A Review of Social Exchange Theory Effectiveness in Measuring Residents' Attitudes towards Tourism
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Abstract
Tourism impacts and local residents’ perceptions have been undertaken by many researchers for four decades. Theoretical orientations were used and developed to find out how and why residents react positively and / or negatively to the tourism development in order to achieve a good measurement for their perceptions. One of the most favorable theories to be adopted in this context is the social exchange theory. Hence, this review paper is an attempt to understand the effectiveness of this theory when dealing with local residents’ perceptions and attitudes to the tourism impacts comparing with other methods in similar studies. The main conclusion of the paper shows a weakness of the theory, especially when it works without integration with other theories and further predictor variables. Furthermore, the study showed that most methods and models have the same thrust of the social exchange theory in terms of costs and benefits and their effect on the residents’ perception. The paper suggests that future studies should be conducted taking into account conditions such as the societal structures and characteristics that should be measured by new theoretical orientations other than those which focus on the costs and benefits theories.

Keywords: Review, social Exchange, residents' attitude, tourism.

Introduction
Local residents’ perception, attitudes, and support for the tourism development are strongly related to the successful tourism planning and sustainability (Jurowski et al, 1997; Sheldon & Abenoja 2001; Gursoy et al, 2002; Deery & Fredline, 2012; Lee, 2013). Therefore, many researches, especially for four decades, have focused on how local people in a destination react to the development of tourism according to the impacts it may cause. (Pizam, 1978; Perdue et al, 1990; Ap, 1992, Ko & Stewart, 2002, Andereck et al, 2005; Dayer et al, 2007). Many communities support the tourism development in order to improve their quality of life. In this context, the tourism development can bring to the community economic benefits by the direct and indirect employment, tax revenues, and further sources of income. However, studies about residents’ perception to the tourism development impacts have shown reactions not only to the economic impacts, but also to some changes of the community quality of life and socio-cultural aspects. These changes may affect differently local residents’ perceptions in the tourist destinations when receiving or not receiving benefits.
resulting from the exchange processes by tourism (Jorouski & Joursoy, 2004). However, these studies may differ when using factors and theories as measurement tools according to each community’s condition and characteristics as a destination. Nevertheless, the researchers in this important topic do not show a consensus about the effectiveness of the factors and the theoretical orientations they use in their studies, in other words, each one justifies his methods even with similar cases of other studies which use different methods. Accordingly, the social exchange theory is considered one of the most preferred theories to measure local residents’ perceptions toward the tourism development and its impact on the community. Despite that, most researchers who have undertaken residents’ perceptions of tourism using this theory did not show a definite and completed dependency on it, which may explain the inadequacy of the social exchange theory to be ideal when dealing with local residents' reaction to the tourism impacts. (Ko & Stewart, 2002; Chen & Raab, 2005; Lee, 2014). Accordingly, this study aims at reviewing the effectiveness of social exchange theory in measuring residents' attitudes towards tourism and determine the gaps and weaknesses of the theory based on inconsistent findings in previous studies. The study then aims to suggest other approaches to support the theory by predictor factors and an integral model for more meaningful and explicable findings.

**Social Exchange Theory; Concept and Theoretical Development**

Generally, the social exchange theory leads to that a person is willing to engage in an exchange if he/she can get rewards from it, and when the benefit from this exchange exceeds the costs (Skidmire, 1974). The successive development of the social exchange theory begins from Homans (1950, 1961), Blau (1964), and Emerson (1972) as a marginal utility theory, and later as a sociological and psychological tool. These authors seem to have the same ideas about the theory definition; that the one’s behavior in the exchange theory depends on the rationality which is here the extent of the rewards he/she can get from the exchange process, and that the exchange should be reciprocative to provide the benefits, which means that exchanging benefits between two actors should be conducted fairly to be willing to interact. Furthermore, the actors later, will try to maximize the rewards from the interaction, and to be sure that the costs from the exchange will not exceed the benefits, and finally, the exchange could be understood by the one’s power which means that the coercion should be absent.

In the domain of local residents’ perceptions and attitudes towards the tourism development impacts, the social exchange theory leads to that local residents who benefit from tourism, employees in the sectors for example, react positively
to it, whereas residents who do not get benefits tend to negatively react to it (Ap, 1992).

As a general theory, social exchange could be applied in a number of disciplines such as economics, anthropology, psychology, sociology and management. Homan (1961), e.g., adopted a framework of social exchange based on behavioral psychology. He argued that exchange theory must emphasize face-to-face interaction; it also must focus on direct and limited exchange between individuals. He however explained how an actor emits activity depending on how much it is valuable for him or her. Blau (1964) used the SET by adopting an economic approach. He argued that exchange relations include actions forming contingents on beneficial reactions from others; these actions will cease once these expected reactions are not beneficial. The operant psychology, indicated Homan (1961), can explain behavior. Concerning the tourism field, the theory was used three decades ago. In tourism, the theory may undertake the economic, environmental, and socio-cultural impact. In this term, changing the local traditional consuming behavior represents a cost as negative cultural impact resulting the tourism development, this to clarify that the benefits and costs do not only concern the economic side (Jorouski & Joursoy, 2004). Gursoy et al (2002) have discussed the economic, environmental, and social impacts and examined their influence separately on the locals’ perceptions, and found different findings based on each type of impacts. In fact, these differences create more difficulties when using social exchange theory to measure respondents' perceptions and attitudes toward tourism development.

Social exchange theory can be used as a conceptual framework to know how and why residents perceive positively or negatively tourism development impacts according to their evaluation to the benefits and costs (Jurowski et al, 1997).

Figure 1: Social Exchange and Residents’ Attitude towards Tourism

(Jurowski et al, 1997)
In fact, the framework shows that benefits and costs are affected by other factors such as community resource use that, in turn, is part of community power. Yet, Power theory could be explained in terms of social exchange theory since using local resources by community (i.e. public beaches) is a benefit. On the other hand, community attachment, although it does not include the exchange sense, is a tool to understand why residents who do not benefit react positively to tourism. More specifically, the theory is used to examine residents’ perception towards economic, socio-cultural, and environmental impacts of tourism (Huang et al, 2008). Many researchers describe the theory process in tourism as an individual perceiving benefits from the exchange is likely to evaluate it positively, while an individual that perceives costs is likely to evaluate the impacts negatively. Accordingly, residents who perceive themselves benefiting from tourism impacts are likely to deal with it positively, while those who are not, negatively. Thus, there is mixed support for the theory in tourism literature. Some researches have found out support for it while others have not been conclusive (Andereck et al., 2005).

**Predictor Factors of Residents Attitude**

In the current paper, talking about predictor factors that influence residents' attitude toward tourism is necessary. This could be justified since the paper aims at finding the social exchange theory's failure in interpreting contradictory results regarding attitudes. To clarify more this point, residents may react negatively to tourism despite the rewards they are getting from tourism due to one or more of the following factors:

*Community attachment:* this factor is one of the most influential predictors on residents' attitude. It is generally measured as birth place and/or length of time living or grown up having been born and/or grown up there (Jurowski et al, 1997). Some studies have found that community attachment is negatively related to residents' attitudes toward tourism (Lankford and Howard 1994). Such a result shows the need for an integration with other factors for more meaningful results (McGehee and Andereck 2004).

*Distance from tourist attractions:* this factor may explain residents' perceptions towards tourism and the form of their support for it (Jurowski & Gursoy, 2004). Early researches have found this relationship to be significant in terms of benefits and costs from tourism (Gursoy et al, 2002). Pizam (1978) and Mardigal (1993) argued that residents living around the tourist attractions were more negative about the impacts. Belisle and Hoy (1980) found contradictory results when they revealed that respondents living further from attractions were negative about the impacts of tourism. The similar result was found by Mansfeld (1992).
Level of contact with tourists: it is a significant factor and concerns the one’s awareness of tourism impacts. Murphy (1985) found that the more a respondent has contact with tourists, the more he is aware of the tourism industry. He also related this variable with the distance from place of stay to the destination arguing that those of long distance from destination have limited contact with tourists and are unaware of tourism impacts. In this context, the relationship and level of contact between tour operators and local residents are paths to enhance the contact with tourists. In fact, many tour operators try to recruit local members as they recognize the desire of most tourists to deal with locals. This could be part of the novelty seeking in a marketing sense (Gross & Brown, 2008).

Dependence on tourism: In support of the social exchange theory, most studies have shown that residents who depend on the tourism industry, or perceive a high level of personal benefit or economic gain, tend to react more positively to tourism (Haralambopoulos and Pizam 1996; Sirakaya et al 2002). Dependence on tourism is usually measured as employment which is a direct dependence. Lindberg and Johnson (1997) found that respondents placing a greater importance on economic gains in general showed more positive attitudes toward tourism.

Knowledge about tourism: the more knowledgeable a person about tourism, the more he can evaluate the benefits and costs from tourism (Andereck et al, 2005). This variable is strongly related to distance, dependence, and level of contact predictors.

By a general a review of the previous predictor factors, and with reference to the results of the case studies that have used them, it is concluded that they can explain results that are inconsistent with the social exchange theory. Details about this issues are shown in the next title.

Community participation in Tourism Development: Many studies have undertaken different ways in which local residents can participate in tourism activities (Kayat, 2002; Wan, 2013; Pulina et al, 2013). Pretty (1995) has fixed a refined typology of community participation in some projects that focus mainly on agricultural sectors. This has been valuable in many rural development projects. France (1998) have updated another typology to be more consistent with tourism development. His typology includes mainly participation in information, participation by consultation, participation for material incentives, and functional participation. However, it was found that community participation in tourism planning and management affects positively their attitude towards tourism (Kayat, 2002; Aref & Redzuan, 2009).
Social Exchange Theory, Its Effectiveness in Tourism Studies

In tourism researches, the social exchange theory seems to be exclusive with local residents’ perceptions and attitudes towards tourism impacts. A clear consensus among authors in the context of residents’ perception of the tourism industry is shown about the importance of understanding how and why communities react positively and/or negatively to the impact of tourism development. This consensus seems to be absent when choosing a measurement method represented by theories, models, and other factors influencing the way locals think about tourism. However, studies on residents’ perception of tourism are mostly similar in purposes, different in using theoretical orientations. The social exchange is one of the most favorable theories for measuring local community’s reaction to the tourism development. AP (1992) was one of the best users of this theory to explain why the local people perceive positively or negatively the tourism impacts. He examined the relationship between the exchange results and the characteristics of that exchange, and also between the actor’s likelihood within the future exchange behavior and the exchange results on the other hand. The results of his study confirmed the theory thrust including its strong relationship with the actor’s power in the exchange process which was mentioned above. However, Ap’s study is an example of the studies that focus on the theory separately. Pizam (1978) has studied residents and entrepreneurs’ perceptions toward tourism in Cape Code. He found that most respondents of both portions have perceived negatively the tourism impacts despite the many benefits resulted from the tourism there represented mainly by the increasing income and the developed standard of living. This negative reaction was a result of some negative impacts they felt in their community, such as the traffic conditions, the vandalism, and the increasing prices of goods and services. Furthermore, the respondents who negatively perceived the tourism were those who are not directly involved in the tourism business. In this context, respondents who do not get direct rewards from tourism may react negatively to the tourism despite their knowledge about the community development as a result of tourism development. Perdue et al (1990) have developed a new model for rural communities in Colorado based on the social exchange theory to examine the residents’ perceptions and their support to the tourism in addition to their future vision and support. In terms of personal rewards, they found that residents’ reaction did not relate to the respondents’ characteristics. Accordingly, Perdue et al (1990) suggested that a resident should be more knowledgeable about the benefits coming from tourism. In other words, the theory should be supported by other predictors to work more effectively. Later, Snaith and Haley (1994) have developed a model based on Perdue et al (1990)’s model which was applied to York rural communities in the United Kingdom. One of the main
findings of the study is that respondents’ characteristics did not play a significant role in their perception like the economic factors. The study of Ko & Stewart (2002) referred to the importance of the social exchange theory; nevertheless, they referred also to the necessity to support the theory with further theories and factors for better measurement of the local residents’ perceptions. For that reason, they developed a new model integrating the social exchange theory with the power theories thrust. This new model was applied in Linkawi Island in Malaysia; the findings have confirmed the theory results. Further studies have used models based on the social exchange theory supported with some predictor variables (Gets, 1994; Jurowski et al, 1997; Faulkner & Tideswell, 1997; Ko & Stewart, 2002; Jurowski & Gursoy, 2004; Andereck et al, 2005; Aref & Redzuan, 2009). Jurowski et al (1997), for example, used a developed model consisting, in addition to the social exchange theory, of factors such as one’s community attachment and economic gain. They aggregated the benefits and costs into three categories: the economic, social, and environmental. Jurowski & Gursoy (2004) referred to the distance between inhabitant’s home and tourist attraction areas and how it can be a factor to evaluate costs and benefits. Andereck et al (2005) assumed that the extent of engagement with tourists reflects benefits from tourism. However, they assumed that associating length of stay in a community with the social exchange theory is not a good option. According to what is already mentioned, the social exchange theory is relatively preferred to be adopted to evaluate residents’ reactions to tourism impacts, but the different points of view of how to use it is an indicator of the inadequacy of this theory to find out a correct evaluation as far as possible. Consequently, a weakness of theoretical understanding of residents’ perception, and then their attitudes, is a persistent problem. This problem results from the absence of the societal structures interpretation of a community receiving tourists.

**Social Exchange and Other Theories, a Similar Thrust**

Different theoretical orientations have been used in the context of tourism development and local residents’ perceptions because of many points of view about the best manners and methods for achieving better measurement for the respondents. However, the various researches in this domain using the social exchange theory could be an indicator of its effectiveness compared to other theories. Nevertheless, many researchers have shown a tendency to adopt other theories according to the case studies’ conditions and characteristics. The main theories and models in this context were: Doxy’s Irridex Model (1975), Butler’s Tourism Area Life Cycle Model (1980), and Perdue, Long & Allen’s Model (1990).
Doxy’s Irridex Model (1975) is one of the oldest models measuring the residents’ attitudes to the tourism development impacts on the community. The model divides the relationship between the local people at the destination and the visitors into four stages: euphoria, apathy, annoyance, and antagonism. In the first stage, locals are willing to receive visitors from outside, the visitors’ number is not high, and the tourism planning is modest. This relationship becomes commercial in the apathy stage with an organized marketing for the destination. The annoyance stage appears when the visitors’ arrival number exceeds the destination’s carrying capacity. This stage may reach to aggressive attitudes shown by the local people directly against the visitors in the fourth stage which is the antagonism. Studies undertaking this model such as (Akis et al, 1996; Mason & Cheyne, 2000) have confirmed the usefulness of this model.

Figure 2: Doxy’s Irridex Model (1975)

Nevertheless, this model may lead to the same thrust of the social exchange theory when, for example, residents become aggressive with the tourist in the last stage of the model, which means that the cost (exceeding the community
carrying capacity) is bigger than the benefits. On the other side, in the second stage, which represents the commercial relationship between the resident and the tourist, the benefit is bigger than the cost within the acceptable number of tourists’ arrival and the good income that they offer to the community, both stages show two different ways of exchange.

Butler’s Tourism Area Life Cycle Model (1980) is considered a new developed Doxy’s model dividing the resort life cycle into five stages: the exploration, the involvement, the development, the stabilization, and the decline. Within the changes which may happen in the destination in the five mentioned stages, the attitudes of local people will differ accordingly. Researchers such as (Gets, 1992; Hvinen, 2002) on Niagara Falls and Pennsylvania concluded that the two destinations were in a mature period which affect the way residents react to the tourism impact.

Figure 3: Butler’s Tourism Area Life Cycle Model (1980)

Alternatively, (Lawton, 2001; Dong et al, 2003) have referred to the inadequacy of the model to describe residents’ perceptions toward the tourism development. However, the social exchange theory may work in the same way as Butler’s model, by virtue that Butler’s model is based on Doxy’s model. Perdue, Long & Allen’s Model (1990) is based on the social exchange theory to be applied to rural communities in Colorado.

Figure 4: Perdue, Long & Allen’s Model (1990)
One of the main added variables to the model is the future support to tourism development. The model was improved by many researches such as (Mardigal, 1993; McGehee & Andereck, 2004; Choi & Murray, 2010; Frauman & Banks, 2011). Such studies have demonstrated that predictor variables such as balance of power and dependency on tourism industry will lead to a better measurement. However, predictor factors such as the dependency on tourism can support the social exchange theory and lead, in the same time, to its thrust in terms of cost and benefits.

**Conclusion and Suggestions**

Explicitly or implicitly, the theoretical orientations for measuring local residents’ perceptions and attitudes have been social exchange theory (Andereck et al, 2005). Previous researches on residents’ perception referred to the inadequacy of the social exchange theory when it is undertaken alone to measure the respondents’ attitudes. Chen & Raab (2005), for example, suggest that the social exchange theory is not enough to understand and measure residents’ attitude to tourism development. They, therefore, propose an integration between the social exchange theory and the reasoned action theory which contains: salient beliefs, attitudes, intention to support, and behavior. Thus, the social exchange theory should be integrated with other theories and factors as did many researchers for more meaningful findings. Nevertheless, and according to what was earlier mentioned about the similarity between the social exchange theory and the other theories and factors, using new factors and theories to be integrated with the social exchange theory may contribute to the area by creating a better measurement. By a general review of the research, the majority of the studies about residents’ perception towards tourism may be described as: 1-focusing, firstly, on economic impacts, and then social and environmental impacts 2- ignoring the community societal structures when measuring residents’ perceptions 3-being mostly limited with not more than two theories. Accordingly, future studies could be conducted, taking into consideration the community social characteristics, as an example, to be able to support the social exchange theory with societal structure theories. This would be necessary since respondents may be careless about the environmental impacts and focus mainly on the economic impacts when perceiving the tourism development in poor destinations. Additionally, studying the residents’ perceptions of the political impacts of the tourism development is recommended in some countries like those in the Middle East to adopt new theoretical orientations.

As mentioned above, most social theories that were used to measure residents' attitude towards tourism are related to the social exchange theory. Thus, the
current review suggests a new developed and more comprehensive model since most studies that have adapted these models came out with gaps.

Figure 5: A New Suggested Model Using an Integral Approach

As Butlers and Doxys' models undertake costs and benefits in a different way, the new suggested model could include it in a clear statement. Social carrying capacity measurement is justified since Butlers and Doxys' models explain the nature of host-guest relationship with a temporal consideration. Further, the model includes the usual benefits and costs as perceived by residents. These comprise economic, socio-cultural, and environmental impacts. Regarding predictors, the current review suggests the usage of a wide range of them. This seems necessary to understand why, for example, a resident perceives positively tourism despite many negative cultural impacts. High dependence on tourism, as a predictor, could be the reason. Societal issues, as unusual predictors, can play a very important role in determining attitudes. Religiosity, for example, could be the reason behind the negative attitude. Finally, the model suggests that some demographic determinants could be important to understand residents' attitude. For example, in many conservative communities it is expected that gender is a major determinant for attitude.

References


المخصص العربي
دراسة نظرية لفاعلية نظرية التبادل الاجتماعي في قياس مواقف السكان المحليين تجاه السياحة
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تناول الكثير من الباحثين منذ أربعة عقود آثار السياحة و انطباع السكان المحليين تجاهها. تم استخدام الاتجاهات النظرية لاستنتاج كيف و لماذا يتفاعل السكان ايجابيا و/أو سلبيا نحو التطور السياحي لتحقيق قياس جيد لانطباعاتهم. من أكثر النظريات المفضلة التي تم استخدامها في هذا السياق هي نظرية التبادل الاجتماعي. بناء على ذلك, هذه الدراسة النظرية هي محاولة لإدراك فاعلية هذه النظرية في دراسة انطباعات و مواقف السكان المحليين تجاه آثار السياحة مقارنة بطرق أخرى في دراسات مشابهة. تقدم هذه الدراسة خلاصة رئيسية تظهر ضعفا في هذه النظرية خاصة عندما تكون بمعزل عن نظريات ومتغيرات تنبؤية أخرى. علاوة على ذلك, تظهر هذه الدراسة أن معظم المنهاجيات و نماذج الدراسة تعمل بنفس إطار نظرية التبادل الاجتماعي فيما يتعلق بالفوائد و الأضرار الناتجة عن السياحة و أثرها على انطباعات السكان. تقترح هذه الدراسة أن تأخذ الدراسات المستقبلية بعين الاعتبار بعض المتغيرات و الظروف الأخرى مثل البناء الاجتماعي و التي يجب أن يقاس باتجاهات نظرية أخرى غير التي تركز على نظريات الفوائد و الأضرار السياحية.

الكلمات الدالة: دراسة نظرية, التبادل الاجتماعي, اتجاهات السكان, السياحة.