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Ecotourism in the Galápagos Islands: A Case Study in the Anthropology of Tourism

An Honors Thesis

Presented by Claire Wellbeloved-Stone '14

to

The Department of Anthropology
In partial fulfillment of the requirements for
Honors in the Major Field

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Abstract

This project originated my sophomore year as my application to the Toor Cummings Center for International Studies and the Liberal Arts (CISLA). In my search for a project that would relate to anthropology and the Galápagos Islands I discovered the potential to study the tourism industry and its effects on society. Over the course of three years the project developed from a proposal as part of my application to CISLA to an internship and an honors thesis.

The focus of this thesis is the study of ecotourism in the Galápagos Islands, with a concentration on the interaction between tourists and residents and influence of tourism on the local population. I outline the history, geology, and geography of the islands to provide the reader with a base knowledge. In order to understand the complex societal relationship with tourism it is crucial to understand the history that led to the success of the tourism industry today. I review the anthropology of tourism, ecotourism in Costa Rica as a model, and the tourism industry in the Galápagos. Finally, I conclude the thesis with my own findings through surveys and an interview conducted while on Isabela for my internship.

Chapter I: Introduction

Arrival

My initial interest in the Galápagos Islands was born during a spring break trip my senior year of high school. I was immediately fascinated by the islands and by the local populations inhabiting them. I had been accepted early decision to Connecticut College, so I already knew my plans for the following year, and the international certificate program was of particular interest to me. My plan was to study anthropology at Connecticut College and apply for the Toor Cummings Center for International Studies and the Liberal Arts. Although the focus of the trip was environmental, one experience that has remained with me the most is an afternoon I spent wandering the streets on the island of Isabela.

After spending some time at the beach with my group, a few of us decided we were ready to head back to the hotel. We did not walk straight back, however. We saw a little church in the distance and wanted to explore. My three friends followed me, because they said I was their compass and their translator—I was the only person, out of 14, who spoke Spanish on the trip. The streets were dirt, with very few cars, and the atmosphere was very calm. We peered inside the church, which was very simple, and then turned around and strolled back to the hotel. Along the way we passed a group of locals, sitting in their front yard, playing guitar, and enjoying the perfect weather.

To me that church and the locals we passed represented the island. The church was quaint and relatively simple, as was the island. With respect to the infrastructure of the island, there did not seem to be anything beyond the basics, but the basics worked. I am not trying to say this local community is simple, because I know that what may appear simple to an outsider is in reality intricate. What struck me at the time, however, was how the community of Isabela operated so successfully with what it had. There was

no major airport, it takes a two-hour speedboat taxi to get there from Santa Cruz, the cars I saw were open air taxis of sorts, and the roads were not paved. Despite all this, the island community and tourist business appeared to function seamlessly.

I knew then that I wanted to go back to study how the community of Isabela functions and how the people participate in and interact with the tourism industry. There was a part of me that hoped the culture that had developed in this community would stay frozen in time, because I saw value in the way it was when I first became acquainted with it. However, I knew that was not my call to make. Communities exposed to travel, such as the various local communities in the Galápagos Islands, are constantly experiencing change. This is why I wanted to return to Isabela to see how tourism was affecting the island, for better or for worse. I wanted to look at this community as objectively as possible, try to understand how it had gotten to where it is, and try to anticipate where it might end up in the future.

Just over three years later, in the summer of 2013, I found myself returning to Isabela to intern with the World Wildlife Fund and conduct the research that had interested me since I had first visited. The internship was made possible by the Connecticut College Toor Cummings Center for International Studies and the Liberal Arts (CISLA). After a whirlwind orientation on the island of Santa Cruz, I moved to Isabela with the aid of one of my supervisors. I had no place to live and still had very little idea of what exactly I would be doing or who I would be working with. One of the first things that struck me upon my arrival was the church. The small and quaint church that was so clear in my memory had been rebuilt since my first visit. That first night at dinner the people I was dining with commented on how ugly they thought the new church was. This was my first exposure to how the island was changing, even in three short years. However, because I was not engaged in research when I was first on Isabela I did

not have photographs documenting what the streets and buildings had looked like before. I had to rely on my idealized memories of the island, which were admittedly imperfect. Initially I thought that the two experiences would be closely linked, however, I realized the two experiences would have to be separated for academic purposes This realization made me aware that my research would have to be based on my summer internship and scholarly research. My research could not be based on comparison of my memories from my first visit to my experiences from my internship. I believed my first visit to Isabela would inform my research, but I came to acknowledge that these were two very different experiences.

Thesis Outline

This thesis addresses the effects of tourism on society—businesses, urban development, social interaction, crime, and employment—and the connection between tourism and development in the Galápagos Islands. Initially, gathering research about the history, cultures, and ethnography of the Galápagos was challenging. There are not many sources about the human inhabitation on the islands. Similarly, little anthropological research has been conducted on the islands. Despite the initial perception that no one had conducted ethnographic research in the archipelago, with more investigation some articles, theses, and other literature surfaced. Even though there is a human history of the archipelago and social studies are conducted in the Galápagos Islands, not many people seem aware of the human aspect of the islands. The main association made with the islands in popular culture is the environment, especially the finches and tortoises. Many of the people I spoke with prior to my departure for a summer internship with the World Wildlife Fund were shocked to discover that anyone even lived on the islands.

the outside world with a focus on the natural environment as opposed to the people who have settled throughout the archipelago.

In Chapter 2, I synthesize the geology and history of the Galápagos archipelago. The geology of the islands is important for understanding early settlement history and for understanding what tourism has to offer. I discuss the early encounters with the archipelago and some of the major settlement attempts. Darwin is one of the most well-known figures in the human and natural history of the Galápagos and I discuss his role in the islands' history.

In the following chapter, Chapter 3, I discuss the anthropology of tourism. I provide an abbreviated literature review of the major publications of the field by authors such as Theron A. Nuñez and Valene Smith. The anthropology of tourism is one of the more recent subfields of anthropological study, and due to its recent emergence there have been debates about which theoretical model to use. I review the major theories guiding the field, which are broken into two camps—those of Nelson Graburn and Dennison Nash. Lastly, I discuss the variety of forms that tourism takes, such as environmental tourism, heritage tourism, or cruise tourism.

In order to provide a comparative framework for the development of ecotourism in the Galápagos I explain in Chapter 4 the development of the ecotourism industry in Costa Rica, often referred to as the "poster child" of ecotourism. This is a new industry, and places such as the Galápagos Islands are following in Costa Rica's footsteps and often looking to Costa Rica as a guide for their own ecotourism models. The certification system used in Costa Rica is a more formalized and developed version of what the Ministry of Tourism and the World Wildlife Fund are currently attempting to implement in the Galápagos. A standardized system for the certification of ecotourism prevents "greenwashing" of the tourism industry. In the context of tourism, "greenwashing" is the

concept that all businesses claim to be environmentally friendly and compliant with ecotourism. Companies can insincerely claim to be eco-friendly and saturate the market with false ecotourism claims, making it difficult for the tourist to determine which businesses are sincere. The benefits and drawbacks that Costa Rica has faced as a result of increased tourism and the ecotourism boom are indicators for possible outcomes in the Galápagos.

Chapter 5 addresses the Galápagos and the history of tourism in the archipelago. In this chapter, I explain the beginnings of tourism to the islands and outline a basic timeline of tourism development. There are two main types of tourism to be considered in this discussion: land-based tourism and water-based tourism. These two types of tourism attract different groups of tourists. Furthermore, the two main development models behind tourism are endogenous development or exogenous development. Land-based tourism and water-based tourism have followed different development patterns in the Galápagos Islands. Land-based tourism has followed a more endogenous development model, whereas water-based tourism has followed a more exogenous model. The idea of "following in Darwin's footsteps" is mentioned in some tourist materials, and I discuss the possibility of this as a new niche for the growing tourism industry. I expand on endogenous and exogenous development models, especially as they are manifesting themselves in the archipelago. I conclude the chapter with a brief discussion of ecotourism in the Galápagos.

These first chapters are all based primarily on academic research conducted upon my return to the United States following my internship. In Chapter 6, I draw on my first-hand experience to discuss the development of ecotourism in the Galápagos Islands. I explain my internship responsibilities, and I provide an overview of the Buenas Prácticas ecotourism program with which I was working. A major part of the discussion about the

ecotourism program revolves around its reception by local business owners and either their acceptance or critique of the program. The second component of this chapter is my discussion of a survey I distributed to residents of Isabela. I received 29 completed surveys that I was able to analyze for the purposes of my research. I conclude this chapter with a discussion of an interview I conducted with a local businessman in Isabela. This chapter presents the ethnographic findings of my research.

There are many themes that emerge throughout the thesis. First is the concept of sustainability, a three-pronged concept. The three areas of sustainability are environmental, economic, and social. These themes are central to ecotourism, and I believe a successful ecotourism model should be able to meet standards in all three areas. A critical question to consider while reading this thesis is: Is the model being implemented in the archipelago successful in achieving sustainability across all three areas? Related to this question is the importance of understanding the difference between endogenous and exogenous development. Which model is the Galápagos currently using? Which model is the most beneficial for sustainable development? My thesis attempts to answer these questions and others, as well as provide insight into local perceptions of the tourism industry while keeping in mind the unique settlement and development of the archipelago in recent human history.

Chapter II: Geology, Geography, and History

Geology and Geography

The Galápagos Islands is an archipelago located in the Pacific Ocean about 965 kilometers off the coast of Ecuador (Birx 2006: 1016). The archipelago is comprised of "13 main islands (greater than 10 sq km), six smaller ones and well over 100 islets and rocks, scattered like coals over 430 km of open ocean" (Stewart 2006: 18). The islands range in age, due to their volcanic origins. Stewart observes:

Each of the Galápagos islands begins with a volcanic eruption, the meeting between fire and water that brings a new island's birth. While the Galápagos story is one of unceasing change, the great constant that gives the islands their unique identity is the Galápagos hot spot—a deep upwelling of molten magma that some believe to be rooted in the Earth's very core. (Stewart 2006: 10)

Younger islands, such as Isabela, have less vegetation and lower quality soils, whereas older islands, such as Santa Cruz, have richer soils and more vegetation. The geology of the islands is important to understand with respect to colonization and tourism, which will be discussed later. The given landscape and vegetation of an island greatly affects what colonists had to subsist on, and what the islands now have to offer tourists. The islands range from 600,000 years to more than 9 million years old (Birx 2006: 1016). Furthermore, the location of the islands is subject to tectonic plate movement, "this entire archipelago is almost imperceptibly drifting eastward on the Nazca Plate due to tectonic movement" (Birx 2006: 1016).

Isabela is one of the younger islands of the archipelago, it "stretches in a 130 km arc of five volcanoes and the remains of a sixth, once separate islands which are now joined by the coalescence of lava on their flanks" (Perry 1984: 3). This greatly affects the soils and landscape. The island is highly volcanic in its geology, and it is "still active, but subdued to the point where soil and dense vegetation have a chance to form between the conflagrations of fire and lava that periodically entomb life on the slopes" (Stewart 2006: 11). Furthermore, Isabela is the only island in the archipelago that protects its wetlands under the Ramsar Convention, also referred to as The Convention on Wetlands of International Importance. The treaty was adopted in Ramsar, Iran in 1971. The Ramsar Convention is an intergovernmental treaty aimed at the conservation of wetlands. The treaty rests on the "wise use" concept, which is defined as "the maintenance of their ecological character, achieved through the implementation of ecosystem approaches, within the context of sustainable development" ("The Ramsar Convention and its mission").

History

i. Pre-Settlement

Few people associate a human history with the Galápagos Islands, however humans have played an important role in the archipelago's history for many years. The first recorded human landing in the archipelago was Bishop (*Fray*) Tomás de Berlanga and his crew from Panama. In March of 1535, while sailing for Peru, the ship came upon the Galápagos Islands. Stewart notes:

The bishop failed to name or claim his discovery. This may have been no accident. He lived in a time when the natural world was seen to embody God's divine plan. (Stewart 2006: 42)

Bassett expands on this story and explains that the crew was out of water. The islands have very little fresh water, and the crew had to eat prickly pear cactus pads to stave off dehydration (Bassett 2009: 35). Eventually they were able to find enough fresh water to fill their stores, and they were able to sail back to the mainland. Bassett discusses another Spaniard who was brought to the archipelago by currents, Diego de Rivadeneira. He and his crew were fleeing Peru, and faced similar issues of dehydration. It was Rivadeneira who "dubbed the islands the Islas Encantadas (Enchanted Islands) because they would appear then disappear into the mist like phantoms" (Bassett 2009: 36). The name Galápagos also came from the Spaniards. *Galápago* was an older word for saddle that referred to the shells of the saddleback tortoise.

The next humans to arrive on the islands were pirates. During the 1600s pirates used the islands as a refuge while pillaging the mainland and Spanish and Portuguese ships. Francis Drake and his crew of the *Bachelor's Delight* sailed to the islands after capturing three Spanish ships. Although the islands lacked vast quantities of fresh water, tortoises were a popular source of meat. In Ambrose Cowley's accounts Cowley writes, "Here being great plenty of provisions, as fish, sea and land tortoises, some of which weighed at least 200 pound weight, which are excellent good food" (Stewart 2006: 45). William Dampier was part of the crew aboard the *Bachelor's Delight*, and he returned on the ships the *Duke* and *Duchess* after raiding Guayaquil in 1709 (Stewart 2006: 46).

Another well-known pirate, Alexander Selkirk (the original Robinson Crusoe), also retreated to the islands after a raid on Guayaquil (Kricher 2002: 8).

At this time there were still no settlements. Whalers replaced pirates by the 1790s when Captain James Colnett arrived looking for sperm whales. Whale oil was used extensively during this period, and the Atlantic had been over-whaled, so the industry turned to Pacific waters (Stewart 2006: 47). In his scouting voyage Colnett found whales, and he reported back to the crown:

I frequently observed the whales leave these [Galápagos] islands and go to the westward and in a few days return with augmented numbers. I have also seen the whales coming, as it were, from the main, and passing along from the dawn of day to the night in one extended line as if they were in haste to reach the Galipagoes...This place is, in every respect, calculated for refreshment or relief for crews after a long and tedious voyage.

(Colnett as quoted by Stewart 2006: 48)

This report, according to Stewart, led to 70 years of commercial whaling in the archipelago. A major impact of whaling, aside from its impact on whale populations, was massive decrease in tortoise populations. When discussing the history of the archipelago with residents or scholars the use of tortoises for meat is likely to come up. Many people recount how the tortoises were taken onto the ships and kept alive for months to be used for their meat. Stewart notes, "Long after the whales had been locally

cleared or deterred from Galápagos, whalers continued to come for the tortoises until an estimated 200,000 or more adults had been removed" (Stewart 2006: 48). Whalers also killed iguanas and birds for entertainment, and fur seals were hunted for profit (Stewart 2006: 48).

Because whale oil was such a desired commodity there was, of course, conflict. The United States and Britain both wanted control of the Galápagos waters and the whale populations present. Captain Porter, of the *USS Essex*, drove Britain out of Galápagos waters by capturing a dozen of their ships and 2.5 million dollars of cargo (Stewart 2006: 50). Herman Melville was among the American whalers present. The *USS Essex* released goats onto Santiago, and the presence of goats on the islands has been an issue since. By 2000, "goats outnumbered tortoises on Santiago by over 100 to 1," and only after serious investment—over a million dollars—has the population of goats decreased to a point that in no longer poses a threat to tortoises (Stewart 2006: 51). Stewart notes that throughout all of this human activity in the archipelago humans would still be considered "transients rather than natives," which brings us to the next topic: settlement (Stewart 2006: 55).

ii. Settlement

The attempts to settle the Galápagos are numerous, and at first mostly unfruitful. The main settlements will be reviewed instead of discussing every unsuccessful attempt. The islands were annexed to Ecuador on February 12, 1832 and the ceremony took place on the island of Floreana (Perry 1984: 10). A very important individual in the history of human settlement of the archipelago is General José Viallamil, who founded the first colony on Floreana in 1832. According to Stewart:

To found the colony he had a few artisans, banished political dissenters and a band of soldiers reprieved from a death sentence for mutiny. They were later joined by the convicts of an early penal settlement and by deported prostitutes from Guayaquil. The early population would have been a few hundred. (Stewart 2006: 55)

His deputy was an Englishmen, and the British are highly involved in early history of the colonies of the archipelago. Three years after this settlement was founded Darwin arrived on the islands, perhaps the most well known event in the islands' history. This chapter of the archipelago's story will be discussed in the next section. Villamil could be discussed in much further detail, however the most important fact of his settlement is that it ultimately failed. Villamil was often away, and his deputy, Williams, was overthrown. By the time Villamil returned to the islands only a dozen or so residents remained (Stewart 2006: 57).

In 1869 Manuel Cobos headed the next settlement attempt, this time on San Cristóbal (Perry 1984: 11). He was attempting to harvest lichen, which was used for dyes, and in his attempts developed the island into one of Ecuador's leading sugar plantations (Perry 1984: 11). Just as Williams was overthrown, so was Cobos. In 1904 Cobos was killed by his workers, however this did not bring an end to the settlement (Perry 1984: 11). Perry omits the more gruesome details of Cobos' rule, which Stewart describes as a tyranny. Stewart writes:

[H]is treatment of his workforce was akin to slavery, and payment if it came was in a currency of his own issue, valid only in his won shop. He flogged men to death and sent many others to a slower doom by

abandoning them without provisions on desert islands. He was eventually shot, hacked, stabbed and bludgeoned to death by an expressive mob.

(Stewart 2006: 57)

This unsuccessful settlement was followed by a small settlement in Isabela in 1895, starting with eighty people, which grew to two hundred by the beginning of the century, however the success of this colony came to a halt when Ecuador chose Isabela as the location for a new penal colony (Perry 1984: 11).

The settlement of Santa Cruz is the next, and last, major early settlement. In 1926 a group of Norwegians arrived in Santa Cruz with aspirations of establishing a fishing industry on the island (Stewart 2006: 57). Unlike the first two colonies tyrants did not run the Norwegian colony. Perry notes:

Although its instigators rapidly faded from the scene they were instrumental in sending out groups of families who were quite ill-prepared for the ordeal of starting a new life under the harsh and arid conditions of the Galápagos. Some died and many more returned to their native Norway, but the few that remained somehow managed to scrape together a living and were joined in time by settlers from the mainland...Meanwhile, the coastal village of Puerto Ayora...has grown to become the largest and in many ways most colourful settlement in the archipelago...and become the centre of small but flourishing tourist industry. (Perry 1984: 11)

The tourism industry is no longer small, as it was when Perry wrote this article. However, it is important to understand the role the Norwegian fishing settlement had in the modern tourism industry, which is based out of Puerto Ayora on Santa Cruz.

A common thread between all of the colonization attempts was a lack of fresh water. The islands have very few natural stores of water, and are surrounded by the salty waters of the Pacific Ocean. This, combined with the volcanic terrain, made the archipelago extremely difficult to colonize. These hardships are part of the reason the islands are not often seen as a tropical paradise for humans, but rather they are seen as a biological laboratory, largely thanks to Darwin's visit to the archipelago and his subsequent theory of evolution.

iii. Darwin's Visit

Charles Darwin arrived to the archipelago on September 17, 1835. The HMS *Beagle* departed four years earlier on December 27, 1831, and the journey ended on October 2, 1836 when the *Beagle* finally returned to England (Kricher 2002: 1). Darwin was born into a successful British family, and his father did not approve his desire to join the voyage of the HMS *Beagle*. Despite his father's disapproval Darwin interviewed with the captain Robert FitzRoy, who wanted "someone of equal social stature with whom to converse during the long voyage" (Kricher 2002: 37). It was, then, his social status, and not his academics, that permitted him to join the voyage.

Religion played a major role in Darwin's life, and he "was once a firm believer in the literal truth of the Bible." Kricher asserts that his belief in evolution over creation came slowly (Kricher 2002: 39). Darwin's observations of natural history came from the entirety of the voyage, not just the five weeks spent in the Galápagos. However, the islands provided a much clearer basis for the theory of evolution. On the mainland he had noted similar differences between animals, but the islands showed distinct variations

between species and adaptations to the environment. Perry notes that Darwin's observations in the archipelago allowed him to "consider the idea of the non-fixity of species" (Perry 1984: 13).

As many of those who had previously arrived at the Galápagos, Darwin quickly noted the black volcanic landscape. However, "Where others saw only menace, he quickly perceived more...Darwin began to see a land not ancient and constant but in perpetual flux, changing by the year, by the day" (Stewart 2006: 62). On his journey Darwin had read Charles Lyell's book *Principles of Geology*, which influenced his observations and perceptions of the natural world. If the land was new, and came from volcanic eruptions, then the life had to arrive later. This was the first step in developing his theory of evolution. He first marveled at the tortoises, and followed their trails inland.

[A]s he followed the wide tortoise paths into the interior with his servant Covington, he began to collect in a frenzy. He skinned birds and netted insects. He pickled fish, reptiles and snails. He pressed hundreds of plants. But on these islands he found just one native mammal—a mouse (we now call it a rice rat). It seemed that in this strange cast of characters, all the parts usually played by mammals were taken by reptiles. And there was something else about the animals, especially the birds...all the animals seemed caught in an Eden-like state of fearless innocence. (Stewart 2006: 68)

Despite what is commonly thought, his theory of evolution did not come immediately. He took years to develop the theory. Upon his return to England he gave his samples of birds to the ornithologist John Gould. Gould, not Darwin himself, categorized the famous

finches. Gould presented his findings to the Zoological Society of London. The meeting report reads:

[A] series of Ground Finches, so peculiar in form that he was induced to regard them as constituting an entirely new group, containing 13 species, and appearing to be strictly confined to the Galápagos Islands...their principle peculiarity consisted in the bill presenting several distinct modifications of form. (As quoted in Stewart 2006: 73)

It was Gould's observations and categorization, not Darwin's initial field observations, that led to the idea that "out of one finch had evolved 13 different species and that each of those types had come about because they were somehow isolated from each other" (Stewart 2006: 74). The finches alone did not provide him with enough evidence for his theory, and the lack of proper labeling forced him to turn to his notes on plants.

His famous book, *On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection*, was not published until November 24, 1859. All 1250 of the published copies sold on the first day (Stewart 2006: 78). Interestingly, only "about 1.1 percent of the text of *On the Origin of Species* discusses the Galápagos" (Kricher 2002: 40). Kricher notes that Darwin's main reason for referencing the Galápagos was to show the affinities of species on the islands to those on the mainland. Kricher quotes Darwin, who wrote:

I will give only one [example], that of the Galápagos Archipelago, situated under the Equator, between 500 and 600 miles from the shores of South America. Here almost every product of the land and water bears the unmistakable stamp of the American continent. There are twenty-six land

birds, and twenty-five of these are ranked by Mr. Gould as distinct species, supposed to have been created here; yet the close affinity of most of these birds to American species in every character, in their habits, gestures, and tones of voice, was manifest. So it is with other animals and with nearly all the plants. (Darwin as quoted by Kricher 2002: 40)

Darwin's publication led to numerous expeditions to the Galápagos in the following decades. These scientific expeditions took a toll on the islands. Stewart notes, "One expedition alone brought back 3000 birds and 65 live tortoises and another an extraordinary 75,000 specimens, including 264 tortoises and 10,000 birds" (Stewart 2006: 80). The Charles Darwin Foundation was created in 1959 to establish a center for scientific research on the islands themselves. Darwin's visit to the archipelago overshadowed much of the history of the islands, and in the next section I will briefly discuss the modern history of the islands.

iv. Modern History

In 1905 a group of scientists from the United States arrived to the island of San Cristóbal to investigate the disappearing tortoise populations (Idrovo). In the following years the start of the First World War made the islands a focal point. The United States used the islands as a strategic military location in the early years of the war to monitor the Panama Canal. The islands were also used as a refuge for Japanese and German ships (Idrovo). In the years following the First World War there were groups of Norwegians arriving to the islands (Idrovo). As the Second World War approached the island saw an influx of German immigrants. Alvear writes:

Several Germans came in [the 1930s] fleeing the impending horrors of war. Prominent among them were the Wittmers and the Angermeyers, whose descendants still live on the islands. (Alvear)

It is not until this era—from the mid-to-late 1930s—that the potential of tourism began to grow. In 1935 the Galapagos was declared a National Reserve (Idrovo). In 1942 the United States once again turned to islands for military purposes. During the Second World War they established what would be the largest Air Base and Naval Air Station in the Southeast Pacific during the war (Idrovo).

The Galápagos Islands were declared a National Park in 1959. On June 20th the declaration was made, converting 97% of the land into protected areas, leaving the urban areas and agricultural zones outside of the park jurisdiction (Idrovo). The establishment of the islands as a national park turned the potential of tourism into a reality, and tourism began in the 1960s. The relatively recent establishment of the park may contribute to the perception that no one lives in the islands. Most people view the islands as the Galápagos National Park and a link to Darwin and evolution; all of the social history that happened in the many years before the establishment of the Galápagos National Park and the more recent years after its establishment is often glossed over. Alvear notes that in 1939 the population of the archipelago was only around 900 people. At the time her article was published in 2010 the population had grown to over 30,000 people, and has continued to grow since (Alvear). A chart from Washington Tapia's report (2008) gives a visual of this growth in population and tourism along with important historical moments in the establishment of the park.

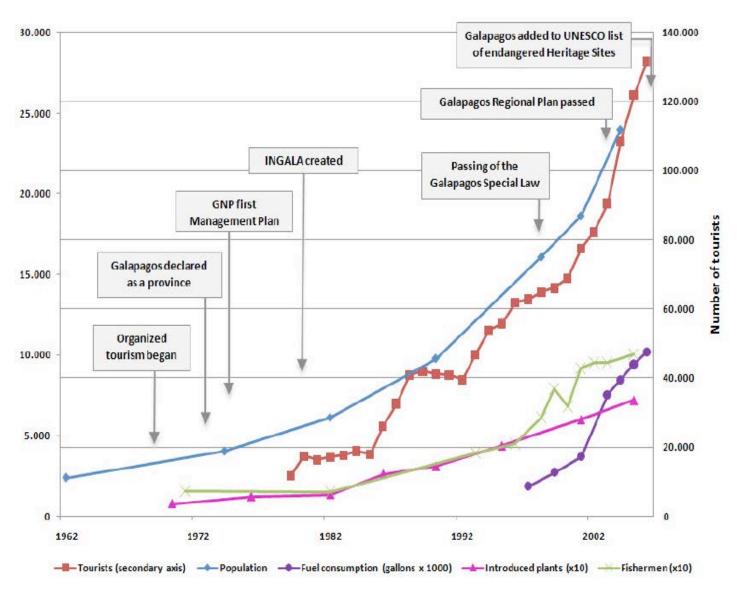


Figure 1 A depiction of the increase of population alongside the increase of tourism since 1962, including other factors such as fuel consumption and the introduction of non-native species

Source: Washington Tapia, et al. "Rethinking The Galapagos Islands As A Complex Social-Ecological System: Implications For Conservation And Management." Ecology & Society 13.2 (2008): 1-26. Environment Complete. Web. 3 Dec. 2012.

Chapter III: The Anthropology of Tourism

Introduction

The anthropology of tourism is a subfield of anthropology that emerged in the United States in the 1960s. This field focuses on the relationship between indigenous populations (hosts) and non-indigenous visitors (guests). The presence of tourists and the subsequent host-guest relationship has many effects on a local society. This subfield of anthropology attempts to make sense of these relations. In order to make sense of these relations, scholars often turn to theoretical models. This can be difficult because tourism can range from a domestic camping weekend, to a Caribbean cruise, to an African safari, to a historic tour of Greece. As I will discuss later, James Lett proposes that there is not a need for a new or overarching theory, but rather anthropologists should be able to apply existing theories—such as acculturation—to the anthropology of tourism.

History and Notable Works

The anthropology of tourism was studied in Europe earlier than it was in the United States. Accounts of the study of the anthropology of tourism in Europe date to the 1930s (Guerrón Montero). In the United States the first major work was "Tourism, Tradition, and Acculturation: *Weekendismo* in a Mexican Village" by Theron A. Nuñez, Jr. in 1963. This work examined the effects of tourism on a small Mexican village outside of Guadalajara. Although the article was not particularly long—only seven pages—it posed many questions for future academics and demonstrated why the field of anthropology should be concerned with tourism. He concludes his essay by noting:

I hope to have demonstrated (1) that tourism may bring about rapid and dramatic changes in the loci of authority, land-use patterns, value systems,

and portions of an economy; (2) that it is a legitimate and necessary area of culture change research; and (3) that the study of tourism may provide another laboratory situation for the testing of acculturation theory. (Nuñez 1963: 352)

Tourism existed in earlier years, however it was not until industrialization and the birth of the leisure class that tourism began to truly grow globally. Therefore, the points mentioned by Nuñez above may seem obvious today, however they were new patterns at the time of his publication. He further implores:

In the newly developing countries of today's world, when the larger society (particularly the formal apparatus of the state) takes special interest in previously overlooked rural communities, for whatever reason—tourism, nativism, or nationalism—the anthropologist should be alert to the consequences. (Nuñez 1963: 352)

Previously, missionaries, colonial administrators, or imperial agents brought about outside influences on indigenous cultures. As the tourism industry grew, the driving factors behind cultural change were modified. Nuñez points out this shift from missionaries and imperial powers to tourists is factor that anthropologists should be aware of.

The next major influential work in the field was *Hosts and Guests: The*Anthropology of Tourism edited by Valene Smith in 1977 originally, and republished in 1989. This book is a collection of essays on various themes of the anthropology of tourism. Smith divides the book into six sections. Part I, entitled "Tourism and Leisure: A

Theoretical Overview," addresses the theory behind tourism as a leisure activity that is accessible to the leisure class. The two chapters in this section are by Nelson Graburn and Dennison Nash. These two anthropologists hold different views about the focus of the study of the anthropology of tourism. In James Lett's epilogue to Nuñez's chapter "Touristic Studies in Anthropological Perspective" (from the 1989 edition) Lett informs the reader, "Professors Graburn and Nash, in fact, have been actively involved in a debate about the best way to study tourism since the first edition of this volume was published in 1977" (Smith 1989: 276). He expands on this, explaining that there are two major theoretical approaches to the anthropology of tourism. The approach taken by Graburn is to analyze tourism as a "near-universal manifestation of the pan-human need for play and recreation whose origin is grounded in the invariable tendency for human beings to assign meaning to their activities" (Smith 1989: 276). The approach taken by Nash, on the other hand, is to view tourism as "a near-universal form of travel pursued by people at leisure whose origin cannot be determined but whose cultural variability can be assessed" (Smith 1989: 276). Lett continues to say that Graburn focuses on the symbolic meaning of tourism, whereas Nash focuses on the political and economic effects of tourism.

The following sections of the book provide more specific case studies addressing nascent tourism in non-Western societies, tourism in European resorts, and tourism in complex societies. The final section of the book, entitled "Towards a Theory of Tourism," tackles establishing a theory of tourism. Notably, the chapter in the section is written by Theron Nuñez, who as previously mentioned was the catalyst for the pursuit of the anthropology of tourism in the United States. I will address this chapter by Nuñez in the following section in which I will discuss the theoretical overview of and approach to the anthropology of tourism.

In 1988, around the same time of the second publication of *Hosts and Guests*,

Jamaica Kincaid published *A Small Place*. The approach of this book is different from a typical ethnography because Kincaid is from Antigua herself, and addresses the reader—the tourist—directly. Her work speaks to the change that has been caused by tourism, as well as how an indigenous population perceives foreign tourists. She writes:

An ugly thing that is what you are when you become a tourist, an ugly, empty thing, a stupid thing, a piece of rubbish pausing here and there to gaze at this and taste that, and it will never occur to you that the people who inhabit the place in which you have just paused cannot stand you. (Kincaid 1988: 17)

She continues later in the book to approach the issues of slavery and colonization. All of these interactions, including the more recent tourism, have affected culture. She writes, "Even if I really came from people who were living like monkeys in trees, it was better to be that than what happened to me, what I became after I met you" (Kincaid 1988: 37). This book is a much more personal and critical account of tourism than we see from authors such as Nuñez or Nash or any of the other authors previously mentioned, and for this reason it provides a good juxtaposition and should be taken into consideration.

Aside from books on the subject, the *Annals of Tourism Research* is a very important journal for publications concerning tourism and the social sciences. Although not strictly an anthropological journal, they have published issues devoted to the anthropology of tourism, as Lett notes in the epilogue of *Hosts and Guests*. On Elsevier's website the description of *Annals of Tourism Research* reads as follows:

Annals of Tourism Research is a social sciences journal focusing upon the academic perspectives of tourism. While striving for a balance of theory and application, Annals is ultimately dedicated to developing theoretical constructs. Its strategies are to invite and encourage offerings from various disciplines; to serve as a forum through which these may interact; and thus to expand frontiers of knowledge in and contribute to the literature on tourism social science. In this role, Annals both structures and is structured by the research efforts of a multidisciplinary community of scholars. ("Annals of Tourism Research")

The journal has published 45 volumes between 1973 and early 2014. The growth in the number of anthropological publications on tourism is significant, as Lett notes:

Ten years ago, as Nuñez observed, the study of tourism had achieved legitimacy and respectability within the discipline [anthropology]; now it is recognized and accepted as a primary area of interest and research for a growing number of anthropologists. In the second place, there has been a veritable explosion of anthropological publications on the subject of tourism. (Smith 1989: 275)

This growth of acceptance of tourism as a focus of anthropology has been crucial to better understanding the theory of acculturation, which will be discussed in the following section. Nuñez observes that anthropologists were always aware of tourists, but ignored them for many years and focused instead on the local populations.

Two more recent works are worth mentioning. Sharon Bohn Gmelch published *Tourists and Tourism: A Reader* in 2004. This book is widely used as a textbook for college courses on the anthropology of tourism. Similar to *Hosts and Guests* this work is a collection of essays by various authors. The book is divided into five sections, each of which contains multiple essays. The sections are: "Tourism and the Tourist Experience"; "When Tourists and Locals Meet"; "Authenticity and the Marketing of Culture"; "Tourism and Identity"; and "Tourism's Many Implications." Many important academics are included in this work, such as Dean MacCannell, George Gmelch, Sharon Bohn Gmelch, Edward Bruner, and Martha Honey.

The second work, *Culture on Tour: Ethnographies of Travel*, by Edward Bruner was published in 2005. In the introduction he explains:

The research in this book is an effort to move beyond such limiting binaries as authentic-inauthentic, true-false, real-show, back-front. I take the exact opposite approach, analyzing all of the tourist productions I encounter in Indonesia, Africa, and elsewhere for what they are in themselves: authentic—that is, authentic tourist productions that are worthy subjects of serious anthropological inquiry. (Bruner 2005: 5)

When he says, "I take the exact opposite approach" he is referring to Dean MacCannell. Bruner explains that at the time of MacCannell's work structuralism was a major component of social sciences. In MacCannell's work there was a focus on a front stage-backstage distinction, which examined who the real people behind the show are. Bruner replies to this method, saying "I not only reject this deep structuralism, but examine tourist productions within their larger historical, economic, and political context and

study the very particularistic local setting within which they are displayed" (Bruner 2005: 5). An ethnographic and holistic approach is central to Bruner's work. The division of his book into sections helps the reader understand his focus. The three sections are "Storytelling Rights," "Competing Stories," and "Tales from the Field." It is important to note that this is a more traditional ethnography and is written by a single author, unlike many of the works discussed earlier that were either individual essays or collections of essays.

The authors and written works mentioned in this chapter are only a selection of a few influential people and publications. The field, having grown drastically since the 1970s and 1980s, includes many more anthropologists and other social scientists who are conducting research and publishing books and journals on the topic of tourism.

Theory

Indiana University's webpage on the anthropology of tourism gives a brief but useful overview of the sub-discipline. The page, written by Margaret Hathaway, explains that despite numerous ethnographies on various aspects of travel and tourism, there has been little focus on developing an overarching theory or creating "comprehensive theoretical models" (Hathaway 2007). She claims that the main theoretical models in the field are those of Graburn and Nash, mentioned earlier in this chapter. There are other people who have approached the anthropology of tourism theoretically, however in this section I will focus on Graburn, Nash, and Nuñez.

Lett writes, "The fact that anthropologists have begun to build a sizeable body of literature on the subject of tourism has had several predictable results, including the fact that anthropologists have disagreed about the best theoretical approach to take in examining tourism" (Smith 1989: 276). He acknowledges that the theoretical approaches

can be divided into two camps, those of Graburn and Nash. It is important to realize that this quote from Lett comes from the 1989 publication of *Hosts and Guests* and the Indiana University page that references the same two scholars for a theoretical approach was published in 2007. This indicates that the theoretical approach to the anthropology of tourism has remained largely consistent over the past few decades.

These two perspectives are, according to Lett, not contradictory, but rather should be seen as complementary. Furthermore, Lett writes, "The theoretical difference between Professors Graburn and Nash is a common one in anthropology, for it reflects the distinction between those who wish to study *the maintenance of human identity* and those who wish to study *the maintenance of human life*" (Smith 1989: 276-77).

A major point addressed by Nuñez is that of acculturation, which plays into both theoretical models. Nuñez writes, "the anthropological study of tourism, with some exceptions contained in this volume, has followed the same ontogeny as the study of acculturation" (Smith 1989: 267). The theory of acculturation accounts for the idea that "when two cultures come into contact of any duration, each becomes somewhat like the other through the process of borrowing" (Smith 1989: 266). Although this is definitely an important theory that applies to tourism, it does not account for many other aspects of tourism, and instead focuses solely on the borrowing of culture between two or more groups. Nuñez claims that the study of tourism can be approached with "traditional methods and theories of anthropological research" and acknowledges that as more is published on the subject there can be more precise theoretical postulates (Smith 1989: 274).

Graburn believes that the most effective way to approach tourism is to analyze the need for play and recreation as well as the need humans have to assign meaning to their activities (Smith 1989: 276). Nash, on the other hand, believes that the best way to

approach tourism is to examine the leisure aspects of tourism and the cultural variability of tourists (Smith 1989: 276). Lett explains that the main difference is the focus either on symbolic meaning (Graburn), or political and economic effects (Nash). Further, Lett writes, "Graburn (1983) suggests that tourism is preeminently a secular ritual, and that in many contemporary societies it fulfills functions once met by sacred (or, more precisely, supernatural) rituals" (Smith 1989: 276). This demonstrates Graburn's emphasis on the sacred and secular aspects of tourism, opposed to Nash's focus on the political and economic aspects of tourism.

Lett emphasizes:

Whether anthropologists have chosen to study tourism as a means of maintaining human life or human identity, they have virtually all agreed upon one thing: there is no need for a particular or specific 'theory of tourism'—rather, there is a need to apply existing anthropological theories to the study of tourism. (Smith 1989: 278)

If this holds true today, which it seems to, then there is not a single theoretical approach to studying tourism. My approach will focus more on economic and political effects in relation to daily life and perception of tourists, aligning more closely with Nash's approach.

Themes

There are a variety of themes that researchers choose to focus on in their ethnographic studies of tourism. The list includes, but is not limited to: ethnic tourism, environmental tourism, tourism as imperialism, pro-poor tourism, heritage tourism, cruise

ship tourism, culinary tourism, business tourism, sex tourism, pilgrimage tourism, and volunteer tourism. The types of tourism that are of the most interest to me for this project are environmental tourism and cruise ship tourism. However, the fact that these are the most salient types of tourism that are present in the Galápagos Islands does not mean that they are the only types of tourism found.

Environmental tourism, or nature tourism, often involves nature parks, ecotourism, and sustainability—all of which are key reasons for visiting the Galápagos Islands. In the following chapter I will discuss cases of ecotourism outside of the Galápagos, in countries such as Costa Rica. Cruise ship tourism is another important focus because of the high rates of cruise ships in the Galápagos as well as the type of tourist who is often drawn to cruise ships, to be discussed further in Chapter 5.

Although all the above-mentioned types of tourism are exceedingly important in the field of tourism anthropology, they are beyond the scope of this paper. I have mentioned them simply to give a sense of the range of the areas of research that exist within the discipline.

Chapter IV: Costa Rica and Ecotourism

Why Costa Rica?

Although not the focus of this thesis, Costa Rica merits a brief discussion because it is often seen as the "poster child" of ecotourism. The country is about the size of West Virginia, yet the natural environment within that seemingly small area has attracted tourists from around the globe. On Costa Rica's Washington DC embassy page they boast:

Because of Costa Rica's small size, a diverse array of fabulous sites is within easy access. A trip to Costa Rica affords the opportunity to visit 12 different life zones, 20 national parks, 26 protected areas, nine forest reserves, eight biological reserves and seven wildlife sanctuaries. Costa Rica is the birthplace of ecotourism. The country is often cited as a model for conservation in harmony with community development and economic growth. ("About Costa Rica")

One of my supervisors in the Galápagos told me that in their efforts to implement ecotourism in the islands a group of people involved in the tourism industry took a trip to Costa Rica a few years ago. On this trip they studied the ecotourism methods used in Costa Rica in order to bring them back to the Galápagos Islands. In this chapter I explain how Costa Rica went about implementing ecotourism and how it is being managed today. I then discuss research that addresses the effects of ecotourism in Costa Rica.

Implementation and Management of Ecotourism

A major factor that drove Costa Rica to implement ecotourism was the high deforestation rate in the country and the need for conservation. Between 1950 and 1990 Costa Rica lost almost half of its forested area. Initially support for environmental protection and ecotourism came mainly from scientists and park officials. However, as the industry grew and began to support local communities, the support for ecotourism also grew. Tourism quickly became Costa Rica's leading industry:

In 1992, the U.S. Adventure Travel Society dubbed Costa Rica the 'number one ecotourism destination in the world.' By 1993, tourism had become Costa Rica's number one foreign exchange earner, surpassing coffee and bananas. (Honey 2003: 40)

The fact that Costa Rica lost almost half its forested area by 1990 and two years later was still declared the number one ecotourism destination is telling of the success ecotourism has had in the country.

The success of the ecotourism model in Costa Rica is due largely to its biodiversity. Honey writes:

This West Virginia-sized country boasts more bird species (850) than are found in the United States and Canada combined, more varieties of butterflies than in all of Africa, more than 6,000 kinds of flowering plants (including 1,500 varieties of orchids), and over 35,000 species of insects. Costa Rica's extraordinary natural wonders are encapsulated in the

statistic that the country contains 5 percent of the world's biodiversity within just 0.035 percent of the earth's surface. (Honey 2003: 40)

Although many other countries have followed in Costa Rica's footsteps and put an emphasis on ecotourism, they struggle to have the same level of success. The biodiversity gives Costa Rica an edge over other locations when it comes to ecotourism. I argue that the Galápagos Islands are similarly situated to have a successful ecotourism industry. The biodiversity numbers may not be as impressive, but the presence of numerous endemic species and the historical significance of the islands due to Darwin are both major attractions to tourists.

The tourism industry in Costa Rica has been largely supported by the political stability of the country. Miller notes, "Overall, the trajectory of Costa Rican history created a social and political system that made the underlying factors facilitating ecotourism possible" (Miller 2012: 31). Miller further explains that both the creation of the wage labor system as well as the dissolution of the military are key factors in Costa Rica's exceptionalism, which sets them apart from their neighbors. This exceptionalism has contributed to Costa Rican identity and, as Honey (2003) mentions, so has the development of ecotourism. Honey quotes Chris Willie, an official at the Rainforest Alliance:

Ecotourism has helped created the self-image of Costa Ricans. That's tremendously important. There's a lexicon of environmentalism here, right up to the president. (Honey 2003: 41)

This is a major shift in identity from the earlier view that rainforests were worthless and should be cleared for agriculture.

By most measures, ecotourism grew out of increased tourism, pressure from scientists studying biodiversity, and the establishment of national parks. The Instituto Costarricense de Turismo (ICT) was founded in 1955. Their mission is to "promote a wholesome tourism development, with the purpose of improving Costa Ricans' quality of life, by maintaining a balance between the economic and social boundaries, environmental protection, culture, and facilities" (Miller 2012: 65). It is important to note that even though ecotourism did not gain speed until later years, around the 1980s, the institute has been in existence since 1955. This goes to show that creating such a model for ecotourism takes time and does not come about naturally, even if Costa Rica does have many natural attributes that make this development easier.

Miller explains that one of ICT's main responsibilities and ways to manage ecotourism is "ecotourism and sustainability certification for the tourist industry" (Miller 2012: 65). The main certification used by the ICT is the Certificación para la Sostenibilidad Turística (CST). This certification indicates the degree to which the business complies with the three prongs of sustainability: natural, economic, and social. Miller notes that this certification is voluntary and open to all. As I discuss in the Chapter 5, the Buenas Prácticas program in the Galápagos follows a similar model. It is also voluntary and evaluates various areas of sustainability. One of the purposes of certification programs is to weed out "greenwashing." Honey writes:

According to an early evaluation of CST, many of the 104 hotels that initially signed up to be assessed described themselves as "eco-friendly," "sensitive to the environment," and as resentful of other facilities that "also

use such terminology but do not really put into practice basic environmental principles or contribute to the quality of life in their communities." (Honey 2008: 204)

This is a sentiment I frequently ran into during my time in the Galápagos. In addition to certification the ICT serves other functions, such as marketing Costa Rican ecotourism in other countries.

This model has clearly been successful, and explaining in detail why would be the subject of another study. Miller succinctly explains:

Costa Rica's main strength is the successful implementation of its own development program which has consistently improved the income of Costa Ricans and added to their quality of life. Such a development program did not emerge spontaneously in the minds of Costa Rican policy makers, but rather came to fruition over decades of trial and error. (Miller 2012: 98)

Although Costa Rica is useful as a model, it is important to keep in mind that a large part of their success lies in the fact that they developed their own unique program over decades. Any destinations hoping to emulate Costa Rica can use the country's ecotourism model as a guide, but ultimately must develop a model that works for their individual needs and with their existing infrastructure and resources.

Next I will briefly discuss some effects of ecotourism in Costa Rica. In doing so I will present some possible benefits and drawbacks that the Galápagos may face in their efforts to create their own ecotourism model.

Effects of Ecotourism

Tourism, whether or not it is ecotourism, affects the environment. The mere presence of humans in a natural area can impact animal behavior. Visitors also frequently, and unintentionally, introduce invasive species. Furthermore, an infrastructure has to be developed as the tourism industry and demand grows. More accommodations must be built, and along with them other businesses may follow. However, there are benefits as well. Employment rates can rise as the tourism sector creates jobs. Awareness of fragile environments grows as tourists see them first hand and return home to share their experiences. How, then, are these effects of tourism manifesting themselves in Costa Rica, a country that has developed such a strong and sustainable ecotourism model? The table below, taken from Koens *et al.* (2009), summarizes some of these effects of tourism.

Table 1 Potential benefits and drawbacks of ecotourism development (after Koens et al. 2009: 1227)

	Benefits	Drawbacks
Environmental impacts	(Stimulation of) preservation of nature	Land clearance and erosion
	Environmental education and consciousness raising	Disturbance and biodiversity losses Increase in garbage and sewage
		Air pollution
Economic impacts	Foreign exchange, jobs	Economic leakage
1	Economic diversification	Loss of resource bases, resulting in growing dependency Inflation
Social impacts	Improved education	Loss of community coherence
1	Improved facilities	Degradation of local culture
	Empowerment of deprived groups	Growing crime rates, prostitution, drug and alcohol abuse
	Encouragement of community organization	Loss of access to facilities for local people
	Promotion of local culture	

Table 1 highlights some of the potential benefits and drawbacks from ecotourism in Costa Rica. An example of biodiversity loss is discussed by Honey (2008: 3):

In 1987, Costa Rican Giovanni Bello and other investigators counted more than 1,500 adult golden toads in the Monteverde Cloud Forest Reserve.

The next year, scientists and naturalist guides found just ten. In 1989, they found only one. Later that same year, there were two unconfirmed sightings of others. Since then no golden toads have been found.

Honey notes that this disappearance of the golden toad coincides with the increase of tourism. It has been hypothesized that a visitor to the Monteverde rainforest brought a non-native organism to the area that wiped out the population. The rapid loss of this species shows how devastating increased human traffic can be because of undetected organisms being transported. For this reason the overhead luggage bins of planes arriving in the Galápagos are sprayed with insecticide before travelers are allowed to deplane.

A major benefit seen in Costa Rica is the prevention of deforestation. Koens *et al* observe:

In all regions, tourism resulted in benefits on the environmental balance. First, tourism has given nature an economic value, which has prevented further deforestation. (Koens *et al* 2009: 1229)

However, prevention of further deforestation does not equal environmental protection.

The authors claim that the development resulting from expanding tourism has negatively affected vegetation and wildlife, as well as increased the possibility of erosion (Koens *et*

al 2009: 1230). The expansion of infrastructure to support tourism has led to a decrease in biodiversity—one of the major draws to Costa Rica and supporting factors of the success of ecotourism in the area. The authors cite other issues, such as waste management, land clearance and lack of spatial planning. Overall the study found that ecotourism development increased the protection of natural areas and created jobs. However, negative impacts included waste management issues and uncontrolled construction. The breakdown of local communities' social and cultural infrastructure was another negative impact cited in the study (Koens et al 2009: 1234).

The study found economic benefits from ecotourism. Koens *et al.* (2009) note that some regions have more endogenous development and therefore the money stays in the region, but some areas lose the majority of the money that is spent on tourism in their regions. Honey notes, "More than in many other developing countries, a sizeable number of local people have managed to benefit from Costa Rica's ecotourism boom" (Honey 2008: 211). However, prepaid tours are increasing and with this type of tourism locals do not benefit as much.

In their evaluation of the economics of ecotourism and their affect on the growth of the tourism industry, Koens *et al.* write:

As soon as the scale of tourism begins to grow, the number of drawbacks on the environmental, economic or social dimension seems to rise.

However, tourism revenue has become the most important source of income for the Costa Rican government, and there is political and social pressure to maintain Costa Rica's position in the international tourism market. This may lead the government to steer tourism development in Costa Rica to tourism at a larger scale. (Koens *et al.* 2009: 1232)

The demand for a large-scale tourism market can be extremely detrimental to sustainable tourism models. For this reason having specific requirements and organizations, such as ICT, is beneficial to help maintain standards and manage tourism as the industry grows. In a separate study, Stem *et al.* (2003) argue that "ecotourism's success may actually lead to its demise" because of the negative impacts of increased number of tourists and "such impacts could seriously threaten the resources upon which ecotourism depends" (324). Although ecotourism may have drawbacks, it is still a beneficial model: "The Costa Rican experiences show that ecotourism can be a promising development strategy if good institutional capacity exists, especially at local level" (Koens *et al.* 2009: 1235). Furthermore, Honey (2008: 214) notes that although Costa Rica is the "poster child" for ecotourism, only certain areas actually practice ecotourism. Other areas still rely on beach tourism, big resorts, and cruises. This is, most likely, the result of the demand for large-scale tourism mentioned earlier

Conclusion

This chapter by no means provides a comprehensive view of Costa Rican ecotourism. Rather, its purpose is to present the reader with an overview of the growth of ecotourism in Costa Rica and its social, economic, and environmental effects in order to understand the importance of Costa Rica as a model for ecotourism. The use of Costa Rica as a comparative case study also acknowledges that even a successful ecotourism model does not eliminate the various issues that are caused by tourism. In the next chapter, I return to my discussion of the Galápagos Islands, and begin to explore how both the theoretical models of the anthropology of tourism and the comparative case study of Costa Rica might be applied to my own ethnographic project.

Chapter V: Tourism in the Galápagos Islands

Origins of Galápagos Tourism

Many claim that tourism began in the Galápagos in 1969 when the first cruise ship, Lina A, arrived (Viteri Mejia 2011: 1). However, there are other accounts of early tourism. Epler writes, "The first 'tour ship' that stopped in the islands was probably the Trans Pacific cruise ship Stella Polaris in 1934" (Epler 2007:2). Later, in 1959, the islands were designated as a national park. With this the potential for tourism became a driving force in commercial development. In the late 1960s, tourism took hold, at which point about six ships and a handful of hotels were able to serve around 2,000 tourists each year (Epler 2007: iii). There were two flights a week between the mainland and the archipelago in the 1960s, and around 1968 regular 3-, 4-, and 7-day cruises began to run (Epler 2007: 3). Cruises were the main form of tourism, promoted by conservationists. This model, called the "floating hotel" model, gained popularity in the 1970s and has remained a viable model since. Tourists stay on ships and visit designated sites within the park accompanied by trained guides. The benefits of this model are tourists cannot go anywhere in the park that they please, and the government does not have to develop infrastructures on the islands to make them accessible to tourists (Epler 2007: 3). This was especially desirable in the early years of tourism because the infrastructure for landbased tourism did not yet exist.

During the 1970s tourism grew at a rapid pace. In his discussion of this era of tourism Epler notes:

During the 1970s, the number of tourist vessels jumped from 4 or 5 to 40.

TAME Air Lines increased the number of flights between the islands and the mainland. Initially, long-time Galapagueños, who saw tourism as a

way to ensure a future for themselves and their families, owned many of the vessels. As time passed, affluent entrepreneurs on the mainland and overseas saw a golden opportunity to achieve high returns on their investments and began to control larger portions of the Galapagos economy. (Epler 2007: 4)

This passage is important not only for the numbers it presents, but also for the fact that ownership of the tourist industry shifted away from locals as the industry continued to grow. I will address this issue later in this chapter when I discuss endogenous and exogenous models of development. Throughout the following decades tourism continued to expand. Official recommendations suggested a cap that allowed 12,000 visitors in the 1980s, but this was surpassed in 1980 with 18,000 visitors, so the cap was raised to 25,000. For a time the cap of 25,000 visitors per year was not surpassed, but in the 1990s tourism continued to grow (Epler 2007: 5). In 2008 the islands received 173,000 visitors, 70% of which were foreigners (Viteri Mejia 2011: 1). Epler notes:

By 2006, there were at least 80 vessels and 65 hotels capable of simultaneously accommodating nearly 3,500 guests per night. Since 1991, the rate of visitation increased by approximately 9% per year, with industry revenues increasing by an astounding 14% per year. More than 120,000 tourists arrived in the archipelago in 2005. (Epler 2007: iii)

This rapid increase in tourism means an increase in demand for hotels, restaurants, and other services. Such a demand requires a larger population to be present on the islands to provide these services. Therefore, an increase in tourists relates directly to an increase in

population. The figure below, taken from Epler's report, depicts the growth of the tourism industry between 1970 and 2005.

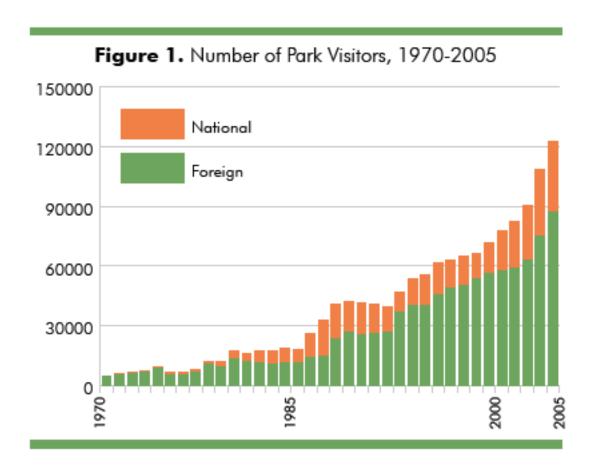


Figure 2 Number of park visitors between 1970-2005

Source: Epler, Bruce. "Tourism, the Economy, Population Growth, and Conservation in Galapagos." *Charles Darwin Foundation Report*. Puerto Ayora, Santa Cruz Island, Galapagos Islands, Ecuador. September 2007. PDF.

Modes of Tourism

There are two main types of tourism on the islands: land-based tourism and water-based tourism. These two types can be mixed, either by an independent tourist who opts for a short cruise and explores the islands on his own for the remainder of his trip, or land-based tourism and cruises can be combined by tourist agencies in all-inclusive trips.

Land-based tourism can be more affordable, but also limits the number of sites a tourist can visit. Many sites are only accessible with a certified guide. Some of these

areas are accessible through land-based tourism, such as the Sierra Negra volcano on Isabela. Other sites, however, are only accessible through a cruise. Although you can have more independence by building your own tour, you will be limited to populated areas and public access parts of the park—of which there are few. Hotel ownership has grown since the early 1970s. Based on the surveys used for Epler's study, of 42 hotels surveyed:

37 owners were said to live in Galapagos, 4 on the continent, and 1 in a foreign country. There is no evidence of horizontal integration of the hotel sector. Each hotel appears to have a separate owner. There is some vertical integration however, with at least 5 hotel owners also owning vessels. (Epler 2007: 17)

Hotel prices collected in his study range from \$8 to over \$400 per night (not accounting for agency fees).

Cruises offer the tourist access to more of the park, however Kricher notes, "The strict conservation rules imposed by the national park service are irritating to some ecotourists" and recounts a friend's experience that "touring the Galápagos was kind of like walking through an outdoor museum" (Kricher 2002: 173). Kricher also explains that tour groups are limited to twenty people per guide, and that while on land all tourists must stay on the marked trails with the guides. The costs of cruises are very high, and Epler reports the average cost spent per night, not including "air fares, park entrance fees, tips, drinks, most onshore meals, souvenirs, and any other extras not specifically mentioned in brochures or on web sites" (Epler 2007: 14). The numbers he reports for

large vessels was \$430 per night, and the remainder of the fleet costs an average of \$372 per night.

The following figures taken from Epler's study show the comparison between land-based and vessel-based tourism. Cruises still are the leading form of tourism, bringing in more revenue and having higher capacities than hotels. This is an issue because of the ownership of vessels versus the ownership of hotels. As mentioned previously, ownership of vessels by foreigners is higher than ownership of hotels by foreigners. This affects how much money is entering the economy of the islands, which will be discussed in the section of this chapter about exogenous versus endogenous tourism.

1982, 1993, and 2006

Hotel Capacity

Vessel Capacity

1982 1993 2006

Figure 3. Vessel and Hotel Capacities: 1982, 1993, and 2006

 $Figure\ 3\ Vessel\ and\ Hotel\ Capacities\ in\ 1982,\ 1993,\ and\ 2006$

Source: Epler, Bruce. "Tourism, the Economy, Population Growth, and Conservation in Galapagos." *Charles Darwin Foundation Report.* Puerto Ayora, Santa Cruz Island, Galapagos Islands, Ecuador. September 2007. PDF.

Figure 4. Galapagos Tourism Revenues by Source, June 2005 to May 2006

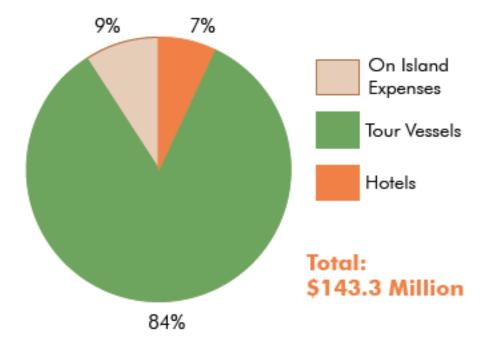


Figure 4 Tourism Revenue by Source from June 2005-May 2006

Source: Epler, Bruce. "Tourism, the Economy, Population Growth, and Conservation in Galapagos." *Charles Darwin Foundation Report.* Puerto Ayora, Santa Cruz Island, Galapagos Islands, Ecuador. September 2007. PDF.

"Following in Darwin's Footsteps"

At the bottom of Galapagosislands.com webpage "Charles Darwin's Galapagos Adventure" the text reads:

Just like Darwin on the *Beagle*, you too can navigate Galapagos on board with Cormorant, Galaven, or any other cruise options. Contact a professional trip advisor to learn more about discovering Galapagos as Darwin did! (Charles Darwin's Galapagos Adventure 2011)

This sentiment is shared among tour providers. Many entice potential tourists by saying that you too can experience the islands the way Darwin did. It is also not uncommon to see quotes from Darwin appearing on agency websites.

Despite the fact that Darwin is so heavily involved as a draw to the islands for tourists, it is very difficult to find a tour that follows in Darwin's footsteps. A blog post for National Geographic mentions, "We arrived on the third day of our expedition at Floreana, one of two islands on our itinerary that were visited in 1835 by Charles Darwin" (Braun 2012). During my time on the islands I met a pair of teachers with a school group. They informed me that their first stop on their cruise was San Cristobal Island, where Darwin first set foot on the islands. Following in Darwin's footsteps is occasionally included for a day or so when a cruise docks at a certain island, however trips are not advertised as being full recreations of Darwin's expedition on the *Beagle*.

It is possible that this is due to set tour routes by the park and government, or it may be that the market for historical tours has simply not been accessed yet. This may also be due to the fundamental difference between Darwin's unencumbered travel and discovery and the regulations and limitations of ecotourism. The regulations of the park do not allow for tourists to venture wherever they want on the islands, and the regulations definitely do not allow for the same degree of interaction with wildlife that Darwin experienced. I will discuss this further in Chapter 7. I think that it is important to note that adding a historical aspect to tourism and offering historical tours that follow Darwin's itinerary could provide access to a specific market of tourists.

Exogenous versus Endogenous Development Models

Based on the report *Rethinking the Galapagos Islands as a Complex Social- Ecological System: Implications for Conservation and Management* an endogenous model means:

[T]he money generated by tourism is then invested to improve the well-being of local residents and to restore and maintain the natural capital on which societal welfare depends. There was agreement among stakeholders that this endogenous model, if achieved, would be self-sustaining and is the most desirable state for the archipelago. (Gonzalez *et al.* 2008:11)

They describe the alternate development model, an exogenous model, in the following way:

In this scenario, human links to mainland Ecuador are strong and increase with time. Galapagos imports labor and supplies from the continent and exports conservation and wealth to Ecuador and the rest of the world through tourism and science. In this sense, the archipelago is functioning as an open system that is highly dependent upon the continent and influenced by external political and commercial interests. (Gonzalez *et al.* 2008: 11)

In short, an endogenous model relies on the islands to generate income and resources, which then go back into the islands. An exogenous model, on the other hand, uses resources and from the outside the islands and the income returns to these external

investors, leaving little for the islands to benefit from. These two models are opposite one another, and their respective implementations lead to completely different futures for the archipelago.

The current model is—unfortunately for conservation—the latter. The report notes:

The current dominance of the exogenous model is determined, to a large degree, by the choices of local residents who select a short-term economic growth pattern in which there are few limits to the use of ecosystem services and most of the subsequent benefits are invested in obtaining consumer and material goods. (Gonzalez *et al.* 2008: 11)

The transition to eco-tourism is being made to attempt to move away from this reliance on short-term economic growth and external investors. By developing a fully sustainable model the islands will be able to experience long-term growth while preserving the environment that attracts tourists.

Ecotourism

The ecotourism model is new to the Galápagos. Ecotourism is backed by a large amount of research and theory. Voeks and Rahmatian (2012: 2) explain incremental benefits:

These benefits are of two kinds primary and secondary. A primary environmental benefit is a damage reducing effect that is a direct consequence of implementing an environmental policy. Secondary

environmental benefits are characterized as providing an indirect gain to society associated with the implementation of environmental policy.

Examples could include higher worker productivity resulting from the primary benefit of improved health. (Voeks and Rahmatian 2012: 2)

Ecotourism does not simply mean a vacation that is based on adventure and the outdoors. Rather, ecotourism is a growing field that provides the above benefits. Ecotourism is often referred to alongside sustainable tourism, and that is because the goal of ecotourism is to create a sustainable model. Wang and Tong explain "The goal of ecotourism development is to protect ecological environment, which is also the essential characteristic of ecotourism different from other kinds of tourism" (Wang and Tong 2012: 38). They go on to explain that ecotourism is sustainable tourism, saying, "Its aim is conserve resources, especially biological diversity, and maintain sustainable use of resources, which can bring ecological experience to travelers, conserve the ecological environment, and gain economic benefit" (Wang and Tong 2012: 38). Sustainability has become a major topic in business today, and it is not focused solely on ecological sustainability. Rather, sustainability is often seen as having three main components: environmental, social, and economic.

Ecotourism, then, ties back to the model of endogenous development. A tourism model cannot be sustainable if it does not benefit the local people, the economy, and protect the environment. A major criticism of tourism in the Galápagos is that the islands cannot support the high volume of tourists while conserving the environment, even with the park and government regulations in place. Therefore, a shift to ecotourism is being evaluated and attempted in effort to maintain the tourism industry without further damaging the fragile environment of the archipelago.

Chapter VI: Ethnography and Analysis

Internship

During the summer of 2013 I interned with the World Wildlife Fund in the Galápagos Islands. My role was to assist with the new ecotourism program being implemented. The Buenas Prácticas de Ecoturismo en Galápagos program, often referred to as Buenas Prácticas, began in Santa Cruz and was being expanded to Isabela. My work consisted of shadowing site visits and at times assisting with the questionnaires or photography at these visits. Site visits were evaluations conducted by the Ministry of Tourism, in which the business was evaluated for its compliance with various ecotourism initiatives, such as low-flush toilets or LED light bulbs. Each site visit consisted of a matrix questionnaire that was filled out by the Ministry of Tourism employee through an interview with the business owner. The Ministry of Tourism also took photos to supplement the matrix questionnaire (see Appendix, Images 26-29). Because of the small size of the island and the recent implantation of the program there was not enough work for me to focus solely on the Buenas Prácticas program. During my first couple of days on the island I established that my internship was to be carried out in three offices of tourism: The Ministry of Tourism, the Municipality, and the National Park. Each week I dedicated three days to my work with the Ministry of Tourism. In addition to my assistance with site visits I also carried out office work, such as translation. One day a week I worked in the Municipality Tourism Office. There I aided with various presentations and data tracking projects. Lastly, the final day of my workweek I spent with the National Park Tourism Office. These tasks included data tracking of visitation to national park sites and the translation of tourist information.

The work environment was very casual in all three offices. Such a work environment allowed me to conduct my own research to aid with my project. Further,

through the relaxed atmosphere I was able to converse with my coworkers. These informal conversations granted me perspectives that are not quantifiable like a survey, but still informed my research throughout the process. I was able to develop and distribute a survey in conjunction with the Ministry of Tourism during my work hours, which serves as primary data for this research project.

Buenas Prácticas de Ecoturismo en Galápagos

The Good Ecotourism Practices program is based on the promotion of three premises of ecotourism. These three premises are to satisfy visitors, to preserve nature, and for the community to achieve the standard of living established in the Ecuadorian Constitution ("Galápagos ya cuenta con promotores de buenas prácticas de ecoturismo"). The program targets tour providers, from restaurants, to hotels, to tour operator offices. Due to the far reaches of tourism in business, it is possible that the model could eventually be applied to all businesses on the islands. In discussions during my internship the enrollment of all tourist-related businesses came up as an eventual goal, however at the moment the program is completely voluntary. The materials used to promote the program include manuals for service providers, a guide of ecotourism practices for tourists, and various types of signage for businesses to post in their establishments (see Appendix, Images 1-25).

The point of all of the abovementioned materials was to promote good ecotourism practices among businesses and tourists. A big hurdle the program faces is the education of residents about not only the significance of implementing new policies, but also the benefits they will receive. This issue is seen frequently in policy implementation. Often people want to know what is in it for them, even if they understand the larger implications. There has to be a personal connection to the importance of sustainability.

This personal connection is easier to cultivate with the three-pronged model of sustainability. To review, this model includes environmental, social, and economic sustainability.

Economic sustainability was a major concern of local business owners. Many people were hesitant to participate because of the perceived high cost of upgrading to more environmentally friendly products or making renovations to better meet the requirements of the program. For example, one of the requirements is to replace all light bulbs with LED bulbs. As promoters of the program we had to explain that although the upfront cost of the LED bulbs may be higher, LEDs last longer meaning there is not the need to frequently replace the bulbs as they burn out. Explaining long-term cost effectiveness was a central task of promoting the program.

Another aspect of the program hotels frequently mentioned was that the program encouraged establishments to not change bedding frequently. A door hanger gives the tourist the option to request that bedding is not changed (Images 8-9). Many hotel or hostel owners expressed that they wanted to change the bedding every day. We had to explain that ideally they would change the bedding every three days as a standard, and if the guest posted the door hanger then they would not change the bedding at all until the guest left. Numerous hotels seemed uncomfortable with this idea, and felt it was more sanitary and provided a higher level of service to change the sheets every day, regardless of the guest's wishes. This demonstrated a cultural misunderstanding between the tourists seeking an eco-tourist experience and the ecotourism providers. There is a perception that tourists, especially Western tourists, expect to receive five-star hotel treatment wherever they go. Providing clean sheets daily is one way that tourist providers meet this perceived high standard. This type of cultural misunderstanding of tourists and the expected tourist experience is common in tourism across the board.

These sorts of disagreements frequently came up during the course of our visits and evaluations of establishments. Because the program was new to Isabela, the implementation of the program required education about why good ecotourism practices were necessary and assuring business owners that most of the changes were small and easy to achieve. One of the efforts to educate the community about the program was to set up a booth at the environmental festival in the town square and distribute pamphlets about the program's goals, in both English and Spanish (see Appendix, Images 30-33). However, due to the small size of the community (around 2000 people inhabit Isabela) most of the awareness about the program came from word of mouth.

There were, of course, people who refused to participate. Seeing as the program is completely voluntary at the moment there is no way to require that everyone enroll. On one Ministry of Tourism visit and site evaluation (unrelated to the ecotourism program) I encountered a business that by far had the most eco-friendly practices we had seen, but refused to take part in the program. The business owners felt that the program had nothing to offer them. Additionally, they believed that they ran their business at or above the standards being imposed by the program. It seemed that they did not want to be associated with local businesses that participated in the program that did not actually meet environmental standards. After the visit, my coworkers explained that it was too bad this establishment did not wish to participate, because their establishment would be a very good model for other businesses to follow. However, the owners also had more financial security and more resources than most of the other businesses, giving them an advantage when it came to major upgrades and the implementation of green practices. The economic aspect, as previously mentioned, played into the ability or willingness of many businesses to enroll in the program. Although many of the initiatives are cost effective in the long run, such as low flush toilets or LEDs, there is still a high investment required upfront. This is very hard for business owners to agree to when most of their budget is already allotted to other areas.

Due to the financial difficulties of the program the goals are set as long-term goals. Furthermore, there was no disqualification from the program if the businesses did not meet the goals they were assigned to meet by the end of the year. This low-stakes model encourages more people to enroll, however it also makes it difficult to hold people to the program's initiatives.

Social sustainability is encouraged through the promotion of local tour providers and the purchase of local agricultural products. Companies are encouraged to purchase local products, especially fish and coffee, when possible. This encourages mutual support between local businesses. However, there is not much of a focus on artisan crafts or performance culture. Unlike many tourist destinations, there is not a long history of art production that is specific to the Galápagos Islands. There are, however, Ecuadorian dances. While on Santa Cruz, I stumbled upon a culture festival including Ecuadorian dances (see Images 34 and 35). There are also surfing competitions in Santa Cruz, since surfing is a very popular sport in the archipelago. Isabela, however, does not offer many artisan products or festivals of this sort. Furthermore, tourists are generally not visiting the Galápagos with the intention of purchasing local crafts. There are significantly more tourist shops on Santa Cruz than Isabela, but even these crafts are not handmade for the most part. There is a growing market for recycled items, such as bags made out of can tabs. These recycled goods encourage eco-friendly practices, going along with the desired tourism model. Yet most of the souvenirs are mass-produced items, such as t-shirts and postcards.

The city planning office presented development plans for the coming years. One of the plans that caught my attention was to create an artisan market in order to promote

local goods to tourists. If the city follows through with these plans, then there would be more support for social sustainability. I believe the ecotourism program has a lot of potential, especially if they choose to partner with other initiatives, such as the city planning expansion of local artisanship. However, I believe there are also many areas where the program could improve. In order to see results, the program should be stricter about the deadlines they give businesses. This is not to say there should not be a grace period if a business is unable to pay for new toilets by the end of the month. However, the grace period should not be able to be extended indefinitely. Furthermore, a rating system such as the letter ratings given to restaurants through food inspections would be extremely useful to implement. A tourist does not know the program and does not know which companies are more environmentally friendly than others. A standardized rating system, such as the one used in Costa Rica mentioned in Chapter 4, would allow for tourists to support businesses whose practices they felt were environmentally sound. This would also incentivize joining the program. Of course, I only saw two months of the program, and I do think it is very successful for being a new program. While I was there the evaluation system was constantly under revision. Just as Costa Rica took years to develop a standardized ecotourism regulatory system, so will the Galápagos. This is in no way a process that can occur overnight. The steps taken thus far have proven an awareness of the importance of ecotourism and a commitment to the preservation of the islands.

Survey Development and Distribution

In the last few weeks I spent at my internship, I developed a survey in conjunction with my supervisor who was based in Santa Cruz. We communicated via email to write the questions and make sure they were properly composed in Spanish. In addition to my

personal questions they hoped to use the survey as a pilot and had a format for the survey as well as types of questions they hoped to ask. This give-and-take process gave me insight into the organization and the type of research that they hope to conduct. Because of my background in anthropology I was more interested in conducting interviews and other fieldwork, however due to my limited time for research and my responsibilities for the World Wildlife Fund distributing surveys was a more efficient way to gather information. Surveys are sometimes seen as a more sociological research method, however I found this method to be useful for my situation. The Ministry of Tourism was interested in gathering information about local perceptions of tourism, especially because most of the surveys they distribute are targeted towards tourists. The Ministry of Tourism expressed enthusiasm about having an anthropology student available to help them develop a pilot survey. By working together I was able to develop a survey that asked guestions they wanted to pose as well as guestions that were more directly related to my research interests. The last question of the survey asked if the person would be willing to take part in an interview with me. Unfortunately, due to the late timing of the survey distribution and my limited survey pool, I was only able to conduct one interview, which I will discuss following my analysis of the survey results. Of the 50 surveys only 29 were completed and returned to me. Considering I only had a few days of turnaround time for the survey distribution and collection a 58% response rate is relatively good. I would have liked to develop the survey earlier in the summer to have more time for its implementation, however I also needed to live in the community for some time before I was able to know what questions I should be asking. For a more comprehensive survey pool and the opportunity to conduct more fieldwork outside of my internship, I would have ideally spent a minimum of five months on Isabela. Due to time constraints because

of college and the visa requirements for the islands, however, I had to do what I could with two months.

The methodology of the survey distribution and collection aimed to reach a wide variety of people and yield a high rate of return. I walked around to various shops, restaurants, bars, hotels, and offices to reach a variety of people. I also told the people who received surveys when I would return to collect the surveys, instead of relying on them to make the effort to return the survey to me. The harbormaster (*capitanía de puerto*) took about 20 of the surveys to the give to family members as well. I would conclude that going in person to collect the surveys increased the number that I received. Ideally, I would have reached a wider audience of people.

The surveys, both in English and Spanish, are included in the appendix (see Documents 1-2 in the appendix). Next I discuss the issues I see with the survey after receiving and analyzing the completed surveys. I discuss what changes could make the survey more effective. In order to compile all the surveys I input the questions into Survey Gizmo, an online survey tool. Due to the lack of Internet connectivity I was unable to have residents take the surveys online, however retroactively I used the software to compile the responses and better analyze the results. The summary of these results is included in the appendix (see Document 3).

Survey Analysis

The survey results I received were not all complete. The sections most frequently omitted either partially or completely were the tables. It seemed that the tables confused survey takers. As a student who is accustomed to frequent surveys through national organizations and school-based organizations, I overlooked that the tables may have seemed like too many questions at once. If I were to remake the survey, I would change

all the questions in the tables to be stand-alone questions. This also would make the questions easier to analyze and organize into charts and graphs. Other questions that were left unanswered were place of birth, gender, age, and time spent in Isabela. My speculation is that these questions were left blank because the survey takers wanted to maintain anonymity. There were other questions that were left blank, but more sporadically, not by numerous survey takers. Also, the questions that had follow-up components were not always answered completely, and if I were to rewrite the survey I would try to minimize or omit follow-up questions. An example is the question, "Do you work in a professional field dedicated to local production (agriculture, artisanship, fishing)?" and the follow-up, "If 'Yes,' please specify." Simplifying the format of the quiz would yield better results. Additionally, I would choose to make the survey only two pages, instead of four.

The ages of respondents ranged from 17 to 77. Of the 29 survey takers, 3 did not report an age. Of the 21 who reported their genders, 14 were male, and 7 were female. In response to the question, "How many years have you lived in Isabela?" the responses are shown in the table below:

Number of Years (rounded to the nearest whole number)	Response Count
1	8
2	3
9	1
13	2
15	1
20	1
21	1
23	1
26	1
40	1
51	1
55	1
59	1
62	1
77	1

The high number of respondents having lived in Isabela for close to one year indicates a possible bias in the results. Residents who have been on the island for a year or less will have different perspectives than residents who have lived on the island since they were born. The most likely reason that eight people reported living on Isabela for a year or less is that many surveys went to restaurants, where workers from the mainland were completing internships. About half of the respondents reported living on the island for at least 10 years. A more comprehensive survey would require a wider range of time spent on Isabela. Another possibility would be to distribute multiple surveys to the same people

over the years to see how time spent on the island affects the survey results. However, due to the transient nature of mainland workers this would be very difficult to accomplish.

Of those surveyed, 34.5% (10 people) worked in a field directly related to tourism, such as a hotel, restaurant, bar, or travel agency. Every respondent answered this question. What I found interesting about this question is that so many people responded no. Although I attempted to distribute surveys to people outside of restaurants I thought that a higher percentage of people would identify themselves as being directly involved in the tourism industry. Isabela, however, is more isolated from tourism. A worker at a grocery store, for example, may not consider herself to be part of the tourist industry in Isabela, but on Santa Cruz the answers may vary. This perception of what is a part of tourism and what is not changes from island to island depending on the degree of tourism seen on a daily basis. There are two parts of the tourism industry, the formal sector and the informal sector. An example of an informal tourist provider is a grocery store.

Although the majority of their clientele are not tourists they still are providing services that tourists use.

One of the questions I found to be most interesting was, "What percentage of the money from tourism do you speculate enters the local economy of Isabela?" The responses were:

Percentage of money entering the local economy of Isabela	Response Count	Response Percent
0-25%	3	11.1%
26-50%	9	33.3%
51-75%	8	29.6%
76-100%	7	25.9%

The majority of people believe that over half of the money spent on tourism enters the local economy of Isabela. This statistic surprised me because it was not the sense I got while in Isabela and through my conversations or research on the subject. For example, most of the tourism entering Isabela is through day-tours and cruises, both of which are booked through third parties. The majority of the money from these tourists is not entering the economy of Isabela, since their tours or cruises are all-inclusive.

Additionally, the perceived biggest changes since the tourism boom were mostly economic development, increased mobility between islands, and population growth. Even between my visit in 2010 and my visit in 2013 I noticed some of these changes, and I can understand how over a longer period these changes would be even more salient. It seems that despite the problems brought by tourism, such as increased pollution and harm to the environment, the perception is largely positive. I must mention the reflexivity involved in the survey. My individual role as a college student and researcher may have influenced survey responses. Another factor that may have affected the responses I received was my association with the Ministry of Tourism. The survey responses, particularly the attitudes expressed toward tourism, are based on the small sample size I was able to attain for my survey. The majority of people surveyed believe that tourism is good for the community of Isabela, stimulates local artisanship, benefits their families, and generates employment for local youth. Only a slightly higher number of respondents agreed that tourism increases crime (12 respondents) versus those who disagreed (9 respondents), the remainder either did not respond (4 respondents) or neither agreed nor disagreed (4 respondents).

This issue of crime is of particular interest based on my experience on Isabela.

During my stay a female tourist was attacked and seriously injured on her way to the dock one morning. The boats leave the port early in the morning, so when you leave to

either walk or take a taxi it is likely still dark outside. The rumors around her particular case grew, and there is not much in the way of a local news source, so I will do my best to retell her story from what I heard. She had been talking to a local man earlier in the day outside her hotel. Since she was staying at an expensive hotel she was pegged as being a rich tourist. That morning, when she left her hotel to walk to the dock, she was attacked. She was beaten badly, and her things were stolen. Her injuries were severe enough that she had to be transported to mainland Ecuador for treatment. The reason this story is so important is that everyone was talking about it the next day. I arrived at my office and was thrown into the crossfire of debates about what had or had not happened and who could have been involved. At this moment I doubted my Spanish language skills, even though I had been doing fine all summer, because of the rapid fire and intensity of this discussion. In the United States, and in many other places, we are used to hearing about crimes. The occurrence of crime is so high that a woman being attacked would maybe make the news, but would most likely not be a headline. The intensity with which my coworkers discussed and debated what had occurred provided an invaluable insight. Crime—especially violent crime—is not common on Isabela. When I later inquired about how often crimes happen and what crimes occur I was told that most crimes involve drugs, such as marijuana, and they are not very common. Crime involving drugs is certainly blamed on tourists, but it does not seem prevalent enough for everyone to be aware of the issues. This may explain why the perceptions of crime rates in relation to tourism are relatively equally distributed.

There are two more questions I will discuss; first, "What is your opinion about the implementation of an ecotourism model for the Galapagos that includes conservation of natural areas and equitable benefits for the community?" The responses for this question were:

Value (1-negative, 5-positive)	Response Count	Response Percent
1	0	0.0%
2	0	0.0%
3	5	17.2%
4	5	17.2%
5	6	20.7%
I am not familiar with the model	13	44.8%

These responses were very closely linked to my internship with the World Wildlife Fund and the Buenas Prácticas ecotourism program. The fact that 44.8% of respondents selected that they are not familiar with the ecotourism model indicates that the program has not gained enough recognition in the community. Without community awareness of the proposed ecotourism model it will be very difficult to involve local businesses. From my experience I feel that there needed to be more extensive education about ecotourism and the Buenas Prácticas program. Although this is a small sample I believe that it confirms that more awareness about ecotourism is necessary. However, it is also important to note that no one responded negatively about the program. For those familiar with the model the responses were either indifferent or positive. This implies that with increased awareness of the program there could be increased support for the growth of ecotourism

The last question from the survey I will discuss is, "How would you rate the overall effect tourism has on your daily life?" The responses were as follows:

Value (1-negative, 5-positive)	Response Count	Response Percent
1	1	3.7%
2	1	3.7%
3	9	33.3%
4	6	22.2%
5	10	37.0%

Discussions of tourism often brought up critiques, however despite these criticisms the overall view of tourism seems to remain positive. Only two respondents, 7.4%, indicated it was negative, whereas 16 respondents, 59.2%, responded positively, the remainder of respondents were indifferent. The respondents who indicated that tourism has a negative impact on their everyday lives did not self identify as working in tourism or local production. They also both were either indifferent about the implementation of an ecotourism model or were unfamiliar with the model. Other than that they did not have much in common. One respondent was 32 and had only lived in Isabela for 6 months at the time, the other was 56-years-old and had lived in Isabela for 51 years. There did not seem to be many similarities between the surveys or any clear indication of why they viewed tourism negatively. Having a positive view of tourism and its effect on daily life is crucial to developing a successful ecotourism model for the Galápagos Islands. If residents are hesitant about tourism then endogenous development will be stalled. Large companies, seeing the potential for increased business, will take hold, and consequently take business away from locals. In order for endogenous development—the basis of the

ecotourism model—to be successful, there must be a positive view of tourism and support for its growth.

Interview Discussion

In the following discussion I will be referencing an interview I conducted. To maintain anonymity I will refer to my interlocutor as Javier. Furthermore, for ease of discussion I will paraphrase pertinent parts of the interview from my recording, but have not transcribed and translated the conversation. Javier is a business-owner around 60-years-old. He owns accommodations, similar to hotels but more in an apartment style. I began my discussion with him while distributing surveys, and on his completed survey he agreed to be contacted for an interview.

The interview lasted about an hour, so I will not go into detail about everything that we discussed. There are certain points, however, that I feel merit a discussion. The themes from our conversation I will highlight are the amount of money entering Isabela from tourism, the link between tourism and crime, the overall effect of tourism, and local participation in tours. There are also additional points he made at the end of our conversation outside of formal questions that I will address.

Javier speculated that between 25-50% of money spent on tourism in Isabela stays in the local economy of the island. A major cause of this discrepancy between the money spent in the islands and the money that remains in the islands is the daily tours from Santa Cruz. These tours arrive in Isabela around 9:00am and depart in the afternoon around 4:00pm. There were two central arguments Javier had against daily tours, aside from the economic issues. The first is that the boat ride lasts from two to three hours, and many people get seasick from the journey. They are then sick when they arrive in the morning, have to rush through activities all day, and then have to get back on the boat for

another long ride that may make them seasick again. All of this adds up to a half-day of travel for only a few hours on the island. His second argument is that many people wish they could stay once they see the island. They arrive on the daily tours and become enamored with Isabela, but have to return to Santa Cruz because they have already booked everything. He suggests that more visitors should come on their own accord. without an organized tour. I related to this part of his argument because I had a similar personal experience. During my first visit to the Galápagos we traveled to Isabela for two nights. Although staying for two nights is more than most tourists who visit Isabela, it still was a very short amount of time. Despite spending so little time on Isabela, I immediately fell in love with the island and knew that I had to return. However, tourism to Isabela without an organized tour is not heavily advertised; so many people arrive and then realize after having booked everything for their visit that they wished they had set aside more time to stay on Isabela. This is largely due to the fact that the tourist agencies in Santa Cruz promote day tours much more than they promote independent trips to Isabela. One of my tasks at the end of the summer was to translate a brochure about Isabela that would be used in Santa Cruz to promote overnight tourism to Isabela. Agencies that provide day tours wish to preserve their role in tourism to Isabela and maintain their business. Isabela, however, is starting to push back and promote itself more. A supervisor told me that approximately 55,000 tourists visited Isabela in 2012 but only half spent one or more nights on the island, with the remaining half visiting with a day tour.

The next topic I discussed with Javier was the link between crime and tourism. Javier indicated on his survey that he agreed that tourism led to increased crime. In our discussion it became clear that he did not mean violent crime, rather he felt there was an increase in drug use. This was a comment I heard from others, not just Javier. The

sentiment I noticed was that tourists have brought drugs to Isabela. The issue of drug dealing also came up when I was at a bar one evening. A tourist from the United States was asking one of the locals, who we will call Pablo, where he could get marijuana, and he wanted Pablo to call his contact so that he could buy some. Pablo refused because he claimed that the police monitor phone calls and that he has friends who have been caught by the police for setting up drug sales over the phone. Yet Javier argues that the police do not enforce the laws. Due to the small population of Isabela the police know everyone and in many cases do not press charges because of family obligation. Javier recounted how a teenager was on the beach smoking marijuana, and the policeman said he was not going to do anything because it was his nephew. This lack of police enforcement has led to growing insecurity on the island, according to Javier. He asserted, that in the past, you could leave your door open without worrying about safety, but that now it is no longer an option to leave your door unlocked or open.

Despite the perceived increase in crime, specifically drug use, Javier still felt that tourism had an overall positive effect on the local community of Isabela. He felt that the best way for tourism to continue to have a positive effect was to have a tourism model based on communal tourism. Through this everyone participates in the tourism that reaches Isabela, and they also all benefit. Javier mentioned that when he proposed opening a pension or hotel he was told that it was required that the establishment would have either a full restaurant or a cafeteria. The requirement to have a restaurant or cafeteria in each hotel pulls away from communal tourism because the tourist does not need to invest in any business other than the hotel. Javier was unsure where this model came from, but argued that it did not make sense or benefit the community. A hotel and a restaurant are not the same business, and they should not be required to be run in conjunction with one another. From Javier's perspective, having the businesses separate

increases the economic benefits of tourism for the community because the hotel owner can send guests to local restaurants and tour agencies, instead of monopolizing business.

The last of the formal interview questions I will discuss is why residents do not participate in tours or visits to national park sites. I was curious if the high cost of these visits made it difficult for residents to participate. Javier expressed that cost was not a factor for most people. Instead, he argued, that the reason residents do not go on tours is because of their preferences for places to visit. Also, he did mention that many people living in Isabela do not realize all that the island has to offer. Personally Javier does not participate in many tours, mostly because he has already seen the destinations. Regarding the Minas de Azufre, he said that there was no point in walking so much just to see the area. When his wife visits, they go to the beach everyday, and they also go to the overlook. He acknowledges that it is beautiful, but it is not something he feels the need to do frequently. That which is exotic to tourists is daily and banal to residents. The landscape and wildlife is exotic to tourists, but is simply a part of daily life for residents. Even in my two months on Isabela, I became accustomed to seeing animals that I had previously imagined as exotic. Seeing a marine iguana cross the road became almost ordinary as seeing a squirrel cross the road. It was only when I went on a walk through the wetlands or down the beach that I truly took all of these details in. During an average morning walk to my office, I would recognize how strange it was that I was walking past flamingos, but the exoticism wore off as the summer passed. This reaction reminds me of seeing tourists in Washington, D.C. take pictures of squirrels. Exoticism and banality depend on perspective, and this perspective affects the degree to which a person visits tourist sites.

Lastly there were some other observations Javier made that I would like to briefly mention. He suggested that the island could install an ATM. Many tourists arrive on the

island expecting to have a way to access money, when in reality there is none. It is possible to arrange a Western Union or Money Gram wire, however those processes can be difficult. Javier explained that Santa Cruz and San Cristobal both have ways for tourists to access money, mainly through ATMs, and that Isabela should follow suit.

Additionally, he felt that there should be a permanent information office with English-speaking employees. Javier suggested that there should be a volunteer or professor to teach English to those working in the tourism business. I had discussions about a tourism office with other people and its potential seemed to be positively perceived. When my parents came to visit they noted that it would be nice to have a museum of island history, which could go along with the tourism office or be a separate entity. I believe that a museum would be a great asset to the island. Many tourists are unfamiliar with the human history of the islands, and a museum would be not only another business that would generate money for the local economy, but it would also serve as an alternative for elderly visitors or visitors with children who do not want to make the long walk to the Wall of Tears, a main historical site on the island.

Lastly, Javier felt that there was a growing need for a wider array of housing options. Researchers, volunteers, and mainland workers come to the island for months at a time. The majority of housing options available are hotels. On Santa Cruz there are more houses or apartments for rent, but on Isabela these are almost non-existent. This model, according to Javier, is one that will grow on Isabela because of the demand for alternatives to hotels. Long-term rentals do not have to be a replacement for hotels, but rather they would serve as a supplemental option.

Survey and Interview Conclusion

The survey and interview both were important components to my research. If I were to conduct similar research in the future I would allow for more time to both distribute surveys and conduct interviews. I also would rather rely more heavily on interviews than on surveys. The surveys provided me with limited responses, and I was unable to explain unclear questions or ask about the responses given. Interviews would have opened up discussions on issues that I may not have thought to include in a survey. Due to my limited time on the island, I knew that I would not have the time or the rapport to conduct a significant number of interviews, so I had to rely on surveys, which is not a typical anthropological research tool. The combination of a survey and an interview provided me with a unique opportunity, because I was able to ask my interlocutor followup questions based on the survey responses. My daily interactions informed my understanding of survey and interview results, however I did not keep sufficient notes to provide me with ethnographic data to analyze. Although the survey sample was small, I feel that it provides a small snapshot of resident views on tourism, and it reflects what I saw on a daily basis while living on the island.

Chapter VII: Conclusion

In this thesis I have provided an overview of the tourism industry in the Galápagos Islands, with a focus on the current implantation and future potential of ecotourism. In order to provide the reader with a base understanding I outlined the history, geology, and geography of the archipelago. Next I introduced the field of most relevance to my study, the anthropology of tourism. The anthropology of tourism is a relatively new subfield within anthropology, becoming established in the United States in the 1970s. I introduced major authors in the field and their works. I also provided a review of the theories used by scholars pursuing the anthropology of tourism. To enhance the reader's comprehension of the ecotourism industry I provided a brief case study of Costa Rica. Often considered the "poster child" of ecotourism, Costa Rica is used as a model in many countries attempting to establish their own ecotourism models. Then I introduced the history of tourism in the islands and the different modes of tourism that exist today, including land-based and water-based tourism. Last, I discussed my own experience through my internship with the World Wildlife Fund and my ethnographic fieldwork. The fieldwork I conducted consisted of survey distribution and an interview. I analyzed the results of these and discussed the implications for future tourism development in the Galápagos.

Suggestions

There are a few projects that could be carried out to improve the tourism industry. These projects include historic tours that would focus on "following in Darwin's footsteps," and on the island of Isabela the creation of an artisan market, the establishment of a history museum, the construction of an information office, the improvement of the docks, and the installation of at least one ATM. Each of these

projects provides a different benefit for the tourist, the tourist provider, and/or the residents. Some of these projects would help with travel logistics, whereas others would add a new facet to the tourism industry.

Tours that focus on "following in Darwin's footsteps" would create a niche market for historic tourism. These types of tours could serve as an educational tool about the history of the islands, an area many tourists are unaware of. History museums, specifically one on Isabela, would provide a similar background that many tourists do not have. As discussed throughout this thesis, the natural history of the islands is much better known than the human history. The fact that numerous people are shocked to hear anyone even lives in the Galápagos exemplifies why such museums would be beneficial. Tourists also may be able to understand local population and social interactions better with the education that history museums could provide. These types of tours would blend ecotourism with history. This also creates an alternative mode of tourism, heritage tourism, that the archipelago can fall back on if the environment begins to suffer and there is a loss of nature tourism.

An artisan market in Isabela is another addition that would benefit tourists and residents. Tourists often seek souvenirs to bring home from their vacations. An artisan market would generate local income and help keep the money gained from these sales within the community. Many of the souvenirs currently available on Isabela are shipped in from outside and mass-produced. There are very few places on Isabela to purchase souvenirs. Although the lack of commercialism is part of the island's charm, it is doubtful that with a constant growth of tourism that Isabela will be able to ignore tourist demands. An artisan market, at the very least, allows for residents to control this market growth. By building an artisan market endogenous development is encouraged along with social and economic sustainability.

An information office, the improvement of docks, and the installation of at least one ATM on Isabela all help the tourist. Currently there is no tourist information office on the island, so this burden falls on the Ministry of Tourism. They do have information available for tourists who come in asking questions, however it is not their main focus and should not have to be. Further, there is no English-speaker at the office to assist many of the tourists who come in with questions about the island or seeking suggestions, and helping these tourists was a job that often fell on me due to my language skills. Getting from Santa Cruz is certainly possible without speaking Spanish but improving the docks would greatly help the tourist navigate them. Increased signage indicating dock numbers on Santa Cruz would be extremely beneficial for tourists trying to travel to Isabela. The dock at Isabela would also benefit from repairs. The dilapidated state of the docks was a frequent complaint I heard from tourists and residents alike. There were plans to repair the dock and money was invested, but there are still many issues—some of which are structural. The addition of an ATM on the island is another suggestion that would help the tourist, and could also help residents. Many tourists arrive on Isabela unaware that they will be unable to withdraw any cash during their stays and that almost no business on the island accepts credit cards. Although there are options to wire money through Western Union or Money Gram these are often slow and unreliable for a tourist who will only be on the island for a few days and needs money right away. If the island is unable to install an ATM they could at least place a sign on the dock in Santa Cruz to warn that Isabela is "cash only" and that the tourist should withdraw money from the ATM on Santa Cruz before leaving.

These are just a few suggestions that could in some way improve the industry.

Although not a comprehensive list I feel they are some of the most immediate changes that could be made with relative ease and low financial investment. In the final section of

this conclusion I will discuss my views on the Buenas Prácticas ecotourism program and its potential.

Ecotourism Potential

The Buenas Prácticas ecotourism program that is currently being implemented in Isabela has good potential. These next couple of years will be formative for the program and will determine if it succeeds or fails. The program has the ability to prevent "greenwashing," a concept introduced in Chapter 4. The idea behind "greenwashing" is that every establishment will claim to be "green" or "eco" without any certification because of the pressure to be eco-friendly. A certification system in which establishments must enroll and meet certain standards prevents this "greenwashing" and provides the tourist with a standard of ecotourism certification. The goals given to each business based on the site evaluation have deadlines, however these deadlines can easily be extended. In order to encourage enrollment in the program business owners are assured that if they are unable to meet a goal it is not a problem, and the deadline for that goal can be extended. Although by U.S. standards this may not seem strict enough, I believe it is crucial to engaging with local businesses and encouraging enrollment. The ecotourism program demands many changes to business practices, and some of the changes are drastic, such as replacing all the toilets in the establishment. Extending deadlines allows for business owners to make changes to their establishments at a pace that is feasible. There is occasional fibbing on official forms to help out friends and family, but this plays into the complex social relations in the community, and the fibbing never seemed to jeopardize the quality of the establishment. Also, it is important to note that assisting friends and family through small fibs is not something limited to Galápagos, and similar practices probably are carried out in the United States as well. The Buenas Prácticas program does

have a considerable number of requirements. If followed closely and with high enrollment this program could change the face of tourism in the Galápagos Islands.

There is a big market for ecotourism and establishing ecotourism in the Galápagos not only keeps up with tourism trends, but also attracts a different type of tourist. Ecotourism and nature tourism tend to attract tourists who are interested in the place that they are visiting. Large-scale tourism, especially cruise tourism, tends to attract tourists who are more concerned about the tour experience than the tour destination. These are two different groups of tourists who expect different experiences and have different influences on the places they visit. In order for the tourism industry in the Galápagos Islands to continue into the future, the natural environment of the islands must be protected. The natural environment of the islands, particularly the wildlife, is what draws most tourists to the archipelago. If the tourism industry destroys the natural environment of the Galápagos Islands then it also destroys tourism potential. For these reasons the archipelago is looking toward an ecotourism model. The local population of the islands should not go unnoticed when discussing tourism. Social sustainability is an area of sustainability often overlooked, especially in places like the Galápagos. Yet the tourism industry would not exist without the local population and infrastructure that this society has built. Society and tourism have become interdependent in the Galápagos Islands.

I believe the tourism industry will continue to grow, and the archipelago will do what it takes to keep up with the increasing demands of tourism. My only hope is that this growth in tourism does not destroy the islands, even though I know it will cause many changes. When I left Isabela the first time I knew I would never see *that* island again. I was well aware that when I returned it would be a place altered by tourism. I knew Santa

Cruz would also change, but to a less noticeable extent. When I found myself returning three years later my suspicions were proven true. The airport on Baltra was no longer a small open-air building, but had developed into a full and modernized airport. I noticed changes made to the dock and roads in Santa Cruz. Isabela, as I expected, had also changed, and it continued to change throughout my time there. When I left at the end of the summer I felt like I was saying goodbye to the island again. I knew that it would continue to develop as tourism grew. No amount of romanticism about the peacefulness of the island would keep that from happening, nor should it. My aim in studying tourism in the Galápagos was not to stop it, but rather to better understand how it functions and how it is perceived, and how to think more critically about its future potential. I hope that through a better understanding of the tourism industry as it interacts with society a sustainable model can be developed that will meet the needs and wants of tourists and residents alike.

Appendix

Images:

Image 1: Buenas Prácticas Materials WWF

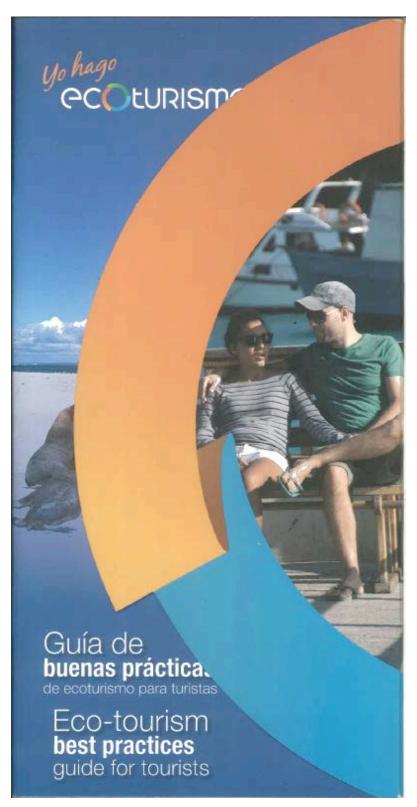


Image 2: Buenas Prácticas Materials

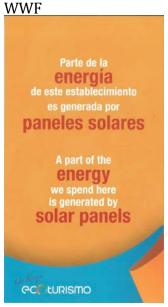


Image 3: Buenas Prácticas Materials WWF



Image 4: Buenas Prácticas Materials WWF



Image 5: Buenas Prácticas Materials WWF



Image 6: Buenas Prácticas Materials WWF



Image 7: Buenas Prácticas Materials WWF



Image 8: Buenas Prácticas Materials WWF



Image 9: Buenas Prácticas Materials WWF



Image 10: Buenas Prácticas Materials WWF



Image 12: Buenas Prácticas Materials



Image 11: Buenas Prácticas Materials



Image 13: Buenas Prácticas Materials



Image 14: Buenas Prácticas Materials WWF



Image 16: Buenas Prácticas Materials



Image 15: Buenas Prácticas Materials



Image 17: Buenas Prácticas Materials



Image 18: Buenas Prácticas Materials



Image 20: Buenas Prácticas Materials



Image 19: Buenas Prácticas Materials



Image 21: Buenas Prácticas Materials



Image 22: Buenas Prácticas Materials WWF



Image 23: Buenas Prácticas Materials WWF

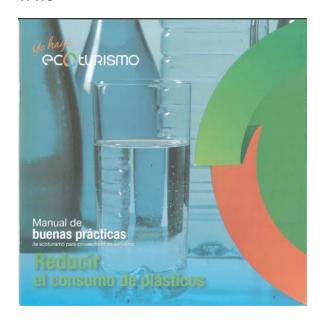


Image 24: Buenas Prácticas Materials WWF

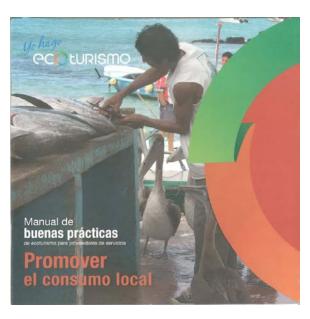


Image 25: Buenas Prácticas Materials WWF



Image 26: Site EvaluationPhoto by Claire Wellbeloved-Stone
Puerto Villamil, Isabela, July 1, 2013



Image 27: Site EvaluationPhoto by Claire Wellbeloved-Stone
Puerto Villamil, Isabela, July 1, 2013



Image 28: Site EvaluationPhoto by Claire Wellbeloved-Stone
Puerto Villamil, Isabela, July 1, 2013



Image 29: Site EvaluationPhoto by Claire Wellbeloved-Stone
Puerto Villamil, Isabela, July 1, 2013



Image 30: Feria del ambiente Photo by Claire Wellbeloved-Stone Puerto Villamil, Isabela, June 5, 2013



Image 31: Feria del ambientePhoto by Claire Wellbeloved-Stone
Puerto Villamil, Isabela, June 5, 2013



Image 32: Feria del ambiente Photo by Claire Wellbeloved-Stone Puerto Villamil, Isabela, June 5, 2013



Image 33: Feria del ambientePhoto by Claire Wellbeloved-Stone
Puerto Villamil, Isabela, June 5, 2013



Image 34: Dance/Culture FestivalPhoto by Claire Wellbeloved-Stone
Puerto Ayora, Santa Cruz, June 21, 2013



Image 35: Dance/Culture Festival Photo by Claire Wellbeloved-Stone Puerto Ayora, Santa Cruz, June 21, 2013



Documents:

Document 1, p.1/4 English Survey





GALAPAGOS PROVINCIAL TECHNICAL MANAGEMENT

ISABELA RESIDENT SURVEY 2013

Dear Resident, this survey aims to identify perceptions of tourism and its effects. This survey is a pilot and will be used as research for an undergraduate thesis. The Galapagos Provincial Technical Management of the Ministry of Tourism of Ecuador requests a few minutes of your time to answer these questions as accurately as possible about your opinions. This questionnaire is anonymous and personal. Thank you for your cooperation!

		is in the second and the second	nd):
Age:		Gender: 🗆 l	Male Female
How many years hav	e you lived i	n Isabela?	
Do you work in a proetc.)?	fessional fie	ld directly related	to tourism (hotel, restaurant, travel agency,
□ No	□ Yes If	"Yes" please speci	fy
Do you work in a pro	fessional fie	ld dedicated to loc	cal production (agriculture, artisanship, fishing)?
□ No	□ Yes If	"Yes" please speci-	fy
What percentage of t	he money fr	om tourism do yo	u speculate enters the local economy of Isabela?
□ 0-25%	□ 26-50%	□ 51-75%	□ 76-100%
What is your opinion	about gove	rnment spending i	in the following areas?
Please only select one			nutration to the state of the contraction of the state of

	Completely Agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Completely Disagree
The government invests in health and community systems and infrastructures					
The government invests in scientific research that benefits the community					
The government invests in supporting ecotourism in the community					
The government invests in local development programs					
The government invests in basic services for the community					
The government supports local agricultural production and consumption					
The government makes great efforts to conserve protected areas					

What is your opinion about the implementation of an ecotourism model for the Galapagos th	ıat
includes conservation of natural areas and equitable benefits for the community?	

(No importance)	1	2	3	4	5	(Very important)
☐ I am not familiar with	the	mod	iel			

Which of the following do you consider to be the biggest change since the tourism boom? Please select the three most important

- □Economic development □Increased imports
 □Greater urban development □Increased mobility between islands
 □Population Growth □Increase in crime
- □Increased employment opportunities □Access to medical assistance □Technological development □Other, please specify:
- □Increased contamination

How would you rate the overall effect tourism has on your daily life?

(Negative) 1 2 3 4 5 (Positive)

How often do you visit the following sites? Please select only one frequency for each site

	Never	Once a year	A few times a year	Once a month	Once a week	Daily
Volcán Chico						
Minas de Azufre						
Tintoreras						
Túneles						
Muro de Lagrimas						
Humedales						
Concha y Perla						
Other:						

How often do you participate in the following activities?

Please select only one frequency for each activity

				-	-	
	Never	Once a year	A few times a year	Once a month	Once a week	Daily
Kayaking						
Hiking without horses						
Hiking with horses		a			1 1 1 1 1	
Snorkeling						
Camping		To J				
Surfing						3
Other:?						

Respond to the following statements about tourism and its effects. Please select only one response for each statement.

	Completely Agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Completely Disagree
My family and I personally benefit from tourism					
It is good for the community of Isabela					
It generates employment for local youth					
It increases the price for staple products					
It allows for the implementation of basic services					
It increases crime					
It has a negative impact on the culture of Isabela			1827.4		
It interrupts local activities					
It harms the environment					
It blocks residents from access to public places (parks, beach, etc.)					
It stimulates local artisanship					
It uses natural resources (water, fish, etc.)					
The money spent by tourists stays in the community of Isabela					
It supports the production chain and agricultural production					

Document 1, p.4/4 English Survey

Do you support impo □ No	rting products f □ Yes	rom th	e con	tinent that can be pr	oduced	in Isabela?
□ They are	s" please indica e cheaper than the higher quality e available throug	e produ ghout th	icts pr	re year		
Check as applicable.	Which of the fol	llowing	g prod	ucts do you purchas	e from	local producers?
	Product	Yes	No	Product	Yes	No
	Papaya			Greens		
135	Tomatoes			Fish		
	Oranges			Lobster		
12.0	Yuca	M		Other?	TA	
	Banana			Other?		
There will be a rando agreeing to be intervi the inclusion of your	ewed nor opting	g to not	t be ir	terviewed will affect	the re	
Are you willing to be guarantee that you w			up in	terview? Please note	that se	electing "Yes" does not
	mber:					





DIRECCIÓN TÉCNICA PROVINCIAL GALÁPAGOS

ENCUESTA RESIDENTES DE ISABELA 2013

Estimado residente, la presente encuesta tiene como objetivo identificar las percepciones del turismo y sus efectos. Esta encuesta es una pilota y va a estar usado por investigación por un tesis de estudios de carrera. La Dirección Técnica Provincial Galápagos del Ministerio de Turismo del Ecuador le solicita algunos minutos de su tiempo para responder estas preguntas de la forma más exacta sobre sus opiniones. Este cuestionario es anónimo y personal. ¡Muchas gracias por su colaboración!

Edad:				Género: 🗆	Masculino Femenino
¿Por cua	ntos años us	ted ha v	ivido en Isa	abela?	_
¿Usted to	경기 : [[[[[[[[[[[[[[[[[[área re	lacionado d	lirectamen	te al turismo (hotel, restaurante, agencia de
0.0.000 % 00.00.00		□ Sí	¿En caso	afirmativo,	en que?
¿Usted to	rabaja en un	área qu	e se dediqu	e a la pro	lucción local (agricultura, artesanía, pesca.)?
	□ No	□ Sí	¿En caso	afirmativo,	en que?
¿Qué po	rcentaje del o	dinero d	lel turismo	especularí	a entra la economía local de Isabela?
	□ 0-25%	□ 26-5	50% 🗆	51-75%	□ 76-100%

	Totalmente de Acuerdo	De acuerdo	Indiferente	En	Totalmente en desacuerdo
El gobierno invierte en sistemas e infraestructura de Salud e en la comunidad					
El gobierno invierte en Investigación científica que beneficia a la comunidad					
El gobierno invierte en promover el ecoturismo en la comunidad					
El gobierno invierte en programa de Desarrollo local					
El gobierno invierte en Servicios básicos para la comunidad					
El gobierno apoya al consumo local y la producción agrícola					
El gobierno hace grandes esfuerzo por la conservación del área protegida					

Document 2, p.2/4 Spanish Survey

											oturismo j ara la con			gos qu	ie incl	uye		
		(Nin	guna in	nportan	icia)	1	2	3	4	5	(Mucha i	mporta	ancia)					
		□ No	conozo	co el mo	odelo													
¿Cuál ec Por favor □Desarro □Crecimi □Aument □Desarro □Aument ¿Cómo e	r las ti llo eco desarro ento d to de o llo tec to de la alifica	res más enómico ollo urba e la pob portunio nológico a contan el efec (Negati	impor ano alación dades do ninación to total ivo) i	e emple	eo arismo 3 4	tie	ene e 5 guiei	(Pos	□A □A □A □A □A □Vida ittivo	ume ume cces tra, j a dia)	é frecuenc	import novilid men encia i especifi	acione: ad entr medica ique:	en las	siguie			
Life China	Nu	Una	Unas	Una	Unav		Die		activ						120.0		0	
dinas de Azufre		OPNE										Nunca	Una vez al	Unas veces	Una vez al	Una vez a la semana	Diario	
intoreras										K	ayak							
Túneles									Se		rismo <u>sin</u> ballos							
Muro de Lagrimas						7			Se		rismo <u>con</u> ballos							
umedales						Ī				Sn	orkel							
Concha y Perla										Ac	ampar							
Otro:										Su	ırfear						3	
									Ot	ro:_	?	1 28	0.00			1 7	y B	

Responde a las siguientes declaraciones sobre el turismo y sus efectos. Por favor elige sólo una respuesta para cada declaración.

	Totalmente de Acuerdo	De acuerdo	Indiferente	En	Totalmente en desacuerdo
Personalmente yo y mi familia nos beneficiamos del turismo					
Es bueno para la comunidad de Isabela					
Genera empleo para jóvenes locales					
Aumenta precios para productos de primera necesidad					
Permite la implementación de servicios básicos					
Aumenta el crimen					
Causa un impacto negativo para la cultura de Isabela					
Interrumpe actividades locales					
Daña el medio ambiente					1
Bloquea acceso para residentes a lugares públicos (parque, playa, etc.)					
Estimula la artesanía local				10	
Usa los recursos naturales (agua, pescado, etc.)					
El dinero gastado por las turistas permanece la comunidad de Isabela					
Apoya el encadenamiento productivo y la producción agrícola					

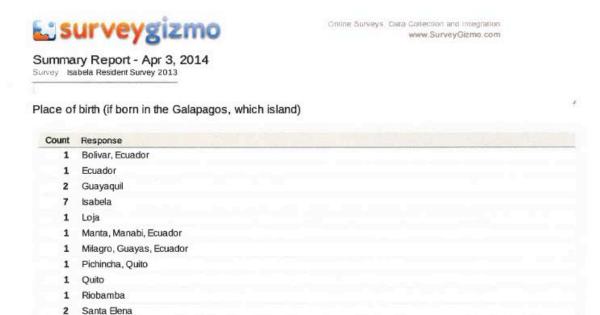
Document 2, p.4/4 Spanish Survey

	□ Sí					
□ Son r □ Son d □ Están	tivo marque la razó nás baratos que los q de mejor calidad n disponibles durante	ue se pr todo el	año	en aquí		
larque según cor	responda. Cuál de le	os sigui	entes	productos usted co	ompra:	a productores
	Producto	Sí	No	Producto	Sí	No
	Papaya			Verde		
	Tomates	152	,20	Pescado	E	
	Naranjas			Langosta		
	Yuca			Otro?	1	
	Banana			Otro?		
ceptar ni optar po	o aleatorio de entre or no ser entrevistad nálisis final de las e	lo afect	ará a	los resultados de l		
ceptar ni optar po espuestas en un a Está dispuesto a s	or no ser entrevistad	lo afect ncuesta una en	ará a s reci trevis	los resultados de l bidas. ta de seguimiento?	a encue	esta o la inclu

Document 3, p.1/11

Survey Gizmo Summary Report

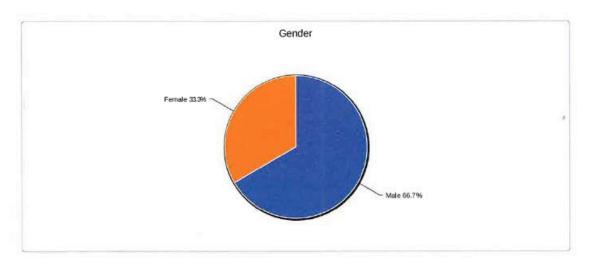
*Some of the charts show seemingly impossible numbers, such as "3 17%" These are generated by Survey Gizmo, and 3 is the value answer (indifferent), and 17% is the response rate.



Age

Count	Response		
1	17		
1	18		
1	20		
1	21		
1	25		
2	28		
1	32		
1	33		
2	34		
2	36		
1	37		
1	39		
1	40		
2	43		
2	45		
1	48		
1	56		
1	59		
2	62		
1	77		

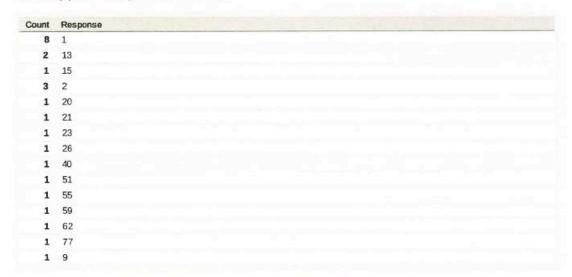
Document 3, p.2/11Survey Gizmo Summary Report



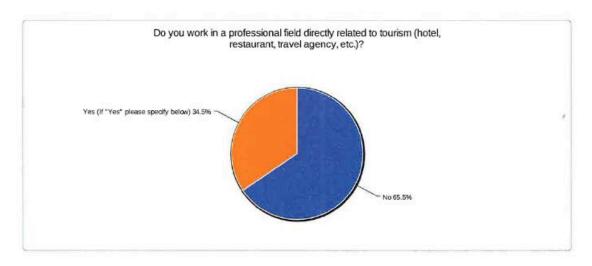
Gender

Value	Count	Percent %	Statistics	
Male	14	66.7%	Total Responses	21
Female	7	33.3%		

How many years have you lived in Isabela?



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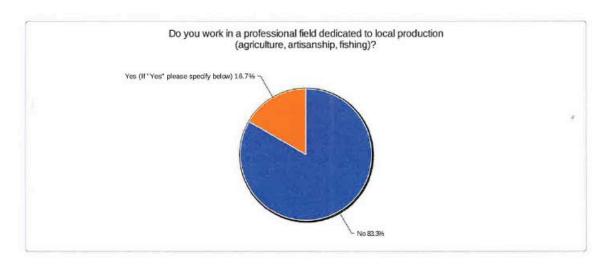
Do you work in a professional field directly related to tourism (hotel, restaurant, travel agency, etc.)?

Value	Count	Percent %	Statistics	
No	19	65.5%	Total Responses	29
Yes (if "Yes" please specify below)	10	34.5%		

Comments

Count	Response	
1	Administration	
1	Bar	
1	Foundation	
1	Lodging/accomodations	
1	Travel agency	
1	Villamil port captaincy	
1	customer service (comercia)	
1	housekeeper	

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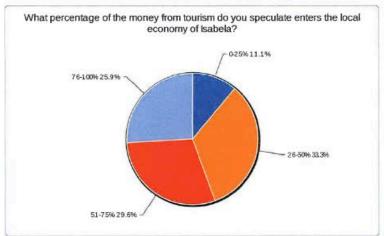


Do you work in a professional field dedicated to local production (agriculture, artisanship, fishing)?

Value	Count	Percent %	Statistics	
No	20	83.3%	Total Responses	24
Yes (If "Yes" please specify below)	4	16.7%		

Comments

Count	Response	
1	Artisanship	
1	Education	
1	Fishing	
1	agriculture	



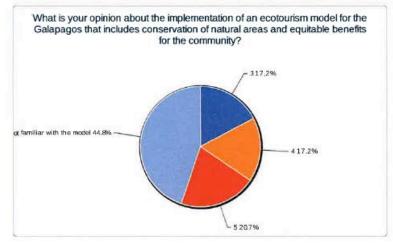
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What percentage of the money from tourism do you speculate enters the local economy of Isabela?

Value	Count	Percent %	Statistics	
0-25%	3	11.1%	Total	27
26-50%	9	33.3%	Responses	-21
51-75%	8	29.6%	Sum	1,174.0
76-100%	7	25.9%	Avg.	48.9
			StdDev	20.3
			Max	76.0

What is your opinion about government spending in the following areas? Please only select one option in each area

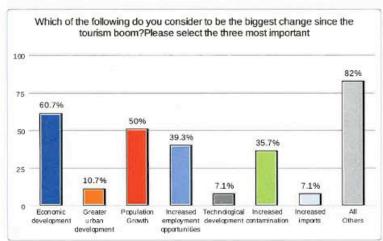
	Completely Agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Completely Disagree	Response
The government invests in health and community systems and infrastructures	17.9% 5	28.6% 8	32.1% 9	14.3% 4	7.1%	28
The government invests in scientific research that benefits the community	7.4% 2	33.3% 9	33.3%	18.5% 5	7.4% 2	27
The government invests in supporting ecotourism in the community	15.4% 4	34.6 %	30.8%	15.4% 4	3.8%	26
The government invests in local development programs	14.8% 4	25.9% 7	29.6% 8	18.5% 5	11.1%	27
The government invests in basic services for the community	18.5% 5	29.6 %	25.9%	14.8% 4	11.1%	27
The government supports local agricultural production and consumption	14.8% 4	29.6 %	33.3 %	14.8% 4	7.4%	27
The government makes great efforts to conserve protected areas	14.8% 4	55.6 %	25.9% 7	0.0%	3.7%	27



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What is your opinion about the implementation of an ecotourism model for the Galapagos that includes conservation of natural areas and equitable benefits for the community?

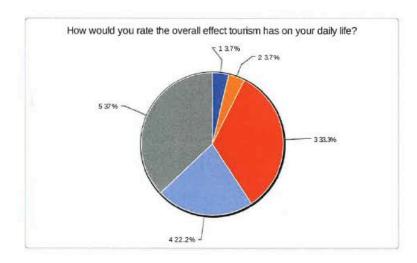
Value	Count	Percent %	Statistics	
1	0	0.0%	Total	29
2	0	0.0%	Responses	25
3	5	17.2%	Sum	65.0
4	5	17.2%	Avg.	4.1
5	6	20.7%	StdDev	8.0
I am not familiar with the model	13	44.8%	Max	5.0



Which of the following do you consider to be the biggest change since the tourism boom? Please select the three most important

Value	Count	Percent %	Statistics	
Economic development	17	60.7%	Total	28
Greater urban development	3	10.7%	Responses	2.0
Population Growth	14	50.0%		
Increased employment opportunities	11	39.3%		
Technological development	2	7.1%		
Increased contamination	10	35.7%		
Increased imports	2	7.1%		
Increased mobility between islands	16	57.1%		
Increase in crime	3	10.7%		
Access to medical assistance	2	7.1%		
Other, please specify	2	7.1%		
Open-Text Response Breakdown for "Other, ple	ease specify"			Count
Left Blank				27
The dock hasn't changed				1
car imports				1

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How would you rate the overall effect tourism has on your daily life?

Value	Count	Percent %	Statistics	
1	1	3.7%	Total	27
2	1	3.7%	Responses	27
3	9	33.3%	Sum	104.0
4	6	22.2%	Avg.	3.9
5	10	37.0%	StdDev	1.1
			Max	5.0

How often do you visit the following sites?Please select only one frequency for each site

	Never	Once a year	A few times a year	Once a month	Once a week	Daily	Responses
Volcán Chico	52.0%	32.0% 8	16.0% 4	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	25
Minas de Azufre	64.0% 16	28.0% 7	8.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	25
Tintoreras	19.2% 5	26.9% 7	38.5%	11.5% 3	3.8%	0.0%	26
Túneles	52.0%	16.0% 4	32.0% 8	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	25
Muro de Lagrimas	11.1%	33.3% 9	44.4%	3.7%	7.4%	0.0%	27
Humedales	36.0%	4.0%	28.0% 7	16.0% 4	12.0% 3	4.0%	25
Concha y Perla	10.3% 3	6.9%	48.3%	13.8% 4	10.3% 3	10.3% 3	29

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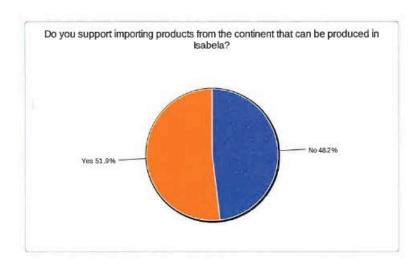
How often do you participate in the following activities?Please select only one frequency for each activity

Kayaking	92.0% 23	4.0%	4.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	25
Hiking without horses	42.3%	11.5% 3	23.1% 6	11.5%	11.5%	0.0%	26
Hiking with horses	76.0% 19	16.0%	8.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	25
Snorkeling	26.9%	19.2% 5	34.6%	3.8%	11.5% 3	3.8%	26
Camping	73.1% 19	11.5% 3	11.5% 3	3.8%	0.0%	0.0%	26
Surfing	88.0%	4.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	8.0%	25

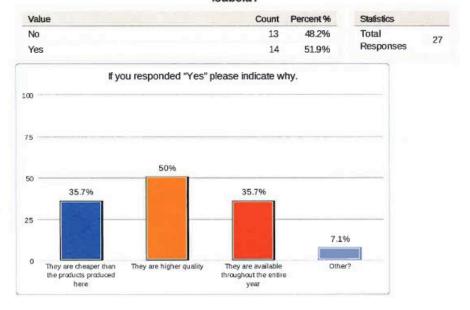
Respond to the following statements about tourism and its effects. Please select only one response for each statement.

	Completely Agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Completely Disagree	Responses
My family and I personally benefit from tourism	20.0% 5	40.0% 10	24.0%	4.0% 1	12.0% 3	25
It is good for the community of Isabela	48.1%	40.7 %	11.1% 3	0.0%	0.0%	27
It generates employment for local youth	38.5%	34.6% 9	19.2% 5	7.7%	0.0%	26
It increases the price for staple products	33.3% 8	41.7%	16.7% 4	8.3%	0.0% 0	24
It allows for the implementation of basic services	12.0%	48.0% 12	28.0%	12.0%	0.0%	25
It increases crime	12.0% 3	36.0%	16.0% 4	20.0% 5	16.0% 4	25
It has a negative impact on the culture of Isabela	4.0%	12.0%	20.0% 5	48.0%	16.0% 4	25
It interrupts local activities	0.0%	4.0%	28.0% 7	44.0%	24.0 %	25
It harms the environment	8.0%	8.0% 2	32.0% 8	32.0% 8	20.0 %	25
It blocks residents from access to public places (parks, beach, etc.)	0.0%	8.0% 2	28.0%	32.0% 8	32.0 %	25
It stimulates local artisanship	32.0%	40.0% 10	12.0% 3	12.0%	4.0% 1	25
It uses natural resources (water, fish etc.)	33.3% 8	41.7%	12.5%	8.3%	4.2 %	24
The money spent by tourists stays in the community of Isabela	20.0%	36.0 %	24.0% 6	8.0%	12.0%	25
It supports the production chain and agricultural production	20.8% 5	41.7%	20.8% 5	16.7% 4	0.0%	24

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Do you support importing products from the continent that can be produced in Isabela?



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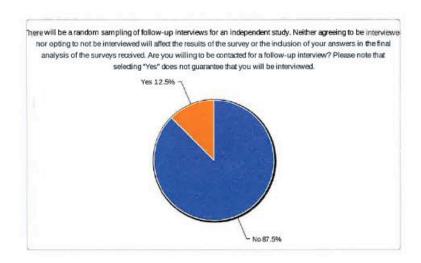
If you responded "Yes" please indicate why.

Value	Count	Percent %	Statistics	
They are cheaper than the products produced here	5	35.7%	Total	14
They are higher quality	7	50.0%	Responses	
They are available throughout the entire year	5	35.7%		
Other?	1	7.1%		
Open-Text Response Breakdown for "Other?"				Count
Left Blank				28
The small amount harvested doesn't support the pop	ulation			1

Check as applicable. Which of the following products do you purchase from local producers?

	Yes	No	Total
Papaya	87.0%	13.0%	100%
Гарауа	20	3	23
Tomatoes	81.0%	19.0%	100%
Tottletoco	17	4	21
Oranges	91.7%	8.3%	100%
	22	2	24
Yuca	91.3%	8.7%	100%
	21	2	23
Banana	90.5%	9.5%	100%
	19	2	21
Greens	87.0%	13.0%	100%
	20	3	23
Fish	100.0%	0.0%	100%
	26	0	
Lobster	100.0% 23	0.0%	100%
			100%
Beef and Chicken	100.0%	0.0%	100%
	100.0%	0.0%	100%
Chicken and beef	1	0.096	1
	100.0%	0.0%	100%
Eggs and Milk	1	0.070	1
	100.0%	0.0%	100%
Octopus	1	0	1
	100.0%	0.0%	100%
Rice	1	0	1
Chairean	100.0%	0.0%	100%
Shrimp	2	0	2
Curar	100.0%	0.0%	100%
Sugar	1	0	1

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There will be a random sampling of follow-up interviews for an independent study. Neither agreeing to be interviewed nor opting to not be interviewed will affect the results of the survey or the inclusion of your answers in the final analysis of the surveys received. Are you willing to be contacted for a follow-up interview? Please note that selecting "Yes" does not guarantee that you will be interviewed.

Value	Count	Percent %	Statistics	
No	21	87.5%	Total Responses	24
Yes	3	12.5%		

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