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**CAPTURING LESSONS FOR SUSTAINABLE TOURISM  
PLANNING AND RESEARCH: EVIDENCE AND A CALL  
FOR A CONTEXT-BASED MANAGEMENT THEORY**

**Tesis presentada para optar al  
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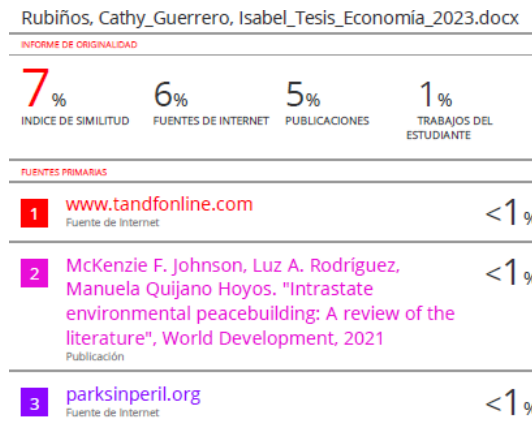
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## ABSTRACT

Although Sustainable Tourism (ST) represents a positive approach for community development, its implementation is challenging. Institutional strategies may work well in one location but not in another, making it necessary to develop context-based ST management theory to provide some guidance for tourism development. Such theory can only be built with the accumulation of knowledge from cases where a combination of institutional arrangements and context-specific characteristics showed to be - or not – sustainable. We show, however, how ST research is fragmented, challenging the comparison of results. We adapt and propose The Coupled Infrastructure System Framework (CISF) as a tool for tourism research to integrate efforts. With its guidance, we perform a qualitative meta-analysis. Ninety case studies were systematically coded and analyzed to identify linkages between context characteristics, institutions, and outcomes. We found studies to have mostly positive (N=14), mostly negative (N=7), or mixed (N=69) ST outcomes. Our analysis suggests that five contextual characteristics are overall linked to negative outcomes: high tourists' affluence, preexisting asymmetries in the community, short and long (as opposed to medium) development stages, high seasonality, and foreign influence. We studied how developers avoid unsustainable outcomes with different institutional strategies in exceptional cases. We also found that when categorized by the degree of community involvement in tourism development, cases with the highest rates of positive social and environmental outcomes were those with the highest involvement level: communities are tourism developers. However, higher rates were found for positive economic outcomes when communities participated in the decision-making process but did not act as managers. This study contains theoretical contributions in identifying knowledge gaps, illustrating the adaptation of the CISF to ST research, and identifying thematic categories as possible causality of ST outcomes. Moreover, generated knowledge can assist tourism developers in the challenge of managing tourism sustainably.

*Keywords: Sustainability, Tourism Management, Qualitative Meta-analysis, Tourism Planning, Coupled Infrastructure Systems.*

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## INTRODUCTION

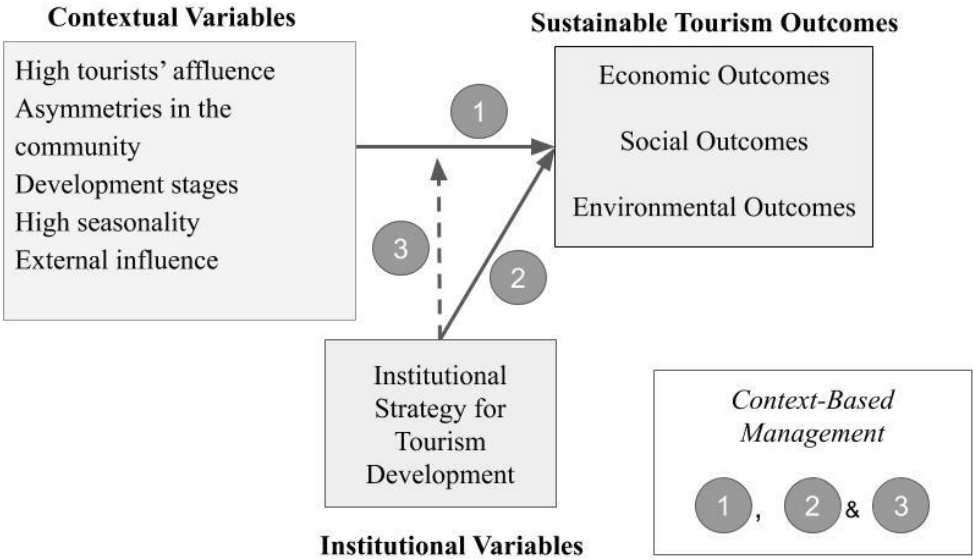
Tourism can contribute to a community's sustainable development, especially to job creation and income generation in rural communities (Cukier, 2002). However, tourism also presents some environmental and social costs, which have sometimes even caused cultural, social, or ecological devastation in highly exposed to tourism regions (Obua & Harding, 1997).

We refer to sustainable tourism as the management scheme that intends to maximize economic benefits for a community and, in turn, minimize local social and environmental costs (Zolfani, Sedaghat, Maknoon, & Zavadskas, 2015). This scheme aims to be viable over time without generating conflicts that harm the development and well-being obtained in other environments, activities, or processes (Wight, 2003). Although sustainable tourism represents a positive approach for community development and environmental conservation, its practical implementation is challenging, especially in those tourism destinations with weak institutional environments, as is commonly found in developing countries (Tosun, 2000; Das & Chatterjee, 2015). Moreover, even though sustainable tourism research has shown to be of ample and increasing interest since the late 1980s the debate of arguments and concepts that it presents have been criticized for their limited usage for implementation (Bramwell, Higham, Lane, & Miller, 2017; Liu, 2003; Sharpley, 2009).

In the second section, we build on the notion of socio-ecological systems (SES) analysis to suggest that sustainable tourism management research may become more applicable for implementation when adopting a SES approach. We urge scholars to recognize tourism as an activity that belongs to a system where the social (cultural, economic, political, etc.) and ecological characteristics and their interactions may affect desirable sustainable outcomes from tourism development implementations. We suggest that the Coupled Infrastructure System Framework (CISF), used for studying different SES but not yet for tourism, is a suitable framework for this purpose. We illustrate how the CISF, adapted and applied for tourism for the first time, can help identifying knowledge gaps in sustainable tourism management literature and facilitate the accumulation of knowledge for theory building.

Moreover, we address the critique of sustainable tourism research's limited applicability because it proposes solutions based on individual case studies that cannot be generalized for a broader challenge (Sharpley, 2009). Institutional strategies, such as tourism development policies, may work well in one location but not in another, making it necessary to develop context-based sustainable tourism management theory to provide some guidance for tourism development. Such theory can only be built with the accumulation of knowledge from cases where a combination of institutional arrangements and context-specific characteristics showed to be - or not - sustainable.

As shown in figure 1, existing systematic literature reviews tend to focus on relationships between a particular context and its effects on sustainable tourism outcomes (arrow 1) or between institutional strategies and its consequences (arrow 2). This research aims to perform the synthesis and analysis of existing studies to examine the linkages between institutional processes, key context characteristics, and sustainable tourism development outcomes (arrows 1, 2, and 3). With this exercise, we aim to make a call for aligning efforts for a context-based management theory building.



**Figure 1. Context-based Management Conceptual Model**

The research questions that guided this study are: 1) What are the factors (contextual characteristics and institutional strategies) and outcomes considered in existing studies when performing case studies analysis of the impact of tourism development in the community's social, economic, and environmental dimensions? 2) How do context-specific and institutional characteristics affect sustainable tourism outcomes separately and together?

In the third section, we explain how we performed a meta-analysis to address these questions. Ninety case studies were selected, coded, and analyzed. In section 4 we present the results to our first research question. We display some metrics on identified key variables in the sustainable tourism literature. We confirm, depict, and quantify the fragmentation of sustainable tourism research. We found studies to have mostly positive (N=14), mostly negative (N=7), or mixed (N=69) sustainable tourism outcomes. In the fifth section, we present the results of our meta-analysis. Our analysis suggests that five contextual characteristics are linked to negative outcomes: high tourists' affluence, preexisting asymmetries in the community, short and long (as

opposed to medium) development stages, high seasonality, and foreign influence. We also found other contextual factor that are linked with negative results, but that were less recurrent in the cases studies reviewed (i.e., political instability, non-skilled local participation in tourism, contra-productive cultural beliefs, and poor tourism infrastructure). We study how developers avoid unsustainable outcomes with different institutional strategies in exceptional cases. We also found that when categorized by the degree of community involvement in tourism development, cases with the highest rates of positive social and environmental outcomes were those with the highest involvement level: communities are tourism managers. However, higher rates were found for positive economic outcomes when communities participated in the decision-making process but did not act as managers. We also found that higher community involvement was more efficient in some contexts than others. Among the most recurrent institutional strategies identified that generate better results in the different dimensions of sustainable tourism are: the implementation of rules that generate good congruence between the costs and benefits that the locals will assume, the establishment of partnerships, having an effective system for monitoring the rules and the effects of tourism, and the among the different levels of government with sustainable development policies.

In the sixth section, we discuss our major findings, highlight areas for future research, and conclude in section seven. This study contains theoretical contributions in identifying knowledge gaps, illustrating the adaptation of the CISF to sustainable tourism research, and identifying thematic categories as possible causality of sustainable tourism outcomes. Moreover, generated knowledge can assist tourism developers in the challenge of managing tourism sustainably.

## **CHAPTER I. TOURISM DEEMED AS SOCIO-ECOLOGICAL SYSTEMS IN RESPONSE TO PRACTICAL AND THEORETICAL CHALLENGES**

A socio-ecological system (SES), as defined in Berkes (2007) and Folke et al. (2010), is a coupled and interdependent system of ecosystems and human societies. From a SES perspective, tourism is seen as part of an integrated system of landscapes, natural resources, physical infrastructure, local communities, and tourism developers, regulators, tourists, among others (Levin et al., 2013), and hence its study needs to consider these components (Liu et al., 2007). For sustainable tourism goals, the challenge is to find economic development without compromising social and environmental local conditions, making the analysis of SES components and their interactions of critical relevance (Cumming, 2011). However, tourism research has traditionally unexplored these complex interrelationships (Terkenli, 2004), making sustainable tourism scholars call for tourism deemed as SES research (Parra, 2010; Liu, 2003). We address in the following subsections how two main challenges of sustainable tourism research (research fragmentation and limited general adaptability) can be overcome when adopting a SES perspective.

### **1.1 Research Fragmentation and Efforts for integration**

Several researchers have critiqued sustainable tourism research for being too "patchy," "disjoint" (Liu, 2003), or "fragmented" (Moyle, B.; Moyle, C.; Ruhanen; Weave & Hadinejad, 2020). This may be the result of research with narrow approaches, as opposed to what the SES perspective suggests. As Heslinga, Groote, and Vanclay (2017, p. 24.) argue, tourism studies "...have typically seen nature and human activities as being functionally distinct." Moreover, Moyle et al. (2020, p. 109) state that "The proliferation of single-destination case studies in the literature suggests the methods being employed by sustainable tourism researchers are narrow, constricting the ability of the field to extrapolate findings which advance sustainable tourism scholarship." To address this challenge, it becomes necessary to work in a framework that allows the integration of efforts and comparison of results (Bramwell & Lane, 2008), with the adoption of a SES perspective to guarantee the inclusion of all relevant components that affect local communities' sustainability outcomes (Heslinga et al., 2017).

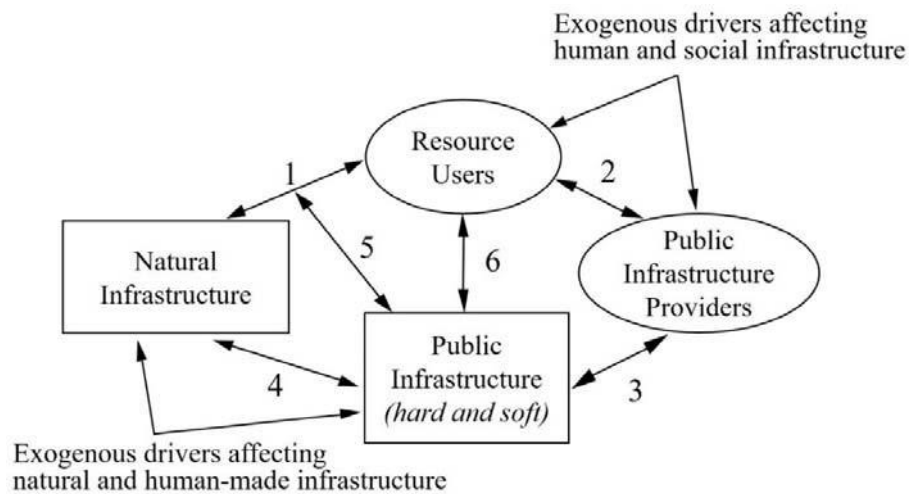
This call coincides with the efforts of several academics who study SES. They have developed theoretical frameworks for the interdisciplinary study of SES to avoid obviating blind spots, usually found in analysis with one-dimensional biases (Ostrom, 2007). The best known interdisciplinary frameworks for institutional analysis of SES are: i) the Institutional Analysis and Development Framework (IADF, Ostrom, 2009a), ii) the Socio-Ecological Systems Framework (SESF, Ostrom, 2009b) and the iii) Coupled Infrastructure Systems Framework (CISF, Anderies, 2015). These frameworks, which complement each other, have been used for the study of irrigation systems, forests, fisheries, among others (Schlüter, Hinkel, Bots &

Arlinghaus, 2014)), but interestingly, they have not been used for the study of tourism. This study aims to illustrate the use and adaptation of the CISF for tourism as explained in the following subsection.

### 1.1.1 Coupled Infrastructure Systems Framework for Tourism Research

The CISF was designed to guide researchers in the study of multiple theoretically and empirically identified components (factors and results) and the dynamics among them (Anderies, 2015). Unlike the IADF and the SESF, the CISF allows us to visualize the transmission mechanism in the SES of possible disturbances (e.g., tourism development implementations), keeping in mind the different interactions of the actors of the system in various levels of action. Hence the CISF is a suitable framework for studying tourism development and its effects in SES.

The main components proposed by the CISF (see figure 2) are called infrastructures to facilitate the precision in the analysis: natural (e.g., forest), resource users- that include different types of infrastructures as social (e.g., trust) or human (e.g., leadership), public infrastructure (soft -e.g., institutions, and hard -e.g., roads), and public infrastructure providers (e.g., Regional Government) (Anderies, 2015).



**Figure 2. Coupled Infrastructure Systems Framework (adapted from Anderies, 2015)**

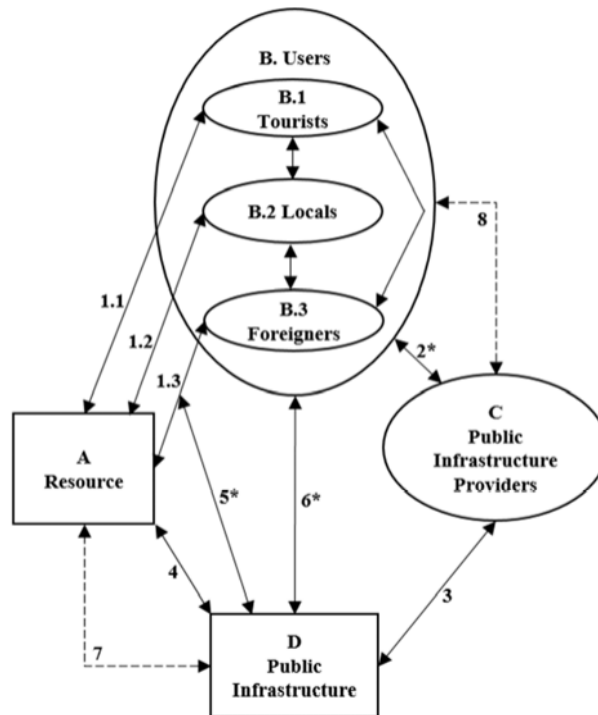
The theoretical basis of the CISF is the institutional design principles proposed by Ostrom (1990) (Anderies, Janssen & Ostrom, 2004). These design principles are 1. Clear and well-defined boundary rules, 2. Congruence between appropriation rules and provision rules and local conditions, 3. Collective-choice arrangements, 4. Monitoring, 5. Graduated sanctions, 6. Conflict resolution mechanism, 7. Minimum recognition of rights, and 8. Nested enterprises. Many scholars have studied these design principles. They have been proven to accurately assess SES

institutional arrangements (Baggio et al., 2016), and they have even been tested in the analysis of systems related to tourism (Haase, Lamers & Amelung, 2009). We used these design principles as institutional factors in our analysis.

For this research, the CISF was valuable for 1) guiding the identification of key contextual and institutional studied variables in sustainable tourism research; 2) depicting fragmentation of research (as shown in section 4.1); and, 3) performing a systematic analysis of interpretive synthesis to identify linkages between context characteristics, institutions, and outcomes. To this end, we adapted the CISF for sustainable tourism research.

We consider that for tourism analysis, a distinction among resource users was necessary (tourists, locals, and foreigners). Unlike other SES, the client of the product or service is in direct contact with the resource system (touristic location), making it necessary to include them in the analysis. Moreover, distinctions between local and foreign residents are essential since one relevant impact of tourism is the uneven distribution of costs and benefits between locals and foreign actors. Additionally, it is necessary to study the relationship these different users have to guarantee the system's sustainability. For example, residents and tourist interact with each other on a day-to-day basis and are part of a cultural exchange process, or foreign tourism companies may employ locals with different interests for community development. This distinction allows us to detail further the necessary conditions for the system to be robust, so that positive outcomes outweigh long-term negative results. Figure 3 provides more details for this adaptation of the CISF organized around tourism activity.

<p><b>A. Resource</b> Main tourist attraction, location description</p>
<p><b>B. Users</b> Tourists, locals, foreigners  <b>Relationship between tourists and locals:</b> Example: Day to day cultural exchange  <b>Relationship between locals and foreigners:</b> Example: Villagers working for foreign capital companies  <b>Relationship between tourists and foreigners:</b> Example: Tourists buying travel packages from foreign capital companies</p>
<p><b>C. Public Infrastructure Providers (PIP)</b> Tourism committee, regional government, municipality</p>
<p><b>D. Public Infrastructure (PI)</b> Laws, road infrastructure, waste resource management, street lighting</p>



\*Links 2,5 and 6 are connected to tourists, locals and foreigners

<p><b>Link 1. Between resource and users</b>  <b>1.1 Resource and tourists</b> Examples: Tourists activities, carrying capacity  <b>1.2 Resource and locals</b> Examples: Tours, lodging construction, income related tourism  <b>1.3 Resource and foreigners</b> Examples: Non resident economic participation, economic leaks</p>
<p><b>Link 2. Between users and PIPs</b>  <b>2.1 Tourists and PIPs</b> Example: Information sharing (tourists insights)  <b>2.2 Locals and PIPs</b> Example: Inclusion in decision-making  <b>2.3 Foreigners and PIPs</b> Example: Inclusion in decision-making</p>
<p><b>Link 3. Between PIPs and resource</b> Examples: Management transparency, PI asset allocation</p>
<p><b>Link 4. Between PI and resource</b> Example: Resource monitoring boundaries</p>
<p><b>Link 5. Between PI and resource dynamics</b>  <b>5.1 PI and link 1.1</b> Examples: Sanctions or regulations of tourists behavior  <b>5.2 PI and link 1.2</b> Examples: Barriers to entry, tourism fees  <b>5.3 PI and link 1.3</b> Examples: Barriers to entry, tax payments</p>
<p><b>Link 6. Between users and PI</b>  <b>6.1 Tourists and PI</b> Example: Marketing strategies  <b>6.2 Locals and PI</b> Example: Rules enforcement  <b>6.3 Foreigners and PI</b> Example: Rules enforcement</p>
<p><b>Link 7. External forces on resource and infrastructure</b> Examples: Severe weather or climate changes</p>
<p><b>Link 8. External forces on social actors</b> Examples: Major political changes, regulations</p>

Figure 3. Coupled Infrastructure Systems Framework applied for tourism research (adapted from Anderies, 2015)

### **1.1.2 Tourism Life Cycle and SES dynamics**

SES are dynamic and adaptive (Berkes, 2007), and so is tourism (Butler, 1980; Mckercher, 2010). This recognition enables the understanding of their drivers and consequences, and the institutions or strategies for addressing these changes (Heslinga et al., 2017). Tourism dynamics have traditionally been studied in line of the Tourism Area Life Cycle (TALC) concept, which suggests that tourism destinations evolve through different stages: exploration, involvement, development, and consolidation, and depending on the type of tourism management adopted, among other factors, these destinations go through stagnation, decline, or rejuvenation (Butler, 1980). We analyze case studies carried out in one period of time after a tourism development implementation (the inclusion criteria are detailed in section 3). We include tourism dynamism and TALC concepts in our analysis by considering the time elapsed (in years) between tourism development implementation and the reviewed case study.

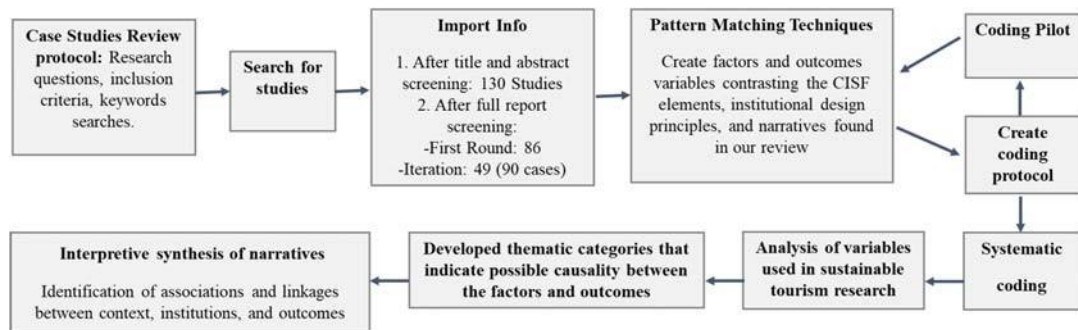
### **1.2 Context-Based Management Analysis: Leveraging from micro-solutions**

Identifying sustainable tourism solutions for specific cases does not address the need for a prescriptive institutional design to sustainable tourism development on different sites worldwide with various characteristics (Sharpley, 2011; Moyle et al., 2020). It is recognized that in SES, there is indeed no single institutional recipe that guarantees success (Ostrom, 2007). Institutional strategies, such as tourism development policies, may work well in one location but not in another. Then, institutional considerations tailored to a specific context can contribute to the development of successful sustainable tourism initiatives. Thus, we need to develop a context-based sustainable tourism management theory to provide some guidance for tourism development. In this way, strategic developers facing the opportunity to invest in tourism services may be informed by the lessons learned from similar interventions in different locations with similar social and ecological characteristics. Moreover, context-based analysis embedded in an SES sustainable tourism research approach can contribute to advancing sustainability science in general since it conveys the integration of efforts of multiple disciplines that addresses a common theme (Pearce, 2001).

A context-based theory can only be built with the accumulation of knowledge from cases where a combination of institutional arrangements and context-specific characteristics showed to be - or not – sustainable. The list of context and institutional considerations can derive from the SES perspective guided by a related framework. In the following section, we explain how we address this need (although limited by the problem of fragmentation of research) by performing a meta-analysis to identify linkages between context characteristics, institutions, and outcomes.

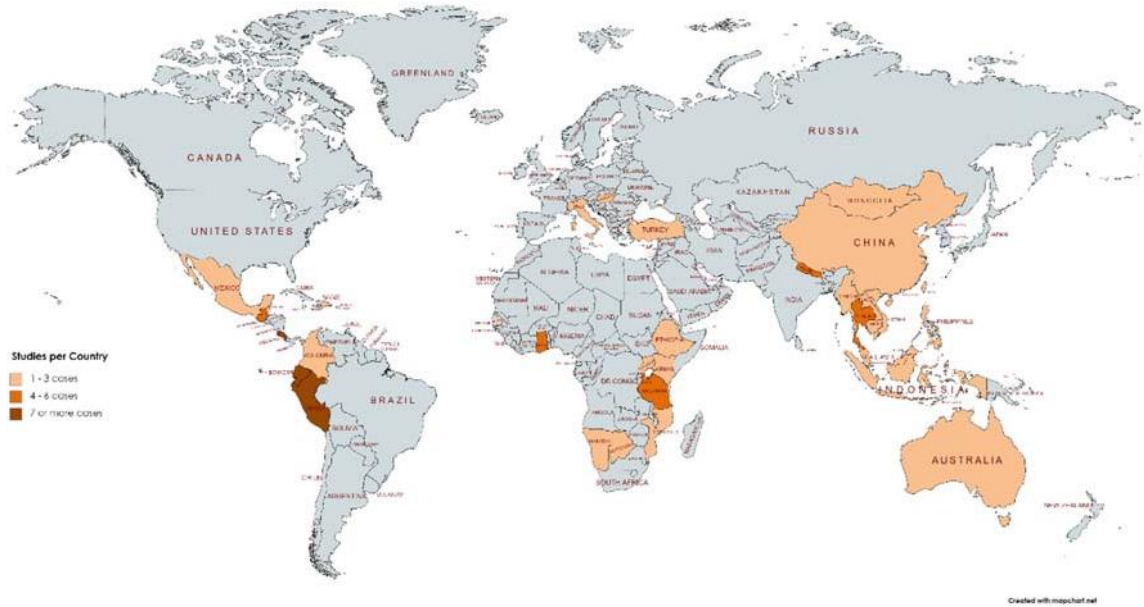
## CHAPTER II. META-ANALYSIS: SYSTEMATIC REVIEW AND CONTENT ANALYSIS

We carried out a meta-analysis seeking to systematically re-evaluate existing empirical research (Timulak, 2014). The systematic review method suggested by Brunton and Thomas (2012) and Timulak (2014) was applied. Figure 4 shows the research design diagram of the systematic meta-analysis. Research articles were searched, both in English and Spanish. We selected material for inclusion according to five criteria. First, articles had to address sustainable tourism independent of the touristic destination. Second, the authors needed to address tourism development interventions and effects on local economic, social, or environmental outcomes as one objective of their research. Third, information about the local context and institutional characteristics must be present. Fourth, we included only empirical (primary or secondary) work. And finally, we included only peer reviewed articles or book chapters, full research papers, and masters and doctoral thesis.



**Figure 4. Flowchart of Systematic Review and Meta-Analysis**

The search engines used for the exhaustive search of existing literature were Google Scholar, Science Direct, Jstor, Emerald insight, and the Open Access Theses and Dissertations portal. We employed the following keyword searches: sustainable tourism, ecotourism management, tourism impacts, sustainable tourism institutional analysis, monitoring, adaptive resource management, governance, and community-based tourism. Papers were searched in April 2019. This study includes 49 research articles that contains 90 case studies (see supplementary material 2). As shown in figure 5, most cases (35) are located in America: 17 in South America, 17 in Central America, and 1 in North America. There are 27 cases situated in Asia; 19 cases in Africa, 3 in Europe, and 4 in Oceania.



**Figure 5. Distribution of countries represented in reviewed studies:** Australia (3), Belize (1), Botswana (1), Cambodia (3), China (2), Colombia (1), Costa Rica (10), Cyprus (1), Dominica (1), Dominican Republic (2), Ecuador (8), Ethiopia (1), Gambia (1), Ghana (5), Guatemala (3), Hungary (1), Indonesia (3), Italy (1), Kenya (2), Laos (1), Malaysia (2), Mexico (1), Mongolia (1), Mozambique (1), Myanmar (1), Namibia (2), Nepal (4), Niue (1), Peru (8), Philippines (1), Taiwan (3), Tanzania (5), Thailand (4), Turkey (1), Uganda (1), and Vietnam (2).

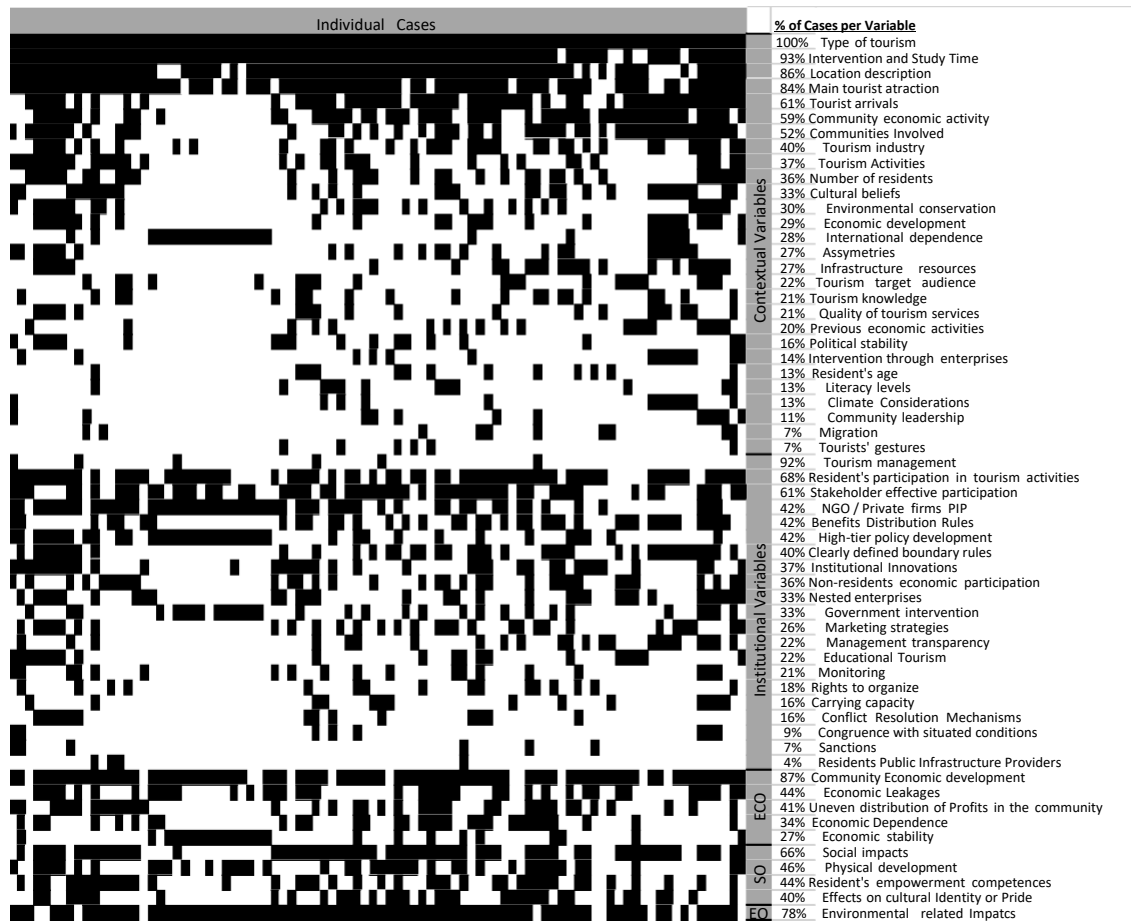
We applied content analysis techniques to address our research questions. For identifying the contextual characteristics, institutional strategies, and outcomes variables considered in existing studies, we deconstructed each article into its parts and used pattern matching techniques to contrast the CISF elements, institutional design principles, and narratives found in our review. We then performed a systematic coding of all selected cases. We used a coding protocol (see supplementary material 1) to increase coding reliability, research replicability, and transparency, as suggested by Ratajczyk et al. (2016) and to minimize these types of limitations often present in qualitative meta-analysis. This exercise allowed us to depict and quantify the fragmentation of sustainable tourism research, as explained in section 4). The problem of fragmentation of research also reveals another weaknesses of meta-analyses, since they depend on the information contained in the studies under analysis, and it is very difficult to extract information from case studies that have not been reported in the studied literature. If complete information were available, it could even be used for quantitative analyses that could allow for a more complete and comprehensive study of the relationship between variables and their influence on the results of tourism activity.

Later, with the guidance of the element's linkages of the CISF (arrows 1-6 of figure 3), we developed thematic categories from coded cases that indicate possible causality between the factors (context and institutional variables) and outcomes (links 1 and 2 respectively of figure 1). We did a frequency analysis shown in Table 1 in section 5. Finally, we performed an interpretive synthesis of narratives that enabled the identification of associations and linkages between context, institutions, and outcomes (links 1, 2, and 3 of figure 1). See Tables 2 and 3.

### CHAPTER III. EXPLORED CONTEXT, INSTITUTIONAL AND OUTCOME VARIABLES IN EXISTING RESEARCH

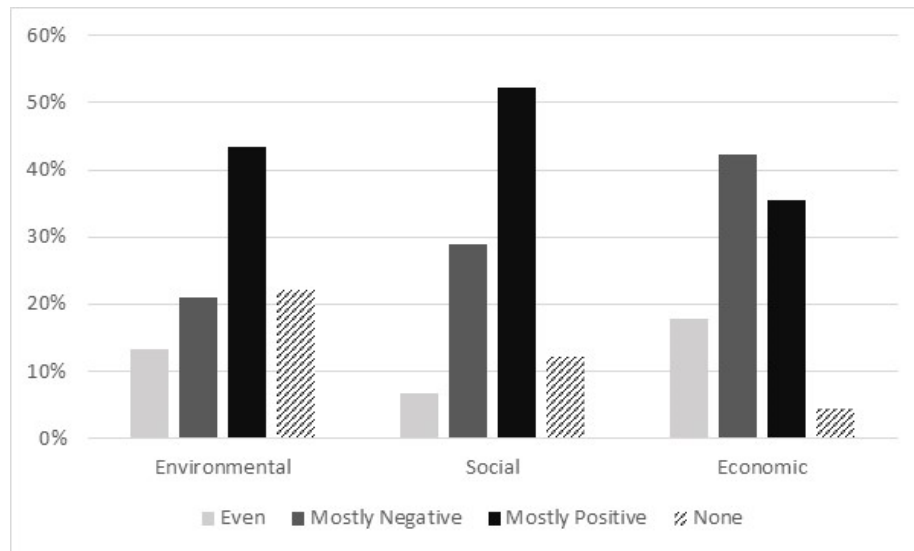
We show in figure 6 the main variables that are considered in tourism case studies research. They are not, however, equally studied in all research articles. Figure 6 reveals how some variables are more studied than others. Columns of figure 6 represent reviewed cases, and lines, coded variables. Dark squares indicate that information about corresponding variables was identified in the corresponding case. If there were more consensus about the variables needed to be studied in tourism case study research for contributing to theory building (e.g., based on statistical analysis or qualitative comparative analysis), we would observe more dark spots in the figure.

With respect to sustainable tourism Outcomes, for clarity and comprehensiveness, we categorize them in the three sustainability dimensions: economic, socio-cultural, and environmental impacts. However, it is essential to emphasize that they are strongly interconnected. Hence, we do not attempt to generate a discussion of how to categorize each outcome. Outcomes assessments were based on the number of positive and negative results of tourism described in reviewed studies (we weight results equally). Outcomes are classified as "mostly negative" when reported effects were either only negative or more negative than positive; "mostly positive" when reported effects were either only positive or more positive than negative, and "even" when the number of positive and negative effects were equal. Figure 7 shows that cases reported more positive than adverse effects concerning social and environmental outcomes, contrary to economic results, where more negative effects are registered.



**Figure 6. Fragmentation on Tourism Case Studies Research.**

Columns represent reviewed cases, and lines represent coded variables. Dark squares indicate that information about corresponding variables was identified in the corresponding case. White squares indicate the contrary. ECO: Economic outcomes, SO: Social Outcomes, and EO: Environmental Outcomes (See variable names in supplementary material 1).



**Figure 7. Percentage of studies grouped according to their outcomes assessment.**

Moreover, existing research reported less environmental outcomes than social or economic outcomes (22% of cases did not mention any environmental outcome, depicted by "none"; we detail the distribution of types of outcomes for each case in supplementary material 3). As mentioned above, the fragmentation of tourism studies, which also includes the study of outcomes, limits the information available for the present study, and therefore the results of this analysis would be different if all the variables of interest had been studied in all the selected cases. If we combined the three sustainable outcomes, we found that only 14 studies have mostly positive in all types of outcomes, while 7 cases reported mostly negative. The majority of cases (69) show mixed effects. Detail on the type and examples of tourism outcomes can be found on supplementary material 3.

#### **CHAPTER IV. DRIVERS AND CONSIDERATIONS FOR SUSTAINABLE TOURISM POLICIES**

In this section, we describe the 21 thematic categories (10 contextual and 11 institutional categories) identified, with the guidance of the CISF, as potential causes of positive or negative economic, social; and environmental outcomes. For each of the 90 cases, we found the variables (contextual or institutional) that were the most critical drivers of the tourism outcome presented in the results and discussion sections by the authors in the analysis for each case. Then, for each thematic category, we performed a frequency analysis presented in Table 1.

Tables 2 and 3 present the analysis of the conditional distribution of tourism outcomes given individual contextual and institutional thematic categories characteristics. For the assessment of

each thematic category, all of the cases containing the identified variables were reviewed. Thematic categories with more than six occurrences were analyzed individually in the following subsections (five contextual and four institutional).

Next, we describe how context, specifically tourists' affluence, asymmetries in the community, seasonality, foreign influences, and tourism development stage, are linked to tourism outcomes. We also describe how institutional categories, such as communities' degree of involvement, congruence between benefits and costs, non-resident interventions, high-tier policy development, and monitoring rule compliance, are associated to the outcome's development. When found, we also call attention to how some institutional strategies may have offset or strengthened the direction of effects determined by contextual attributes.

**Table 1. Frequency Analysis of Thematic Category**

	Thematic Categories	Variables from fragmentation coding	Ocurrence Possible Causality Analysis	
<b>Contextual factors</b>	Preexisting Asymmetries in the community	<i>Asymmetries</i>	20	
	High tourism affluence	<i>Type of tourism (Mass tourism)</i>	16	
	External Influences	<i>International dependence</i>	16	
	Seasonanility	<i>Climate considerations</i>	7	
	Other		<i>Political Stability</i>	6
			<i>Tourism Knowledge</i>	6
			<i>Cultural Believes</i>	5
			<i>Infrastructure resources</i>	2
Development Stage	<i>Resident's age</i>	1		
	<i>Intervention and Study Time (Both)</i>	1		
<b>Institutional factors</b>	Communities' degree of Involvement	<i>Resident's participation in tourism activities (employment or ownership)</i>	50	
		<i>Stakeholder effective participation (Present)</i>		
		<i>Tourism management (significant participation)</i>		
	Congruence between Benefits and Costs	<i>-Benefits Distribution Rules (with complete information)</i>	8	
	Non-residents interventions	<i>Non-residents economic participation (with information about partnership)</i>	13	
		<i>Intervention through enterprises (with information about partnership)</i>		
		<i>NGO/Private firms PIP (with information about partnership)</i>		
	High tier policy development	<i>High tier policy development</i>	9	
	Monitoring rule compliance	<i>Monitoring</i>	9	
	Other		<i>Educational tourism</i>	3
			<i>Clearly defined boundary rules</i>	5
		<i>Management Transparency</i>	4	
		<i>Government intervention</i>	1	
		<i>Institutional Innovations</i>	1	
	<i>Nested Enterprises</i>	1		

#### 4.1 Key contextual characteristics and contingent institutional remedies

##### 4.1.1 High tourism affluence

We classified seven of all cases as mass tourism (with high tourism affluence). Some authors consider that mass tourism negatively affects environmental and socio-cultural (Nyaupane & Thapa, 2004) or even economic (Stem, Lassoie, Lee & Deshler, 2003) conditions compared to alternative tourism. For other authors, there is no clear association between sustainable outcomes and mass tourism at all (Puczko & Rätz, 2000).

Our results indicate that mass tourism is related to more harmful social and environmental outcomes and more positive economic outcomes. Still, in many cases, positive economic outcomes are not free of concerns, 60% of mass tourism cases show only positive economic outcomes. The remaining cases had even and mostly negative economic outcomes. Identified economic concerns are related to inflation, living costs increase, significant economic leakages to foreign enterprises, and local benefits.

In the social dimension, 80% of cases reported mostly negative results, which confirms mass tourism relation with poor social outcomes. Adverse outcomes include perishing cultural identity, impacts in the built environment, vandalism, accelerated and unplanned urbanism. In the environmental dimension, only 20% of cases show positive outcomes. The more common negative environmental effects were air pollution, solid waste, water pollution, and overall environmental degradation.

Some policy lessons for mass tourism cases can be drawn from the case of Colombia (Sánchez & Jaramillo-Hurtado, 2010) since it presented mostly positive economic, social, and environmental outcomes. A possible cause of these results is the development of a national tourism strategy that included the creation and improvement of major connectivity infrastructure to all the country's tourism destinations and the implementation of an Ecotourism development policy that seeks to foster environmental education. Moreover, NGOs play an essential role since they contribute to environmental education and awareness efforts to incorporate sustainable practices into the population's daily lives. They also show strong coordination among governmental institutions (Ministry of Trade, Industry and Tourism, Ministry of Environment and the Ministry of Agriculture) for sustainable tourism, with an interdisciplinary and global tourism management approach.

In contrast, the Cyprus case (Farmaki, 2015) showed mostly negative outcomes in all categories. In this case, even though they had a national strategic plan that promotes sustainable tourism, there were counteracting views that limited its implementation. The strong influence of those who favored economic growth rather than achieving sustainability as the main objective, prevailed. Moreover, communities and stakeholders were invited to participate in the policy agenda, however, their participation was relatively low, and many questioned the government's role since they did not achieve to protect their interests.

**Table 2. Sustainable Outcomes related to identified context considerations. Summary table**

		Economic Outcomes					Social Outcomes					Environmental Outcomes				
		Mostly positive		Even	Mostly Negative		Mostly positive		Even	Mostly Negative		Mostly positive		Even	Mostly Negative	
		Only positive	More positive than negative	positive and negative	negative than positive	Only negative	Only positive	More positive than negative	positive and negative	negative than positive	Only negative	Only positive	More positive than negative	positive and negative	negative than positive	Only negative
High Tourism Affluence (n=7)	Mass tourism (7)	3/5 (60%)	0/5 (0%)	1/5 (20%)	0/5 (0%)	1/5 (20%)	1/5 (20%)	0/5 (0%)	0/5 (0%)	1/5 (20%)	3/5 (60%)	1/5 (20%)	0/5 (0%)	1/5 (20%)	1/5 (20%)	2/5 (40%)
Assymetries in the Community (24)	Physical (7)	0/7 (0%)	0/7 (0%)	2/7 (29%)	4/7 (57%)	1/7 (14%)	1/7 (14%)	2/7 (29%)	0/7 (0%)	1/7 (14%)	3/7 (43%)	3/4 (75%)	0/4 (0%)	0/4 (0%)	0/4 (0%)	1/4 (25%)
	Social (13)	5/13 (38%)	0/13 (0%)	3/13 (23%)	2/13 (15%)	3/13 (23%)	3/12 (25%)	1/12 (8%)	0/12 (0%)	2/12 (25%)	5/12 (42%)	2/10 (20%)	0/10 (0%)	1/10 (10%)	1/10 (10%)	6/10 (60%)
	Economic (12)	5/12 (42%)	0/12 (0%)	1/12 (8%)	4/12 (33%)	2/12 (17%)	1/11 (9%)	2/11 (18%)	1/11 (9%)	3/11 (27%)	4/11 (36%)	1/9 (11%)	1/9 (11%)	0/9 (0%)	1/9 (11%)	6/9 (67%)
	Human (4)	0/4 (0%)	0/4 (0%)	2/4 (50%)	2/4 (50%)	0/4 (0%)	1/4 (25%)	1/4 (25%)	0/4 (0%)	1/4 (25%)	1/4 (25%)	0/3 (0%)	0/3 (0%)	1/3 (33%)	1/3 (33%)	1/3 (33%)
Development stages (39)	Short Term (<= 5 years) (6)	2/6 (33%)	0/6 (0%)	2/6 (33%)	0/6 (0%)	2/6 (33%)	1/6 (17%)	2/6 (33%)	0/6 (0%)	0/6 (0%)	3/6 (50%)	1/4 (25%)	0/4 (0%)	1/4 (25%)	0/4 (0%)	2/4 (50%)
	Medium Term (>5, <=15 years) (18)	7/15 (47%)	0/15 (0%)	1/15 (5%)	6/15 (32%)	1/15 (5%)	11/16 (69%)	1/16 (6%)	1/16 (6%)	1/16 (6%)	2/16 (13%)	10/13 (77%)	0/13 (0%)	0/13 (0%)	1/13 (8%)	2/13 (15%)
	Long Term (>15 years) (15)	4/15 (27%)	0/15 (0%)	3/15 (20%)	8/15 (53%)	0/15 (0%)	3/14 (21%)	3/14 (21%)	0/14 (0%)	5/14 (36%)	3/14 (21%)	6/11 (55%)	0/11 (0%)	1/11 (9%)	2/11 (18%)	2/11 (18%)
Foreign Influences (25)	Seasonality (12)	2/12 (17%)	0/12 (0%)	3/12 (25%)	5/12 (42%)	2/12 (17%)	4/12 (33%)	5/12 (42%)	0/12 (0%)	3/12 (25%)	0/12 (0%)	7/11 (64%)	3/11 (27%)	1/11 (9%)	0/11 (0%)	0/11 (0%)
	All (25)	7/25 (28%)	4/25 (16%)	0/25 (0%)	10/25 (40%)	4/25 (16%)	12/19 (63%)	1/19 (5%)	0/19 (0%)	1/19 (5%)	5/19 (26%)	12/17 (71%)	0/17 (0%)	1/17 (6%)	0/17 (0%)	4/17 (23%)
	Non-financially dependent (9)	6/9 (67%)	0/9 (0%)	0/9 (0%)	1/9 (11%)	2/9 (22%)	2/7 (29%)	0/7 (0%)	0/7 (0%)	1/7 (14%)	4 (57%)	1/5 (20%)	0/5 (0%)	0/5 (0%)	0/5 (0%)	4/5 (80%)

The number of total cases identified with the shared characteristic in parenthesis. For associations with a particular outcome, only those cases that reported that type of outcome was considered and specified in the table. Percentages were rounded to whole numbers

#### 4.1.2 Preexisting Asymmetries in the community

We identified four types of asymmetries that were present before the tourism activity began, in 24 of the reviewed cases (see table 2):

- a) physical asymmetries, that include differences in the distance from communities' location to the tourism attraction and the infrastructure developed within the communities.
- b) social asymmetries that consider differences in residents' social capital (i.e., associations and dominant groups) and ethnicity;
- c) economic asymmetries, which involves differences in residents' financial assets and differences between foreign and residents' investment capacity; and
- d) human capital asymmetries, that refers to the tourism-related abilities developed by residents.

In general, we found that asymmetries are negatively associated to tourism outcomes since 63%, 65%, and 53% of reviewed cases showed mostly negative economic, social, and environmental outcomes, respectively. We found, however, that when physical asymmetries are present, more positive environmental outcomes are observed. As shown in table 2, we identified seven cases that presented physical asymmetries, where most of the economic and social outcomes were negative (71% and 57%, respectively). However, most of the reported environmental outcomes were only positive (75%). For example, in the case of four communities surrounding the Kakum Conservation Area (KCA) in Ghana (Cobbinah, Amenuvor, Black & Peprah, 2017), each community's relative location to the conservation area had little influence on the economic outcomes. In terms of the social outcomes, the two communities closer to KCA received tourism training and vulnerable groups were empowered, however, these positive outcomes were shadowed by land conflicts with neighboring leaders, lack of infrastructure development within the community, and acculturation. On the other hand, the communities further from the KCA revealed positive environmental outcomes given the drop in hunting and logging.

Concerning social asymmetries, we found that its presence is related to mostly negative social and environmental outcomes (67% and 70%, respectively). In Yunguilla, in Ecuador (Neudel, 2015), for example, a family group within the community leads the tourism association and benefits those related to or close to them. Their leadership contributed to the development of community-based tourism and enterprises supporting the commercialization of local products. They reported significant economic benefits with two opposite main effects: i) the possibility to increase human capital for the development of the tourism sector, and ii) the displacement of labor from agricultural activities towards tourism-related activities, threatening the agriculture

sector, which is the basis of the community-based tourism. Similar to social asymmetries, in the twelve cases where economic asymmetries were present, more negative social and environmental outcomes were found (64% and 78%, respectively). In the case of Cyprus (Farmaki, 2015), a case with economic asymmetries and mostly negative economic, social and environmental outcomes, the private sector leads the development of the tourism sector because of their investment capacity, leaving residents out of the decision-making for tourism planning. Significant economic benefits were identified in terms of job openings, but with serious concerns related to economic leakage.

When economic and social asymmetries are found together, as in the Mekong region (Leksakundilok, 2004), the economic outcomes are mostly positive (83%). In all countries: Thailand, Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar, and the Yunnan province of China, there are dominant ethnic groups that actively control the country and ecotourism. Significant economic outcomes were identified when tourism had a proactive central management institution, effective stakeholder participation, and ecotourism development was part of the regional or national policy. Four cases presented human capital asymmetries, but in three of them there was at least another type of asymmetry present. When the abilities and knowledge developed for the tourism industry differed across communities involved in tourism, there were more negative than positive outcomes. In the case of The Annapurna Conservation Area Project, in Nepal (Nyaupane & Thapa, 2004), for example, the communities near the Conservation Area neither had the financial means nor the knowledge and skills to be employed in the established hotels and lodges in the conservation area. Furthermore, the entrepreneurial families (higher-caste families) received most of the benefits of tourism. When these three asymmetries were present, more negative than positive economic, social, and environmental outcomes were reported.

A compelling case for policy implication occurs in Andaman, Thailand (Goodwin & Santilli, 2009), where tourism planning provided different sorts of training programs for all volunteering residents. As a result, fewer economic leakages were found, and an equal distribution of benefits was observed among community members. The case shows more positive than negative outcomes in the social and environmental categories and promising economic results, which suggests that among other policies, providing training opportunities to reduce human capital asymmetries may contribute to achieving more desirable outcomes.

### **4.1.3 Seasonality**

Seasonality refers to climate considerations that affect a given tourist area's stability by reducing or increasing the number of tourists it receives. These weather conditions generate volatility in revenue collection among residents and communities that participate in tourism-related activities. We identified twelve cases that reported that seasonality was a relevant issue to be addressed.

Our results show that ten out of twelve cases identified some positive economic outcomes. However, only 17% of the cases showed only economic benefits, and 25% showed equally distributed positive and negative outcomes. Identified benefits were mainly improvements in economic development and economic dependence. For example, in the case studied by Kontogeorgopoulos (2005):

To counter the seasonality, and therefore instability and insecurity, common to tourism-related employment (Baron, 1999), Sea Canoe [in Thailand] pays its staff a guaranteed salary every month, regardless of how many days (beyond a minimum of 10) that are worked (2005, p. 11).

The development of a more diversified economy or a different dominant economic activity also helped counter seasonality and achieve economic outcomes. Meanwhile, ten out of twelve cases reported an association between seasonality and adverse economic outcomes. Main issues included problems of economic stability (50% of identified cases) and the distribution of benefits (70%): In all cases within this group, the tourism activity cannot employ the whole community and those involved in different degrees. To a lesser extent, 40% of cases presented problems of leakages in economic profits, and 30% of the cases were unsuccessful in economic development. In Costa Rica, for example, workers are usually exploited during high seasons, while workers in low seasons are fired temporarily.

On the other hand, most cases with seasonality issues showed more desirable social outcomes (see table 1). Common observed positive results were: residents' empowerment through educational activities, collaborative partnership efforts, physical infrastructure development using local materials, and limited or non-existent changes to the household's culture.

Similarly, cases that reported seasonality issues showed more positive than negative environmental results: 64% showed only positive impacts. To a great extent, case studies in this category showed that tourism contributed to promoting collective action aligned with the conservation of the environment. Likewise, it deterred activities harmful to the environment, such as rice cultivation and cattle ranching.

#### **4.1.4 Foreign Influences**

We found 25 cases with a relevant presence of foreign actors. Some of the cases were highly economically dependent on another country, as the case of Niue's tourist sector that was developed with economic aid from New Zealand (De Haas, 2002). A smaller group of cases showed international influence through economic integration, as the countries that were members of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and the Greater Mekong Subregion (Leksakundilok, 2004). Another type of economic dependence was exemplified in Tanzania,

where national policies were crafted in line with a structural adjustment agreement with the International Monetary Fund (Nelson, 2004).

As shown in Table 1, most cases that present strong foreign influences showed less desirable economic outcomes (56% with mostly negative economic benefits). In contrast, the social and environmental results were more desirable (68% and 71% with mostly positive outcomes, respectively). However, most of these cases (16) are examples of donor's interventions that boost social and environmental conditions, but in which communities were not able to become financially independent (Goodwin & Santilli, 2009). If we consider cases that involved a non-financial foreign influence, results are reverted: 67% of cases show mostly positive economic outcomes, and 71% and 80% mostly negative social and environmental outcomes, respectively. In Cambodia's case for example, after the governmental promotion of ecotourism in the country, only a few could profit from its economic activities and communities that host tourists observed undesirable outcomes as sex tourism, increased inequality, and environmental damages (Leksakundilok, 2004). National efforts towards tourism development were decoupled with the economic capacity for infrastructure and services development and a weak legal and institutional framework. These results support previous findings on tourism and socio-ecological systems governance. When disconnected from place-based needs, perspectives, and interests, top-down policies may turn out in disruptive outcomes (Jones, Muday & Roberts, 2009; Ostrom, 1990).

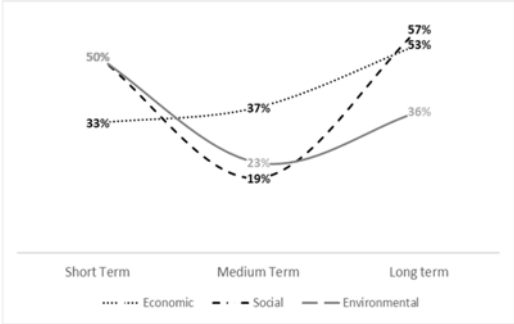
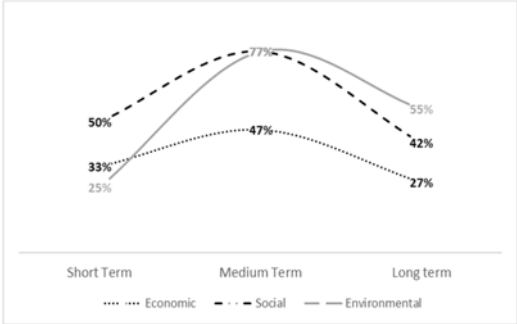
#### **4.1.5 Other key, but less recurrent context variables**

As shown in table 1, in our content analysis, political stability (especially related to countries' democracy), was identified in six cases as a key factor that affects the ability to establish policies and management plans for tourism development and their results. Moreover, five cases highlight that cultural beliefs are either barriers for creating and sharing benefits among the community, or a source of trust and pride that enables collective action. In either case, when the community was involved in the decision-making process, obstacles were overcome, and stronger bonds and self-assurance were reported. Tourism knowledge, specifically the lack of skills for tourism development (management and marketing skills) in six cases was linked to negative economic outcomes in terms of community's benefits, lack of commercial channels for tourism development and stability, and uneven distribution of benefits. Lack of infrastructure is another factor associated with tourism outcomes; however, it is less highlighted as crucial for sustainable results (2 cases). Similarly, residents' age appeared only in a case where older communities were more resistant to tourism development because they were afraid of losing their land rights, as opposed to younger communities had more favorable opinions towards tourism.

#### **4.1.6 Development Stages**

Tourism-related outcomes often change through time. The Tourism Area Life Cycle concept suggests that tourism destinations evolve through different stages: exploration, involvement, development, and consolidation, and depending on the tourism management adopted and other factors, through stagnation, decline, or rejuvenation (Butler, 1980). We identified only one case that highlighted the impact of tourism development stages in outcomes, but 40 cases in which it was possible to quantify the number of years elapsed between the implementation of tourism development in the study area and when the research was carried out. We categorized cases in short, medium, and long term (up to 5 years, between 6 and 15 years, more than 15 years, respectively).

Figure 8.a shows that positive economic, social, and environmental results are more prominent in cases classified in the medium than in the short and long term. Complementary, figure 8.b shows that negative social and environmental results are less preminent in cases classified in the medium than in the short and long term. These results support the Tourism Area Life Cycle concept by evidencing that sustainable results may improve in the early stages of tourism but decline in later stages. Table 1 provides more detailed information.



**Figure 8.a Development Stages. Mostly positive cases**

**Figure 8.b Development Stages. Mostly negative cases**

Figures 8a and 8b show the percentage of cases that reported mostly positive and negative results, respectively. We categorized selected cases in short (up to 5 years), medium ( between 6 and 15 years), and long term (more than 15 years, respectively)

Time elapsed cannot explain tourist area life cycles by itself. It is necessary to understand the underlying attributes shared among cases that reported similar term category outcomes. Case studies classified in the short term that show less desirable outcomes, are characterized by less transparent management practices, private interest prevailing in decision-making, or imposed extortion rates for local companies. Regularly, stakeholders participate in decision-making, though it tends to be quite weak, and their perspective did not contribute to generating considerable changes towards sustainable tourism. In the case of Gambia, for example, community members were not equally represented, which may be a consequence of the early stage of tourism: villagers were sometimes excluded from committees, which combined with low

levels of financial management transparency, it generated social differences between communities. Also, cases in this group did not implement conflict resolution schemes, and disputes or extortion problems such as those experienced in Puhket and Ao Phangnga, Thailand, where conflicts were latent and without a prospective solution (Kontogeorgopoulos, 2005; Leksakundilok, 2004).

Concerning the cases classified in the medium term, we observed that tourism generally strengthened residents' pride in their culture and empowered residents by increasing their autonomy. Local awareness and collective action to conserve and preserve the tourist destination's environment was also commonly observed in this group of cases. In the institutional realm, most cases show clearly defined boundaries rules— e.g., they count with natural resources management laws, ecotourism concessions, and property titles were granted. Likewise, residents actively participated in the decision-making process, and they had clearly defined distribution rules for the economic benefits of tourism. In Yunan's case in China, for example, residents economically benefited from tourism, without economic leakages. Almost all stakeholders and communities related to the tourism project were considered in the tourism development process (Leksakundilok, 2004). One last similarity within this group is the efficacy of their monitoring efforts: both for rules enforcement and for reporting natural resource conditions.

Concerning the cases classified in the long term, they are characterized by having clearly defined boundaries rules, especially regarding property titles and hunting zones, and they also considered communities in the decision-making process. However, these cases failed to develop adequate institutional coordination between government entities related to tourism development and communities. The adverse economic outcomes were generally caused by leakages, as in Sogoog in Mongolia, where most tourists arranged their trips and expenses with private operators and non-residents of the tourist destination (Nault & Stapleton, 2011). Meanwhile, the adverse social outcomes found in the long-term category were varied. In the Annapurna Conservation Area in Nepal, an acculturation process occurred that tended to modify traditional values and costumes due to tourism (Nyaupane & Thapa, 2004), while in Cambodia, sex tourism became a major problem (Leksakundilok, 2004).

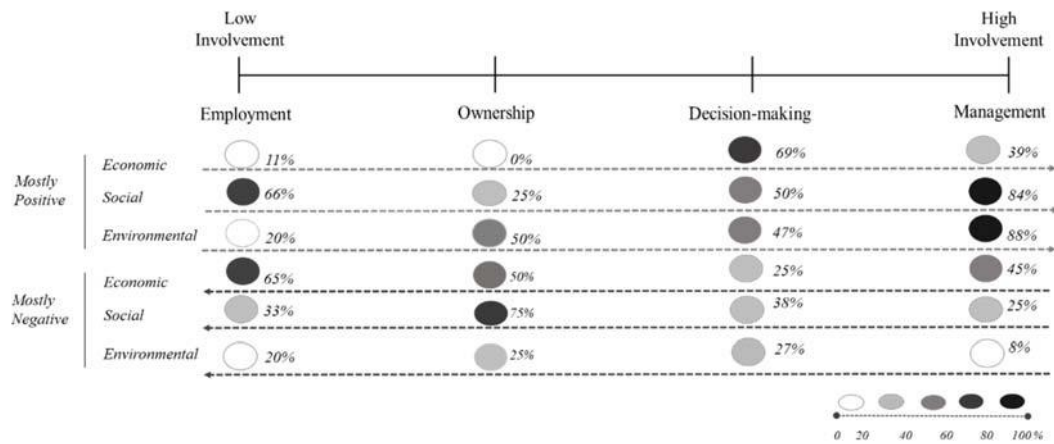
## **4.2 Key Institutional Considerations**

### **4.2.1 Communities' degree of Involvement**

Many authors have associated positive effects on a community's environment, economic and social conditions with community members' participation in tourism activities and management (Stronza, 2009; Goodwin & Santilli, 2009). We also found cases where the total absence of communities' participation was associated with less desirable economic outcomes for the local

community. It is, however, less clear how the degree of community involvement contributes to social and environmental results.

We classified reviewed cases in four groups according to their degree of community participation in tourism development. The most comprehensive form of residents' involvement is considered in this study when the community is in charge of tourism management. A lower degree of involvement occurs when residents are not in charge but are included in the decision and rule-making process. When community members become owners of a business unit that provide tourism services but that are not involved in any form in tourism management, it is considered a lower degree of participation. Finally, the least form of involvement includes cases where residents only participate in tourism activities by being employed by foreign businesses. Figure 9 depicts these four categories and the associated economic, social, and environmental outcomes of tourism development.



**Figure 9. Degree of Community Involvement and Sustainable Outcomes Coincidence Analysis.**

The graph is associated with table 2. "Mostly Positive" include cases that had either "only positive results" or "more positive than negative results." Similarly, "mostly negative" include cases that had either "only negative results" or "more negative than positive results." Percentages refer to the proportion of cases in the corresponding category. Darker shapes are associated with higher percentages.

As shown in table 3 and figure 9, higher levels of involvement, as community-managed tourism, and residents' participation in the institutional decision-making process, is associated with more desirable results in the three dimensions of sustainability. Tourism positive effects in the social and environmental conditions are clearly greater when the community is more involved in tourism management (84% and 88% of cases reported mostly positive social and ecological outcomes, respectively).

Our results support previous studies that claim that when decision-making is coordinated with the community, tourism generates more desirable social results. High residents' involvement promotes capacity building and residents' empowerment. Moreover, policies are better crafted since they consider the community's needs, perspectives, and knowledge. The most common favorable social results in cases with a high degree of participation are general and women empowerment, enhanced tourism-related skills, and community infrastructure (e.g., schools, hospitals) improvement. We also found cases that reported that communities' participation in tourism management strengthened their cultural identity since it increased their resilience to cope with the cultural change associated with tourism. The most common positive environmental effects in self-managed cases were: increased environmental awareness, communal organization for environmental-related activities such as reforestation or patrolling, training in conservation activities, and better garbage disposal infrastructure.

The economic effects are found to be greater when communities are not in charge of tourism management but are part of the decision-making process (69% of cases reported mostly positive economic outcomes). The case of Posada Amazonas in Peru (Hill & Hill, 2011), is an example of this group. Tourism infrastructure was developed to integrate the community, and thus residents were encouraged to be active participants in making tourism a long-term option for their livelihoods. Hill and Hill (2011) argue that the positive impact of full participation is not universal. It depends on the tour operator and the local community's ability to work together to secure long-term financial and technical support.

Community participation in tourism activities through employment or business ownership appears to be insufficient for achieving social and economic desirable results. In cases where residents only participated by working in foreign businesses, 65% showed mostly negative economic outcomes. In the case of community business ownership without any participation in the decision-making process, 75% of the studied cases reported mostly negative social results.

In most cases considered in the categories of a high degree of involvement (management and decision-making), community members are also employed or own a tourism-related business. In the case of Ban Nong Khao Community Tourism, in Thailand (Goodwin & Santilli, 2009), for example, community decision-making was implemented along with residents' private business. More commerce of crafts and food for tourists were generated, infrastructure for the community like schools or hospitals was developed, and environmental awareness and protection was enhanced due to the relevance of natural capital for tourist activity and income. When residents are involved in tourism economic activities, they are more aware of their impacts on the community and nature, increasing the chances of achieving more desirable results (Orgaz & Cañero, 2016). In many cases, the private actor could be the primary driver of the social, environmental, and economic positive impacts or could offset the possibility of lobbying power

with proper management, planning, institutions, and stakeholder participation. In other cases, private businesses may not consider carrying capacity issues or can confer weak stakeholder active participation.

Moreover, we found that residents' employment or business ownership is not necessary for successful tourism development. The community of Quehueri'ono in Ecuador (Wood, 1998), for example, did not participate in any tourism economic activity and achieved mostly positive outcomes in every category. Even though the indigenous community (Huaorani) was not acculturated, it successfully forged a long-term partnership with a committed inbound tour operator. This partnership allowed community members to avoid being involved with the business's marketing side while receiving advice on a variety of development issues. Economic outcomes are reached because a fee is paid to the community president for each visitor per night, and the money is distributed evenly among all the families. Social outcomes are evidenced through the training in tourism skills they received and the maintenance of traditional costumes. They also maintained environmental balance because they limited visits based on carrying capacity measures, and tourism increased their environmental awareness.

It is important to highlight that tourism, in the seven cases that reported mostly positive economic, social and environmental results when the community manages tourism, was identified as ecotourism, and in most cases (five) communities show strong and common cultural beliefs. The three cases that show mostly positive outcomes in all categories, and where the community did not manage tourism but participated in the decision-making process, had either congruence between their costs and benefits, conflict resolution mechanism, and well-defined boundary rules. Two of them were also based on ecotourism.

**Table 3. Sustainable Outcomes related to identified institutional considerations. Summary table**

		Economic Outcomes					Social Outcomes					Environmental Outcomes				
		Mostly positive		Even	Mostly Negative		Mostly positive		Even	Mostly Negative		Mostly positive		Even	Mostly Negative	
		Only positive	More positive than negative	Even positive and negative	More negative than positive	Only negative	Only positive	More positive than negative	Even positive and negative	More negative than positive	Only negative	Only positive	More positive than negative	Even positive and negative	More negative than positive	Only negative
Communities Degree of Involvement (n = 62)	<i>Employment (9)</i>	0/9 (0%)	1/9 (11%)	3/9 (33%)	5/9 (55%)	0/9 (10%)	1/9 (11%)	5/9 (55%)	0/9 (0%)	2/9 (22%)	1/9 (11%)	1/5 (20%)	0/5 (0%)	3/5 (60%)	0/5 (0%)	1/5 (20%)
	<i>Community ownership (4)</i>	0/4 (0%)	0/4 (0%)	2/4 (50%)	2/4 (50%)	0/4 (0%)	1/4 (25%)	0/4 (0%)	0/4 (0%)	2/4 (50%)	1/4 (25%)	1/4 (25%)	1/4 (25%)	1/4 (25%)	1/4 (25%)	0/4 (0%)
	<i>Decision - making (18)</i>	10/16 (63%)	1/16 (6%)	1/16 (6%)	4/16 (25%)	0/16 (0%)	7/16 (44%)	1/16 (6%)	3/16 (19%)	0/16 (0%)	6/16 (38%)	7/15 (47%)	0/15 (0%)	5/15 (33%)	0/15 (0%)	4/15 (27%)
	<i>Community management (31)</i>	12/31 (39%)	0/31 (0%)	5/31 (16%)	12/31 (39%)	2/31 (6%)	17/25 (68%)	4/25 (16%)	1/25 (4%)	0/25 (0%)	3/25 (25%)	21/24 (88%)	0/24 (0%)	1/24 (4%)	0/24 (0%)	2/24 (8%)
Cost/Benefit Congruence (17)	<i>Congruent Rules (9)</i>	6/9 (67%)	0/9 (0%)	0/9 (0%)	3/9 (33%)	0/9 (0%)	6/9 (67%)	3/9 (33%)	0/9 (0%)	0/9 (0%)	0/9 (0%)	8/9 (89%)	0/9 (0%)	0/9 (0%)	0/9 (0%)	1/9 (11%)
	<i>Non congruent Rules (8)</i>	0/8 (0%)	0/8 (0%)	1/8 (13%)	7/8 (88%)	0/8 (0%)	1/8 (13%)	1/8 (13%)	1/8 (13%)	2/8 (25%)	3/8 (38%)	3/6 (50%)	0/6 (0%)	0/6 (0%)	1/6 (17%)	2/6 (33%)
Non-residents Intervention (26)	<i>Partnership (21)</i>	11/21 (52%)	0/21 (0%)	7/21 (33%)	2/21 (10%)	1/21 (5%)	12/21 (57%)	5/21 (24%)	2/21 (10%)	1/21 (5%)	1/21 (5%)	12/21 (57%)	0/21 (0%)	5/21 (24%)	0/21 (0%)	4/21 (19%)
	<i>Without Partnership (5)</i>	0/5 (0%)	3/5 (60%)	0/5 (0%)	1/5 (20%)	1/5 (20%)	1/4 (25%)	0/4 (22%)	1/4 (25%)	0/4 (14%)	2/4 (50%)	0/4 (0%)	0/4 (0%)	3/4 (75%)	0/4 (0%)	1/4 (25%)
Monitoring (19)	<i>Present or well-functioning (8)</i>	3/8 (38%)	0/8 (0%)	2/8 (25%)	2/8 (25%)	1/8 (13%)	4/7 (57%)	1/7 (14%)	1/7 (14%)	1/7 (14%)	0/7 (0%)	5/7 (71%)	0/7 (0%)	1/7 (14%)	0/7 (0%)	1/7 (14%)
	<i>Weak or lack of Monitoring (11)</i>	1/9 (11%)	3/9 (33%)	0/9 (0%)	5/9 (56%)	0/9 (0%)	3/11 (27%)	3/11 (27%)	2/11 (18%)	0/11 (0%)	3/11 (27%)	3/9 (33%)	0/9 (0%)	4/9 (44%)	1/9 (11%)	1/9 (11%)
High tier policy development (38)	<i>Policies aligned with ST development (22)</i>	9/22 (41%)	0/22 (0%)	4/22 (18%)	7/22 (32%)	2/22 (9%)	5/20 (25%)	4/20 (20%)	1/20 (5%)	4/20 (20%)	6/20 (30%)	5/18 (28%)	1/18 (6%)	1/18 (6%)	2/18 (11%)	9/18 (50%)
	<i>Lack of policies aligned with ST development (16)</i>	2/15 (13%)	3/15 (20%)	2/15 (13%)	7/15 (47%)	1/15 (7%)	1/16 (6%)	3/16 (19%)	3/16 (19%)	3/16 (19%)	6/16 (38%)	4/13 (31%)	0/13 (0%)	6/13 (46%)	1/13 (8%)	2/13 (15%)

The number of total cases identified with the shared characteristic in parenthesis. For associations with a particular outcome, only those cases that reported that type of outcome was considered and specified in the table.

#### **4.2.2 Congruence between Benefits and Costs**

As shown in table 1, some studies highlight the influence of participants cost-benefit perception of tourism on observed outcomes. For example, in Tafi Atome, Ghana, some undesirable outcomes were attributed to the fact that participants felt that benefits distribution rules were not equitable, since they did not include any allocation of revenue to non-indigenes (Afenyo & Amuquandoh, 2014). At the same time, in some cases authors argue that an equal share of benefits generated more desirable outcomes. In Bali, Indonesia for example, economic gains from ecotourism activities were generated and shared by all villages. They divided profits among different community institutions to use them for the renovation of facilities, collective work, meetings, or ceremonies (Byczek, 2011). Table 3 shows an association between cases in which participants perceived that rules enabled a proportional distribution of benefits (n=9) and mostly positive economic (67%), social (100%) and environmental (89%) outcomes. Likewise, when participants perceived that rules did not offer a proportional equivalence between cost and benefits from tourism (n=8), more mostly negative outcomes were observed economically (87.5%) and socially (62.5%). However, there is not a clear association between non congruent cost - benefit rules and environmental outcomes. These results are consistent with existing literature that support the importance of crafting congruent distributions rules. Rules that reflect a proportional equivalence between costs and benefits encourage participants to contribute to keep resources well-maintained, and to engage in activities for more sustainable results (Ostrom 2009a), since they establish fair systems, a crucial attribute for successful and sustainable SES management (Chakraborty 2004, Ostrom 2009a).

#### **4.2.3 Non-residents interventions**

A total of 26 of the reviewed cases feature the participation of private companies or NGOs in local tourism development as an important factor for certain desirable and undesirable outcomes. The presence of partnership, defined as “a voluntary pooling of resources between two or more parties in order to accomplish collaborative goals” (Augustyn & Knowles, 2000 p. 341), is associated with more successful outcomes, than when non-residents intervene in isolation. The activities in which NGOs or private companies intervene in partnership with local or public managers, include education and training (e.g., Nelson, 2004), empowering residents’ voice (e.g., Afenyo & Amuquandoh, 2014), ecological rehabilitation (e.g., Fiorello & Bo, 2012), lobbying the government to implement environmental policies (e.g., Kontogeorgopoulos, 2005), property owning (e.g., Hill & Hill, 2011), sponsoring (e.g., De Hass), marketing and promotion (e.g., Wood, 1998), among others. Table 3 shows an association between cases that reported a type of partnership (n=21) and mostly positive economic (52%), social (81%) and environmental (57%) outcomes. Likewise, when NGOs or private companies intervened in isolation (n=6), more

mostly negative outcomes were observed economically (60%) and socially (64%), and no (0%) mostly positive environmental outcomes were reported. Most negative outcomes associated with private companies' participation in isolation were related to economic leakages (e.g., Cobbinah, et al., 2017), while for NGOs intervention in isolation, tensions with local communities was the most common negative outcome (e.g., NGOs interest on environmental protection conflicted with locals' viewpoints; Goodwin & Santilli, 2009).

#### **4.2.4 High-tier policy development**

A total of 38 of the reviewed cases mentioned the presence or absence of local, regional, and national policies aligned with sustainable tourism development, including environmental policies, ecotourism development policies, nature and culture, local development, and biodiversity conservation. These policies can be promoted by NGOs and local communities. Our findings suggest that the presence of policies by themselves does not ensure positive nor negative social, environmental or economic outcomes Table 3 shows that study cases with policies aligned with sustainable tourism development (n=22) have mostly negative economic (41%), social (50%), and environmental (61%) outcomes. Regarding negative environmental outcomes, they appeared even though most of the policies developed (62%) considered an environmental component. For example, in Nepal, the national government developed policies to promote the natural, cultural, and human environments of the country, as well as promoted the increase in number of visitors. However, this policy development did not translate into positive social, economic, or environmental outcomes (Nyaupane & Thapa, 2004). Furthermore, the absence of policies aligned with sustainable tourism (n=16) is not linked to predominately negative environmental outcomes (23%), but mostly negative social (56%) and economic outcomes (53%). In the Kakun Conservation Area in Ghana, although there is a lack of ecotourism policy framework, forest degradation and deforestation decreased as ecotourism took place in the protected areas; however, roads are still in bad conditions and land conflicts have not yet been resolved (social outcomes), and jobs and benefits from ecotourism are distributed unevenly among the communities (Cobbinah, et al., 2017). These findings are aligned with the policy-implementation gap literature, where the design and development of policies alone does not translate into a successful outcome, if not accompanied by effective implementation and monitoring phases (Hudson et al., 2019). Moreover, in the tourism sector, the policy is complex to implement because it inevitably interacts with policies from other sectors; therefore, policymakers must raise awareness of their policies, and act on other policies to achieve sustainable tourism goals (Guo et al., 2019).

#### **4.2.5 Monitoring rule compliance**

The literature reports the relevance of monitoring rule compliance to achieve sustainable outcomes (9 cases), and our analysis support this assessment by identifying an association between present or well-functioning monitoring mechanism and mostly positive social and environmental outcomes (71% in both cases). However, we also found that when monitoring is reported as “weak” or “non-existent”, most cases showed also mostly positive social outcomes (54%), though also mostly negative economic outcomes (56%). Our analysis supports the idea that monitoring mechanisms is a key institutional principle (Ostrom, 1990), and yet they are not sufficient for developing sustainable tourism’s outcomes.

#### **4.2.6 Other key, but less recurrent institutional variables**

As shown in table 1, clearly defined boundary rules were identified in five cases as key institutional factors that condition the resource use, and therefore the planning and governance of tourism development. Four cases highlighted that management transparency contributes to improving access and distribution of tourism’s benefits. Educational tourism includes the development of centers informing tourists about the local attributes of a tourism site (i.e. culture, biodiversity, ecology); locals sharing their knowledge with tourists; and, community education as part of the project contributing to decreasing negative environmental and social impacts on touristic sites. Government intervention in the form of physical infrastructure for tourism development contributed to the economic development of the tourism sector only. Finally, institutional innovations and nested enterprises in the form of increased coordination between national and regional tourism organizations (Farmaki, 2015), as well as regional organizations acting as liaisons between the public and the private sector and constitute an umbrella under which public and private stakeholders and local authorities interact, contributing to sustainable tourism development in the regions and, therefore, in a country.

### **DISCUSSION: ASSESSING RESULTS FOR POLICY IMPLICATIONS**

This research develops context-based theory embedded in an SES approach contributing to advancing sustainability science in general, and sustainable tourism management in particular. This approach was operationalized with a qualitative meta-analysis. First, the systematic review and coding of tourism cases allowed for the identification of context and institutional variables that are key to understanding sustainable tourism outcomes to overcome the fragmentation problem of tourism research. Second, with the guidance of the CISF, linkages of possible causality between context characteristics, institutional processes, and sustainable tourism development outcome variables were identified and analyzed to provide policy guidance. One of the main lessons that this study uncovers is that mass tourism and international

intervention in tourism development can be very socially, environmentally, and sometimes even economically harmful. We found that a higher inflow of tourists may increase living expenses, and if residents do not perceive economic gains, they may find themselves worse off. However, if tourism managers decide to develop mass tourism, they can plan policies to avoid or compensate unintended consequences. One effort that showed positive results for mass tourism is to foster social and environmental education specifically designed to avoid adverse effects of tourism. Education and other efforts to integrate values may also be needed since counteracting views can limit sustainable tourism plans implementation. We also found that strong coordination among governmental institutions with an interdisciplinary and global tourism management approach was effective for achieving sustainable tourism outcomes for mass tourism and tourism development in general.

Our results are compelling in suggesting that community participation in tourism management contributes to more sustainable outcomes. For this, tourism developers must minimize barriers for communication and community involvement. Weak participation is associated with less desirable results. Enabling effective participation implicates considering community's characteristics. For example, community participation in decision-making could be harmful when it only focuses on a small group with economic power. Our findings suggest that identifying preexisting residents' physical, social, economic, or human asymmetries and implementing policies for including less advantaged community members can contribute to achieving more desirable outcomes. Planning for avoiding conflicts based on unequal results works hand in hand with participatory approaches. Community involvement allows the incorporation of residents' different needs, perspectives, values, and skills into policy implementation. In some cases, investing in capacity building that allows local empowerment or on public infrastructure to narrow financial gaps, can enable those less advantaged to profit more from tourism projects. Enabling knowledge sharing between locals and tourists and implementing educational tourism, are some other strategies that show desirable results.

Moreover, we recommend considering ecological and climatic considerations such as those that generate tourism seasonality. Tourism developers may consider creating alternative livelihood means aligned with tourism to avoid economic dependence. To this end, partnerships with NGOs or private operators were found to be valuable. Our results also support tourism life cycles theory that claims that tourism destinations evolve through different stages. We found that in the short term, tourism activities may bring less desirable sustainable outcomes. However, case studies in later development stages tend to show better results when behaviors and ecological monitoring and rule enforcement are framed in adaptive resource management and transparency with clearly defined rules. Finally, it seems that well-articulated and coordinated policies between local and supra governance, and communities' perception of fair distribution of benefits rules, is of

relevance in the long term. However, our findings are aligned with the policy-implementation gap literature, where the design and development of policies alone do not translate into a successful outcome, if not accompanied by effective implementation and monitoring phases.

Finally, several categories within the identified and analyzed institutional variables are part of the key design institutional principles developed by Ostrom (1990). Nevertheless, this is the first attempt to study tourism interventions as a SES using the CISF to guide the analysis and identify key contextual and institutional variables. The case-by-case process carried out in this research shows that using a SES approach is possible and useful when operationalized with a qualitative meta-analysis, but is labor-intensive. Researchers can use the variables identified in this study as a basis for sustainable tourism research, and policy-makers can develop interventions considering the institutional arrangements that contribute to sustainable outcomes, specifically for contextual characteristics that are negatively linked with these outcomes.

## CONCLUSION

To address the overarching goal of identifying institutional designs for sustainable tourism development, the scientific community faces different challenges. One is that there is no one institutional recipe suited for all different cases. Second, to identify which policies are more successful than others, we need to perform numerous case studies that incorporate similar variables and measures to make them comparable. This study shows that tourism literature is fragmented, which hinders the accumulation of knowledge for theory building. Since the research design applied in this study depends on the degree of such fragmentation, we could not perform quantitative analyses, and the study of the relationship between variables and their influence on the results of tourism activity was limited to available information.

We also show how, with the guidance of the Coupled Infrastructure Systems Framework (CISF) adapted to the tourism sector, it is possible to design and analyze research that includes all previously identified relevant variables and their relationship, which may affect tourism results management. This is critical, especially considering that tourism is part of socio-ecological systems, and its development affects the components of such systems. These key variables were identified and quantified in terms of their inclusions to present a comprehensive list of future research or policy analysis factors. Using a common framework for sustainable tourism research can enable a more comprehensive comparison of cases and the accumulation of knowledge for theory building to inform sustainable tourism policies.

We then revealed the intended and unintended consequences of the tourism development efforts identified in the performed qualitative meta-analysis and some considerations for policy implications. Our analysis is limited to each factor's available information across case studies, which is affected by the challenge of fragmentation in sustainable tourism research. However, we were able to analyze how contextual variables and institutional variables are related to negative or positive outcomes, but they can alter their effects when combined. Hence, we call for context-based tourism management theory to include the linkages of context, institutional, and sustainable tourism outcomes. Finally, we believe that our results may aid when crafting sustainable tourism research designs or tourism strategies.

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**SUPPLEMENTARY MATERIAL**

## Supplementary Material 1. Case Review Protocol: Variable Descriptions and Examples

Description: The table shows all variables that were coded in reviewed cases. We provide a description and examples for each variable to enable the understanding of each variable.

CISF Category/ Outcome	Label	Definition	Examples	Occurrences
Public infrastructure / private infrastructure	Type of tourism	Type of tourism developed in the case. The variety of types included community-based, eco-tourism, mass tourism, cultural tourism, small-scale tourism, enclave tourism, tourism in protected areas and their combinations.	" Community-based ecotourism" "Enclave tourism/Mass tourism"	90/92
SES dynamic	Intervention and study time	Date when tourism started and date in which the study was carried. In some cases, the date of another important events regarding tourism was included.	"In 1995 ecotourism was introduced. The survey was carried on April-July 2012 and February-March 2014. Logging activities started from 1930s, intensified in 1950s to late 1980s. In 1989, government suspended logging activities and created institutions to protect it. In 1992, a total ban on all forms of entry and legal gazettal of the KCA as a national park".  "Tourism development in the area started in the 1840s. In 1997, Balaton National Park (BNP) was established. The survey was carried on 1995-1996".	84/92
Resource/Ecological/ General	Location description	Description of geographical, ecological (biophysical) and general features about location.	"The KCA is located about 30 km north of Cape Coast, the Central Regional capital of Ghana, with total land area of 360 km <sup>2</sup> ".  " Chiphat is located upriver along the banks of the Prek Phipot River, within the rainforest of the Southern Cardamom Protected Forest near the border with Thailand. It's only accessible by boat or a rough motorcycle journey".	77/92
Resource system	Main tourist attraction	Description of the principal tourist attraction in the case	" There is a well conserved mangrove near Puerto Hondo which encompasses accommodations, excursions, and education center and meals".  "Danayigu Ecological Park is the main tourist attraction. The main tourist activities are walking the trails along the river, viewing the fish, and exposure to Cou culture, particularly local foods and cultural performances".	76/92
Link 1 and Resource System	Tourism Activities	Describe the different types of activities perform by tourists	" Hiking, historical and traditional visits, viewing wildlife" " Beach activities and interaction with cultural features"	33/92
Link 1	Educational tourism	The tourist attraction provides educational experiences to tourists. For example if they give more information about the tourist destination, environmental awareness, cultural knowledge, or any material to learn about the tourist destination.	"They have built environmental education center which is used by visitors to learn more about mangrove forests".  "Visitors can learn on internet sites about local biodiversity, environmental issues and community conservation efforts, the project, and the available natural attractions, livelihood activities and cultural knowledge (local legends, beliefs and history related to natural attractions)".	20/92

CISF Category/ Outcome	Label	Definition	Examples	Occurrences
Users/ Local Communities	Communities involved	The tourist attraction is related to a specific community. In that case, this variable includes community characteristics like the name of the community, language, size, and social structure.	<p>"The closest towns to Cerro San Gil are Santo Tomas de Castilla and Puerto Barrios. The first is a port town that receives tourists and cargo, the second is a neighboring larger town. In the other side (the south) of Cerro San Gil there are small communities in terms of population".</p> <p>"There are five extended families in the village, four of which are of the Jola ethnic group: Sanyang family, who were the founders of the village and have seven houses; Sonko, from the same area as the Sanyang, and the founding elders were family friends; Manga (with one house) and the Jarjou (with four). The Manjako (Mende family) are the only other ethnic group in the village (Christian rather than Muslim) and have two houses in the village. They all spoke Jola language"</p>	47/92
Users/ Local Communities	Number of residents	Number of residents in the community (s) where tourism takes place and, if the case, number of residents considered in the study.	<p>"Population of the Assin South and Twifo-Hemang Lower Denkyira districts (i.e. 39, 843 inhabitants) live in the communities bordering the KCA. In the case study in Adadientem and Nuamakrom there were 495 inhabitants"</p> <p>"Ventanilla comprises 19 families for a total population of 97 people".</p>	32/92
Users/local communities	Resident's age	Resident's age distribution in the community (s) where tourism takes place.	<p>"Big proportion of young and older people in Niue, because many of working age residents have migrated in search of better opportunities and paid jobs - generally to New Zealand"</p> <p>"Of the total population, 31 individuals correspond to young people between 13 and 21 years old; 76 are under 12 years old; 9 are elderly and 82 are adults".</p>	12/92
Users/local communities	Literacy levels	Educational level or levels of schooling among residents in the community (s) where tourism takes place, and, if the case, educational level of residents considered in the study.	<p>"Most respondents had up to a secondary level of education, whereas others had completed either a diploma/certificate level of education, degree), or had no formal education at all".</p> <p>"In all the Mekong countries, there is a lack of education or productive skills".</p>	12/92
Users/Outcome	Cultural beliefs	Description of common cultural beliefs, social traditions, or cultural relevance in the community (s) where tourism takes place.	<p>"Monkeys are revered as messengers of gods, which has ensured their protection".</p> <p>"Collective action is a founding principle of the village. Community participation was high, and there was a high degree of leniency, being ill or caring for someone who is ill. For unacceptable absenteeism, the Alkalo or village leaders would speak to the offender and explain the importance of the work.".</p>	30/92

CISF Category/ Outcome	Label	Definition	Examples	Occurrences
Users / Local residents	Asymmetries	Description of existant asymmetric conditions among the community members even before tourism was implemented. Those could be human, financial, physic, or political. These asymmetries prevent inhabitants to participate in tourism activity or they create inequality conditions among them.	"The majority of the households have neither the capital to establish tourism enterprises nor the skills to be employed in the established hotels and lodges. Hence, the greater part of the population within these households work as farm laborers, which is strongly evident in traditional societal lower-caste families such as the Kamis, Damais and Sarkis [...]".  " The dominant ethnic group in each country comprises 66-90% of the total and strongly controls the country".	24/92
Users/ human inf/ outcome	Tourism knowledge	Description of the knowledge related to the tourist attraction, tourism management or touristic guidance, in the community (s) where tourism takes place.	"Interviews show that residents don't have the necessary skills for management and supervisory positions."  "Lack of capacity of communities in terms of business skills, leadership, and ownership "	19/92
Users	Community leadership	If the community (s) leads (lead), has (have) a leader, or a proper way to organize itself.	"One leading Huaorani conservationist, Moi Enomenga, has spoken out consistently against oil exploration on Huaorani land and has worked with international organizations to prevent road construction in the one million hectare wilderness that is the Huaorani home".  "much of 2002–03 the village had no chairman as the community wrangled over its leadership, and village governance was in disarray".	10/92
Users	Migration	Movements of people towards the tourist destination due to work or opportunities, before tourism.	"In the decade from 1991 to 2002, the population declined across most areas of the study region because of net migration outflows arising from structural changes in the mining, manufacturing, forestry and energy industries" "The majority of the sample has lived in the village for all of their life or most of their life".	6/92
Link 1	Previous economic activities	Before tourism, which economic activities were predominant or important in the study destination.	"This rural area of PI eco lodge was initially developed for timber extraction in the 1940s, but once the precious timbers were exhausted, the area tuned towards cattle ranching and later to agriculture until government agricultural incentives ended". "Aguablanquenses used to depend on charcoal production, tree felling, and hunting; now the community is more conscious about its natural environment and has discontinued activities that negatively impact the ecosystem".	18/92
Link 1	Community economic activity	Economic activities or economic sector dominant (in terms of employment or contribution to economic growth) in the community (s) where tourism takes place.	"Agriculture is the dominant economic activity employing over 70% of the total population in both districts, though in the communities bordering the KCA over 90% are engaged in small scale agriculture. over 70% of the total population is in agriculture, and in bordering communities 90% is in subsistence agriculture".  "Most of the respondents (68.5%) in this study worked in the tourism sector, with only 31 .5% working outside the tourism sector [...]".	53/92

CISF Category/ Outcome	Label	Definition	Examples	Occurrences
Link 1 / Outcome	Economic development	Degree of economic development of the community (s) where tourism takes place.	"Significant level of poverty." "GDP is not that low compared to the rest of Mekong Region, but it does have a very low GDP from agriculture and people remain poor in the rural areas".	26/92
Public infrastructure	Infrastructure resources	Description of the characteristics of the infrastructure in the community (s) where tourism takes place. This includes transportation, sanitation, telecommunication, environmental or water infrastructure. This infrastructure does not include tourist infrastructure as hotels and private facilities, which are comprised in "Tourism industry".	"Public transport to the marine national park involves approximately two days' boat travel from the nearest regional airport located in the provincial capital of Makassar". "In some communities, there is not even running water for each household, but only communal water spigots".	24/92
General	Environmental conservation	Degree of environmental conservation in the tourist attraction, before tourism.	"at a time when the reserve was experiencing fast diminishing of its tropical evergreen forest, KCA was established purposely to protect the watersheds of the Kakum River and other rivers which supply the water needs of Cape Coast and surrounding communities". "By the end of the century the natural resources extraction activities of local community had resulted in severe destruction of the populations and habitat of wildlife in the reserve, including the giant pandas".	27/92
Link 7 y 8	Climate Considerations	Description of the climatic conditions in the tourist destination, only regarding weather and not natural disasters.	"The wet season deters tourists". "seasonality of the research ecotourism activity is such that employment or accommodation rental is restricted to a maximum of three months each year".	12/92
Link 8	Political stability	Characterization of the political context of the location of the tourist destination, in terms of political stability or political uncertainty.	"The fluctuations tourists arrivals are probably because of the unsystematic nature of the record system and political problems". "There is political stability, the legitimacy of the New Order government was based on stability and development".	14/92
Users / Local / external private agents	International dependence	Degree of economic or political dependence of the country. The dependence could be to another country or to an international investor.	"Niue is highly dependant from New Zealand: huge economic aid from New Zealand and directed to develop tourism". "They had a structural adjustment agreement with the International Monetary Fund."	25/92

CISF Category/ Outcome	Label	Definition	Examples	Occurrences
Users / Link 1	Intervention through enterprises	Existence of important enterprises that play a role in the foundation of the tourist activity.	<p>"Two ecotourism enterprises are examined here: Inkaterra, a Peruvian ecotourism company that has offered ecotourism experiences since the mid-1970s. Inka Terra Association (ITA-NGO), which is funded by profits gained from ecotourism and which invests in research, conservation, social development and education. The company owns and operates Reserva Amazonica Lodge, which opened in 1976 as the first tourist installation along the Madre de Dios River".</p> <p>"A small-scale, start-up enterprise in the central Oriente is being advanced by TROPIC Ecological Adventures (an inbound tour operator in Quito), in partnership with the Huaorani community located at Quehueri'ono."</p>	13/92
Link 1 y 5	Quality of tourism services	Quality standards or value added of tourism products offered.	<p>"CNP is popular amongst those tourists seeking a more authentic rainforest experience".</p> <p>"Protected areas are unclean and unkempt. There is insecurity due to insecure boat rides, and therefore, concerns of tourist assaults and robbery by locals"</p>	19/92
Tourists	Tourist arrivals	Information related to tourist arrivals at a specific time or how this has changed over the years.	<p>"By 2011, the Kakum Conservation Area was the National Park that received the greatest amount of tourists. It received 159,535 (78% of domestic travelers) domestic travelers and 201,532 (93% of international travelers) international travelers".</p> <p>"From July to October, Masai Mara is at its peak, with seasonal visitors populating the vast grasslands".</p>	55/92
Tourists	Tourism target audience	Types of tourists the tourist destination look for. The distinction could be made in geographical terms or about the activities they would do in the destination (educational, pleasure, adventure, etc.).	<p>"Roughly half of visitors to Costa Rica fall under the definition of "soft" ecotourists, traditional "sun and sand" mass tourists who also make excursions to natural destinations [...]".</p> <p>"The majority consisted of Americans (742), followed by Japanese (379) and Europeans (288); Russians accounted for only 17 and Chinese even less, at two".</p>	20/92
Tourists Relationships	Tourists' gestures	Tips or donations given by tourists to community or to the tourism workers.	<p>"The visitors are also encouraged to pay tips, establish organizations that will look into the welfare of the community, support communities through visits to their manyattas, purchase artifacts and souvenirs, donate books to locals and contribute to ongoing projects in the community".</p> <p>"Contributions from visitors went to Mukono Community School".</p>	6/92

CISF Category/ Outcome	Label	Definition	Examples	Occurrences
Link 1	Tourism industry	Description of the tourism industry, in terms of its organization (e.g. hotels, tourism agencies).	"Big accommodation enterprises which are adaptable with cultural and environmental structure of the island are being established".  "There is also an apparent lack of support from large travel agencies and tour operators for community tourism in lesser known areas as tour operators see it as "very difficult, more complicated to work in" and thus prefer to send to people to popular sites such as Tikal and Antigua [...]"	36/92
Users involved, link 2	Rights to organize	Presence of rights that allow community to be a Public Infrastructure Provider (PIP)	" After winning the right to manage their own resources, the Cofan of Zabalo worked hard to protect their natural resources by creating a system of land-use that prevents overhunting. They have limits and sanctions against hunting".  "Villagers accept and expect political and social control to be in the hands of the government, with ideas of development and progress. There is a patrimonial attitude of the New Order and lack of confidence from villagers to act on they own initiatives".	16/92
Public infrastructure providers	NGO/Private firms PIP	Existence of NGO or private firms that play a role of Public Infrastructure Provider (PIP), i.e. that facilitate capacities, provide infrastructure or financing.	"Even before the influx of people there were already NGOs that conducted orientations on the importance of the environment to the community".  "The project was established with technical and financial support from Wildlife Alliance, an NGO. International donors has gave the CBET infrastructure".	38/92
Public infrastructure providers	Residents Public Infrastructure Providers	Residents perform a role of providers of social and public infrastructure, beyond the existence or not of rules. To perform this role they can be part of a formal or informal organization not undermined by other instance of governance.	"The community is well organized with governmental and non-governmental organizations in order to rehabilitate the forest of the mangrove swamps [...]".  "An all- indigenous board that is elected by the communities runs the association and its programs. The involvement of the communities in this form of tourism exceeds creation of incomes".	4/92
Link 1/ Outcome	Resident's participation in tourism activities	Type of participation (actively, or passively) of residents in the tourism activity.	"The village CBT is owned and managed by each village themselves, with Andaman Discoveries sending in and coordinating trips".  "Only with some employment but besides Cerro San Gil possibility of consultation, the community is not in the control tourism development".	61/92
Users / Local / external private agents	Non-residents economic participation	Foreign private capital has a considerable participation in tourism or a role in the development of tourism. This also includes NGO if they are into the tourism business or they are shareholders or owners.	"NGO owns [the tourism business] and manages".  "On the Osa Peninsula, there is an important degree of economic control toward North Americans and Europeans, who, in a pattern that extends across Costa Rica, control substantial portions of the peninsula's coastal, ocean-view, and forested land in private reserves that average 440 hectares [...]".	32/92

CISF Category/ Outcome	Label	Definition	Examples	Occurrences
Link 6 / outcome	Benefits distribution rules	Law, rule, agreement or contract that dictates the way that tourism benefits must be distributed.	"There are not rules for assigning benefits to the communities. Lack of community benefit from canopy walkway revenue [...]".  "Income gained primarily from entrance fees to Danayigu Ecological Park are spent by SCDA to cover its own costs of operation as well as those of the park".	38/92
Links 3 and 6	Marketing strategies	Strategies that are being undertaken by tourism managers in order to attract tourists or ecotourists to the study destination. It includes also the description of these strategies.	"The Tasmanian tourism brand is considered as 'unforgettable natural experiences' [...]".  "Marketing of tourism [have this logo]: 'By and for the people'. Marketing is lead by the village network: JED"	23/92
Public infrastructure / link 3 / Outcome	High-tier policy development	Description of the state tourism development ideology, of the institutionalization and policies to improve the tourism sector.	"Governmental prioritization of the tourism sector. There is a Master Plan for remote natural areas to develop natural resources and cultural environment for ecotourism, and promote appropriate markets, infrastructure and services [...]".  "Develop of a "new tourism" by political party (sustainable tourism based on nature and culture)".	38/92
Public infrastructure providers	Tourism manager	Description of the institutions that manage the tourism destination, the management plans and the type of management.	"Managed by the Foundation for Ecodevelopment and Conservation (FUNDAECO) (a NGO). Managed for the conservation of specific natural features".  "The village of Ololosokwan manage tourism enterprises (it is a tourism hunting concession). Four villages are paid to police resource use in natural areas".	83/92
Public infrastructure / link 4	Clearly defined boundary rules	Definition of physical boundaries, user boundaries, the types of exclusion to external actors. It also includes the description of congruence between those boundaries	"There were some clearly defined rules regarding resource extraction. Within the reserve, all resource extraction (hunting, logging, fishing, etc.) is banned".  "Not clearly defined boundaries. There is a debate between two governmental organizations over the legality of their government-issued titles".	36/92
Links 4, 5, 6 y 3	Congruence with situated conditions	Description of the equity characteristics of the rules posed in the tourist destination.	"High levels of trust and interaction ensure that no villagers break rules regarding extraction of live wood from the forest".  "High levels of trust and interaction ensure that no villagers break rules regarding extraction of live wood from the forest".	8/92
Link 6	Stakeholder effective participation	Tourism management takes into account the stakeholders points of view and are also applied in the way of management.	"There existed stakeholder effective participation. The community was involved in the decision making".  "No such community participation plans are present in Chocon Machacas. Even locals that provide tours services don't coordinate with tourism governing bodies".	55/92

CISF Category/ Outcome	Label	Definition	Examples	Occurrences
Link 4 y 5	Monitoring	Presence of a monitoring mechanism of rule compliance. Also, description of the accountability of monitoring mechanisms accountable.	"It existed a monitoring system that found rule breakers. Respondents were aware of bye-laws and knew what could be done to them if they decided to violate the laws".  "Limited monitoring capacity. There was a limited monitoring capacity by the management authorities that developed Machu Picchu historical sanctuary".	19/92
Link 4 y 5	Carrying capacity	Description of measures to monitor tourist numbers in order to limit social or environmental impacts.	"Carrying capacity strategies were addressed, factors such as traditional culture and lifestyle, architecture, tastes and natural structure in themes are to be protected".  "Carrying capacity problems were displayed, there was not any management strategies found in order to solve this issue [...]"	14/92
Link 5	Sanctions	Description of the negative consequences for users that do not comply with rules. This includes variables as the type of infraction, degree, graduality, frequency of sanction or facility of enforcement.	"There were explicit sanctions displayed. Community-set fines are levied against transgressors and the fines increase with each subsequent infraction. Limits for hunting zones were established".  "No explicit sanctions were present. There were indiscriminated hunting problems".	6/92
Link 6	Conflict Resolution Mechanisms	Mechanisms to solve different situations that could become conflicts.	"There were no clear conflict resolution mechanisms. The author mentioned that confrontation was avoided at all costs. Also, entrepreneurial spirit is frowned upon in order to prevent jealousy and the potential for conflict".  "Conflict resolution mechanism were started. In view of previous concerns regarding conflicts, the community and management were trying to resolve them by enhancing more protection for human lives, the formation of conflict resolution committees, home guards as well as compensation for losses".	14/92
Public infrastructure providers	Nested enterprises	Institutional coordination (horizontally and vertically) for the development of public policies regarding tourism.	"Problems remain in coordinating and regulating tourism with other organizations on a departmental level".  "Institutional coordination was possible thanks to the RTOs. RTOs go beyond development and marketing as they act as a liaison between the public and the private sector and constitute an umbrella under which public and private stakeholders and local authorities interact".	30/92
Link 3	Government intervention	Initiatives encouraged, taken or led by the government in order to encourage the tourism sector in the tourism destination.	"In 1990, after government intervention, Yunnan established tourism products and services with investment concentrated on 'one center, three tourist routes, four places, five areas, six products, and nine key projects'".  "State made large investments regarding tourism: Papagayo tourism pole and Liberia international airport and a second international airport in order to promote tourism in the northwest Guanacaste province".	30/92

CISF Category/ Outcome	Label	Definition	Examples	Occurrences
Link 3	Management transparency	Corruption problems or mismanagement regarding tourism management in the study destination.	"There were non-transparent practices. Village council chairmen were usually thrown out of office because of controversies relating to the use of tourism funds and natural resource management decision-making [...]". "The private companies pursue their economic profits and exercise lobbying power".	20/92
Public infrastructure / links 4 and 5	Institutional innovations	Innovations of rules, laws, type of control, type of management or politics that tourism enhanced.	"Political empowerment is a common feature of the first five cases because institutional arrangements were made to make tourism projects work and to ensure a transparent and democratic decision-making process". "Due to tourism. Existence of bye-laws enacted to regulate resident's behavior in relation to the project. The bye laws prohibit hunting, bush burning or cutting down trees, littering and dumping of solid waste in the forest reserve [...]".	33/92
Outcome	Community Economic Development	This variable captures the economic outcomes that influenced the economic development situation in the community in terms of employment or growth, among others.	"Eco trek perceived less negative economic impacts due to tourism. inflation costs for goods, land, houses and labor were non-existent in the Eco-trek area". "Not significant development. Since 1994, Las Gambas which is an economically depressed town has been host to a small scale ecotourism lodge that employs approximately 15 community members, or about 5% of the population".	78/92
Outcome	Economic dependence	Degree of dependence of community in the tourism activity	"Low dependance on tourism for reported households. This direct tourism income was not the most important source of income for most households, except those who owned or managed a year around hotel or restaurant [...]". "Dependent on tourism industry. Farmers chose to become laborers of establishments or helpers (assistant boatman) to the ferryboats if not permanently or as sideline work (additional work)".	31/92
Outcome	Economic stability	Degree of stability of incomes produced in the tourism activity.	"There is price sensitivity and unestable market demand". "For PI employees, the tourist income that come from PI represented around 90.1% of their total income, it was more stable than income derived from non tourism activities and the generosity of basic salary and complete payment were higher".	24/92

CISF Category/ Outcome	Label	Definition	Examples	Occurrences
Outcome	Economic leakages	The incomes do not stay in the tourism location and are not distributed among the residents but foreigners and private external companies.	"Both Rainforest Expeditions and Inkterra reduce such economic leakage. Integration of the communities into lodge operations ensures that the local people gain direct financial investment".  "Niue imports a large amount of goods and services from New Zealand and other countries. This effectively increases the leakage of economic profit (only a small proportion of the tourists' expenditure remaining within the island)".	40/92
Outcome	Uneven distribution of profits in the community	Inequality in the distribution of the income generated in tourism, often related with previous or new asymmetries.	"Unequal distribution of benefits because it was not contemplated that closer suburbs to the sanctuary would be highly benefited and further ones will not".  "Tourism has created an unequal income distribution in the AST area as lodge-owners are the primary beneficiaries of tourists spending while farmers lack the direct contact, and consequently do not receive economic benefits".	37/92
Outcome	Resident's empowerment competences	This variable captures the development of social skills, communication tools and psychological changes in the community because of tourism.	"psychological empowerment because it allows communities to be autonomous, to promote their culture, and to share their traditions. Hence, they gain pride from the experience".  "in Drake Bay, benefits include training opportunities".	40/92
Outcome	Effects on cultural identity or pride	This outcome captures the effect in cultural variables as more identity, pride or concern because of tourism.	"Local communities in Kuching rural tourism destinations are knowledgeable about their own cultures and customs, which led to high levels of self-efficacy in sharing their knowledge with tourists to sustain their traditional customs, foods, songs, and dances".  "Tourism increases their pride in national culture and encourages a variety of cultural activities".	36/92
Outcome	Physical development	This outcome captures the development public and social infrastructure (e.g. health facilities, transportation systems, education centers, environmental facilities, among others)	"Trails improved, bridges developed, micro hydro built, center established, drinking water supply. Infrastructures and rural energy sector developed in partnership with many agencies".  "Mesomagor: most of the residents' expectations have not been met, especially infrastructure development such as health facilities and improved road conditions".	41/92
Outcome	Social impacts	This outcome captures the social effects of tourism, e.g. Regarding social conflicts, criminality, migration, prostitution, among others.	"there is reported to has been some drunkenness as a result of the increased incomes in the community".  "Increase in population. the human presence was referenced in terms of the number of communities present in the area, which total 40. The increase of families in the protected areas, caused by the high "birthrate", was described as "one of the greatest threats" and "significant".	59/92

CISF Category/ Outcome	Label	Definition	Examples	Occurrences
Outcome	Environmental related impacts	This outcome captures the environmental effects of tourism, e.g. regarding deforestation, more or less conservation, more or less environmental awareness, among others.	<p>"The emphasis is put on conservation of the environment and empowerment of communities. The community is now more conscious about environment . The development of tourism has improved environmental conservation. Aguablanquenses used to depend on charcoal production, tree felling, and hunting; now the community is more conscious about its natural environment and has discontinued activities that negatively impact the ecosystem".</p> <p>" Indirectly, ecotourism has helped shift local participation away such environmentally damaging activities as rice cultivation and cattle ranching and provided a material underpinning for collective mobilization on environmental issues".</p>	70/92

## Supplementary Material 2. Reviewed cases

We cross-tabulated reviewed case studies (table 4) to provide a summary of the field proposed by Tranfield, Denyer and Smart (2003).

*Origin of authors.* According to gender, most reviewed investigations, 19 in total, were written by only male authors, as opposed to 14 investigations written by only female authors. Female and male authors wrote 17 of the investigations. By work origin, most reviewed investigations, 41 in total, have authors who work in universities or academic institutions. Only three investigations are written by authors who belong to civil society organizations (think tanks and NGOs) and two investigations by authors who work in governmental agencies. By last, one investigation has authors with mixed work origin (governmental agency and academia).

By place of residence, most investigations have authors whose residence is only North America (14) or only Europe (11). Then, seven investigations have authors that live in Asia, 5 in South America, 4 in Oceania, and 3 in Africa. The remaining five investigations have authors with a mixed place of residence origin.

*Date of publication.* The majority of the reviewed cases were recent. Seventy cases were published in the range of 2000 and 2015, and 17 cases were published between 2015 and 2019. Only 5 cases were published before 2000.

*Data extraction and methodologies.* The reviewed cases' methodological approach was mainly a qualitative analysis with qualitative instruments, and some included other quantitative approaches or tools. Fifty-five cases had only a qualitative approach. Of this group, 19 used only interviews, 20 only document review, 9 participant observation and document review, 4 interviews, and document review, 1 interviews, and participant observation, 1 interviews, document review, participant observation, and focus groups, and by last, 1 used an ethnography methodology. Thirty-six cases had a quantitative and qualitative approach. Twenty-five out of them used only questionnaires as methodology, 9 cases out of them combined questionnaires and in-depth interviews, 1 used questionnaires, participant observation, and secondary data, and lastly, 1 case used interviews, document review, and questionnaires. The remaining case used spatial analysis and statistical study.

**Table Supplementary Material 2. Case Studies Reviewed**

N	Reference	Study case
1	Afenyo and Amuquandoh (2014)	Tafi Atome, Ghana
2	Belsky (1999)	Gales Point Manatee, Belice
3	Benedetto, Carboni and Corinto (2016)	Asinara National Park, Italy
4 - 7	Cobbinah et al. (2017)	Abrafo, Mesomagor, Adadientem, Nuamakrom, Kakun Conservation Area, Ghana
8	Byczek (2011)	Bali, Indonesia
9	Cole (2006)	Wogo and Bena, Ngadha, Nusa Tenggara Timor, Indonesia
10	Fong et al. (2017).	Kuching, Sarawak, Malaysia
11	De Haas (2002)	Niue
12-17	Fiorello and Bo (2012)	Reserve of Malekus, Costa Rica; Mayas, Guatemala; Zapotec - Oaxaca, Mexico; Manabi, Ecuador; Taquile island - Puno, Peru; Monteverde Natural Park, Costa Rica
18-32	Goodwin and Santilli (2009)	Andaman Discoveries, Thailand; Ban Nong Khao Community Tourism, Thailand; Bandipur Eco-Cultural Tourism Project, Nepal; Buhoma Village Walk Enterprise, Uganda; Bum Hill Community Campsite, Namibia; Casa Machiguenga, Peru; Cerro Escondido, Costa Rica; Covane Community Lodge, Mozambique; Giau Xuan Community Ecotourism Development, Vietnam; Kahawa Shamba, Tanzania; Meket Community Tourism Project, Ethiopia; Nambwa Campsite, Namibia; Posada Amazonas, Perú; Puerto Hondo, Ecuador; Rasuwa, Nepal

33	Horton (2009)	Osa Peninsula, Costa Rica
34	Jalani (2012)	Sabang, Palawan, Philippines
35	Lai and Nepal (2006)	Tawushan Nature Reserve, Taiwan
36-37	Hill and Hill (2011)	Reserva Amazonica Lodge, Madre de Dios; Posada Amazonas, Madre de Dios, Perú
38	Kontogeorgopoulos (2005)	Puhket and Ao Phangnga, Thailand
39	Jaafar, et al. (2015)	Kinabalu National Park, Malaysia
40	Jones (2005)	Gambia
41	Hung Lee and Jan (2019)	Taiwan
42	Orgaz and Cañero (2016)	Dominican Republic
43	Reimer and Walter (2012)	Chiphat, Cambodia
44	Lonn et al. (2018)	Chambok, Cambodia
45	Puczkó and Rátz (2000)	Lake Balaton, Hungary
46	Okech and Bob (2009)	Kenya
47	Regalado and Arias (2006)	Machu Picchu, Peru
48	Tao and Wall (2009)	Shanmei, Taiwan
49	Uzzo (2013)	Punta Cana, Dominican Republic
50	Tovar and Lockwood (2008)	Tasmania, Australia
51	Southgate (2006)	Maasailand, Kenya
52	Almeyda et al. (2010)	Punta Isla, Costa Rica
53-54	Nyaupane and Thapa (2004)	The Annapurna Conservation Area Project – traditional area AST ; ecotourism area Ghalekharka-Sikles (Eco-trek) - Nepal
55	Nault and Stapleton (2011)	Sogoog, Mongolia
56	Neudel (2015)	Yunguilla, Ecuador
57-60	Nelson (2004)	Ololosokwan; Sinya; Lake Natron - Tanzania
61	Sánchez and Jaramillo-Hurtado (2010)	Colombia
62-63	Lim and McAleer (2005)	Couran Cove Island Resort; Boondall Wetlands Reserve - Australia
64	Stronza (2009)	Posada Amazonas, Peru
65	Clifton and Benson (2006)	Indonesia
66	Liu et al (2012)	Wolong Nature Reserve, China
67	Stone (2015)	Chobe Enclave Conservation Trust, Bostwana
68	Duran (2012)	Gokceada Island, Turkey
69	Farmaki (2015)	Cyprus
70	Gordillo Hunt and Stronza (2008)	Posada Amazonas, Peru
71-74	Wood (1998)	Kapawi; Zabalo; Siecoya; Quehueri'ono - Ecuador
75-78	Stem et al (2003)	La Gamba (NEAR PBN); Cerro de Oro (NEAR CNP); Drake Bay; Biolley and Altamira - Costa Rica
79-84	Leksakundilok (2004)	Thailand; Vietnam; Cambodia; Laos; Myanmar; Yunnan, province of PRC (China)
85-87	Gonzalez (2014)	Izabal; Río Dulce National Park; Chocon Machacas
88	Mosquera (2015)	Isla Santay, Ecuador
89	Bocking (2010)	The Village of Wotten Waven, Dominica
90	Arnall (2015)	Costa Rica

### Supplementary Material 3. Overview of Sustainable Tourism Outcomes

**Economic Outcomes.** Tourism as an economic activity can bring economic development to a small community, region, or even a country. Economic gains from tourism development can arise from the profits of private or community-owned tourism-related companies or organizations, which also may increase local employment opportunities (e.g., Reserve of Malekus (Fiorello & Bo, 2012), and Kahawa Shamba (Goodwin & Santilli, 2009)). Frequently, tourism brings an economic multiplier effect since a system of products and services related to tourism (e.g., handicrafts, agriculture, transportation) are generally created.

However, sometimes community members do not perceive their benefits equally. We reviewed cases where residents complained because they felt excluded from the profits that tourism brought to other community members. Different explanations arose for this outcome, such as differences in physical capital, language skills, or others explained in the following section. For example, in Shanmei, Taiwan, opportunities to participate in tourism activities were reported as unevenly distributed and highly dependent on residency location, financial capital for investments, and relevant skills (Tao & Wall, 2009). A related concern is for economic leakages to foreign capital or stakeholders. In the Adadientem Kakun Conservation Area in Ghana, for example, residents view themselves as passive and unpaid actors that did not benefit from tourism, which bared high costs, given that they were gazed at by an affluent audience (Cobbinah et al., 2017). The inequality of benefits is sometimes expressed in living expenses. In the case of the Dominican Republic (Orgaz & Cañero, 2016), for example, tourism raised housing and food prices, which affected residents' buying capacity, especially to those whose income was not affected by increases in tourism.

Another economic concern identified in the review is the unstable or seasonal characteristic of tourism. Communities that switched their economic activity to tourism and were not diversified enough were affected during low demand seasons. On the contrary, some others, due to tourism, were able to strengthen complementary economic activities and, thus, profit from the economic gains of tourism development in their region.

**Social Outcomes.** Tourism presents an opportunity for minorities. In Shanmei, Taiwan, for example, tourism to a national park was reported to be important in enhancing the range of livelihood options to nearby communities, and opportunities for cash earning were particularly beneficial for mothers and single parents with young children, the disabled, unemployed, the elderly and women (Tao & Wall, 2009). Tourism proportionates a new source of woman empowerment. They participate both in economic activities and benefits, sometimes even as much as men. In turn, this enables women participation in leadership, opinion-sharing, and occasionally taking high ranked charges. Some cases mentioned that residents felt an increase in their psychological empowerment thanks to the economic autonomy and learning new languages, primarily English. It is possible to observe very tangible benefits thanks to the tourism development, as for example new infrastructure that enhances their living standards such as public toilets, pipe and water in places where access to water was physically costly, clinic and housing quarters, kindergarten block, schools, road improvement that brought them closer to markets, school, better transportation, among others.

Reviewed studies also considered cultural elements. In some cases, residents strengthened their cultural pride and values, which were reinforced by their culture's perception of tourist interests. However, an opposite effect was observed in other cases as residents reduced the frequency of traditional festivals, perceived a loss of authenticity because of overcrowding, or a change of styles that mimicked tourists' customs. Some other perceived negative cultural changes were related to capitalist modernization, greater consumerism, and weaker social capital due to globalization and growing individualism. Even if it altered the traditional culture, in some cases, residents appreciated the opportunity to create bonds with foreign visitors. However, locals and tourists' interaction was not always pleasant. In So Goog, Mongolia (Nault & Stapleton, 2011), for example, negotiations for camel rentals were reported as toxic. In Bali, Indonesia, the host community felt stressed by the unanticipated influence of tourists (Byczek, 2011). In Drake Bay, Costa Rica, tourist visits affected the infidelity rate, as husbands were getting involved with tourists (Stem et al. 2003). Moreover, tourists' customs were not always seen as positive, as some cases reported complaints concerning

demeaning tourist behavior such as youth dress code, indulgence in alcohol, and overfamiliarity between girls and boys.

Finally, in some cases, tourism resulted from an ecological protection strategy (such as creating a National Protected Park to avoid deforestation or to protect wild animals). In some of these cases, an outflow of residents was observed; in others, there was a rise of conflicts over land given new land use.

**Environmental Outcomes:** We found that the environmental impacts of tourism development are the least studied in the reviewed cases. Some studies report an increase in the environmental awareness of the local population. Other studies even mentioned environmental protection efforts such as environmental education or collective efforts for biodiversity conservation. However, neither of these two groups of studies could assess these efforts' results in terms of their impact on the environmental condition of their ecological system. Jalani (2012), Lai and Nepal (2006), Puczkó and Rátz (2000), and Lim and McAleer (2005) even mentioned that the assumed environmental improvement did not follow the increase in residents' ecological awareness or engagement.

Some cases, however, were able to identify tangible positive impacts related to tourism development. These cases include increases in forest covers, watershed, and wildlife conservation, due to a rise in the appreciation of their natural capital, park or location restrictions, or residents' shift to tourism activities from environmentally damaging activities (logging, cattle ranching, rice cropping, and hunting).

The main concerns regarding ecological damage due to tourism are those related to the increase of population in a location that generates more waste, road transport pollution, noise, congestion, water pollution, habitat alteration, and soil degradation. Moreover, we found that physical infrastructure development for tourism can also damage the environment. For example, in some cases, developers used concrete for building tracks on natural landscapes. Also, lodge construction increased wood demand and hence some pressure on deforestation. However, we found cases that showed successful efforts to offset the harmful effects of tourism, as in the case of Reserve of Malekus in Costa Rica (Fiorello & Bo, 2012), where waste was sorted, and organic waste was given to animals or transformed into fertilizer. Another example is the case of Cerro Escondido, in Costa Rica (Goodwin & Santilli, 2009), where the only source of energy is solar panels, the use of cars is forbidden, and recycling encouraged.

The fragmentation of tourism studies is not limited to the use of explanatory variables, but authors also differ in the interest of studying the effects of tourism on sustainability outcomes. We detail in table 3 the distribution of sustainable results for each case.

Table 3. Distribution of Outcomes for each case

Outcomes Present in Cases	N Cases
All three outcomes	62
All but Environmental	14
All but Social	5
Only Economic	5
All but Economic	2
Only Social	1
Only Environmental	1
Total	90

### References. Supplementary Material 3

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