Political participation of non-national residents in Portugal*

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RESUMO
Em Portugal, novas medidas de participação política têm vindo a ser introduzidas tanto por força da transição para uma sociedade multicultural como pela sua participação na integração política europeia que se direcciona para um novo nível de cidadania.

O presente artigo pretende mostrar até que ponto os residentes não-nacionais, de países terceiros e da União Europeia, efectivamente usam os seus novos direitos políticos e participam nos actos eleitorais em Portugal, conferindo-lhes a oportunidade de uma maior integração política no seu Estado de residência.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Portugal, residentes não nacionais, cidadãos da UE, participação eleitoral

ABSTRACT
In Portugal, new rules of political participation have been imposed by the transition to a multicultural society, in addition to the European political integration that is currently developing towards a new level of citizenship.

This paper intends to show to what extent non-national residents, both from EU and non-EU countries, effectively use their new political rights and participate in the Portuguese electoral acts that give them the opportunity for a wider political integration in their state of residence.

KEYWORDS: Portugal, non-national residents, EU citizens, electoral participation

Introduction

Electoral rights conferred on non-national residents have been provided for in the Constitution of the Portuguese Republic since 1989. Besides fundamental rights in general, already granted since the democratic constitution of 1976, the right to petition sovereign institutions or public authorities, or to complain to the Ombudsman, form a part of the civic rights of all non-national residents in Portugal. However, electoral legislation was still unchanged at the time of the 1992 constitutional revision brought about by the juridical-legal implications of the Treaty on European Union (TEU).

Multiple law-projects were presented by the political parties even before the constitutional revision process. These had the purpose of attributing political rights both to the citizens of the European Union states and to foreign citizens from non-EU countries living in Portugal, namely from the Portuguese-speaking countries. As this group of citizens represented the major percentage of foreign residents, the electoral participation issue became a pervasive concern for the political class, which was also being pressured by the immigrants’ associations. In 1995, among the foreigners with legal residence, 47.1% represented African communities, 24.7% were EU citizens, and 15.4% were from South American countries, of which 11.8% were Brazilian citizens (Instituto Nacional de Estatística, 1996, 45). In this paper, data from Portuguese official institutions (up to 2007) will be used for the number of foreign residents who are legally living in Portugal, as their electoral capacity depends on their being legalised.

1. Constitutional framework

The constitutional revision in 1992 introduced in article 15 - Foreigners, Stateless people, European citizens – some political rights for citizens of certain nationalities (nrs 3, 4 and 5). The constitutional text acknowledged that foreigners and stateless people who are living in Portugal have the same rights and are subject to the same duties as Portuguese citizens (nr. 1), with the exception of political rights, the exercise of non-technical public functions and certain constitutional rights that are exclusive to Portuguese citizens (nr. 2), before going on to determine that some non-national residents could enjoy special rights. Following these basic principles, and always under conditions of reciprocity, citizens from Portuguese speaking countries with permanent residence in Portugal were granted political participation rights in sovereign organs – with these rights to be

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later determined by law (nr. 3). Joining this group, other non-nationals acquired the rights to vote or run for office in local municipalities (nr. 4), and EU citizens were also able to participate both as voters and candidates in the European Parliament elections (nr. 5).

This article deferred these new rights pending legislation to be adopted at a later date. This occurred in 1994 for point 5, due to the European elections in June, and in 1996, for point 4, due to the local elections in 1997. At such times, voting rights must be defined in law and the Ministry of Internal Affairs establishes the list of nationalities that are able to participate in each electoral act according to the different situations. Together with Cape Verdeans and Brazilians and depending on the specific electoral acts, Norwegians, Israelis, Icelanders, Argentines, Chileans, Peruvians, Uruguayans and Venezuelans were included in this group.

The attribution of political rights to the citizens of other states who are living in Portugal differs according to the political relations with the respective state. Hence, two different systems based on various levels of preferential relationship can be identified. One of them, enshrined in Law 13/99 (Juridical Regime of Electoral Registration) of 22 March, article 4, is concerned with non-EU countries and is divided in two groups: those from Portuguese speaking countries such as Cape Verde and Brazil; and the citizens of other states which, in conditions of reciprocity, grant the same rights to Portuguese citizens. The other system includes European Union citizens only and establishes a multilateral relation that is the result of a process which already displays an advanced level of political integration. Among the foreign population living legally in Portugal (435,736), around 57.7% can enjoy the right to vote or stand in elections, depending on each nationality (see Tables 1 and 3).

2 Residents in Portugal from non-EU countries

From the total of 435,736 foreign citizens living regularly in Portugal (SEF, 2007), only 135,923 citizens of non-EU countries have electoral rights (see Table 1), which represents 31.1%.

Even though Law 50/96, dated 4th September, results directly from the transposition of Community legislation, it applies both to the citizens of EU member states living in Portugal and to citizens from Portuguese speaking countries, together with other foreign citizens whose states grant Portuguese citizens suffrage. In the latter two situations, Law 50/96 established electoral capacity depending on a qualifying period of residence in Portugal, which differs according to the different nationalities. For Portuguese speaking citizens, it is possible to vote after a two year period of residence and to be elected after a four year period of residence. For other foreign citizens (non-EU countries) a period of residence of 3 and 5 years respectively is required to vote and to stand for election (articles 1 and 2).

In 2001, Organic Law 1/2001, dated 14th August, provided for the regulation of full suffrage in the case of electing office holders to Local Authority Organs (Articles 2 and 5 b, c and d)). Therefore, and according to the last Declaration, 9/2005 (DR 130, Série I-A), the right to vote was conferred to citizens of Brazil, Cape Verde, Norway, Iceland, Uruguay, Venezuela, Chile and Argentina. Simultaneously, citizens from Peru and Israel were excluded. The same Declaration announced that only Brazilians and Cape Verdians had the right to stand for election.

EU citizens are granted full suffrage, being able to both vote and stand in elections.

Table 1 shows a certain stability, around 20%, in the proportion of residents on the electoral roll in the period 2001-2005. In 2006 and 2007 this number decreased when the strong upsurge in the number of residents was not accompanied by a corresponding percentage of participation, with voter registration dropping to 14.10% and 14.51%, respectively.

From 2005 to 2006, the total number of residents suffered a sudden increase due to the Brazilian citizens who were able to legalize their situation (from 31,500 to 68,013) (SEF, 2005, 2006).

However, in 2007, the total number of residents diminished as a result of the decrease in the number of Brazilian and Cape Verdian nationals living in Portugal. According to the Serviço de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras (SEF) [Aliens and Borders Office], both nationalities suffered a decrease in the number of residents: the number of Cape Verdians decreased from 65,515 (2006) to 63,925 (2007), and Brazilians from 68,013 (2006) to 66,354 (2007) (SEF, 2006, 2007) and the tendency is for these figures to decrease even more due to the recent economic crisis that forces these residents to return to their countries of origin.

This situation will have implications on electoral roll data, as could already be confirmed in Map 6/2009 (DR, 2 Série, Nr. 43, 03.03.2009), where the number of non-national registrations was 17,105 (2,622 registrations fewer).

In Table 2, the electoral registration figures show that 14.51% of non-EU country residents in Portugal are registered to vote. Cape Verdian citizens have the largest participation with 26% of all residents, being followed by the Argentines, with 10%, and Uruguayans with 8.2% of electoral registrations.

Among registered citizens, Israelis are the ones with the lowest participation (1.5%). Although Declaration 9/2005 grants Icelanders the right to vote for the first time, none of these residents were registered in the period 2005-2007.

The privileged relation between Portugal and Brazil was shown in the 1954 Treaty of Friendship and Consultation, followed by the 1971 Convention on Equality of Rights and Duties. The Tratado de Amizade, Cooperação e Consulta [Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Consultation], signed in Porto Seguro on 22nd Sept.2000 (DR, I Série-A, nr. 287, 14 December 2000) came into force on 5th Sept. 2001 and it is, at present, the juridical framework that regulates the relations between the two countries, namely, acknowledging the
political rights of Portuguese and Brazilian citizens who are living in Brazil and Portugal, respectively.

Brazilian citizens can also participate actively in referenda as, according to Law 15-A/98 of 3rd April, article 38, that capacity is given to citizens of Portuguese speaking countries who are beneficiaries of the Special Status of Equality on Political Rights, if they are registered, a situation that is only applied to them. In the same circumstances, they are also able to vote in the legislative elections (article nr. 16, nr.2). In 2006, the registration data showed that 1,285 Brazilian citizens had the Status of Equality on Political rights (STAPE, 2006).

The number of legal Brazilian residents was 66,354 in 2007, and they are now the most representative foreign community in Portugal. In spite of this, the number of Brazilian citizens registered to vote is very low, as only 2,591 (3.9%) Brazilians show any interest in political participation in the Portuguese electoral acts (local and national).

3. Citizens of the European Union with residence in Portugal

The participation of Portugal in the European integration process has reinforced the rights of free movement and residence for the citizens of other states, according to the data presented by the Serviço de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras (SEF) [Aliens and Borders Office]. Between 1999 and 2007, the number of European Union citizens showed a continuous increase from 52,375 to 115,556, corresponding to 120%. In 2007, among the total of foreign citizens living in Portugal (435,736), European Union citizens represented 26.5% (SEF, 2007).

Due to the present situation of mobility and consequent need for identity references that have characterised the Community, citizenship of the European Union appears to be the way to better political relations and participation between citizens and the integrated Europe.

3.1. Electoral rights established in the Treaty on European Union

The historical path that followed the creation of “special rights” culminated in the Treaty on European Union, Part II, articles 8 - 8-E. In order to ratify this Treaty, various member states had to undertake constitutional changes, for different reasons, namely France (article 88. 3), Germany (article 28.4 of Fundamental Law), Spain (article 13.2) and Portugal (article 15.4).

In this new context, elections to the European Par-
liament were altered due to article 8.B.2, which stated that any citizen of the EU living in a non-national member country has the right to vote and also to stand in the European elections in his state of residence and under the same conditions as its nationals.

European elections have been made by direct universal suffrage since 1979, but they were restricted to nationals of each member state. As there is still no uniform electoral system, the new legislation created some measures common to all states. However, other criteria have been kept different, such as the minimum age to stand in election (it varies between 18 and 25 years old), whether voting is obligatory or not, the electoral system itself, the division in electoral circles and the date of the election. These different circumstances do not allow for the same conditions in the election of the European deputies in all member countries. Although it does not interfere with national electoral law, article 8. B-2 allows nationals of other member states to opt for participating in the European elections both as voters and as candidates in the state of residence. Until the elections of 1979, non-national voters had to travel to their own state of origin or to their diplomatic representation in order to vote for the European Parliament.

Following the transposition by all member states of Directive 93/109/CE of 6th December, the new legislative system was applied in June 1994. The right to run for office requires the candidate to be integrated in the place or state of residence as, without any knowledge about its problems or interests, the candidacy of non-national citizens has a relative meaning. The voters themselves have to know the non national candidate in order to make his election possible. In Portugal, Directive 93/109/CE implied the adoption of Law 4/94 of 9th March, by introducing some changes in the Lei do Recenseamento Eleitoral [Electoral Register Law] nr. 69/78 of 3rd November, and the Electoral Law for the European Parliament (Law 14/87 of 29th April) which, through articles 3 and 4, allowed European Union citizens living in Portugal to vote and run for office, respectively, in the European elections.

According to the Treaty on European Union, a new proposal was also presented to allow the adoption of Directive 94/80/CE of 19th December. This Directive establishes the rules for the right of EU citizens to vote and to be elected in direct local elections in the state of residence (article 2 b) (Argent, 1993; Oliver, 1996; Alcubilla, 1993).

Directive 94/80/CE² created the right to political participation in municipal elections but allows citizens the freedom to choose whether to exercise that right in the state of residence. In order to do so, they have to be on the electoral register and present all the documentation demanded of national citizens, together with a formal declaration issued by the state of origin stating that the citizen "is not deprived of the right to be elected in the member state of origin" as well as other necessary documents. Due to its transposition, a new Law 50/96 of 4th September was adopted. This Law became the basis of the new Lei do Recenseamento Eleitoral [Electoral Register Law] and Lei Eleitoral para os Órgãos das Autarquias Locais [Electoral Law for the Organs of Local Authorities] and established the effectiveness of a right which was already present in the constitutional revision of 1989 but without any possible applicability until 1996.

In the case of EU citizens, no minimum schedule in the period of residence in Portugal is demanded to allow their right to vote and be elected.

Article 6 establishes the optional character of the registration process for EU citizens living in Portugal, which means they can keep their electoral participation in the state of origin. The criteria of nationality as a determinant factor in political rights issues is being replaced by a criteria of residence as a way to respect the principle of non-discrimination and as the route to a better integration of all citizens in the European Union.

In the context of the European Union, in January 2006 about 8.2 million citizens were living and working in a non-national state (Comissão, 2008). Employment changes are usually the reasons for geographical mobility (Commission of the European Communities, 2006).

According to the 5th Report on EU citizenship (Comissão, 2008), in the European elections the rates of voter registration in the state of residence have been increasing, reaching 5.9% in 1994, 9% in 1999 and 12% in 2004, which means more than one million citizens. As for the candidates, this number is still very low and has shown a decreasing rate between the 1999 elections, with 62 candidates, and the 2004 elections with 57 candidates (3 were elected). The European Commission mentions the complex procedure of Directive 93/109/CE as the main obstacle to non-national candidates, which has to be simplified (Comissão, 2008).

In Table 3, one can see that after 1994, in Portugal, citizens registered at their place of residence have been increasing each year. In the 1994 electoral act, according to Directive 93/109/CE, 882 European Union citizens were registered and this number increased to 9.576, in 2007 (STAPE, 1994, 2007). From 1999 to 2006, the percentage increase in the participation level followed the number of EU citizens with residence in Portugal. However, a low increase in 2001 that was followed by a decrease in 2002 can be explained by the date of the data reference, January 2002 (due to the fact that the legislative elections happen that same year) when, for the other years, data reported to the months of November or December of the former year.

The process of continuous registration could demonstrate an increasing demand by EU citizens, which is considered to be an indicator of the greater interest for political participation in electoral acts in Portugal, in local and European elections, and reinforces the need for participation and integration in the states of residence (Leite, 2007).

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### Table 3: Voters register of the EU citizens living in Portugal

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>EU 15</td>
<td>Registered residents %</td>
<td>52.375</td>
<td>56.850</td>
<td>61.736</td>
<td>66.057</td>
<td>69.868</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EU 25</td>
<td>Registered residents %</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>74.328</td>
<td>77.789</td>
<td>80.013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EU 27</td>
<td>Registered residents %</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Elections to the European Parliament
** Local elections
a) Reference – January 2002

### Table 4: EU citizens with political rights in Portugal (Active and passive electoral capacity) - 2007

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Member states of the UE</th>
<th>Number of residents</th>
<th>Number of voter registers</th>
<th>% registration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>820</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>10.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgium</td>
<td>3,091</td>
<td>456</td>
<td>14.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bulgaria</td>
<td>5,028</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cyprus</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>33.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Czech Republic</td>
<td>244</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denmark</td>
<td>1,068</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>7.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estonia</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finland</td>
<td>691</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>9.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>10,556</td>
<td>1,066</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>15,498</td>
<td>1,800</td>
<td>11.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>247</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungary</td>
<td>377</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>883</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>5,985</td>
<td>506</td>
<td>8.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latvia</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lithuania</td>
<td>429</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luxembourg</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>18.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malta</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>6,589</td>
<td>969</td>
<td>14.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>911</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romania</td>
<td>19,155</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>0.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slovakia</td>
<td>186</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slovenia</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>18,030</td>
<td>1,816</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>1,649</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>6.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>23,608</td>
<td>2,353</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>115,556</td>
<td>9,576</td>
<td>8.28%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: Serviço de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras (SEF), População Estrangeira em Território Nacional, 2007; Administração Eleitoral, Inscrições no Recenseamento Eleitoral, Dezembro 2007.
EU citizens with residence in Portugal have increased 120% in 9 years (1999-2007), but this tendency is far from being followed by the electoral registration rate. As can be seen in Table 4, the proportion of EU citizens on the Portuguese electoral roll is 8.28% which is not yet significant.

From 2007 onwards, citizens from the United Kingdom (23,608), Romania (19,155), Spain (18,030), and Germany (15,498) have been the most representative nationalities, but in proportion to the EU nationals with residence in Portugal, the highest rates of registration is for the citizens of Cyprus, Luxembourg, Belgium and the Netherlands.

The new member states with assertion in 2004 still do not present significant figures. This situation demonstrates a lower mobility in comparison to the other member states (EU 15). In a total of 853 citizens, only 15 were registered (SEF, 2005; STAPE, 2005) in order to participate in the 2004 European elections and in the 2005 local elections (rights to vote and run for election possible). In 2007, that number doubled to 32 registered voters and Bulgaria and Romania joined this group with 19 and 87 voters each (total of 138 voters from the new 12 member states). That same year of 2007, the Romanian citizens (19,155) became part of the EU citizens group, allowing them to represent the second most representative European nationality in Portugal.

However, the number of voters (87) still did not reflect the number of residents due to the legal situation that was only made possible in that year. Comparing with former years, this situation can explain the diminution of the voter registers, in proportion with the total number of EU residents (See Table 3).

Considering the two groups, Tables 1 and 3 show that, from 2001 to 2007, citizens from non-EU Countries present a higher rate of registration than the EU citizens, having doubled in the period 2001-2005. Among the former, Cape-Verdeans contributed strongly to this situation (26%) and the other nationalities had rates lower than 10% (See Table 2).

In 2007, the citizens from non-EU Countries globally presented a similar higher rate of participation with 14.51%, while the EU citizens only reached 8.28%.

A stronger stability in the conditions of residence and legal framework of non-national residents (both from non-EU and EU countries) in Portugal would contribute to more significant registration/electoral participation levels.

Final Considerations

In 2007, in spite of the increase in the number of residents and electoral registrations in both groups (citizens from non-EU and EU countries), there was a decrease in the percentage of voter registrations. That means that, proportionally, it does not follow the same increasing number of non-national residents in Portugal. Since registration is a voluntary act, it is possible that this behaviour follows the trend for increasing abstention among Portuguese voters in electoral acts.

On the other hand, in both situations, reciprocity is a determinant condition in the procedure for attributing political rights. However, while citizens of some nationalities have to face a change in the legal framework in every electoral act, EU citizens do not have to deal with this restriction due to Community legislation. Generally speaking, the instability in terms of political rights among the former group of residents, with the exception of Cape-Verdeans and Brazilians, may militate against easy integration and participation.

Considering that the data here analysed concerns the voter registers of those non-national residents who have specific electoral rights, this situation does not prove an effective direct participation in the local and/or European elections. However, as registration is a voluntary act, the numbers displayed perhaps represent the citizens who are effectively interested in electoral participation, most of whom have voting rights.

This research could be developed and expanded, in the future, with the support of the official entities which are responsible for electoral issues such as the local administration (Juntas de Freguesia) and political parties, in order to confirm the cases of non-national candidates in electoral acts – both voting and standing for election. That possibility is expected to happen within the context of local elections.

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