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External Voting for the Diaspora of Chile and Costa Rica

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Prepared for presentation at the Western Political Science Association Conference

San Diego, California, April 18 - 20, 2019

Abstract

That citizens living outside of their country have the right to vote has become widely accepted, though exactly what that right entails is less established. Most Latin American countries have officially adopted external voting (or diaspora voting) for their citizens; implementation varies. This paper focuses on the process of adoption and implementation of external voting in two countries: Chile and Costa Rica. Both countries have had long (albeit different) democratic histories and both adopted external voting at a similar time. Costa Rican citizens could first vote abroad in 2014, Chilean citizens in 2017. Additionally, both countries have had similar procedures, including requiring in-person voting at home and abroad, which complicates voting for a widespread diaspora. However, the process of extending this right for Chileans was long and politically contentious, but not in Costa Rica, where the electoral participation of “Ticos” abroad has been encouraged and celebrated. The Chilean and Costa Rican experiences help illuminate the role of common explanations for external voting such as partisan domestic politics and the diffusion of international norms.

Introduction

The genesis for this paper came in February and March of 2018 while engaging in two seemingly separate activities: being in Costa Rica at the time of the 2018 presidential and legislative elections, and reading past legislative debates about ending compulsory voting in Chile. The Costa Rican media presented notable and positive portrayals of “Ticos” voting abroad.¹ Legislative debates in Chile offered a stark contrast. Ending a system of compulsory voting and adopting automatic registration coincided with continued disagreement about external voting: would Chileans living abroad be considered automatically registered?² The acrimony over the issue clearly presented itself in the legislative debate. Thus, while citizens of Costa Rica and Chile who live abroad received the right to vote at roughly the same time (2014 and 2017, respectively), the process and reaction differed significantly. This paper explores how Chile and Costa Rica implemented external voting.

While Costa Rica and Chile share some characteristics and implemented external voting at roughly the same time, they differ substantially. One difference is size. Chile’s population tops 18 million, while Costa Rica’s is less than a third of that (nearly 5 million).³ A larger percentage of Costa Rica’s population resides abroad, and remittances form a larger percentage of Costa Rica’s GDP than Chile.⁴ Both have had long histories of stable democratic government.

However, Costa Rica has been democratic since the 1948 civil war which, among other things,

¹ For example: “Ni el frío ni la distancia frenaron a miles de ticos en el extranjero (“Neither cold nor distance stopped thousands of Ticos from voting abroad”),” *La Nación* 16A. “Tico” is a popular nickname for Costa Ricans.

² Passage of Law 20.337 made voluntary in 2009, though the language stipulated that voluntary voting would only go into effect after implementation of a law establishing automatic registration. This law, Law 20.568, went into effect in January 2012. The first elections with automatic registration and voluntary voting were the municipal elections of 2012.

³ World Bank population indicators for 2017.

⁴ Kimberly Beaton, et al. “Migration and Remittances in Latin America and the Caribbean: Engines of Growth and Macroeconomic Stability?” *IMF Working Paper WP/17/144*, 2017.

saw the abolishment of its military. Chile's long-term democracy ended with the 1973 military coup and brutal Pinochet regime. Its consequences continue to be felt long after the transition to civilian government in 1990.

External or Diaspora Voting

The ability of people to vote abroad while living outside of their country of citizenship has been variously called external or diaspora voting. This paper focuses on the process of voting rather than other aspects of citizenship. Boccagni, Lafleur, and Levitt place external voting in the context of increasingly transnational norms.⁵ Jean-Michel Lafleur describes an expansive view: “not only an electoral procedure that allows some citizens to cast their vote outside the national territory but also as an acknowledgement that an emigrant status is compatible with polity membership.”⁶ With respect to the process of external voting, in principle the process can include voting in person in locations outside of the country, “postal voting, online voting, or even a proxy vote” as delineated by Erlingsson and Tuman.⁷ A key factor is that countries' laws recognize the right of citizens living abroad to cast votes in elections

While some countries have allowed citizens to vote abroad for decades, an increasing number have explicitly expanded this right to vote.⁸ Table 1 offers a partial view of adoption of external voting in Latin America. Half of the former Spanish- or Portuguese- colonies with

⁵ Paolo Boccagni, Jean-Michel Lafleur and Peggy Levitt, “Transnational Politics as Cultural Circulation: Toward a Conceptual Understanding of Migrant Political Participation on the Move,” *Mobilities* 11, no. 3 (2016): 444-463.

⁶ Jean-Michel Lafleur, “Why do states enfranchise citizens abroad? Comparative insights from Mexico, Italy and Belgium,” *Global Networks* 11, no. 4 (2011): 481; see also Jean-Michel Lafleur, *Transnational Politics and the State: The External Voting Rights of Diasporas* New York: Routledge, 2013.

⁷ Hafthor Erlingsson and John P. Tuman, “External Voting rights in Latin America and the Caribbean: The Influence of Remittances, Globalization, and Partisan Control,” *Latin American Policy* 8, no. 2 (2017): 301.

⁸ An oft-cited figure from 2007 reports 115 countries allowing voting abroad. Michael Collyer and Zana Vathi, “Patterns of Extra-territorial Voting,” *Working Paper T22*, Sussex: Development Centre for Migration, Globalisation and Poverty, 2007; “Voting from Abroad,” *The International IDEA Handbook*, Mexico, DF: National Electoral Institute and IDEA, 2007.

elections legalized external voting since 2000. Not all have effectively implemented the practice.⁹ Of those who have provided mechanisms by which citizens can vote, difficult procedures can hinder effective exercise of this right. Paarlberg describes difficult procedures that restrict Mexican citizens' ability to vote abroad.¹⁰

Why countries have implemented external voting – or not – remains an area of research attention. The issue raises normative issues in general, and opponents resort to normative reasons when arguing against extending suffrage. Many hold the view that citizens living outside of their country should not participate in domestic elections, being too removed from domestic politics and unlikely to be subject to the effects of their choices. Rather, according to this view, only citizens living in the country should participate in elections. Furthermore, “external voters may lack the information necessary to make a sound decision on the day of elections and the responsibility to exercise the choice wisely, since they would not be directly affected by the consequences of their vote.”¹¹

This sentiment has propelled not only opposition to external voting but also limits it when implemented. For example, a position of some Chilean legislators was to require some sort of ties or links (“vínculos”) demonstrating that citizens living abroad were sufficiently connected to domestic Chilean concerns. Chilean political scientist Carolina Infante voiced this opinion in an interview with *El Mercurio*, “The vote...has to be free, voluntary and informed. If there are no ties with Chile, how informed are they to decide about policies that affect the people who do live

⁹ Nicaragua, as one example, apparently could legally implement external voting according to its electoral law, but has yet to do so. <https://www.idea.int/data-tools/country-view/232/52>

¹⁰ Michael Ahn Paarlberg, “Transnational Militancy: Diaspora Influence over Electoral Activity in Latin America,” *Comparative Politics* 49, no 4 (July 2017): 544.

¹¹ Michael Collyer and Zana Vathi, “Patterns of Extra-territorial Voting,” *Working Paper T22*, Sussex: Development Centre for Migration, Globalisation and Poverty, 2007; “Voting from Abroad,” *The International IDEA Handbook*, Mexico, DF: National Electoral Institute and IDEA, 2007, page 6.

in the country?”¹² On the other hand, citizens living abroad may be as motivated as any other to become better informed if they are going to vote. One Costa Rican student living in Australia told *La Nación* that, “I think that we, even being outside of the country, are looking for having a greater consciousness about the importance of exercising the right to vote and how much it concerns us, not only directly, but also for our families in Costa Rica.”¹³

The development of transnational norms about external voting can shape these perceptions about external voting and increase the likelihood that citizens abroad will be included as voters in domestic elections. Other common explanations for adoption of external voting involve: remittances, whether economic or “social”; neighborhood effects, and partisan control of the legislative process.¹⁴ Erlingsson and Tuman exemplify a focus on the economic aspect of remittances by examining remittance flows as a percent of a country’s GDP, thus measuring the economic clout migrants might have. In writing about Italy, Lafleur notes that Italian migrants abroad were “betting on the authorities’ fears of losing the economic benefits associated with the Italian population abroad.”¹⁵ However, Erlingsson and Tuman do not expect this to be a linear relationship. While significant remittances could increase motivation to enfranchise migrants, where they “reach high levels, government may view the diaspora community as too powerful, leading to efforts to restrict emigrants’ political influence.”¹⁶

¹² Mariela Herrera Muzio, “El verdadero perfil de los chilenos que viven en el extranjero.” *El Mercurio*. 22 March 2009

¹³ “Dudas y entusiasmo rondan a votantes ticos en el exterior (Doubts and enthusiasm surrounds Tico voters abroad),” *La Nación* 29 January 2018, 4A. The quote in Spanish: “Creo que las personas, aun estando fuera del país, estamos buscando tener más conciencia sobre la importancia de ejercer el derecho al voto y lo mucho que nos concierne, no solo directamente, sino también a nuestras familias en Costa Rica” (Karen Maroto, student in Australia).

¹⁴ Paarlberg discusses “diffusion of political values from migrants to their relatives as ‘social remittances,’” 544.

¹⁵ Jean-Michel Lafleur, *Transnational Politics and the State: The External Voting Rights of Diasporas* New York: Routledge, 2013, 86.

¹⁶ Hafthor Erlingsson and John P. Tuman, “External Voting rights in Latin America and the Caribbean: The Influence of Remittances, Globalization, and Partisan Control,” *Latin American Policy* 8, no. 2 (2017): 302-3.

The effect of neighbors adopting external voting presents another possible explanation for the timing of external voting laws. Erlingsson and Tuman do not find support for this variable.¹⁷ However, as seen below, the spread of external voting was invoked during deliberations in both Costa Rica and Chile.

Another major explanation is partisan politics, whether because of ideological predilections or practical electoral calculations. Erlingsson and Tuman hypothesize, and find some support for, the contention that leftist parties are more likely to promote external voting. This could be in part to compensate exiles who had to flee past military regimes.¹⁸ However, any increase in suffrage can lead to changes in electoral results. Whether or not citizens living abroad will have a significant effect on electoral outcomes depends on the particulars of the case. Paarlberg, interviewing officials from Mexico, El Salvador, and the Dominican Republic, found that politicians overwhelmingly thought that citizens abroad were crucial to winning elections, though not to win their votes directly “but rather to win the votes of those migrants’ relatives in the sending country.”¹⁹ Part of the reason that the migrants are unlikely to have a large effect is that representatives ensured low turnout through difficult registration and voting procedures – included on purpose to reduce the uncertainty posed by incorporating these voters.²⁰ On the other hand, the Hungarian government of Viktor Orban aggressively sought to grant citizenship to ethnic Hungarians living outside of the country, and with citizenship came voting rights. In the

¹⁷ Erlingsson and Tuman, 308.

¹⁸ Erlingsson and Tuman, 307.

¹⁹ Michael Ahn Paarlberg, “Transnational Militancy: Diaspora Influence over Electoral Activity in Latin America,” *Comparative Politics* 49, no 4 (July 2017): 541-559.

²⁰ Michael Ahn Paarlberg, “Transnational Militancy: Diaspora Influence over Electoral Activity in Latin America,” *Comparative Politics* 49, no 4 (July 2017): 545-546. Among these procedures include having a short timeframe for registering, requiring paperwork that is difficult to procure (such as proof of citizenship or travel to their home country). See footnote 21 for specifics about the difficulties for Mexican citizens.

2014 elections, 128,000 ethnic Hungarians living abroad voted, nearly all of them (95%) for Orban's party alliance of Orban (Fidesz-KDNP).²¹

Partisan considerations played a role in the deliberations to adopt external voting for Chilean citizens. In Costa Rica, the adoption of external voting fell largely outside the scope of partisan politics.

Elections and External Voting in Costa Rica

Costa Ricans celebrate elections as a “fiesta cívica” or “civic party.” In 2014 this party included Costa Ricans living abroad for the first time. This was also the first election in which the national elections were separated from local elections.²² The media includes extensive information about the elections. In the lead-up to the 2018 elections, multiple debates were held, with varying formats to incorporate 13 presidential candidates. News media reported widely on the issues and repeatedly informed citizens of election rules. Just one example was the rule that taking a picture in the polling place would result in annulment of one's vote.²³ The National Library (Biblioteca Nacional) in San José held an exhibit Nuestrós Procesos Electorales (1948-2016)” or “Our Electoral Processes,” celebrating the evolution of the voting process and voting rights. “²⁴

²¹ Gabriella Ilonszki, and Réka Várnagy. “Parliamentary Elections in Hungary, 2014.” *Electoral Studies* 43 (2016): 170.

²² Frajman, Eduardo. “The General Election in Costa Rica, February/April 2014.” *Electoral Studies* 35 (2014): 61-66.

²³ For example: Monserrath Varga L., “Sacar celular o cámara en las urnas pone en riesgo su voto,” *La Nación* 2 February 2018, p. 16A.

²⁴ Nuestrós procesos electorales (1948-2016)” (Our electoral processes [1948-2016]),” sponsored by the TSE (Supreme Election Tribunal, Tribunal Supremo de Elecciones) in the National Library (Biblioteca Nacional); TSE website: <http://www.tse.go.cr/>

Citizens in Costa Rica are automatically registered to vote and use their identity card to prove their right to vote. Costa Ricans vote in person whether in the country or abroad; there are no “absentee” ballots.²⁵ This posed a potential problem in 2014 for Costa Ricans living in the country who wanted to go on vacation during the Easter break: the constitution specifies that the second round of the presidential be held on the first Sunday of April, which turned out to be Easter Sunday in 2018.²⁶ This fed concerns about low turnout. One measure taken was to mandate traffic flow in one direction on the Easter Sunday election day: all lanes of the major highway were to accommodate traffic heading inland from the coast so voters could arrive in time to cast their votes.

Major news sources reported on “Ticos” voting abroad: where they lived, how many, and how they voted. News stories featured interviews with voters as well as many statistics. The reported widely on the first Costa Rican to vote in the election, who voted in Australia long before everyone else because of the time difference.²⁷

The Costa Rican electorate who registered for voting abroad in 2014 totaled 12,564, while that number grew to 31,864 in 2018.²⁸ These voters lived in in 42 different countries, requiring 70 polling places and travel by officials from the TSE (Supreme Electoral Tribunal).²⁹ Over two-thirds of the external electorate lived in the United States. Difficulties in reaching voter

²⁵ Thus, people in prison vote at centers in the prisons. Sofia Chinchilla C., “Casi 10.000 reos podrán votar en las cárceles (“Almost 10,000 prisoners will be able to vote in jails”),” *La Nación* 29 December 2018 (online, accessed 30 December 2018).

²⁶ The first round of the presidential elections, and the legislative elections, are held the first Sunday of February. If no candidate receives at least 40% of the vote, a second round is held on the first Sunday of April.

²⁷ For example: “Hereditano en Australia fue el primer tico en votar (Man from Heredia in Australia is first Tico to vote),” *La Nación* 4 February 2018, 8A.

²⁸ “Dudas y entusiasmo rondan a votantes ticos en el exterior (Doubts and enthusiasm surrounds Tico voters abroad),” *La Nación* 29 January 2018, 4A.

²⁹ Gabriel Ledezma, “Así votarán lo ticos fuera de nuestras fronteras (And so how Ticos outside of our borders Will vote),” *La Nación* 29 January 2018, 5^a; Alexander Sánchez, “Funcionarios del Tribunal vuelan en clase turista” (“Tribunal officials will fly tourist class”) *La Nación* 29 January 2018, 5A.

centers so that they could vote in person helps account for the turnout of about 22% by Costa Ricans voting abroad in 2014.³⁰ In comparison, 62% of Costa Ricans turned out overall for the first round of 2014 elections in February 2014, though turnout in the second round was a record-breaking *low* of 57%.³¹

Ticos in the U.S. had to travel to vote in one of seven locations: Atlanta, Chicago, Houston, Los Angeles, Miami, Washington, or New York.³² A Costa Rican diplomat described how someone living in Boston in 2018 would have to travel to Manhattan, giving up a day's wages and paying for transportation. (He recommended being more strategic about the placement of polling places.)³³

Costa Rican election norms were already inclusive, though Ticos abroad had to return home to vote until 2014. According to Vanessa Bravo, external voting in Costa Rica was instigated primarily by the Tribunal Supremo Electoral (TSE or Supreme Electoral Court). The TSE in Costa Rica is an independent branch of the government which oversees and implements elections, while also interpreting the law regarding elections. It has a strong reputation as a neutral authority.³⁴ Of note is that the TSE wanted “to keep up with international trends, given that 10 countries in Latin America, at the time, already were offering absentee vote to the

³⁰ “Dudas y entusiasmo rondan a votantes ticos en el exterior (Doubts and enthusiasm surrounds Tico voters abroad),” *La Nación* 29 January 2018, 4A.

³¹ Carlos Fonseca and Armando Mayorga, “Los números de la elección” (the numbers of the election), *La Nación* 4 February 2018, 9A. Turnout in the first round of 2018 also reached a low. “Armando Mayorga, “Abstencionismo sería de los más altos en últimos 65 años (Abstentionism will be the highest in the last 65 years,” *La Nación* 5 February 2018, 12A.

³² “Dudas y entusiasmo rondan a votantes ticos en el exterior (Doubts and enthusiasm surrounds Tico voters abroad),” *La Nación* 29 January 2018, 4A.

³³ Eduardo Salgado Retana, “El voto costarricense en el extranjero y la participación del cuerpo consular,” *Derecho Electoral*, No. 26 (Segundo Semestre 2018), 136. http://www.tse.go.cr/revista/art/26/salgado_retana.pdf

³⁴ One example of its ruling on procedures: the TSE interpreted the electoral code on gender parity to require parties not only alternate men and women on their party lists (“vertical parity”), but also alternate who heads the list by district (“horizontal parity”). Gerardo Ruiz R., “TSE obligue a partidos a respetar paridad de género en primeros lugares de listas de diputados” (“TSE requires parties to respect gender parity in first spots on list of deputies”), *La Nación* 23 May 2016 (online, accessed 8 February 2018).

diaspora.”³⁵ As reported in the TSE’s publication, *Derecho Electoral* or Election Law, the objective of external voting is to “secure the political rights of those who live outside of their country” and to “increase political participation in order to generate confidence and security in the electoral process and in the democratic governments that those processes produce.”³⁶ Costa Ricans living abroad have to meet the same qualifications as those living in the country, and can vote for president, vice president, and for referenda.³⁷

Thus far, it appears that the TSE led the adoption of external voting in Costa Rica and that other factors such as partisan political considerations played little or no part in the process.

Chile

The shadow of the Pinochet regime weighed heavily on the topic of external voting in multiple ways. The authoritarian regime had created institutional safeguards to protect itself and its allies after leaving office. Partisan and ideological divisions remained. Legislators also had personal experiences which made the topic fraught.

Attempts at passing legislation enabling external voting for Chilean citizens began soon after the transition to democracy. In 1993, Boletín (bill) 1012-07 unsuccessfully sought to allow voter registration abroad and to guarantee the right to vote for citizens living abroad. Close to a dozen similar attempts followed. Twenty years later, a successful bill began its successful path through the Chilean legislature. Boletín 9069-07, introduced in August 2013, was promulgated on May 3, 2014 as Law 20.748; this changed the constitution to specifically allow voting by

³⁵ Vanessa Bravo, “Communicating external voting rights to diáspora communities. Challenges and opportunities in the cases of El Salvador and Costa Rica,” *Revista Internacional de relaciones públicas* 3, no. 5 (2013): 12. The use of the term “absentee vote” apparently refers to the right to vote away from home.

³⁶ Salgado Retana, 126.

³⁷ Salgado Retana, 127.

citizens residing abroad in presidential primaries and elections, and national plebiscites. This was followed by Boletín 10344, which became Law 20.960 of October 18, 2015.³⁸ This provided the mechanism for voting abroad. The first election Chileans abroad participated in was 2017. The legislative elections that year was also the first election since the Pinochet regime to use proportional representation for legislative elections, an increase in legislative seats, and use of gender quotas.

Negotiations over changing the post-Pinochet institutions took place primarily between two major party coalitions. In the first two decades after the transition, most parties of the left and center-left joined the *Concertación por la democracia* (Coalition of Parties for Democracy, hereafter *Concertación*): the Christian Democratic Party (PDC, *Partido Demócrata Cristiano*), the Socialist Party (PS, *Partido Socialista de Chile*), the Party for Democracy (PPD, *Partido por la Democracia*), and the Radical Social Democrat Party (PRSD, *Partido Radical Socialdemócrata*). The conservative parties, National Renewal (RN, *Renovación Nacional*) and Independent Democratic Union (UDI, *Unión Demócrata Independiente*), joined together in the *Alianza por Chile* (Alliance for Chile, hereafter *Alianza*).

The more conservative elements consistently opposed external voting, while leftists pushed for it. The right-wing UDI party opposed voting by Chilean exiles, “from beginning to end” according to Senator Isabel Allende (Socialist Party), for what she labeled as “mere political calculation.”³⁹ Senator Allende also felt she had to refer to her own experience: “that for 16 years I was exiled.”⁴⁰

³⁸ Chilean bills and laws found on the Chilean congress website, searching by “boletín” number at www.camara.cl

³⁹ See also Erlingsson and Tuman for opposition by the UDI. The quote is “desde el primer día hasta el último” found in the official record (Diario del Senado, Leg. 359, Ses. 13) of the debate on bill 7335, May 3, 2011, page 64. Senator Isabel Allende Bussi is the daughter of former President Salvador Allende, not the novelist.

⁴⁰ Diario del Senado, Leg. 359, Session. 13, May 3, 2011, page 65.

When citizens left Chile, and why they left, were relevant to the partisan calculations, particularly whether they had left during the Pinochet regime or later. In 2005, a survey by the Foreign Ministry (Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores and INE) found that 857,781 Chileans were living abroad. Less than 15% reported living abroad because of political reasons. About 40%, cited economic reasons. Furthermore, about 35% had left Chile in the 1970s and 1980s, while just over 25% had left after the return of democracy.⁴¹ The journalist reporting these figures concluded that “While the Alianza thinks that the vote of residents in other latitudes is favorable for the Concertación – and insists that those who live abroad have recent ties with Chile – the officialdom [the Concertación government of Michelle Bachelet] bets that those voters can enlarge their electorate.”⁴² The number of registered voters in 2005 was 8.2 million, and the votes cast in the 2005 presidential election was 7.2 million. The winner of the second round -- Michelle Bachelet – won 486,625 more votes than her opponent, Sebastián Piñera.⁴³ Although not all citizens abroad would be old enough to vote, the numbers do indicate that they could affect the outcome of an election.

Norms and neighborhood effects also played a role in arguments in favor of external voting. Senator Allende cited the figure that 115 countries worldwide allowed citizens living abroad to vote, and that only Chile and Uruguay in South America did not have similar provisions.⁴⁴ She pointed out that “Peruvians, Colombians, Venezuelans, Mexicans, Brazilians, Argentines, exercise their right to vote in Chile,” while “all of the member countries of the

⁴¹ Mariela Herrera Muzio, “El verdadero perfil de los chilenos que viven en el extranjero.” *El Mercurio*. 22 March 2009

⁴² Mariela Herrera Muzio, “El verdadero perfil de los chilenos que viven en el extranjero.” *El Mercurio*. 22 March 2009

⁴³ Election data from Election Guide www.electionguide.org

⁴⁴ Record of legislative debate, Boletín 7335 on May 3, 2011.

OECD, without exception, offer their nationals residing abroad the right to vote.”⁴⁵ A 2008 survey found that 62% of those asked thought that Chileans abroad should be able to vote.⁴⁶

Conservatives thought that citizens abroad should have some sort of link or “vínculo” with Chile in order to vote. Senator Alberto Espina Otero (RN) spoke of the compromises made by the government of President Sebastián Piñera (2010-2014)⁴⁷: initially the proposed “vínculo” had been for citizens to have resided in Chile for at least five months in the past eight years. This proposal had been reduced to one visit in the last five years. He also pointed out that countries such as the United Kingdom and New Zealand place limits on external voting.⁴⁸

Chilean living abroad could vote for the first time in the 2017 presidential primary elections.⁴⁹ Citizens living abroad can vote in national plebiscites, presidential primaries, and presidential elections. As in Costa Rica, Chileans have to vote in person at consulates; in 2017 Chileans could vote in 62 countries.⁵⁰ Nearly 60% of the Chileans voting in the first round of the 2017 presidential race chose one of the two major candidates, with conservative RN candidate (and former president) Piñera edging out Alejandro Guillier by 654 votes. A total of 13,792 citizens voted from abroad.⁵¹

⁴⁵ Diario del Senado, Leg. 359, Session. 13, May 3, 2011, page 69-70.

⁴⁶ Centro de Estudios Públicos (CEP). 2008. “Estudio Nacional Sobre Partidos Políticos y Sistema Electoral: Marzo-Abril 2008.” https://www.cepchile.cl/cep/site/artic/20160304/asocfile/20160304094445/Enc_Partidos-Politicos_Mar-Abr2008.pdf

⁴⁷ Piñera served his first term 2010-2014 and was reelected and resumed the presidency in 2018. Chilean presidents cannot serve consecutive terms.

⁴⁸ Diario del Senado, Leg. 359, Session. 13, May 3, 2011, pages 75-76.

⁴⁹ Chile’s official election agency, Servel, or Servicio Electoral de Chile, provides information about voting abroad: <https://www.servel.cl/voto-de-chilenos-en-el-exterior-2/>

⁵⁰ “Voto chileno en el exterior en segunda vuelta: revisa los resultados país por país” (17 December 2017) <http://www.t13.cl/noticia/politica/voto-chileno-en-el-exterior-en-segunda-vuelta-revisa-los-resultados-guillier-pinera>

⁵¹ “Voto chileno en el exterior en segunda vuelta: revisa los resultados país por país” (17 December 2017) <http://www.t13.cl/noticia/politica/voto-chileno-en-el-exterior-en-segunda-vuelta-revisa-los-resultados-guillier-pinera>

Conclusion

This brief exploration of external voting in Chile and Costa Rica describes a few aspects they share in common and highlights the differences between them. Obviously, much more needs to be done. In both countries, circumstantial evidence points to the influence of norms and neighborhood effects. Partisan politics played a large role in Chile. Unlike in Costa Rica, the legacy of an authoritarian regime continued to provide an inauspicious context for expanding suffrage to citizens abroad.

Table 1: Implementation of Diaspora or External Voting in Latin America			
Country	Diaspora/external Voting Implemented*	1st election	Additional Info and Sources
Argentina	1991		1991 Law 24007, 1993 decree to implement **
Bolivia	2009		1984 electoral code allowed external vote for prs and VP, but not implemented until 2008 constitution and 2009 electoral law **
Brazil	1965	1989	**
Chile	2014	2017	
Colombia	1961	1962	further changes**
Costa Rica	2013	2014	law was 2009 (Ley 8765)**
Cuba	---		
Dominican Republic	1997	2004	1997 law 275-97; 2011 vote for representatives**
Ecuador	2002	2006	**
El Salvador	2013		2013: for presidential elections; 2016 Supreme Court extended to legislative elections***
Guatemala	--		IDEA: https://www.idea.int/data-tools/country-view/118/52
Haiti	---		
Honduras	2001		1979**
Mexico	2005		
Nicaragua	---		Legally possible but not implemented (IDEA https://www.idea.int/data-tools/country-view/232/52)
Panama	2006		
Paraguay	2012		
Peru	1979		
Uruguay	no		IDEA: https://www.idea.int/data-tools/country-view/296/52
Venezuela	1993		

*Carlos Navarro Fierro, et al. "Electoral Studies in Compared International Perspective: Voting from Abroad in 18 Latin American Countries" Mexico, DF: National Electoral Institute, May 2016: Table 1, page 16; **Rachel Glickhouse and Mark Keller, "Explainer: Expatriate Voting Laws in Latin America" (May 10, 2012) Americas Society and Council of the Americas <https://www.as-coa.org/articles/explainer-expatriate-voting-laws-latin-america> ; ***Elections in El Salvador, 2019 Presidential Election: Frequently Asked Questions (International Foundation for Electoral Systems, January 28, 2019. https://www.ifes.org/sites/default/files/2019_ifes_el_salvador_presidential_election_faqs_final.pdf