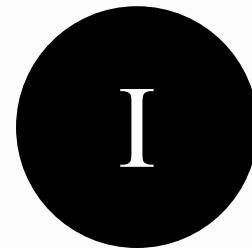
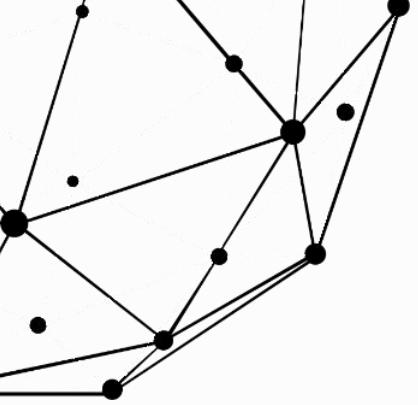


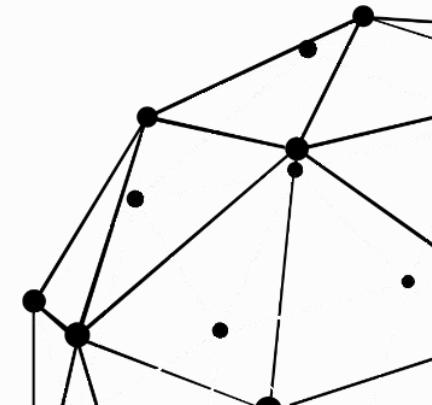
The Constitutional Reform Dilemma in Panama and Its Reflection to the Philippines

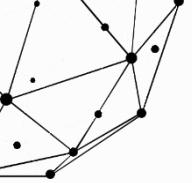
JIA Shihui

PhD candidate, Peking University



Introduction: The Topic



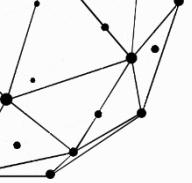


Political Participation

General Elections and Referendums Voter Turnout in Panama (1992-2014)

<i>Referendum 1992</i>		General Election 1994		<i>Referendum 1998</i>		General Election 1999	
Turnout	Abstention	Turnout	Abstention	Turnout	Abstention	Turnout	Abstention
40.60%	59.94%	73.70%	26.30%	65.40%	34.60%	76.20%	23.80%
General Election 2004		<i>Referendum 2006</i>		General Election 2009		General Election 2014	
Turnout	Abstention	Turnout	Abstention	Turnout	Abstention	Turnout	Abstention
76.90%	23.10%	43.30%	56.70%	74.00%	26.00%	76.80%	23.20%

Source: Electoral Tribunal of Panama, <https://www.tribunal-electoral.gob.pa/eventos-electorales/elecciones-generales-1994-2019/>

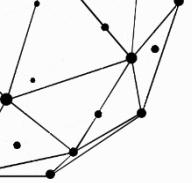


Political Participation

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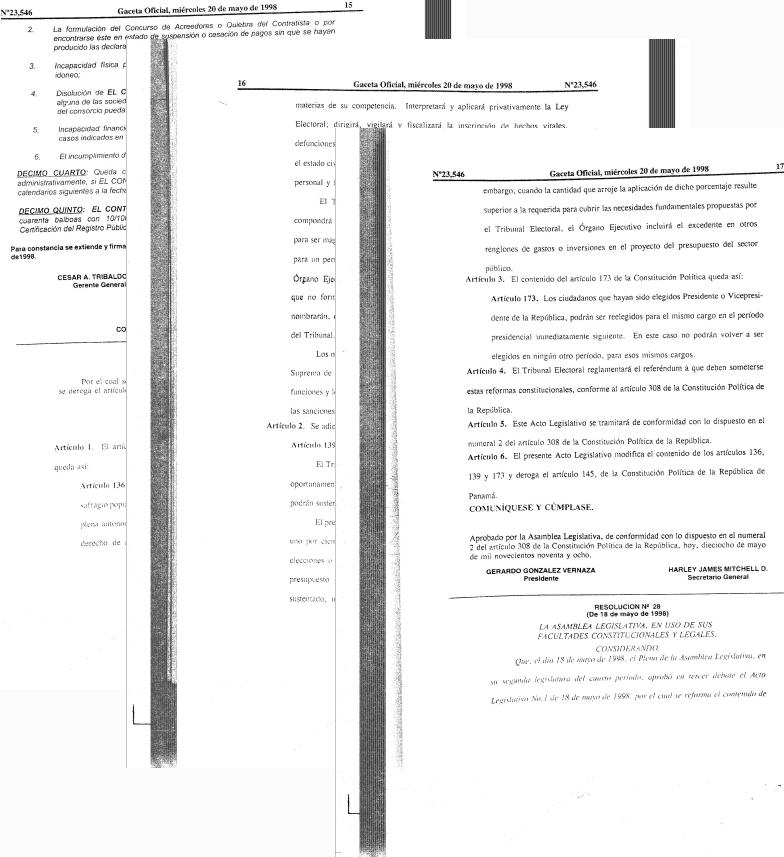
Source: Electoral Tribunal of Panama, <https://www.tribunal-electoral.gob.pa/eventos-electorales/elecciones-generales-1994-2019/>



Voter Turnout

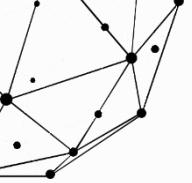
- ✓ Institutional Factors (Grofman & Lijphart, 2003)
 - ✓ Social Responsiveness (Rolfe, 2012)
-
- ✓ Rational Choice - Calculus of Voting (Downs, 1957) → voters
 - ✓ Mobilization (Fauvelle-Aymar & François, 2014) → political elites

Constitutional Reform 1998, Panama



Legislative Act No.1, May 18, 1998

➤ Article 3. Reelection of the President and Vice President



Constitutional Reform 1998, Panama



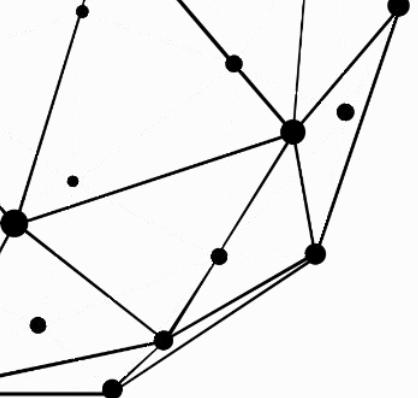
Legislative Act No.1, May 18, 1998

- Article 3. Reelection of the President and Vice President

Charter Change (Cha-cha) 2018, the Philippines

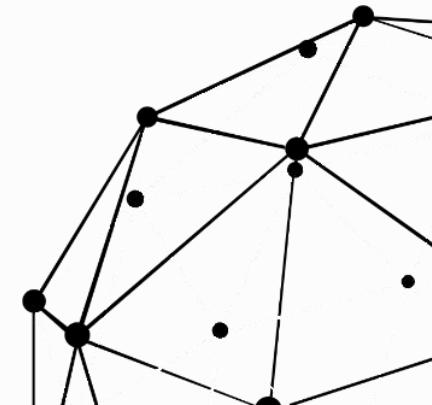
Resolution of Both Houses No.15, Dec. 11, 2018

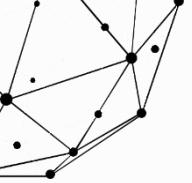
- Federalism
- Reelection



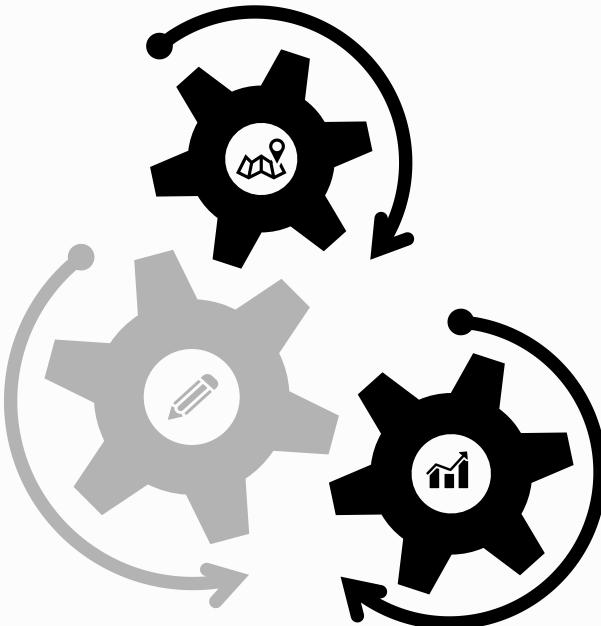
A large, solid black circle centered on the slide. Inside the circle, the Roman numeral "II" is written in a white serif font.

Analysis: Reelection and Constitutional Reform

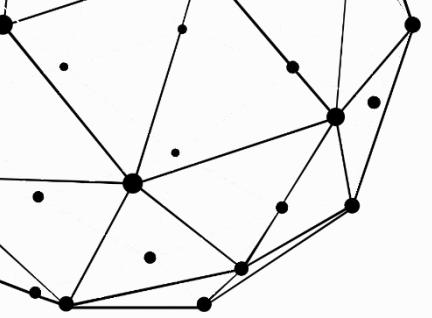




Analysis: Reelection and Constitutional Reform



- Voter: Fear of authoritarianism
- Elites: Fear of interest monopoly
- System: Reshaping the party politics



Fear of Authoritarianism

01

Dictatorship

Panama 1989

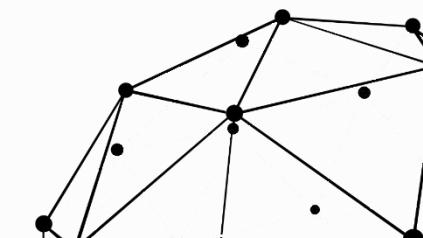


The Philippines 1986



02

Political Dynasties



01

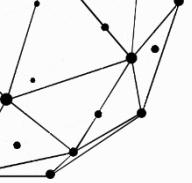
Dictatorship

02

Political Dynasties

Fear of Authoritarianism





Fear of Interest Monopoly



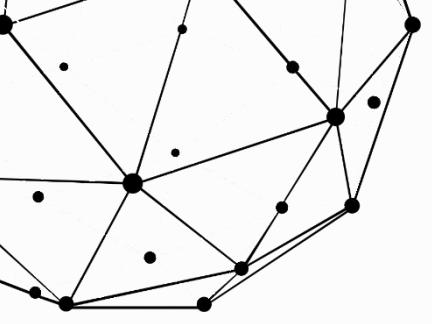
Democracy



Reelection



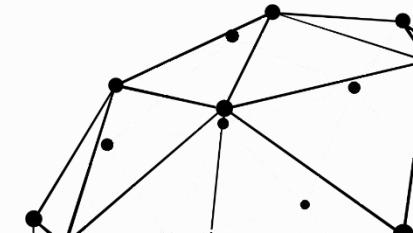
Continuity



Fear of Interest Monopoly



Quasi-Presidential Election

- ✓ Binary choice:
Current President Vs. other candidates
 - ✓ Irrational choice:
Not the Constitution, but the person.
 - ✓ Anger vote
- 

Reshaping the Party Politics

Panama

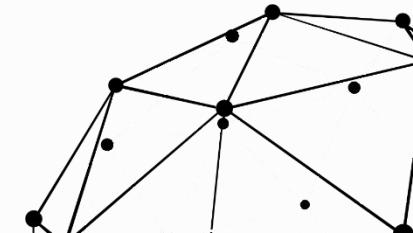
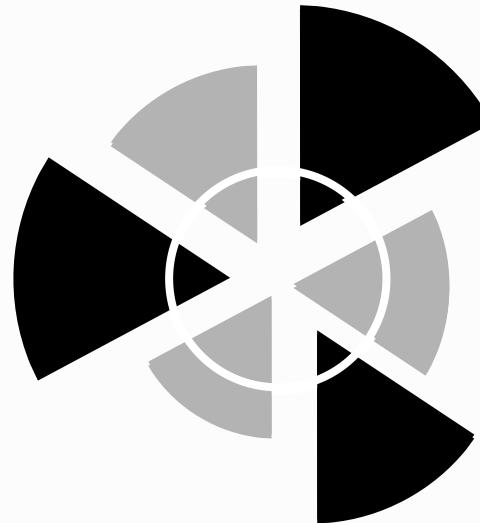
Balladares 1998

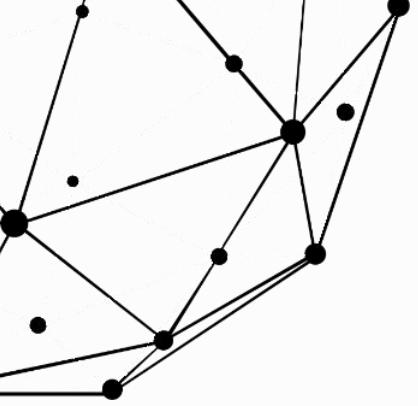
CD independent from PRD
and Legislators' turncoat

Martinelli 2009

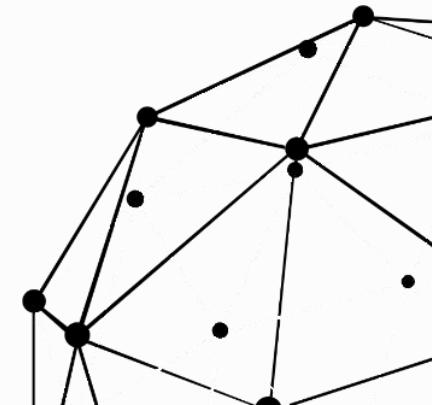
Break up of the governing
coalition

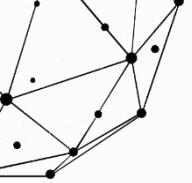
Constitutional Reform “Dilemma”





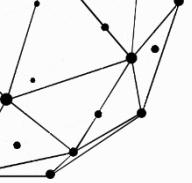
Reelection & Democracy





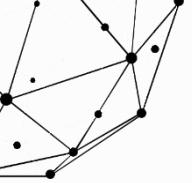
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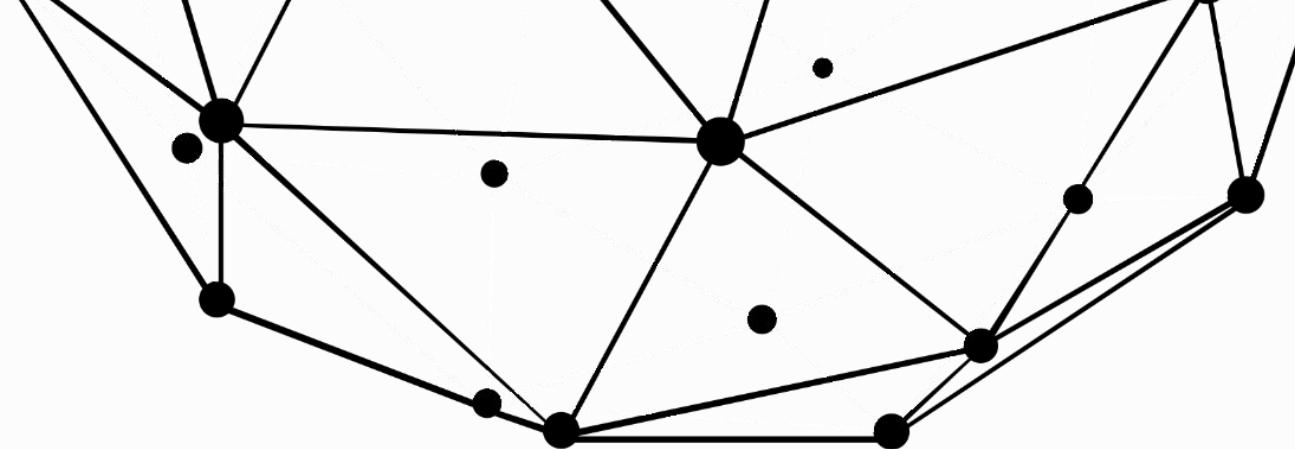
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Thank you for your attention.

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