

# SOCIAL CAPITAL AND LOCAL COMMUNITY SUPPORT FOR POST-TSUNAMI ECONOMIC RECOVERY IN INDIA

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***Executive Summary.** This paper examines local community support for the post-tsunami recovery of two affected places in India: one a tourist destination and the other an agrarian village. The investigation begins with the proposition that social capital is a vital influence on local communities' willingness to support tsunami recovery efforts. The underlying assumption is that the resident community at the agrarian village with its rich social capital and a tradition of community activities will pro-actively participate in the reconstruction program and thereby make a speedier and more meaningful recovery than the resident community at the tourist destination. An empirical survey conducted to test this point provides us with contradictory results: the survey reveals no significant difference in the levels of social capital across the communities. Consequently, a focus group discussion was conducted with the locals at the tourist destination. The interesting conclusion is that rich social capital provoked local participation at the agrarian village and eliminated it at the tourist destination.*

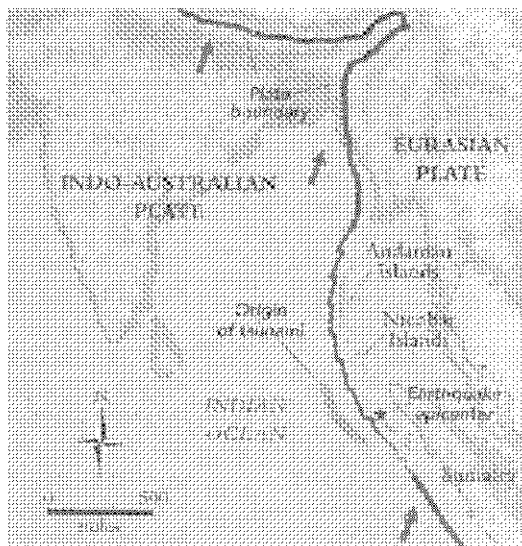
A tsunami is an ocean wave produced by a sub-marine earthquake, landslide, or volcanic eruption. These waves may reach enormous dimensions and have sufficient energy to travel across entire oceans. The devastation caused by the December 2004 Indian Ocean tsunami is almost unparalleled in history (Forest 2005). Official estimates say that the death toll reached 181,516 with another 49,936 unaccounted for, or a total of 231,452 in 12 countries, from Southeast Asia to East Africa. More than 1.7 million people lost their homes, and

between five and six million people needed food, water and medical supplies. In many affected areas, the number of working men and women who lost their livelihoods was as high as 90 percent (United Nations Development Programme 2005).

The countries severely hit by the 2004 tsunami were India, Indonesia, Malaysia, Maldives, Myanmar, Seychelles, Somalia, Sri Lanka, and Thailand. Of these, Indonesia's Aceh province and Sri Lanka were the hardest-hit areas

(McMohan, Nyheim, and Schwarz 2006). (See Figure 1.) As of the one-year mark after the tsunami, the reconstruction efforts are nowhere near full accomplishment. There exist severe inadequacies in terms of housing and sanitation infrastructure, roads and ports reconstruction, and providing the affected mass a safer and better livelihood. Rebuilding the place image is also central to the rejuvenation of the affected regions, particularly those traditionally dependent upon tourism.

**Figure 1**



Source: [www.MapsofIndia.com](http://www.MapsofIndia.com)

This paper depicts the post-tsunami recovery of two affected places in India: one a tourist destination and the other an agrarian village. It examines the proposition that social capital is a vital influence on local communities' willingness to support tsunami recovery efforts.

### **Tsunami in India**

The tsunami in India hit 1,400 miles (2,260 km) of its coastline and caused a death-toll of 10,881 people. An additional 5,792 people were recorded as

missing. Directly or indirectly, an estimated 2.7 million people were affected by the disaster. About 645,000 households lost their livelihood. Coastal areas on the eastern coast of South India in the states of Tamil Nadu, Pondicherry, Andhra Pradesh, Kerala, and Andaman and Nicobar Islands were affected. Other regions of these states were unaffected, as are the other states in India (Kripalani 2005).

Tourist destinations in the State of Tamil Nadu such as Chennai, Mamallapuram, and Kanniyakumari were severely damaged with tourist casualties reaching several hundred. Many pilgrim tourists were reported to have lost their lives at Velankanni. Most of those who lost lives in Tamil Nadu were domestic tourists and excursionists. In the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, a large number of foreign tourists also lost their lives.

Though the Indian Ministry of Tourism has downplayed the impact of the tsunami, the collective response of the tourism industry was more forthcoming. The private tourism sector has shown outgoing and generous behavior. Many private airliners ferried essential supplies to the affected areas free of cost or at subsidized rates. Jet Airways, India's largest private airline, offered a 50 percent rebate in the Economy Class of its daily flight from the Andamans to facilitate the transfer of tsunami victims. Industry contributions to the relief fund were also significantly large (Jet Airways 2005).

The government of India did not request international assistance and did not wait for assistance to arrive before spearheading rescue and recovery operations. The Union Cabinet approved

approximately US\$60 million for a relief and rehabilitation package for the victims of the tsunami in Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh, Kerala and Pondicherry. Under this package, approximately US\$24 million has been allocated to help fishermen return to work by providing them the boats, nets and other equipments, US\$19 million for provision of food grains and other material, US\$17 million for construction of houses, and US\$500,000 for repair of fishing harbors and fish landing sites (Government of India 2005).

The state governments whose territories were ravaged took action on their own: for instance, Tamilnadu, the state most affected, immediately set up rehabilitation camps for the victims with ready availability of free supplies of food, medicine, and clothes. Additionally, it appointed a committee of experts to develop technical guidelines on the layout and design of disaster resistant homes. State government and other agencies have so far built roughly 150,000 tsunami resistant houses. Coastal zone regulations have been reframed, incorporating the lessons learned from the tsunami experience. With the help of NGOs (non-governmental agencies), the state government has launched alternate skill development workshops for the fishing community (Government of Tamilnadu 2005).

#### **Tsunami and Tourism: The Linkages**

Among industries, tourism was the first casualty of the tsunami and the speed of the recovery is crucial to the tourism industry (Manson and Gunn 2005). The direct negative impact of such a large-scale disaster upon the tourism industry is readily discernable (Jeff 2005).

However, this is only one side of the post-tsunami tourism story. Many critics argue that tourism has worsened the tsunami disaster in multiple ways. They point out that in areas where mangrove forests or reefs had been destroyed to make room for tourist developments the tsunami had a more devastating impact than it would have had otherwise. It is true that locations with healthier vegetation and less disturbed vegetation like the Yala and Bundala National Parks in Sri Lanka could better withstand the effect of tsunami than others. Additionally, the tsunami generated a lot of disaster tourism. The number of leisure travelers visiting some of the destinations hit by the giant waves has seen a surge in people traveling not primarily for helping, but because it is interesting to view the devastation. In some instances, this further hindered the rescue, relief, and repair activities.

A positive outcome of the tsunami is that it helped to uncover treasures: the remains of ancient, long-buried seacoast life. For instance, as the waters receded, three large rocks with elaborate carvings of animals as well as the vestiges of two temples emerged from the sands near the coastal town of Mahabalipuram in Tamilnadu. They appear to be from a port city built in the 7th century (Holden 2005).

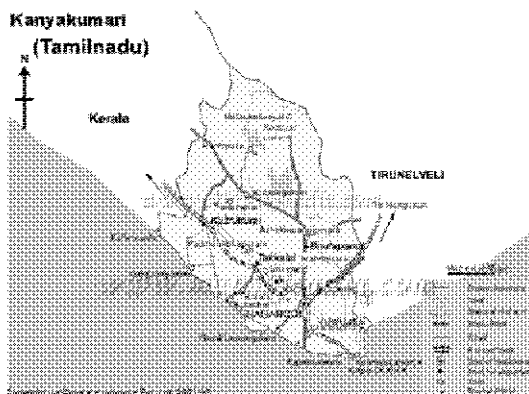
In the present research, we examine one more dimension of the tourism-tsunami linkages: tourism destinations with their comparatively lower social capital are believed to be slower to recover due to their reduced support from the local communities than are agrarian communities which are comparatively richer in social capital.

## Influence of Social Capital upon Recovery Efforts

News items that appeared in the media in the days immediately after the tsunami suggested that the attitude, spirit, and willingness of local people to engage in collective activities were important determinants in their support for recovery efforts.

We selected two places for empirically investigating the effects of social capital upon local community willingness to support tsunami recovery efforts: one, Kanyakumari, a famous tourist destination in the state of Tamilnadu and the other Alappad, an agrarian village in the Kollam district of the state of Kerala (See Figures 2 and 3).

Figure 2



Source: [www.MapsofIndia.com](http://www.MapsofIndia.com)

Kanyakumari, a cape at the southernmost tip of the Indian peninsula, is an important tourist destination in Tamilnadu. Kanyakumari lies at the meeting point of three bodies of water: the Arabian Sea, the Bay of Bengal, and the Indian Ocean. The Kanyakumari temple and the adjoining ghat, picturesquely situated overlooking the shore, attract tourists from all over the world. Two rocks reach out of the ocean,

on one of which Swami Vivekananda, the most noted saint-philosopher of modern India, is known to have sat in deep meditation. A memorial, Vivekananda Rock Memorial, has been erected here where people can sit in a serene atmosphere and meditate. Every day, thousands of tourists visit the rock using ferry services. Recently, the government of Tamilnadu installed a large stone statue of the Tamil saint Tiruvalluvar on a second rock next to it, which added to the tourist attraction of the place. Kanyakumari beach is the place where the ashes of Mahatma Gandhi, the father of the nation, were thrown into the sea. There exists a Gandhi Memorial which has been built on the spot where the urn containing the ashes was kept for public viewing before immersion.

Figure 3



Source: [www.MapsofIndia.com](http://www.MapsofIndia.com)

Kanyakumari had an estimated 800 deaths from the tsunami. Most of the people who lost their lives were those who ventured into the sea to collect fish and sea shells when the sea receded first before hitting back and those who were on the way by ferry to the Vivekananda Memorial. Pilgrims who were taking a

holy dip in the sea at the time of the tsunami also lost their lives. Many families of fishermen who used to stay in their huts erected on the beach were wiped away altogether. A large number of tourists stranded at the rocks were rescued by navy and coastguard, hours after the disaster. Of about 700 people trapped at the Vivekananda Rock Memorial off Kanyakumari, 650 were rescued.

In the case of the state of Kerala, the tsunami destroyed or damaged over 17,000 houses, injured over 8,000 people, and claimed the lives of 171 people in the three majorly affected districts (Government of Kerala 2005). The study area, Alappad village in Kollam district, is a peninsula extending into an estuary flanked by the Arabian Sea on the west and the Trivandrum-Shornur canal on the east.

There is only one bridge for about 12.4 miles (20 km) of coastal land, connecting this vulnerable land mass to the mainland. It is believed this type of a geographic alienation helped fortify the social capital of the Alappad community. All the boats on the canal were rushed into service to evacuate the dazed, injured, and frightened people to the mainland where they could access hospitals. Two local youth clubs, Signal Arts and Sports Club and Glasca Arts and Sports Club, were active during the relief and rehabilitation phases. They acted as a conduit between the affected people and the external agencies and were actively involved in many rehabilitation projects.

In addition to governmental agencies, a large number of NGOs provided external sources of assistance; Mata

Amritanandamayi Math, Ekta Parishad, Habitat Technology Group, Jamat e Islami Hind, Oxfam, and the Salvation Army, for example, have contributed to the recovery efforts. The confluence of agencies with development programs targeted at the affected is proving beneficial to most sections of the community.

Kanyakumari has a native resident population far less in number than the number of visitors to the area. Also, the majority of the vendors who sell tourism products and services here are not locals. In addition, from our informal interactions, it appeared that the affected locals perceived little benefit in the place being brought back to normalcy. In short, no visible local recovery effort was forthcoming. In the case of Alappad, it must be noted that most of the people who lost their lives or property were long-time residents who have developed strong community feelings and social networks. Our argument is that social capital played the difference here: the community with rich social capital and with a tradition of community activities can proactively participate in the reconstruction program, and thereby can help make a successful and speedy recovery.

Thus, our understanding at this stage of the research is that one important reason why local support for the recovery efforts was lower in many tourism destinations than in other places could be the lower degree of social capital in those destinations. Comparable instances have been noted in the literature in the context of post earthquake rehabilitation and reconstruction programs (Nakagawa and Shaw 2004). Hence, the following hypothesis is forwarded: the higher the

social capital of the local community, the higher its willingness to support tsunami recovery efforts, and vice versa.

### **Social Capital and its Measurement**

The term social capital was first used in the 1980s by Bourdieu and Coleman (Bourdieu and Coleman 1991). Social capital is the raw material of civil society (Coleman 1988). It is created from the myriad of everyday interactions between people. Social capital is a "bottom-up" phenomenon. It originates with people forming social connections and networks based on principles of trust, mutual reciprocity and norms of action. Grootaert (1998) suggests that social capital is an important influence upon economic policies and outcome.

The measurement of social capital has been achieved in various ways, though obtaining a satisfactory measure has proven problematic (Stone and Hughs 2002). Adler and Kwon (2000) stress the multidimensionality of social capital. Putnam (1993) conceived social capital in terms of the degree of civic involvement, as measured by voter turnout, newspaper readership, membership in choral societies and football clubs, and confidence in public institutions. Knack and Keefer (1997) employed a two dimensional scale with trust and civic norms as components to measure social capital. A conceptual framework for measuring social capital was developed by Stone (2001) within the Families, Social Capital, and Citizenship project. Narayan and Pritchett (1997) devised a scale that measured the extent and characteristics of peoples' associational activities and their trust in institutions, which, according to them, is a good proxy for the complex construct of social capital.

Density of social networks in terms of factors such as telephonic connectivity and social mobility as a means to measure social capital was developed by Temple and Johnson (1998). Williams (2006) developed Internet Social Capital Scale as a yardstick to measure the social capital in the virtual communities. The social capital scale developed by Onyx and Bullen (2000) in terms of participation in networks, reciprocity, trust, social norms, the commons, and social agency also merits mentioning. Though their study is biased more towards the quantitative tradition, Woolcock and Narayan (2000) advocate mixed methodologies that bring together quantitative, comparative, and qualitative means of inquiry.

While the aforementioned attempts are to quantify social capital, qualitative researchers too have made valuable contribution to its measurement. One of the classical examples can be seen in Portes and Sensenbrenner (1993) where the authors portray the dynamic social ties existing in immigrant communities. Gold (1995) provides further evidence that it is social capital that helps many a minority community to maintain integrity. Another noteworthy study (Heller 1996) on social capital has the state of Kerala in India as its region of study. The Kerala model of development is unusual in that despite mediocre economic performance, the state's social indicators are at par with the best of the world. The study reveals that hostility towards private sector mega-investments, especially foreign investment, and xenophobia prevalent in the society, make it difficult for its well-educated and healthy population to translate its knowledge to superior economic performance.

### **The Research Method**

The present study has employed an incrementally modified form of the scale developed by Onyx and Bullen (2000) to measure social capital. The scale was translated into Malayalam and Tamil, the prominent regional languages of the communities being surveyed. To see if the items listed in the scale were relevant to the local communities under, informal interviews were conducted with selected members of the communities. The selection of members for such an interaction was purely based on convenience, though it was sought to bring in representation from different civic groups. The members seemed not to understand a few items either for their unfamiliarity with the concepts or for the unfamiliar wording. These items were rephrased for better understanding (e.g., “If you need information to make a life decision, do you know where to find that information?”), but no item was deleted nor any new item added.

A questionnaire was prepared that contained statements of the social capital scale with an additional statement to assess the respondent’s willingness to support recovery efforts. The original social capital questionnaire contained questions on demographic information which were avoided in the present questionnaire. This decision was made due to the fact that, at the pilot interview stage, most of the locals whom we contacted expressed their unwillingness to disclose personal details for fear of retaliation against them by governmental authorities and other funding agencies. Willingness to support recovery was measured through the question “How willing are you to support tsunami recovery efforts?” The answer to this

question was measured on a 4 point scale ranging from “No, not at all” to “Yes, very much.”

### **Results**

A total of 100 community residents were approached and asked to participate in the study. Of this number, 79 complete and usable surveys (34 from Kanyakumari and 45 from Alappad) were collected, thus representing a 79 percent response rate.

The collected data were analyzed with SPSS. An independent sample t-test was carried out to compare the means of social capital for the two groups of respondents, the results of which are given in Table 3, at the end of this paper.

Examining the equal variances assumed row in the output shown in Table 3, it is apparent that there is no significant difference between the means of social capital across the two groups ( $p > 0.05$ ). The group means were found to be high for both the groups: the mean value of social capital for the respondent group from the agrarian village was 3.02 and that from the tourist destination was 2.91 (both in a 4 point scale). In other words, the explanation that it is the difference in social capital harnessed by the two communities that causes corresponding differences in each community’s support for recovery efforts is not proved.

However, it is interesting to note that there is a significant difference in the willingness of locals to support tsunami recovery efforts ( $p < 0.01$ ). The mean value of willingness for the respondents from the agrarian village was 2.82 and the same for the other respondent group was 1.97 (both in a 4 point scale). (See Table 4, end) Thus, while there is a

difference in the local community support for tsunami recovery between Alappad (the agrarian village) and Kanyakumari (the tourist destination), the same can not be explained in terms of the difference in social capital possessed by the local communities in these places. Then, what else could explain the difference? Is it something other than social capital? Or, is it social capital itself, but in some other manner? Glaser and Strauss (1968) suggest that this sort of a situation should lead researchers to return to the field, and we did the same.

Since the initial explanatory failure arose due to the Kanyakumari sample (i.e., here, despite its high social capital, local willingness to support recovery was poor), it was decided to hold a focus group discussion with selected subjects there. The group was conducted at a public place in the evening and we invited people who were present there at that time to participate. The medium of communication was Tamil, the local language. There were 13 members in the focus group, of which 4 were female. Of the 13 members, at least one representative from each of the following groups was present, thus lending diversity to the group: political and social workers, local small businessmen, students, government employees, fishermen, and unemployed youth. The only common characteristic that all the participants shared together was that all of them belonged to the local community. No member was recruited in advance nor was anyone of them paid in cash or kind. The group was moderated by one of the present researchers. Pragmatically, we added some extra flavor to the content of the focus group discussion with an interview for

individuals (e.g., housewives) who were not represented in the group.

The important questions that were put up for discussion ranged from “How do you think the tsunami impacted Kanyakumari?”; “What did you do for the recovery of Kanyakumari after the tsunami?”; “What contributions have you made to the betterment of this place?”; to “Are you willing to spare at least some of your time, money, and resources for this place and its future?”. While there were some variations in responses due to the personal backgrounds of the members, most of them were unanimous on a few outstanding issues. For instance, the locals in general felt that development in Kanyakumari has not been in tune with the local aspirations; tourism development is alienating them from the place that they had once been so much attached to; they want to receive the compensation for losses and leave the place rather than staying and waiting with hopes for a better future; and though they risked their own lives to save the lives of tourists and vendors caught up in the giant waves, it was purely humanitarian and they did not have any special sympathy for the tourists or the vendors.

Some members explained that Kanyakumari local residents historically have had a strong community spirit and all of them live like the members of a big extended family – cutting across caste and income boundaries. In fact, when the affected community members were asked to produce supporting documents like ration cards or voters’ identity cards (which they had lost in the waves along with their loved ones and property) to receive tsunami aid, it was

the other members of the community in unison that identified them as legitimate recipients of the aid. As a community, they did not support rebuilding the place beyond saving the lives of people and bringing in immediate life sustaining utilities like electricity, drinking water, and food, since, according to them, doing so would be digging, once again, their own graves. They have no objection to tourists visiting but do not want a tourism industry controlled by outsiders to return.

An analysis of the transcripts of the focus group discussion and personal interviews left us with the strong impression that this is the same social capital that this community possesses which makes it not supportive of any recovery efforts beyond a point. It became clear that the strong possibility existed of a positive correlation between social capital and willingness to support recovery efforts at Alappad, the agrarian village, because the community there felt recovery beneficial to them. Likewise, at Kanyakumari there should be a correlation between the two, but negative. To test these beliefs, the data file was split in two in terms of the study regions. Pearson correlations between the social capital and the willingness to support were calculated for each region, the results of which are presented in Tables 5 and 6, at the end of this paper.

The tables show a strong positive correlation between social capital and local willingness in the case of the agrarian village and a strong negative correlation between the same variables in the case of the tourist destination (both significant at  $p < 0.01$ ). Thus, summarizing the entire series of analyses, it can be said that social capital

possessed by a community has two functions: one, to accelerate a community's support for developmental activities, if the development is perceived to be beneficial to it and; two, to retard a community's support for developmental activities if the development is perceived to harmful to it.

### **Conclusions**

The present study is an example of a mixed means approach involving different methods of data gathering, analyzing techniques, and inquiry designs employed to discover an important relationship, which otherwise would have gone unnoticed. Managing the transition from relief to recovery is a critical concern for the future. The pace of transition to recovery will vary from country to country and different approaches will be required. Managing the transition entails identifying those gaps that would cause harm to the recipients of the aid and ensuring a handover of responsibility. Failure to do so can damage both the perception of a largely successful relief program as well as to the recovery program itself (UNDP 2005). Even though social capital's role in vitalizing collective activities in the society has extensively been researched, its role in the context of recovery of disaster ravaged places has not been sufficiently studied.

The contributions from civil society during the humanitarian assistance phase have been unprecedented in both of the places studied. However, at Kanyakumari, the same was dampened in the later stages of recovery. The lesson from the present study is that post disaster response, in terms of assistance to recovery by the local community, is

conditioned more by pre-disaster factors than by the immediate post-disaster impacts. If a local community's collective spirit worked against recovery, it is due to difference in the goals of the recovery as perceived by the recovery managers (e.g., governmental and non-governmental funding agencies and their vested interests) and the locals. It may be treated as an adaptive response to a unique opportunity to teach the antagonistic enemy a lesson. Social capital bonds the community together in such an instance. This is a general truth irrespective of whether the disaster is a tsunami or a hurricane or whether the economic landscape is controlled by tourism or any other industry. Locals at Alappad generally felt that recovery efforts synchronized with the regeneration of the means of their own livelihood – agriculture – and not that of an outside interest. In addition, the present study highlights the need for a sustainable coexistence between the industry and the local society if any goodwill is to be expected for the former from the latter.

The results of the present study raise questions that provide direction to future researchers. In particular, it would be worthwhile to examine how locals supported recovery efforts at a location where they did not have animosity towards the industry interests. Also of interest would be how societies with poor social capital react to crises such as the one discussed here. What are the other consequences of poor social capital? For example, how a community with richer social capital better deals with problems like the mental trauma of its affected members than another community with lower social capital is an issue ripe for attention. What might be deemed a successful recovery from the viewpoint of one local community may not be deemed successful from the viewpoint of another local community, the province, the state, the industry, the church, or any other potential stakeholder group. The role of social capital in this power play is worthy of an in depth qualitative investigation.

**Table 1**

State	Deaths		Injured	Missing	Evacuees	Refugees
	Official	Estimated				
<b>Tamilnadu</b>	7,960	8,000	—	—	500,000	310,000
<b>Andaman &amp; Nicobar</b>	1,310	7,000	200	5,544	17,000	37,000
<b>Pondicherry</b>	590	665	—	75	70,000	6,100
<b>Andhra Pradesh</b>	105	116	—	11	34,000	0 (All returned)
<b>Kerala</b>	171	171	700	—	25,000	25,000
<b>Total</b>	<b>10,136</b>	<b>16,000</b>	<b>900</b>	<b>5,630</b>	<b>650,000</b>	<b>380,000</b>

Source: National Disaster Management Division, Ministry of Home, Govt. of India. (More details available at <http://ndmindia.nic.in>)

**Table 2**

Factor	Andhra Pradesh	Kerala	Tamilnadu	Pondicherry	Total
<b>Population affected</b>	211,000	691,000	2,470,000	43,000	3,415,000
<b>Area affected (km<sup>2</sup>)</b>	7.9	Un Known	24.87	7.9	40.67
<b>Length of coast affected (km)</b>	985	250	1,000	25	2,260
<b>Extent of penetration (km)</b>	0.5 – 2.0	1 – 2	1 - 1.5	0.30 - 3.0	
<b>Reported height of tsunami (m)</b>	5	3-5	7-10	10	
<b>Villages affected</b>	301	187	362	26	876
<b>Dwelling units</b>	1,557	11,832	91,037	6,403	110,829
<b>Cattle lost</b>	195	Un Known	5,476	3,445	9,116

Source: National Disaster Management Division, Ministry of Home, Govt. of India.  
(More details available at <http://ndmindia.nic.in>)

**Table 3****Independent Samples Test**

		social capital	
		Equal variances assumed	Equal variances not assumed
Levene's Test for Equality of Variance	F Sig.	1.185 .280	
t-test for Equality of Means	t df Sig. (2-tailed)	-.484 77 .630	-.474 65.413 .637
	Mean Difference Std. Error Difference	-.11046 .22828	-.11046 .23283
	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	Lower Upper -.56502 .34411	-.57539 .35448

**Table 4****Independent Samples Test**

		willingness to support	
		Equal variances assumed	Equal variances not assumed
Levene's Test for Equality of Variances	F	1.020	
	Sig.	.316	
t-test for Equality of Means	t	-3.835	-3.756
	df	77	65.042
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000
	Mean Difference	-.85163	-.85163
	Std. Error Difference	.22208	.22677
	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	Lower -1.29385	Lower -1.30452
		Upper -.40942	Upper -.39875

**Table 5****Correlations<sup>a</sup>**

		social_capital	willingness_to_support
social_capital	Pearson Correlation	1	.581*
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.001
	N	45	45
willingness_to_support	Pearson Correlation	.581*	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.001	
	N	45	45

\*\*. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

a. study\_region = agrarian village

**Table 6****Correlations<sup>a</sup>**

		social_capital	willingness_to_support
social_capital	Pearson Correlation	1	-.742*
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000
	N	34	34
willingness_to_support	Pearson Correlation	-.742*	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	
	N	34	34

\*\*. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

a. study\_region = tourism destination

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