

GRANT 8185-07

NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC SOCIETY

“Culture and tourism in Kuna Yala – Panama”

-Pereiro Pérez, X.; De León Smith, C. y Martínez Mauri, M. (2009): Culture and tourism in Kuna Yala (Panamá). Relatório para a National Geographic Society (não publicado).

Xerardo Pereiro, Mónica Martínez and Cebaldo De León
(CETRAD, “Centro de Estudos Transdisciplinares para o Desenvolvimento”-
UTAD – Universidade de Trás-os-Montes e Alto Douro)
Mail: xperez@utad.pt

BRIEF REPORT ABSTRACT

The Kunas of Panama are an ethnic group consisting of approximately 60,000 people who live in the *comarca* (an autonomous territory) of Kuna Yala (the Caribbean coast) and who enjoy political and territorial autonomy within the Republic of Panama. Traditionally, they made a living by fishing, farming and hunting, but over the last decades, tourism has appeared to be the opportunity of development. The Kunas are currently experiencing substantial changes and become *turistores* (travel agents).

This research was led by the academics of CETRAD (The Centre of Transdisciplinary Studies for Development), a research center of UTAD (The University of Trás-os-Montes and Alto Douro), a public university in the interior north of Portugal. For the research's sake, we analyzed the role of tourism in the development of the indigenous Kuna communities, studying its impact on the society, culture, economy and environment.

We adopted primarily an anthropological approach to tourism in our work, which served to view sustainable tourism as an alternative of tourism development. We carried out some work in the area of anthropology, in addition to a strenuous visual and documentary investigation. Our main contribution to the subject consists in a thorough study of diverse kinds of tourism and tourists present in Kuna Yala, including ethno-ecotourism, ethnic tourism, cruise tourism, yacht tourism, backpacker tourism, Kuna hotel tourism, community tourism, solidarity tourism and scientific tourism. One of the conclusions we reached concerns the importance of Kunas' self-management in tourism development and political control of their resources.

A LAND CALLED KUNA YALA

Tule Nega in the traditional Kuna language, Kuna Yala in the present-day Kuna language, and San Blas in Spanish is a territory stretching for a little more than 225 km along the Caribbean coast of Panama as far as the frontier with

Colombia. The Kuna population of Kuna Yala consists of approximately 60,000 people who live on 40 islands and in 12 small coastal villages, and in the urban centers of Panama. The Kunas are considered one of the seven indigenous groups of Panama, along with Ngöbe, Emberá, Wounáan, Buglé, Naso and Bri-Bri, who constitute a total of about 10% of the Panamanian population. Today, the Kunas dwell in the *comarcas* (autonomous territories) of Kuna Yala, Wargandi and Madungandi, and also in the urban centers of Panama and in Colombia.

The life of the Kuna people was markedly affected by the revolution in February 1925 (Howe, 2004; 1998). On account of it and their constant political efforts, the Kunas were able to build a political and territorial autonomy recognized by the state of Panama (Law 16 of 19-02-1953) as well as international, and even multinational, cooperation agencies. They are governed by the Kuna General Congress, which is the supreme authority of the *comarca* of Kuna Yala. For some decades, the Kunas have been experiencing a process of socio-cultural changes wrought by intensification of tourism (increase in tourist activity) and urbanization (migration to urban centers) in the context of social, cultural, political and economic globalization.



Kuna Yala: Photo by Xosé Manuel Pérez Paredes

A VIRGIN LAND?

The majority of visitors who arrive in the region aboard sailing boats, cruise liners or to spend a few days in the Kuna hotels or huts are enraptured by over 400 coral islets and crystal clean waters surrounding them. They view Kuna Yala as a virgin territory; wild and primitive (Pereiro y De León, 2007). They find

it difficult to understand that those beautiful islets with their sand so white and coconut palms are not a wilderness area but the product of work of various generations of Kuna men and women. Had it not been for their efforts, those attractive islets would be covered by mangrove swamps teeming with mosquitoes and therefore inaccessible. That scenery contemplated by tourists is nothing else but a piece of land which the Kunas have been transforming since the mid-19th century, when they decided to exploit the cultivation of coconut on the islands close to the coast. Consequently, it should be remembered that the land, albeit resembling a *terra nullis* to some tourists, is the home and the fruit of work of a spirited and autonomous indigenous people.

THEN AND NOW

In 1912 Henry Pittier (1857-1950), a North American botanist of the Swiss origin, wrote about the life and customs of the Cuna-Cuna or San Blas Indians in an article published by National Geographic (Pittier, 1912). He stressed their diplomatic skills towards the Colombian government and the officials of the Canal zone, but he also mentioned the difficulties experienced by visitors who wanted to penetrate their territory. Apparently “they feel that isolation is their best policy, and it would not be safe for anybody to penetrate into their forests without a strong escort and continual watchfulness” (p. 648). Despite their desire for the isolation of their territory, Pittier would still point out that the Kunas were no savages, for “at least one man in every ten has traveled extensively as a sailor and has seen more of the World than the average Panamanian” (p. 649). That apparent contradiction between isolationism and globetrotters’ life appeared also 29 years later in another article for National Geographic, written by Corinne B. Feeney (1941). This time, the reporter visited the region with the objective of portraying anew the life of the arch-isolationist Indians of San Blas and she insisted that “the chief characteristic of these indians has been a persistent and sullen unfriendliness to any and all outsiders” (Feeney, 1941: 193).

The world in which the Kunas live today is quite different from that portrayed by Pittier and Feeney in their articles. During the first half of the 20th century, the coconut served as money on the Kuna islands. As pointed out by Feeney (1941), “on the islands off Panama’s San Blas coast Money does grow on trees. The only gold or silver that goes into its making is the gold of the tropical sunshine and the silver of moonlight, for this cash is in the form of coconuts”. The time has changed. The coconut, which is still cultivated by the Kunas, is hardly ever sufficient to provide for their most basic needs. Although it is still a source of income, the coconut has been superseded by something else that the locals cultivate on more than 400 islands scattered on their territory, namely tourism.

Unlike in the past, the Kunas do not reject foreigners anymore. Today, they gladly receive over 20,000 tourists who visit the region every year according to the sources of the Kuna General Congress. Neither tourism nor tourists provoke rejection but are present in manifold aspects of Kunas’ everyday life. They have managed to penetrate even the most private spheres of their life. Tourists have successfully entered Kunas’ oneiric world, a world of paramount importance for the inhabitants of the islands, for dreaming is no banal act in Kuna Yala. When dreaming, the Kunas learn skills, acquire

knowledge and see their future. So, for example, if a woman dreams that she catches a huge bank of fish some days before the arrival of a cruise liner full of tourists, she will be prosperous in the future because it means that she will sell a lot of *molas*, handcraft patchwork textiles designed by women, to tourists.

KUNA TOURISM: A HISTORY OF CONTACTS AND CONFRONTATIONS

The history of tourism in Kuna Yala is associated with merchant travelers and missionaries who visited the area for various reasons, but also with the travel and hospitality culture of the Kunas, who would take in the Kunas coming from other islands and communities. The Kuna tourism of today was forged over the 20th century against the backdrop of tense relations. According to a document issued by the municipal authorities of Kuna Yala (cited by Bonilla, 1996 a; and Gordon Medina, 1998: 38) in 1920 the first cruise liner arrived in Kuna Yala, with 800 passengers aboard. According to other oral history sources, it was in 1934 when the first cruise liner arrived in Kuna Yala; it was a Swedish ship teeming with tourists which made it to the area of Gardi. From that time on, the tourists from cruise liners are categorized by the Kunas as “*suidin*” with reference to the name and Swedish nationality of the first cruise liner called “Sweden”.

From 1934 onwards, big cruise liners arrive in Kuna Yala, for instance, French *Mermoz* (600-700 passengers) and *Renaissance*, Italian *Achille Lauro* (1500 passengers) or *Raffaello* (1200 passengers), German *Europa*, Greek *Acuario* and Swedish *Vistafjord* (Rodríguez Smith, 1998: 17).

The anthropologist D. B. Stout (1947) informs that in 1938 the Panamanian government opened up Kuna Yala to tourism cooperating with tourist agencies and the USA, particularly in Narganá. According to another anthropologist, Ricardo Falla, the *El Porvenir* hotel, located on the island with the very same name, is the oldest in Kuna Yala. The hotel was set up in 1931 by an American called Jim Price, who in 1963 sold it to a Kuna family, the Velez brothers (Falla, 1979: 20), who have been managing it ever since.

Over the decades following the Second World War, tourism, and especially the US tourism, was growing stronger and stronger in Kuna Yala, but it was to cause conflicts between the Kunas and non-Kuna tourist interests.

In 1965 an American called W. Denis Barton tried to buy an island, something he did not succeed in, but he was still able to rent one close to Ailigandi for 90 years to build the *Islandia* hotel, after entering into contract with the the *saila* of Ailigandi (Castro and Jaramillo, 1998) in exchange for help in repairing the engines of community members and buying from them *molas*, necklaces and handicrafts in general. In spite of success in terms of guests, it was not long before problems with the neighbor community appeared. According to the evidence and documents of that time, the proprietor started to forbid fishing in the area of the island, tourists would stroll naked in the hotel, some of the visitors were homosexuals and they behaved inappropriately before the Kunas. Barton would repeatedly fail to comply with the Kuna laws and the Kunas set the hotel on fire in 1969 and 1974. Today, the Dad-Ibe Kuna hotel is located right on a nearby island.

In 1967 Tom Moody managed to negotiate a lease of the island of Pidertupu (Río Sidra) (Swain, 1992: 160), an uninhabited island, to build a hotel where there was an airport. Unlike Barton, Moody maintained a very good

relationship with the community of Río Sidra, where the proprietors of the island dwelled. The community members benefited from the American's outlays to build an airport runway and from the inflow of tourists (charging taxes at the landing strip, selling handicrafts, etc.). But then the Kuna General Congress resolved to annul the license and conceded to Moody 30 days to leave the island of Pidertupu (see the files of Rubén Pérez Kantule: KGC extraordinary, Ustupu, 24/25-11-1967, Resolution). Moody carried on with the project during the following years, whereas the Kuna General Congress carried on with issuing resolutions against it. Years later, early in the morning on the 20th of June 1981, Moody's accommodations became an object of assault at the hands of a group of young Kunas, which coincided with the Kuna General Congress holding a meeting in Gardi Sugdup (see *La Prensa*, 22-06-1981).

At the same time in 1981, John Mann, an American guide, winds up his tourism business (Swain, 1992: 160). John Mann settled in Pico Feo, an island close to El Porvenir, in the late 1970s, and worked as a guide for tourists sent to him by the agencies from the city of Panama. According to Gordon Medina (1998: 39), John Mann arrived in Kuna Yala in 1957, and as the author claims, it was when tourism activity started to increase. John Mann was a guide on two thatch-roof *cayucos*, small dugout canoes, and he used the airport of Mandinga. John Mann continued to work in Kuna Yala aboard cruise liners during the years of 1980-90.

The leading role of the US was, however, coupled with the Kuna leading role in building and developing an alternative model of tourism. In 1969 *Las Palmeras*, a community hotel managed by Julio Benítez Coleman, was opened in Ailigandi. Its two-floored structure was undoubtedly a novelty in Kuna Yala. Other examples include the *San Blas* hotel of Luis Burgos as well as the historical *Hotel Anai*, which was created by the Kuna Alberto González and boasted 10 rooms, electricity and a swimming pool. The *Anai* hotel was renovated in the 1980s, but today it lies in ruins and its old pool changed into an aquarium. Alberto González worked in the US Bases of the Canal; he was a teacher and a tourist guide.

The Panamanian Institute of Tourism (IPAT), the institution that in the mid-1970s prepared a tourist project for Kuna Yala, in Río Sidra to be precise, with 686 rooms and an international airport, was another fundamental agent in the confrontation of tourism development models. It was the era of government of General Omar Torrijos, who wielded power from 1970 to 1981. The IPAT enjoyed the support of the Inter-American Development Bank and considered the Kunas one of the best national tourist attractions (Chapin, 1990). That big project of the Panamanian state followed the model of mass tourism. The IPAT endeavored to "freeze" the Kuna culture creating a reserve intended for tourists. The project would have provided accommodation to a capacity of 1166 tourists in Cayos Los Grullos, the investment would have amounted to \$38,000,000 and it would have been generating an annual income of some \$19,000,000 (Barranco, 1998: 173). The project was opposed by the Kuna General Congress and the majority of the Kunas, some of whom acted with virulence.

Other famous conflicts of the 1980s included those of the *Iskardup Ecoresort* (Playón Chico) and the *Jungle Adventure* company, as well as that of the *Kwadule* hotel. During that period, however, the form of settling conflicts underwent a slight change. On the one hand, there was less physical violence,

and on the other, the conflicts made the Kuna leaders realize a growing need for legislating tourism activity in favor of Kuna self-control and self-management.

In the 1990s, the IPAT (1993) published its *Tourism Development Master Plan for Panama (Plan Maestro del Desarrollo Turístico de Panamá)* for years 1993-2002, in which Kuna Yala is defined as an area for a potential development of mass tourism based on the products of the sun and the beach. In view of that and other development proposals, and after a long participatory and democratic debate, the Kuna General Congress approved a tourism statute in 1996. The statute constitutes the exercise of indigenous self-determination and an attempt to control the impact of tourism by means of politics (Tourism Concern, 1998).

Tourism, together with the real estate sector and the extension of the Canal, has become one of the economic sectors under expansion in today's Panama. In September 2004, the son of General Omar Torrijos, Martín, was elected the President of Panama. Following that victory, Rubén Blades, a famous singer and actor, was appointed the Minister for Tourism, which provided a new stimulus to the sector. For the last four years, the IPAT and foreign capital have made an effort to change Panama into "a tourist destination which is preferable due to its Canal and a unique diversity of attractions offered within a framework of security"¹. The motto of the IPAT sums up clearly the government's tourism policy: "Let tourism be the country's principal source of foreign currency". As a result of that situation Kuna Yala quickly became the focus of interests of the government and foreign investors willing to stimulate tourism in Panama. Consequently, it is no wonder that one of the first places Rubén Blades visited as the minister for tourism was the Kuna *comarca*.

On establishing the first relations with the Kuna authorities, Rubén Blades did his utmost to make the Kuna General Congress and the IPAT sign a cooperation agreement on sustainable development of tourism in the *comarca* of Kuna Yala on the 9th of July, 2005.² The negotiations concerning the implementation of the accord finished at the end of 2006, when the government and the Kuna authorities stated that their positions on investment promotion and the legal security of investments were irreconcilable.

The government tried for two years to convince the Kunas to accept foreign investment and thus be able to prepare a pilot plan of tourism development (construction of big hotels) on the Cayos Holandeses (Maoki) and on the mainland (Anachucuna and Armila). Nevertheless, the Kunas finally refused to accept it, for they did not want to lose control over their territory and resources.

The refusal in question was strongly criticized by the IPAT, asserting that Kuna Yala is a paradise full of poverty and fails to provide good service to the tourist. Rubén Blades was to declare that "the Kunas do not know what they want", and the Kuna General Congress maintains that the Kunas do not want foreign investors or mass tourism but an alternative model of tourism development (Bernal, 2008).

¹ www.ipat.gob.pa consulted on 14 Oct. 2007.

² To consult the agreement go to: www.congresogeneralkuna.org

TOURISM SELF-MANAGED BY THE KUNAS

Although the Kunas still view tourism as a threat, that way of thinking has been maturing over the last decades and sustainable tourism is now beginning to be considered a development opportunity. As a matter of fact, many of the communities which previously did not think of tourism as of a factor in development have already begun to build infrastructure needed for tourist activity, and the process is regarded as unstoppable. From Usdup up to the frontier with Colombia, it is already possible to see offers of small hotels as well as an inflow of tourism from the Colombian coast. A secondary school qualification in tourism and agroecology has been recently introduced in a high school of Usdup, which is a non-tourist community.

The Kuna model of tourism can be classified as ethnic tourism³, eco-ethnotourism, eco-agrotourism, community tourism or indigenous tourism. Peculiarly, the indigenous people themselves are those who control the major part of tourist resources, and those who try to manage the majority of tourist benefits and avoid their prejudices.

Over the recent years, the inflow of tourists visiting Kuna Yala has considerably increased and the Kunas know how to take advantage of that increase. According to the data of the Kuna General Congress, 19,698 tourists visited Kuna Yala over the months between the 1st of November 2004 and the 31st of October 2005, and 20,742 in the following year (between the 1st of November 2005 and the 31st of October 2006). The tourists who visit the region, about 20,000 according to the Kuna General Congress, arrive aboard cruise liners (between November and May), mini- cruise ships, luxury yachts, sailing boats, light aircrafts or in off-road vehicles, staying in approximately 40 hotels and Kuna huts created in the region.

Those hotels and huts can be classified into: a) small traditional Kuna hotels with their prices fluctuating between \$ 10 and 80 per person per night; b) small Kuna hotels with the prices between \$ 80 and 240; c) accommodation with families for backpackers. Agents of those accommodations are Kuna families, companies or communities, and the majority boast a university education.

The majority of visitors are Americans, followed by Europeans, Latin Americans and Asians. One of the Kuna hotels has received tourists of 49 different nationalities, which gives us an idea of tourist diversity in that area. The Kunas created a fiscal system for tourism control. All non-Kuna visitors who arrive in the region have to pay \$ 2 as the *comarca* tax⁴. In addition to that tax, the Kunas developed a fiscal system charging arriving cruise liners, they are charged \$ 500 as the anchorage dues, whereas sailing boats are charged \$ 20 to be allowed to stay in the area for a month. Apart from *comarca* taxes the

³ Ethnic tourism is understood in vary different ways by the Kuna businesspeople. For some it consists in enabling tourists to spend their holidays in line with the indigenous communities' lifestyle, for others in visiting the communities just for a few hours, and for others in enjoying island scenery and environment. For the sake of an academic concept of ethnic tourism, consult, among others, Butler and Hinch, 1996; Smith, 1996; Moscardo and Pearce, 1999; Oakes, 2000.

⁴ This tax was first levied in the 1990s, and in 2006 it went up from 1 to 2 dollars per tourist, which enabled the Kuna General Congress to considerably increase the revenues obtained from that tax.

local communities levy also local taxes on using the community airports, anchoring or visiting the community.

Tourism is nowadays one of the principal financial sources of the Kuna General Congress and it is an expanding sector. The Kunas are aware of that and commit themselves to the activity in question even though there are manifold opinions on tourism within the *comarca*. Those diverse opinions have a lot to do with the benefits that each community derives from tourism. The communities of Gardi, located close to the road and the areas of cruise liner arrivals for over eight decades now, have been definitely in favor of inflow of visitors. For the inhabitants of that area, tourism is a fundamental economic resource. Thanks to the sale of handicrafts, especially *molas*, they were able to partially join the ranks of the consumer society of Panama and make sure that some of their children receive a university education. Additionally to selling handicrafts and providing services, that area of 28 communities offers various hotels managed exclusively by the Kunas, which have existed there for years. Nevertheless, in the eastern part of the *comarca*, consisting of 21 communities, tourism is a somewhat less important activity. It does not have such an intense history of contacts with travelers, for it does not have sufficiently good conditions neither in terms of relief nor landscape so as to allow the arrival of cruise liners or short tours, and its hotels are rather poorly developed.

The obstacles to the development of quality tourism in the area usually named by the indigenous business sectors include lack of preparation for rendering services on the side of the inhabitants of the *comarca*, waste management, food supply for good function of business, malfunction or absence of basic public services, and in some cases, difficulty in acceding external funds (mortgages or loans from public institutions). Despite all those difficulties, the Kuna hotel establishments are the only ones to exist in the *comarca*, and they receive between 100 and 2000 tourists a year.

At present the main threats to the political control of the Kuna tourism are two kinds of business: a) the hotels and huts built on the border of the *comarca* of Kuna Yala to develop tourism activity in the area without infringing the Kuna holding regulations; b) vessels⁵ (sailing boats, yachts and catamarans) which carry tourists aboard. Although "it is prohibited to do business of tourism in our territory"⁶ to the sailors who arrive in the *comarca*, some manage to escape the control of the indigenous authorities.

Given that, controlling tourism in Kuna Yala is no easy task for the indigenous authorities. Despite over fifty years of political autonomy, the Kuna territory, with its islets, white sand beaches and crystal clean waters, is still coveted by numerous foreign investors. The Kunas' latest reaction to that situation has been calm and serene; in 2007 the Kuna General Congress passed some "laws regulating tourism activity in Kuna Yala"⁷ and established the secretariat for tourism affairs with the objective of strengthening the

⁵ What merits special attention, the Kunas consider yachts, sailing boats and catamarans carrying tourists to Kuna Yala "floating hotels", which infringe the Kuna regulations concerning tourism, and especially those referring to foreign investment in the *comarca*, but they do not think that transatlantic cruise liners visiting the region between November and May commit any irregularity.

⁶ Kuna General Congress; an announcement addressed to the captains of sailing boats, yachts and mega yachts; El Porvenir, 17 March 2006.

⁷ The regulations can be consulted at: www.congresogeneralkuna.org

fundamental law and regulating the tourism activities carried out by the Kunas themselves. In March 2008 the first tourism secretary of the Kuna General Congress, Enrique Inatoy, started to work with the mission of organizing, controlling and promoting the tourism of the region. According to the Kuna regulations, no non-Kuna is allowed to set up a tourist project in Kuna Yala and the Kunas should have the authorization of the Kuna General Congress, “the activities disrespectful to the Kuna people and their natural resources shall not be allowed”, “it shall not be allowed to obtain photos or record films without the consent of the local authorities and the local inhabitants”, “it shall not be allowed to traffic in alcohol or other illegal substances”, “it shall not be possible to stroll wearing a swim suit in the communities” (see www.congresogeneralkuna.org).

The challenges of the Kuna tourism for the future are manifold but in our work we have listened to many Kuna voices highlighting the following: a) correction of negative environmental impacts (e.g. waste); b) tourism education of the communities; c) coordination of tourist offer; d) political control of their tourist resources and products; e) community distribution of tourist benefits; f) a redefinition and reconstruction of the Kuna culture and ethnicity; g) improved dialogue with the state of Panama intended at increasing welfare.

Tourism development in Kuna Yala is going through a crucial moment. The key to creating a self-sufficient model resides in the consolidation of the financial, political, economic and institutional aspects of the Kuna society and the external agents that interact with it, may they be tourists or states. They should all join their forces to support and strengthen tourism efforts under way today, remembering the social community structure of the Kuna society. It should be remembered that tourism is for the Kunas nothing else but a means to an end: maintaining control over their territory.



Gardi Suidup, photo by Xerardo Pereiro



“Airport of El Porvenir”, photo by Xerardo Pereiro

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- BARRANCO, Alejandro (1998): El turismo ecológico como alternativa para la conservación de la cultura y el Medio Ambiente en el sector de Cartí en Kuna Yala. Panamá: Universidad de Panamá (Facultad de Humanidades – Escuela de Geografía e Historia, tesis de licenciatura inédita).
- BERNAL, Raúl A. (2008): “Desacuerdo sobre inversión turística en Kuna Yala”, in La Prensa, 13-03-2008, p. 41 B.
- BONILLA, Arcadio (1996 a): “Turismo en Kuna Yala, una industria limitada”, in La Prensa, 18-02-1996, p. 17 A.
- BUTLER, Richard and HINCH, Thomas (eds.) (1996): Tourism and Indigenous Peoples. London: International Thompson Business Press.
- CASTRO, V. Aleyda, y JARAMILLO, Ch. Iben B. (1998): Plan Piloto para un desarrollo turístico-cultural en Kuna Yala. Panamá: Universidad de Panamá (Facultad de Arquitectura, tesis de licenciatura inédita).
- CHAPIN, Mac (1990): “The Silent Jungle: Ecotourism Among the Kuna Indians of Panamá”, in Cultural Survival Quarterly n.º 14.1 (www.culturalsurvival.org).
- FALLA, Ricardo (1979, or. 1975): Turismo en San Blas. Un estudio sociopolítico de sus efectos en la población kuna. Panamá: Centro de Capacitación Social.
- FEENEY, Corinne B. (1941): “Arch-Isolationists, The San Blas Indians”, in The National Geographic Magazine, Vol. LXXIX, no. 2 : pp.193-220.

- GORDON MEDINA, Ethel Iveth (1998): Estrategias de mercadeo para la promoción turística de San Blas con un bajo impacto negativo sobre la cultura kuna. Panamá: Universidad de Panamá (Facultad de Comunicación Social – Escuela de publicidad, tesis de licenciatura inédita).
- HOWE, James (1986): The Kuna Gathering: Contemporary village politics in Panama. Austin: University of Texas.
- HOWE, James (2004, or. 1998): Un pueblo que no se arrodillaba. Panamá, los Estados Unidos y los kunas de San Blas. South Woodstock: Plumsock Mesoamerican Studies.
- MOSCARDO, Gianna e PEARCE, Philip L. (1999): “Interpretación del turismo étnico”, in *Annals of Tourism Research en Español*, vol. 1, pp. 147-166.
- OAKES, Tim (2000): “Ethnic Tourism”, in Jafari, Jafar (ed.): *Encyclopaedia of Tourism*. London: Routledge, pp. 204-206.
- PEREIRO, Xerardo and DE LEÓN, Cebaldo (2007): Los impactos del turismo en Kuna Yala (Panamá). Turismo y cultura entre los kuna de Panamá. Madrid: Editorial Ramón Areces.
- PITTIER, Henry (1912): “Little-know parts of Panama”, in *The National Geographic Magazine*, vol. XXIII, no. 7 : pp. 627-662.
- RODRÍGUEZ SMITH, Alicia Blas (1998): Carti- Campaña de Promoción Turística. San Blas – Kuna Yala. Panamá: Facultad de Arquitectura: Universidad de Panamá. Tesis de licenciatura inédita.
- STOUT, David B. (1947): San Blas Cuna Acculturation. An Introduction. New York: The Viking Fund.
- SMITH, Valene L. (1996): “Indigenous tourism: the four Hs”, in BUTLER, R.; HINCH, T. (eds.): *Tourism and Indigenous Peoples*. London: Thomson, pp. 283-307.
- SWAIN, Margaret Byrne (1992): “Roles de género en el turismo indigenista: Las molas de los kuna, Kuna Yala y la supervivencia cultural”, in Smith, V. L. (ed.): *Anfitriones e invitados. Antropología del Turismo*. Madrid: Endymion, pp. 139-169.
- TOURISM CONCERN (ed.) (1998): “Controlling Tourism Through Statutes: Does it Work?”, in *Tourism Concern* n.º 29, pp. 11-13.