

---

# Kilowatts and Crisis

Hydroelectric Power and  
Social Dislocation in Eastern Panama

---

Alaka Wali

Westview Press  
BOULDER, SAN FRANCISCO, & LONDON

# Contents

<i>Acknowledgments</i>	ix
<i>Technical Note</i>	xi
<b>1 Introduction: The Bayano Hydroelectric Complex</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>2 Economic Development Processes in Panama: The Historical Context</b>	<b>8</b>
Panama and Its Geographic Destiny, 8	
The Torrijos Revolution: Populism and Economic Development, 11	
Beyond Torrijos: Civilian-Military Politics, 16	
Summary, 17	
<b>3 Settlement Patterns in the Bayano Before the Dam</b>	<b>20</b>
Settlement Patterns in Modern Times-Before the Dam, 28	
<b>4 Electrification in Panama and the Construction of the Bayano Hydroelectric Complex</b>	<b>40</b>
A History of Electrification in Panama, 40	
Construction of the BHC and the Pan American Highway, 44	
<b>5 Resettlement and Adjustment Problems</b>	<b>62</b>
Resettlement, 62	
Provision of Social Services, 76	
Resistance to Resettlement, 81	

<b>6</b>	<b>Changes in Economic Patterns After the Dam</b>	<b>88</b>
	Changes in Agriculture, 88	
	Other Economic Activities, 102	
<b>7</b>	<b>Social and Political Consequences: The Kuna</b>	<b>112</b>
	Reserve Demarcation, 112	
	The Caciques and the General Congress, 118	
	Internal Disputes, 127	
<b>8</b>	<b>Social and Political Consequences:     The Emberá and Colonists</b>	<b>134</b>
	The Emberá, 134	
	The Colonists, 140	
<b>9</b>	<b>Regional Patterns of Stratification</b>	<b>150</b>
	The Emergence of Ethnicity, 150	
	The Role of the Bayano Corporation, 160	
	Growth of Regional Elites, 164	
<b>10</b>	<b>Conclusion</b>	<b>168</b>
	1980 and Beyond: Turmoil in the Bayano, 168	
	National Implications, 172	
	Reflections on Development and Changes in Policy, 175	
	<i>Appendix</i>	<b>180</b>
	<i>Bibliography</i>	<b>184</b>
	<i>Index</i>	<b>198</b>