An Ethnographically-based Critique of Sustainable Tourism and Cruise-Boat Eco-Tourism Practices in Galápagos, Ecuador

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COMPULSORY DECLARATION

This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from the work, or works, of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

Signature: Signed by candidate Date: **May 21, 2012**

ABSTRACT

Variation in people's notions of sustainability, eco-tourism, and the intersections between the two, calls for a critical assessment of sustainable eco-tourism practices. This is particularly the case in Galápagos, Ecuador, where there has been a recent upsurge in the numbers of eco-tourist visitors and in demand to develop sustainable eco-tourism as also to deal with the social consequences its practices have on people living in the archipelago. My dissertation fieldwork was conducted aboard one of many catamarans in Galápagos providing eco-tourism opportunities and among the terrestrial and marine entry points to the archipelago it visited. My data support an argument that Galapagueños' (Galápagos residents') dependency on eco-tourism has produced both social divides amongst them and changes in their ideas about nature and how to relate to it. The data show perceived social hierarchies amongst Galapagueños, both residents and recent migrant labourers, as well as an imbalance, which reflects relative access to local power, in the social and economic opportunities available to them. The dissertation concludes that cruise-boat eco-tourism practices in the archipelago compromise the Galápagos National Park's ability to model its practices and regulations on its own notion of sustainable tourism – one that aims to conserve the ecological integrity of the archipelago whilst also contributing to the socioeconomic development of the local people.

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Table of Contents

List of Photographs

List of Figures and Maps

List of Tables

ONE

Don't Be So Crabby…

Over the past half-century, meanings associated globally with the Galápagos Islands have transformed the archipelago's reputation from a relatively unknown Pacific Ocean geological and ecological wonder to its current recognition as an international hotspot of academic inquiry and luxurious eco-tourism.

The archipelago has acquired recent international esteem for its unique ecological purity, partly made famous by UNESCO's[1] 1978 inscription of Galápagos as a world heritage site, partly by eco-tourists sharing their stories, and partly by the dissemination of academic literature concerning issues salient to Galápagos [Charles Darwin Foundation (CDF), 2009:6]. A consequence is that naturalists have internationally endorsed Galápagos as a nature-conservation flagship, making it a commonly studied object. Bensted-Smith (2002), for example, suggests that "Unlike other oceanic archipelagos that have been significantly transformed by human activities, the ecological and evolutionary processes characteristic of the Galápagos are nearly intact, and the archipelago still retains 95% of its original species." Similarly, González et al. (2010:134; my translation) argue "These circumstances turn Galápagos into a valuable social-ecological laboratory for research concerning the development of early links and interactions between social and natural systems, as well as a benchmark for monitoring the consequences of human activities on ecosystems and natural processes in the face of global change". Increasing academic attention on Galápagos has gone hand in hand with the eco-tourism industry's dramatic growth.

[1] The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. Appendix 1 lists acronyms used in this dissertation.

Stories that many eco-tourists develop during their travels in Galápagos present only fragmented portraits of the objects of their gaze and thus frequently fail to capture nuanced ecological and social issues crucial to Galápagos. My own recent ethnographic inquiry in Galápagos has revealed – as a general trend – that catamaran eco-tourism cruises seldom provide tourists with opportunities to learn about how non-tourists on the islands perceive Galápagos or what they associate with notions of sustainability and conservation or with the very diverse animal species[2] in Galápagos.

The *Graspus graspus*, for example, commonly known as the Sally Lightfoot crab (see photo 1), is one of several species found in Galápagos and popularized for its phenotype, inclusive of vibrant red, orange and blue markings (Fitter et al., 2000). A critical look at three ethnographic portraits[3] of interactions with Sally Lightfoots highlight some meanings people associate with the crustacean. I present them in order to introduce the descriptive ethnographic themes I develop later.

Photo 1: **Sally Lightfoot crabs** (Source: Adam Burke, personal photo)

[2] Most salient are Galápagos' endemic populations of fauna, inclusive of: giant tortoises, sea lions, hammerhead sharks, blue-footed booby birds, and both land and marine iguanas.

[3] The use of 'portraits' here derives from Yon's (2000) notion that ethnographic fragments can inform a larger picture, albeit without intending to or capturing an entire story – or every voice therein.

Portrait I: Sally Lightfoots meet two eco-tourists

Peggy and Wilma[4] confirmed my suspicion that tourists will take photos of anything. I first met them in the Puerto Ayora harbour on Santa Cruz Island during their first encounter with a Sally Lightfoot crab.

Peggy, screeched, "Ooh…ooh…nature! Nature!" as Wilma struggled to balance her camera's lighting and shutter speeds. As they encroached upon a group of crabs – conspicuous for their decorated exoskeletons – their curiosity caused the crustaceans to scamper for safety between basaltic rocks that supported the dock.

It was difficult to peel the women's attention away from Sally Lightfoots as I assisted the crew in transporting the eco-tourist cohort and their behemoth suitcases to SeaWolf[5] – one of many luxury catamarans that navigate Galápagos' waters, and also the central hub for fieldwork that produced data presented in this dissertation. As our dinghy bounced on converging harbour wakes en route to the anchored SeaWolf, I pondered Peggy and Wilma's fascination with the colourful crabs. I wondered about the photography ritual and its relationship with Galápagos tourist gazes,[6] having seen eco-tourists commonly snapping photos first and only thereafter asking their naturalist guide for clarification about what they had just added to their digital image files.

Upon their first encounter with Sally Lightfoots, Peggy and Wilma had no frame of reference for the crab, its habitat and function in Galápagos eco-systems. But their boisterous enthusiasm illustrated their commitment to avoid compromising a single photo opportunity.

Thursday, seven days later, as SeaWolf returned to Puerto Ayora to drop Peggy, Wilma and their tourist peers at the very same dock, I heard

[4] Appendix 2 includes biographic details about all named individuals in this dissertation.
[5] SeaWolf is a pseudonym as are all personal names of research participants used in this dissertation.
[6] Urry's (2002:1) notion of the 'tourist gaze' which he describes as "constructed in relationship to its opposite, to non-tourist forms of social experience and consciousness" is shaped by society, social groups and historical periods and based on the construction of difference. Urry's concept helped me to consider the implications of Peggy and Wilma's photography of and gaze at Galápagos nature at the onset of my fieldwork.

Peggy ask Wilma, "Are you going to take a photo of that Sally Lightfoot?" Wilma replied, "How many crab photos can I have. I have a photo of everything there is to see."

Portrait II: Sally Lightfoots and two local school children

Every Monday, SeaWolf's passengers spend the morning hours visiting the Galápagos National Park (GNP) information centre in the Puerto Baquerizo Moreno port town on San Cristobal Island. After accompanying them on their facility tour one Monday, I decided to snorkel solo at Tijeretas – a cove near the information centre and infrequently visited by eco-tourists.

Alone and floating in the middle of the cove reciprocating a sea lion pup's curiosity, I noted two local school children's on shore catching Sally Lightfoots by hand, launching them high into the air, and watching them splat on the basaltic coastline.

I thought: "Don't they know that *sayapas*[7] are a protected species in Galápagos? I've been told they can get kicked out of the archipelago if they're caught!" My desire to save both children and crabs from danger prompted me to want to act.

Yet, the sea lion pup recaptured my attention, and I returned to my snorkel escapades without intervening. Walking back from Tijeretas to SeaWolf, I contemplated the children's actions and whether or not they were aware of the potential consequences of harming a protected species – or if they were simply nonchalant about national park rules.

Perhaps, Peggy and Wilma's conversation lingered in the back of my mind. If they and other tourists have more Sally Lightfoot photo opportunities than they know what to do with, how much damage could two kids do to the Galápagos *sayapa* population?

[7] *Sayapa* is the common name for the Sally Lightfoot crab amongst most Spanish-speaking Galapagueños.

Portrait III: Sally Lightfoots and two local fishermen

March 11, 2011: A ruinous earthquake off Japan's coast, the resulting tsunami causing one of recent history's most devastating human disasters. As tsunami warnings echoed throughout the Pacific, Ecuador's navy responded, ordering by radio that all tourist vessels in Galápagos abandon their obligatory navigation points – as well as tourists' scheduled eco-excursions – and seek safety in appointed marine havens.

Infrequent radio reports of events transpiring abroad communicated to those aboard SeaWolf the extent of human life losses. I was simultaneously devastated by the news and intrigued by the possible consequences of the impending tsunami for SeaWolf and yachts around her. In the chaos, a Spanish tourist family stirred others to imagine that SeaWolf's captain and naturalist guide had invented the tsunami story to avoid facilitating an afternoon snorkel session. Astonishing accusations! Yet, as it turned out, real conspiracies were afoot.

The naturalist then aboard SeaWolf, Gerónimo, told me that certain crewmembers aboard a neighbouring tourist yacht planned to hunt for lobsters during the not-so-definite tsunami's expected nighttime arrival. After all, their tourist passengers would likely be asleep or watching the BBC's (2007) three-part nature documentary, 'Galápagos', on their catamaran's plasma screen. Clearly, the crew believed, darkness would protect their intended actions from critical eyes – not those of boat captains and naturalist guides, but those of eco-tourists.

Gerónimo later commented that the two crewmembers turned 'illegal fishermen' were unable to assemble sufficient underwater flashlights to make lobster harvesting viable; and so they took to rocky shores, filled a mesh bag with *sayapas*, smuggled them onboard and then below to the yacht's galley. The entire crew (captain included) breakfasted on *sayapa* stew and rice the following morning.

I thought: "These deckhands turned *sayapa* poachers were likely to have been school children on San Cristobal Island not long ago. Hmmm… if

> Peggy and Wilma were to have snapped a photo of them smuggling their sayapa booty aboard … I wonder what caption they would give the photo when posting it on their travel blog?"

My inclusion of the preceding portraits serves multiple objectives. First, they present an initial glimpse of the various categories of people present within Galápagos. In later chapters, I present detailed accounts of social categories that are partly a result of eco-tourism. However, it is important to recognize that, in whatever way one might disaggregate and categorize them, nobody in Galápagos should be understood as occupying only a single bounded social category since the archipelago's various social categories are all interconnected and their boundaries fluid. For example, my own presence aboard SeaWolf involved several social identifications including: eco-tourist, researcher, pseudo-crewmember and English-language teacher.

Second, the portraits suggest that ethnographic scholarship in Galápagos allows for the juxtaposition of the multiple meanings that people develop – such as notions connecting conservation, sustainability and Sally Lightfoot crabs. Notably, the portraits highlight the importance of coming to grips with the attitudes and beliefs of those maintaining Galápagos eco-tourism – both tourists to the archipelago and eco-tourism labourers (resident and migrant) that contribute to sustaining the mobility that is their archipelago's tourism.

This dissertation provides ethnographic evidence to support an argument that Galapagueños' dependency on eco-tourism, and the consequent social categorisation amongst them, has produced changes in their ideas about nature and how to relate to it. On a broader scale, the study offers an example of how eco-tourism can erode the base[8] underlying and supporting the system's functionality.[9]

[8] In the case of Galápagos, the base of the eco-tourism industry is, as identified in this study, the sustainability of the archipelago's ecological integrity. Notions of 'sustainability' and 'eco-tourism' are unpacked in the next chapter.

More specifically, evidence is provided to argue that Galápagos eco-tourism is not 'sustainable tourism' even when based on definitions used within Galápagos.

The study uses ethnographic descriptions of eco-tourism practices in Galápagos to familiarize readers with conditions and circumstances there and to critique notions of sustainable eco-tourism often associated with places like Galápagos. Incorporating concepts from the anthropological literature on globalization, the study problematizes the mobility, convergences of categories of people (and of their ideas) as they move into and within the archipelago.[10]

I have imagined multiple goals regarding the production and dissemination, and hopefully also the application, of this dissertation and its conclusions. First, my literature review suggests that the interaction of people and ideas within the 'Galápagos system' has outgrown much of academia's current capacity to account for changes in people's ideas of conservation, eco-tourism and sustainability (e.g. Honey, 1999; Hunter & Green, 1995; Wahab & Pigram, 1997; Waitt et al., 2003). Grenier (2007:431; my translation) reminds us that Galápagos constitutes a geographic space occupied by "a system in which actors and processes interact, at the local scale to the world scale". But he does not directly explain how such interactions occur between actors and processes, nor why. This dissertation aims to do that by focusing on those interactions as they occur on eco-tourism yachts between people within, and on their intersections with visitors to, the archipelago.

Secondly, I consider a gap in recent studies in and of Galápagos. It manifests in an academic trend that underplays Galapagueños' voices, that fails to consider historical and socio-political factors that have come to influence their worldviews, and fails too to apply social theory to make sense of such worldviews. There is great

[9] Chapter four, for example, indicates that eco-tourists are not solely responsible for dissolving Galápagos' environment. It shows that the increased mobility of local residents and migrant labourers within the archipelago also contributes to its eco-tourism base's erosion.

[10] Anthropological literature on globalization (e.g. Gupta and Ferguson, 1992; Appadurai, 2000; Carrington, 2001; Guillen, 2001; Hall, 2010) has informed my understanding of global flows, convergences, and some of the perceived consequences of such interactions.

potential in scholarship that presents ethnographic portraits of Galapagueños' lives (e.g. Ospina, 2005) and that includes historical and socio-political accounts of the islands and their settlement (e.g. Grenier, 2007) while also situating findings at both local and global scales (e.g. González et al., 2010).

A third goal of this dissertation is to provide ethnographic data that illuminate some social consequences of Galápagos eco-tourism. For example, the National Institute of Statistics & Census' (NISC)[11] recent census of social demographics in Galápagos (2009-2010) provides the most recent and exhaustive analysis of quantitative indicators speaking to general trends amongst Galápagos residents, and their perceived quality of life. Yet, such quantitative statistical data tell little of what is possible to garner from qualitative data, and from their analysis in ways that come to grips with social factors influencing residents' lives, and Galápagos eco-tourism industry's sustainability.

The following chapters are intended to provide ethnographic illustrations of how a perceived dependency of Galapagueños on eco-tourism has resulted in social categorisations that have in turn produced ideas local people have about nature and how to relate to it. They do that by using examples drawn from fieldwork informants. Data are also presented to support an argument that Galápagos eco-tourism practice is inconsistent with normative sustainable-tourism definitions.

Chapter two positions the fieldsite, accounts for methods used and addresses language and terminology issues. Chapter three offers a brief periodized history of human presence in Galápagos, ranging from 'discovery' to colonisation and the recent eco-tourism boom. It also considers some initial efforts to develop both conservation and tourism practices. Chapters four to six develop an ethnographically based understanding of social consequences that result from attempts to construct sustainable eco-tourism in Galápagos. Chapter four describes

[11] NISC is my English translation for *Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas y Censos*. Several of the following identifications and abbreviations are my translations from Spanish to English.

how members of diverse social categories in Galápagos are becoming increasingly dependent upon eco-tourism as their primary mode of generating economic subsistence. Chapter five shows causal relationships between the need for skilled labour, migrant worker flows to Galápagos, social categorisations, social hierarchies, and employment limitations for Galápagos resident groups. Chapter six argues that a consequence of 'unsustainable tourism' practices in Galápagos is a demonstrable perception among Galápagos residents (temporary and permanent) that Galapagueños are separated from (i) nature and (ii) environmental ideals placed upon them. Chapter seven shows, in conclusion, that Galápagos eco-tourism fails to live up to sustainable-tourism definitions, especially those propounded by Galápagos administrations such as the Galápagos National Park's Tourism Administration (GNP-TA).

The potential value of the ethnography presented here is twofold. First, in the face of global demand for tourism experiences in what some regard as one of Earth's last sanctuaries, what is at stake is, on one hand, the conservation of a form of nature in Galápagos that has, for various reasons, been attributed particular value and significance; and, on the other, the livelihoods of those Galápagos residents who maintain the eco-tourism industry and rely on it for their own subsistence and means to ensure livelihoods. Tapia et al. (2009:11, my translation) have suggested that "all of our past intents have been insufficient for making the Galápagos the object of a more just, humane and sustainable society, not only for humans, but also for the species with which humans share the earth, meaning that we have a lot to change in our ways of understanding the world and the way we walk in it". Similarly, Grenier (2007:25; my translation) indicates, "the colonization and continentalization of the islands is leading toward the pauperization of its inhabitants". What these two texts suggest is that it is important to problematize uses of the term sustainability – and to question its relevance when applied to eco-tourism contexts and to individuals that claim to sustain an eco-tourism industry such as in Galápagos.

Second, the project uses ethnography to detail social challenges facing residents and migrant workers in Galápagos, challenges that are not always discernable to outsiders who see the archipelago and its people through the lenses of quantitative data analysis or by way of standard eco-tourist visits to and within the archipelago. Sally Lightfoot crabs, for example, and stories people share about them, may very well be a source of data about people's ideas of sustainability and eco-tourism and how they are changing in Galápagos and beyond.

Ethnographic portraits, similar to those provided in this chapter, are thus presented in later chapters to support the argument that Galápagos eco-tourism is not sustainable tourism, even in terms of that idea as understood in the archipelago. The next chapter explains when where and how ethnographic research occurred. It does that by positioning the fieldsite, describing methods used and addressing issues of language.

TWO

Galápagos as Fieldsite

Positioning the Fieldsite(s)

The Galápagos Islands, commonly associated with Darwin's theories of evolution and natural selection, comprise a remote Pacific Ocean archipelago 960 kilometres off Ecuador's coast (González et al., 2008). See Figure 1.[12]

Figure 1: The Galápagos Archipelago (Source: Galápagos Discover, 2005.)

The archipelago is situated at the point of convergence of three main currents – the cold Cromwell current from the west, the cold Humboldt current from the southeast,

[12] The juxtaposition of these two maps shows the archipelago on two different scales. Each island has been attributed multiple names over past centuries. In the larger scale map, Spanish and English names are provided.

and the warm Panama current from the north (Piu, 2011).[13] Movements caused by these oceanic currents corresponds to Gupta and Ferguson's (1992) figurative notion of the flows and counter flows of people and ideas – flows that occur from outside into, and also within the archipelago. The metaphor is important for perceiving Galápagos as it allows one to include people that reside and migrate there, the archipelago's ecological traits, and ideas associated with both. Galápagos constitutes a locality influenced by eco-tourism trends from other global markets – or, as González et al. (2010) describe it, a social-ecological laboratory.

Galápagos has also been repeatedly distinguished internationally in recent history. Quiroga (2009a) explains that the Ecuadorian government established the GNP's boundaries in 1970 while also designating 97% of the archipelago's territory as protected areas. In 1978, UNESCO inscribed Galápagos as a World Heritage site and later, in 1984, as a Biosphere Reserve.[14] In 2001, Galápagos' World Heritage status was extended to include the Galápagos Marine Reserve (GMR) (CDF, 2009).[15]

NISC's (2010) most recent Ecuadorian census calculates the official Galápagos population as 21,067 with over 90% living on two of fifteen main islands – Santa Cruz Island (population 12,630) and San Cristobal Island (population 6,405) – which also contain the largest centres of residence, commerce, and conservation efforts.[16]

[13] A CDRS staff member on Santa Cruz Island said it is a mystery how endemic terrestrial living species in Galápagos migrated to the once barren volcanic lava fields of the archipelago; the Centre's best assumptions link terrestrial species arrivals to Galápagos with the converging oceanic currents.
[14] In 2007, Ecuadorian president Rafael Correa declared Galápagos 'at risk', emphasizing the need to conserve the archipelago's environment. In the same year, UNESCO listed Galápagos as an endangered heritage site – though the World Heritage Committee removed Galápagos from the list of precious sites endangered by environmental threats or overuse in July 2010 (CDF Annual Report, 2009:6; *Galápagos Islands*, n.d.).
[15] Piu (2011) points out that the GMR covers an area of 135,000 square kilometres, making it the world's second largest marine reserve, after Australia's Great Barrier Reef. The GMR is recognized by a perimeter located 40 nautical miles around the archipelago's 'baseline', the baseline being determined by circling the furthest points of the archipelago.
[16] The remaining population of 2,032 reported lives on Isabela Island. NISC's (2010) official census accounts for no human populations on Floreana and Baltra islands, even though small populations are found there.

Today, GNP tourism policies limit visitors' access aboard private yachts to specific nature reserve locations. Marine and terrestrial entry points (e.g. specified beaches, snorkelling sites and walking-tour paths) regulate tourists' mobility in an effort to minimize their' eco-footprint, ostensibly to promote a form of eco-tourism based on environmental conservation, and to encourage education about and based on its principles.[17]

An Initial Account of Methods

Ernest Hemingway's (1952) *The Old Man and the Sea* provides a fitting analogy to introduce methodological considerations adapted for this study. Hemingway's novel positions the main protagonist, Santiago, within several interconnected contexts including the open ocean, a boat, and his terrestrial Cuban home. In isolation, each locality presents unique factors that influence Santiago's struggle; when layered, the multiple conceptualizations of Santiago's mobility tell of a nuanced experiential journey within his changing surroundings.

My comments in this dissertation about social consequences of Galápagos eco-tourism, in a way similar to Hemingway's novel, focuses on interplays between people and multiple oceanic fieldsites. First, I interpret Santiago's movements to suggest notions of mobility and multi-sited ethnography in relation to my study in Galápagos. Second, it is important that my study problematizes a common literary critique of Santiago being in a battle with nature.[18] Equally important is to show how I had to adapt the methods I used to undertake my study so that I might come to grips with people's ideas about nature and how they relate to it.

My study positions the archipelago as the figurative fieldsite of its inquiry, including the GMR, SeaWolf, urban centres (i.e. Puerto Ayora and Puerto Baquerizo Moreno)

[17] A more detailed description of Galápagos and its predominant biophysical characteristics can be found in the works of Perry (1984), Bensted-Smith (2002), and Danulat and Edgar (2002).
[18] This reference reflects a common trend in *The Old Man and the Sea* literary critiques that emphasize a perceived binary of man and nature (Hemingway, 1952).

and the yacht's designated visitation points – both terrestrial and marine.[19] Alongside that positioning process, I have drawn, as a model for my fieldwork, on Mbembe's (2001) conceptual *re*imaginings of place and space which recognize the fissures that have created difference as well as interconnected webs of lived spaces in Africa. Mbembe's ideas have enabled me to focus on differences between shared Galápagos spaces and to envision multiple entry points to the archipelago as unique, contextually influenced manifestations of the same locality.[20] Consequently, I have perceived my Galápagos fieldsite to be inclusive of: SeaWolf (tourists, crew and their shared spaces), selected ports, SeaWolf passengers' terrestrial and marine visitation destinations, and SeaWolf's pathways throughout the GMR.

Further influencing my fieldwork approach has been Gupta and Ferguson's (1997) reconceptualisation of 'the field'. Their argument for unbounded conceptualizations of space has encouraged me to consider how multi-sited ethnography can open pathways toward new and nuanced analysis of global and local flows of ideas and people. With cruise-boat tourism serving as an entry market for tourists to visit various sides of the archipelago, I have striven to view the fieldsite as the layering of many locales and not simply limited my focus to one town or island or to SeaWolf itself.

Clearly, however, the concentration of people and ideas into the tight physical space of SeaWolf created a cauldron of people and their ideas. In such a context, I found Gupta and Ferguson's (1992: 11) notion of the 'bifocality' of lived experience useful for informing my method as I sought to consider the convergences of people and ideas on the yacht, and their relations with the norms and social structures they

[19] SeaWolf is a Class A luxury yacht, first launched in 2007, that carries weekly tourist cohorts (maximum 16 passengers) and crew (typically nine) to ten of the archipelago's main islands. Like others doing similarly, it follows the same itinerary, navigation points, and eco-excursions each week, always remaining within the areas permitted by the GNP for tourist visits (personal interview with SeaWolf's Captain Gabriel).

[20] To be clear, multi-sited ethnography has long been part of anthropological scholarship. Even the classical monographs of Hunter (1936) and Mayer (1961) involved notions of mobility to address change in social structures among South Africans.

were used to in their home environments – whether in Galápagos, mainland Ecuador or beyond. Additionally, my own multiple roles aboard the yacht required application of several methods. My time aboard SeaWolf was divided between the roles of researcher, tourist, crew, English-language teacher, and thus both 'insider' and 'outsider' relative to all others on board. My actions and language were thus representative of each of these roles at various moments during fieldwork.

With a new tourist cohort boarding each week, I faced a further challenge of having a sequence of informant sets to deal with, alongside having to undertake participant observation amongst the crew whose members remained mostly unchanged for the duration of my fieldwork.[21] On one hand, I needed to position myself to gain access to and to obtain information from SeaWolf's crew: aside from offering them daily English-language classes, I largely built rapport in Spanish whilst sharing in menial deckhand responsibilities. On the other, I needed to position myself to gain credibility with an international assortment of eco-sojourners. Burgess' (2007) work, where he describes negotiating the dual roles of both friend and researcher amongst North American sojourner students in South Africa, provided me with valuable insight into how I might foster compassionate engagement with multiple informant sets aboard SeaWolf.

The fieldwork for this project encompassed nine weeks (28 January to 31 March 2011) in Galápagos – eight aboard SeaWolf. SeaWolf's itinerary allowed me daylong port calls on Santa Cruz Island and San Cristobal Island, on Thursdays and Mondays respectively. SeaWolf's mobility within the archipelago, and my freedom on and off the catamaran, allowed me flexibility as regards the types of people and

[21] SeaWolf crew, as is common on most Galápagos eco-tourism yachts, typically worked on board for six consecutive weeks, took leave for three weeks, and then returned for another six weeks of work. All SeaWolf crew took leave – at various intervals during my time aboard – except for the bartender who could not find a replacement. The crew shuffled between roles, depending on who was away and who was present, to satisfy labour requirements and responsibilities. Thus, the crew – as a whole – remained unchanged while up to three members would be on leave any given week.

organizations I could meet with on land and with the diverse social experiences[22] I had and that have contributed to my ability to gather ethnographic data.

For the most part, I gathered those data through formal interviews and especially casual conversation whilst sharing spaces with crew and passengers on the yacht, as well as with local residents, migrant labourers, and tourists in ports on the islands of Baltra, Santa Cruz and San Cristobal. While in the field, I found that the quality of the relationships and conversations I had reflected my situational awareness: in other words, that quality related to the extent of my understanding, how my actions reflected sensitivity (or not) to the attitudes and expectations of others, and to the extent to which informants agreed with one another when attempting to make sense of their particular experiences of the Galápagos environment.

Language challenges

I have also had to address the multiplicity of languages used by people in Galápagos and amongst authors that have published about the archipelago or continental Ecuador

On one hand, it was important for me, as a researcher in Galápagos, to be competent in Spanish, which I am, in order to converse fluently with informants and to read Spanish language articles about issues salient to my study (e.g. tourism, sustainability, environmentalism and ecology). My reading of such articles has allowed for a wider view of methods, theory and analysis common to literature concerning Galápagos eco-tourism than had I been limited to those published in English. I had to be also sensitive to differences in intellectual traditions and variations in ways authors associate specific meanings with nomenclature regarding tourism practices. A consequence is that all translations of Spanish language texts in

[22] For example, I participated in a San Cristobal Island basketball championship, attended the Miss Galápagos beauty competition, and made routine visits to several local businesses.

this dissertation are my own and may well not exactly represent the original quoted texts' meanings.[23]

On the other, language variation has made it difficult for me to understand differences in the nomenclature of tourism practices (e.g. eco-tourism, sustainable tourism) and terms as they are used (i) by people living, working or making policy in the archipelago, and (ii) in academic literature about tourism practices in Galápagos as well as in similar eco-tourism studies exogenous to Galápagos.[24] Notwithstanding my Spanish language fluency, every so often I found that different people, those I encountered both on-board SeaWolf and on shore, interpreted words in ways differently from one another, creating moments of confusion.[25] For example, during a dry landing excursion – a Friday hike on Isabela Island – a bilingual Ecuadorian couple asked the naturalist guide, Gerónimo, in Spanish, for the name of a nondescript beetle they had located.[26] Puzzled, Gerónimo responded to

[23] This challenge is similar to that reported by, Tapia et al. (2009) whose edited book about sustainability and scientific investigation in Galápagos argues that language variation amongst the individual Galápagos studies, and data used to inform them, at times resulted in authors' hazy use of terms to explain terms (e.g. eco-tourism, sustainability). Tapia et al's account of working with multiple languages informs this study's assertion that the benefit of drawing upon data from studies about Galápagos in both English and Spanish provides a more nuanced understanding of data than drawing upon data published only in one language.

[24] This reference to people is inclusive of but not limited to: local residents, foreign visitors to Galápagos, tour operators and travel agencies, and labourers in the Galapagueño eco-tourism industry.

[25] The Ecuadorian colonization of the Galápagos Islands introduced Spanish as the archipelago's prevalent language (Grenier, 2007). Today, local residents continue predominantly to speak Spanish while English is also common as a result of its presence in primary and secondary school curricula and its use in the eco-tourism industry. Other European languages are spoken with some frequency as a result of increasing flows of foreign visitors; however, English is the standard language used in eco-tourism practices.

I completed eight years of formal Spanish language instruction at secondary and tertiary levels so that my Spanish language ability, at the time I began the study, was highly fluent, albeit not on par with the proficiency of a first-language or fully bilingual speaker. I was able to converse fluently in Spanish in all Galápagos social situations I encountered that required Spanish, although my non-Galapagueño accent was noticed repeatedly by my interlocuters. While I was able to probe for how words or sayings foreign to me in Spanish were being used, there were times when I did not understand local residents' use of certain Spanish terms, although by the time I left the fieldsite, I had become competent in much local Galápagos slang.

[26] In Galápagos, eco-tourism yachts anchor offshore island visitation points and use dinghies to transport tourists to specified National Parks points of entry for eco-excursions. The eco-tourism industry designates terrestrial eco-excursions (e.g. hikes) following such dinghy transportation as

them in English, "I dunno. I know this beetle's name in English and in Latin, but I don't know the Spanish name. *Bicho, no más* [Just bug]." This exchange presents an interesting juxtaposition of languages and meanings used by naturalist guides to inform their passengers about the archipelago's ecology.[27] More importantly, it shows that language variation impacts upon many categories of Galápagos eco-tourism participants, thus influencing my role as a researcher to make sense of how terms are used, the meanings associated with them, and reasons for their being used that way. The following section illustrates variations in ways authors use nomenclature to account for tourism practices and concepts (e.g. eco-tourism, sustainable tourism) salient to their studies. It also accounts for how authors' use of such terms impact on the present study.

Unpacking terms: Eco-tourism and sustainable tourism[28]

Global flows of people and their ideas to, within and through Galápagos have contributed to a mixing, within the archipelago's resident population and among its semi-permanent visitors, of exogenous and endogenous meanings associated with socially constructed notions of eco-tourism and sustainable tourism, both of which feature prominently in the language used by those in the industry to understand and present Galápagos tourism. A consequence is discord amongst people[29] in the

'dry landing' excursions, and eco-excursions that are aquatic in nature (e.g. snorkelling, kayaking, etc.) as wet landing excursions.

[27] When I asked later, Gerónimo explained that his GNP training to become a naturalist guide had shaped his knowledge of ecological issues and data. Clearly, as the above story indicates, it also left gaps.

[28] I have identified eco-tourism and sustainable tourism as two important terms to address in this initial account of literature. However, they are not the only terms of importance in relation to Galápagos tourism. Nonetheless, notions of eco-tourism and sustainable tourism were of critical concern to me during fieldwork. The following unpacking of terms can thus indirectly serve as a model for the way other terms relevant in the dissertation have been considered (e.g. sustainability).

[29] The data I gathered through interviews with SeaWolf naturalist guides shows that there are convergences of exogenous and endogenous ideas associated with eco-tourism and sustainability. For example, naturalist guides Gerónimo and Jorge explained that, during their National Parks course to enable them to become certified naturalist guides, it was both visiting scholars and Galapagueño-naturalist-guides-turned-scholars who informed the curriculum and facilitated classroom teaching. This suggests that the formalized production and exchange of knowledge about eco-tourism and sustainability in Galápagos can at times be confusing.

archipelago regarding development, use and publication of ideas associated with eco-tourism and the associated drive to seek sustainability for the industry.[30]

The global migration of scholars to Galápagos, and the ideas they bring packed into their theoretical suitcases, often positions the archipelago as a laboratory in which to apply what are effectively exogenous ideas of sustainable tourism and eco-tourism at a local level. Yet, simultaneously, Galapagueños and migrant workers from continental Ecuador are responsible for most personal exchanges with eco-tourists and it is they who have to convey those exogenous ideas, or their own interpretations of them. In other words, eco-tourists typically learn about notions of eco-tourism and sustainable tourism through hearing how their Galapagueño naturalist guides and others in the tourism industry interpret them whilst aboard luxury yachts.

Similar to relationships between eco-tourists and their naturalist guide informants, academic scholars relay interpretations of issues from the field to their audiences. Prior to and during my fieldwork, I read various texts about tourism, sustainability, environmentalism and ecology in order to familiarize myself with ways academics use the terms, since they are clearly salient to this study. The following data are taken from Galápagos and global tourism studies and provided:

(i) to familiarize readers with the variety of language used to describe notions of eco-tourism, sustainable tourism, and other related phenomena and the terms used to describe them (e.g. sustainability);

(ii) to show briefly how their various uses demonstrate change of such use over time; and

(iii) to construct a basis for understanding definitions of eco-tourism and sustainable tourism that I use throughout the dissertation.

[30] As later examples illustrate, notions of sustainability do not necessarily have to be used in reference to sustainable tourism. However, the two terms are often used synonymously in Galápagos. It is thus difficult to unpack notions of sustainability without at times seemingly interchanging it with sustainable tourism.

Eco-tourism

Many authors (e.g. EIA, 2011; Stronza & Dunham, 2008; Morgan, 1999) credit Hector Ceballos-Lascurain, an environmental architect and international eco-tourism consultant, as having first defined 'ecotourism' in 1983 as:

> That form of environmentally responsible tourism that involves travel and visitation to relatively undisturbed natural areas with the object of enjoying, admiring, and studying the nature (the scenery, wild plants and animals), as well as any cultural aspect (both past and present) found in these areas, through a process which promotes conservation, has a low impact on the environment and on culture and favors the active and socioeconomically beneficial involvement of local communities (EIA, 2011).

Others (e.g. TIES, 2012a; Honey, 2008; Borges Hernándes et al., 2008) suggest that the global environmental movement in the late 1970s led to a slow formulation of eco-tourism ideas. Honey (2008), for instance, links early uses of the term ecotourism to the Brundtland Report, a document published by the World Conference on Environment and Development in 1987 and commonly known as 'Our Common Future'. That Report describes sustainability as having three prongs: economic, environmental and social. Most eco-tourism definitions typically address these three issues, but with an emphasis on one or two prongs. The following data show how various eco-tourism terms have been used from 1990 to the present.

The International Ecotourism Society (TIES, 2011), the oldest and largest international eco-tourism association, defined eco-tourism in 1990 as "responsible travel to natural areas that conserves the environment and improves the well-being of local people." This definition has since been a cornerstone of eco-tourism studies and "remains today the most popular and commonly cited definition" (Honey, 2008:239). TIES' 1990 definition is not, however, the only one used to define eco-tourism practices. Mowforth (1992) and Fennell (2001), for example, provide

various eco-tourism terms and definitions, the former accounting for 35 associated terms (e.g. nature tourism, green tourism, sustainable tourism, cultural tourism, low-impact tourism). Borges Hernándes et al. (2008) claim that all such terms are alternatives to 'mass-consumption tourism', but that they are not synonymous with eco-tourism. This is because, the authors argue, "Ecotourism joins tourism and nature ... but it must also demonstrate clear ecological and sociocultural objectives" (Borges Hernándes et al., 2008:182).

Borges Hernándes et al.'s (2008) explanation of eco-tourism thus resonates with two prongs (environmental, social) that the Brundtland Report associates with sustainability. Global eco-tourism studies, however, have looked closely at how economic benefits have influenced global eco-tourism practices. de Vasconcellos Pêgas & Stronza's (2008) analysis of the economic benefits derived from eco-tourism points out that, while current eco-tourism definitions, development and dialogue critique notions of empowerment and community involvement, eco-tourism studies generally measure economic benefits. They also indicate that proponents of eco-tourism tout the industry's economic benefits (income and employment opportunities) as an indicator of successful eco-tourism projects.

This idea resonates with eco-tourism studies within the past five years (e.g. Lema et al., 2010; Epler, 2007) which call for eco-tourism practices to show concern for environmental conservation and to support local cultures and economies. The claim also resonates with Ceballos-Lascurain's re-evaluation of his pioneering eco-tourism definition, when in 1999, in the wake of the global tourism boom, he acknowledged the eco-tourism definition he had made 16 years earlier was "no longer a mere concept or subject of wishful thinking. On the contrary, ecotourism has become a global reality... There seem to be very few countries in the world in which some type of ecotourism development or discussion is not presently taking place" (in Honey, 2008:240). Yet, international efforts to regulate eco-tourism practices have not kept pace, despite increasing tourism development globally.

One step towards defining the positive impact of eco-tourism on local communities and ecological systems, however, has been the publication of eco-tourism principles. TIES (2012b), for instance, published the following 'Principles of Ecotourism' on its website:

> **Principles of Ecotourism**
>
> Ecotourism is about *uniting conservation, communities, and sustainable travel*. This means that those who implement and participate in ecotourism activities should follow the following ecotourism principles:
>
> - Minimize impact.
> - Build environmental and cultural awareness and respect.
> - Provide positive experiences for both visitors and hosts.
> - Provide direct financial benefits for conservation.
> - Provide financial benefits and empowerment for local people.
> - Raise sensitivity to host countries' political, environmental, and social climate.

These principles show an attempt to clarify who (those who implement and participate in eco-tourism activities) and what (conservation, communities, sustainable travel) should be the focus of eco-tourism implementation strategies. Yet, it is apparent that TIES' (2012b) 'Principles of Ecotourism' are similar to how the association defined eco-tourism in 1990 – and that happens to be the same definition used by TIES today.

What can be drawn from the above is that, while ideas about the global eco-tourism industry and its practices have developed greatly since the 1970s and since Ceballos-Lascurain's 1983 definition, some current notions of eco-tourism are different from the decades-old ones while others are similar. One notable change is that the term 'eco-tourism' has been used in close relation to 'sustainable tourism'. Lema et al. (2010), for instance, describe eco-tourism as a sustainable tourism component. Their study, which offers implications for sustainable tourism in the

Maya Rain Forest of Central America, lists multiple eco-tourist typologies and several characteristics commonly associated with eco-tourism as an industry (2010:58-60).[31] They explain: "Ecotourism is a type of sustainable tourism that emphasizes conserving nature and improving the lives of local people in rural and wilderness areas … As such ecotourism is part of both nature-based and sustainable tourism" (Lema et al., 2010:59-60).[32] Yet, because the two terms are used in close relation to each other, at least in Galápagos and in other places where similar tourism is practiced, notions of sustainable tourism inherently involve notions of eco-tourism and vice versa. In such situations the term 'sustainable eco-tourism' might prove useful, although it is specific to such contexts.[33] The term 'sustainable eco-tourism' has yet to find popularity, however, in literature about Galápagos and its eco-tourism industry. A brief analysis of the language used to describe the term 'sustainable tourism' is thus provided to introduce how notions of sustainable tourism resonate with this dissertation's arguments.

Sustainable Tourism

Several authors (e.g. Lema et al., 2010, Honey, 2008, Borges Hernándes et al., 2008) have differentiated sustainable tourism from eco-tourism to show that sustainable tourism does not always involve notions of environmentalism and conservation, as does eco-tourism. Honey's (2008:234) analysis of eco-tourism and sustainable

[31] Characteristics include growth of the eco-tourism industry in the previous five years, and its perceived potential for eco-tourism in international markets. The study also identifies, for example, the US eco-tourist as: "35 to 54 years old with college or higher education while the European ecotourists are considered experienced travellers with higher education and income levels. They are middle-aged to elderly and are being considered as opinion leaders. U.S. travellers are willing to spend for their eco-trip up to $1500 more than for the traditional (mass) travel package" (Lema et al., 2010: 59).

[32] Lema et al. (2010:58-59) further describe the relation between the terms eco-tourism and sustainable tourism, explaining: "Sustainable tourism offers destinations the opportunity to capitalize on their natural attractions and to gain all the economic benefits that tourism has to offer without destroying the resources that they are based upon. Ecotourism offers great potential for sustainable development when used in conjunction with the effective management of nature-based tourist resources."

[33] In places such as London and New York, for example, sustaining a tourist industry has little if anything to do with conserving the natural environment, though conservation of aspects of the built environment – commonly described as heritage – may be crucial.

tourism certification programmes, for example, juxtaposes three terms as basic to her article, including: (i) TIES' 1990 definition of eco-tourism; (ii) Swarbrooke's (1999) sustainable tourism definition, which describes it as "tourism that is economically viable, but does not destroy the resources on which the future of tourism will depend, notably the physical environment, and the social fabric of the host community"; and (iii) the Brundtland Report's 1987 explanation that sustainable development "meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs." What can be drawn from Lema et al.'s (2010) and Honey's (2008) differentiation of terms is that notions of sustainability and sustainable development are integral to current studies of sustainable tourism practices. A brief history of sustainability and sustainable-development terms is thus provided as a backdrop to the ways sustainable tourism is described today.

Sustainability and Sustainable Development

Dresner (2002) suggested that Malthus' (1798) *Essay on Population*, which argued that population growth will always decrease the standard of living for labouring classes, was the first major work to address resource use. He also suggested that notions of sustainability might have originated in Malthus' observations about the consequences of the Industrial Revolution in England. The term sustainability, according to Dresner (2002:29), first emerged at a 1974 conference on Science and Technology for Human Development convened by the World Council of Churches, which said of the term:

> First, social stability cannot be obtained without an equitable distribution of what is in scarce supply or without common opportunity to participate in social decisions. Second, a robust global society will not be sustainable unless the need for food is at any time well below the global capacity to supply it and unless the emission of pollutants is well below the capacity of the ecosystems to absorb them … Finally, a sustainable society requires a level of human activities

> which is not adversely influenced by the never-ending large and frequent natural variations in global climate.

This definition emphasises social conditions (e.g. the need for equity and democracy) and not environmental conditions. Also, the use of 'sustainable society' is notable because it introduces the notion of equitable distribution that is the cornerstone of the Brundtland Report's ideas about sustainability.

It was not until 1980 that a group of Northern environmentalists, working for the International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources combined notions of sustainability and development.[34] They defined 'sustainable development' as "the integration of conservation and development to ensure that modifications to the planet do indeed secure the survival and well-being of all people" (Dresner, 2002: 30-31). This definition foreshadowed an emphasis on incorporating conservation into development planning from its earliest phases. It also influenced, according to Goldie et al. (2005), the Brundtland Report's 1987 use of the term.[35] What has today come to be called sustainable development thus draws upon notions of sustainability (usually in reference to environmental conservation) and development (Dresner, 2002; Lee et al., 2000; Baker, 2006).

[34] Cowen and Shenton (1996:7, 336) argue that the terms 'development' and 'underdevelopment' existed well before World War II, although neither was seen as "part of a new imperial project for the colonial and post-colonial 'Third World'". It wasn't until U.S. President Harry Truman's post-World War II use of the term 'development' that it was used to describe unequal relationships between rich and poor nations (Edelman and Haugerud, 2005; Escobar, 1992; Gardener and Lewis, 1996; Lee et al., 2000; Dresner, 2002).

[35] Several international conferences (e.g. United Nations Conferences on Environment and Development) followed the Brundtland Report (Rio de Janeiro, 1992; New York, 1997; Geneva, 1996; Kyoto, 1997; Johannesburg, 2002), and produced additional reports on ways to think about sustainable development. Also, governments responded to the Brundtland report by developing their own sustainable-development plans. For instance, as Goldie et al. (2005:5) point out, Australia's 1992 response to the Brundtland Report was to develop a National Strategy for Ecologically Sustainable Development which committed all Australian governments to development objectives such as to "enhance individual and community well-being and welfare by following a path of economic development that safeguards the welfare of future generations" (2005:5). The Australian government is a prime example of how ideas about sustainable development from the global context have been applied in a local context.

This brief historical backdrop shows a mixing of ideas about sustainability and sustainable development over past decades. The two terms are often used similarly to describe ideas about economic, environmental and social issues, especially in relation to sustainable tourism. The next section accounts for uses of the term 'sustainable tourism' and how such use has changed over time.

Sustainable Tourism

Several tourism studies (e.g. Borges Hernándes et al., 2008; Honey, 2008; Lema et al., 2010) indicate that sustainable tourism includes, but is not limited to, eco-tourism. Borges Hernándes et al. (2008:181) explain:

> Sustainable tourism refers to the type of tourism that is based on either natural or man-made resources and contributes to sustainable development. It is a form of tourism that needs to be managed in such a way that all activity focused on a patrimonial resource (natural or cultural) may continue indefinitely. The definition recognizes the necessity of an integrated development approach addressing the relationships between natural and cultural resources, the tourist sector and other activities, as well as processes and value systems where tourism takes place.

Honey (2008:234-235) similarly defines sustainable tourism as "taking the principles of ecotourism and applying them to larger businesses (including chains, resorts and urban hotels, as well as ski lifts, golf courses and marinas) throughout the more conventional tourism industry." A common thread running through these definitions is that eco-tourism and sustainable tourism terms are grounded in the concept of sustainable development. Yet, it is apparent that many sustainable tourism definitions (e.g. Borges Hernándes et al., 2008; and Honey; 2008) do not

account for notions of time and local participation – notions that are included in other sustainable-tourism definitions (e.g. WTO[36], 1998; GNP-TA, 2011).

The World Tourism Organization (WTO, 1998 cited in Agrusa et al., 2010:250), for example, defines sustainable tourism as "preserving resources while enhancing a region's opportunities for the future and at the same time meeting present tourists' needs." Applying this definition to Galápagos' tourism industry would mean a tourism that preserves what tourists regard as the archipelago's pristine nature so that their expressed need to view such pristine nature could continue to be met indefinitely. Yet, as I demonstrate in this dissertation, present-day eco-tourism practices in Galápagos fail to preserve nature; indeed, they contribute to environmental harm and create social consequences that could compromise the industry's sustainability. Additionally, while the WTO's definition claims that sustainable tourism preserves natural resources and enhances opportunities for the future, it does not indicate when 'future' comparisons should be made or how preservation or opportunities should be measured.

The very notion of sustainability is problematic if it is not tied to a time period. In fact, sustainable tourism definitions (e.g. GNP-TA, 2011, Borges Hernándes et al., 2008; Honey, 2008) commonly fail to link notions of sustainability with a specified future time or generation. Borges Hernándes et al. (2008:181), for instance, claim that sustainability "may continue indefinitely." That said, sustainable tourism criteria (e.g. the Global Sustainable Tourism Council, 2012; Font et al., 2003; Certification for Sustainable Tourism, 2012) have provided tourism officials and participants with measures by which periodically to apply universal sustainable tourism principles at a local level.[37] Yet, it is unclear whether such criteria result in accurate matrices for measuring economic, environmental and social sustainability.

[36] WTO is here used in reference to the World Tourism Organization despite its common use as the acronym for the World Trade Organization.

[37] The Global Sustainable Tourism Council (2012), for example, explains that its criteria resulted from a process in which the GSTC Partnership "consulted with sustainability experts and the tourism industry and reviewed more than 60 existing certification and voluntary sets of criteria already being

Looking closely at the Galápagos context reveals ideas about sustainable tourism and their supposed links with economic, environmental and social sustainability. The GNP-TA – an administration with considerable political, environmental and social influence on the Galápagos eco-tourism industry, its sustainability, and nature conservation – has proposed a sustainable-tourism definition that predominates in the archipelago. The GNP-TA's interpretation of sustainable tourism is thus important for understanding how notions of eco-tourism and sustainable tourism are used in Galápagos. I use its definition throughout the rest of this study as a way to compare Galápagos catamaran eco-tourism practices as they occur with the GNP-TA's sustainable-tourism model. The GNP-TA (GNP, 2011a) represents its role as being "to promote sustainable tourism in protected areas of Galápagos with a regional perspective that ensures the conservation of ecological integrity and biodiversity for the archipelago, and to contribute to an equitable socioeconomic development and solidarity of the local population." It also claims, on its webpage, to promote "nature tourism that is environmentally sustainable, economically viable and gives priority to local participation" (GNP, 2011a).

These brief quotes indicate that the GNP-TA works with a definitional concoction of terms (e.g. sustainable tourism, nature tourism, environmentally sustainable) to represent its provincial responsibilities. And, while the GNP-TA sustainable-tourism definition does not explicitly refer to eco-tourism, it does provide an account of nature tourism that is similar to its sustainable-tourism explanation. GNP constraints on Galápagos eco-tourism[38] also indicate that the GNP intends to ensure what might be called sustainable-tourism practices in Galápagos – and that they should be consistent with the ways studies in or pertaining to Galápagos (e.g.

implemented around the globe. In all, more than 4,500 criteria were analyzed and the resulting draft criteria received comments from over 2000 stakeholders. Since the launch of the criteria in October 2008, the GSTC has focused on engaging all tourism stakeholders – from purchasers to suppliers to consumers – to adopt the criteria."

[38] For example, the GNP requires non-biodegradable recycling aboard licensed tourism vessels. It also requires new vessels introduced to Galápagos to be (i) constructed of fibreglass, and (ii) to obtain environmental impact reports before their launch.

Grenier, 2007; González et al., 2008; Quiroga, 2009b) use notions of eco-tourism. The GNP's sustainable tourism definition is thus an important measure for assessing material presented in the dissertation.

A Frame of Reference

For the remainder of this dissertation, I use TIES' 1990 eco-tourism definition – "responsible travel to natural areas that conserves the environment and improves the well-being of local people" – to describe eco-tourism practices as I encountered them in Galápagos. This is because my fieldwork led me to recognise that those participating in Galápagos eco-tourism generally think about and use 'eco-tourism' in ways similar to TIES' 1990 definition. One notable challenge to my use of TIES' definition, as I explain in chapter six, is that non-Ecuadorian eco-tourists typically show concern for environmental conservation but not for improving the well-being of Galapagueños.

I use the term sustainable tourism to refer to Galápagos tourism practices that seek to ensure the longevity of the archipelago's environmental integrity, the health of its eco-tourism industry and the resulting socioeconomic benefits meant to accrue to present and future Galapagueños supporting the industry and drawing livelihoods from eco-tourism practices. This sustainable-tourism definition incorporates ideas from the Brundtland Report's definition of the term in 1987, the WTO in 1998, and the GNP-TA's 2011 definition. In particular, the GNP-TA's sustainable-tourism definition is a conceptual yardstick by which I argue that Galápagos eco-tourism is not 'sustainable tourism'.

These definitions are offered as conceptual frameworks for how I make sense of and describe the ethnographic data provided in chapters four, five and six. The next chapter accounts for how political and academic pressures – all exogenous to Galápagos – have contributed to the creation of the CDRS, the GNP, and Galápagos' eco-tourism industry. It serves as a prelude to the ethnographic portraits presented

in later chapters and which are used to substantiate my argument that Galápagos eco-tourism is not sustainable over the long term.

THREE

The Land of Dragons from the Sea

Written accounts of visitors' first impressions of Galápagos over the last 500 years describe dramatic changes regarding what the archipelago has meant to those who have visited. The first reported human activity in Galápagos includes Tomás de Berlanga and his crew's inadvertent discovery and consequent mapping of the archipelago in 1535; pirates' use of Galápagos as a haven to repair and restock their vessels for much of the 16th to 18th centuries; whalers' hunting in Galápagos waters; and Charles Darwin's brief visit in 1835 (Quiroga, 2009b:15-16). Many of those travellers' documented impressions suggest that black marine iguanas welcomed visitors to the islands' blistering basaltic coastlines with general indifference. Their frightening appearance gave Galápagos a reputation amongst seamen as a hell-on-earth or a fiery wasteland: 'The Land of Dragons from the Sea' (Gunton & Morris, 2007).

Today, coloured cocktails and ecology-focused PowerPoint presentations on plasma screens welcome tourists to their glamorized voyeurism into nature, aboard luxury catamarans that enable tourists to peer at what is asserted as being the same pristine environment that provided Darwin with data which ultimately led to his famed evolutionary theories. Ironically, the fiery wasteland once marked by visitors' disdain if not fear of the archipelago's fauna has become a focus of people's concern with nature conservation and its assumed partner, environmental sustainability.

Doing ethnographic research in Galápagos, my responsibilities included understanding my first impressions there. To do that I needed

(i) to consider reasons they were shaped as they were;

(ii) to come to grips with how my own biases affected my research; and

(iii) to take stock of Galápagos human history, as represented in both literature and orally amongst Galápagos residents and migrant labourers.

This chapter provides a backdrop to the ethnographic data I present in chapters four, five and six. It offers an historically periodized account of Galápagos human activity as it has contributed to the eco-tourism practices I encountered.

The archipelago's history of human presence is relatively brief, all of it being within the last five centuries. I have adopted and adapted González et al.'s (2008) four-part periodization to construct an initial synopsis of noteworthy people and events that have preceded Galapagueños' current dependence on eco-tourism. I have done that for the purposes of this historical summary knowing that it is difficult – perhaps irresponsible – neatly to compartmentalize history. González et al.'s four historical periods are: (i) Discovery and Extractive Exploitation, (ii) Colonisation, (iii) Conservation and Tourism, and (iv) Development of Conservationism. I present Galápagos' history within this periodization in order to develop a backdrop to various socio-political factors, identified during the course of fieldwork and which I discuss later as regards how they have influenced people's attitudes towards Galápagos nature and how they and Galapagueños' relationships to and with nature have changed over time.

Discovery and Extractive Exploitation (1535-1832)

The origin of the first humans to have arrived in Galápagos is contestable. On one hand, indigenous knowledge, as reflected in certain continental pre-Hispanic narratives,[39] suggest pre-Colombian inhabitants were the first to discover Galápagos. On the other, current scholarship overwhelmingly argues that there is no evidence of human remains or processes of colonisation of the islands to substantiate such narratives (Quiroga, 2009b:15). The earliest corroborated

[39] The legend of Tupac Yupanki, for example, claims navigation from the pre-Colombian landmass to the 'far off islands' (Quiroga: 2009a).

evidence of Galápagos' discovery dates to the March 1535 arrival of the fourth Bishop of Panama, Tomás de Berlanga. Sailing from Panama to Peru, and with the winds having died, the Panama current drove Berlanga and his crew unexpectedly to discover Galápagos and to produce the first charts indicating the archipelago's existence (Latorre, 1999:8).

Thereafter, maps became a key link to the archipelago. Knowledge of the islands, environmental resources available there (e.g. water, fresh meat, wood, safe anchorages, fish and whale populations), and distribution of that knowledge to people globally, have continued since to attract visitors from around the world. Indeed, that first chance discovery set in motion a series of cycles of extractive environmental exploitation, beginning with piracy, then whaling and later succeeded by colonisation and tourism.

European pirates were reportedly among the first to learn of Berlanga's journey and navigational charts. In 1575, Sir Francis Drake was the first such pirate to cross the Magellan Strait and to begin campaigns in the Pacific (Quiroga, 2009b:16). By the 17th century English pirates were using Galápagos as a base from which to plunder Spanish ships carrying cargoes from Spanish colonies along the South Pacific littoral (2009b:16). Galápagos proved a safe anchorage where firewood and food were easily located.[40] Piracy bases in Galápagos continued into the 18th century (Latorre, 1999:16).

Whalers comprised a second wave of extractive exploiters. Growing urbanization, beginning with the English industrial revolution and spreading throughout Western Europe and into North America during the 18th and 19th centuries, created demand

[40] Consequently, English pirates were the first group to plunder Galápagos' natural resources significantly. Sailors' desire for fresh meat led to mass tortoise harvesting; within the first 200 years, pirates had captured and then killed more than 200,000 tortoises (Latorre, 1999:16). Giant tortoises, endemic to the archipelago, could survive for up to a year when stacked upside down in a ships' galley. Today, there are no such tortoises on certain Galápagos Islands, having been rendered extinct by pirates, whalers and colonists' exploitation.

for whale oil as a lighting fuel. Whalers in Pacific Ocean whaling networks established an important hub in and around Galápagos (Grenier, 2007:75, 77).

The 16th to 18th century start and growth of human migrations to Galápagos led cartographers to include the archipelago on world maps. Nonetheless, some historians believe that Galápagos' isolation, harsh environment, and fresh water scarcity precluded permanent human settlement development during these centuries (González et al., 2008:3). Colonisation was neither sustainable nor desirable without significant access to resources exogenous to Galápagos.

Early use of the archipelago nonetheless presaged: (i) subsequent large-scale exploitation of natural resources; (ii) pathways for subsequent migrations of people to and within Galápagos; and (iii) today's exploitative eco-tourism practices.

Colonisation (1832-1959)

Albeit overlapping with what came before,[41] the second major historical period began with Ecuador's 1832 annexation of Galápagos, and continued with subsequent efforts permanently to colonise select spaces. It can be said to have lasted until the next significant historical shift – which, González et al. (2008:3) suggest, commenced with the 1959 founding of the Galápagos National Park (GNP), the CDF, and the Charles Darwin Research Station (CDRS).

Colonisation critiques are common in contemporary anthropology. The Comaroffs (1991, 1997), for example, have presented detailed historical accounts of Christian

[41] Again, bounded periods are a by-product of this historical account of Galápagos and shaped by the González et al.'s (2008) framework. Trends among people and ideas transition between periods and are reluctantly viewed here as isolated entities. Extractive exploitation patterns continued from the first historical era to the second and beyond. Nevertheless, as Latorre (1999:2) suggests, "All attempts to exploit the resources of the islands have ended in failure or tragedy, as seen in the effort of Villamil, Valdizan and Cobos to colonise and even in the most recent case, of the 'adventurers' of 1960." Such failures foreshadow change in people's attitudes about nature toward the end of the colonisation period.

missionaries' 'civilizing mission' in South Africa between 1820 and 1920 – a mission by which they sought to change the hearts and minds of the Southern Tswana. This is not, however, the type of colonisation that occurred in Galápagos, since there it did not involve colonisation of an already present population. Instead, Galápagos colonisation required translocating whole groups of people from continental Ecuador to Galápagos. Don José de Villamil and later Manuel J. Cobos headed the two most successful colonisation expeditions.

Don José de Villamil became the first Governor of Galápagos. He did that by convincing the 1830-founded Ecuadorian government to annex Galápagos from Spain in 1832 and to allow him to settle there with a mix of: (i) Guayaquil citizens who hoped for adventure and financial gain, and (ii) Ecuadorian convicts exiled there rather than being incarcerated on the mainland (Latorre 1999:37). As Governor, he situated himself and the first colony on Floreana Island (1999:37).[42] It was not until decades after Darwin's 1835 visit to Galápagos that Villamil abandoned his dream of permanent colonisation. Faced with poor health and exhausted financial resources, he sold part of his rights to Floreana Island to a French adventurer in 1860 (Latorre, 1999:45). While most of his labourers returned to Guayaquil with Villamil, those who remained were freed of pre-existing labour contracts; but poor leadership amongst them led to the colony's demise in 1866 (45).

A 13-year gap followed before Manuel J. Cobos' 1879-established colonial station, in the highlands of El Progreso on San Cristobal Island, with an initial 120 men. Many prisoners (likely those remaining from Villamil's colony) and migrants from Guayaquil and within Galápagos moved to Cobos' El Progreso colony (Latorre, 1999:67). Like Villamil's colony, Cobos' also collapsed – in this instance after just

[42] It was at this time, 1835, that then 26 year-old Charles Darwin visited the archipelago and Villamil's mission, of which he said "The inhabitants led a sort of Robinson Crusoe life" (Latorre, 1999:36). The value of Darwin's field notes and collected samples of species became apparent only on his return to England. His *On the Origin of Species* (1859) fascinated the scientific world – and is largely responsible for the mass allure of ecologists and biologists to the islands to this day.

twenty-five years when Elias Puertas, one of his workers, murdered him in 1904. Thereafter, some colonists continued working in El Progreso while others became fishers in Puerto Baquerizo Moreno. The area that they settled ultimately developed industrial, agricultural, ranching, and commercial capacity.[43]

These two colonisation and settlement attempts, one lasting thirty-one years, the other twenty-five, revealed the challenges that settlement on and domestication of the islands involved, even for subsistence farming. Subsequent settlement included a group of about 40 Norwegian colonists in 1926 on Isabela Island – they remained for four years – and, in 1929, five German adventurers settled but struggled to co-exist at Post Office Bay on Floreana Island and left a few years later (Latorre, 1999:120,147). World War II saw the US Air Force build an airbase on Baltra Island in 1942 with 12,000 airmen stationed there, increasing the total human population in Galápagos eleven fold (Grenier, 2007:89).

While most of the one thousand earlier settlers reverted to subsistence farming after WWII ended, the airstrip offered an easier means of access from abroad than had been the case earlier, and it has since proven particularly valuable for the tourist trade. By the late 1950s, the Ecuadorian government had recognized that what it had previously seen as a wasteland where life was difficult, actually had potential– when looked at with different eyes – to offer international esteem as well as lucrative and stable financial benefits.

[43] The earliest (Villamil) and most successful (Cobos) colonies were not dependent upon Galápagos seas – as is today the case with the eco-tourism industry. Instead, diversified production of natural resources (including endemic and introduced plants and animals to Galápagos) was intended to sustain groups of settlers – although most colonists aspired to turn a healthy profit. San Cristobal Island's whole tortoise population, for instance, was effectively eliminated during this era (Latorre, 1999:70).

Conservation and Tourism (1959 – 1998)

Intentions to exploit those possibilities ushered in a third historical period, one in which there was growth in both environmental conservation and tourism which, while always interconnected, grew independently of one another until the 1990s when growing tourist inflows began to threaten Galápagos' environmental integrity and to prompt interest in notions of eco-tourism that might allow the conservation and tourism industries to coexist without one compromising the other's future. I now describe the growth paths of both during the second half of the 20th century and reflect on some outcomes.

Environmental conservation efforts preceded Galápagos' tourism boom. The Ecuadorian government, assisted by UNESCO, established the GNP in 1959 in response to pressure from international environmentalist organizations to protect non-colonised spaces. The GNP's partnership with the 1959-established CDF[44] – an international scientific organization based in Belgium and created both to conduct research in Galápagos and to "advise national authorities regarding the conservation and management of the islands" – resulted in the establishment of the CDRS on Santa Cruz Island, also in 1959 (Grenier, 2007:123-124; Quiroga, 2009b:48; my translations).[45]

[44] The CDF (CDF webpage, 2011), established in Brussels on July 23, 1959, defines itself as "an international not-for-profit organization that provides scientific research and technical information and assistance to ensure the proper preservation of the Galápagos Islands. … The Charles Darwin Foundation is registered in Belgium as an International Non-Profit Association (AISBL, abbreviated in French) under the number 371359 and is subject to Belgian law". The CDF is solely responsible for conservation of the islands' natural environment (Grenier, 2007). Consequently, it may be argued, listing the CDF as an NGO (nongovernmental organization), disguises the intrusion of a foreign organization, albeit not government funded, directed or managed, in issues of Ecuadorian national and provincial sovereignty.

[45] Santa Cruz was chosen because: "1) the island had the best biodiversity of the islands (the least contamination), 2) it was close to the airport, and 3) it was populated by Europeans, whom the naturalists wanted to be around" (Grenier, 2007:123-124; my translation). The CDRS' location on Santa Cruz and its development there (characterized by a spike in infrastructure development and an influx of foreign grants and investments) contributed to the island's population today being the largest in Galápagos.

According to a CDRS historian whose job it was in 2011 to familiarize visitors with the facility, the CDRS and the Galápagos National Park Service (GNPS) – the GNP's 'foot soldier' – have collaborated since the GNPS was established in 1964. While the GNPS manages GNP regulations, the CDRS leads environmental guardianship efforts. Scientists based at or connected with the CDRS are free to conduct ecological and biological studies throughout the GNP's protected spaces.

A question that Grenier (2007:120; my translation) asks of the GNP-CDRS relationship is: "How is it possible that the naturalists of Northern countries succeeded in convincing the Ecuadorian government to transform almost the entirety of the Galápagos into a national park and, above all, to authorize the installation in the islands of a permanent international scientific base?"

One explanation reflects the desires of Eibl-Eibesfeldt, a German scientist sent by UNESCO along with Robert Bowman, to report on "the Galápagos situation" in 1956 in order, ultimately, to install a scientific base there (Quiroga, 2009b:48). His environmentalist arguments (1957)[46] were that "The sea lions will constitute an important fountain of income if they are permitted to return to their abundance"; and "The Galápagos can be converted into an important attraction for tourists, but only if they are protected as a nature reserve, as in Africa or in the US" (Grenier, 2007:120; Grenier's translation). Such arguments resounded with those of European scientific communities and UNESCO at the time (2007:120). Eibl-Eibesfeldt's influence on Galápagos environmental study is a significant precursor to contemporary calls for partnership between Galápagos conservation and tourism in that his Galápagos report channelled environmental conservationism through the Ecuadorian nation-state – which is evident in the next historical period (Quiroga, 2009b:48). For example, the CDF's ideological pressures, through the GNP, on Galápagos politics grew during the thirty years after CDF's founding.[47] One result

[46] Detailed arguments may be found in Eibl-Eibesfeldt's (1957) *Le paradis animal des Galápagos sera-t-il sauvé?*

[47] From 1959 to 1998, the CDRS and GNPS made significant strides in learning of and preserving

was that Ecuador declared Galápagos a new province in 1973, thus opening the door to various social conflicts "characterized by the dialectic between conservation and development objectives" (e.g. "development of the lobster and sea cucumber fisheries, which generated a 'gold-rush' scenario in the islands") (González et al., 2008:6).

Growing recognition, brought about by e.g. Darwin's (1859), Beebe's (1924) and Eibl-Eibesfeldt's (1957) scholarly influences,[48] of the value of displaying the archipelago's environment to visiting tourists influenced the Ecuadorian government to commission a group of naturalists in 1966 to report on "the development of tourism potential in the Galápagos" (Grenier, 2007:124; my translation). Their report advised that Metropolitan Touring (MT), already then the largest and most organized private tourism company in mainland Ecuador, would readily attract North American tourists to Galápagos because MT was thought to be more credible than South American tourist operators. The CDF also backed MT because funds generated from foreign tourists could be used to finance CDRS-led conservation studies in the archipelago (2007:124).

Tourism to Galápagos thus became a formal industry in 1969 when government selected MT as an exclusive tour operator to build a commercially viable eco-tourism industry targeting foreign tourists. Grenier (2007:146; my translation) comments that commercially sponsored organizational partnerships by early tourism developers meant that "The publicity of the visitors that MT would carry to

native biodiversity. Efforts included captive breeding of endangered species, active control of invasive organisms, and indirect guidance of environmental policy through the GNP (González et al., 2008:8).

[48] Charles Darwin's visit as a naturalist aboard the H.M.S. Beagle in 1835 positions him as an early eco-tourist in Galápagos (Quiroga, 2009a: 12-64). The same applies to W. Beebe, a North American zoologist and essayist, who visited Galápagos briefly in 1923. It is likely that the brevity of his stay – like Darwin's – provided him with a highly favourable experience in the archipelago. Beebe's (1924) *Galápagos: World's End* later propelled the archipelago's environment to international fame. Beebe's work, translated into many languages, informed the world of Galápagos' natural beauty, and incited people to visit it (Grenier, 2007:93). Like Darwin's (1859) *On the Origin of Species*, Beebe's thoughts, offering portraits of Galápagos as a glamourous natural laboratory contrasting with its earlier reputation as a fiery wasteland, indirectly changed how people from around the world thought about Galápagos nature.

the archipelago would contribute funds to the CDF: so, the financing of conservation through tourism, one of the objectives of ecotourism, was implanted in the Galápagos much before its invention in the 1980s." Grenier's historical account illustrates the early interdependence of Galápagos conservation (e.g. CDF influence via the CDRS) and commercial tourism (e.g. MT).

Ultimately, those integral to conservation and eco-tourism growth during this period achieved their wishes. Eibl-Eibesfeldt's and other scientists' pressure led to the CDF's establishment of the CDRS; the CDRS, in collaboration with the Ecuadorian government working through MT successfully introduced commercial tourism to Galápagos – an industry created to fund CDRS conservation efforts at the time, and one that has since grown to become Ecuador's most lucrative income generator today, with international tourists (largely from North America and Europe) visiting the 'End of the World' with relative ease.

The Development of Conservationism (1998 – Present)

Tourism growth, beginning with MT's first Galápagos boat-based tours in 1969 and continuing until 1998, has led to a steep increase in environmental degradation, and a resulting tipping point has been reached between the balance of tourism growth and environmental sustainability (Tapia et al., 2009). At the end of the 20th century, an important change occurred amongst academics investigating Galápagos – a rise in studies now focused on social themes and the increasing number of people living in the archipelago (Quiroga, 2009b:57). Galapagueños and environmentalists had come to realize a need to change tourism practices and to seek future sustainability for Galápagos eco-tourism.

The fourth historical period thus surfaces a dramatic shift in philosophy regarding, and governance of, tourism and environmental conservationism in Galápagos. It began in 1998 with a presidential decree and subsequent ratification by Ecuador's

Congress of the Galápagos Special Law (GSL)[49] (González et al., 2008:6). GSL's institution, among other objectives, signalled the Ecuadorian government's political commitment to what came to be described as sustainable tourism that would partner scientific and social investigations with tourism administration.

GSL's implementation soon introduced change in Galápagos. For example, GSL "became a key legal instrument that granted the province special status, including severe migratory restrictions" on people from continental Ecuador settling there (2008:6). Migratory restrictions is an example of GSL measures "intended to bridge the existing gap between conservation and development interests" by working to balance economic growth (largely tourism) and biodiversity conservation (2008:6). Taylor et al.'s (2006) study of Galápagos eco-tourism and economic growth, which identified four key drivers of economic growth in Galápagos – (i) tourism, (ii) fishing, (iii) conservation and research, and (iv) government – argued that "the importance of each of these increased between 1999 and 2005" (Taylor et al., 2006:3-4).

Development of conservationism in Galápagos has since had two prongs: to enhance residents' and eco-tourists' ecological awareness, and to protect Galápagos biodiversity. The future of Galápagos eco-tourism, in theory at least, has thus been linked to notions of sustainable tourism that are discussed in the previous chapter.

[49] Chávez & Viteri (2007) account for GSL, its legitimacy, its effect on local participation in the eco-tourism industry, and its compliance with the GMR.

Moving Forward

The preceding periodized history provides an overview of events and processes that have contributed to contemporary circumstances for human life in Galápagos. The next three chapters present ethnographic data showing that Galápagos eco-tourism practices are inconsistent with sustainable-tourism definitions used in Galápagos (e.g. by the GNP-TA) and elsewhere where similar tourism practices occur. In that respect the following chapters indirectly challenge readers metaphorically to evaluate who and what constitute 'Dragons from the Sea" in Galápagos today.

FOUR

Gran Turismo

Chapter three's historical backdrop to the Galápagos economy and the political drivers of its creation provides an entry point to the dissertation's argument that Galápagos eco-tourism practices are inconsistent with sustainable-tourism definitions used in Galápagos (e.g. by the GNP-TA). The argument is explicated through discussion of a series of interrelated factors, presented in chapter five, which shows that Galápagos catamaran eco-travel is linked to inequalities in Galapagueños' access to employment opportunities. In order to make that connection, I offer data in this chapter to illustrate that Galápagos' eco-tourism industry, and Galápagos residents who derive their livelihood from it, are becoming increasingly dependent upon catamaran eco-travel as the primary basis for income generation.

To substantiate the chapter's argument, I present evidence to illustrate

(i) how Galápagos eco-tourism indicators measure up against the global context;

(ii) growth in Galápagos cruise-boat eco-tourism;

(iii) reasons why tourists prefer catamaran to single-hull eco-tourism and how such consumer demand has caused yacht owners to upgrade from single-hull vessels to catamarans; and

(iv) particular consequences for how categories of Galapagueños depend, as labourers, on the industry.

Together, these points provide an account of catamaran eco-tourism growth in Galápagos and how such growth has impacted on the eco-tourism industry.

Galápagos Eco-tourism in Global Context

A brief comparison of the global tourism market with tourism trends in continental Ecuador provides a basis for understanding the scale of Galápagos eco-tourism in relation to the local economy.[50] The World Travel & Tourism Council (WTTC, 2005), for example, estimated that global tourism accounted for 10.6% of global gross domestic product (GDP), employed 8.3% of the world's employed people, and had an expected annual growth rate of 4.6% (this was before the 2008 and more recent financial market meltdowns). These figures refer to the full spectrum of global tourism practices and do not necessarily reflect eco-tourism trends common to locations such as Galápagos. Considering global eco-tourism trends more specifically: the Global Ecotourism Society "estimated [in 2006, again prior to the global financial meltdown] that global ecotourism grows three times faster than the collective tourism industry. Nature-based tourism is growing about 10% per annum and sustainable tourism could grow to 25% of the world's travel market till 2010…" (Lema et al. 2010:59).

According to Ecuador's Pichincha Province's Chamber of Tourism, Ecuadorian tourism in 2005 generated 4.3% of the national GDP and accounted for the country's third-largest foreign revenue source, behind oil and banana exports (CAPTUR, 2005).[51] In contrast, in Galápagos where – as shown in chapter 3 – tourism has been the archipelago's economic base for the past half-century, tourism in 2003 employed almost 40% of local residents and directly contributed 65.4% of the archipelago's GDP (Taylor et al., 2003).[52]

[50] The global tourism market considered here refers to localized tourism markets across the globe that are, on one hand, independent of each other in terms of the experiences and services they provide, while also, on the other, being interdependent through the network of consumer demand they create, rely upon and sustain.

[51] Pichincha is an Ecuadorian province in the northern Sierra region. It includes the capital city, Quito.

[52] Taylor et al. (2003) do not account for local residents that provide labour for services and the production of goods that – while not directly linked to marine eco-tourism – indirectly support Galápagos' eco-tourism industry (e.g. agricultural development, construction labour, teachers, government officials).

These figures compare with those provided by Agrusa et al. (2007) in their study of Tahiti residents' perceptions of Tahiti as a tourist destination. They found that "85% of the respondents are currently [working] or have worked in the tourism industry and 47.7% do live nearby a major tourist site" (Agrusa et al., 2007:85). These data suggest that, while the Galápagos tourism industry employed 40% of Galapagueños in 2003, some other countries' eco-tourism industries are likely to employ similar percentages of local residents.[53]

Taylor et al.'s (2006:9) study of the Galápagos eco-tourism industry between 1999 and 2005 provides additional data on the Galápagos economy before the 2008 global financial crisis. They suggest that the archipelago had "one of the fastest-growing economies in the world" at least during those six years. Their estimates, "based on changes in tourism, fishing, and government and conservation expenditures, indicate that total income in the archipelago increased 78%, to $73.2 million, over this 6-year period, for an average annual growth rate of 9.6%" (2006:9). However, their data do not illustrate annual tourism growth rates. Their analysis instead consolidates data to argue that total income generated by Galápagos tourism increased 9.6% on average over the six-year span (Taylor et al., 2006:16).

Furthermore, they indicate that, during the six years covered by their study, Galápagos tourism contributed US$62.9 million to the islands' income (average: US$10.5 million per annum) and over US$113.9 million to income for Ecuador's other provinces through demand for goods and services for eco-tourism (Taylor et al., 2006:12). They also explain that a 60% increase in island inhabitants numbers during the six years (Taylor et al., 2006:9) created both economic growth and, as I argue in chapter five, social hierarchies amongst (and differentiated employment opportunities for) Galápagos residents and migrant labourers.

[53] I use the word 'likely' because Agrusa et al.'s (2007) figure aggregates individuals who were working in tourism in 2007 and those who had done so previously, thus making it unclear what percentage of the Tahitian population were employed by tourism in 2007.

The figures above provide only a partial account of Galápagos eco-tourism indicators since the 1998-implemented GSL. GSL gave the Galápagos government autonomy in managing economic development and conservation, made Galapagueño status exclusive by limiting immigration (new migrants had to be skilled labourers) and by privileging permanent residents over outsiders in local labour markets (Taylor et al., 2006:2-3; Kerr et al., 2004:34).[54] It remains unclear, however, at least according to recent studies (Quiroga et al., 2009, González et al., 2010), how and to what extent GSL implementation and/or the 2008 global financial crisis have impacted on Galápagos eco-tourism growth.

I draw upon statistical data of tourist entries to Galápagos to document cruise-boat eco-tourism growth rates. These statistics indicate a clear increase in eco-tourism since GSL's implementation and also a decrease in the period around the time and after the 2008 global financial crisis.

Growth in Galápagos Cruise-boat Tourism

Galápagos eco-tourism studies (e.g. Epler, 2007; Epler and Proaño, 2007; CDF et al., 2008; GNP 2012a) have reported significant growth in the Galápagos marine tourism fleet from 1981 to 2011. Table 1 provides data over that span for total visitor[55] entries to the GNP, tourism cruise-boat numbers operating in the GMR, and those vessels' passenger berths.[56]

[54] For more on GSL, see chapter five below. Also see González et al.'s (2008) critique of Galápagos conservation and management that provides detailed accounts of GSL stipulations, and Chávez & Viteri's (2007) study of compliance behaviour of artisanal fisherman in the GMR.
[55] Epler (2007) and the GNP (2012a) both recognise as 'visitors' (i) 'nationals' and (ii) 'foreigners'.
[56] Annual statistics of tourist entries to the GNP from 1979-2011 may be found on the GNP's official website (GNP, 2011b,c,d). Table 1 does not cover this range of dates because cruise-boat tourism statistics, such as those included in Table 1, are not provided for all years.

		1981	1991	1996	1997	2000	2006	2011
Total Visitors	Total visitor entries to the GNP	16,265	40,746	61,895	62,809	68,856	145,229	185,028
	Intervening Years	N/A	10	5	1	3	6	5
	Percent change since previous period	N/A	150.5%	51.9%	1.5%	9.6%	110.9%	27.4%
	Average percent change annually since previous period	N/A	15.1%	10.4%	1.5%	3.2%	18.5%	5.5%
Cruise-boats	Number of vessels operating in the GMR	40	67	90	84	80	80	93
	Percent change since previous period	N/A	67.5%	34.3%	-6.7%	-4.8%	0%	16.2%
	Average percent change annually since previous period	N/A	6.7%	6.9%	-6.7%	-1.6%	0%	3.2%
Passenger Berths	Total passenger berths for all vessels	597	1048	1484	1545	1733	1805	1972
	Average passenger berths per vessel	14.9	15.6	16.5	18.4	21.7	22.6	21.2
	Percent change in passenger berths per vessel since previous period	N/A	4.7%	5.8%	11.5%	17.9%	4.1%	-6.2%
	Average percent change annually since previous period	N/A	0.47%	1.2%	11.5%	5.9%	0.7%	-1.2%

Table 1: **Eco-tourism Statistics (1981-2011)**

(Sources: Epler, 2007; GNP, 2012a)

The data reveal several insights, including: (i) Galápagos' eco-tourism growth over the past 30 years, and (ii) eco-tourism trends prior to and since the 2008 global financial crisis. First, the table shows that eco-tourism grew steadily between 1981 and 2011 (tourist entry numbers increased from 16,265 to 185,028 and the cruise-boat fleet grew from 40 licensed vessels to 93) despite fluctuations in cruise-boat numbers during the second and third decades.[57] Epler (2007) and the GNP (2012a) indicate that the total number of vessels fluctuated, rather than grew steadily between 1981 and 2011, yet the fleet's total passenger berths did increase over that span. This contrast, Epler argues, is because "Profit-minded tour operators achieved

[57] Training as a GNP naturalist guide, Gerónimo had been taught that the CDRS estimates 75,000 foreign visitor entries to be an environmentally sustainable amount annually.

growth by: 1) increasing the number of cruises per year and thus days that their vessels spent at sea; 2) increasing the occupancy rate/cruise, and 3) converting vessels that offered 1-day tours ("day boats") to those that offer live-aboard, multiple-day tours" (Epler, 2007:11). The major growth in total passenger berths is also due to the large ships (40- to 100-plus berths each) introduced to the eco-tourism fleet from 1991 to 2006 (Epler, 2007:12).[58]

Secondly, Table 1 illustrates eco-tourism trends preceding the 2008 global financial crisis. Total visitor entries, for instance, increased 131.2% between 1997 (62,809) and 2006 (145,229). This means that total visitor entries grew an average of 14.6% annually despite a 4.8% total decrease (an average of 0.5% decline annually) in cruise-boat numbers over the nine-year span. A look at the GNP's visitor categories helps to understand such growth. The GNP (2011c) points out that the number of Ecuadorian visitors to Galápagos grew 242.2% (from 13,979 to 47,833) between 1997 and 2006 while the number of foreign visitors increased only 99.5% (from 48,830 to 97,396). Ecuadorian visitor numbers thus increased an average of 26.9% annually over the nine-year span while foreign visitor numbers increased an average of 11.05% annually. These figures show that Ecuadorian tourist numbers grew faster than foreign visitor numbers leading up to the 2008 financial crisis.

Rapid growth in Ecuadorian tourist numbers was likely due to the fact that Galápagos residents and migrant labourers had made the archipelago an attractive tourist destination for friends and family that reside in mainland Ecuador. The flux of Ecuadorian visitors over those nine years, however, did not affect Galápagos' cruise-boat tourism sector significantly. That is because Ecuadorian visitors are less likely to book cruise-boat tours than foreign visitors (see Table 3). This claim resonates with data in Table 1 that show significant growth in total tourist entries between 1997 and 2006 despite a slight decrease in: (i) total cruise-boat numbers, and (ii) average percent change annually in passenger berths.

[58] It is likely that large ships have been added to the eco-tourism fleet since Epler's 2007 report.

Table 1 does not, however, offer data to account conclusively for eco-tourism trends since the 2008 global financial crisis. Nonetheless, the table's crude amalgamation of data between 2006 and 2011 shows that: (i) total visitor entries have increased 27.4% (an average of 5.5% annually), and (ii) cruise-boat numbers have increased 16.2% (an average of 3.2% annually). This growth has occurred despite a 6.2% decrease in the average number of passenger berths per vessel[59] (an average 1.2% decline annually) over that five-year span.

GNP tourism reports from 2009-2011 (e.g. 2011b,c; 2012a) – the newest data provided on the GNP's official website – provide a better indication of eco-tourism trends since the 2008 global financial crisis than does Table 1. The reports indicate that cruise-boat tourism has remained a significant sector of the Galápagos economy over the last three years despite a gradual decline in cruise-boat eco-tourism.[60] The GNP found that 49.9% (81,284 of 162,610) of Galápagos tourists booked cruise-boat eco-tours in 2009, 45.9% (79,657 of 173,296) in 2010, and 42.3% (78,447 of 185,028) in 2011.[61] These figures show that the 2008 global financial crisis has had an apparent impact on both the absolute number and proportion of tourists booking cruise-boat eco-tours over the previous three years.

While data presented in Table 1 suggest correspondence between growth in Galápagos cruise-boat tourism and eco-tourist entries, it is unclear how vessel type has affected Galápagos cruise-boat tourism growth. This is because Galápagos tourism statistics and studies (e.g. CDF reports; Epler, 2007; GNP, 2012a) have not, until recently, accounted for annual passenger numbers across cruise-boat

[59] While Table 1 indicates passenger berth increases from 1981 to 2011, cruise-boat occupancy rates would provide a clearer idea of how many tourists actually booked eco-tours. Unfortunately, the available studies (e.g. Epler, 2007; GNP, 2012a) offer no data on cruise-boat occupancy rates dating back to 1981.

[60] The GNP does not offer tourists' entry data post-2008 (i.e. nationality, hotel or cruise-boat accommodation used, mode and place of arrival to the archipelago) on its official website, thus making it impractical to measure cruise-boat tourism growth from 1981 to 2011.

[61] That means that, in 2011, more foreign visitors stayed on eco-tourism vessels (78,447) than total visitors to Galápagos in 2000 (68,856) (Epler, 2007; GNP, 2012a).

categories. Table 2 illustrates the GNP's (2011f) descriptions of cruise-boat categories and numbers of those vessels operating in the GMR in 2011.

	Class A	Class B	Class C	Daily Tour
Description	When the tourist operation is performed with luxury boats, equipped with individual cabins and air conditioning, private bathroom and with the necessary specifications for the complete comfort of the tourists during the cruise.	In this category the tourist operation is performed with semi luxury boats, equipped with similar characteristics as the type A cruiser, except air conditioning.	The tourist operation of these cruises are done with boats without individual cabins, private bathrooms or air conditioning, and only standard facilities for navigation.	The operation is assigned a daily tour itinerary with up to 14 sites visits per week, with two sites per day and one site per turn.
Number of Vessels Operating in the GMR in 2011	64	7	4	18

Table 2: **The GNP's Cruise-boat Categorisation**

[Sources: GNP, 2011f; GNP, 2012b]

Table 2 shows that the GNP differentiates between four types of on-board tourist accommodation, but without classifying vessels by single-hull or catamaran design. This categorisation model resonates with other leading cruise-boat studies (e.g. Epler, 2007; Epler and Proaño, 2007) which provide extensive data about the Galápagos eco-tourism fleet, yet do not specify catamaran and single-hull vessel numbers. Instead they aggregate what the GNP classifies as Class A (luxury), Class B (semi-luxury), and Class C (standard) berths when reporting cruise-boat statistics. Therefore, while Table 1 shows a crude 230.3% increase in total passenger berths from 1981 to 2011, it is unclear how many catamaran berths are included in those figures.

Since cruise-boat tourism studies in Galápagos have not focused on catamaran eco-tourism, a time-based evaluation of GNP-licensed catamaran statistics is impossible. Nonetheless, qualitative data from my own fieldwork indicate that eco-tourists are indeed interested in vessel type (i.e. catamaran or single-hull) when making cruise-boat bookings prior to their Galápagos travel. The next section illustrates reasons 21st century Galápagos tourists prefer catamaran to single-hull eco-tourism, as well as how such consumer demand has led yacht owners to upgrade from single-hull vessels to catamarans.

The Advent of Catamaran Eco-tourism

Data from conversations with SeaWolf naturalist guides, tourists and labourers are offered in this section to indicate that reasons for a shift from single-hull to catamaran include apparent changes in Galápagos eco-tourism consumer demand towards practices that (a) are luxurious, and, (b) importantly as regards marketing tactics, supposedly reduce environmental damage to Galápagos eco-systems.

Living Large

Galápagos cruise-boat eco-tourism today offers tourists the mobility to view widespread parts of the archipelago relatively quickly through overnight travel in luxury on-board accommodation. Lasting between four and seven days such trips allow viewing of more than ten islands per tour, depending on individual boat-touring licences and itineraries as regulated by the GNP. Thus, every Thursday during my fieldwork, SeaWolf's bartender, Jaime, mixed a colourful cocktail to welcome each new cohort of passengers aboard the Class-A yacht. On such occasions, Jaime typically offered what he called "blue-footed boobies."[62] The blue-

[62] "Blue-footed boobies" are one of three species of birds in Galápagos with the common name "booby." The others are red-footed booby and Nasca booby, the latter named after a tectonic plate (Fitter et al., 2000). It is also the name given by Jaime to a mixed alcoholic drink of his creation. The avian blue-footed and red-footed boobies, are famous for the peculiar and vibrant phenotype of their feet. SeaWolf naturalist guides explained that 'booby' is thought to derive from the Spanish word for

footed boobies (both the birds that flew alongside our yacht and the cocktails) illustrate the irony of eco-tourists' desire to 'see pristine nature' from the comfort of a luxury catamaran.

In large part, luxury travel practices result from demographic change among tourists visiting Galápagos. Forty years back, such tourists were adventure-seeking travellers. Today most are interested in scripted itineraries requiring minimal personal effort. Among those with whom I shared a week aboard SeaWolf was Helen, a woman who had travelled to and in Galápagos via MT eighteen years previously. Helen's descriptions of differences between her 1993 and 2011 experiences in Galápagos reveal a tourist's perception of change and some of its consequences in the eco-tourism industry over time. For Helen, the most significant changes had occurred in the quality of accommodation and services made available to eco-tourists, and in the tourist types with whom she shared her experiences.

Tossing in her SeaWolf sun-deck seat as she talked to me, she explained how her 1993 fellow travellers had been 'special people' who endured rough seas and modest accommodation because they had been really interested in Galápagos and their connection to it:

> The passengers slept in bunks. There was no luxury. It was a unique experience to visit one of the world's incredible places. But the conditions were nothing like they are today. Today, just about anybody can come out here without even knowing about the place previously! On SeaWolf we have tourists, not travellers. That's because SeaWolf is designed so that any old man or woman can come out here and be comfortable in this harsh natural environment.

She also pointed out that current Galápagos eco-tourism experiences appeal to a broad and now wealthier range of visitors – including those who would not have had the time nor the physical strength to endure MT's three-day crossing from

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clown (*bobo*) because of the birds' comical courtship behaviour. Jaime's drink is named after the blue-footed bird because both are identifiable by the colour blue.

mainland Guayaquil to the archipelago. Now, she said, "Tour operators can readily shuttle cohorts of elderly tourists throughout the archipelago".[63] Helen's observations about changes in the ease of travelling to and throughout the archipelago provide one account of reasons why the catamaran has superseded the far more basic boats of previous years that were typical of MT's initial Galápagos tours.

Despite her perceived binary in distinguishing travellers from tourists, Helen enjoyed SeaWolf's luxurious amenities.[64] She and her husband ate three-course meals, watched DVDs on the catamaran's plasma screen, and enjoyed views from reclining chairs on the yacht's sun deck. Not only had they reserved their 2011 tour aboard the Class-A SeaWolf, they also paid extra to obtain one of just two exclusive cabins with balconies located at the ship's fore. In total, the trip cost them a combined US$10,000 (including a brief guided tour in Ecuador's Amazon jungle). The price per person in 2011 was more than ten times the nominal cost what Helen reported having paid in 1993.

SeaWolf passengers, including – as it turned out – Helen and her husband, expected a high level of service and accommodation aboard the catamaran. Francisco, SeaWolf's cabin boy during Helen's stay, said:

> Every day she [Helen] complains about something wrong in her cabin … like not having enough hooks to hang clothes and wet towels, or sand accumulating in the shower basin. My friends who work aboard single-hull tourism yachts tell me their passengers do no freak out about accommodation quality because it's clear that single-hull boats in Galápagos were constructed long ago and that single-hull yacht

[63] Several tour agencies specifically market to elderly visitors. Adventure Tourism, for example, is one, catering exclusively to North American tourists (USA and Canada). My conversations with SeaWolf's owners informed me that many tour operators prefer elderly guests who are apparently willing to pay well for a weeklong eco-excursion.

[64] The works of Abram et al. (1997), Edensor (1998, 2000), Allen et al. (2004), and Aramberri (2001) show how notions of tourists and travellers, and an apparent binary between the two, have been critiqued in the anthropology of tourism.

> owners do not claim to offer a high level of service, both now and previously. So, rich tourists choose to travel aboard catamarans because they think it's a better experience.

Such data suggest that many Galápagos eco-tourists today typically prefer the extravagance and comfort available on-board today's catamarans to what is commonly provided aboard single-hull vessels.

As a result, the shift from single-hull vessels to catamarans has enabled the industry to attract a wealthier range of tourists than during the period when MT's tours started in 1968 (Grenier, 2007:146). All SeaWolf passengers I interviewed said that they had selected SeaWolf because of its luxury accommodation. Passengers also described particular amenities (e.g. plasma TV screen, libraries, sun deck, spacious cabins) as reasons for booking tours aboard the Class-A SeaWolf. This is especially true among elderly passengers who accounted for most SeaWolf passengers during my fieldwork. The influx of elderly and affluent tourists to the archipelago – and their financial injection into the eco-tourism industry – has thus contributed to the preference for luxury tourism catamarans in Galápagos and been made possible by the availability of catamarans to host them.

I now draw on two studies illustrating general eco-tourist demographics to show how global tourism demand for luxury accommodation, such as Helen's preference for SeaWolf, impacts on Galápagos eco-tourism practices. First, Lema et al.'s (2010) study of eco-tourism benefits in Central America's Maya Rain Forest, and its conclusions regarding sustainable tourism development there, offers an account of general eco-tourist characteristics. Lema et al. (2010:59) claim that "ecotourists can be categorized as being financially well-off, staying for relatively long periods of time, and willing to pay a high price for a unique experience … Such a traveller does not seek active but rather relaxing experiences. Their spending habits are reasonable; however, they prefer higher-quality accommodation". Secondly, Agrusa et al.'s (2007:80) study of Tahitian residents' perceptions of Tahiti as a tourist destination found that: "increasing levels of technology (via the Internet) [means] ...

a more sophisticated tourist ... equipped with information prior to their travels ... Tourists' expectations become greater as the tourism market matures and they are becoming increasingly demanding in their choices for unique experiences."

Both studies indicate that eco-tourists generally demand luxury travel and that they are able to afford high associated costs. A consequence of such changing eco-tourism consumer demand is Galápagos tour companies' increasing dependence on a particular tourist type, such as Helen in her later years, who seeks luxurious accommodation and services on newly built catamarans. This is apparent in Epler's (2007) analysis of Galápagos' eco-tourism industry, in which he accounts for Galápagos eco-tourists by grouping them into four categories. Table 3 shows the categorisation.

	Category Description	Approximate Percent of GNP Visitors From July 2005 to June 2006	Percent Staying Aboard a Cruise-boat Only
Category 1	Tourists on the larger vessels (Category 1) tend to be a fairly homogeneous group of older foreigners who have significantly higher annual incomes than the other tourists and book a package tour.	31%	93%
Category 2	The largest number of tourists falls into Category 2. Their ages are more mixed than the other categories. They have lower annual incomes than those in Category 1 but significantly higher than Category 3 tourists. Nearly half come from Europe.	43%.	59%
Category 3	Category 3 tourists are a hodge-podge of travelers on 70-day or longer trips. Most are young backpackers, primarily from Europe and Israel, students, and a few fairly well-to-do middle-aged foreigners. They are often favored by local communities as they are perceived to spend more money on hotels and in local restaurants.	7%	26%
Category 4	Ecuadorians, Category 4, receive significant discounts on domestic flights to Galápagos, travel with more companions and family, and spend more time in towns and far less on vessels. They also have significantly smaller incomes.	Roughly 1/3 of all visitors but only 19% of the total number of tourists.	14%

Table 3: **Galápagos Eco-tourist Categories** (Source: Epler, 2007:9-10)

The eco-tourism industry's predominant mode of travel has thus been slowly changing from single-hull vessels to catamarans and mini-cruise liners because Galápagos cruise-boat owners seek to match tourism vessel type and quality with high-end consumer demand [e.g. cruise fares which, Epler (2007) explains, category-1 and category-3 tourists (see Table 3) are willing to pay]. These data resonate with those presented in Taylor et al.'s, (2006:3) study which points to "a bipolar restructuring of the cruise-ship sector around large ships (of 100 or more berths) and yachts, with 8 to 16 berths, including luxury ships" to account for economic growth and consumer demand in Galápagos' eco-tourism fleet. Gerónimo, a SeaWolf naturalist guide introduced in chapter one, and Jorge, another naturalist guide who worked aboard SeaWolf during my fieldwork, explained that this bipolarization has caused tour operators to advertise luxury-yacht berths to rich tourists (e.g. Epler's categories 1 and 2) while promoting large ship berths to thrifty and financially restricted tourists (e.g. Epler's categories 3 and 4). This is a noteworthy trend because, as Table 3 illustrates, (i) category-1 and -2 tourists accounted for a combined 74% of GNP visitors from June 2005 to July 2006, and (ii) 93% of category-1 and 59% of category-2 tourists stayed aboard cruise boats only. Category-1 and -2 tourists' consumer demand is thus likely to have tremendous impact on cruise-boat owners' improvements to the eco-tourism fleet.

Regard for Environmentalism

Not all tourists who book Galápagos catamaran eco-tours, however, are concerned with luxury accommodation. Several travellers in Helen's SeaWolf cohort said that they had prioritized their visit's environmental impact over luxury amenities. Sarah and John, an approximately fifty-year old married English couple, explained that their reasons for visiting Galápagos aboard SeaWolf included leisure, adventure, novelty and environmental education. John explained that they enjoyed SeaWolf's luxurious amenities, but that their preference for environmental conservation was the primary reason for booking their Galápagos tour aboard a catamaran. He said:

"It [travelling aboard SeaWolf] is because our London-based travel agent informed us that catamarans consume less fuel than single-hull vessels and thus cause less environmental damage to Galápagos eco-systems. So we decided catamaran tourism was a responsible decision to make for our Galápagos holiday."

Sarah and John's attraction to catamaran travel corresponds with what Jorge said about general tourist concern for environmental conservation in Galápagos. As Jorge explained: "tourists want to see an effort [by tour operators] to make responsible environmental choices which has meant that demand for catamaran berths has increased because catamarans are thought to be 'green'[65] since they produce reduced carbon emissions and are otherwise conservation-oriented" (e.g. using special film on windows to reduce cabin heat, thus limiting air conditioning). This, he said, was clear from the fact that Adventure Tourism, the tour company that employed him, and others like it, seeks berths on catamarans for their clients.[66]

Sarah and John's expressed reason for travelling aboard SeaWolf resonates with Lema et al.'s (2010:59) account of sustainable-tourism development in Central America, where they found that "a number of ecotourists will visit a country or a particular area wholly or in part to experience its biological diversity or to view a flagship species. Others may have more conventional destinations or reasons for travelling but prefer to patronize environmentally sensitive businesses." Applying these data along with Lema et al.'s (2010) eco-tourist typologies presented in chapter two, one can see that several reasons impact on tourists' travel aboard luxury catamarans. SeaWolf tourists satisfy Lema et al.'s tourist typologies and reasons for travel, the only exception being that US eco-tourists were predominantly

[65] The term "green" often refers to Galápagos eco-tourism (and other eco-tourism industries across the globe) that is characterized by practices thought to be environmentally friendly.

[66] Jorge told of his concern, however, for the GNP environmental standards placed on yacht crews. He said crews are required to recycle non-biodegradable waste, but they are not told what they have to recycle and how to do it. I asked a SeaWolf sailor why he was weighing biodegradable and non-biodegradable waste one night while passengers slept. He responded, "I dunno, but the captain says I must do it." Aboard SeaWolf, biodegradable waste is dumped overboard when the yacht is a certain distance away from land; non-biodegradable waste is stowed and later removed when in ports.

middle-aged to elderly and not "35 to 54 years old".[67] SeaWolf tours, then, generally attract tourists who are middle-aged to elderly, demand luxury (e.g. Helen) and base their travel to Galápagos on the environmental impact of their trip (e.g. Sarah and John).

Catamaran Tourism By Design

Consumer demand for luxurious and supposedly environmentally friendly tourism practices has also affected vessels numbers and types operating in Galápagos waters. It has, in addition, brought GNP-implemented tourism regulations that require licensing of commercial tourism vessels. This has obliged commercial yacht owners to shift, over time, from single-hull vessels to catamarans. According to Jorge, the GNP's requirement that all new tourism vessels (typically built in continental Ecuador) must be constructed of fibreglass (not wood) will produce a long-term shift and thereby supposedly reduce carbon emissions as well as operating costs (catamarans require less fuel than single-hull vessels).[68] Consequently yacht owners are unlikely to construct single-hull fibreglass vessels; they are aware that Galápagos' tourism industry markets catamaran travel to tourists as more luxurious and environmentally friendly than single-hull travel.

Gerónimo explained however, how, with 90 Galápagos yachts currently holding official commercial tourism licences, their sheer number was causing environmental damage; and that, although the GNP was aware of the problem, it was still processing 18 additional licences – specifically for catamaran dive-boat eco-tourism.[69] Gerónimo went on to criticize the GNP's licence-distribution process for its internal contradictions. On one hand, he pointed out, the process appears

[67]Adventure Tourism cohorts of US tourists typically ranged from 50 to 80 years old and comprised the majority of SeaWolf tourists. One week, the youngest Adventure Tourism passenger was 65 years old.

[68] This GNP regulation is only imposed on new yachts introduced to Galápagos tourism; it does not prohibit yacht owners from using wooden vessels currently operating in the GMR.

[69] The GNP's yacht licence-distribution methods are explained in the sub-section "Gerónimo's Glass Ceiling", presented in the next section.

environmentally friendly because the GNP requires that the 18 new dive-boat itineraries preclude passengers from accessing popular terrestrial visiting points, in an effort to limit tourist numbers at GNP-approved terrestrial visitation points.[70] On the other hand, he said, the GNP had now to provide additional yacht berths and was also increasing the numbers of eco-tourists to Galápagos, which, he said, would undoubtedly cause further environmental damage.

What the above shows is that a combination of GNP regulations and tourist preferences have led Galápagos tourism yacht owners to upgrade to catamarans. As one SeaWolf co-owner explained:

> After my brother and I worked our way from owning a small fishing boat to a 16-passenger single-hull yacht five years ago, we thought we had made it big. But tourism demands in Galápagos have changed, and other tour operators were switching to catamarans. So, even though we had to sell our old boat and then invest nearly $4 million [USD] to construct a new catamaran in Guayaquil, it was worth the money because we'll still be able to continue to compete in the tourism market and earn more profit in the process.

The comment reflects local people's recognition of Galápagos tourism demands and what is required of yacht owners to compete in the tourism market. Catamaran ownership and operation, at least as interpreted by this SeaWolf co-owner, is thus necessary for local residents with the means to compete in the eco-tourism industry. GNP reports and leading Galápagos eco-tourism studies (e.g. Epler, 2007; Epler and Proaño, 2007, Taylor et al., 2006) do not provide current or previous catamaran statistics, but it is possible to make informed guesses about consumer demand for catamaran travel by incorporating data from my fieldwork.

[70] Gerónimo explained that tourists who book chartered dive tours are generally dive-enthusiasts and thus prefer scuba dives to other off-board activities (i.e. overland walking tours, reef/rock snorkelling off of beaches). Therefore, dive-boat tourism packages seldom offer dive-enthusiasts overland walking tours on non-inhabited islands.

Gerónimo reported that [continental] Ecuadorian visitors to Galápagos – who numbered 63,700 in 2011 (more than ever recorded before – see GNP2012a; 2011d) – seldom booked eco-tours aboard expensive yachts, rather seeking less-expensive accommodation at terrestrial hotels or with family members. Gerónimo's report resonates with:

(i) other data I collected during my eight weeks of fieldwork, in which I counted only four Ecuadorians (and no other Latin Americans) amongst 128 total SeaWolf eco-tourists;

(ii) data from the GNP's "Tourist operation patents by modality" webpage (GNP, 2011e) which record 80% (66 of 82) licensed eco-tourism vessels as Class-A vessels in 2011, suggesting that tour operators and agencies target non-Ecuadorian visitors who pay high prices demanded for Class A services; and

(iii) data I gathered from tour-operator informants on San Cristobal Island, who reported that foreign visitors purchase the overwhelming majority of available eco-cruise berths (irrespective of vessel class or tour duration).

The above suggests that foreign visitors book the majority of cruise-boat tours, thus influencing consumer demand associated with it. The data also suggest that those factors have influenced tour operators to switch from single-hull yachts to luxury catamarans. Because yacht owners, like SeaWolf owners, have upgraded vessel quality, GNP regulations have been introduced that helped slowly to eliminate single-hull vessels while placing catamarans at the eco-tourism fleet's forefront. Interestingly, it is a combination of consumer demand and regulatory authority rules that has influenced owners' selection of yacht type and services.

Data presented in this section indicate that consumer demand for luxurious and environmentally friendly tourism practices has produced a shift from single-hull vessels to catamarans. It has also shown that yacht owners recognize that catamarans are necessary to compete in the tourism market and to meet GNP regulations. The next section shows how this shift has had particular consequences for Galapagueño labourers who depend on the eco-tourism industry.

Catamaran Eco-Tourism Implications for Galapagueño Labourers

Catamaran eco-tourism growth has had particular consequences for the manner in which diverse categories of Galapagueños depend, as labourers, on the industry. Two are:

(i) local residents have been precluded from taking up opportunities to occupy prominent roles in ownership and operation in the eco-tourism industry;

(ii) GNP-sanctioned catamaran itineraries have disconnected Galápagos eco-tourists and flows of capital from local residents.

These catamaran eco-tourism implications are presented here as a basis on which to understand the following chapter's account of various social consequences of catamaran eco-tourism for distinct social categories of Galápagos residents. I contextualize the first consequence by presenting data from SeaWolf crewmembers, comprising both skilled and unskilled male Galapagueños and migrant labourers from continental Ecuador who rotated through scheduled on-board/off-board cycles.[71] Those data illustrate diverse perceptions of Galápagos eco-tourism employment opportunities and aspirations.

Some crewmembers stressed that their SeaWolf contracts were just a means to vocational ends elsewhere. For instance, Alejandro, a chef, explained that he had travelled from his Guayaquil home to earn and save money. He expected the resulting financial gain to allow him a) to return permanently to Guayaquil; b) to start a wholesale business selling grains; and c) to be his own boss. Other crewmembers said that secure eco-tourism employment was their end goal. As Jaime explained, because male Galapagueños have limited employment options in the tourism industry, most are likely to spend their lives in one of two work types. The first is piece-work (day-labour) employment with an agency offering day tours to island-hotel based tourists (e.g. with scuba dive shops). As indicated, such tours

[71] Some crew were contracted for positions requiring prior vocational training (e.g. machinists) while others learned their work responsibilities upon embarkation (e.g. cabin boys, deckhands).

were increasingly not affluent tourists' preference. The second is contract employment aboard an eco-tourism yacht.

Captain Gabriel, SeaWolf's contract-employed captain, offered one reason Galápagos residents typically laboured as crewmembers aboard foreign-owned yachts: "they didn't think ahead and didn't take advantage when the economy shifted from fishing and agriculture to eco-tourism. Before, it was easier to obtain a licence to operate a touring vessel in the archipelago. Now, it's tremendously difficult." Figure 2, taken from Epler's (2007) study Galápagos' cruise-boat fleet, illustrates yacht ownership data in 1998 and 2005.[72]

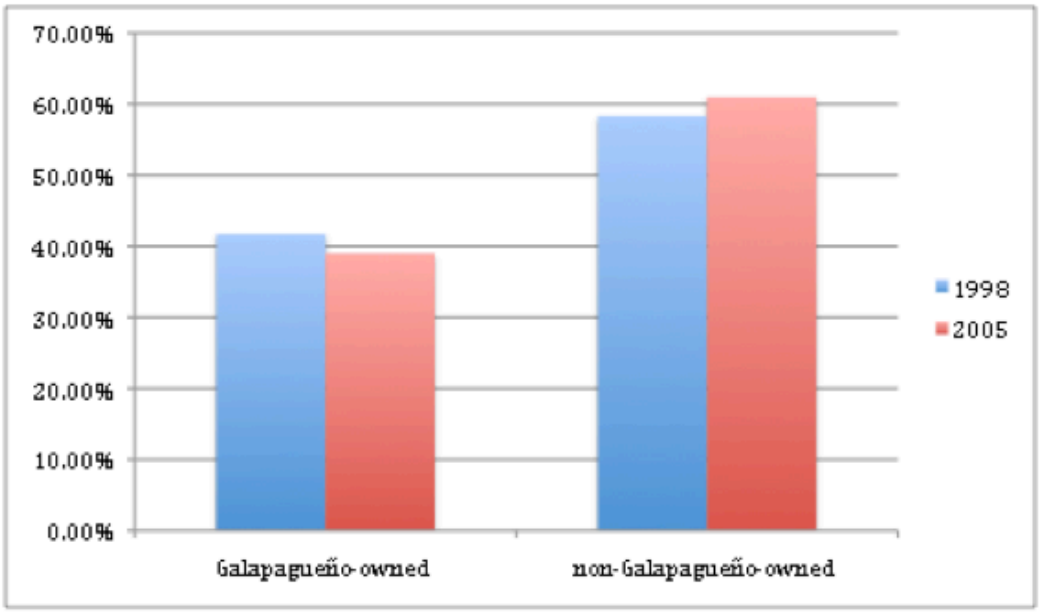

Figure 2: **Galapagueño- and non-Galapagueño-owned Yacht Percentages in 1998 and 2005**

The data show a disparity between Galapagueño (41.7% in 1998; 39% in 2005) and non-Galapagueño (58.3% in 1998; 61% in 2005) yacht ownership. Yet, three of four Galapagueño crew said they aspired to own and captain a commercial catamaran. I

[72] Figure 2 draws upon raw data (Epler, 2007) provided in Appendix 3.

offer one story to show how Galápagos eco-tourism practices have affected Galapagueño labourers.

Gerónimo's Glass Ceiling

Gerónimo's experience of entrepreneurship struggles in Galápagos' eco-tourism industry highlights problems facing Galapagueños who try to own and operate their own marine eco-tourism business. He explained:

> Let me tell you, Adam … tourism in Galápagos is positive because it brings lots of money here. Unfortunately, the money then leaves Galápagos. For example, each tourist pays a hundred-dollar fee to enter the GNP. This is very cheap when you think about national parks worldwide. The money is supposed to be used for the GNP, but it doesn't remain here. Galápagos politicians are my friends. It's a small place. I know these things and I'm telling you: the money doesn't stay here.[73] That's why Galápagos residents are poor.
>
> Everyone wants to be involved in Galápagos tourism including non-Galapagueños. But the GNP puts barriers in place for local residents. For example, I own a small boat for daily eco-tours (like scuba dive excursions). The GNP says I need a special licence to operate my boat commercially, yet it's difficult to get a licence!

[73] Gerónimo's argument resonates with a GNP Management Plan report (GNP, 2011e:191) which claims that in 2001 only 19% of all tourism revenue remained in the Galápagos economy. While the GNP Management Plan does not indicate where tourism revenue flowed to in that year, Figure 2 provides data about cruise-boat ownership. The figure shows that non-Galapagueños owned 58.3% of GNP-licensed cruise-boats in 1998 and 61% of them in 2005. Gerónimo said that the majority of revenue from foreign-owned cruise-boat tourism likely left Galápagos in those years. He explained, however, that contracts between Galapagueños and non-Galapagueños have disguised cruise-boat ownership, making it difficult to track whether cruise-boat tourism revenue leaves or remains in the archipelago. He also indicated that non-Galapagueño cruise-boat investors frequently offer Galapagueños token cruise-boat ownership through legal business contracts. Non-Galapagueño investors, according to Gerónimo, benefit from these contractual agreements because Galapagueños' residency-based right to own cruise-boats in the GMR allows foreign investors entry into the Galápagos tourism industry. At the same time, Gerónimo said, Galapagueños benefit from token cruise-boat ownership by receiving a percentage (he estimated 10%) of net tourism revenue through ownership contracts with non-Galapagueños.

> Two or three years ago, the GNP opened up a lottery with twelve special licences for companies that want to offer daily tours. Now, I'm talking small boats – about eleven or twelve meters long – a third of SeaWolf's length. To obtain one, they [GNP officials] said you have to deserve it. How exactly? First, they want us to pay in a total of $12,000 for all permits involved with our applications. You pay that money…AND THEN THEY DECIDE who receives licences. It's possible that you don't even get one. It's like throwing money away. People who got these special licences were not fishermen; they were politicians' friends.
>
> Here's another barrier: GNP officials require that a biologist do an environmental-impact study of each boat … a technical something … before it can operate commercially. I had to pay $3,000 for the environmental study. So, then I was in for $15,000. But in total, they wanted us to pay $18,000. They put lots of barriers in place to stop us from being businesses owners!
>
> It was a lot easier before. Today, Galápagos laws are always changing!
>
> Let's take SeaWolf for example. SeaWolf's owners started with a fishing boat … then got a small tour boat … then gradually got a catamaran licence. Now, let's say I … A GALAPAGUEÑO … wanted to do the same. Even if I got the money … $2 million … $3 million … for a nice boat … I cannot operate it in Galápagos because I can't obtain a licence. It's ridiculous!

Gerónimo's account of the GNP barriers to his realizing his dream of operating his own tourism vessel apparently contradicts the GNP-TA's (2011a) definitional account of 'sustainable tourism' which says that the administration works "to contribute to an equitable socioeconomic development and solidarity of the local population". This contradiction is due, according to Gerónimo's testimony, to GNP regulations discouraging Galapagueños from becoming primary commercial yacht

owners by (i) making licensing and environmental-testing processes expensive, and ii) by allowing non-Galapagueños cruise-boat ownership opportunities through token contractual agreements made with Galapagueños. The GNP-TA, from Gerónimo's perspective, thus fails to provide the support it claims to offer Galápagos residents. Gerónimo is consequently dependent upon his job as a GNP-licensed naturalist guide to support his family on San Cristobal Island by generating income through his work aboard SeaWolf and other catamarans.

Disconnection through dislocation

A second perceived implication of Galapagueños' dependence, as labourers, on the eco-tourism industry is that GNP-sanctioned catamaran itineraries have disconnected Galápagos eco-tourists, and flows of their capital, from local residents. Current GNP-assigned catamaran pathways[74] have created spatial separations between Galápagos residents and yacht-travelling eco-tourists. Whereas previously many foreign tourists spent time in hotels and interacted with residents, the shift to catamarans has meant that most now spend all their time in Galápagos aboard a yacht (see Table 3), coming ashore only along viewing paths and of course en route between the airport and the yacht.

The consequences of such spatial separation include: (i) limited social interactions between residents and foreign tourists which harms land-based entrepreneurship opportunities; and (ii) undermining of the provincial government's intention to increase Galapagueño participation in sustainable tourism practices through, for example, the GNP's Management Plan's intention to integrate sectors other than eco-tourism in the Galapagueño economy into sustainable tourism – including farming, fishing, handcrafted goods and terrestrial transport (GNP, 2011f:197).

[74] The GNP assigns each licensed eco-tourism vessel with mandatory marine navigation points to be followed during the course of its itinerary.

Viviana, a case manager at the Ministry of Economic and Social Inclusion (MESI) office on San Cristobal Island, outlined the factors contributing to spatial separations between Galapagueños and tourists.[75] She said:

> [Foreign] tourists' disinterest in Galapagueño cultures is one reason for a gap between residents and tourists. Galápagos tourists sometimes have multiple travel objectives, but they normally don't care about local residents. People here think it's necessary to diversify tourism so that it's not only about nature, but also involving a cultural component – to show how the people actually live. On Santa Cruz Island they've introduced cheese and yoghurt production into tourism. It's a small part. In Galápagos, we have residents from all Ecuadorian provinces. There is a great mix of people and tremendous potential for diversified tourism.

Viviana's assessment of foreign tourist attitudes to learning about what she understood to be the cultures of Galápagos residents shows her recognition of MESI's desire to develop relationships between providers and customers of Galápagos tourism; but it fails to recognise the problems that arise when most foreign tourists spend almost all their time aboard the yachts.

Data gathered from SeaWolf tourists both support and challenge Viviana's assessment. Most SeaWolf tourists prioritized 'nature experiences' over interaction with Galápagos residents. The following nonetheless illustrates some SeaWolf tourist attitudes to 'cultural tourism'. Raquel, an Ecuadorian, and Stefan, a German, were both nearly 30 years old. The discussion transcribed below took place in the SeaWolf dining area on the penultimate afternoon of their weeklong voyage.

Adam: What if the naturalist guide were to take the group to visit the highlands for one day out of SeaWolf's weeklong itinerary? Do you think the cohort would enjoy it?

[75] MESI's mission is "to actively improve economic and social activity of the Galapagueño population and to remove mechanisms or processes that limit freedom to participate in the economic, social and political life of the community" (MESI, 2011; my translation).

Raquel: Yeah, I think so. We don't always know the whole story when we come to Galápagos. I'm Ecuadorian and I don't know the whole story … but I'm trying to get there!

Stefan: (Interrupting) Pure nature. That's what people want to see! It's a very European perspective … I think that if someone came to Berlin … I wouldn't want to hang out with them … have them coming into my house.

Raquel: I think American tourists like getting to know people more. Even more than the landscape … they enjoy getting to know the culture.

Stefan: You can do it, but not too personal.

Eco-tour itineraries and catamaran pathways limit tourists' interaction with island residents, which limitations, based on Raquel and Stefan's comments, have caused mixed reactions amongst eco-tourists. Weeklong Galápagos cruises typically provide tourists with half-day port calls on San Cristobal and Santa Cruz to visit educational sites (e.g. the CDRS, GNP centres) and to shop at storefronts. A consequence of limiting tourists' exposure to community-based entrepreneurship, according to Viviana, is a gap between Galapagueños and foreign tourists – one that leaves Galapagueños with few entrepreneurial opportunities apart from the cruise-boat tourism industry.

What I have shown in this section is that Galapagueños' dependence as labourers on the eco-tourism industry takes various forms but almost always occurs in a subordinate role. As Jaime and Gerónimo explained, Galápagos residents are precluded from taking up prominent roles of ownership and operation in the eco-tourism industry. Moreover, from others' perspectives (e.g. Viviana, Captain Gabriel, Stefan and Raquel) catamaran itineraries disconnect eco-tourists from local residents and thus remove them from much direct contact with Galapagueños.

The above suggests that Galápagos residents are becoming increasingly dependent upon directly servicing catamaran eco-travel as their primary basis for income generation, without which they risk being marginalised from the tourism industry.

From this understanding, one can build the argument of this dissertation that catamaran-tourism growth and practices contradict the GNP-TA's expressed notion and goal of sustainable tourism.

FIVE

Implicit Inequality

Chapter four indicated that Galápagos' eco-tourism industry has become increasingly dependent upon catamaran travel. It has increasingly attracted a specific tourist type to generate greater revenue than is possible with single-hull vessels whilst continuing to meet tourist demand for eco-friendly tourism practices. By considering five interrelated factors, this chapter explains how an increase in catamaran travel is linked to inequalities in employment opportunity possibilities for Galápagos residents.

First, I illustrate the eco-tourism industry's dissatisfaction with Galapagueño workers and its consequent demand for skilled migrant labourers. Second, I show how demand for skilled labourers from mainland Ecuador has increased migrant labourer flows to the archipelago. Third, I demonstrate that migrant labourer flows to Galápagos have affected how Galápagos residents understand social categories and labels they and others use to describe labourers. Fourth, I offer evidence showing how Galápagos residents use category labels to describe perceived social hierarchies among them. Finally, I indicate how social hierarchies contribute to an unequal distribution, between Galapagueño categories, of eco-tourism employment opportunities. These interrelated factors provide a backdrop against which to understand how cruise-boat eco-tourism practices contradict the GNP-TA's (2011a) sustainable-tourism definition.

Increased Demand for Skilled Migrant Labourers

This section shows how rapid growth in Galápagos' cruise-boat eco-tourism industry (see chapter four) has had particular consequences for Galapagueño tour operators and workers. I support that claim by explaining how several 'push factors' have led cruise-boat operators to become dissatisfied with Galapagueño eco-tourism workers, a consequence of which has been increased demand for skilled-labourers from mainland Ecuador. Those push factors include:

(i) the Galápagos fishing industry's decline,

(ii) GSL-implemented immigration restrictions, and

(iii) a resulting group of ex-Galapagueño fishermen who lack eco-tourism labour expertise.

I explicate these push factors to link demand for skilled labourers with increases in immigration rates.

Galápagos Fisheries' Decline

A brief contextualization of Galápagos fisheries' boom and bust provides a backdrop to how the fishing industry's decline has affected the eco-tourism labour market. Studies of Galápagos fisheries' composition and its socioeconomic effect on the Galápagos economy (e.g. Durham, 2008; Murillo et al., 2007; Hearn et al., 2007; Reyes & Murillo, 2007) describe chaotic and exploitative waves of large-scale fishing, dating back at least to the 1920s, in which Galápagos fishermen harvested and exported unsustainable amounts of *bacalao*,[76] sea cucumber and spiny lobster.[77] Sea cucumber overfishing on Ecuador's continental coast in particular depleted their population there in 1992, after just four years of harvesting (Durham,

[76] *Bacalao* is Spanish for a type of codfish now illegal to fish for in Galápagos. Miguel, SeaWolf's second-in-command, informed me that fishermen harvest *bacalao* for Easter celebrations in amounts regulated by the GNP.

[77] Spiny lobster fisheries in Galápagos grew in the early 1960s and 1970s. In 1974 the Ecuadorian government banned international vessels from harvesting the species (Durham, 2008). Other exploitative fishing booms include Asian markets' demand for shark fins and sea cucumbers in the 1970s and 1980s.

2008; Murillo et al., 2007), motivating large numbers of fishermen to move to Galápagos from the late 1990s to the early 2000s (Quiroga et al., 2010:95).[78]

Quiroga et al.'s (2010) report on Galápagos' tourism and fishing sectors' adaptability to climate change indicates that the Galápagos fishing industry, which had been a significant economic sector from the 1920s to the late 1990s, had become an inconsequential economic sector by 2006. They argue that the Galápagos fishing industry in 2006 constituted less than 4% of Galápagos' economy and employed "4.92% of people in San Cristobal, 7.91% in Isabela and 2.29% in Santa Cruz," making fishing in 2006 "one of the least common sources of employment" on all three islands (Quiroga et al., 2010:95). Galápagos-born and immigrant fishermen have thus looked to alternative income sources (e.g. the growing eco-tourism sector).[79] Murillo et al.'s (2007:18) study of 'social aspects' of Galápagos fisheries corroborates ideas about a decline in Galápagos fishermen numbers. They found "very few young people have joined the Fishing Register in the last four years."[80] Quiroga et al. (2010) and Murillo et al. (2007) thus show that Galápagos fisheries, previously a prominent sector of Galápagos' economy (see chapter three), has since declined leading young Galapagueños to leave the industry and to seek employment elsewhere.

[78] Sea cucumbers were still a profitable commodity in Galápagos at that time. It was not until 2005 that overharvesting reached a tipping point, causing the Galápagos sea cucumber industry's collapse (UNEP, 2011).

[79] The agricultural sector is not described in this section because most ex-fishermen have turned toward the eco-tourism industry that allows them to utilise their previous marine experience. Nonetheless ex-fishermen have sometimes taken agricultural jobs. Studies of Galápagos fisheries and its labourers (e.g. Durham, 2008; Murillo et al., 2007; Hearn et al., 2007) typically look at how Galapagueño fishermen switch to the eco-tourism industry.

[80] Murillo et al. (2007:15) explain that the Fishing Register comprises four cooperatives: "COPESAN and COPESPROMAR in San Cristobal, COPROPAG in Santa Cruz, and COPAHISA in Isabela. There are currently 1,006 fishers registered with the GNPS: 51.3% from San Cristobal [516 fishermen]; 25.2% from Santa Cruz [254 fishermen], and 23.5% from Isabela [236 fishermen]." They also indicate that a moratorium on new fishers has contributed to the declining fishing industry: "The registration of new fishers in the GMR has decreased since 2002, when the Inter-Institutional Management Authority (IMA) closed the Fishing Register and established a five-year moratorium on new fishers" (2007:15).

GSL Implementation's Effect on Eco-tourism Employment

The 1998-implemented GSL (chapters three and four) has supposedly introduced regulations to deal with "migration, tourism growth, tourism revenues, and other issues related to education and health care" in Galápagos (Durham, 2008:78; Kerr et al., 2004). Intended to sustain the archipelago's economy and environmental integrity, the regulations gave permanent residents privileges over temporary residents to jobs in Galapagueño labour markets (e.g. cruise-boat and land-based eco-tourism) through introducing a rule that non-Galapagueños (i.e. 'temporary residents') cannot legally compete with Galapagueños for jobs.[81] Economic studies of GSL's effect on Galápagos (e.g. Kerr et al., 2004:34; Taylor et al., 2003) indicate that GSL implementation may have: (i) led to a 'welfare society' because young Galapagueños' privileged access to eco-tourism jobs does not push them to gain skills needed in eco-tourism, and (ii) allowed Galapagueños to control wages by "using the [fishing] cooperatives to limit the supply of skilled labour and lobby against the entry of temporary workers."

Fishing for Work with a Baitless Hook

A consequence of Galápagos fisheries' decline is many ex-fishermen seeking high salaries associated with cruise-boat eco-tourism employment, despite lacking expertise and experience. Cruise-boat employers have thus been faced with having to fill skilled cruise-boat positions whilst drawing from a pool of unskilled Galápagos residents (many previously fishermen). The following examples illustrate:

(i) Quiroga et al. (2009:14) pointed out that a 2007 survey of 171 COPROPAG[82] members (i.e. registered fishermen) showed "88.3% of the

[81] Category labels (e.g. 'permanent residents', 'temporary residents' and 'tourists and transients') used by GSL authors to describe social groups in Galápagos are explained in Table 6 (e.g. see Kerr et al., 2004:28-30).

[82] According to Murillo et al. (2007:15), COPROPAG is the only fishing cooperative on Santa Cruz Island; COPROPAG reported 516 registered-fishermen in 2006-2007.

individuals had the desire to change from fishing to another activity," yet claimed that "lack of economic capital, support from financial institutions and proper training" hindered their making the change.

(ii) Quiroga et al.'s (2010:103) study of the Galápagos fishing sector's adaptability argues: "People living in Galápagos have a low education level, which limits adaptive capacity. This is particularly true for Galápagos fishermen, who have one of the lowest education levels of all the sectors. Education must be enhanced because people who have more education are better equipped to deal with change in general and with climate change in particular, as they have more options to migrate or shift to other economic activities. A high-quality education that increases both general knowledge and specialized skills is essential to prepare the society for uncertainty and to lower general vulnerabilities."

(iii) The United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP, 2011) indicated: "One 1994 survey showed that 73% of the [working] population which had arrived [in Galápagos] since 1986 were either little-skilled economic refugees (*peperinos*) or transient businessmen."[83]

(iv) Kerr et al.'s (2004:2) study found: "Valuable tourism opportunities might be hindered by lack of local skill."

These quotes indicate that, according to their authors, many Galapagueño ex-fishermen seek employment in a competitive eco-tourism industry without the skills and education necessary to be competitive in that sector.

However, these shortcomings are not the only reasons cruise-boat operators overlook Galapagueño labourers. As Captain Gabriel explained, worker reputation also discourages cruise-boat operators from hiring Galapagueños. His evaluation of the eco-tourism workforce illustrates:

[83] Durham (2008:76) says that *pepinos del mar* is the Spanish term for 'slug-like marine Holothurians' (i.e. sea cucumbers). *Peperinos* is the Spanish term for a sea cucumber harvester. The mass harvesting of sea cucumbers on Ecuador's continental shores from 1988 to 1922, which caused a drastic decline in sea cucumber populations beginning in 1991, drove many *pepineros* to Galápagos.

> Galápagos sailors don't have a good reputation among many boat captains here. So, captains prefer to contract non-Galapagueño workers. Local sailors have a reputation for drinking and staying in port. They often return drunk after port calls. Local sailors' reputation as bad workers contributes to increases in migrant labourers. Non-Galapagueños [migrants] are usually better workers because they come, dedicate themselves to their work, and return to continental Ecuador for vacation or when their contract expires. Local guys have to focus simultaneously on their catamaran responsibilities and their families' well-being.

His comment suggests that local residents are poorer tourist-boat workers than migrants from the mainland. Nonetheless, when I overheard him advising SeaWolf's owners about employment decisions, he expressed a preference for a mix of Galapagueño and migrant crewmembers because, he then explained, both worker types contribute to an efficient crew. Captain Gabriel's preference for a diverse crew – a perspective he said is shared among Galápagos cruise-boat captains – means that he is likely to seek increasing numbers of skilled migrant labourers as the eco-tourism industry grows rapidly, which it has, and also as Galapagueño sailors' negative reputation persists. The consequent 'pull factors' have contributed to an increased migration of skilled labourers to Galápagos, the details of which I now consider.

Growing Migrant Labour Influx

In a sense, all Galápagos residents today may be regarded as migrants, as were pirates, whalers, and colonists before them. That sense reflects Taylor et al.'s (2003:982) point that "the entire [Galapagueño] workforce in this nature-tourist economy can be traced originally to migration" because there is no evidence of human autochthons in Galápagos. Yet, the claim is limiting for two reasons: (i) it does not account for individuals born on the islands – regardless of whether Galapagueños' periods of residence are a few days (e.g. migrant labourers' children) or many decades (e.g. colonial descendants); and (ii) GSL implementation introduced residence criteria as a way to prevent migrants from settling permanently on the islands and thus taking up economic opportunities (employment, land and business ownership) in Galápagos. GSL thus specified which individuals are legally identified as Galapagueños and which not. The term Galapagueño is thus often today used, among Galápagos residents, to distinguish GSL-permitted residents (i.e. 'permanent residents') from others (i.e. 'temporary residents' and 'tourists and transients') and has therefore become an identity marker. These literary references are offered as a backdrop to understanding migrant flows to Galápagos.

I now turn to Galápagos census figures from 1950 to 2010. The data are offered as a basis on which to identify migrant labour influx in the archipelago.[84] Table 4 illustrates.

[84] People residing in Galápagos from 1950 to 1998 inform census data before GSL-implementation. Population figures after the 1998-instituted law (i.e. 1999-2010) only account for GSL-categorised 'permanent residents'.

	1950	1962	1974	1982	1990	1998	2001	2006	2010
Galápagos Population	1,346	2,391	4,078	6,119	8,611	14,661	17,451	19,184	21,067
Percent change in population since previous census	N/A	77.6%	70.5%	50.0%	40.7%	69.7%	19.0%	9.9%	9.8%
Years since previous census	N/A	12	12	8	8	8	3	5	4
Average percent change annually since previous census	N/A	6.5%	5.9%	6.3%	5.1%	8.7%	6.3%	1.9%	2.5%

Table 4: **Average Percent Change Annually in the Galápagos Population (1950-2010)**
[Sources: Larrea, 2008; GNP, 2009; NISC, 2010]

Table 4 also shows gross and annual percentage change in Galápagos population figures from 1950-2010. The GNP (2009) indicated on its webpage in June 2009, however, that NISC's official census figures (e.g. a 2006 population of 19,184) are "conservative in any measure" and that "it is estimated that the real population of the Galápagos in 2010 will be close to 30,000." The GNP's doubts over the accuracy of NISC's 2010 population figures is likely due to the effects of GSL-regulated immigration. Migrant labourers who entered the GNP after 1998 were not labelled 'temporary residents' and were thus excluded from the population count which focused only on those designated residents (temporary and permanent). A consequence is that population figures have actually been much higher than those reported in post-1998 NISC censuses. Epler & Proaño's (2007:33) study of tourism growth trends in Galápagos corroborates this discrepancy. Their findings suggest that "temporary and clandestine workers from the continent that also reside in the islands" are often excluded from calculations used to measure the archipelago's overall annual population growth rates.

As shown above, skilled migrant labourers from continental Ecuador have become prominent in Galápagos' eco-tourism work-force. Data from two studies back up this point. First, Quiroga et al. (2009) claim: "The expansion in the 1980s and 1990s of fishing and tourism, and especially of locally-operated tourism, has been one of

the main causes of population growth in the Islands as migrants arrive to satisfy the expanding demand for labour." Secondly, Taylor et al.'s (2006:13) study of Galápagos eco-tourism and economic growth concluded that "temporary workers who did not live in the islands represented as much as 40% of the skilled workforce (secondary schooling or higher) and 25% of the less-skilled workforce of tourist operations in 2005." These studies together indicate that flows of skilled migrant labourers to Galápagos have supplied the archipelago's labour demand, which, as chapters three and four illustrate, are currently tourism-based with particular growth in luxury catamaran eco-tourism.

Migrants, Residents and Social Categories

Migrant labourer flows to Galápagos, such as those who gained legal 'temporary resident' status to work aboard SeaWolf, mean a mixing of Galapagueño and non-Galapagueño workers aboard cruise ships as well as in urban centres. Anthropological critiques of globalization (e.g. Appadurai, 2000; Gupta and Ferguson, 1992; Hall, 2010) have argued against notions that global flows lead to cultural homogenization, suggesting instead that the mixing of global and local allows for what Hall (2010:xi) calls 'social authorship' – by which he means processes by which groups and communities function as innovators in shared spaces (i.e. arenas marked by "tension, resistance and difficulty") in order to "provide and enhance creative expressive possibilities." This is especially true in Galápagos, given the archipelago's brief history and the never-ending circulation of people to and within it, where an apparent differentiation of Galapagueño from non-Galapagueño is manifested in social interaction. The following two sub-sections illustrate processes by which distinctions have been constructed between migrants (i.e. non-Galapagueños) and the existing population among whom they settle (i.e. Galapagueños).

Nicknames Used Amongst SeaWolf Crew

SeaWolf's crew comprised labourers from several Ecuadorian urban centres (e.g. Manta, Loja, Quito, Guayaquil). Crew typically called each other by their birth names when passengers were present, but used nicknames, such as those indicated in Table 5 below, out of passengers' earshot. The table lists crew nicknames, their English translations and, from what I was told, meanings associated with them.

	Spanish Nickname	English Translation	Symbolic meaning
Galapagueño	Tortuga	Turtle	The individual's ears were compared to sea turtle flippers (i.e. the animal's forelimbs).
	Cobos	Cobos	The individual's domineering personality was compared to that of Manuel J. Cobos, a former San Cristobal Island colonial dictator (see chapter three).
	Lobo	Wolf	The individual's heavy stature was compared to a male sea lion.
	Pelícano	Pelican	The individual's protuberant nose was compared to a pelican's beak.
Non-Galapagueño	Capo	Boss	The individual's domineering personality was compared to a term commonly used in Guayaquil to describe mafia bosses.
	Máquina	Machine	The individual, a SeaWolf machinist from Ecuador's coastal region, was named after his skilled-trade.
	Colorado	Whitey	The individual was named for his light complexion that is common of people from Quito's sierra region.
	Barça	N/A	'Barça' is an abbreviated term for 'Barcelona', a professional club based in Guayaquil. The individual was named after his favourite football club.

Table 5: **SeaWolf Crew Nicknames**

The nicknames I overheard suggest a general differentiation of SeaWolf crew based on place of origin. This is evident in the fact that Galapagueño nicknames were associated with island symbols while non-Galapagueño nicknames were associated with meanings related to their mainland places of origin. *Colorado* (Whitey), for example, was a nickname given to a cabin boy from a town near Quito. This does not mean, however, that all non-Galapagueños have light complexions whereas Galapagueños have darker complexions. Nonetheless, the distinction is used to

exemplify general indicators (i.e. complexions commonly associated with Ecuadorian regions) that I overheard aboard SeaWolf implicitly to differentiate Galapagueños from foreigners.

You Can Kiss Your Tips Goodbye

SeaWolf eco-tourists are expected to give two tips prior to ending their eco-tour. One is given to the naturalist guide, the other to the yacht crew collectively. Tips were divided equally among SeaWolf crew immediately after passengers disembarked.[85] Tips were a key talking point among SeaWolf crew as groups had various purposes for the monies. On one hand, describing themselves as 'caged animals' when in Galápagos' urban centres, non-Galapagueño-crew often complained that the archipelago's most-populated urban centres (e.g. Puerto Ayora, Puerto Baquerizo Moreno) were boring places to spend time away from the catamaran since they lacked a flashy nightlife of a kind, they asserted, one finds in Ecuador's large mainland cities. On the other hand, Galapagueño crew often teased non-Galapagueño crew that their tips would be exhausted when paying for vacation transit between Galápagos and mainland Ecuador following each six-week work cycle.[86] Galapagueño crew boasted that they could instead use tips to fraternize at island nightclubs, bars and entertainment centres. The conversations I overheard about how crew spent their tips indicate that Galapagueños' and non-Galapagueños' teasing allowed each group to take pride in their place of residence. The crew's ongoing squabbles about tip-income expenditures also provide an implicit illustration that category labels, in this case a distinction between Galapagueño and non-Galapagueño, are socially constructed.

[85] Captain Gabriel mandated that he personally divide and distribute tips in front of the assembled SeaWolf crew immediately after passengers disembark. This process, he explained, minimized complaints about unequally distributed tips.

[86] Crew grossed an average of US$500-600 on a six-week work rotation. Yet crew spent much of that amount (e.g. SeaWolf crew paid for laundry service, Internet access, special food items, clothes) on San Cristobal Island and Santa Cruz Island port calls during the six-week work cycles.

Variation in Social Categories and Labels for Them

At a superficial level, it appears that social categories in Galápagos reflect a perceived binary between Galapagueño and non-Galapagueño, a perception that is repeated in Ospina's (2001a,b) and Ahassi's (2007) work when they suggest that: (i) a powerful 'feeling of difference' has existed in Galápagos' identity construction processes since the 1980s, and (ii) identity construction processes typically differentiate 'us' (i.e. Galapagueños) and 'them' (i.e. 'others') as categories.

Yet, Galápagos residents explained that there is a more nuanced differentiation than simply Galapagueño versus non-Galapagueño. This is because migrant labourer flows to the archipelago (e.g. colonists, *peperinos*, eco-tourism workers) have caused Galápagos' earlier settled residents to negotiate how the term Galapagueño is used, and in which contexts. Maria, a CDRS historian who had moved to Santa Cruz Island from mainland Ecuador 25 years earlier, explained that she had noticed differences between how various youth on Santa Cruz think about Galápagos conservation, and that it tends to reflect relative length of residence. She said:

> There is a divide among how youth perceive conservation in Galápagos today. Some kids impress us with their environmental awareness, but others are influenced by their parents and don't care about environmentalism and conservationism. It [ideas about conservation] all depends on parents and where they come from. Families that arrived recently from continental Ecuador brought their city customs and generally do not care about environmentalism in the same way that GNP literature and activities promote environmentalism and conservationism (e.g. learning about endemic flora and fauna, recycling).

Those recently immigrated parents, at least according to Maria's perspective, transfer to their children their general lack of concern with conserving the archipelago's environmental integrity. Maria's comment also indicates that place of origin is an indicator of differences in attitudes towards the environment.

Time spent in the archipelago was a distinction used too by 35-year old Gerónimo, born in Galápagos, who explained his perception of social categories in the archipelago and labels used to describe them:

> Adam: Do you perceive a social divide in Galápagos? And if so, how would you describe it?
>
> Gerónimo: Of course there is social division. There are Galapagueños and residents. I am Galapagueño. My family has been here for over 100 years – since the [Cobos] colonial era. I'm not a migrant. My surname represents a 'classic family' in San Cristobal. But, if you look at workers that come here from Cuenca, Loja [other Ecuadorian provinces]… they look like me.
>
> But we [Galapagueños] grew up in one small town on this island. Everyone knows each other. And we know they are not Galapagueño. For example, residents that have been here for 20 years – who have cars, houses, and families – they are not from here! To me, they are residents, but not Galapagueños.
>
> A: How long does a family have to be here to be considered Galapagueño?
>
> G: I think 50 years and up for a family to be considered a classic Galapagueño family. There are different groups here: classic families (50-plus years), residents (about 25 years ago to now who have legal residency status), and migrant workers (10 years ago and less who are not legal residents).

Gerónimo thus placed Galápagos residents into three categories while separating himself and his family from other Galápagos residents. He explained that people from 'classic families' are considered Galapagueños and 'residents' are not. Gerónimo did not account for the 25-year gap between the arrival time of those he classified as resident and those he classified as classic. But he did explain that time

spent in Galápagos was the only apparent criterion for residents to be re-categorised as classic. That said, taking into account that all Galápagos residents were once migrants to the archipelago, Gerónimo's statement does not explain whether, and if so how and at what point, a non-Galapagueño can become a Galapagueño – as in the case of his family having migrated to the archipelago during the colonisation period and now being considered Galapagueño.

Were one to apply Gerónimo's category labels to the SeaWolf crew, four crewmembers would be considered 'classic Galapagueño', seven 'residents' and six 'migrants'. In other words, only a quarter of SeaWolf crew fits Gerónimo's 'classic Galapagueño' definition. This indicates that, at least from Gerónimo's perspective, migrant workers make up the majority of SeaWolf workers. It also supports Captain Gabriel's sailor stereotyping as well as confirming Taylor et al.'s (2006) data on the eco-tourism industry's workforce composition. Yet, Gerónimo's social categorisation is different from that used in Galápagos studies, as the four examples tabulated below indicate.

		Category 1	Category 2	Category 3	Category 4	Category 5	Category 6
NISC (2010)	**Term**	*Indígena*	*Mestizo*	*Blanco*	*Afroecua-dorian*	*Mulato*	*Otra*
	Description	An individual who originated in the country	An individual born of a father and mother of different races	A person who comes from the European race	An individual with dark or black skin and/or who has features or afro-ecuadorian origin	An individual born of black and white parents	A person who doesn't identify with any of the previously mentioned groups
Larrea (2008)	**Term**	*Nativa*	*Imigrantes antiguos*	*Imigrantes recientes*	*Visitantes temporales*	N/A	N/A
	Description	Native	Old immigrants who have resided in the islands for five years or more	Recent migrants who have resided in the islands for less than five years	Temporary visitors who declare residence outside Galápagos - principally tourists	N/A	N/A
Kerr et al. (2004)	**Term**	Permanent residents	Temporary residents	Tourists & transients	N/A	N/A	N/A
	Description	Characterized by birth in Galápagos, residency in Galápagos for five years prior to the institution of GSL in 1998, or marriage to a Galápagos permanent resident	Skilled labourers – and their accompanying family members – who have relocated to Galápagos	Visitors to Galápagos for up to ninety days if holding a return ticket to their place of origin and a control transit card issued by INGALA	N/A	N/A	N/A
González et al. (2008)	**Term**	*Insulares*	*Isleños*	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
	Description	People from the continent who move to the island in search of social and economic advantages	People whose idiosyncrasy is deep-rooted in the island territory, although not necessarily born there, and who have developed their own cultural practices, traditions, and productive patterns	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

Table 6: **Social Category Descriptions**
(Sources: NISC, 2010; Larrea, 2008; Kerr et al., 2004; González et al., 2008)

The data representing social categories in Table 6 indicate that various authors' (NISC, Larrea, Kerr et al., González et al.) category labels are different from each other and from those provided by Gerónimo. What can be drawn from such variation is that categorisations have used social determinants (e.g. place of origin; time spent in Galápagos; legal residency status, see Kerr et al., 2004) to differentiate

people.[87] It is important, however, to keep in mind that processes of differentiating social categories and of labelling those categories – though they go hand in hand – are distinct and separate from each other. Moreover, categories could be imagined without their being labelled, the labels could change over time, or a blurring of categories and their labels could cause confusion. To say this is to confirm Ahassi's (2007:175; my translation) claim that fractioned identities in Galápagos are used currently to identify nuanced social groups that result from migration. She explains, for example, that what she calls identities (more correctly categories) are often divided: "*guayaquileño*[88] (of origin) – *santacruceño*[89] (nationalization-territory) – 'permanent resident'[90] (legal category)". Importantly, identity construction processes that produce such categorisation, and the apparent variation in labels for the various categories, show that Galápagos residents have been repeatedly differentiated from each other. The next section illustrates how social category labels have manifested in Galapagueño social hierarchies.

New Social Hierarchies

I now show how Galápagos residents have used category labels to account for new social hierarchies amongst them. Reference to such 'new social hierarchies' suggests that Galápagos' periodized history (see chapter three) reveals permeable social hierarchies (e.g. Cobos' and Villamil' colonial stations, MT's early tourism monopoly, the CDRS' control of environmental and conservation studies conducted in the GNP and the GMR) – social hierarchies that have influenced social interaction in the archipelago. To make this claim of course is to assume that previous social hierarchies do not simply disappear, but instead resonate with one another. A consequence is that people in Galápagos negotiate social-category boundaries in a

[87] Sánchez's (2006) study of Ecuadorian 'ethnic' categories points out that language and self-identification are other social determinants influencing categorisation. These determinants are apparent in her study of ways indigenous groups have claimed identity (e.g. Salasaca, Chibuleo, Puruhá) in mainland Ecuador.
[88] *Guayaquileño* is the Spanish term for someone from Guayaquil, an Ecuadorian coastal city.
[89] *Santacruceño* is the Spanish term for someone from Santa Cruz Island, Galápagos.
[90] 'Permanent residents' is one of three GSL-used social categories (see Table 6: Kerr et al., 2004).

particular way. This negotiation process includes giving labels to categories and to the associated power differentials between those so labelled.

To show how people's use of category labels in Galápagos reflects apparent social hierarchies among people living and working there, I provide data from SeaWolf crew and others involved with Galápagos' eco-tourism industry. First, I draw on Gerónimo's social categorisation of Galápagos residents into 'classic families' (50+ years of residence), 'residents' (about 25 years of residence or less) and 'migrants' (10 years of residence or less) to illustrate how a Galapagueño has understood social differentiation.[91] When asked to describe his social categorisation implications, Gerónimo used the opportunity to point out reasons for his perceived[92] separation of 'classic families' and 'residents'. He said:

> When people migrate from Ecuador to Galápagos, bad things come like crime. Now, when my friends and I see new residents in Galápagos, we say, "He's new, she's new." We don't know if they arrived legally or illegally, but we see it daily!
>
> So, if my friends and I see each other buy a car or house, we are happy for each other. But, we don't feel well if we see someone from outside Galápagos arrives and suddenly buy cars and houses. We are jealous! We say, "He's the enemy… he's got money in Galápagos and he's not from here." Basically, we know Galápagos is a small place and it must remain a small place. It's a National Park.
>
> We don't have enough resources for all immigrants.

Gerónimo's commentary suggests that social categorisation has led to: (i) a hierarchy among Galápagos residents and migrants, (ii) negative attitudes associated with certain groups, and (iii) individuals jockeying for social power. His ideas also point out that social hierarchies are visible when one looks at crime in the

[91] To be clear, Gerónimo's categorisation is but one method of distinguishing Galápagos residents.
[92] Use of the word "perceived" reminds that category labels cannot cause power differentials, but instead it is people's use of perceived category labels that lead to the idea that such differentials exist.

archipelago. As he saw it, migrants often lack the means (e.g. employment, family support) to sustain themselves, so they meet their needs by stealing – a perspective similar to that reported by Barber & Ospina (2007) regarding Galápagos residents' attitudes toward immigration. Their study indicates an overwhelming attitude among residents that immigration is linked to several social problems. They show resounding resistance to immigration, which has, according to their informants who have lived in the archipelago for long and short time periods, led to increased crime, environmental damage and unemployment. Table 7 illustrates.

	Time in Galápagos		
	Less* Time	More** Time	Born in Galápagos
Immigration increases crime	81.3%	87.1%	89.8%
More immigrants result in greater environmental damage	74.8%	83.7%	82.1%
Immigration increases unemployment	77.7%	79.7%	73.3%

* 'Less' indicates someone who has lived in Galápagos less than one-third of his/her current age.
** 'More' indicates someone who has lived in Galápagos more than one-third of his/her current age.

Table 7: **Attitudes Toward Immigration**
(Source: Barber & Ospina, 2007:87)

These data do little, however, to explain people's attitudes about immigration vis-à-vis eco-tourism. Three examples are thus provided to illustrate how SeaWolf crew linked immigration to Galápagos with their perception of a social divide. First, consider how Gerónimo explained the reasons for his distinguishing Galapagueños like himself from recent immigrants:

> We live in better conditions than continental Ecuadorians! Even though I have a good job as a naturalist guide, I don't have my own house, car, nothing. But I can survive without a job here. I returned to Galápagos three days ago and I have survived so far on US$10. I can rely on friends and family. You won't survive if you have only $10 on

> the mainland! I was jobless in San Cristobal for two years and I survived with breakfast and dinner. But it won't be this way in the future. Migration growth consequences will turn San Cristobal into a big city. Life will be different.

Secondly, consider how Jaime, SeaWolf bartender and also a 'resident' by Gerónimo's categorisation, had experienced local social difference:

> It's strange for me. My dad is from Galápagos, but I grew up in Quito with my mom. Now that I have returned to Galápagos for work, it's easy for me to make friends since I have family ties on the island. I can see that some of my peers don't respect me as much as others who grew up here. It's kinda silly, but that's Galápagos.

Thirdly, consider how Miguel, SeaWolf's second-in-command and a 'migrant worker' according to Gerónimo's categorisation, acted on local social differences:

> I work with people who have lived in Galápagos their entire lives; but it's difficult for me to socialize with them in port because I don't feel included in their activities. So, I typically spend my free time in port with people who have migrated to Galápagos from the same province I'm from.

These examples show a relationship between Gerónimo's social differentiation and social hierarchies that manifests in the ways people survive in Galápagos without a job, are respected by their peers, and socialize in port. This hierarchy shows too that 'classic' Galapagueños have the most social advantage in urban centres and migrant workers the least. Residents, as Jaime indicated, benefit from the social capital of family ties and are thus able to socialize easily in Galápagos, yet they often fall short of 'classic' Galapagueños' full respect. To be clear, this hierarchy uses Gerónimo's social differentiation as a basis on which to understand ideas about social power.[93]

[93] By social power, as it relates to Galápagos eco-tourism jobs, I mean the measure of a person's ability to influence the outcome of an employment decision. This definition draws upon French &

Yet, as Table 6 illustrates, Gerónimo's social category descriptions are one of many ways people have been differentiated. The following references to social hierarchies in this study assume that they are dependent on nuanced social categorisations specific to fieldsites. Ahassi's (2007) study of fractioned social categories (e.g. *guayaquileño* – *santacruceño* – 'permanent resident'), one which shows processes of repeated differentiation, corroborates the importance of understanding social hierarchies by looking at the nuances of social categories. Her notion of fractioned categories, when applied to inhabited islands in Galápagos, means that unique social hierarchies are visible on each island. That is because immigration flows have caused a unique mixing of people on each inhabited island.[94]

Moreover, the above examples indicate that social hierarchies affect social interaction in urban centres; but they do not explain how such hierarchies (e.g. those that can be drawn from social categorisations in Table 6) have impacted on labourers competing for eco-tourism jobs. I now present data revealing two perceptions of job competition (one of a 'migrant', another of a 'resident' according to Gerónimo's categorisation). Both came from SeaWolf informants who described the implications in their experience of the kind of social categories outlined above in seeking eco-tourism jobs. The examples also provide a basis for the next section, which points out how social power is linked to ways eco-tourism jobs are unequally available to individuals in various Galápagos social categories.

Francisco, a 30-year-old from mainland Ecuador with two years experience aboard SeaWolf, is, according to Gerónimo's categorisation, a 'migrant' eco-tourism

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Raven's (2001) theory of social power which suggest that power relations involve a dyadic relationship between agents that is at times asymmetrical.

[94] Most migrant labourers, according to what Jorge told me, live on Santa Cruz Island. This idea was one shared by Viviana, a MESI case manager working on San Cristobal Island, who explained that Salasacas – a group of migrant labourers indigenous to mainland Ecuador – generally live on Santa Cruz Island.

labourer.[95] He explained how a hierarchy among GNP's eco-tourism labourers limited his vocational possibilities:

> I'm happy to have a job in Galápagos since I can make money for my family, but I'm tired of being a cabin boy. My dream is to be a naturalist guide. I want to learn about Galápagos' animals. But, I can't become a guide because I'm not a Galapagueño. Only Galapagueños can be naturalist guides. This is because Galapagueños have privilege to become GNP naturalist-guides. That's the law here. So, I will likely be a cabin boy in Galápagos until I find work elsewhere.

Francisco's comment indicates that his employment opportunities are based on his social category and on merit assumed to be associated with his category labels (e.g. 'migrant', 'Galapagueño'); and that his individual skill or other qualities do not strengthen his employment potential.

Appadurai's (2000) critique of globalization helps to conceptualize Galápagos eco-tourism employment and how people's use of category labels impacts on labourers like Francisco. Appadurai (2000:5) recognizes a world characterized by objects in motion – one he describes as 'a world of flows' and counter-flows. He affirms that "the various flows we see — of objects, persons, images, and discourses — are not coeval, convergent, isomorphic, or spatially consistent" and that such flows often result in "fundamental problems of livelihood, equity, suffering, justice, and governance". Applying Appadurai's concept to Francisco's situation, one sees that a mixing of 'resident' and 'migrant' labourers has created friction which manifests in questions about who should be employed as a naturalist guide (e.g. Francisco) and on what basis.

Labourers' movement to and within Galápagos also causes friction amongst land-based eco-tourism workers, as evidence from conversations with Ines, SeaWolf's

[95] Francisco can also be placed under the following social category labels: NISC (2010) – *mestizo*; Larrea (2008) – *visitatntes temporales*; Kerr et al. (2004) – temporary resident; González et al. (2008) – *insulares.*

administrative assistant, shows. That she was unable to gain employment at San Cristobal Island's airport demonstrates how a resident experienced local social hierarchies impacting on eco-tourism employment opportunities.[96]

In terms of Gerónimo's categorisation, Ines is a 'resident'.[97] Yet, she explained, certain factors precluded her from airport employment, despite her meeting required employment qualifications. She said:

> I've been waiting to work at the airport for a long time. Since I've been waiting, I've heard from my friends that others who applied after me already received jobs there. I'm sure they got their jobs sooner than me because of family connections. This community is very small. That's the way it is.

Ines' commentary suggests that a local hierarchy amongst San Cristobal Island residents affects employment decisions at the island's airport. Galápagos residents without family connections are thus precluded from employment when competing for a job with residents with family connections. Gerónimo used the term "social power". He said: "The more time your family has been living in Galápagos, the more social power you have. But, social power doesn't mean as much now as it used to."[98] Gerónimo did not clarify how the social power to which he referred is manifested nor how Galapagueños specifically associate meaning with it. Yet, his comment indicates that length of residence and family connections affected social interaction in Galápagos more previously than today. It also suggests that gaps between social categories are apparently widening – which occurs as the difference in length of residence between residents (e.g. 'classic families') and new arrivals (e.g. 'temporary residents') grows. A consequence is that perceptions of social

[96] Ines can also be placed in the following social categories: NISC (2010) – *mestizo*; Larrea (2008) – *imigrantes antiguos*; Kerr et al. (2004) – permanent resident; González et al. (2008) **–** *insulares.*

[97] Ines is labelled a resident according to Gerónimo's criteria because she has been living in Galápagos for the past 18 years. Her Galápagos residency prior to GSL implementation also gives her legal residency status.

[98] Gerónimo was first to use the term 'social power' during our interview. All formal interviews with him occurred in English.

hierarchies held by eco-tourism labourers like Ines and Gerónimo play a significant role in placing people into social categories and in using labels to describe them. The next section uses this backdrop of social hierarchies as a basis for illustrating how people closely connected to the Galápagos eco-tourism industry have experienced inequality.

Unequal employment opportunities

A growing Galápagos eco-tourism industry means that, when considering current GSL immigration restrictions, unemployment should not, at least in theory, be cause for serious concern for legal Galápagos residents. In fact, all twenty-one permanent residents among my informants (e.g. SeaWolf crew, island residents) said that obtaining employment in Galápagos had been easy for them.[99] Eighteen of them (including a receptionist at an internet café, convenience-store employees, SeaWolf crewmembers' family members living in ports), however, were dissatisfied with the employment types available to them. Carmen, a permanently resident eco-tour company secretary and single mother of one, pointed out, "We [permanent residents] send our kids to mainland Ecuador for better university studies. Then, there are no jobs when they return." Carmen's concern with job availability reveals one permanent resident's attitudes about Galápagos employment availability and offers an entry point to considering how qualified Galápagos residents compete for skilled-labour eco-tourism jobs.

Carmen's perspective is similar to Captain Gabriel's understanding of Galápagos employment laws when he said that GSL guarantees permanent residents privilege to labour in Galápagos (e.g. eco-tourism, fishing, agriculture), but that coveted employment opportunities are often unavailable – or, as the previous section indicated, in some cases withheld – for long-term Galápagos residents. Temporarily resident SeaWolf crew claimed that they preferred eco-tourism employment to

[99] This does not mean that the informants' employment experiences are consistent with all others Galápagos residents.

agriculture and fishing jobs because it provided higher salaries and social esteem than did employment in those other sectors. Also, each permanently resident SeaWolf crew member expressed the intention to captain a catamaran one day, precisely because the position is regarded as a highly respected and a well paid eco-tourism job.

It is, however, difficult for permanent residents to come to own and operate eco-tourism vessels, primarily because the GNP's licence distribution practices undermine permanent residents' equal right to operate tourism vessels. GNP regulations (GNP, 2011f) allow only Galápagos residents the right to compete for tourism vessel licences[100] and at times when the GNP decides it is environmentally sustainable to grow the eco-tourism industry.[101] Residents must apply for and be awarded vessel licences before they can participate commercially in GNP-approved tourism practices. The GNP thus controls commercial yacht operations in the GMR by regulating licences. A GNP Management Plan (2011f) suggests that this licence requirement helps to avoid unequal and underhand competition between big tour companies and local tour operators; however, this is not always the case in practice as the following case illustrates.

Discussing what had prevented him from obtaining a GNP tourism licence, Gerónimo explained that permanent residents faced significant obstacles when seeking entry into eco-tourism vessel ownership and operation:

> Adam, you have no idea how hard it is for me to achieve my dream of operating my own tour boat. Check it out: there are 90 boats in Galápagos and non-Ecuadorians like Germans and Swiss own 95% of them.[102] Now, people in Galápagos say it's like this

[100] GNP tourism vessel licenses are differentiated by vessel type (e.g. catamarans used for week-long cruises, small boats used for day-long dive excursions).
[101] The GNP seldom increases the number of available tourism licences. Gerónimo's account of GNP licensing procedures in the following paragraph, however, describes a recent GNP-promotion of commercial tourism licences.
[102] Taylor et al.'s (2006:19) study of Galápagos eco-tourism and economic growth – which gathered statistical data (e.g. commercial vessel numbers, berths, and vessel owners' place of origin) from

> because locals don't have cruise-boat knowledge or money to finance a boat. BUT, I already own a small boat and I know how to operate it since I have ample eco-tourism experience. AND, believe it or not, I can't use my boat for tourism because the GNP stops me!
>
> For example, if a Galapagueño wants to operate an eco-tourism boat in Galápagos and keep the money here – like sustainable tourism that benefits local people – they [GNP officials] stop us. They stop us! We locals understand that there needs to be a limit on commercial boat numbers. But, the GNP just gave 18 new licences to local 'fishermen' for eco-tourism yachts. Now, what if I were to take a lawyer and investigate? What if I were to ask where these poor fishermen got USD$2 million to buy a luxury eco-dive boat?
>
> It's illegal! And the GNP knows that! It [Galapagueño fishermen receiving eco-boat licences] happens because locals have friends in government. It just works that way.

Gerónimo's final thought suggests that the GNP's licence-distribution practices are corrupted and that residents see that fact but generally have to accept that "It just works that way." Gerónimo's story thus points to a glass ceiling hindering permanent residents from taking prominent roles in Galápagos tourism. Nonetheless, he asserted his gratitude for his job as a naturalist guide and recognised the social esteem he perceived other Galápagos residents associate with it.

Permanent residents, however, are not the only social category impacted by GSL-implementation and the consequent GNP employment restrictions. Viviana, a MESI

1998 to 2005 – claims that 77.1% (1998) and 71.8% (2005) of "luxury" cruise-ship owners resided in mainland Ecuador. These data, similar to Gerónimo's statistics, suggest an overwhelming majority of Galápagos cruise-boat owners are not Galápagos residents. Taylor et al. (2006) argue, however, that the majority of owners live in Ecuador. Gerónimo shared his understanding that the majority of owners are non-Ecuadorians living in Europe.

case manager on San Cristobal Island, explained that her work with groups of Salasacas on Isabela Island reflects how local social hierarchies affect employment opportunities for people there:

> I think Salasacas would like to enter Galápagos' tourism industry and take advantage of its financial benefits. Salasacas have been in Galápagos for over 50 years. But, there is racism between *mestizos* and Salasacas.[103]
>
> On Isabela Island there is a law that prohibits Salasacas from sharing land and working there. *Isabeleños* take pride in their social status and try to keep an upper hand.[104] Nonetheless, there is a strong Salasaca community on Santa Cruz Island.
>
> We [people in Galápagos] are like the USA. We are all immigrants and Galápagos' economy depends on immigrants. But some Galapagueños feel more pride and entitlement. Many families have been here for five generations. And people who were in Galápagos first feel they deserve better jobs than those that arrived later. I see a great sense of entitlement among old migrants. It's a strong cultural theme here.
>
> Nearly all recent migrants [e.g. Salasacas] have jobs. They are not vagrants! Migrants come here to make money – maybe $200-300 a month – doing work others don't want to do. That's a lot of money. They [Salasacas] can send it to help their families [in mainland Ecuador] significantly.
>
> Although there isn't slavery in Galápagos, people here say it's happening. If Salasacas succeed in tourism, *mestizos* would look at them with jealousy saying, "And now *they* are in tourism?!?"

Viviana's perception of a social hierarchy separating *mestizos* and Salasacas shows how official and unofficial Galápagos rules have influenced job types available to

[103] In this instance, I interpreted Viviana's use of *mestizos* to refer to permanent residents in Galápagos.
[104] *Isabeleños* is a Spanish term often used when referring to someone from Isabela Island.

Salasacas.[105] Her idea suggests that *mestizos* think they deserve eco-tourism employment because they have inhabited Isabela Island longer than Salasacas and that their longer tenure entitles them to economic privileges associated with the environment. Her comments also indicate tension in ways Galapagueños associate category labels with social status and economic opportunities (e.g. Salasacas wanting to enter the tourism industry, *Isabeleños* protecting jobs and residence rights on the island).[106]

A comparison of ethnographic accounts in this section – Carmen's concern with job availability, Viviana's perception of struggles between Salasacas and *Isabeleños* – shows how permanent residents view temporary residents as encroaching upon their financial 'nest egg'; it also illustrates how temporary residents view permanent residents as holding them back from lucrative employment opportunities. What this reveals is that job-seekers have to deal with significant socio-economic challenges that manifest from the ways social-category labels are used. Yet, this, of course, contradicts the GNP-TA's (2011a) definition of sustainable tourism that seeks to "contribute to an equitable socio-economic development and solidarity of the local population."

[105] Kerr et al.'s (2004:29-30) account of economic and policy incentives that has driven migration to Galápagos, for example, points out that GSL: (i) allows employers to apply, on behalf of migrant workers, for temporary residence permits on the basis that employers are unable to find permanently resident skilled labourers, and (ii) limits temporary residents' labour to only "the activity that originally motivated their entrance to Galápagos." The authors also found: "Initially employers could put any limitations on application for temporary permits without having to justify them (e.g. very specific language requirements). This is changing now so that they have to define qualifications for a job more broadly (they must always require the same qualifications of all applicants for the same type of position). An INGALA [National Institute, Galápagos] Committee on Qualifications and Residency Control reviews all these applications after an initial review by INGALA staff" (2004:29-30).

[106] Temporary residents are thus likely to be contracted skilled-labourers with specific technical expertise. Legally, once a contract is terminated or broken, temporary residents are expected to find a comparable job or to leave Galápagos (Kerr et al., 2004:30).

Falling Short

This chapter has shown that increases in demand for skilled labour; migration to Galápagos; construction of social categories and labels for them, and of social hierarchies, have created inequalities in employment opportunities. A consequence is that escalating competition for eco-tourism jobs – and the financial gain derivable from them – compromises the GNP's ability to realise its practices and regulations on its own notion of sustainable tourism (e.g. GNP-TA, 2011a). The following chapter shows that a consequence of 'unsustainable tourism' practices in Galápagos is a perception shared by Galápagos residents (temporary and permanent) that people in the archipelago are separated from nature and environmental ideals placed upon them.

SIX

Mind the Gap

Chapter five revealed several interrelated factors that link eco-tourism growth with inequalities in ways eco-tourism employment has been made available. It suggests that Galápagos eco-tourism is not sustainable tourism, at least not according to sustainable-tourism definitions such as those as outlined in chapter two (e.g. GNP-TA). This chapter offers data to suggest that what are effectively 'unsustainable tourism' practices in Galápagos lead to a situation in which Galápagos residents are: (i) separated from nature and (ii) separated from each other by how they relate to nature. The chapter begins with three ethnographic examples of how informants perceived humans as separate from nature. That is followed by data showing that Galápagos eco-tourism practices have contributed to apparent divides between Galápagos residents due to the different ways they relate to nature.

Galápagos residents separated from nature

SeaWolf Second-in-Command's Disregard for Environmental Regulations

Miguel, the SeaWolf second-in-command, whom we met in chapter five, told how Galápagos eco-tourism practices have contributed to an apparent separation between nature and Galápagos eco-tourism labourers. Ten years ago, he said, the Ecuadorian Navy had sent him from his home in Loja, Ecuador to San Cristobal Island, with orders to complete two years of military service. While there, Miguel met and married a Galápagos resident and he decided to make San Cristobal his home after completing his military term. Today, Miguel assists Captain Gabriel aboard SeaWolf and aspires soon to captain an eco-tourism catamaran (albeit not one he personally owns).

Miguel said that he does not think about nature the same way his neighbours and the Galapagueños he works with do. He explained:

> I've worked in Galápagos eco-tourism for ten years. Galapagueños working on SeaWolf are really protective of the archipelago. Gerónimo said he was agitated last week when a German tourist stepped on a tortoise for fun. I dunno … I care about Galápagos conservation, but not as much Gerónimo because this is his only home. Maybe I will feel the same way Gerónimo does the longer I live on San Cristobal. I have a good job now, but I don't know how long my employment will last because GNP regulations make it difficult for [yacht] owners to employ migrants.

Miguel then said that his general indifference about Galápagos environmental conservation and sustainability was a result of his knowing that he could always return to Loja to find employment were the GNP to reduce eco-tourism employment opportunities for the sake of environmental preservation.

For Miguel, Galápagos eco-tourism was simply a way to earn more money than he could earn in Loja. His SeaWolf salary allowed him to support both his immediate family on San Cristobal and his extended family in Loja. One can take Miguel's attitudes to suggest that he feels disconnected from a responsibility to conserve Galápagos' environment. Nonetheless, as SeaWolf's second-in-command, Miguel is responsible for upholding GNP regulations and promoting nature conservation amongst SeaWolf crew and passengers. Miguel explained that, despite vocational and social responsibilities placed upon him to care for the environment, he struggled to value Galápagos nature conservation and to adhere to GNP environmental regulations. Instead, he said, he was content to keep one foot securely in Loja and the other on San Cristobal.

A Galapagueño Eco-tourist's Catamaran Cruise

Miguel's story exemplifies how a migrant-worker-turned-Galápagos-resident explains an apparent (and partial) separation from nature conservation and sustainable tourism because of ancestral ties in continental Ecuador. Yet, the reasons cited by other Galápagos residents for their apparent separation from nature were because of educational experiences Galápagos eco-tourism provides, and denies.

For instance, Yolanda, the only Galapagueño among the four Ecuadorian SeaWolf passengers during my fieldwork, provided an account of how she, as a Galápagos resident, perceives eco-travel: as *the* way to understand Galápagos nature and how to relate to it. In fact, Yolanda missed the first week of her university coursework to take advantage of a Galápagos eco-cruise. She explained:

> Galápagos is my home and I think it's important to know your own home. Unfortunately, it's really expensive for local residents to see the islands the way foreign tourists do. Usually, my friends simply stay on one island and surf the whole time when they are on vacation. Or, they go to another island and stay with friends to save money. The locals know some islands well, but they don't get to know about the entire archipelago. The only reason I can see nature like I am [doing] is because my cousin is a travel agent in Quito and someone backed out of this week's SeaWolf tour at the last minute. I'm missing school and I had to take a loan to pay for this discounted trip. But this is the first time that I get to see parts Galápagos at a reasonable price.[107] This weeklong cruise is a great learning experience.

Yolanda's catamaran eco-travel experiences were unique amongst her Galapagueño friends and family. She said that increases in eco-tourism cruise costs, given that

[107] Yolanda's explanation is similar to Bologna's (2008) study of community development and nature conservation in South Africa's Madikwe Game Reserve (North West Province). There, Bologna found that local residents were unable to view game for reasons similar to those shared by Yolanda.

they target foreigners with high levels of disposable income, limit Galapagueños' ability to experience the archipelago as other tourists do. Yolanda's intention to learn about and connect herself with Galápagos nature through catamaran tourism reveals an apparent gap between Galápagos residents and knowledge of the archipelago's ecology.

While aboard SeaWolf, Yolanda befriended Ole, a young German tourist. Ole's demonstrated attitudes provide evidence of how catamaran eco-tourism denies educational opportunities to migrant labourers and permanent Galápagos residents working aboard catamarans. On a dinghy ride[108] from the anchored SeaWolf to a hike on Isabela Island, Ole became agitated with Francisco, a migrant-labourer-turned-sailor who at that moment had been asked by Captain Gabriel to abandon his cabin-cleaning responsibilities to transport passengers. During the ride, Ole asked Francisco – using Yolanda as an interpreter – for the names of the volcanoes within sight. Baffled and embarrassed by the question, Francisco told Yolanda that he did not know the names.

Ole then communicated his frustration to the dinghy passengers, saying, "I can tell you basic information about my hometown. If you ask Berlin residents simple questions about Berlin they will know the answers." I attempted to explain to Ole, when we were alone later on the hike, that crew are seldom allowed to participate in eco-visits because of their endless SeaWolf responsibilities,[109] but Ole did not care to rationalize Francisco's apparent unfamiliarity with Galápagos topography.

I asked Francisco about the exchange he had with Ole later that evening. He explained:

[108] Galápagos catamarans and other eco-tourism vessels are obligated to anchor in specified offshore locations. Eight-passenger dinghies are commonly used to transport passengers from anchored vessels to terrestrial and marine GNP entry points for hikes or snorkel excursions.
[109] General SeaWolf responsibilities included: cabin cleaning each time passengers left the yacht, deck scrubbing twice a day, etc.

> The only way I can go on a hike, which is infrequent, is if there is an elderly tourist who needs someone to hold his or her arm the entire way. But, even if I go on the hike, I can't understand the guides when they speak in English. And, although I go on every snorkel trip, I'm never in the water. I have to follow tourists in the dinghy in case there is a snorkel emergency. I don't get to see what nature is like below the ocean surface. I only facilitate tourists' eco-excursions. We crewmembers don't learn much about Galápagos nature while we work. We're too busy making coffee or folding bed sheets or cooking tourists' food. But I like to ask the guides about animals when tourists are sleeping.

This account of three inter-connected Galápagos travellers' experiences (a Galapagueño tourist, a German tourist, an Ecuadorian migrant labourer) shows how a single supposedly educational experience – a dinghy ride from SeaWolf to Isabela – can have meanings for various Galápagos traveller categories. Galápagos eco-educational experiences, on one hand, exclude migrant labourers like Francisco from learning first-hand about the natural environment that their charges on the catamaran are there to experience – this despite their labouring in the environmental flagship of Galápagos that many eco-tourists considered to be 'pure nature'. On the other hand, the same eco-educational experiences allow eco-tourists like Yolanda (Galapagueño) and Ole (German), who both explained a sense of separation from nature, a chance to close that sense of an apparent gap.

A GNP Naturalist Guide's Understanding of Cultural Tourism

A lack of Galápagos 'cultural tourism' is another factor contributing to an apparent separation between Galápagos residents and nature. Jorge, a SeaWolf naturalist guide first introduced in chapter two**,** offered insights about failed cultural-tourism attempts to connect eco-tourists with nuanced understandings of Galápagos residents' relationships with nature when he explained that:

> Adventure Tourism (AT)[110] used to offer tourists a comprehensive travel experience. Years ago, we would stay on-board for four days and then spend a full-day on both San Cristobal and Santa Cruz. AT's idea was to keep tour prices affordable, but, more importantly, also to have time on land for naturalist guides to teach tourists about Galapagueño culture. For example, we spent one day in the Santa Cruz highlands with families there while also looking at the area's coffee and sugarcane production. But tourists started to complain, saying that they want to see more uninhabited islands, more animals, and fewer people – residents and [other] tourists alike.

Jorge's interpretation of the failure of diversified tourism experiences and of cultural tourism resonated with Helen's experience with her AT cohort aboard SeaWolf (see chapter four). Helen vehemently asserted that she and her husband "did not come to Galápagos to learn about people, but to see animals." This attitude, shared by most SeaWolf eco-tourists I interviewed, views nature as an experience that disconnects tourists from civilization, including Galapagueño human social and cultural life, thus seeking to place tourists in places that they term 'pure nature'. Helen's intent to be disconnected from civilization is similar to themes in González et al.'s (2008) *Science for sustainability in Galápagos*[111] and Lutz & Collins' (1993) *Reading National Geographic*.[112]

[110] Adventure Tourism is a travel agency that charters tours for North American eco-tourists aboard SeaWolf and other Galápagos catamarans. The company hand-selects naturalist guides (Jorge is one) from the GNP's pool of licensed naturalist guides.

[111] González et al.'s (2008) report on the role of scientific investigation in Galápagos' 'development of sustainability' challenges what the authors call a 'humans-in-nature' paradigm. They argue that a humans-in-nature paradigm creates a binary that separates humans from nature and that is inappropriate for thinking about Galápagos conservation, ways to manage it, and conceptual models that impact on both. Instead they suggest that a 'humans-with-nature' paradigm, which positions people as a component of nature, is better because of the unique historical isolation of Galápagos, its lack of an aboriginal population, and its relatively recent human colonisation.

[112] Seeing the same from another perspective, Lutz & Collins describe how the magazine *National Geographic* has influenced global ideas about the making of national identity in popular photography, about photographic gazes, and about the collection and arrangement of 'cultural images'. Drawing on Clifford's (1988) analysis of ethnography, literature and art, they indicate that "collecting and displaying are crucial processes in forming Western identity, and cultural description itself is a kind of collecting that selectively accords 'authenticity' to human groups and their institutions and practices" (Lutz & Collins, 1993:23).

In Galápagos, tourists like Helen typically prefer to collect images of the archipelago's flora and fauna over 'cultural images' since the former are what such tourists usually view in documentaries and tourism advertising about Galápagos. Moreover, Helen and other SeaWolf tourists used the term 'pure nature' to describe what they perceived as untouched or uncontaminated natural settings. Helen described how AT had supplied her with reading material prior to her SeaWolf cruise, which helped her prepare for natural scenes she would likely experience in the archipelago. Also, Jorge, the SeaWolf naturalist guide leading Helen's cohort, had e-mailed the cohort before the trip began in order to offer a reading list he thought they might find interesting. He also played portions of the BBC's three-part documentary series *Galápagos: The islands that changed the world* (Gunton & Morris, 2007) nightly in SeaWolf's lounge. I found that these types of influences together helped shape Helen's and other SeaWolf tourists' intentions to want to see only what they had come to perceive as Galápagos nature in its purest form.

It is unsurprising, then, that Jorge and AT struggled to inform eco-tourists about Galapagueños' lifestyles when those tourists undervalued such information. The point is that a lack of provision for cultural tourism that features locals' lifestyles and ideas about the archipelago complicates the GNP-TA's intent to promote sustainable tourism – a notion that ostensibly positions Galapagueños as (i) an integral part of the tourist experience and (ii) potential beneficiaries of revenue from eco-tourism profits.

This is similar to what Roe et al. (2009:xiii) observed in their comparative study of African community management of natural resources: "Overall, there remain relatively few cases of communities obtaining formal authority over lands and the natural resources found on those lands. Centralized control over natural resources persists despite the ubiquitous change in the rhetoric over land- and resource-

management."[113] That Galapagueños struggle to present to tourists the particularities of their relationship with nature and how it forms part of the Galápagos eco-tourism experience is remarkably similar to ways other local communities have struggled to manage natural resources in the vicinity of their own places of residence.

The above shows that Galápagos marine-based tourism practices, which the GNP regulates centrally by granting controlled tour itineraries to a restricted set of commercial licence-holding yacht owners, contribute to a perception amongst Galápagos residents that they are separated from the archipelago spaces marketed and presented as 'pure nature'.[114] A consequence is that residents are wont to claim, like Yolanda, that they are not connected with Galápagos nature and that a Galápagos catamaran experience, and the educational opportunities that come with it, will help them to close such a gap.

Galápagos residents separated from environmental ideals placed upon them

By now it should be evident that Gerónimo was a key informant in my study, as he was to SeaWolf eco-tourists. Of all the naturalist guides I encountered, Gerónimo showed the most professional and personal concern for tourists' interest in Galápagos environmentalism and nature conservation. In general he came across as a caring individual. Yet, at times his enthusiasm for nature conservation led to his sharply criticising others. In particular, Gerónimo expressed disdain for foreign scientists studying in Galápagos and for their research outcomes on matters of conservation and ecology.

[113] Bologna's (2008) study, similar to Roe et al.'s (2009), observed that local residents were marginalized and excluded. This occurred despite rhetoric that claimed that the Madikwe Game Reserve, the focus of her work, operated on 'people-based conservation' principles.
[114] An account of 'archipelago spaces' is presented in the following section.

This was apparent, for example, when Gerónimo routinely stopped at a particular location during an eco-hike on Isabela each week to point out the top of a volcano and said:

> Scientists come from afar to Galápagos – usually working with the CDRS – to do their studies. BUT, after all of their work, they can only conclude their findings using words like: 'maybe', 'probably', 'in the future'. They can never claim facts. What scientists don't realize is that 'you never know in Galápagos'. You never know when it will rain or if the seas will be calm. Scientists come here with theories from other places, but they don't have the local knowledge that we naturalist guides have gained of the archipelago throughout our lives here. Can you see the top of that volcano? Scientists first observed pink land iguanas atop that volcano years ago. But scientific research can't inform researchers why land iguanas have a pink phenotype ONLY in this location. Their theories can only get them so far.

Gerónimo's consistent reference to the CDRS and its scientists, and his oft-expressed value judgements about their studies, led me to consider whether other Galapagueños perceived a gap between ways Galapagueños and resident scientists think about and relate to nature (e.g. notions of nature conservation and environmentalism).

Data I gathered consequently show that, despite the GNPS' and CDRS' intentions for Galápagos residents to be caretakers of the Galápagos environment, Galapagueños do not all share a single attitude to nature conservation and environmental sustainability. I now present those data to show that Galápagos residents employed by the GNPS and CDRS (e.g. GNPS rangers, CDRS workers) commonly disregarded GNP rules about nature conservation.

GNPS Rangers' Bargaining for Chicken

A group of GNPS rangers approached the anchored SeaWolf late one night while passengers were asleep in their cabins. The rangers – all Galapagueños-turned-official-GNP-custodians – had been at sea for over a week and had grown tired of eating fish. So they asked Captain Gabriel to trade chicken from SeaWolf's galley for *bacalao* (protected codfish), which they had caught illegally.

This anecdote raises several questions. How could GNPS' environmental watchdogs, who happen to be Galápagos residents, offer to trade illegally caught *bacalao*? What caused Gabriel, Galapagueño captain of an eco-tourist catamaran, to consider trading when he knew it to be illegal? Did he ponder the offer out of courtesy for his fellow Galapagueño rangers, because SeaWolf crewmembers preferred tasty *bacalao* over chicken, or both? Not wanting to challenge Captain Gabriel's authority, I refrained from asking those direct questions. Instead, I asked whether GNPS rangers frequently ask to exchange *bacalao*, or other GNP-protected fish, for needed items. He replied:

> Well, we [Galapagueños] know that the GNP says not to catch *bacalao* in the GMR. But, most fishermen were catching *bacalao* before the fish became protected. I think *bacalao* is protected so that fishermen don't wipe out entire fish populations. Personally, I don't even like eating *bacalao* and I think it's a good idea to protect the fish. But, if GNPS rangers are catching a few *bacalao* – whether by accident or on purpose – who am I to tell them not to? GNPS rangers have authority in these waters so I don't take issue with them catching *bacalao*. It's nice to be on their good side now in case one needs a favour in the future.

Applying Bourdieu's (1990:54) notion of habitus, which he explains as a "system of dispositions – a present past that tends to perpetuate itself into the future by reactivation in similarly structured practices…" might help to make sense of the

transaction and Captain Gabriel's decision. Applying Bourdieu's concept reveals several factors that might have influenced Captain Gabriel's interaction with the rangers. They include the facts that Captain Gabriel was himself previously a Galápagos fisherman; that his Galápagos experiences and relationship to nature before his vocational shift from fisherman to catamaran captain had caused him to view fishing for personal consumption as different from commercial fishing; and that past and present socioeconomic influences on Galápagos social life had led him to care for others working in Galápagos waters. The example shows that a Galapagueño's current dispositions and thoughts on nature are influenced by ideologies that preceded notions of environmental sustainability. It also shows that there are moments when environmentalism is disregarded in order to maintain social esteem. In this case, Captain Gabriel prioritized his relationship with other sailors, especially those who could exercise power over him, over his relationship to GNP environmental regulations and nature conservation. The occurrence, however, was not the only time Galápagos custodians propositioned SeaWolf's crew with illegal trading of natural resources, as the following anecdote shows.

CDRS Workers' Bargaining for Cigarettes

On another night, with SeaWolf's passengers asleep, a group of five Galapagueño ex-fishermen, at that stage hired by the CDRS to count sea-cucumber populations, approached the anchored catamaran. They had been away from port for a long time and were running low on supplies. In this instance, the once-fishermen-turned-CDRS-employees sought cigarettes, exchanging one lobster, one octopus, four large fish and one large *concha*[115] for five cigarettes provided by the bartender, Jaime, who was the only crewmember aboard with cigarettes at the time.[116] Like the

[115] *Concha* is a Spanish word used to describe shellfish and often conch shells. *Concha* is often used in Galápagos to make *ceviche* – a South American dish of marinated raw fish or seafood.
[116] Coincidentally, to provide the passengers with an eco-friendly travel experience free from tobacco smoke, Captain Gabriel prohibits crewmembers from smoking on the catamaran. Jaime and other crew defy the rule and smoke in secluded spaces on the yacht while the captain and passengers are not there.

aforementioned rangers, the CDRS employees had been illegally catching seafood for personal consumption while at work counting sea cucumbers.

The GNPS rangers' and CDRS workers' actions – which likely occur more frequently than I observed aboard SeaWolf, and similarly on all 90 Galápagos eco-tourism yachts, suggest that, while the GNP encourages local residents to be caretakers of the archipelago and promotes that as their role, Galápagos residents' actions do not always match the GNP's nature-conservation/environmentalism ideals imposed on them.

One explanation is that residents (both permanent and temporary) are generally unfamiliar with environmentalist, eco-tourism and sustainable-tourism discourses, all of which are linked with the recent Galápagos eco-tourism boom and which provide guidelines for how stakeholders in Galápagos should care for the archipelago – but all for the immediate benefit of tourists rather than locals.

Another explanation is that people raised in the archipelago have different understandings of the environment from what the GNP has come to label as 'human spaces and zones'. The GNP website's account of 'Environmental Management in Populated Areas' [GNP, 2011g], distinguishes:

(i) the Galápagos landscape by labelling and defining the archipelago into 'spaces and zones';[117] and

(ii) how that zoning system has introduced notions of 'human space'[118] to Galápagos residents.

[117] The GNP zoning system divides terrestrial parts of the archipelago into three categories using the following labels: (i) Absolute Protection Zone, (ii) Conservation and Ecosystem-Restoration Zone, and (iii) Low-Impact Zone. The same zoning system divides marine parts of the archipelago into three categories, under the following labels: (i) Multiple-Use Zone, (ii) Limited-Use Zone, and (iii) Port Area. See the GNP website (GNP, 2011g) for full definitions of the previously listed terrestrial and marine zones labels used by the GNP.

[118] The GNP zoning system accounts for 'human space' by dividing terrestrial parts of the archipelago into two categories. It uses the following labels and definitions: (i) "Rural Area – The rural area includes land suitable for agriculture, located in the upper parts of the inhabited islands and is on private property," (ii) "Urban Area – These are private areas on the four inhabited islands that make

The GNP's own commentary on its website [GNP, 2011g] briefly explains the distinctions:

> Before 1959 there was no difference between the human and natural space in Galápagos. Small Galápagos populations lived in and of the natural environment, without restrictions or limits beyond the resources they counted on to exploit the natural capital that surrounded them. When the Galápagos National Park was defined, 97% of the islands around populated areas were declared protected natural area*s*. In the remaining 3% of Galápagos, communities develop under the policies of public institutions at national, provincial and local levels, as well as in rural and urban areas around the ports.

I would suggest that, while public and private institutions (e.g. GNP, CDF, UNESCO) have made efforts to influence local and global conceptualizations of Galápagos spaces,[119] Galápagos residents' understanding of nature, which dates back to the 17th century (see chapter three), preceded changes in recent protective environmental legislation (e.g. GSL implementation, GNP management plans).

A consequence is that residents' understanding of nature, as in the above cases of GNPS and CDRS workers, has been different from notions of environmentalism imposed upon them by institutions such as the GNP, CDF and UNESCO. Moreover, this apparent gap has widened as catamaran eco-tourism pathways increasingly alienate Galápagos residents from tourism-entrepreneurship opportunities. In turn, the resulting geographical and ideological gaps impact on Galapagueños' attitudes to nature and to how to relate to it, resulting in a cycle in which eco-tourism practices distance Galápagos residents from the industry.

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up the populations of: Puerto Baquerizo Moreno on San Cristobal Island, Puerto Ayora on Santa Cruz Island, Puerto Villamil on Isabela Island, Puerto Velasco Ibarra on Floreana Island" (GNP, 2011g).

[119] My use of 'Galápagos spaces' here is the same as its use by the GNP in its explanation of 'Environmental Management in Populated Areas' (GNP, 2011g).

Coming to a close

This chapter has included data that indicate how Galápagos eco-tourism practices have affected ways Galápagos residents regard nature and how to relate to it. It has done that by showing: (i) how Galápagos residents (e.g. Miguel, Gerónimo, Yolanda) are separated from nature, and (ii) that Galápagos labourers (e.g. GNPS rangers, CDRS workers; SeaWolf crew) are separated from the environmental ideals placed upon them by the GNP-CDRS partnership. What becomes apparent, then, is that Galápagos tourism practices do not correspond neatly with the GNP-TA's aim to promote a form of Galápagos sustainable tourism that maintains the ecological integrity of the archipelago's biodiversity and of local Galapagueños' participation in the tourism industry. The next and final chapter presents sets of social consequences that: (i) summarise data presented in earlier chapters in order to highlight benefits and costs associated with Galápagos catamaran eco-tourism, and (ii) show that Galápagos eco-tourism practices contradict how the term sustainable tourism is used in the archipelago (e.g. GNP-TA).

SEVEN

Conclusion: Re-thinking Galápagos eco-tourism's sustainability

The present study illustrates that Galápagos eco-tourism is not 'sustainable tourism' if one bases one's assessment on definitions of eco-tourism and sustainable tourism presently used within and outside Galápagos. As indicated in chapter 2, the GNP-TA is explicitly concerned with 'sustainable tourism' as a means, according to its own webpage, of ensuring "the conservation of ecological integrity and biodiversity of the archipelago" and, in addition, also "contribut[ing] to an equitable socioeconomic development and solidarity of the local population" (GNP, 2011a). Yet, as shown above, many of the consequences of the tourism practices that occur in the archipelago do not actually live up to that goal.

While this study has not focused directly on Galápagos' ecological integrity and biodiversity, it has considered the GNP-TA's definitional separation of the environment from socioeconomic development and social solidarity, and has shown how this separation has led to unequal socioeconomic development. Chapter four has shown that if increasing rates of Galápagos eco-tourist entries continue, even with their post-2008 slowdown, the archipelago will soon host more than three times the GNP's suggested annual limit of 75,000. That in turn suggests that eco-tourism growth (e.g. increased numbers of tourist entries; increases in catamaran numbers, pathways and resulting fuel emissions; and increases in Galápagos immigration numbers and the infrastructure needed to support a growing resident population) raises concerns about the capacity of the GNP-TA to monitor "the conservation of ecological integrity and biodiversity of the archipelago" and to 'ensure' such future conservation (GNP, 2011a).

More importantly, my study has explored some of the social consequences of Galápagos eco-tourism and has problematized notions of sustainable tourism as

used in Galápagos. My fieldwork data suggest that Galápagos tourism's growing dependence on catamaran eco–tourism reflects a series of interrelated factors, beginning with increased numbers of skilled migrant labourers into Galápagos and including limitations to employment opportunities for Galápagos residents. The study's conclusions thus challenge the aspirations underlying what the GNP-TA claims is its goal in developing 'sustainable tourism'. It has done so by presenting data (e.g. personal stories and observations from provincial Galápagos leaders, eco-tourist yacht employees and residents) that show that Galápagos eco-tourism practices do not "contribute to an equitable socioeconomic development and solidarity of the local population" (GNP, 2011a).

What that in turn suggests is that notions of sustainable tourism in Galápagos are improperly conceptualized and/or that Galápagos eco-tourism practices do not adhere to locally explicated sustainable-tourism objectives. In other words, while Galápagos eco-tourism has been presented in the archipelago – and to prospective tourists throughout the world – as a form of sustainable tourism, it appears to fail to live up to that goal. Precisely because Galápagos catamaran eco-tourism has become increasingly popular amongst visiting tourists and has become the primary mode for Galápagos residents to earn a living, its status as a flagship or model for eco-tourism practices around the world is being undermined. That is because Galápagos eco-tourism development, conservation and environmentalism have all contributed to short-, medium- and long-term consequences; and because, while short-term benefits (e.g. contract work aboard a luxury catamaran) may provide immediate social advantage or subsistence, they might well have long-term negative implications for Galápagos residents.

The following sets of social consequences offer a summary of data presented in earlier chapters to highlight benefits and costs associated with Galápagos catamaran eco-tourism. They also illustrate current conditions in Galápagos eco-tourism development since 1998, using GSL implementation in that year as a marker because of the change it brought to tourism practices and labour laws.

Galápagos catamaran eco-tourism practices include negative social consequences that:

- Exploit the archipelago's environment in ways similar to those in historical cycles of environmental destruction and thus compromise the ecological integrity of the eco-tourism industry's base and potentially the future of Galápagos residents who today draw their livelihood from it.
- Relocate tourism practices from terrestrial centres to catamarans and their marine pathways, thus minimizing economic opportunities for diversified terrestrial tourism and thus reducing opportunities for Galapagueños to benefit directly from the tourist presence.
- Make Galápagos residents dependent: (i) on the ecological integrity of the GMR and the GNP, (ii) on foreign interest in eco-tourism and tourists' capacity to afford luxury cruise-boat tourism, and (iii) on the Galápagos tourism and the environmentalism community's ability to ensure sustainability of the eco-tourism industry.
- Develop a kind of disregard for or even cynicism amongst Galapagueños about the archipelago's ecological integrity.
- Accelerate population growth beyond levels of labour demand and capacities of tourism development.
- Provide employment to skilled migrant labourers from mainland Ecuador while often overlooking job-seeking Galapagueño residents.
- Favour certain resident categories for: (i) eco-tourism jobs within Galápagos, and (ii) ownership and operation of eco-tourism vessels.
- Contribute to an economic system that encourages Galápagos high-school graduates to enrol for tertiary education in areas of eco-tourism expertise at respected mainland Ecuador universities, yet do not provide employment for them upon their return to Galápagos – even while there is growth in skilled migrant labourers (often without formal education) being employed in the Galápagos eco-tourism labour force.

The preceding set of negative social consequences may or may not be unique to Galápagos eco-tourism, but such a comparison with other contexts is beyond the present study's scope. However, they can be considered alongside the benefits to Galápagos residents of eco-tourism development in order to reach a general conclusion about the potential role of Galápagos eco-tourism for the future livelihoods of Galápagos residents. Despite the negatives, catamaran eco-tourism practices do include positive social consequences. They:

- Provide some residents with employment that earns more money than can be earned, with comparable levels of skill and education, in fishing and agriculture.
- Offer some Galapagueños cruise-boat jobs that are perceived by many to provide sustainable sources of income, especially given the economy's current dependence on eco-tourism.
- Provide preferential employment opportunities to legal Galápagos residents.
- Enable Galápagos residents to perceive, and indeed experience their quality of life in the archipelago as better than that in continental Ecuador.
- Introduce new technologies and flows of goods and ideas to the archipelago in order to satisfy visiting eco-tourist demand and then also become accessible to some Galapagueños.
- Contribute revenue from GNP entrance fees and other revenue that is supposedly dedicated to infrastructure development in port towns.

This summary of costs and benefits, drawing as it does upon data presented in earlier chapters: (i) complicates the GNP-TA's posturing that Galápagos eco-tourism constitutes 'sustainable tourism', and (ii) is similar to previous critiques of Galápagos eco-tourism growth and practices (e.g. Epler, 2007; CDF et al., 2008; Epler & Proaño, 2007; González et al., 2008). If the GNP-TA, for example, aims to conserve the ecological integrity of the archipelago as well as to contribute to the socioeconomic development of local people, a critical assessment of stories told by individuals like Gerónimo, Miguel, Jaime and Francisco illustrates clearly the range of challenges facing eco-tourism labourers today. Although, as we have seen, they all expressed intentions to take prominent leadership and ownership roles in the

Galápagos eco-tourism industry, they had all found themselves stymied in their attempts to achieve their aspirations. Therein lies the rub for Galápagos policymakers.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1: **Acronyms Used in This Dissertation**

CAPTURGAL	Galápagos Chamber of Tourism
CDF	Charles Darwin Foundation
CDRS	Charles Darwin Research Station
GMR	Galápagos Marine Reserve
GNP	Galápagos National Park
GNPS	Galápagos National Park Service
INGALA	National Institute, Galápagos
MESI	Ministry of Economic and Social Inclusion
MT	Metropolitan Touring
NISC	National Institute for Statistics & Census
UNEP	United Nations Environmental Program
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
WTO	World Tourism Organization
WTTC	World Travel and Tourism Council

Appendix 2: **Dramatis Personae**

Name(s)	Chapters the Person Appears in	Age	Gender	Occupation	Place of Origin	Period of Residence in or Visit to Galápagos
Alejandro	4	29	Male	SeaWolf chef	Guayaquil	7 years
Carmen	5	About 40	Female	Secretary	San Cristobal Island	42 years
Francisco	4, 5, 6, 7	30	Male	SeaWolf cabin boy	Mainland Ecuador	2 years
Gabriel	2, 4, 5, 6, 7	50	Male	SeaWolf captain	Quito	25 years
Gerónimo	1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7	34	Male	Naturalist Guide	San Cristobal Island	34 years
Helen	5, 6	About 70	Female	Retired Ceramicist	New York	1 week
Ines	5	38	Female	SeaWolf's administrative assistant	Quito	11 years
Jaime	4, 5, 6, 7	24	Male	SeaWolf's bartender	Quito	6 years
Jorge	2, 4, 6	37	Male	Naturalist guide	Quito	5 years
John & Sarah	4	About 50	Male, Female	Retired	California	1 week
Maria	5	About 40	Female	CDRS historian	Mainland Ecuador	25 years
Miguel	5, 6, 7	37	Male	SeaWolf second-in-command	Loja, Ecuador	10 years
Ole	6	28	Male	Factory Worker	Berlin, Germany	1 week
Peggy & Wilma	1	About 70	Female, Female	Retired school teachers	USA	1 week
Raquel	4	30	Female	Accountant	Mainland Ecuador	1 week
Stefan	4	30	Male	Businessman	Berlin, Germany	1 week
Viviana	4, 5	About 30	Female	MESI case manager	Guayaquil	N/A
Yolanda	6	About 21	Female	Student	Santa Cruz Island	About 15 years

Appendix 3: **Tour Vessel Statistics (1998 and 2005)**

Vessel Class	% Owned by Foreign Residents		% Owned by Mainland Residents		% Owned by Galapagos Residents	
	1998	**2005**	**1998**	**2005**	**1998**	**2005**
Luxury	4.1	10.2	77.1	71.8	18.8	18.0
Standard	0	5.7	51.0	51.4	49.0	42.9
Economy	0	0	24.7	26.9	75.3	73.1
Day Tours	0	0	0	16.7	100.0	83.3
Total	**2.1**	**6.5**	**56.2**	**54.5**	**41.7**	**39.0**

"Percent of Tour Vessels owned by Foreigners, Mainland and Galapagos Residents, 1998 and 2005" (Source: Epler, 2007:12)

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