THE TRADEOFFS OF TOURISM FOR SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT - A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF ENVIRONMENTAL GOVERNANCE IN THE GALAPAGOS ISLANDS

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the MSc Environment and Sustainable Development

Word count: 9,879

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September 2015
I would like to thank my supervisor Liza Griffin for her guidance and support throughout this dissertation, her feedback has always challenge me and encourage me to be overcome any obstacle that I experienced during this process.

As well I would like to thank all the DPU lecturers which have been truly inspirational, supportive and willing to share their knowledge at any time.

I also would like to extent my gratitude to the Ecuadorian Government and the SENECYT for granting me a scholarship providing me with the financial support needed to make this studies possible.

Lastly and most importantly I would like to express my extreme gratitude to my parents who have always been my motivation, my inspiration, and my greatest spiritual support.
ABSTRACT

Nowadays the need to adopt a sustainable development model has increase worldwide and it has become particularly important in places that own a rich natural environment such as the Galapagos Islands which are well known worldwide for their unique ecological systems. In attempts to support a sustainable development model the islands have promoted the tourism industry and this dissertation focus on critically analysing the development of tourism in the Galapagos Islands, by looking at the relationship of tourism with social, economic and ecological factors through a political ecology lens and taking into considerations principles of environmental justice in order to understand the extent in which tourism contributes to the sustainable development of the Galapagos Islands.

Keywords: Galapagos Islands, Sustainable Development, Tourism, Environmental Justice.
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LIST OF ACRONYMS

CDF – Charles Darwin Foundation

GDP – Gross Domestic Product

GGC – Galapagos Governing Council

GNP – Galapagos National Park

GSL – Galapagos Special Law

INEC – National Institute of Statistics and Census

UNESCO – United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization
INTRODUCTION

Nowadays the way in which the world has undertaken development through a capitalism system that fosters rapid industrial development which has contributed to climate, has arise concerns regarding the limitations of the natural environment to sustain human life, therefore the need for sustainable development has increased especially in places that own a rich natural environment.

The Galapagos Islands are inhabited by around 30,000 residents and the islands are well known worldwide as a natural paradise, due to their rich biodiversity and unique ecosystems; as they have the highest levels of endemism concentration, meaning that there are unique species of flora and fauna that can only be found in the Galapagos and not elsewhere in the world (Trillmich, 1992). The richness of their natural environment have contributed significantly to scientific studies and in the 1530s Charles Darwin pronounce them the premier location for the study of ecology and evolution (Gonzales et al, 2008), and soon it became apparent that the Galapagos natural environment needed to be conserved so future generations could enjoy the wonders that the islands have to offer.

Continuously, the beauty of this natural paradise attracted tourism and in recent decades, tourism has been promoted as an economic activity that contributes to sustainable development of the islands and became the main driver of the island’s economic growth. However, although this activity boosted the islands economy it brought serious repercussion to the development of the islands in environmental and social terms, which is important to consider since a high amount of researches focuses on the environmental aspect of the islands and overlook to the social dynamics that are manifested within.

Moreover, tourism became the main factor that contributes to population growth which resulted in increasing demands for development of new infrastructure and services which put pressure on the natural environment of the islands, threatening its conservation. Therefore, in order to prevent the degradation of the Galapagos Islands, which could mean a significant lost for the whole world, and in order to find a balance between conservation and development the government, supported by international organizations, adopted sustainable
development policies that set regulations for economic activity and limitations for the use of natural resources, as well the government declared the Galapagos Islands as a protected area and assigned its management to an international institution. However, the adoption of such policies and the increasing attempts to conserve the natural environment of the islands brought conflicts between development driven by social needs of the local residents of the islands and conservation lead by international organizations and environmental activists.

Alongside these conflicts, the tourism industry kept growing in the Galapagos Islands and its impacts and extent of contribution to the sustainable development of the islands are the main focus of this dissertation, arguing that although tourism has been promoted as the major economic activity that contributes to the sustainable development of the Galapagos Islands, it also contributes to factors that increase the challenges to achieve sustainable development in the Galapagos Islands so this dissertation will focus on critically analysing this situation.

1. Research Question

Considering that nowadays, sustainable development has become more popular and crucial, especially for places like the Galapagos where society not only live within a rich natural environment, but where people’s livelihoods depend to a high degree on the conditions of the environment, and taking into account that tourism was promoted as the major economic activity that contributes to the sustainable development of the Galapagos Islands. This dissertation will focus on critically analyse the development of the tourism industry and its linkage to social and economic dynamics within the islands, to understand its impacts on the environment as well as on the society in order to answer the following question:

• To what extent does tourism contribute to sustainable development in the Galapagos Islands?
2. Dissertation outline

The structure of this dissertation consist on five main chapters. Firstly, the context of the Galapagos Islands case study will be introduced to better understand the subject in which this dissertation is concentrated; secondly, literature on sustainable development and environmental justice will be revisit which will later on help to enrich the discussion and analysis to be conducted in this dissertation; thirdly, the research methodology used for the purposes of this dissertation will be explained; and after that the analytical framework of political ecology will be introduced which will be the base for the analysis that will take place in the fifth chapter, where this dissertation will critically analyse the main findings in order to answer the main question of this research; and finally a conclusion will be presented.
CHAPTER I: GALAPAGOS CASE STUDY

1. Historical Development

First of all, to understand the current dynamics in the Galapagos Islands it is important to revisit its historical development process which can be view in four stages (Gonzáles et al, 2008), this will highlight the important moments that have emerged throughout time that have set the beginning of the development challenges faced nowadays.

The Galapagos Islands are group of 19 oceanic islands located in the Pacific Ocean that belong to Ecuador. In the first stage, from 1535 to 1832, when the islands were discovered by pirates and whalers, some natural resources such as the Galapagos Giant Tortoise were extracted to be sold abroad. Following this period, the second stage, from 1832 to 1959, was characterized by the establishment of the first human settlement (Gonzáles et al, 2008). In this moment the natural environment of the islands began to change due to human activities such as agriculture in the humid highlands and due to the introduction of foreign species of plans and animals which were imported by settlers in order to support their everyday life (Lu et al, 2013). These conditions raised pressures from international organisations to the Ecuadorian government to adopt measures that would protect the biodiversity of the islands from external threats, therefore in the third stage, from 1959 to 1998, was remarkable for the beginning of a strong work towards the conservation of the islands that unfolded as follow.

In 1959, in an attempt to put limitations for the use of natural resources in the Galapagos Islands, the Ecuadorian Government created the Galapagos National Park (GNP) and 97% of landmass of the islands was assigned as a protected area, while the remaining 3% of land was assigned to be used by human settlements (Lu et Al, 2013), as it can be seen in the image bellow.
Moreover, in 1969 the Charles Darwin Foundation (CDF), an international scientific institution, was created to conduct research and provide advise to national authorities regarding conservation and management of the islands, and since this period conservation and development policies were heavily influenced by international bodies\(^1\).

As result of theses conservation efforts, in 1978 the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) declared the Galapagos as a World Heritage Site, which fostered the islands’ economic attractiveness, tourism and international recognition (Celata and Sanna, 2012).

However, the creation of the GNP and the CDF aimed to conserve the vast majority of the natural environment and to find ways to best manage it; although both were significant attempts towards the conservation of the islands, little attention was directed towards the impacts of such decisions in the population.

\(^1\) A list of institutions and organisations involved in the decision making processes for sustainable development policies can be found in Appendix No.2.
and their needs of development were overlooked, which later created tensions between residents and conservation activists.

These conditions led to the fourth stage of the Galapagos historical development that began in 1998 when the Galapagos Special Law (GSL)\(^2\) was created in order to provide a balance between conservation and development, this law became a key legal instrument and a new institutional framework that enhanced environmental protection (González et al, 2008). Nevertheless, although this law adopts the concepts of conservation and sustainable development in theory, in practice this law has not been implemented effectively; failing to protect the environment as well as falling short on meeting social needs, due to weak and fragmented status of Galapagos Institutions, lack of professional leadership and differing interests of different stakeholders (Hoyman and McCall, 2013). This resulted in the UNESCO adding the Galapagos Islands to its list of World Heritage Sites ‘At Risk’ in 2007, due to the threats that the islands were experiencing because of the rapid population growth, increase invasion of foreign species and increasing development of economic activities such as tourism, fisheries and agriculture (Lu et al, 2013).

Finally, through the historical development of the Galapagos is possible to see that there is a pronounced antagonist relationship between attempts towards environmental conservation and actions that led to environmental degradation which are illustrated in the graphic below and which sets the panorama to explore different dynamics that emerged from the process of development.

\(^2\) A summary of the Galapagos Special Law can be found in Appendix No.1.
2. Tourism Development and Tourism Impacts

Complex dynamics have emerged throughout the historical development of the Galapagos Islands, in which conflicts between conservation and development arose and grew over time and alongside these dynamics the tourism industry emerged, developed and it became a tool towards sustainable development in the Galapagos Islands.

At first, local residents mostly lived from agriculture and fisheries until the 1970s, after that tourism became the principal economic activity since it was viewed as being an industry that has the capacity to go hand in hand with conservation principles. As result this new tourism-driven economy attracted new migrants from mainland since the islands offered higher-paying jobs with better benefits compared with those in the mainland, this resulted in a rapid population growth and increasing demand of new infrastructures and services to sustain the residents’ everyday life (Baldacchino and Niles, 2011; Hoyman and McCall, 2013). Moreover, the increase of population also led to more contamination,

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3 Although the promotion of ecotourism is seen as a conservation attempt in this graphic, the extent of its contribution to conservation will be discussed further on.
waste generation, use of resources such as water and energy, as well as pressures on infrastructure and services such as health and education transforming the natural landscape of the islands into roads and houses, compromising the capacity of conservation of the islands (Lu et al, 2013). Therefore, although tourism development was seemed to be convenient at first, later it brought along repercussions to the society and the environment, which has pushed the capacity of conservation of the islands to their limits.

2.1 Population Growth Threatening Conservation

The Galapagos Islands were uninhabited at the moment of their discovery, however this condition has dramatically changed and in fact today the Galapagos Islands have one of the highest population growth rates in Ecuador (Lu et al, 2013). Despite migration restrictions, the population was approximately 30,000 inhabitants by 2010; which does not include the number of illegal immigrants, temporary residents and tourists; and the population keeps growing at a rate of 6-7% per year (Benitez-Capistros, 2014). This has resulted in the increase of human activities such as agriculture, fisheries and particularly tourism, that although have boosted the island’s economy it has been linked to environmental degradation; such as biodiversity loss, landscape alterations, soil erosion and overexploitation of water resources (Benitez-Capistros et al, 2014).

Moreover, such human activities aside from economic growth have brought some issues and pressures to the islands. Firstly, the increase in population has also resulted in the increase of aerial and terrestrial mobility between islands and mainland. Secondly, it has raised the issue of foreign organisms being introduced to the islands threatening local ecological systems; for example; the invasion of foreign species of flora many times results in the predation of indigenous species, as well new species of fauna such as domestic animals destroyed the native vegetation and became predators of native species such as reptiles and birds. Overall, population growth and the increase of human activities have reduced the Islands’ former isolation; which was one of the main conditions that the islands need for its conservation (Trillmich, 1992).
2.2 Economic Growth and Tourism Industry

The economy of the Galapagos Islands is mostly driven by the tourism industry which is heavily promoted by the Ecuadorian state and international institutions such as the UNESCO, this industry accounts for 71% of the islands’ GDP and contributes to more than 75% of economic growth. However, the proportion of income generated by tourism that is estimated to be retained in the islands is only 7% to 15% of the total (Celata and Sanna, 2012), which puts into question the economic benefits that tourism brings to the islands which will be discussed later. Moreover, the islands were the first place in the world to be designed as an ecotourism destination, the marketing of the Galapagos as such was a way to promote the image of the islands as a unique wild uninhabited place, and in that way attract not only tourists and researchers but also donations and international sponsorship that contribute to the islands conservation efforts (Celata and Sanna, 2012).

In 1969, the tourism activities in the Galapagos was managed only by the CDF who designed tours itineraries with assistance of the GNP and multinational tour operators that targeted a ‘selective tourism’ by designing expensive tourism packages offering tours on cruise ships (Celata and Sanna, 2012). Their main argument to adopt this model of tourism is that it is better for the conservation of the islands since tourists spend most of the time in the boats and import all the products they need from mainland thus the local population is most of the time excluded from the list of attractions (Celata and Sanna, 2012) which has repercussions on their livelihoods.

Some argue that this model of tourism favours transnational tour operators and foreign companies, because the local population does not have the financial resources and knowledge to meet the ‘selective tourism’ needs that demands luxury accommodation and recreational areas, as well as high standards of basic services and infrastructure. As well, local residents argue that land-based tourism can me more ecologically sustainable, must of those supporting this argument are former fishermen and farmers that see tourism as part of their livelihoods (Lu et al, 2013).
CHAPTER II: LITERATURE REVIEW

1. Sustainable Development

“sustainable development is part of a process of reformulation of the relationship between nature and society”

Escobar, 1996

This dissertation places sustainable development at the centre of its discussion, since the Galapagos Islands has adopted the concept of sustainability into their development policies (Appendix 1) to be able to find a balance between development and conservation. Having said that, to understand the need of sustainable development, we need to first keep in mind that the planet earth has limited resources that could threaten its capacity to sustain human life and could experience degradation which would affect the livelihoods of many people. The Bruntland Report (1987) has defined sustainable development as: “development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs”. However, there have been many critiques to the concept and practice of sustainable development to the extent that some argue that the concept of sustainable development itself is so malleable that can mean different things to different people without requiring commitment to any specific set of policies, lacking transformative power and remaining only as a concept (Campell, 1996).

Nevertheless, Michel Redclift (1987) makes an analysis of the sustainable development concept. He argues that development is usually defined in terms of economic growth and that the environment is frequently threatened by development (Redclift, 1987). This scenario can be seen in the Galapagos where economic growth driven by tourism has brought pressures to the environment. In this regard, Redclift (1987) suggests that attention need to be turned to international systems or economies and historical processes, which have contributed to the current environmental problems.
Moreover, Redclift (1987) argues that sustainable development is usually seen in the context of developing countries’ sustainability and leaves aside the considerations of the wider international structures such as the current capitalism economic model that is globally undertaken, within which such countries are located, and that a definition of sustainable development need to take into account the wide variation in development of different countries regarding its productive structures. This is important to be considered since the sustainable development policies in the Galapagos Islands have been heavily influenced by international bodies, and for example in the case of tourism development, it might not be implemented entirely for the benefit of the local residents but mostly for foreigners and focus mainly on seeking economic gains. Regarding to this issue, researchers state that sustainable development does not focus on the negative consequences of economic growth on the environment but rather on the effects of environmental degradation on growth and the potential for growth, arguing that in sustainable development is the economy not the environment, that has to be sustained (Escobar, 1996).

Moreover, Arturo Escobar (1996) states that sustainable development attempts to balance economic growth and the preservation of the environment without any significant adjustment in the market system, and argues that It is believed that since all people are inhabitants of the earth, all are responsible of environmental degradation but often inequalities between countries, regions, communities and classes are left aside. Frequently, the poor are framed as depredators of natural resources; as they are seen as pollutants and consumers of natural resources; and are blamed for environmental degradation, shifting attention away from large industrial polluters and the predatory way of production fostered by capitalism; stimulating industrial development and the use of natural resources; pushing the environment capacity to sustain human life to its limits (Escobar, 1996). In the case of the Galapagos Islands this can be seen in the way residents are framed as the main reason of environmental degradation, leaving aside the involvement of wider stakeholders that benefit from economic activity that contribute to environmental degradation in the islands. Furthermore, although both the rich and the poor are causing depletion and degradation of the environment due to different reasons, the implication of such conditions have impacted both the rich
and the poor livelihoods and economic wellbeing in different ways (Sengupta, 2013), which is manifested in the case of the Galapagos and can be understood better through environmental justice which will be introduced next.

2. Environmental Justice

Defining environmental justice is complex, and its understanding varies, in part due to the differing conceptions of justice although all of the definitions include the notion of *distributive justice*; meaning the equal distribution of environmental benefits and burdens; *participative justice*; referring to who is involved and have influence on decision-making processes; and *recognition justice*; regarding to who is or is not given respect or being valued (Walker, 2012). Two examples of definition of environmental justice can be seen in the table below.

**Table No.1: Definitions of Environmental Justice**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>By Bunyan Bryant, 1995</th>
<th>By Carolyn et al, 2001</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“Environmental justice refers to those cultural norms, values, rules, regulations, behaviours, policies and decisions to support sustainable communities, where people can interact with confidence that their environment is safe, nurturing and productive. Environmental justice is served when people can realize their highest potential, without experiencing the ‘ism’. Environmental justice is supported by decent paying and safe jobs, quality schools and recreation; decent housing and adequate health care; democratic decision making and personal empowerment; and communities free of violence, drugs and poverty”</td>
<td>“Environmental justice means that everyone should have the right and be able to live in a healthy environment, with access to enough environmental resources for a healthy life; that responsibilities are on this current generation to ensure a healthy environment exists for future generations, and on countries, organisations and individuals in this generation to ensure that development does not create environmental problems or distributive environmental resources in ways which damage others people’s health”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The environmental justice literature is important, as it gives us and insight to the contextual meaning of justices and helps to understand how it is represented in the case of the Galapagos Islands and by this, helping to understand who is being benefited or affected by the environment in a conceptual meaning, or for example
by tourism in a more realistic lens. Moreover, since justice forms part of the concept of sustainability it will help to deepen on the discussion of tensions between development and environmental conservation that can be seen in the Galapagos, to be able to understand to which extent tourism contributes to exacerbate or improve such conflicts and by that contributes to sustainable development.

Moreover, most of the definitions of environmental justice are concerned with justice to the people rather than the natural environment, and the environment is rather seen as a resource to be distributed among humans. Therefore, Andrew Dobson (1998) explores the theoretical relationship between environmental sustainability and social justice, and argues that these are not always compatible with each other; since it is possible that a society will be willing to have environmental sustainability at the cost of declining social justice or it can increase social justice at the cost of environment deterioration. To a high extent this is true in the Galapagos Islands, where the environment and attempts to its conservation have receive a great amount of attention while social needs have been overlooked and many times not taken into consideration, which once again resulted in the constant tensions between residents demands and conservation efforts to preserve the natural environment untouched (Gonzales at al, 2008).

In addition, Dobson (1998) argues that the discourse of sustainability and justice can be related to each other in three fundamental ways: first, they both see the environment as something that can be distributed; second, social justice can be put in a functional relationship with sustainability given that if there is more justice then sustainability can be achieved, since no one would pursue a society that is environmental sustainable but completely unjust as well as no one will accept a society that is fully just but that is going to collapse due to environmental degradation; and third, these theories raise the possibility of having ‘justice for the environment’ and see the environment as potential recipient of justice (Dobson, 1998). This argument is particularly interesting when applied to the context of the Galapagos Islands, because in order to succeed the sustainable development policies adopted should aim to achieve both sustainability and justice, and in the case of the Galapagos is a matter of understanding the extent
of social justice being considered to be able to discuss the current conditions of sustainable development.

However, Dobson (1998) also argues that the concerns regarding the natural environment are different for those in the environmental movement and those in the social justice movement, whereas the environmental movement seeks to conserve, preserve and protect the natural environment, social justice movements are concerned about how the natural environment (its benefits and burdens) are being distributed among society. This can be seen in the current situation of the Galapagos Islands, where in one hand there are international organisation and environmental activists that are concern for the wellbeing of the natural environment and on the other hand there are local residents, foreign investors, and authorities that are concern about the environment and how it will impact their own interests (Lu et al, 2013).

Moreover, Dobson’s research (1998) states that neither environmental sustainability nor social justice have determined definitions therefore its political legitimization is more complex and gives governments the freedom to play around their meaning. Furthermore, he says that no theory of justice can be completed if it does not take into account the future generations, as well the environment can be regarded as sustainable or not for the present generations but it only has a greater meaning when it is thought in terms of environmental sustainability for future generations, hence there is the suggestion that it is reasonable to pass on a sustainable environment to the next generations as a matter of justice (Dobson, 1998). The fact that justice as well as sustainability are both lacking a specific definition could mislead sustainable development policies and result on the adoption of policies or practices such as tourism, that instead of reinforcing the attempts to conserve the environment for future generation could lead to its degradation.
CHAPTER III: RESEARCH DESIGN

1. Research Scope

The complex dynamics that have emerged from the development of the Galapagos Islands differ from the relationship between social, ecological and economic factors to the implications of the sustainable development policies that are being undertaken and there is a significant gap that can be studied in relation to this. However, this dissertation will be focus on the relationship between tourism and sustainable development in the Galapagos Islands, and it concentrates on understanding the social, economic and environmental connotations of such relationship, to be able to argue the extent in which tourism contributes to the sustainable development of the islands.

2. Research Approach and Methodology

This research will focus on study the case of the Galapagos Islands in order to better understand the current conditions and the complex dynamics that have emerged throughout their history. It will be carried on from a pragmatic point of view since it allows us to better understand the current conflicts that are faced in the Galapagos Islands and take into account the different perspectives that there are regarding such development and regarding the tourism industry in the Galapagos to be able to form a robust discussion (Creswell, 2014).

In order to support the main arguments, this research will gather a combination of qualitative and quantitative secondary data, which includes academic articles, books, news papers, surveys, and information from databases. Qualitative data will be used since it gives a better insight into the opinions, thoughts and perspectives of those involved in the development of the Galapagos Islands and the tourism industry, this includes residents, authorities, scientists, investors, etc. and quantitative data will be use to have a numeric understanding of social and economic trends that will enable us to make comparisons and draw interpretations (Creswell, 2014; Hart, 2005).
In order to conduct the analysis, this research adopts a theoretical framework of political ecology which will be the frame to develop a discussion in which both qualitative and quantitative data collected will be merged and analysed, any contradictions will be explained and interpreted to provide a comprehensive critical analysis and be able to draw conclusions.

3. Research Limitations

This research encountered some limitations. In terms of data collection since this research due to time limitations is completely based on secondary data is important to inform to which extent this affected the findings of this research. Finding reliable up to date quantitative data was challenging since databases for the Galapagos Islands are limited and census information date to 2010, these factor has an impact to the reliability of the findings. Moreover, the fact that this research is based to a high extent on qualitative secondary data may be a factor that impacts the bias of this research.
CHAPTER IV: ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

1. Political Ecology Approach

This dissertation adopts political ecology as an analytical framework as it has powerful implications for the understanding of the social and power structures that are associated with tourism, as many environmental conflicts have been produced through the planning and implementation of the tourism industry (Douglas, 2014), as sustainable development in the Galapagos Islands will be explored through political ecology since it facilitates the understanding of the different conditions of current dynamics that play a role on the development of the islands and help up so understand the linkage between such dynamics and tourism.

The political ecology approach focuses on the interplay of diverse socio-political forces, and the relationship of those forces to environmental change. Political ecology takes into account the contextual sources of environmental change and examines the impact of the state and its policies, its power relations and mode of production on the environment, as well it takes into consideration the conflict over access to environmental resources and the challenges for the poorer to protect the environmental foundations of their livelihood. Political ecology addresses the political ramifications of environmental change by assessing the effect of such change on socio-economic conditions and relations, focusing on the vulnerability of the poor to different forms of environmental degradation (soil erosion, deforestation, flooding, etc.) and highlights that the impact of environmental change is not neutral (Bryant, 1991).

The impacts of environmental change are always socially and spatially differentiated. They may end up affecting the global environment, but first they damage small parts of it (Low and Glesson, 1998). Processes of development harbour social and ecological connotations that form part of a complex relations at different scales (local, regional, national, global), thus physical and social environments are the result of a development process and the transformation of the natural environment. Such processes are rooted within interlinked structures at different scales, from local to global relationships, therefore the results of
development processes never reside in a specific scale. These multi-scalar relationships often intersect in contradictory and conflicting ways resulting on the creation of policies and regulations that may have a different impact on each scale (Swyngedoew and Heynen, 2003). For the case of the Galapagos it is important to take into consideration the different scales since the current conditions of the islands are the result of a development process that has been undertaken, that transcends the islands territorial limits as development policies have been influenced by international bodies and the adoption of tourism as principal economic activity does not only involve the locals but also international stakeholders.

Political ecology helps to unravel the interconnected economic, political, social and ecological processes at different scales that together may form uneven and unjust environments. These processes orbit around the realm of power relations, where different actors strive to defend and create their own environments. Although inequalities and injustice can begin with income disparity and limited access to resources; for example in the case of Galapagos local residents do not count with enough economic resources to purchase a cruise ship and offer tourism packages to foreign visitors like transnational tour operators do and instead can only offer hostels accommodation and get paid less for their services (Lu et al, 2013); there are other factors that exacerbates uneven conditions, for instance institutions and policies that contribute or create an uneven distribution of environmental benefits and burdens, driven by interests of wealth and revenue rather than seeking environmental or social justice (Swyngedoew and Heynen, 2003). The exploration of such processes are particularly important to understand the current condition of the Galapagos Islands and to investigate if tourism is a factors that helps alleviate or aggravate an unjust environment within the islands.

Moreover, there is a hierarchical relationship between scales, power gradients within and between social groups that reflects the capacity of each scale to benefit or suffer from certain social, economic, political and environmental processes. Relationships within scales and their configuration are altered as shifts in power occur due to social conflicts or political struggle that is often associated with the appropriation of nature and control over it, the result of this struggle is the change in importance and role of a particular scale and in
occasions the creation of a new scale of relations, this reconfiguration alters power relationships by strengthening the power and control of some while disempowering others (Swyngedoew and Heynen, 2003).

Moreover, to better understand the relationships between humans and the environment, political ecology explores the production of nature (Douglas, 2014). The production of nature presents the relationship between nature and society that can be viewed through the development of the material landscape in a historical context. It understands the environment and society as a constant space of interaction, drawing the relationship of people and nature through various processes of production. This relationship goes beyond the material nature and takes into consideration the conceptual understanding of the natural world that people have. This theory is built on a set of culturally shared conditions, whereby people’s labour is simultaneously natural and social (Douglas, 2014). In a place like the Galapagos Islands where people and nature live close to each other, everyday practices are developed where society benefits from the land, this practices shape the islanders lives as well as the natural environment surrounding them (Gonzalez et al, 2008).
CHAPTER V: CRITICAL ANALYSIS

1. The Dynamics of tourism development in the Galapagos Islands

In order to understand the extent in which tourism contributes to the sustainable development of the Galapagos Islands and be able to answer the main question of this research, this section will explore the relationship of tourism in the Galapagos islands with the economy and conservation and its implications on social justice and environmental sustainability.

1.1 The Galapagos Islands and scales

Political ecology suggests the consideration of scales to better understand the relationship between socio-economic factors and the environment and its political dimension (Swyngedoodew and Heynen, 2003). Therefore, it is important to first understand that the Galapagos Islands and the social, economic and environmental dynamics within are interconnected to wider social, economic and environmental systems at different scales (Tapia and Guzman, 2013). In other words, although the Galapagos has its own sovereignty it is still subject to the politics and different socio-economic dynamics of Ecuador as part of the country, and Ecuador is interlinked a wider global scale; this means that as all the scales are somehow interconnected, the politics applied in one will have impacts on another.

The graphic below shows the Galapagos Islands as a system that is interlink to wider scales. It illustrates the ecological and social components of the Galapagos and the different flows and stakeholders that interact within the islands and their relationship with other scales. All the components have a close relationship with each other and their interaction with national and global scales shapes and frames the current conditions in the Islands. Moreover, it shows us the Galapagos as an open interactive system that is highly dependent on its relation with external scales (Tapia et al, 2009).
Furthermore, from this graph we can see that the tourism industry and the stakeholders involved have the strongest degree of power within the islands which could mean that the industry is highly influential on decision making processes. It also shows that there is a higher amount of monetary capital (green arrow) that exit the islands to wider economic scales than that entering the islands, which proofs that although a large amount of income is produced from tourism only a small portion is retained within the islands boundaries. Moreover, it shows how the social component is highly supported by the ecological component within the islands, this mean that society, including stakeholders involved in tourism, highly dependant on the natural resources to sustain their livelihoods.

As the islands develop, its interrelation with wider scales grows, and it is less isolated from the rest of the world. Although, Trillmich (1992) argues that the isolation of the islands are the key to its conservation, it seems unlikely that the Galapagos will ever have the same level of isolation that it had at the time of its
discovery, due to the increase of local population that demand resources to sustain their livelihoods and due to tourism development that opens the islands and reinforces its interaction with wider scales which at the same time makes the islands more vulnerable and puts its conservation under threat. In this way it can be argued that perhaps tourism fails to promote environmental conservation in the Galapagos Islands and instead foster factors that contribute to the degradation of the environment such as immigration of people and foreign species, contributes to the increase of population and therefore demands of development, that once again hinders the conservation of the islands.

1.2 Economic growth vs. Environmental Protection in the Galapagos Islands

Conflicts between the economic development and conservation attempts in the Galapagos islands have been present since early in their history. In order to ease such conflicts, the GSL (1998) was created to seek balance between development and conservation adopting policies to achieve sustainable development (Tapia et al, 2009). Moreover, there is a strong link between the boom of the tourism industry and economic growth in the Galapagos, the adoption of tourism has not only become the mayor economic activity but it has influenced policies and politics in the islands. Nevertheless, although tourism became popular in the Galapagos Islands because of its potential to fallow conservation principles (Baldacchino and Niles, 2011), it has also been the factor that exacerbated the challenges of conservation in the islands, this conflicted relationship between tourism and conservation has been acknowledged in various studies (Kenchington,1998; Budowski, 1976), nevertheless the potential for tourism to support conservation has also been recognised.

Regarding to the economic aspect of the Galapagos, there are four key drivers of economic growth: tourism (53%), public sector (38%), conservation and science (6%), and fishing and agriculture (3%) (Taylor et al, 2009). Tourism as the major component of the Galapagos economy, employs around 40% of local residents (INEC, 2010). This data shows us that that tourism is an important factor for the economic future of the islands, however, in places like the
Galapagos where tourism is highly based in environmental values, the presence of environmental degradation results on decreasing tourism activity, putting in risk the economy of the islands (Budowski, 1976), in contrast tourism is also exacerbates the factors that contribute to environmental degradation and therefore presents a challenge for sustainable development policies that are related to tourism or economic activity in the islands.

Moreover, tourism has been the most important factor contributing to population growth, this correlation is illustrated in the graphic below. Between 1990 and 2010 the population grew from 9,785 inhabitants to 25,884 inhabitants correspondently, at a rate of 6-7% annually (INEC, 2010). Over the past 25 years, gross income generated by tourism has increased by an average of 14% each year, this can be reflected in rise in the number of visitors from 41,192 by 1990 to 163,480 by 2009 (PNG, 2014). Nevertheless, only around 15% of income generated by tourism enters the local economy of the Galapagos Islands because most of tourists' expenditure is paid to tour operators and airlines that are based outside the islands (Taylor et al, 2006). It is clear that tourism contributes to the Galapagos economy to a significant extent, however the overall benefits that it provides to the islands local residents falls short as only one part of the income remains in the islands limiting the potential for reinvestment.

**Graphic No.4: Population and Tourism Growth in the Galapagos Islands**

Source: Watkins and Cruz, 2007
Moreover, the increase of residents and visitors to the Galapagos Islands have threaten the conservation of the islands, and after the islands were declared “At Risk” by the UNESCO in 2007 the Ecuadorian government took action by improving the GSL (1998), this resulted in the increase of permits that residents needed to acquire in order to practice different economic activities, the increase of entry free to the islands for mainland residents and foreign tourists, and stricter regulations to control the entrance of foreign species of fauna and flora to the islands (World Heritage Centre, 2010). These regulations benefited the conservation attempts of the GNP as they facilitated improvement of the protected areas’ management and succeeded to attract tourism (GNP, 2009), but the islands continued to experience pressures specially in inhabited areas where the impacts of population growth are far more pronounced than in the protected area due to increasing development of new infrastructure; as it can be seen in the image below which shows the expansion of human settlement in one of the islands; and increasing demand of basic services that at the moment remain precarious with no service of potable water and limited sewage and waste management systems (Galapagos Conservancy, 2009; Kerr et al, 2004).

*Image No. 2: Urban Growth of Santa Cruz – Galapagos Islands*

![Urban Growth of Santa Cruz – Galapagos Islands](image)

Source: GNP, 2009

It appears to be that the GSL (1998) attempts to promote environmental conservation has succeeded to a high extent in the protected area of the Galapagos Islands, but it has not been as effective in inhabited areas that experience to a higher extent the repercussions of population growth and tourism development in social and physical terms, in fact it seems like the pressures derived from the development of tourism makes it more difficult to for the GSL to
accomplish its sustainable development goals; for example, tourism drives development of new infrastructures that in order to be built have to destroy part of the natural environment causing disturbance to the natural environment and sometimes resulting in the extinction of indigenous species of flora and fauna (Budowski, 1976). This situation shows that although the implementation of the GSL facilitates the conservation of the environment at some extent, it falls short when trying to accomplish the overall objectives of sustainable development.

Furthermore, whereas 57% of international tourists stay in cruises when visiting the islands, 72% of national tourists prefer to stay in hotels within the islands (Ministry of Environment and GNP, 2013), the former has increased the ships standing by the islands; leading to the UNESCO to requests its reduction (World Heritage Centre, 2010); and the later has urged the development of new infrastructure, and increased the need of human resources as well it has contributed to the growth of small local enterprises which stimulates immigration, the graphic below shows the tourism capacity by 2006.

**Graphic No.3: Tourism capacity of vessels and hotels in the Galapagos Islands**

![Tourism capacity graph](image)

Source: GNP, 2007

In order to cope with demands from the local population and international conservation organisation, in 2014 the Galapagos Governing Council with the approval of the Ecuadorian Ministry of Environment promoted foreign investment for the development of tourism infrastructure such as hotels, resorts and recreational areas that will meet regulations of the GSL (1998) and foster the
islands local economy (GGC, 2014), to which local residents have responded with rebellion, stating that such proposal does not only threatens the natural environment but also their livelihoods which depend on current low intensity tourism and fear that strong international enterprises will take over the islands and their resources (Shaw, 2015). Although the main objective of this proposal is to improve the tourism model that exists in the islands, expecting to benefit the local population as well as to satisfy the needs of international and national tourists, it seems to leave aside its repercussions for the environmental conservation of the Galapagos Islands and focus more on pursuing economic gain.

Interesting is the fact that such proposal comes from authorities that have claim that environmental conservation is the main priority for the islands sustainable development (GGC, 2014), and now they come up with a proposal that more than provide benefits could put serious threats on the natural environment. It could be argued that this shows a contradictory speech of the Galapagos authorities, which could lead to tourism growth despite the lack of agreement regarding an approach of development, and, in addition, such proposal would put more challenges for the GSL (1998) to achieve its sustainable development goals, which suggest that at times these policies are overpowered by the decision taken by authorities, showing that the GSL is still a weak instrument of policy and experiences serious pressures.

1.3 Social Justice vs. Environmental Sustainability in the Galapagos Islands

Following the previous discussion and the islands historical development (González et al, 2008) is evident that tensions between social demands and environmental conservation in the Galapagos Islands have been present throughout its history, and although the Ecuadorian government has made attempts to find a balance between meeting social demands and preserving the natural environment untouched by reinforcing the GSL, there are great challenges in terms of policy making and implementation to achieve a model of sustainable development in the islands.
It is also evident that tourism has fostered economic activity and helped sustain the livelihoods of the Galapagos inhabitants, therefore they rely on the wellbeing of the natural resources since it is the main tourism attractiveness, and any change on the environment will be felt by society. Political ecology framework suggests that the impact of such changes are felt differently in each section of society (Bryant, 1991); for example, the poor are more prone to experience the negative effects of environmental change than the rich; and that there are certain factors such as income, institutions and policies that play a roll on this matter (Swyngedoew and Heynen, 2003). To be able to better understand this issue we will look at the environmental justice scenario in the Galapagos Islands.

Regarding recognition in the Galapagos Islands, only permanent residents are entitled to work and reside in the islands for unlimited period of time, as well as they have the right to vote for local, regional and national authorities, and to access education and health, whereas temporal residents count with more limitations (GSL, 1998). However, as we can see in graphic no. 2 (Dynamics of Galapagos at different scales) the tourism sector plays a strong role on the social system of the Galapagos and a study based on interviews and surveys to the local population shows that they believe that any actor involved in the tourism sector, despite being a resident or not, are valued and have a high degree of recognition on the eyes of authorities and policy makers (Epeler, 2007). Meaning that other actors beside the local residents might have more power to influence sustainability policies and regulations, and their interest are prior to the residents needs and demands.

Furthermore, in regards to participation, although constitutionally all citizens have the right to participate in decision-making processes regarding development, a resent study (Celata and Sanna, 2012) shows that residents participation in such processes is limited due to lack of interest from the locals that feel their opinions must of the time are not being considered and just listened to by the authorities that have the power to make the ultimate decision, the study also found that most of the input in meetings with authorities was made by community leaders. The INEC (National Institute of Statistics and Census) found that 78,8% of community leaders are male while the remaining 21,2% are female (INEC,2009). This shows that men are more involved in decision making process than women, as well the
study found that those living in urban areas are more involved than those leaving in rural areas. These differences could be due to several reasons, for example: Ecuador has a long history of male leaders as it is a society in which men are considered to have more power than women, another factor could be time since a lot of women are in charge of their households and families.

It is important to take the discrepancies of gender participation into account since the needs of the residents could vary according to the gender; for example, for women the development of sanitary services might be more important that the development of commerce in the area since it would help to improve their everyday life, whereas for men it could be the opposite. Moreover, Douglas (2014) suggests that the way in which society understands the natural environment will set the conditions of that environment, the fact that urban residents are more involved than rural dwellers can cause serious implications in the results of decision-making processes because the understanding of the natural environment of those in the urban atmosphere differs from those in the rural atmosphere. Indeed, the relationship of rural residents and urban residents with the environment is different and the way they perceive the environment varies, but in the case of the Galapagos it is important to consider as well how are the islands perceive by other actors such as tourist; that see the islands as a place of leisure and relaxation; and scientists, that perceive the Galapagos as a rich environment to conduct research; or governmental institutions and foreign state that might have an understanding of the Galapagos that differs from those that actually live there.

*Graphic No. 4: Community Leaders in Galapagos by Gender*

Source: INEC, 2009
Moreover, concerning the distribution of environmental goods and burdens in the Galapagos Islands it is important to remember that only 3% of the islands landmass is assigned for human use, leaving the remaining 97% as a protected area (Gonzalez et al, 2008). On one hand, most of the people that enjoy the environmental benefits such as breath-taking landscapes, observation of a rich ecological biodiversity and the wildlife of the protected area (Galapagos National Park) are tourists. On the other hand, local residents have to live in an environment where they face challenges to access basic services and water, which are fundamental for their lives and wellbeing. A survey about life conditions in Galapagos shows that 58.9% of the local population perceive the water quality as being of bad quality and that 861 households do not have access to basic services such as sewage, electricity and water.

\[\textbf{Table No. 2: Summary of Life Conditions Survey in the Galapagos}\]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Life Conditions in Galapagos</th>
<th>Area</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Galapagos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of Households</td>
<td>6327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Access to Basic Services</td>
<td>5466</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poverty Perception</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor</td>
<td>2490</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not poor</td>
<td>3836</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water Quality Perception</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good</td>
<td>7.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regular</td>
<td>33.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bad</td>
<td>58.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educated Inhabitants</td>
<td>19132</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: by the Author based on INEC, 2009

Continuously, the current tourism driven economic model of the Galapagos Islands is one factor that exacerbates the conditions in which local residents live. Most of the efforts of sustainable development by the authorities in the islands are thought towards the development of the tourism industry rather than the wellbeing of the local population and their needs. This can clearly be seen in the proposal from the GGC (2014) supporting the development of new tourism infrastructure rather than giving priority to the development of basic services that
will potentially improve the lives of those living in the islands. This scenario shows that the power and benefits of the environment relies on those that work closer to the tourism industry than the rest of the actors and it is likely that the further development of the tourism industry will have serious impact on the conservation of the natural environment in Galapagos.

Furthermore, the environmental degradation of the Galapagos will mean a tremendous lost at a global scale, as there is the potential extinction of unique species that are part of the world’s biodiversity, as well it could mean the lost of one of the most important world’s heritage sites that has been recognised by the UNESCO since 1978. At a national scale, the environmental degradation of the islands could be felt in economic terms and at a local scale it could cause an impact of the residents lives and their livelihoods.

2. Predominant Impacts of Tourism on Sustainable Development in the Galapagos Islands

The promotion of tourism in the Galapagos Islands has been in the centre of the complex dynamics that have emerged from the development process of the islands and the tourism industry has had social, economic, and environmental impacts which has compromised its relationship with sustainable development policies and it is important to understand what other factors it has impacts on which are being analysed in the next section.

2.1 Finding a balance

Dobson (1998) argues that social justice is not always compatible with environmental sustainability, in the case of Galapagos this analysis has found that the one of the most important challenges that policy makers face at the moment of creating regulations for sustainable development in the Galapagos Islands is the difficulty to meet the social pressures from one side and the environmental conservation pressures from the other. This is manifested, for example, in the reaction of the local population with protests towards the new
proposal of the local government promoting the development of tourism infrastructure, hoping to attract and retain more income to develop the local economy. In this regards, tourism as oppose to provide benefits to the local population and help achieve sustainable development goals, exacerbates the pressures that the islands are currently experiencing.

As well, it is presence the antagonist relationship between international conservation organisations that demand the environmental conservation of the Galapagos, and the society that demands the development of infrastructure for basic services. Although the local population is aware that their livelihoods depend on the wellbeing of the natural environment, their discontent with authorities is inevitable, as they perceive that regulations are done to favour tourists and the tourism industry and leave the priorities of the locals aside. In this regards, tourism has contributed to the uneven conditions of the islands, providing with more benefits to the actors involved in the industry, putting them in a privilege position.

2.2 The Economic model

Political ecology suggests that the economic model that is being practiced have a great impact on the relationship between the society and the environment (Bryant, 1991), which is the case in Galapagos where a tourism driven economy is predominant, influencing policies and setting the regulations on how society relates to the environment. This analysis found that only a small portion of the income generated from tourism enters the islands economy and can be invested for the benefit on those living currently in the islands, this suggest that even though the islands suffer all the pressures of tourism and the negative impacts of it, it only receives a small portion of its benefits, which shows that although the tourism industry contributes to the economic development of the islands it puts significant pressure on the natural environment that could lead to its degradation.
2.3 Power Relations

Swyngedouw and Heynen (2003) suggest from a political ecology perspective that the relations of power in a social realm dictates the distribution of environmental benefits and burdens driven by the interests of those with more power, that might be seeking revenue rather than social or environmental justice. This is precisely one of the challenges in the Galapagos, where once again those involved in the tourism industry have more power, enjoy more of the benefits and have more support from authorities that prioritise the development of tourism rather than the development of infrastructure that the local residents need for their wellbeing.
Concerns about the limit of natural environment to sustain human life have grown during the pass decades and the need to adopt a sustainable development model has increased specially in places that own a rich environmental resource like the Galapagos Islands which indeed has adopted sustainable development policies in order to direct its development in a way that supports the conservation of the environment for future generations and meets the current social needs. To support this development model, the Galapagos Islands have fostered the development of tourism industry in the islands which has had positive and negative economic, social and environmental impacts.

After having analysed the extent in which tourism contributes to the sustainable development of the islands through a political ecology lends, looking at the relationships of tourism with social economic and ecological this research concludes that since the first inhabitants settled in the islands, the natural environment has experienced changes however due to their emblematic natural environment the islands soon attracted the attention of international agencies that demanded that actions be taken in order to conserve the islands unique ecological systems, and attempts to meet this demands increased during time; among them the adoption of the GSL and the promotion of tourism in the islands, nevertheless since most of the attention was directed to conservation attempts, the demands of development coming from the local population was left aside and little was done to meet their needs. Along this issues, the tourism industry kept growing with a set of trade-offs to the islands which are mentioned subsequently.

In economic terms, tourism is the main contributor to economic growth of the islands and has retained enough income to be invested for the conservation of the protected area of the Galapagos Islands, however only a small portion of the income generated by the industry is reinvested in the islands populated areas, meaning that the capacity of the industry to provide economic resources to improve the conditions of the islands for; example basic services infrastructure; is still limited.
In social terms, the tourism industry employs almost half of the residents supporting their livelihoods. However, it has also contributed to increase social inequalities in the islands putting those that are not involved in the tourism industry in a disadvantaged position. At a local scale sustainable development policies have supported those working toward tourism more than those that want to engage in other economic activities such as fishing and agriculture which are less predominant in the Galapagos. At a broader scale, tourism has benefited large multinational companies, such as airlines and cruise ships that attract most of the tourists that are willing to pay a higher amount for visiting the Islands, challenging the local population to be able to meet the demands of such tourism and to cope with the development of that tourism model.

In environmental terms, tourism has contributed to population growth and increasing number of visitors to the islands which has resulted in threats to the natural environment due to different reasons. Firstly, increase in population has lead to increasing demands for infrastructure development, waste generation, and increased consumption. Secondly, increase of both visitors and residents has increased the potential of foreign species being introduced threatening the indigenous species and endangering the ecological systems of the islands of the islands. Thirdly, tourism has also led to increasing relationships with wider scales, situating the Galapagos as an open system which makes it more vulnerable since naturally the Galapagos Islands was a place isolated from the rest of the world.

All of this together has resulted in constant conflicts between development and conservation for which the GSL is implemented to find a balance. After critically analysing these complex dynamics through a political ecology framework, this research has found that the GSL in not the same in theory that it is in practice, and it faces many challenges that need to be improved, however this dissertation does not focus on this issues specifically but to the relationship between sustainable development and the tourism industry in the Galapagos Islands.

In regards to this, it has been argued that tourism contributes to sustainable development of the Galapagos Islands to an extent that falls short in economic, social and environmental terms. However, this research does not aim to disregard the potential for tourism for sustainable development and agrees with
other researchers that the tourism model in the Galapagos Islands needs to be improved in order to support the GSL to achieve its sustainable development goals, as well it suggest that more attention needs to be taken to evaluate the social impacts of the tourism industry in the Galapagos Islands in order to find way to alleviate any negative impacts that it might have and in that way improve the lives of those that reside in the islands while at the same time conserve the natural environment which are the emblem of the Galapagos Islands.


Shaw, J. (2015) *Galápagos rebellion against foreign investment in hotels, golf courses, luxury tourism*. Available at:
(Accessed: 10 August 2015).


Appendix 1: Galapagos' Special Law (1998)

This law establishes the legal regime that administrative bodies dependent upon to manage, plan and develop; human settlements and their related activities such as health, education, sanitation and basic services, as well as other activities; such as conservation activities and sustainable development of the Galapagos Islands and the area that is the Galapagos Marine Reserve. This law may restrict property rights, commerce and residence in order to protect the islands and its environment.

The sustainable development definition considered by this law is as follow:

“Sustainable development is a dynamic process in which the management of natural resources, human development, awareness mechanisms and citizens participation, technological and scientific development, the formulation of new legal schemes, the orientation of the economy and ethnic principles of environmental responsibility, strengthen the options to meet basic current needs without destroying the ecological base in which future socio-economic development and quality of life of future generations depends upon”.

- Regulations for Economic Activities in Galapagos

Fishery

Fishing activity in the Marine Reserve of the Galapagos is subject to the principles of conservation, adaptive management and guidelines for sustaining of hydro biological resources stated in the Special Law and the corresponding management plan; which defines specific zones where this activity can be conducted and establishes mechanisms that will ensure the conservation of ecosystems and the sustainable use of resources (Special Law, 1998).

Moreover, only permanent residents (EXPLAIN PERMANENT RESIDENTS) of the islands can practice this activity and they will have to join one of the fishermen cooperatives in Galapagos (Special Law, 1998).

Tourism

Tourism activity that is allowed in the Galapagos Islands has to be based on the principles of ecotourism and can be practiced within the Galapagos National Park, the Marine Reserve of Galapagos and the inhabited settlements of the islands (Special Law, 1998).

The Ministry of Environment is the institution responsible of authorising, controlling and monitoring tourism activity within protected areas based on their respective management plans, while the Ministry of Tourism is in charge of regulating the quality of tourism services provided in Galapagos (Special Law, 1998).

Moreover, the construction of new tourism infrastructure has to be approved by the Governing Council of Galapagos and will be only accepted if it provides local benefits, and guaranties that the environmental impact will be minimum through a study of environmental impact and management plan (Special Law, 1998).
**Agriculture**

Agricultural activity in the Galapagos Islands is subject to the principles of conservation of ecosystems in order to minimize negative impact on them, furthermore, this activity is oriented to improve the self-sufficiency of local population as well as to meet the tourism's demands, and reduce the entry of foreign products and species to the islands (Special Law, 1998).

Moreover, the Ministry of Agriculture and Farming together with Galapagos National Park are the bodies in charge of developing programs of technological improvement for agricultural activity to optimize the use of resources for agricultural purposes to guarantee the conservation of the islands (Special Law, 1998).

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**-Regulations to Residence and Work in Galapagos**

There are three types of legal residents in Galapagos:

**Permanents Residents**

These residents are those that have been born in the Galapagos Islands and their parents were also born in the Galapagos, those that are married to a permanent resident have the right to apply to be a permanent resident and those that have lived in the Galapagos for more than 5 years before this law was implemented in 1998 (Special Law, 1998).

Permanent residents are allowed to perform any economic activity that is allowed by the law and can have job contracts of one year or longer. It is a responsibility of any employer to first consider the employment of local permanent residents rather than foreigners, in order to hire a foreign employee the employer will have to fill a request to the Galapagos Governing Council.

**Temporal Residents**

These residents are those who are allowed to reside in Galapagos for a certain period of time while they are either providing a professional or public service, performing cultural, religious or educational and sportive activities, or conducting research.

Those residents that are have permit to reside in the islands due to a job contract cannot have a contract longer than one year, and it is not possible to extend their stay from while they reside in Galapagos as temporal residents.

**Tourists and Transient**

In order to enter the Galapagos Islands, tourist will have to purchase a tourist credential and pay the entry fee, as well they will have to show their return ticket at the point of departure.

Tourists are not allowed to perform any economic activity in Galapagos and will only be allowed to stay a maximum of 90 days per year.
Appendix 2: Institutions and Organisations that are involved in policy-making processes in the Galapagos Islands

Source: by the author based on the GSL, 1998