A Conceptual Model for Influences in Cultural Policies: a Case Study of Tourism and Cultural Heritage in Panama

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Abstract: This article explores the relation between tourism and cultural heritage policies. I provide an overview of the historical development of both sectors for the case of Panama. On the basis of my research, I observe that tourism has played an important role in the differentiated attention given by the state to Panamanian cultural heritage. As the World Heritage Site Casco Antiguo becomes an important destination for visitors, the cultural sector has focused on cooperating with the tourism authority leaving other immovable heritage sites and museums aside. Following these findings, I propose a general model that helps explain the influences and vulnerabilities that the cultural sector can experience. I identify three agents of change within the cultural sector: 1) external pressures, 2) instrumentalization, and 3) internal pressures. I discuss the vulnerability to these agents caused by issues of definition and justification.

Keywords: cultural heritage, cultural heritage policies, tourism, Panama

1. Introduction

Tourism has continued to expand and diversify after six decades of virtually uninterrupted growth, evolving into one of the most promising economic sectors in the world. From 1995 to 2014, international tourism arrivals worldwide have more than doubled and international tourism receipts tripled.[1]

The effect of tourism is especially great in low-income countries due to their small and undiversified economies. This is the case with Latin American countries where diverse natural and cultural resources are found, making the region a popular tourist destination. Tourism represents an opportunity for Latin America to overcome pressing issues such as poverty and economically weak governments. A study by Fayissa, Nsiah and Tadesse (2011) found that revenues from tourism can positively contribute to the economic growth and gross national product in Latin American countries.

Being aware of this situation, Latin American states have contributed to tourism by supporting this attractive income source through infrastructure and economic incentives. As the vigorous demand and supply cycle continues, it becomes necessary to study the immediate and not so immediate effects of tourism in the region before irreversible changes occur.

The impact of tourism, typically measured as direct or indirect, with both benefits and drawbacks, is divided by the United Nations Environment Programme into three categories: environmental, sociocultural and economic. Tourism development that is sustainable in these three areas is expected to bring economic benefits without major drawbacks.

Although there have been numerous studies on the economic, environmental and social

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[1] According to data provided by the United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO 2006, UNWTO 2015)

impacts of tourism, there is less research on the effects of cultural sustainability. Robinson and Boniface (1999) compiled study cases that exemplify the various relations that tourism and culture can develop. Robinson and Picard (2006) analyzed the key topics and issues that surround these relations. Bendixen (1997) takes a critical perspective by pointing out that institutions may shape their projects as needed by the tourism industry, creating vulnerability in the connections to cultural sources and the original backgrounds of social existences. On the contrary, Besculides, Lee, and McCormick (2002) explored the cultural benefits of tourism experienced by Hispanics and non-Hispanics that live along a historic byway.

Although there is a general idea of the benefits and drawbacks that may arise in the cultural sector due to the impact of tourism, it is also important to understand in detail how this impact manifests itself and what consequences emerge in the long term.

This paper focuses on the impact of tourism in the field of cultural policies, specifically in the area of cultural heritage policies. Cultural heritage is linked to the identity of people and places, and plays an important role in attracting foreign visitors. If the desire to attract tourists is strong, host countries may shape their cultural heritage policies to accommodate tourists more easily and to respond to foreign demands instead of internal necessities. Meanwhile, cultural heritage policies aim at safeguarding cultural heritage through measures that can be preventive, regulatory, or punitive.

Through the case study of Panama, a country that has experienced an unprecedented economic growth and where tourism in the past decade has played an important role, I intend to illustrate the influence that tourism can have on cultural heritage policies. I provide a model that helps explain such influences in the wider field of cultural policies.

2. Methods

To have a complete overview of Panamanian cultural heritage policies, tourism and their development, I consulted various sources, both secondary and primary, through bibliographical research and interviews with Panamanian professionals in the cultural heritage field. This research was undertaken during fieldwork in August 2015. The data was analyzed and important events and features of the studied fields were extracted and presented. However, the main source of this article is the data collected from official government documents available in the transparency website of the National Institute of Culture (INAC) (http://www.inac.gob.pa/transparencia), the transparency website of the Tourism Authority of Panama (ATP) (http://www.atp.gob.pa/transparencia), and the National Assembly of Panama website (http://www.asamblea.gob.pa/legispan-2/). The transparency portals provide documents on budget expenditure, number of staff, and internal policies, whereas the national assembly website has a database of all Panamanian legislation published in the official gazettes. Thus, most of the work presented focuses on state-sponsored policies. As for tourism, I mainly refer to international tourism. Using the information gathered, I discuss and draw a general conceptual model.

3. Evolution of the Concept of Cultural Heritage Policies in Panama

The multicultural, ever-evolving reality of Panama has historically been a challenge when addressing Panamanian identities and their related cultural heritage, building a debate between those who want to highlight and those who criticize a unified notion of "Panamanianness". In this section, I discuss the conceptual development of cultural heritage policies in Panama.

A Focus on Conservation

Following the separation from Colombia in 1903, cultural heritage policies were

formulated when the newly independent Panamanian government called for the expropriation of buildings in order to create a national museum, a library, a theater, and other institutions that could instill a sense of national identity.[2] In Central American countries, museums played a special role at the beginning of their republican histories, as they aimed at legitimizing the newly created states, working as symbols of the emerging nations. Shortly after, protective and administrative legislation for sites such as San Lorenzo and Panama Viejo were issued by the government.[3] These first cultural heritage policies started in a loose, unconnected manner, addressing heritage sites with no specific direction and under no integral cultural body. They were only clear in their objective of conserving historical sites. For example, Law 61 of 1908 allocates funds and calls for the conservation of sites "so that their current appearance is not altered or their construction style is not modified in any way." Thus, the concept of heritage conservation was present since the foundation of the Republic of Panama, although it did not follow an explicit purpose or direction.

Integral Approach

Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, loose and unconnected cultural heritage declarations continued; however, in 1941, a general law prohibited the export of heritage, regulating commerce and appointing the Department of Arts, Museums and National Monuments with the responsibility of caring for and protecting antique assets and national monuments. At the same time, a list of the designated national monuments was issued.[4] The innovation in these laws was the integral approach under which several monuments were placed in the same system of protection.

Large excavation projects such as the ones conducted by the Peabody Museum of Harvard in the 1930s and the University of Pennsylvania in the 1940s (Haller 2010) may have contributed to these first integral measures, as addressing individual sites and objects became more and more cumbersome.

Thus, out of necessity, the concept evolved from "many separate sites that need to be conserved" to "cultural heritage in general that needs to be conserved," although a justification or direction for such conservation remained unclear.

Directions

Since the late 1960s, Panamanian cultural heritage saw a period of solid and fast growth in its organization and regulation. Much of this was due to a trend that emphasized Panamanian identity while opposing it to the United States, which was losing popularity because of the Canal Zone occupation. In this case, the pressure of fostering a national identity was a key element in building a cultural heritage organizational and legislative framework. Another element in this development was Reina Torres de Araúz, who undoubtedly revolutionized the perceptions of historic heritage in Panama. Araúz was an eminent anthropologist who had been working in educational and academic fields. With scientific rigor and a modern concept of the role heritage could have in the Panamanian society, she pushed for heritage legislation and created several museums (Camargo 1979). One of her greatest achievements was to participate in the reform commission of the de facto dictator Omar Torrijos for the Panamanian Constitution in 1972, in which several considerations toward cultural heritage were included (de Araúz 1981). By this

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[2] Article 12 of Law 52 of 1904, under Panama Province. Law 3 of 1909 allocated budget for the National Museum.

[3] Laws 61 of 1908 allocated funds for the conservation of three sites, Law 12 of 1912, and Law 61 of 1908.

[4] Laws 67 and 68 of 1941.

time, the dictatorship era that lasted for two decades had already begun.[5]

As an anthropologist, Araúz recognized Panama as a "multi-cultural and multi-racial" nation (de Araúz 1981), and included her views in her political and administrative works.

During this time, a dual concept of Panamanian identity was constructed. On the one hand, it was unified by excluding the U.S. and its influence. On the other hand, it aimed at highlighting the singularity of the various groups of people in Panama through the multicultural approach. This dual, somewhat paradoxical approach to culture and identity remains today in some forms and is still a challenge for the national establishment.

Specialized Organization

Harvey (2014) points out that the vast amount of responsibilities regarding culture that were established in Articles 80 to 90 of the 1972 Panamanian Constitution called for a specialized organization. Accordingly, in 1974, the National Institute of Culture (INAC) was created as an autonomous body that would work under the cultural and educational policies of the Ministry of Education. Although the freedom to create projects was granted to this institution, it maintained a highly centralized structure that responded to the executive power. Cultural heritage was now being managed by a clearly distinguishable institution that is still the main organization in charge of Panamanian heritage today.

Panama also started to play a role in the international community of heritage, which was flourishing at the time. In 1978, the World Heritage Convention was ratified, and three sites were included in the World Heritage List in the following three years.

Consolidation Stage

Since the 1980s, cultural heritage witnessed a period of consolidation for its policies, built on the foundational layers laid out in the previous decades, through the creation of regional museums, the designation of monuments, and specific regulations created mostly to manage certain sites, especially Casco Antiguo,[6] which underwent a series of restorations. Property values for the Casco Antiguo area skyrocketed through investment incentives (Pizzurno 2007) leading to an economic revitalization but also to gentrification issues (Laws 2007; Sigler and Wachsmut 2016). Panama Viejo, placed under the Panama Viejo Patronage, has run under public and private administration since 1995 (Durán Ardilla 2014).

In 1982, the Measures on the Custody, Conservation, and Administration of the Historic Heritage of the Nation were issued, which is still the main legislative tool addressing cultural heritage in the country.[7] These are mostly administrative directions and regulatory norms that do not state an aim for cultural heritage.

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[5] In 1968, a coup by the National Guard overthrew the president, and Omar Torrijos became the de facto dictator of Panama until 1981. After two different leaders, military dictator Manuel Noriega took power in 1983 until the U.S. invasion of 1989 that removed him.

[6] See Resolution 75 of 1990 for regulations on housing in San Felipe, Decree-Law 9 of 1997, Resolution 44 of 1997, Executive Decree 84 of 1998 which created the Casco Antiguo Commission, Executive Decree 192 of 2000 which created a Restoration and Value-placing office for Casco Antiguo, and Executive Decree 51 of 2004, which approved regulations and proceedings for the site.
"Casco Antiguo" translates as "Historic District" in the name of the World Heritage Site. However, as Panama Viejo is also a historic district that is part of the same World Heritage Site, I avoid misunderstandings by using the original Spanish name.

[7] Law 14 of 1982, reformed by Law 58 of 2003.

The development of cultural heritage policies in Panama evolved from simple, intrinsic conservation measures to a complex system that was consolidated and could be packaged as a product, as discussed below. This development is summarized in Table 1.

TABLE 1: IMPORTANT CULTURAL HERITAGE: LEGISLATION AND EVENTS OF PANAMA

1903	Separation of Panama from Colombia
1904	Establishment of a national museum, a library, a theater, and other institutions
Early 1900s	Loose and unconnected heritage declarations that target specific sites
1941	**Laws 67 and 68 of 1941** Integral approach to monuments through general heritage export prohibition, commerce regulation, and the Department of Arts, Museums and National Monuments being appointed with a list of designated national monuments to be conserved
1946	**Law 47** National Commission of Archaeology and Historic Monuments (CONAMOH) created
1960s	Reina Torres de Araúz promotes anthropological research and enters the Panamanian academic and political arena
1968	Dictatorship era in Panama begins
1972	The **Constitution** includes clauses on Panamanian cultural heritage
1974	National Institute of Culture (INAC) created
1978	*World Heritage Convention* ratified
1982	**Law 14** Measures on the Custody, Conservation, and Administration of the Historic Heritage of the Nation
1989–1990	U.S. invasion of Panama, dictator Manuel Noriega deposed
2003	Modifications to the Measures on the Custody, Conservation, and Administration of the Historic Heritage of the Nation
2004	*Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* ratified
Legend:	Historic event National law

4. The Growing Importance of Tourism in Panama

Unlike the cultural sector, tourism has had a relatively stable growth, only interrupted by the dictatorships of the 1970s and 1980s (see footnote 5). In this section, I give an overview of the development of tourism in Panama and its relation with cultural heritage.

An Imported Concept

Pizzurno (2007) places the origin of tourist visits to Panama in 1907. Tours were organized in the U.S., featuring the unfinished construction of the Interoceanic Canal as the main attraction, as well as the Culebra Cut. Although initially aimed at this civil work, heritage and history started drawing the attention of visitors, leading to the aforementioned first protective measures for sites and churches (idem.).

However, tourism was a foreign concept then, and Pizzurno (2007) identifies the first written reference to its promotion at the national level only in May 1911. Over the next decades,

its potential as a tool for development was recognized, and the sector underwent several restructuring stages. [8]

Consolidation and Decline

The tourism sector started playing a more dynamic role with the development of infrastructure works and the approval of projects such as the Tocumen International Airport, the Trans-Isthmic Highway, the first five-star Hilton Hotel, and the Colón Free Trade Zone (Pereiro and de León 2007; Pizzurno 2007). In 1960, the Panamanian Tourism Institute (IPAT) was created. It was an autonomous institution within the state that kept its basic structure for about half a century with relatively little change. One of the functions assigned to IPAT was the "protection, maintenance, reconstruction, and diffusion of sites of historical interest," but, as Pizzurno (2007) relates, besides some punctual interventions during the 60s, the concept of heritage was not enforced until a decade later.

The turnover of the Canal in 1977 was a shock to the country, as some 7000 US army troops departed suddenly and the livelihood of an estimated 2.8 million Panamanians became threatened (Casado 2001). The government seized the opportunity to implement new tourism and industrial developments but the results of these investments were seen only decades later. The number of incoming visitors to Panama had started to diminish in 1983, reaching an all-time low in 1989, when the U.S. invasion occurred. Overall, in the context of the 1970s and 1980s dictatorships, Panama was not an attractive destination, and Panamanian institutions were confronting several pressing issues other than attracting foreign visitors.

Strategy Implementation

After the U.S. invasion of Panama and the establishment of democracy, heavily indebted Panama recovered and rose to be one of the fastest growing economies of the world. The Panama that once focused mainly on the services sector opened up again to tourism as a source of revenues. In 1993, the government approved a "Master Plan for Touristic Development in Panama" (Plan Maestro de Desarrollo Turístico en Panamá) for the years 1993-2002. With the three objectives of consolidating national tourism while increasing international tourism, popularizing Panama as a touristic destination, and developing the necessary infrastructure and services for tourism development (Nel-lo Andreu and Pérez Albert 2007), it identified 1398 tourist attractions and proposed nine tourist zones, with culture as a determining factor for tourism development.

At that time, there was little cooperation between the tourism and cultural heritage sectors. In their 2001 review of tourism in Panama, which by then had grown to be the third largest foreign currency generator in the country, Condo, Inman, and Turner (2001) acknowledge the attractive power of heritage sites, but they stress the need to reinforce infrastructure for heritage access and safe use. They also point to the fact that the INAC was not integrated in the tourism development initiatives and collaborated with IPAT mostly with the main popular cultural heritage attractions: Panama Viejo, Casco Antiguo, and the Portobelo and San Lorenzo ports.

Restructuring and Prioritizing of Tourism

In 2008, the tourism sector again underwent structural changes with the creation of the Panama Tourism Authority or ATP.[9] The ATP reduced its staff and had more decision power

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[8] In 1941, the National Tourism Junta was created (Law 74 of 1941), which became the Department of Tourism and Commerce (Decree-Law 56 of 1947). It was replaced in 1951 by a Tourism Commission, which then became the Tourism Department due to lack of funds (IPAT 2008, 20).

[9] Decree-Law 4 of 2008 regulated by executive decree 82 of 2008. The ATP formally

within the government than IPAT. In the same year, a new "Master Plan for Sustainable Tourism in Panama" was created for the years 2007-2020.

The Plan divides tourism resources into fifteen categories and proposes eight touristic regions, each region with two or more destinations. It suggests a development of tourism that introduces new potential products while maintaining the main and complementary tourism offers. Cultural tourism is placed as a complementary product due to the high competitive cultural offer of neighboring Central America and the Caribbean. As for the cultural tourism resources, the Plan indicates the good conditions of Panama Viejo and, in contrast, the slow development of Casco Antiguo and the bad conditions of the Portobelo site. One of the Plan's strategies for cultural tourism is to use World Heritage Sites for tourism development (IPAT 2008).

In 2012, tourism-related activities were declared a national priority,[10] and the central and decentralized government entities were called to "take the necessary measures to incorporate the proposed objectives and strategies for the national development of tourism."

International tourist arrivals in Panama have more than doubled in the last ten years, rising from 1,215,083 in 2006 to 2,552,636 in 2015 (Table 2). Already in April 24, 2014, the ATP listed tourism as the main foreign currency generator for 2013, surpassing the direct income generated by the Interoceanic Canal. As an export product, the industry generated over 86% of export revenues (Table 2).

TABLE 2: TOURISM REVENUES AND TOTAL EXPORT REVENUES IN PANAMA

CATEGORY/YEAR	2006	2009	2012	2015
NUMBER OF VISITORS	1,215,083	1,562,884	2,086,007	2,552,636
TOTAL EXPORT REVENUES, MILLION BALBOA	2,531.8	3,209.8	5,547.8	6,905.0
TOURISM REVENUES, MILLION BALBOA	1,445.5	2,269.0	4,575.7	5,990.0
PERCENTAGE	57.0	70.7	82.5	86.7
Source: ATP statistics, accessed March 20, 2017, http://www.atp.gob.pa/sites/default/files/documentos/aspectos_economicos_2006-2015_0.pdf http://www.atp.gob.pa/sites/default/files/documentos/demandas_2006-2015.pdf				

The ATP expects an 11% growth in tourism for 2016, as a result of advertising campaigns in international fairs, creation of new airlines, refurbishing of Tocumen Airport, and opening of a new airport in Coclé, a province where national parks, beaches, and the Antón Valley can be found.

5. Tourism, the Concentration of Funds, and Cultural Heritage Policies in Panama

Historically, the development of cultural heritage policies and tourism in Panama has been unequal and both sectors have had relatively little interaction over the years. Interestingly, when one sector displays growth, the other does not. This was especially the case during the dictatorship eras: nationalism fueled the growth of cultural heritage, whereas it slowed foreign tourism.

However, as tourism became an increasingly important source of revenues in Panama, the paradigm shifted, giving rise to the collaboration of both sectors. As visitors increase, the popular World Heritage Site Casco Antiguo has received considerable attention from the state.

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adopted an organizational structure and functional manual through resolution 50 of 2010.

[10] Law 80 of 2012.

Restoration and conservation projects due to the conditions of the site had been necessary, but developments have also targeted the embellishment and accessibility of the site. These were planned and carried out by both the tourism and the cultural sectors. In December 26, 2014, the ATP announced it had established an alliance with INAC to secure cultural tourism in Casco Antiguo.

As mentioned above, specific legislation has been issued for the site, and budget allocation also demonstrates a special interest. INAC's 2017 budget allocates over half of the resources for maintenance and restoration of monuments and groups of buildings to this particular site, as highlighted in gray in Table 3 (the Cathedral Church is part of Casco Antiguo). This comparatively large amount of investment renders returns; Casco Antiguo is one of the favorite destinations for tourists. Hotels, restaurants, museums, and other attractions are concentrated in a clearly delimited space that can be easily secured and separated from the rest of the city to make Casco Antiguo comfortable both for visitors and government officials.

TABLE 3: APPROVED BUDGET ALLOCATIONS FOR MONUMENTS AND GROUPS OF BUILDINGS, 2017

MONUMENT/AMOUNT	AMOUNT IN BALBOA	PERCENTAGE
San Lorenzo	200,000	2.0
Panama Viejo	500,000	5.0
Nancito Petroglyphs	70,000	0.7
Casco Antiguo Buildings	600,000	6.0
Casco Antiguo Goods	670,000	6.6
Cathedral Church	5,402,500	53.6
Colón Governmental Building	2,640,000	26.2
Total	10,082,500	100.1
Source: INAC investment budget allocations for January 2017, accessed February 14, 2017, http://www.inac.gob.pa/images/Enero2017/Enero/inversin.pdf		

Meanwhile, other heritage sites such as the old building of the Panamanian railroad and even the World Heritage Site Portobelo-San Lorenzo have been less fortunate as they are subject to little investments despite their deteriorating conditions. Their regulating legislation lacks detail unlike Casco Antiguo, which has clearly detailed considerations on how the site is to be managed and how reconstructions are to be made. With the influence of tourism, concentration of funds and specific legislation occurs for popular heritage sites that can attract visitors. Cultural heritage becomes a product to be marketed.

Figure 1. The Cathedral Church that receives over half of the budget for monuments and groups of buildings

The concentration does not only occur in immovable heritage but in the heritage sector in general. National museums have been especially subject to neglect. According to professionals in the field, the iconic and most important museum of Panama, the Anthropological Museum Reina Torres de Araúz, closed in 2010 due to various reasons, including lack of budget and problems in its infrastructure. The Museum of Natural Sciences has been closed for the last two years, also due to problems in its infrastructure and bad conditions of the collection. Furthermore, economic conditions of the remaining museums are deteriorating.[11] Despite their critical situation, the 19 official Panamanian museums have less than 10% of investment funds, as shown in Table 4.

TABLE 4: APPROVED BUDGET ALLOCATIONS FOR INAC, 2017

CATEGORY/**AMOUNT**	AMOUNT IN BALBOA	PERCENTAGE
Monuments and Groups of Buildings	10,082,500	50.1
Cultural Centers	5,923,000	29.4
Art Education Centers	571,000	2.8
Other Buildings (Press)	50,000	0.2
Museums and Churches	1,750,000	8.7
Regional Cultural Projects	1,755,500	8.7
Total	20,132,000	99.9
Source: INAC investment budget allocations for January 2017, accessed February 14, 2017, http://www.inac.gob.pa/images/Enero2017/Enero/inversin.pdf		

Meanwhile, the museum gap has been filled by mixed and private museums, such as the Interoceanic Canal Museum, the Miraflores Visitor Center, and the site museum of the Panama Viejo Site. More recently, the Museum of Biodiversity was inaugurated in 2014.

Itzel de Gracia and Mendizábal (2014) attribute the clear decline of national museums to a vicious cycle with the following stages: 1) ineffective management, 2) lack of budget,[12] 3)

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[11] However, within the Casco Antiguo the Colonial Religious Art Museum has been recently restored, whereas the Panamanian History Museum has been subject to partial interventions in the last few years, resulting in a mixed museology.

[12] In the same budget plan of 2015 (INAC and DNPP 2015), less is allocated to all

lack of personnel and specialized personnel,[13] 4) little social recognition, and 5) inability of museums to integrate themselves in the national lives. This cycle is based on Herrero Uribe's vicious cycle of museums in Central America (2000)[14].

Besides these, tourism can be included as a catalyst, if not a factor, of the stagnating conditions of Panamanian national museums. As the importance of tourism grows more and more pronounced, efforts are invested in sites that draw more visitors, generate more revenues, and incentivize more cross-field cooperation and economic growth than museums do.

Another factor of influence for the conditions of museums that stands out when looking at the development of cultural heritage policies in Panama is nationalism. Panamanian national museums were especially important when nationalism was being systematically implemented at the beginning of the history of the republic and during the dictatorship eras. Museums have a fluid quality; they can be created, moved, or closed as needed, and their collections can decrease, increase, be replaced, or even be physically non-existing. This makes them malleable in the hands of the decision makers, especially when curatorship helps constructing, changing, or silencing stories that reflect certain ideals.

Concentration is also present in the unequal collaboration with municipalities. For example, on the one hand, there is vigorous participation on the side of the Municipality of Panama. As the "Ibero-American Capital of Culture 2019," the municipality, which has close to 50% of the businesses of the country, has endeavored to foster tourism, which is one of its main income sources (MUPA 2016). Culture is an important part of its strategy and includes scenic arts, music,[15] folklore, and cultural heritage in its offer to nationals and foreigners. Most municipalities, however, have less dynamism, and engage less in the protection of their cultural assets.

6. Influences in Cultural Policies: A Conceptual Model

Table 5 provides a brief overview of the main changes in tourism and cultural heritage in Panama after the U.S. invasion. While tourism grew, the focus on cultural heritage shifted. Panama is one among many examples. To know how cultural heritage policies can be influenced, it is important to understand their vulnerabilities and the changes that occur when pressure is exerted. Based on the case study of Panama, in this section, I propose a general model for cultural policies that may be applicable to other cases.

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museums and churches combined than to Casco Antiguo.

[13] Itzel de Gracia and Mendizábal found that over half of the staff of the National Direction of Historic Heritage (DNPH) is not specialized in a related area, working as office, services, or security personnel.

[14] Herrero Uribe (2000) distinguishes three steps in her vicious circle model: 1) lack of resources, 2) poor performance, and 3) negative museum evaluation, which leads to small budget allocation.

[15] Music has been an especially important part of the brand of Panama. The musician Rubén Blades, who was the Minister of Tourism from 2004 to 2009, participated in a tour organized by the ATP in Europe to promote the country, where he performed various times, and his support for the image of the country through music has been characteristic.

TABLE 5: TOURISM AND CULTURAL HERITAGE AFTER THE U.S. INVASION

Time	Tourism and Cultural Heritage
U.S. Invasion	Tourism was at a low, whereas cultural heritage was being fostered for national identity mainly through museums.
1990s	Tourism strategies implemented; the potential of cultural heritage for tourism is hindered by poor infrastructure. Legislation targeting the management and restoration of Casco Antiguo is issued.
2000s	Tourist numbers and revenues increase dramatically, concentrated state attention on Casco Antiguo through special policies.

Cultural policies are part of a wide field that includes arts, folklore, performing arts, and cultural heritage. In this section, I address cultural policies in general as they are the target of most governmental strategies that will determine cultural heritage policies.

Building on the work provided by Vestheim (1994) and Gray (2010) on cultural policies, I propose that *vulnerability* to *external pressures* leads to *cultural policy instrumentalization.* Both external pressures and instrumentalization lead to *internal pressures* that are expressed in imbalances within the cultural sector.[16]
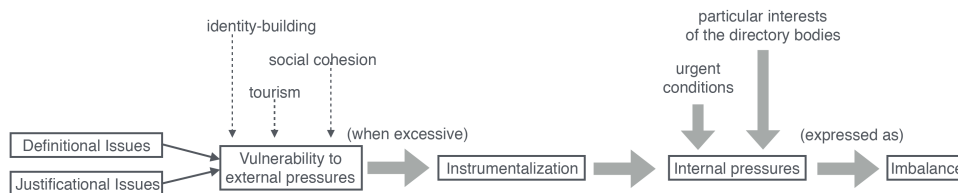

Figure 2. The Conceptual Model of Influences in Cultural Policies

Vulnerability here is understood as the quality of being easily influenced by pressures, either external or internal, that drive away from the original intent of cultural institutions. Although vulnerability is not necessarily negative, as it may convey some flexibility and render positive results, it is characteristic of a sector with less ability to support and carry out its own agenda.

External pressures can be understood as changes in areas other than culture that impact the cultural field. These pressures can come from various areas, ranging from the central government up to the civil society, including private and public organizations. Pressures might lead to the implementation of new programs, to different methodologies, or to subtle nudges in the direction that the cultural sector is taking. However, this direction remains fundamentally unaltered.

This is not the case with *instrumental cultural policies*. Vestheim (1994) defines *instrumental cultural policies* as using cultural projects and investments "as a means or

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[16] Gray (2010) uses the terms "endogenous" and "exogenous" instead of internal and external.

instrument to attain goals in other than cultural areas." Instrumental cultural policies may be related to issues of identity, such as nationality, international appeal, and the inclusion or exclusion of groups of peoples. Another dimension is economic production and development in general, of which tourism is a common example. Although known, instrumental cultural policies are difficult to pinpoint. Here, they are understood as policies that undergo excessively strong external pressures that not only alter but also completely reshape the general direction taken by the cultural sector.

Internal pressures can be understood as instances that cause the prioritization of certain areas over others within the national cultural agendas. This occurs when one sector needs urgent attention due to, for example, a natural disaster, or when it is particularly successful or useful, drawing more attention and more resources. In the latter case, internal pressures occur as the consequence of external pressures or instrumentalization processes. Internal pressures can also occur due to the interest of the directors in developing a specific sector over others or due to internal political interests.

International pressure may be related to external and internal pressures according to the situation. When an organization such as UNESCO uses its soft power to catalyze changes through recommendations, conventions, or programs, the decision to react may be taken from within or outside the sector.

Undoubtedly, the cultural sector experiences various pressures constantly, but its level of resilience varies according to the circumstances of its different programs. In Panama, once the dictatorship era began, culture in general and cultural heritage in particular were instrumentalized in the hands of decision makers to highlight the constructed Panamanian identity[17] and thus create support for the governments in office. After a period of inactivity following the end of the dictatorships, the vulnerable cultural heritage sector was instrumentalized again, this time by tourism.

Instrumental processes to attain goals in nationalism created different imbalances than those that resulted from tourism-oriented instrumental policies. While nationalist pressures led to the general development of cultural heritage in order to reach the majority of the population, the movement was ideological, seen in the pursuit of an official political discourse. In contrast, the pressures of the tourism sector led to the internal concentration of heritage sites. This is because tourism works with the marketing of specific products and targets visitors drawn by certain sites.

Thus far, the model explains the pressures that cultural heritage has experienced. However, it is also important to discuss why the cultural field is vulnerable to these pressures. Two factors that affect the vulnerability of cultural policies are presented as follows:

Issues of Definition

A factor of vulnerability to pressures is pointed out by Gray (2010), who suggests that problems of definition may lead to weak positions for museums and galleries.[18] Gray comments on the difficulty of distinguishing what the "core" features of a policy sector actually are and

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[17] It also may be argued that the process worked in reverse: the cultural sector, which was being led by professionals in the field, used the idea of highlighting nationalism in order to implement their own agendas.

[18] Although Gray refers to museums and galleries, his findings may be extrapolated to the cultural heritage sector in general.

what balances are aimed at. Such definition issues can facilitate a vulnerability to pressures. If the sector is unclear about what it is supposed to do, it can easily be influenced by a stronger sector with a more definite agenda.

In its Strategical Priorities and Investment Projects Report for 2015 to 2019 (INAC 2015), INAC states its five "pillars," or addressed necessities: a) integration, b) cultural democracy, c) diversity, d) creativity and innovation, and e) identities. In Article 2 of its internal guidelines, INAC (1999) states its objective as "orienting, promoting, coordinating, and directing the cultural activities in the national territory" (translation by the author). These guidelines may be broad enough to allow for instrumetalization, but vague features are necessary in a sector that is constantly undergoing change and is embedded in all aspects of the lives of Panamanians. This is a challenge inherent to the cultural sector that may be common in other case studies.

Issues of Justification

The programs of the cultural sectors have to justify their creation and maintenance, and do so in different ways. Ratiu (2009) points to an opposition between intrinsic and instrumental values for cultural justification. Mulcahy (2006) argues that, while governments have supported arts and culture for their intrinsic value, the aesthetic dimension has never been regarded as obvious or necessary: "Culture policy is not justified on the grounds that it is a good-in-itself, but rather that it yields other good results."

To clarify the meaning of "good results," the programs of the cultural sector often relate to outside values and actions, such as education, international image, or tourism to justify their existence. In Latin America, intrinsic justifications are officially proclaimed according to international expectations. However, because the cultural sector has few resources, only instrumental results will yield a plausible sustainability, a reality that has not gone unnoticed. Thus, the cultural sector seeks instrumental ways to justify its existence by connecting with other sectors.

Building on the case study of Panamanian cultural heritage policy developments and the proposed theoretical model, I discuss my findings in the next section.

7. Discussion

Rare, if not nonexistent, are the cases in which cultural heritage prevails as an intrinsic construct with intrinsic values.

Cultural heritage has been historically related with other sectors. In a broader sense, the connection between culture and other areas ideally allows for a symbiotic relation; however, if one sector is considerably weaker than the other, the relation can turn asymmetric. Culture is prone to be on the flimsier side. The inherent difficulty of defining its core features coupled with instrumental justifications leads to its vulnerability to external pressures, and furthermore, may lead to instrumental cultural policies.

External pressures and instrumental cultural policies in relation to tourism include decisions drawn to attract tourists by using culture as a means and not as an end. Because cultural heritage is a well-known determining factor for tourism development, as it encompasses the sites and festivals that may draw visitors from abroad, it may be assumed that it is to be especially affected by instrumental policies when the influence of tourism is strong. Nevertheless, the ongoing effects occur over the long term, in the form of decisions to either highlight or obscure certain areas over others, which makes them not clearly discernible.

Because of the unprecedented growth of tourism in Panama and the already weak position of cultural heritage, asymmetries have developed in the last two decades. Legislation and budget have been directed to the sites that attract foreign visitors. This then leaves less

attention directed to sites that may not be as important for tourism, but are nevertheless a part of the Panamanian cultural heritage.

However, whether cultural policies are designed to attract tourists or whether they aim at protecting cultural expressions from them is sometimes unclear. It is also worth noting that instrumental cultural policies may render benefits to the cultural sector by providing a framework for management and conservation so that cultural resources can be used for a longer time.

Separating tourism from cultural heritage may not be a desirable or even viable option at the moment because it would be detrimental for both sectors. Here, cooperation is the key for a successful management of cultural heritage as a tourism resource in a way that is not detrimental to cultural heritage as a whole. The Panamanian cultural heritage sector is working on developing alternative attractions for tourists, following the tourism strategy of providing a wider choice of routes and offers to visitors. This might result in a less centralized administration of cultural heritage, albeit still pushed by tourism.

To avoid instrumentalization, strength and sustainability are needed in the cultural sector. Long-term cultural sustainability can only be guaranteed if a diverse range of cultural expressions receive adequate consideration over a long time. To achieve this, a strong internal balance is needed that may respond to external pressures but does not allow for instrumentalization. Internal balance is related to intrinsic cultural policy justification and clear internal objectives, where the importance of cultural expressions is not related to specific results, guaranteeing basic attention to all sectors in equilibrium.

As the tourism industry grows globally and its impact is felt with special force in developing countries, the importance of evaluating its influence increases. This study has aimed at contributing with the understanding of what long-term consequences arise in cultural heritage considerations when tourism becomes an influential sector. The results were extrapolated to influences for the cultural sectors in general. However, they were limited to the case study of Panama and only considered the broad governmental perspective. To understand the processes with more depth, it is necessary to carry out further research in other regions to determine which imbalance patterns are shared and which are endemic.

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