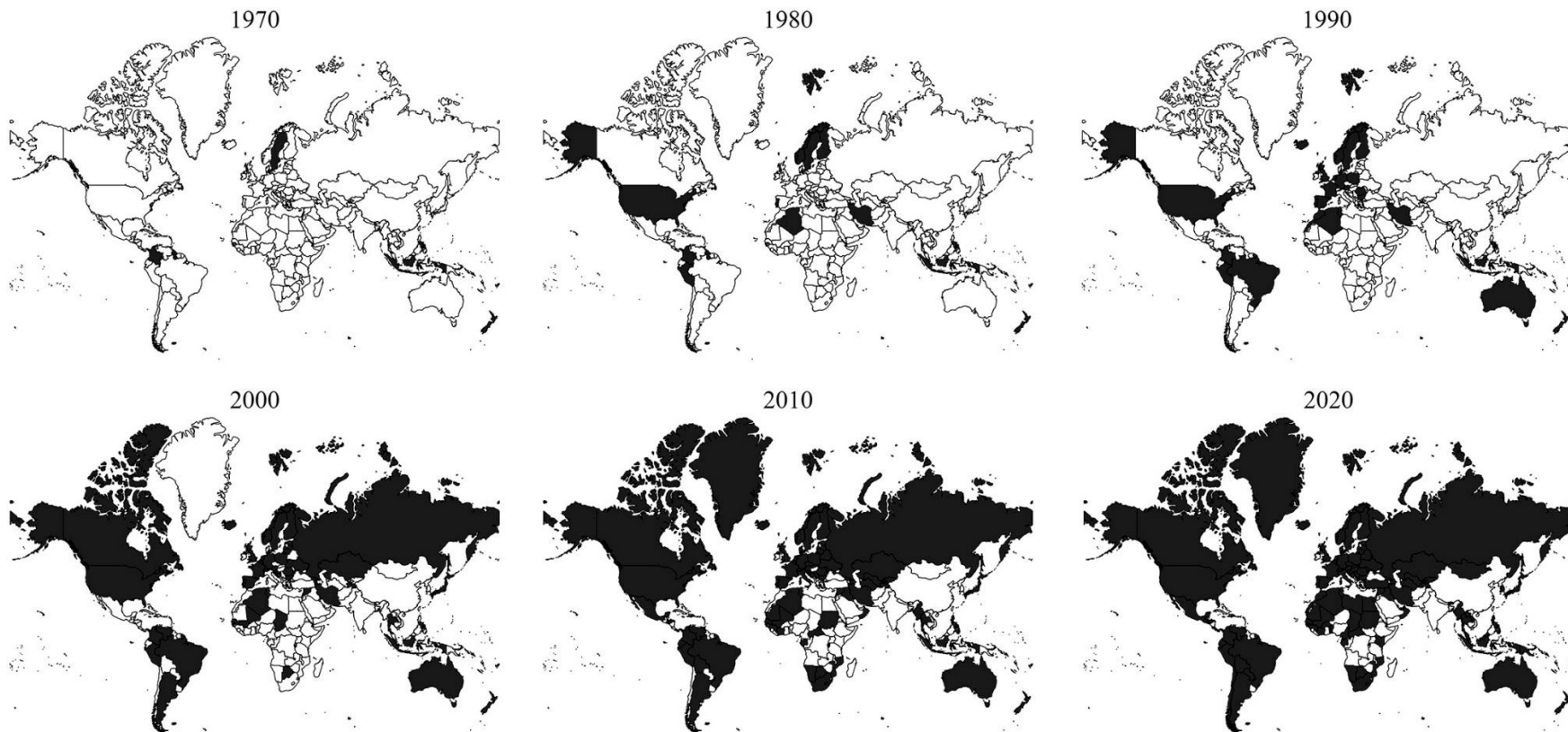


Supplementary Material

Appendix

Figure A1. Global Trend of Countries Adopting External Voting, EVRR data



Source: Wellman, Allen, and Nyblade (2022, Figure 2) using their Extraterritorial Voting Rights and Restrictions Dataset.

Table A1. Chile’s Legislative Process of Emigrant Enfranchisement: Failed Bills, 1971–2013

Bill	Date of presentation	Initiative	Actor(s) who initiated the bill	Result	Details	Reason(s) for Rejection
“Bill on the Single Chamber”	1971	Presidential message	Salvador Allende Gossens	The bill did not receive support to be approved in the Chamber of Deputies	The bill is mentioned in the sessions of the Chamber of Deputies on 16/Nov/1971 ; 18/Nov/1971 ; 30/Nov/1971 ; 01/Dec/1971 ; 21/Dec/1971 (a); 21/Dec/1971 (b); 23/Dec/1971 ; and the sessions of the Senate on 17/Nov/1971 ; 18/Nov/1971 ; 24/Nov/1971 ; 16/Dec/1971 ; 22/Dec/1971	Reasons: Stagnation & Procedural The bill’s primary objective was constitutional reform of Chile’s political system; emigrant enfranchisement was a secondary aspect. The project failed to elicit support in Congress, so the article on voting abroad was rejected, along with the rest of the bill. Additional information in Farías (2000), Navarrete Yáñez (2006), Llanos Reyes (2011), and Vargas Cárdenas (2016).
Bulletin No. 268-07 “Amends Law No. 18,700, Organic Constitutional Law on Popular Voting and Scrutiny”	January 15, 1991	Parliamentary motion	Carlos Dupré (Deputy in Demócrata Cristiano) (Exec: Patricio Aylwin Azócar)	Processing stopped in the Senate, with no movement since 2009	The Senate website has the first report and minutes of the Chamber of Deputies Constitution Commission (December 1991) and the Senate Constitution Commission (April 1996). After rejection of the project in the Constitution Commission, it was not voted on again, despite attempts from the Executive to prioritize in the Senate.	Reasons: Normative, Legal & Procedural The Constitution Commission of the Senate rejected the project considering that it was unconstitutional, even though they agreed with the substantive motivation. Among the aspects conflicted with the Constitution, the Commission’s report mentions: - Although it considers it necessary for Chileans abroad to vote only in presidential elections or national plebiscites, this would be a limitation to the right to vote contrary to the Constitution. On the other hand, the

						<p>Senators found it unfair that a Chilean living abroad should have the same rights as one living in the country.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The Constitution establishes the compulsory nature of voting, so it would be unconstitutional to establish the right to vote abroad without making it compulsory. - A series of regulatory and formal difficulties are identified in implementing suffrage abroad. This would require making requirements abroad more flexible, which would generate inequality concerning those who vote in Chile. <p>The Commission concluded that constitutional reform is required to create an electoral system abroad.</p>
<p>Bulletin No. 1012-07</p> <p>“Provides for the electoral registration of Chileans residing abroad and guarantees their right to vote”</p>	June 15, 1993	Parliamentary motion	<p>Mario Palestro (socialist Deputy) to modify Law N°18.556)</p> <p>(Exec: Patricio Aylwin Azócar)</p>	Archived in 1994	<p>This bill was archived in the Chamber of Deputies three months after the approval of Bulletin No. 268-07, by the same Chamber. While Bulletin No. 268-07 had “Suma urgencia”, this bill did not have that support from the Executive branch.</p>	<p>Reasons: Legal & Procedural</p> <p>Since Bulletin No. 268-07 was already approved by the Chamber of Deputies and sent to the Senate, it would have been redundant to vote for another bill on voting abroad.</p>
<p>Bulletin No. 3396-06</p> <p>“Amends Law No. 18,700, Organic Constitutional</p>	July 20, 2005	Parliamentary motion	<p>Group of socialist Deputies</p> <p>(Exec: Ricardo</p>	Rejected in the Chamber of Deputies in 2007	<p>The Senate website has the first report and minutes of the Chamber of Deputies Constitution Commission (October 2006).</p>	<p>Reasons: Normative (all-affected principle and ties) & Procedural</p> <p>This bill was rejected in 2007 by the Chamber of Deputies. The ruling parties voted in favor</p>

<p>on popular voting and scrutiny”</p>			<p>Lagos Escobar)</p>			<p>of the law, while the opposition (right-wing parties) voted against it or abstained. While the government coalition deputies accused the opposition of rejecting the project due to political calculations (considering there could be more left-wing voters abroad), the right-wing parties expressed two different reasons for voting against the initiative. Some deputies stated that it seemed incorrect that those who do not live in the country and are not affected by the decisions of the authorities have the right to elect them. On the other hand, deputies from the National Renovation party stated that it was necessary to ensure some level of connection with the country. Therefore, they requested to establish the requirement of having visited Chile during the last five years. Along with that, alluding to the transparency of the process, they requested that registration in the electoral register must be carried out in Chile unless a bill is presented that regulates in greater detail the opening of electoral registers in consulates abroad under the address of the Electoral Service. There was no agreement on the latter, so the initiative was rejected.</p>
<p>Bulletin No. 4587-07</p>	<p>October 5, 2006</p>	<p>Parliamentary motion</p>	<p>Carlos Ominami, Jorge Pizarro,</p>	<p>Processing stopped in the Chamber of</p>	<p>In November 2010, the president of the Human Rights, Nationality and Citizenship</p>	<p>Reasons: Stagnation & Lack of Agreement</p>

<p>“Constitutional reform that modifies article 15, allowing the vote of Chileans abroad and 32, on the appointment of ambassadors”</p>			<p>and Hosain Sabag (Deputies from the Partido Socialista and Democracia Cristiana) (Exec: Michelle Bachelet Jeria)</p>	<p>Deputies, with no movement since 2010</p>	<p>Commission of the Chamber of Deputies requested that the bill, filed in 2006 in the Constitution Commission, be sent. The Chamber of Deputies rejected the request because there was no agreement. This bill was not prioritized by the Executive with any type of legislative urgency.</p>	
<p>Bulletin No. 6418-07 “Regulates automatic registration, voluntary suffrage and the vote of Chileans abroad”</p>	<p>March 18, 2009</p>	<p>Presidential message</p>	<p>Michelle Bachelet Jeria</p>	<p>External voting was separated from the other two issues, then processing stopped in the Senate, with no movement since 2011</p>	<p>The Senate website has the first report and minutes of the Senate Constitution Commission (April 2009). The project contemplated the automatic registration of voters, voluntary voting and voting by Chileans abroad. The Constitution Commission and the Chamber of the Senate approved the project in general (March 14 and 15, respectively, 2009); on several occasions, deadlines were established to develop the project and the Executive set legislative priority, but it did not advance. The government put “discusión inmediata” (immediate discussion) on it but after March 2009, it did not insist with any further priority.</p>	<p>Reason: Stagnation & Procedural</p>

Bulletin No. 6950-07 “Constitutional reform to allow Chileans to vote from abroad”	May 19, 2010	Presidential message	Sebastián Piñera Echenique (2 months into administration)	Processing stopped in the Chamber of Deputies, with no movement since 2010	There is not much information on this bill, although alongside, as mentioned, the 2006 bill was requested in 2010, but the Chamber of Deputies rejected the request because there was no agreement.	Reason: Stagnation & Lack of Agreement
Bulletin No. 7335-07 “On the vote of Chileans abroad”	December 1, 2010	Presidential message	Sebastián Piñera Echenique	Processing stopped in the Chamber of Deputies, with no movement since 2011	This initiative was rejected by the Senate, considering that the requirement of a link with the country meant restrictions on voting rights. The Chamber of Deputies website has the first report and minutes of the Constitution Commission (April 2011)	Reasons: Normative (ties) An additional required “link” to Chile was considered restrictive by the Senate (DICOEX, 2015; Vargas Cárdenas, 2016).
Bulletin No. 7358-07 “Regulates the electoral acts of Chileans abroad”	December 14, 2010	Presidential message	Sebastián Piñera Echenique	Withdrawn by the government in 2011	Opposition parliamentarians claimed the unconstitutionality of this bill and the government withdrew it (Vargas Cárdenas, 2016).	Reasons: Legal
Bulletin No. 9004-07 Guarantees the right to vote for Chilean citizens residing abroad	June 24, 2013	Parliamentary motion	Isabel Allende, Soledad Alvear, and Patricio Walker (Senators from the Partido	Archived in 2018	Following the Senate regulations, the bill was archived because more than two years had elapsed without the Constitution Commission ruling on its content. This bill did not have support from the government and did	Reasons: Stagnation & Strategic The authors of this bill considered it necessary to present a new consensual project, including Senators from different political sectors. However, this bill was the prelude for that consensual project because it enabled the negotiations that led to that

			Socialista and Democracia Cristiana) (Exec: Sebastián Piñera Echenique)		not have any type of legislative urgency.	agreement. For that reason, they presented Bulletin 9069-07 (along with right-wing senators). See the History of the Law 20.748 here .
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Table A2 Chile’s Legislative Process of Emigrant Enfranchisement: Approved Bills, 2013–2016

Bill	Date of presentation	Initiative	Actor(s) who initiated the bill	Result	Details
Bulletin No. 9069-07 “Regulates the exercise of suffrage by citizens outside the country”	August 14, 2013	Parliamentary motion	Isabel Allende, Soledad Alvear, Patricio Walker, Hernán Larraín, and Alberto Espina (PS, DC, RN, UDI) (Exec: Sebastián Piñera Echenique)	Motion approved Law No. 20,748/2014 “Regulates the exercise of suffrage of citizens who are outside the country”	History of the Law here
la Suma urgencia	April 3, 2014	Presidential urgency	Michelle Bachelet Jeria (1 month into administration)	N/A	President puts “la Suma urgencia” on the bill, prompting a series of discussion and modifications (with c. deputies in sessions 12/362 on 15-Apr-2014 and 14/362 on 16-Apr-2014).
Senate Session 11/362	April 22, 2014	Senate discussion	Senators from different political parties: Isabel Allende, Soledad Alvear, Alberto Espina, Hernán Larraín, and Patricio Walker	Approved, with modifications	Under “la Suma urgencia”, the Senate discusses, modifies, and approves bill.
Congress Session 18/362	April 23, 2014	Congress	N/A	Approved by Congress	
Bulletin No. 10344-06 “Regulates the exercise of the right to vote of Chileans abroad”	October 19, 2015	Presidential message	Michelle Bachelet Jeria	Approved Law No. 20,960/2016 “Regulates the exercise of the right to vote of Chileans abroad”	History of the Law here and here .
Implementation: The first emigrant voting occurred in the presidential election 2017: Chileans who could prove at least one-year prior residence in Chile and who enrolled in the electoral list abroad could vote.					

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