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Patterns of Extra-territorial Voting

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Introduction

The relationship with the state changes when citizens leave the territory of their home state. They interact with state institutions very differently and they are likely to lose certain benefits, particularly if their absence is prolonged. Yet the rights of migrants who make their permanent home outside the boundaries of the origin state are continually under review. Where states see an interest in maintaining contact with emigrant populations a whole range of citizenship rights can be extended to them. Forms of extra-territorial citizenship have become increasingly common in recent years, facilitated by improved communications and transportation technologies and motivated by the growing awareness of the financial power of emigrants. Examples of social and cultural extension programmes involving religious provision or language training are widespread, particularly for states with significant emigrant populations. Economic policies to extract the maximum benefit from migrant remittances are continually being developed and tax incentives to encourage financial transfers are increasingly common. Extending the right of political participation to non-resident citizens, in the form of voting, or even standing for elections as a candidate, are perhaps the most controversial of extra-territorial citizenship measures. This paper reports on a global survey of emigrant voting. It provides evidence that, despite the political philosophical arguments for or against the practice which continue, expatriate voting has a long history, exists in various forms and is becoming more common.

Cultural, social or economic programmes in favour of emigrants are relatively straightforward and raise little controversy. Principled arguments against them are rare. In contrast, enfranchising emigrants touches on one of the central rights of citizenship and raises questions of a political philosophical nature. Extending the right to select government to people who are not subject to all the decisions of that government by virtue of having their permanent home abroad, and in some cases acquisition of other nationalities, often raises considerable opposition. On the other hand, denying citizens the right to vote is widely interpreted as denying them full citizenship and therefore challenging their identity as members of the national community. Most recently, the April 2006 Italian elections marked the culmination of a 30-year campaign to provide representation for emigrants by allowing them to vote for their own representatives in both chambers of the Italian Parliament. The result of that election hung in the balance while the votes of emigrants were counted. Berlusconi challenged his defeat by

questioning the legitimacy of emigrants' votes, which only further fuelled the controversy surrounding the enfranchisement of emigrants.

The involvement of emigrants in elections is certainly not limited to functioning liberal democracies. In November 2005 the King of Morocco announced that emigrants would be able to participate in the 2007 Moroccan elections, the result of years of intense campaigning for the enfranchisement of Moroccan emigrants. This reveals the symbolic importance of enfranchisement as, despite very real progress towards democracy, Morocco is still essentially an absolute monarchy and no major decisions are taken without the involvement of the King.

There is nothing new about the political significance of emigrants; many states owe their independent existence to the political and military influence of emigrants, and many others are continually under pressure from emigrant organisations through a variety of channels, legitimate or otherwise. The large literature on the transnational political connections contains a number of references to emigrants' political engagement. However, transnational relations have always been understood as relations across international borders that do not involve states. Since enfranchisement of emigrants necessarily involves state institutions, participation in elections is not, under this definition, a transnational act in the way that other political activities of emigrants may be. Yet broadening extra-territorial citizenship by extending membership of the political institutions of the state to emigrants is an important technique of transnational governmentality (Collyer 2006). By granting emigrants certain rights, governments are entitled to expect more in return. Enfranchising emigrants is often part of a broader range of diaspora policies, which are particularly difficult to separate from the transnational activities of migrants.

The literature on the enfranchisement of emigrants is extremely small. This is surprising, given the tremendous variety in policies governing emigrant voting. In contrast, discussions of the political participation of non-citizen residents are widespread, even though there are only a handful of polities in the world that allow non-citizens to vote in national elections, and then only under extremely restricted circumstances. One of the reasons for this lack of attention is the widespread under-estimation of the significance of emigrant enfranchisement in the literature. This paper reports on a global survey providing data from 144 countries, the largest survey of systems of emigrant voting ever undertaken¹. This data indicates that, in contrast to non-citizen

¹ International IDEA's forthcoming publication on external voting (see IDEA 2006) will also contribute to this area, but it has been pending for some time and at the time of writing, July 2007, was not publicly available.

residents, non-resident citizens are commonly enfranchised in one way or another. The following section reviews the literature on the political participation of emigrants, highlighting patterns that emerge from the various studies conducted to date. On this basis, three separate systems of emigrant participation are identified as a basis for classification, discussed in the following section which explores the survey methodology. The third section goes on to present the results, which are mapped and analysed using data from the Global Migration Database, developed at the University of Sussex, to highlight patterns associated with voting systems. The final section concludes that, despite arguments for or against it, enfranchisement of emigrants is a developing trend.

Theoretical Perspectives on Extra-territorial Voting

External voting is increasingly significant, yet it continues to raise controversy and disagreements. Wucker (2004) cites George Bancroft (1849) that 'a nation should as soon tolerate a man with two wives as a man with two countries'. The notion that dual membership was impossible indicates a particular vision of the relationship between belonging, citizenship and territory that has now changed radically but continues to exert influence in certain places. Wucker highlights the growth in the number of countries promoting dual citizenship and absentee balloting in recent decades. This often leads to homeland politicians courting emigrants' participation in the politics of the country of origin. Voting rights for non-resident citizens are now common, although the significance of the overseas vote varies very widely according to the proportion of citizens who are overseas and the turnout of eligible expatriates to vote (Baubock 2005).

The main argument against external voting derives from a traditional republican position, which maintains that only citizens who are present on the territory and affected by the consequences of their vote should be entitled to the right to vote (Baubock 2005; Blais, Massicotte and Yoshinaka 2001). This argument draws on concerns that 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. Other arguments highlight controversial cases when emigrants' vote decides the result of the elections. In these cases, absentee voting gives very significant influence to people living outside the country, especially in the case of countries with sizeable diasporas (Vertovec 2005). Lopez-Guerra (2005) quotes Robert Dahl's definition: 'the citizen body in a

democratically elected state must include all persons subject to the laws of that state except transients and persons proved to be incapable of caring for themselves' (1998: 78). Those people subject to the laws of the state may be defined very broadly, but this is ultimately a separate issue for Lopez-Guerra: 'Once we identify morally acceptable limits on the degree of internal freedom that states should have, those individuals who will not be subject to the decisions of the group should be excluded from their making' (Lopez-Guerra 2005: 225). For Lopez-Guerra, emigrants will not be subject to the decisions of the group and should therefore be excluded, but emigrant groups reject this argument on the grounds that they still have a significant stake in the country, through family, regular visits, property and often the hope of returning one day.

For reasons of representation, residency has long been an essential criterion determining who has the right to vote, together with age and citizenship. While the latter two remain universal requirements, the residency requirement has been gradually relaxed over the last few centuries, firstly for soldiers who were fighting wars abroad and gradually also for civil and military servants temporarily on duty outside the country. The principled arguments against external voting are not supported by empirical evidence from around the world and growing numbers of states are relaxing the barrier against enfranchisement of citizens living elsewhere. Residence within the state's territory has now lost its status as a universal requirement of the eligibility to vote (Grace 2006). The change of the status of residency requirement has been explained within the framework of transnational politics and migration. As mentioned before, transnational relations are often defined as international relationships that do not involve state institutions. Since state machinery is essential to enfranchisement, it is not transnational under this strict definition. Yet the changing patterns of relationships between international migrants and their home states highlighted by transnationalism are strongly associated with these developments. Rubio-Marin (2006) maintains that the challenge that migrant transnational politics presents to core notions of the nation-state, particularly the territorial basis of citizenship, provoked the development of absentee voting. She argues 'the defining feature of external citizenship is the possibility of detaching the legal status and practice of citizenship (in terms of identity, but also engagement) from the territorially bounded nation-state' (Rubio-Marin 2006: 124). Yet extra-territorial voting, while challenging the operation of the institutions of the state and particularly their territorial jurisdiction, supports the continued relevance of the state as a political institution.

The most obvious reason for the rise in popularity of migrant voting is the symbolic significance of maintaining political ties with citizens abroad. Some argue that this is most common where governments are economically or politically dependent on emigrant communities, as Itzigsohn (2000) has found in a selection of Latin American countries. It also allows governments to promote a more democratic and modern image to the global community. Levitt and la Dehesa (2003) refer to 'global nations' policies' when explaining the actions of states in trying to encourage emigrants' continued sense of membership. Most countries of emigration have either become highly dependant on remittances or view emigrants as an important additional economic development resource. Levitt (2001) also highlights the capacity of migrants to organize powerful lobbies to advocate for the political interests of their countries of origin, the large contributions made by migrants to political campaigns and their significant influence on their family members' way of voting.

In recent changes to extend the right to vote to expatriates, arguments focus on competing notions of national loyalty and belonging to a community (Grace 2006; Maas 1999). For certain groups of expatriates, particularly those forced to leave by conflict, there is frequently consensus in favour of their right to vote. Their exclusion from post-conflict elections would ultimately legitimate ethnic cleansing and lead to unsustainable political configurations and politicians who would be highly unlikely to promote the return of refugees. Controversy tends to be fiercest when it concerns economic migrants and long-term members of the diaspora. Those in favour of emigrant enfranchisement often quote human rights acts that stipulate that participating in elections is a universal right of every citizen (Grace 2003a). There is also an economic argument, based on the logic that 'economic citizenship' needs to go hand in hand with 'political citizenship', meaning that emigrants should be entitled to vote due to their economic contribution to the country (Wucker 2004). Others argue that the concept of citizenship needs to change, to become based largely on a transnational perspective of citizenship. However, this is more of a de facto argument, based not on reason, but on empirical evidence of change.

A number of challenges remain to implementing external voting, particularly in countries without a solid record of holding territorially restricted democratic elections. New systems need to take into account various competing objectives simultaneously, such as guaranteeing universal suffrage, maintaining the rule of law, increasing political participation, improving the democratic system and consolidating the development of democracy. It is not clear that relatively new

democracies should invest in external voting before stability has been achieved in these areas, as the civil disturbances associated with the enfranchisement of expatriates in Ghana in 2006 indicated. The key considerations around external voting require answers to three general questions: who should be entitled to vote from outside the country; how should external votes be translated into the framework of a system of representation; and how can organisation and implementation of the voting procedure ensure the secrecy of ballots and control the costs of voting outside the country. These three considerations reflect the three dimensional structure of external voting -- the legal dimension, the political-institutional dimension, and the political procedural dimension (Grace 2006; Nohlen and Grotz 2000).

Each of these dimensions has a territorial component and the relationship between citizenship and territory is the essential dynamic behind arguments for or against extra-territorial voting. This is the element we use to structure the survey of existing systems. Electoral systems are classified in five ways, following the nature of participation of non-resident citizens. First are those countries that have no elections at all. This is a surprisingly small number but obviously disqualifies these countries from consideration. If countries have any kind of elections, even if these are not at the national level, such as China, they have been included, regardless of how free or fair those elections have been judged to be. Enfranchising emigrants is symbolically significant, even if there is little connection between votes and elected representatives. It is interesting that emigrants have campaigned tirelessly for representation, even in countries which rate particularly low on international measures of democracy, such as Morocco.

For countries that have elections of any sort there are four possible scenarios for the participation of emigrants. Since all countries make allowance for the participation of government employees who are out of the country on official business at election time, these measures must be equally true for all citizens living permanently abroad. The first system prevents emigrants participating at all. Emigrants may be removed from the voting list, though this requires a scheme for registering permanent emigration, as in Egypt. In the absence of a register of emigration, or where such a register is not complete, there may be a requirement that all voters are resident in the country for a certain period of time before any election, as in Sri Lanka, where it is two months. This second possibility does not automatically exclude emigrants but an individual would have to go to considerable trouble to continue their registration at an address in the country and return for the stipulated period of time to ensure they remain on the electoral roll.

The three remaining possibilities all allow emigrants a vote but the territorial significance of the casting and counting of the vote is different in each situation (Table 1). Thus, the ‘vote in home district’ system permits the participation of emigrants, but stipulates that they must return to the country to vote. This system operated in Italy until the most recent elections and political parties often financed the return of groups of emigrants they expected to support them. The ‘vote abroad for home district’ system allows emigrants to vote at particular overseas polling stations, usually in embassies or consulates. This system is the most common and allows emigrants to cast their vote extra-territorially but counts the vote as if it had been made in their own electoral district within the country of origin. Under this system there is no difference in the effect of a vote cast inside or outside the country. The final system, the ‘vote abroad for direct representatives’ system provides emigrants with their own directly elected representation at legislative elections. This is the only truly extra-territorial system since votes are both cast and counted extra-territorially. It is currently extremely rare but it is growing in popularity since it can be used to address a number of the objections that have been raised to external voting, such as altering the ratio between electors and elected representatives to favour territorially based voters or restricting the issues on which emigrants’ representatives are allowed to vote within the governing bodies to which they have been elected. This five point categorization was used in the global survey of emigrant voting systems.

Table 1: The Territorial Significance of the Three Systems Allowing Expatriates to Vote

		Casting of vote	
		Internal	External
Counting of vote	Internal	Vote in home district	Vote abroad for home district
	External	x	Vote abroad for direct representation

Carrying out the Global Survey

The data for this study were collected between April 2006 and April 2007 through a web-based search for reliable sources of information on out-of-country voting practices, supplemented by a direct questionnaire survey sent to electoral bodies in every country where such an institution could be identified and information was missing. Each country was classified according to the practices of voting based on the five categories discussed in the previous section:

1. *Vote in home district.* Expatriates have to travel to their country of origin in order to vote.
2. *Vote abroad for home district.* Expatriates can vote in polling stations abroad but the votes are counted as if they were resident in an electoral district within their country of origin.
3. *Vote abroad for direct representation.* Expatriates elect their own representation in legislative elections
4. Expatriates are *not allowed to vote*, although elections are held in the country.
5. *No elections* are held.

This categorisation proved to be extremely clear and there were very few ambiguous results. In some cases, different regulations apply to different elections. It is relatively common, for example, for emigrants to be allowed to vote in national elections but prevented from voting in local elections, although there are plenty of exceptions even here. In order to simplify this categorisation, the 'not allowed to vote' category was used only for countries which prevent emigrants voting in all elections. Where emigrants were allowed to vote in any elections the nature of the voting system (categories 1-3) was applied. We found no countries where different voting systems applied to different elections. The only significant area of confusion concerned the difference between 'vote in home district' (1) and 'not allowed to vote' (4) since in some cases although there was no clearly established right of voting for expatriates, *and* there was nothing to stop them voting either. This is what Grace (2006) refers to as 'active' and 'passive' restrictions on overseas voting. In some countries, so long as emigrants retain their registration on the electoral roll, they only have to return to the country on election day to be able to vote. Such situations were categorised as 'vote in home district'. Only countries with systems designed to actively prevent emigrants voting were classified under 'not allowed to vote', such as a minimum period of residence before an election, as in Sri Lanka.

A variety of sources were used to determine the category of expatriate enfranchisement. We were also particularly interested in the timing of any changes to the relevant legislation, focusing particular on changes since 1995, covering the period 1995-2007. Official sources were obviously prioritised. Where these were unavailable or gave no explicit indication of expatriate voting, the electoral commission of each country was contacted. Where this was not possible or no reply was received, specialists in political systems within the country were contacted or information was sought from major international electoral assistance bodies, such as International Foundation for Elections Systems (IFES), and the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA). Where this did not result in a clear answer, secondary sources were consulted. The resulting hierarchy is as follows:

- 1) Official sources
 - a) Constitution/Electoral Law
 - b) Electoral Commission or other official agencies
- 2) Non-official sources
 - a) In-country experts
 - b) Electoral assistance centres
- 3) Secondary sources
 - a) Academic papers
 - b) Diaspora websites
 - c) Other sources

Accessibility and availability of the information varies quite a lot between countries. Although initially the constitution of each country was envisaged as the primary data source, this was not always helpful, as there was no clear stipulation on precise qualifications to vote or methods of registering voters.

Information in constitutions regarding expatriates' right to vote is of three types. Firstly in some constitutions, suffrage is explicitly defined. Examples include China where the 1982 constitution stipulates that all citizens, regardless of length of residence, have the right to vote (Art. 34) and Denmark, where the constitution restricts the right to vote to Danish citizens with domicile in the state, with certain limited exceptions (Parliamentary Elections Act May 13 1987 Art 1). A second group of countries outlined suffrage in general terms in the constitution and referred to specific laws that cover the regulation of expatriates' right to vote. The Constitution of Turkey is

a good example of this group. Finally, there are constitutions that do not contain any provisions on suffrage, such as the constitution of Afghanistan.

Consequently, data were collected using sources other than the constitution. An important source has been the electoral law, when available online. However, most of the data were collected through inquiries directed to different governmental and non-governmental bodies working locally and regionally. A short questionnaire was used for this purpose, comprising seven questions and distributed by e-mail. It is reproduced in Appendix 1. Governmental bodies that deal with expatriates' issues who responded to this questionnaire include the Electoral Commission or Electoral Agencies (New Zealand), Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Macedonia), Office of Expatriates Living Abroad (Hungary) and civil servants specialists in the field (Turkey). Enquiries to the London embassies of other states rarely received a response. Other data have been provided by regionally based institutes working on socio-political issues (e.g. Institute for Justice and Democracy in Haiti (IJDH) and Pacific Islands Legal Information Institute (PacLII).

Non-official sources included the websites of different projects and international organizations such as IFES and IDEA. These institutions provide huge quantities of data on most countries in the world and provided reliable data on major issues, such as those countries which have had no elections at all. However, the level of detail provided on these sites was not usually appropriate for our purpose, and data on enfranchisement and modes of voting were not systematic and not updated regularly. This illustrates the regularity of changes in this area in recent years. These databases also did not contain any data on expatriates' special representation in the national parliaments (though IDEA have an upcoming publication on external voting (see IDEA 2006) and do not record recent changes in the legislation of the countries regarding these issues. A final important source of information was recent academic work on the subject, though in many cases this has also been outdated by the number of very recent developments. Even very recent articles, such as Rubio-Marin (2006) underestimate the number of countries that allow external voting quite considerably. Therefore, data from secondary sources have been double-checked against the information from primary data. In total we gathered reliable data on 144 countries from our matrix of 209. All data and sources is presented in Appendix 2.



Figure 1: Global Distribution of Emigrant Voting Systems

Source: authors' survey.

Determinants of Extra-territorial Voting

The most obvious and perhaps the most important result of this survey is the frequency of systems which enfranchise permanent emigrants in one way or another. Of the 144 countries for which data could be obtained, 115, or 80 percent allow citizens who are permanently resident outside the country to participate in elections (see Figures 1 and 2 and Table 2). This is a much higher figure than given in any of the partial studies of the phenomenon that have been published recently and reveals that far from being a minor discrepancy from the standard of territorially based participation, extra-territorial voting is actually the norm. Breaking this figure down further we see that the system of 'vote abroad for home district' (Category 2) is by far the most popular, in force in 61.81 percent of the sample. This system simply extends provisions originally introduced for government officials to all citizens out of the country at the time of elections. The majority of the world's liberal democracies fall into this category but also some much more newly established systems. For example, the April 2006 general elections in the Democratic Republic of Congo enfranchised emigrants under this system. In some countries there is an official maximum period for which these provisions apply (in the case of the UK it was reduced from 20 to 15 years in 2001), but since there is no systematic register of the time at which emigration occurs, such time periods are notional and were not considered in this categorisation.

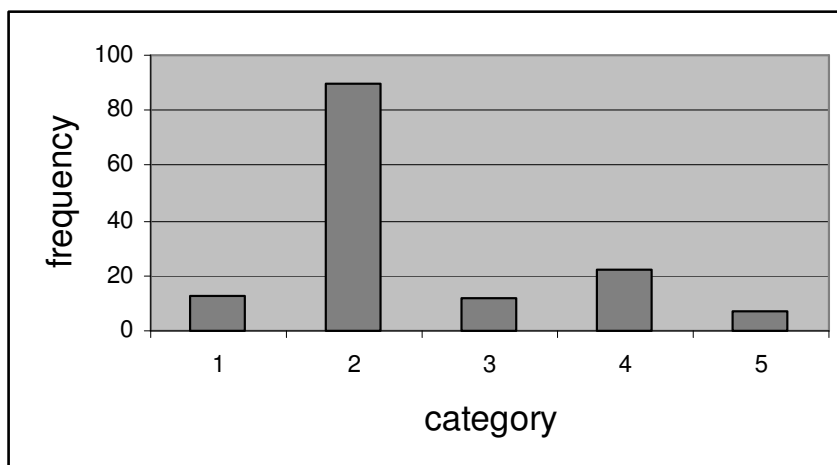


Figure 2: Frequency of Categorisation of Electoral Systems for 144 Countries

Source: Authors' survey.

**Table 2: Frequency of Categorisation of Electoral Systems for 144 Countries
(for which data found)**

Category	Frequency	Percentage
Vote in home district	13	9.03
Vote abroad for home district	89	61.81
Vote abroad for own representation	13	9.03
Not allowed to vote	22	15.28
No elections	7	4.86
	144	100.00

Source: Authors' survey

Identical proportions of the sample have systems of 'vote in home district' and 'vote abroad for own representation' (9 percent). The 'vote in home district' system is a relatively easy option for enfranchising emigrants, since it requires no extra effort, organisation or expense on the part of state institutions; all these costs are passed on to emigrants who wish to vote. Poorer states are therefore well represented in this group: Albania, Chad, Liberia and Nicaragua all have this system. The 'vote abroad for own representation' system is the most interesting from the territorial perspective. These are mostly very new systems, 10 of the 12 states for which a date could be found have introduced it in elections since 1995 (Table 3). It has often been introduced with the specific intention of correcting an imbalance in the influence of emigrants, as in the case of the Cook Islands, where emigrants are allocated only one of the 26 seats in the legislature although they are certainly more numerous than territorially resident citizens, probably several times more. This system is only possible in legislative elections and in these cases it usually operates to offset the influence of emigrants by increasing the number of voters per elected representative and limiting the issues on which they can vote. Extra-territorial counting is not possible for presidential elections or for local elections and countries with extra-territorial voting which have either of these two types of election use an alternative system.

Table 3: Countries in Category 3 (vote abroad for own representation) and the Date on Which They Changed to This System

Country	Year of First Election
Algeria	1995
Angola	2008
Cape Verde	1999
Colombia	2000
Cook Islands	Unable to find information
Croatia	2000
France	1983
Guinea Bissau	2004
Haiti	1999
Italy	2006
Morocco	2007
Mozambique	2004
Portugal	1980

NB: In most of these cases the election followed soon after the introduction of the system. Angola is an exception; the system was introduced in 1992 but has not yet been implemented, although it is scheduled for the elections planned in 2008

Of the 22 countries which prevent emigrants from voting, only one, South Africa, changed this system since 1995, indicating the more established nature of these systems. With obvious exceptions (India, Nigeria, South Africa) several countries in this category have small populations where even a numerically small emigrant community could have a disproportionate influence on the outcome of elections; this category includes Antigua and Barbuda, Belize, Barbados, and Suriname, which all have populations of less than half a million. Finally, only seven countries have no elections at all: Bhutan, Brunei, Libya, North Korea, Saudi- Arabia, Somalia and the United Arab Emirates.

Unsurprisingly, there are no clear patterns in this data concerning the type of electoral system and a range of other factors. Mapping this data (Fig 1) does not reveal any obvious geographical clustering of particular systems in particular areas, although it is generally the case that emigrants are prevented from voting in South Asia (India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka) and in Central West Africa.

Two significant hypotheses about the factors that may encourage governments to enfranchise emigrants emerge from the literature review. First, there is a general assumption that expatriate voting systems are more likely in countries with large expatriate populations. Second, this likelihood is widely thought to increase if the country is economically dependent on migrants' remittances (Itzigsohn 2000), and this constitutes the empirical support for the 'economic citizenship' argument for allowing emigrants to vote (Barry 2004).

The first hypothesis was tested statistically using data on total emigrant population from the Global Migration Database compiled at the University of Sussex and 2004 United Nations (UN) data on total population by country to calculate emigrants as a percentage of total population. We used International Monetary Fund data on remittances for 2005 (IMF 2006) as a variable in itself, and as a basis to calculate remittances as a percentage of GDP and remittances per capita, both rather more accurate measures of the importance of remittances. Of course all these data sources have particular problems of accuracy and coverage. Calculations behind the Global Migration Database are discussed in detail in Parsons et al (2005). It is also widely recognised that IMF statistics do not represent true figures for remittances, since they are calculated differently in different countries and inevitably exclude the significant proportion of remittances sent through non-official channels. Neither of these sources achieves universal coverage so there are also gaps. Despite these problems, both sources offer the most authoritative and universal data available on these issues. Descriptive statistics for all four dependent variables, divided into all five categories of voting, and including those countries for which information was not available, are presented in a table in Appendix 2.

Data on these four variables covers the majority of countries for which we had obtained data on political participation of emigrants. We also collected data for countries for which we had not been able to obtain information on emigrant political participation to ensure that there was no systematic bias in data availability. We had to omit the category of countries which do not hold elections at all as, of all seven countries in this category, we were only able to obtain data on emigrant population and remittances for one of them. Otherwise data coverage was good for all categories (Appendix 2). In order to test the relationship between voting abroad and size and financial significance of the emigrant population, we ran analysis of variance (ANOVA) tests for each of the five remaining categories (four political participation categories and the no data category) for all four dependent variables. An ANOVA test identifies the degree of variance between groups, based on mean and squares of differences from the mean. Although it does

not affect the test if n-values for each group differ, as they do here, the test does require a degree of homogeneity in terms of the range of groups tested. Where the range is too great for the homogeneity test to be met, the square root or cube root of all values may be taken as this reduces this range.

Table 4 shows the significance found by ANOVA tests for each of the four variables. The significance is the probability that the observed degree of variance between groups could have arisen by chance. As with most such tests, only a value of less than 0.05 would indicate a genuine relationship and all of the values in Table 4 are above that, indicating no significant relationship between political participation and any of these variables. In order to ensure that this was not a spurious result of our attempts to categorise political systems, we re-grouped them into three. These were, the group for which no data was available, the group where emigrant participation in elections was facilitated and the group where it was denied or there were no elections. ANOVA tests on the basis of these three groups similarly produced no significant results (Table 5)

Table 4: Results of ANOVA Tests on Categories of Key Dependent Variables for Categorisations of Political Representation and for Countries for which No Data was Available

Dependent Variable	Significance
Emigrants as % of total population	0.124
Total remittances 2005	0.601
2005 Remittances as % of GDP	0.196
2005 Remittances per capita (cube root)	0.157

Note: insufficient data was available for countries with no elections so this category has been removed from this analysis

Table 5: Results of ANOVA Test on Simplified Three-Group Categorisation

Dependent Variable	Significance
emigrants as % of total population (cube root)	0.267
Total remittances 2005	0.281
2005 Remittances as % of GDP	0.695
2005 Remittances per capita	0.570

The proportion of emigrants and dependence on remittances still provide important factors for the explanation of the introduction of emigrant voting but there is obviously no clear relationship. It would actually have been far more surprising if there were any directly attributable elements common to each of these territorially distinct systems of voting. The factors influencing changes in political systems are clearly far more complex. Rather than simple empirical observations of the economic or numerical significance of the diaspora, legislative changes in favour of emigrants respond to evolving political debates, which inevitably filter and interpret the empirical reality. In the absence of sustained campaigning on the part of emigrants, emigrant voting systems are unlikely to be introduced, even if the government has no clear opposition to the issue.

The relationship between emigrants and the government in power is therefore likely to be a more important factor than any more neutral measures of the role of diaspora. This was clearly an issue in South Africa, which withdrew the right of emigrants to vote in 1998, the only country to have done so during the period investigated (1995-2007). The timing of this change, (immediately following the end of Apartheid) and the significant emigration that followed, led some commentators to complain that the new government saw emigrants as unpatriotic and racist (Allen 1999). This is also an obvious factor elsewhere. The Sri Lankan diaspora is usually seen as being dominated by Tamils who, even if they are not necessarily supportive of the rebel LTTE with whom the government is engaged in an ongoing conflict, are unlikely to be keen supporters of any of the Sinhalese dominated governments that have ruled since independence. Indeed, emigrant voting is simply not an issue in Sri Lanka, where remittances are often equated with direct support for the LTTE (Gunaratna 2006).

Conclusion

The global survey presented here reveals that migrant voting is far more widespread than has been previously imagined. Even in 2006, writers on this topic believed that 'only a few' countries allowed non-resident citizens to vote (Rubio-Martin 2006:127) but in fact the vast majority of countries for which information could be obtained have electoral systems allowing emigrants to participate in elections. With the exception of the 1990 Convention of the Rights of Migrant Workers and Members of their Families, ratified by only 43 countries, there is no clear internationally agreed obligation for the involvement of emigrants in elections and there is no clear consensus in the limited literature on the desirability of such developments.

Not only are emigrant voting systems widespread but, despite ongoing controversies, they are spreading increasingly rapidly. The Council of Europe has regularly recommended the enfranchisement of emigrants since 1994 (Council of Europe 1999; 2004). In many countries systems regulating the participation of emigrants in elections have remained unchanged for some time. This is most obviously the case for the 22 countries which prevent emigrants from voting, 21 of which date to before 1995. In contrast, the newest systems are those which explicitly address the situation of emigrants through the extra-territorial voting system. The pace of change in this area also seems to be increasing as the largest number of extra-territorial voting systems has been introduced through very recent changes. There are no clear, universal determinants of migrant voting systems. Although the factors that have been suggested for certain regions such as the size of the emigrant population or the dependence of countries on emigrant remittances have some more general explanatory capacity, there are always several exceptions. There is not even any relationship between the extent to which elections have been judged to be free and fair and the involvement of emigrants, indicating the powerful symbolic significance of electoral participation, even when there is little practical argument for involvement.

The current situation of emigrant voting and the nature of developments in these systems provide valuable information on the respatialisation of state authority. The significant interest in the rights of non-citizen residents, including their right to vote in their country of residence, mirrors the dominant focus in academic work on immigration, rather than emigration. This focus led to predictions of the rapid decline of the nation state and the rise of post-national citizenship as individuals became a site of rights, regardless of their citizenship. Although this direction of thought produced some highly original research that provoked debates in the late 1990s on the continued relevance of the nation-state as a political institution, this is now widely seen as a rather over-excited and over-theorised interpretation of developments. Most significantly, this theorising lacked any broad empirical support. There are virtually no countries in the world that allow non-citizens to vote and those that do restrict it to very specific, limited categories. Voting practices may be the last and the best defended of the privileges of citizenship but the limited nature of their application to non-citizens suggests that any extension of rights remains superficial.

The turn to emigration and the consequent focus on countries of origin is a far more productive way to understand the very significant developments in the spatialisation of state power. Emigrants' campaigns to win the right to vote and their subsequent electoral participation illustrate the enduring nature of certain forms of territorial belonging. Yet, at the same time, the extension of core citizenship rights to those outside the territory of the state represents a significant new development in territoriality, rather than its destruction. In certain forms, such as what we have called extra-territorial voting, there is now a clear distinction between territorially based citizenship and a specific statute of extra-territorial citizenship. Investigations of this phenomenon are just beginning. But voting, in conjunction with other rights extended to non-resident citizens, provides one way in which emigrants can maintain and develop legitimate forms of political transnationalism and allows states to retain and build highly productive connections with diaspora groups. This paper has outlined the empirical basis for an ongoing study of this phenomenon. Continued development, including more detailed case studies can productively focus on two directions. First, from a policy perspective, we know very little about the practical impact of extra-territorial citizenship measures in terms of strengthening ties with emigrants and maintaining, increasing, or directing remittance flows. Second, the changing forms of citizenship have significant theoretical implications for the changing spatial expression of political power.

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Appendix 1: Questionnaire

1. Do the emigrants from your country have the right to vote in elections?

If Yes:

2. Are they able to vote in all elections?

3. Can they vote from abroad or can they only vote if they return?

4. Is the right to vote from abroad lost if a particular period of residence abroad is exceeded? What is this period?

5. Do the emigrants elect their own representatives?

6. What legislation governs these practices?

7. How long has this been in force? What was the previous situation?

Appendix 2: Descriptive Statistics of 4 Dependent Variables for Each of 6 Categories of Political Participation

Code of political participation of migrants	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation	
0	percentage of expats of total population	22	.22	79.83	17.3286	23.48486
	2005 remittances received	16	1.30	2178.80	370.0038	593.83335
	Remittances per capita	11	.18	453.84	101.2527	158.68062
	remittances as percentage of GDP	18	.04	20.12	5.0351	6.88488
	Valid N (listwise)	5				
1	percentage of expats of total population	10	.00	29.41	5.1610	9.20934
	2005 remittances received	6	50.90	5495.00	1993.9667	2294.85473
	Remittances per capita	6	4.17	1190.10	304.6400	451.94208
	remittances as percentage of GDP	6	.24	19.86	8.0792	8.34387
	Valid N (listwise)	5				
2	percentage of expats of total population	76	.00	82.12	10.6643	15.53839
	2005 remittances received	49	.10	20035.00	1458.5204	3277.15831
	Remittances per capita	56	.01	336.70	57.5863	78.01331
	remittances as percentage of GDP	55	.00	24.53	3.1048	5.15479
	Valid N (listwise)	42				
3	percentage of expats of total population	11	.07	15.39	4.0545	5.61924
	2005 remittances received	9	.29	4589.00	1417.5211	1719.36773
	Remittances per capita	10	.00	269.27	108.3644	107.69766
	remittances as percentage of GDP	10	.00	24.73	6.2662	8.01462
	Valid N (listwise)	9				
4	percentage of expats of total population	18	.00	38.40	8.3178	11.97839
	2005 remittances received	15	.20	5017.00	1524.5267	1761.07904
	Remittances per capita	16	.49	611.54	132.7888	184.41548
	remittances as percentage of GDP	16	.00	17.25	5.0864	5.42908
	Valid N (listwise)	13				
5	percentage of expats of total population	1	14.72	14.72	14.7200	.
	2005 remittances received	1	7.00	7.00	7.0000	.
	Remittances per capita	1	1.21	1.21	1.2100	.
	remittances as percentage of GDP	1	.02	.02	.0160	.
	Valid N (listwise)	0				

Key 0: no data available; 1

Appendix 3: Results of Global Survey of Extraterritorial Voting

Country	Emigrants' participation ²	Government Source ³	Other Source/url
Afghanistan	2		
Albania	1		IOM, Albanian Government and EU (2005).
Algeria	3		Collyer (2005)
American Samoa	2		
Andorra	0		
Angola	3		US Department of State (2006)
Antigua & Barbuda	4		
Argentina	2		
Armenia	2	Electoral Code of the Republic of Armenia (1999)	http://www.internews.am/projects/archive/elections/english/law/code/one.htm
Australia	2		
Austria	2		
Azerbaijan	2		
Bahamas	1	Government of Bahamas Press Release 2002	http://www.bahamas.gov.bs/bahamasweb2/home.nsf/vPrint/3726505EDBFFB92A06256F0200693FD1
Bahrain	2		
Bangladesh	2		New Age National 22.1.2006
Barbados	4		
Belgium	2		
Belize	4	Representation of the People Act (2000) Part 2 Art 5.1.c	http://www.belizelaw.org/lawadmin/index2.html
Benin	2		
Bhutan	5		IDEA (2007)

² 0. no data; 1. emigrants must return home to vote and vote as usual; 2. emigrants can vote in polling stations abroad but vote as if they were voting at home; 3. emigrants vote abroad but have their own representation; 4. emigrants cannot vote; 5. no elections are held in the country

³ Where no specific source is given data is from authors' survey

Bolivia	2		
Bosnia and Herzegovina	2		
Botswana	2	BOPA (1999)	
Brazil	2		
Brunei Darussalam	5		IDEA (2007)
Bulgaria	2		
Burkina Faso	4		
Burundi	2		IOM (2003)
Byelarus	2		
Cambodia	2		Grace (2003b)
Cameroon	4		
Canada	2		IDEA(2005)
Cape Verde	3	Codigo Eleitoral lei no. 92/V/99	http://www.cne.cv/docs/CodigoEleitoral.pdf
Central African Republic	2		
Chad	2		Nohlen and Grotz (2000)
Chile	1		
China	1	Constitution of the People's Republic of China Art. 34 (1982)	http://www.usconstitution.net/china.html#Article34
Colombia	3		
Comoros	0		
Congo	0		
Congo (RDC)	2		DRC recensement des électeurs (2005) p5
Cook Islands	3		
Costa Rica	1	2531-E-2005 of 26 October 2005	http://american-european.net/blogs/costa-rica-news/election-2006/2006/01/26/no-overseas-voting-for-ticos/
Croatia	3		
Cuba	0		
Cyprus	1		Hylland (2004)
Czech Republic	2		Traces 18(p2) http://www.transcomm.ox.ac.uk/traces/issue18pg2.htm#colo

Denmark	4	Folketing (Parliamentary) Elections Act May 13 1987 Art 1	http://www.folketinget.dk/BAGGRUND/00000048/00232622.htm#E32E1
Djibouti	0		
Dominica	0		
Dominican Republic	2		Wucker (2004)
Ecuador	2		
Egypt	4	1956 General Election Law	http://www.arabelectionlaw.net/eleclaw_eng.php?country=3 ; Al-Ahram 1.9.2005 http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/2005/758/eg62.htm
El Salvador	4	Electoral Code (1992) updated 2000 Art 8-9	http://pdba.georgetown.edu/Electoral/EISal/code92.html
Equatorial Guinea	0		
Eritrea	2		IOM (2003)
Estonia	2		Nohlen and Grotz (2000)
Ethiopia	0		
Falkland Islands (Malvinas)	2		
Federated States of Micronesia	2		
Fiji	2		
Finland	2		
France	3		
French Guiana	0		
French Polynesia	2		
Gabon	2		
Gambia, The	0		
Gaza Strip	0		
Georgia	2		IOM (2003)
Germany	2		
Ghana	2	Representation of the People (Amendment) Law 2006	on file with authors
Gibraltar	2		
Greece	2		

Grenada	0		
Guatemala	4		
Guernsey	0		
Guinea	0		
Guinea-Bissau	3		
Guyana	2	Constitution of Guyana (1980)	EU (2005) on file with authors
Haiti	3	Loi Electorale 1999	http://pdba.georgetown.edu/Electoral/Haiti/haiti.html ; Glick-Schiller and Fouron (1999)
Honduras	2		
Hong Kong	4	Constitution of Hong Kong (1997)	http://www.oefre.unibe.ch/law/icl/hk00000_.html
Hungary	2		Dunai (2006)
Iceland	2		
India	4	Constitution of India Art 326; Representation of People's Act (1950) Section 19 (Indian Elections 2007)	http://astsun.astro.virginia.edu/~sk4zw/india-const/p15326.html <u>Traces 6 p2 http://www.transcomm.ox.ac.uk/traces/iss6pg4.htm</u>
Indonesia	2		
Iran, Islamic Republic of	0		
Iraq	2		
Ireland	4	Constitution of Ireland	http://www.ireland-information.com/reference/congov.htm#ELE <u>Traces 6(2) http://www.transcomm.ox.ac.uk/traces/iss6pg4.htm</u>
Israel	1		
Italy	3		
Ivory Coast	2		
Jamaica	4		
Japan	2		
Jordan	0		
Kazakhstan	2		Nohlen and Grotz (2000)
Kenya	0		
Kiribati	0		
Kuwait	0		
Kyrgyzstan	0		

Lao People's Democratic Republic	0		
Latvia	2		
Lebanon	1	Electoral Law (1990)	http://www.arabelectionlaw.net/eleclaw_eng.php?country=5
Lesotho	2		
Liberia	1		IOM (2003)
Libya	5		IDEA (2007)
Liechtenstein	0		
Lithuania	2		
Luxembourg	2		
Macau	0		
Macedonia (FYRO)	0		Myhrvold (2004)
Madagascar	0		
Malawi	0		
Malaysia	2		
Maldives	0		
Mali	2		
Malta	4		Nohlen and Grotz (2000)
Marshall Islands	2		
Mauritania	0		
Mauritius	0		
Mexico	2		IFES (2006)
Moldova, Republic of	2		
Monaco	0		
Mongolia	0		
Montenegro	0		
Morocco	2		
Mozambique	3		
Myanmar	0		
Namibia	2		
Nauru	0		
Nepal	0		

Netherlands	2		
New Caledonia	2		
New Zealand	2	New Zealand Electoral Agencies (2007)	http://www.elections.org.nz/enrolment/how_to_enrol_overseas.html
Nicaragua	1		
Niger	4		
Nigeria	4	Electoral Act 2006 Art. 58	copy on file with authors
Norfolk Island	0		
North Korea	5		IDEA (2007)
Norway	2		
Oman	0		
Pakistan	4	Election Commission of Pakistan (2007)	
Palau	2		
Panama	0		
Papua New Guinea	0		
Paraguay	0		
Peru	2		
Philippines	2	Constitution of the Philippines (1987) Art. 5; BBC (2004)	http://www.chanrobles.com/article5suffrage.htm Karpowicz and Gebethner (2003)
Poland	2		
Portugal	3		"links between Europeans living abroad and their countries of origin" CoE report
Puerto Rico	0		
Qatar	0		
Romania	2		
Russian Federation	2		
Rwanda	2		Ndioro (2004)
Saint Kitts and Nevis	0		
Saint Lucia	0		
Saint Vincent and the Grenadines	0		

San Marino	0		
Sao Tome and Principe	2		
Saudia Arabia	5		
Senegal	2		Nohlen and Grotz (2000)
Serbia and Montenegro	1		
Seychelles	0		
Sierra Leone	0		
Singapore	2		
Slovakia	1	ABA (1998) and InterParliamentary Union (2007)	
Slovenia	2		
Solomon Islands	1	Constitution of the Solomon islands	http://www.paclii.org/sb/legis/consol_act/c1978167/
Somalia	5		IDEA (2007)
South Africa	4	Electoral Law 14 October 1998 Section 6	http://www.electionaccess.org/LR/Countries%20M-Z/South_Africa.htm
South Korea	0		
Spain	2		IDEA (2005)
Sri Lanka	4	Constitution of Sri Lanka (1978) Art 106; Department of Elections (2007)	http://www.priu.gov.lk/Cons/2000ConstitutionBill/Constitution_Chapter13.pdf
Sudan	0		
Suriname	4	Electoral Law Article 3	EUOU (2000)
Swaziland	0		
Sweden	2		IDEA (2005)
Switzerland	2		
Syrian Arab Republic	2		Nohlen and Grotz (2000)
Taiwan	0		
Tajikistan	0		
Tanzania	0		
Thailand	2		
Togo	2		
Tokelau	2		
Tonga	0		

Trinidad and Tobago	0		
Tunisia	2		
Turkey	2		
Turkmenistan	0		
Tuvalu	0		
Uganda	4		
Ukraine	2		
United Arab Emirates	5		IDEA (2007)
United Kingdom	2		
United States of America	2		
Uruguay	0		
Uzbekistan	2		
Vanuatu	2		
Venezuela	2		La Republica 5.5.2006
Viet Nam	0		
Virgin Islands	0		
West Bank	0		
Western Sahara	0		
Western Samoa	0		
Yemen	2	Supreme Commission for Elections and Referendum (2002)	
Zambia	0		
Zimbabwe	4		BBC News 5.4.2005