Palop-García (2019), the response is no. Countries can extend active (i.e., external voting provision) and passive rights to emigrants and their descendants, and surely those can be conjoined (Schmid *et al.*, 2019; Wegschaider *et al.*, 2022). However, the creation of consultative bodies at the executive level on behalf of sending countries' authorities to look after their nonresident citizens is, for instance, another type of political representation, which is not contingent upon the act of (external) voting (Laguerre, 2013; Levitt & de la Dehesa 2003; see the integrated model of emigrant political representation in Palop-García [2019, p. 15]).

## **A Brief History of External Voting Rights**

The diverse practices of external voting vary over time. This type of suffrage is not new (Lafleur, 2013). What is relatively recent is its expansion across the world (Collier, 2014a). Since the end of the Cold War, not only democracies but also hybrid regimes have adopted such a provision (Turcu & Urbatsch, 2015). To give more details on the history of external voting, I outline three waves of emigrant enfranchisement worldwide: (1) pioneering voting practices across national borders (up to 1945); (2) external voting after the world wars (1946–1989); (3) external voting in the globalized era (from 1990).

### ***Pioneering voting practices across national borders (up to 1945)***

For some states, having military personnel outside the national borders has been a solid motivation to grant out-of-country voting (Gamlen, 2015; Smith, 2014). Not only in World War I and II but also in other conflicts up to 1945, military and diplomatic personnel were enrolled in the electoral registries of several countries such as Canada, France, and the US. In 1862, the state of Wisconsin extended absentee voting to military personnel fighting in the Union Army during the US Civil War (Lafleur, 2013). The Republican party supported this decision, since Abraham Lincoln saw a strategic electoral opportunity there, whereas Democrats opposed it, given their support to the Confederation (Ellis *et al.*, 2007). In 1915, Canada also granted extraterritorial voting at a federal level to soldiers based abroad and extended this provision in 1917. In these opportunities, Canadian military personnel partook in home elections by post (Umpierrez de Reguero, Finn & Erdilmen, unpublished). Thereafter, Canada copycatted the UK by introducing proxy voting (see



the experience of Britons servicemen abroad from 1918 in Ellis *et al.* [2007]). In turn, France facilitated external voting in 1924 to cater to another constituency: Rhineland. This provision enabled nonresident citizens to participate in French elections by postal voting. Between 1939 and 1945, France expanded external voting to military and diplomatic personnel based abroad (Ellis *et al.*, 2007). Even though an ample number of nonresident civilians from New Zealand were unable to participate in home elections prior to 1956, special legislation provided the faculty to vote from abroad to military personnel based abroad during the world wars (Atkinson, 2003; Gamlen, 2015). In the early beginning of the twentieth century, Australia was also included in the few cases enacting extraterritorial voting provisions for servicemen based abroad (Lafleur, 2013). Considering these examples, military and diplomatic personnel were the first categories of citizens to break the mold of voting as a territorial practice.

Outside the above-mentioned context, New Zealand and Norway promulgated special legislation to allow a restricted number of civilians to participate in home-country elections. This time the extraterritorial voting provision was conceded to seafarers or fishermen. Both experiences occurred for the first time in 1890 and 1896, respectively (Ellis *et al.*, 2007; Saby, 1918).

Currently, most of these practices cannot be labeled as external voting since the status of military and diplomatic personnel are rather different in terms of international laws than ‘common’ or ‘civilian’ nonresident citizens. Extraterritorial voting for diplomats and soldiers based abroad relates to another set of political rights. Their political loyalty might be biased. In fact, many democracies do not allow military personnel, even domestically, to participate given the rational legitimacy of political regimes. Leaving normative discussions for Chapter 1 of this dissertation, military personnel serve the country that sent them on an international mission under the protection of the same state. Mostly, diplomats work in embassies and consular offices, which are part of the sovereign territory despite being in another country (UN, 1961). That is why I referred above to pioneering voting practices across national borders when I briefly exemplified this kind of suffrage, highlighting the developments of New Zealand and Norway at the end of the nineteenth century as the first experiences of external voting rights. Correspondingly, eligibility-based conditions are relevant to delineate under which circumstances scholars can classify external voting from other related practices.

### ***Toward the universal suffrage: external voting after the Second War World (1946–1989)***

Since the end of World War II (1945) and with the ratification of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR, 1948), global perception of international migration shifted (Torpey, 2000).

States started to recognize migration as a human right in their legal frameworks, along with promoting the principle of free elections. The first regional and international organizations to regulate migration, cohesion, and integration, among other rights, emerged in this period, such as the UN and other institutions derived from it (Brumat, 2014; Domenech, 2008; Kissinger, 2015). Yet, no bilateral or multilateral agreement explicitly recommends or claims the adoption of external voting rights as part of the nonresident citizens' political rights, except by underlying that electoral participation should be a universal right (Lafleur, 2013).

From 1946 to 1989, various non-binding treaties and charters were created within international cooperation and a democratic context, promoting the universal right to get involved in decision-making processes, particularly in free, fair, and transparent elections (Grace, 2003). In his book on the role of the state and external voting rights, Lafleur (2013) highlights two foundational agreements that progressively unchain the enactment of similar guidelines on regional and national legal frameworks, namely: the same UDHR and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights by the UN General Assembly (OHCHR).

Everyone has the right to take part in the government of their country, directly or through freely chosen representatives... The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government; this will shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures (UDHR, 1948, Art. 21).

Every citizen shall have the right and the opportunity, without any of the distinctions mentioned in article 2 and without unreasonable restrictions... to vote and to be elected at genuine periodic elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret ballot, guaranteeing the free expression of the will of the electors (OHCHR, 1966, Art. 25).

These international treaties influenced the signature of the Democratic Charter of the Organization of the American States (OAS, 1948), the Statute of the Council of Europe (1949), and the African Charter on Human and People's Rights (1981). Moreover, several constitutions and electoral codes subscribed to these normative guidelines, occasionally extending enfranchisement to groups of citizens that otherwise could not participate, within and outside the national boundaries.

From 1946 through 1989, a select set of countries replicated what the world powers from the West enacted. This policy emulation was characterized by the political leadership in the

international system and by colonial ties, coupled with legal traditions (Rhodes & Harutyunyan, 2010; Turcu & Urbatsch, 2015). For instance, a few countries in Africa began to promulgate external voting rights in the wake of what France, Portugal, and the UK previously did (Hartmann, 2015). Various examples of former French colonies in Africa even adopted the voting method that France uses. Before 1975, proxy voting was popular in former French colonies, and when France adopted in-person voting, several countries in Africa also transposed their electoral designs to do so (e.g., Gabon and Guinea [Conakry]) (Ellis *et al.*, 2007). Similarly, inspired by the British common law, Commonwealth members started to replicate analogous policies to the UK (Turcu & Urbatsch, 2015).

In addition to these plausible explanations rooted in norm diffusion and cultural approaches, countries such as Colombia and Indonesia are worth mentioning in this debate. They enfranchised all their citizens within and outside the countries, before the Dutch and Spanish Kingdoms. These countries were the pioneers in their region, by passing, regulating, and applying external voting rights in the 1950s and 1960s, respectively (Ellis *et al.*, 2007; Escobar, 2007).

### ***External voting in a globalized era***

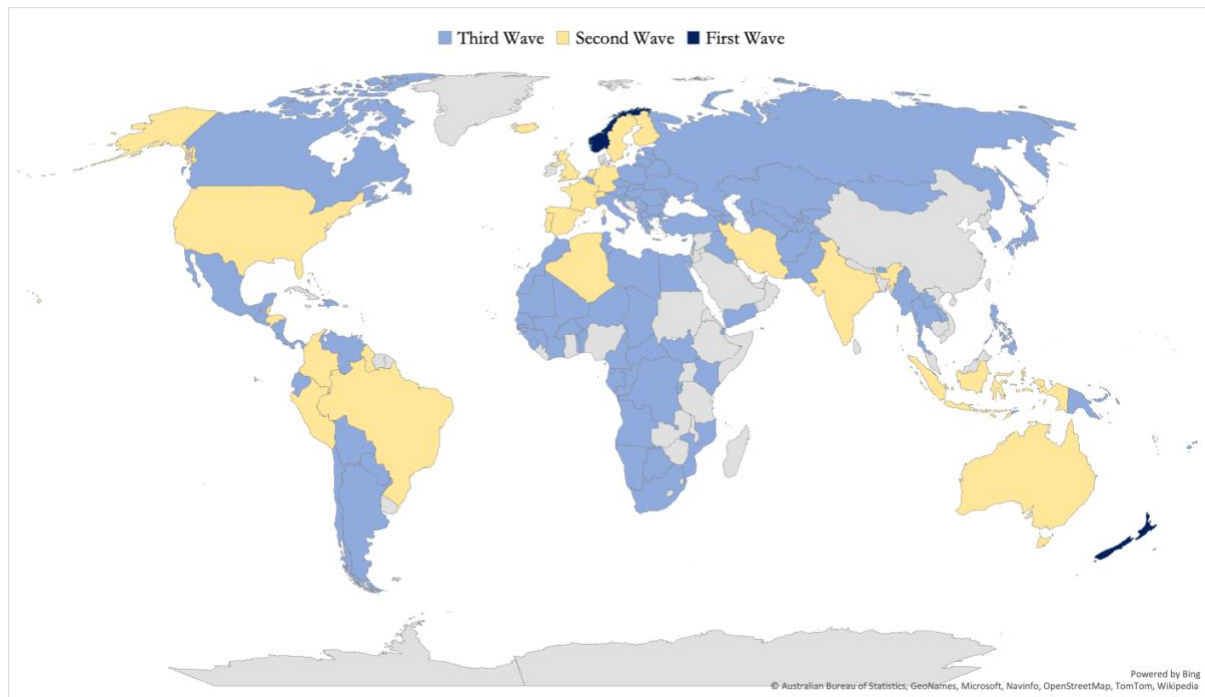
Concurring with Caramani and Grotz (2015), I classify the third wave of emigrant enfranchisement under the influence of a globalized era. This period is the most prolific in terms of the expansion of external voting rights (see Figure 1.3). Alongside the end of the Cold War and the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, the state-level shift toward emigration and the diffusion of democratic norms contributed as the most likely determinants to enfranchise nonresident citizens in this period (see e.g., Gamlen, 2008; Turcu & Urbatsch, 2015).

Demand-side analysis provoked by radical changes in the international system fostered Post-Communist European countries to adopt liberal democracy and thereby the principle of free election for all citizens (Mishler & Rose, 1997; Rose, 2009). Many authoritarian regimes in Africa, Asia, and Latin America broke down, and newly directed elected governments invoked constitutional reforms, at times including migrants' political rights to participate in decision-making processes (Escobar, 2015; Lafleur, 2015; Palop-García & Pedroza, 2019; Rhodes & Harutyunyan, 2010). In the early beginning of the 1990s, the country cases of Cape Verde and Namibia in Sub-Saharan Africa corroborate this argument (see Molutsi, 2007; Silva & Chantre, 2007).

This third wave of expansion of the external voting rights globally, not only emerged for the deontological reason of being democratic but also because governmental discourses towards

migration changed. Waterbury (2010) has accurately asserted that multiple governments around the world have drafted new discourses on the “global nation,” which spans beyond the national boundaries of the nation-state to embrace diasporas. This discursive appraisal made countries such as Haiti, Mexico, and Peru, rethink their governmental discourses over migration, shifting their official perceptions from homelands traitors to patriotic heroes (Basch *et al.*, 1994/2005; Berg & Tagmano, 2006; Délano, 2009).

Figure 1.3. External Voting Rights in the World Over Time (1890–2020)



*Note:* N=134 countries holding *de jure* emigrant enfranchisement (as of 2021). See Table A1 in Supplementary Material.

*Source:* Umpierrez de Reguero (forthcoming); Wellman *et al.* (2022).

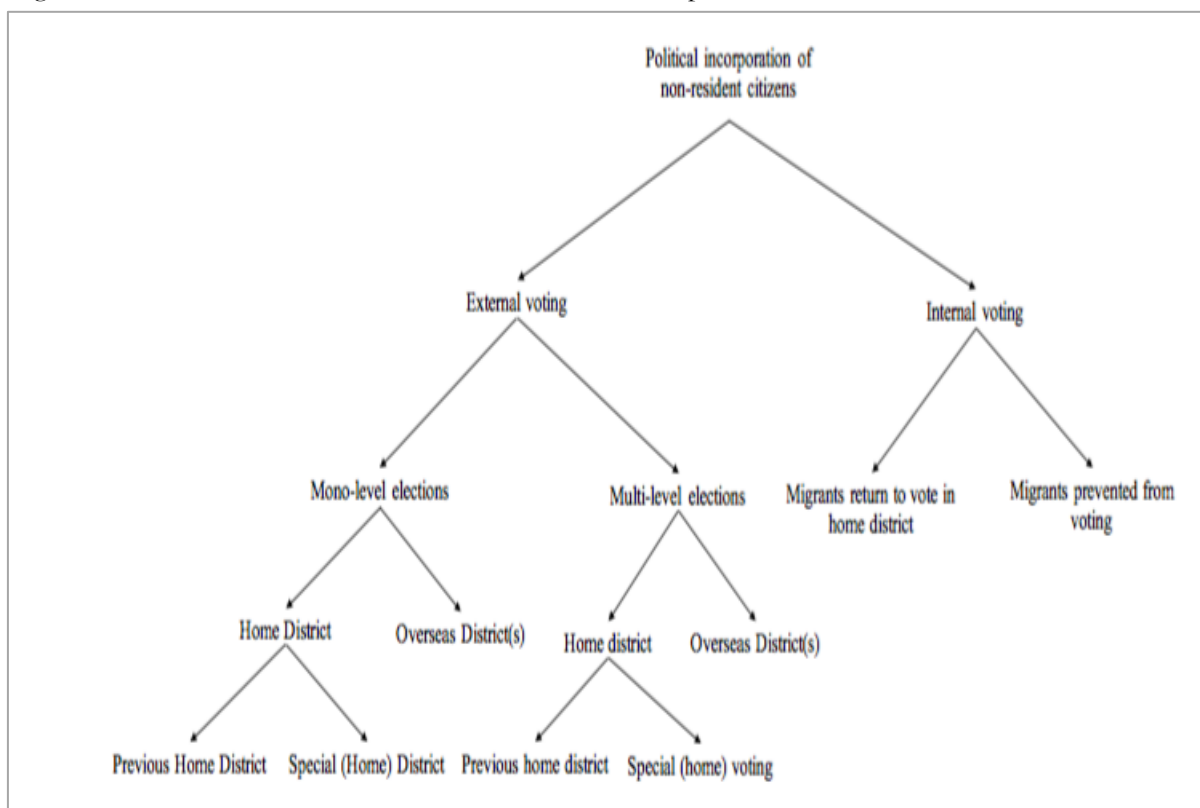
## Reconceptualizing External Voting

Considering all the above-mentioned definitions and particular elements of external voting, I propose a new conceptualization that reflects the same categories of Collyer’s typology (see Table 1.1): (1) casting votes and (2) counting votes. On one hand, external voting can be understood as a set of laws and regulations that are only exercised ‘outside’ or ‘externally’ by nonresident citizens (in reference to the origin country). Consequently, voting is ‘external’ only when it occurs in the residence country via postal, in-person (often at the origin country’s diplomatic offices), proxy,

and/or e-voting methods. The provision in which emigrants can vote solely if they return to the origin country during the election(s) (i.e., vote in home district, following Collyer [2014a]) either subsidized (e.g., Malta) or non-subsidized (e.g., Belize) by the state, is not applicable (see Figure 1.4).

On the other hand, the previous conceptualization of ‘counting votes’ is limited to mono-level elections. In this context, the quadrant of vote abroad for direct representation in Collyer’s typology comprises overseas votes that are directly converted into seats. Yet, this holds true only in select legislative elections, usually but not exclusively at the national level, in which emigrants can vote and stand as candidates for the origin country, isolating the possibility to capture concurring elections with different modalities of converting the votes into seats. In Ecuador, nonresident citizens can vote in presidential and district-based legislative elections simultaneously: the first type of election implies a nationwide vote counting, while the second comprises a vote conversion directly related to overseas districts (Umpierrez de Reguero & Dandoy, 2020).

Figure 1.4. Institutional Decision Tree of the Political Incorporation of Nonresident Citizens



Source: Author’s own elaboration.

Instead of proposing counting votes as the second category, I consider whether origin countries create overseas districts to count emigrant votes (similar to Nohlen and Grotz [2000] and Lafleur [2013]). To the best of my knowledge, district magnitude is an essential attribute of electoral

systems while counting nonresident citizens' votes in the way that Collyer (2014a) or Hutcheson and Arrighi (2015) propose, seems to be solely a mechanical effect.

Thus, I propose two types of external voting, whether nonresident citizens vote in mono- or multi-level elections: (1) external voting for home districts, and (2) external voting in overseas districts. The first occurs when the voter externally casts his/her vote, but the electoral management body (in the origin country) counts it for either a special home district assigned by authorities to convert overseas votes into seats, or it counts for his/her previous home district, prior to moving abroad. The second, external voting in overseas districts, takes place solely when the origin country's authorities establish at least one additional district outside the territory to organize external voting. Currently, 119 out of 134 autonomous territories implement external voting for home district, whereas the rest apply external voting in overseas districts.

## Research Approach

Prior research has encouraged the need for powerful and *bona fide* explanations to generate knowledge on external voting rights and their political consequences (e.g., Burgess & Tyburski, 2020; Gamlen, 2015; Østergaard-Nielsen et al., 2019). There are various ways to study electoral engineering phenomena, such as: (1) time-series analysis, (2) within-country case studies, and (3) (cross-)national sample surveys (Norris, 2004). This dissertation combines the first two in order to analyze external voting rights, given that electoral rules can be fully examined by using aggregate units (Cox, 1997).

Each of the 24 Latin American and Southern European countries that enacted, regulated, and applied a provision of external voting, compose the case selection (Arrighi & Baübock, 2017; Escobar, 2017). I exclude microstates (with less than 100,000 inhabitants), such as Andorra and San Marino, as they could distort the results or at least imply a complex calibration of the variables. Table 1.2 shows the countries sampled by the most identifiable electoral rules, type of external voting, and year of implementation. As mentioned, Latin American countries are more likely to apply external voting for home districts and in-person voting, whereas Southern European countries are more likely to implement external voting in overseas districts and postal voting. Regarding the type of election, both the Latin American cluster and the Southern European group are approximately balanced: 14 of the 24 allow nonresident citizens to vote in a mono-level election(s), while the rest allow it in multiple-level elections (see more details in Chapter 3).

Table 1.2. Sample of Latin American and Southern European countries to research

Nonresident Citizens' Enfranchisement	Voting Method	Type(s) of Election (Years of Implementation)	
		Mono-level (Only National or Only Supranational)	Multi-level (National, Local and/or Supra-National)
Home District	In-person	Argentina (1993–2018) Bolivia (2009) Brazil (1989) Chile (2017) Colombia (1962–2002) Costa Rica (2014) Ecuador (2006–2007) Cyprus (2013) Greece (2019) Guatemala (2019) Honduras (2005) Venezuela (1999)	Paraguay (2013) Peru (1980–2020)
	Postal	El Salvador (2014) Panama (2007)	Spain (1978–2011)
	Mixed	Argentina (2019)**	Mexico (2006)* Spain (2011)** Slovenia (1997)**
Overseas District	In-Person	Dominican Republic (2012) North Macedonia (2009)	Colombia (2002) Croatia (1992–2015) Ecuador (2007–2020) Peru (2021)
	Postal	Italy (1984–2003)	Italy (2006)
	Mixed	Portugal (1975–1986)**	Croatia (2016)** Ecuador (2021)** Portugal (1987)**

Notes: (\*) postal and e-voting; (\*\*) in-person and postal; (\*\*\*) in-person, postal and e-voting.

As a research strategy, I employ a model-testing nested analysis (Lieberman, 2007).<sup>4</sup> This is a mixed-method research strategy combining a Large-N (statistical) analysis with a Small-N (in-depth) analysis. First, I will run statistical models to explain the external voting composition. Then, I will dive straight into the determinants and impacts of nonresident citizens' voter turnout in three cases: Chile, Ecuador, and Spain. A regression-based examination offers a broad picture of external voting comparing two regions: Latin America and Southern Europe (following King, Keohane & Verba [1994]). The diverse case-studies strategy, in turn, aims to complement previous (large-N) findings by analyzing in-depth an extensive set of causal-process observations, which characterize X and Y, or by default any other specific relation of X or Y (Seawright & Gerring, 2008).

<sup>4</sup> It is also known as a regression-based nested analysis (Rohlfing, 2008).

## **Large-N Component**

In the large-N component (Chapters 3 and 5), I will run regression analyses to answer the above-posed research question in a quantitative way. First, I expect to assess the influence of electoral rules and political institutions on nonresident citizens' voter turnout, controlling by sociodemographic variables. Second, I seek to evaluate four institutional-political effects, most of them previously explored by existing contributions in the field of migration studies and party politics, mainly using single case studies. By examining this unit of analysis from a comparative perspective, I will be able to obtain a snapshot of nonresident citizens' voter turnout and its institutional-political consequences in the homeland arena over time.

The data used to execute the regression-based analyses come from the official electoral, executive, and legislative institutions in every country in the sample (e.g., ministries of interior, national parliaments, and electoral commissions). Therefore, the information gathered stems from an aggregate level of analysis. I also use international sources, such as the UN and World Bank, to supplement the collection of empirical evidence, test the hypotheses in this dissertation and incorporate contextual variables evaluating the causes and consequences of nonresident citizens' voter turnout.

The variables and controls will be operationalized in Chapters 3 and 5, as well as the methods of analysis. As nonresident citizens' voter turnout depicts both dependent and exploratory variables in this dissertation, I will explain the nature and scope of each variable, along with the configuration of each method in the empirical part, prior to executing any statistical model.

## **Small-N Component**

Case studies offer a complementary perspective for analyzing this phenomenon and testing the hypotheses. As Van Evera highlights, "case studies can serve five main purposes: testing theories, creating theories, identifying antecedent conditions, and explaining cases of intrinsic importance" (1997, pp. 67–68). Small-N analysis may solve the problems associated with modeling interactions among the covariates of previous time-series analyses; potential complications presented by influential cases; difficulties related to model temporal autocorrelation in cross-sectional time-series datasets; and problems associated with identifying the causal mechanism(s) of nonresident citizens' voter turnout and/or the institutional-political effects on the homeland (following Gerring [2007]). I employ case studies to calibrate the weight of political variables and previous operationalization, resolve statistical difficulties associated with the previous large-N component,



and make room to formulate alternative hypotheses for the future research agenda. These three country cases have had different electoral trajectories, thus variegated outcomes (see Chapters 4 and 6).

External voting in Chile occurs at the national level. Nonresident Chileans can participate in the presidential<sup>5</sup> and national referendum (Law 20.748). The law was enacted in 2014 and ratified by former President Michelle Bachelet in 2015. Nonresident Chileans need to register periodically and vote at the consulate or other designated polling stations. After a provisional count, overseas ballots are sent to Chile for the final count and aggregation as a special home district (i.e., Chileans residing abroad).

Ecuador has a similar provision for external voting. Notwithstanding, it is the only case worldwide that has an over-representation of emigrants in relation to its origin-country legislative representation (Collyer, 2014b) and an almost proportional representation as compared to the domestic district magnitude (Palop-García, 2018). This case has medium-high turnout rates and a specific electoral rule that allows creating political organizations from abroad (Umpierrez de Reguero *et al.*, 2019). Ecuadorians registered abroad can swing electoral preferences, since their electoral weight is higher than 14 out of 24 Ecuadorian provinces (Ramírez Gallegos, 2018). However, so far external voting has not significantly altered any Ecuadorian election (Umpierrez de Reguero & Dandoy, 2020).

Although Spaniards abroad represent 4 to 5% of the total electorate in Spain, external voting in national-level elections has a similar pattern as Ecuador. However, the trans-local nexus (between nonresident Spaniards and homeland local governments) is quite remarkable (e.g., Galicians residing in Argentina). Since the democratic transition in the mid-1980s, nonresident Spaniards have been able to vote in elections at local and regional levels without electoral registration since the democratic transition in the mid-1980s (Lugilde Pardo, 2010; Rodríguez, 2013). Regardless, the Spanish government approved an electoral reform in 2011 to include a restrictive form of electoral registration (*begged vote*) under which nonresident Spaniards must register before each election, and a reversal policy eliminating emigrant local-level voting rights (Østergaard-Nielsen & Ciornei, 2019b; Vintila *et al.*, forthcoming).

In Chile, Ecuador, and Spain, I conducted 50 semi-structured interviews with emigrant representatives, party members and activists, migrant civil association leaders, as well as public servants (see Section Interviews in the Appendix). I considered the saturation criterion to select the number of interviews. As this data collection technique was utilized after the large-N

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<sup>5</sup> Primaries, presidential first-round, and ballotage.

component, it provided a wider-ranging understanding of the political-cultural context of each country's case electoral system and emigration trajectory. They offered new evidence and insights on the phenomenon under study, particularly sequences and adequate weights of the explanatory factors per effect. Additionally, interviews were useful to discuss several adjustments, possibly the product of ignoring confounders and alternative hypotheses in the cross-sectional time-series analyses.

## **Outline of the Chapters**

In what follows, I examine nonresident citizens' voter turnout in six chapters along with a full-length conclusion. In Chapter 1, I briefly outline the normative and empirical discussion on emigrant enfranchisement as a prerequisite for nonresident citizens' voter turnout. This chapter is the first component of my theoretical framework. It revises the existing literature on the causes of extending voting rights as a multi-stage process. More precisely, I first discuss the nexus between external voting rights and democratic theory. Second, I describe what some preceding studies coined as 'no representation without taxation' (e.g., Hartmann, 2015; Kernalegenn & Van Haute, 2020; Klekowski von Koppelfels, 2020) or the economic factor of external voting rights. Third, I explore the role of international norms and diffusion in explaining emigrant enfranchisement. Finally, I connect the role of political elites with emigrant enfranchisement.

In Chapter 2, I conceptualize and discuss the causes and consequences of nonresident citizens' voter turnout. This chapter is the second and last component of my theoretical framework, where I posit the hypotheses of this dissertation. To theoretically explain the electoral participation of citizens living abroad, I unfold the discussion of the causes of nonresident citizens' voter turnout into five different approaches, largely connected with the mainstream electoral studies: institutional, political, sociodemographic, economic, and cultural. Since the number of effects to evaluate the electoral participation of emigrants and their descendants can be as many as the number of elections in a liberal democratic regime, I pay close attention to the institutional-political effects of external voting on homeland politics. Consequently, I pose four effects of nonresident citizens' voter turnout to analyze in the following chapters: swing, interregnum, feedback, and incumbency effects.

In Chapter 3, I run several regression models to explain nonresident citizens' voter turnout. This is the first chapter of my empirical component. It is structured in three sections associated with the way I formulated my hypotheses on the causes of the electoral participation of citizens living abroad. The first relates to the institutional model of voter turnout. The second illustrates

an iteration between the institutional and political approaches to explain voter turnout. The third discusses the main results, connecting other theoretical approaches to the institutional-political explanation of nonresident citizens' voter turnout. As with every statistical endeavor, I start by describing the data and method in each section, namely the information sources, the operationalization of the variables, and the method(s) to analyze the data gathered. Then, I present and discuss the results.

In Chapter 4, the quantitative findings are further explored in a small-N analysis. By employing the country cases of Chile, Ecuador, and Spain, I refine the theoretical argument of the institutional-political model as well as bring together new insights to nuance the different degrees of the electoral participation of emigrants and their descendants. To do so, I use official documents, interviews with key actors, and electoral results. Similar to the previous chapter, first I focus on the institutional settings of nonresident citizens' voter turnout in Chile, Ecuador, and Spain. Second, I apply an existing typology (Burgess, 2018), with minor amendments, providing new understandings of the strategic role of state-led versus party-led outreach. Third, I compare the electoral results in different types of elections, either domestic or overseas, per country case.

In Chapter 5, I run multiple regression models to explain the institutional-political effects of nonresident citizens' voter turnout. It is structured in different sections related to the order in which I formulated my hypotheses on the impacts of the electoral participation of citizens living abroad. The first is associated with the distribution of electoral preferences between the domestic and overseas arenas of participation. The second measures the swing and interregnum effect. The third section, in turn, tests the connection between incumbents and nonresident citizens' voter turnout. Lastly, I finish this chapter by evaluating the strategic entry of political parties in overseas districts. As in Chapter 3, I start by describing the data and method in each section, before presenting and discussing the results.

In Chapter 6, I delve into the institutional-political impacts of nonresident citizens' voter turnout, which were previously identified in this dissertation. Here, I utilize different types and sources of data with emphasis on official documents, semi-structured interviews with key actors of external voting provisions, and electoral results of Chile, Ecuador, Spain, and Venezuela. While the three first country cases follow the guidelines proposed in the small-N methodological approach of this dissertation (see the previous section), I add Venezuela to replace Chile when addressing the incumbency effects given the nature and evolution of Venezuelan external voting *vis-à-vis* the lack of within-country variation or large expertise of Chile in the implementation of emigrant enfranchisement. The main goal of Chapter 6, thus, is to illustrate different pathways and mechanisms of nonresident citizens' political behavior. To do so, I introduce an analytical model

of different pathways (e.g., towards liberalization, oscillating, and towards restrictiveness) that countries may pursue while holding external voting rights over time. Then, I apply swing and interregnum effects using this analytical model of routes in Chile, Ecuador, and Spain. Lastly, I outline mechanisms for the connection of nonresident citizens' voter turnout with party politics, particularly the role of the incumbent.