Tourism Management Perspectives 34 (2020) 100654

Contents lists available at ScienceDirect

Tourism Management Perspectives

journal homepage: www.elsevier.com/locate/tmp

Social capital: An investment towards community resilience in the collaborative natural resources management of community-based tourism schemes

Regis Musavengane[a,*], Roelie Kloppers[b]

[a] University of Johannesburg, College of Business and Economics, School of Tourism and Hospitality, Department of Tourism, Bunting Road Campus, PO Box 524, Johannesburg 2006, South Africa

[b] Wildlands Conservation Trust, PO Box 1138, Hilton 3245, South Africa

ARTICLE INFO

Keywords:
Land reform
Community-based tourism
Community resilience
Systems thinking
Somkhanda community game reserve

ABSTRACT

Community-based tourism projects appear to be the most favoured option for enhancing community livelihoods through the collaborative management of communal natural resources in land reformed areas in South Africa. A case study approach was adopted to establish the role of social capital in building community resilience through the management of common pool natural resources. Using the assemblages and systemic-resilience theories, this paper establishes which relationships between social capital and community resilience are best for pursuing successful community-based tourism schemes. Lessons were drawn from Somkhanda Community Game Reserve in the Gumbi community, KwaZulu Natal, South Africa. The paper identifies three main community resilience shocks: governance, financial and skills. It notes that strong social capital can promote the realisation of community resilience in communal natural resources management. It further points to the need for avoiding environmental romanticisation, as there is a need to focus on the complexities involved in managing communal natural resources in land reformed communities.

1. Introduction

Land reform appears to be an inevitable process in most parts of the African and Asian continents (Musavengane & Leonard, 2019). However, having endured a prolonged period of oppression, there tend to be divergent views on the use of communal owned resources among the beneficiaries, to such an extent that if consensus is not sought and found, the resources will be exploited, resulting in a failure to realise the key objectives of land restitution (land reform) (Kamuti, 2018; Ngubane & Brooks, 2013). Often, land beneficiaries anticipate accruing direct personal gains from their land, such as the opportunity for farming or rearing livestock (Ngubane, 2018). Other actors may plan community projects with a utilitarian benefit to the majority. To complicate the situation even further, the upper echelons of the society may attempt to use their power to gain personal advantages. This scenario can lead to a new form of oppression by people of similar "skin colour" (Musavengane, Tantoh, & Simatele, 2019). This explains the need to examine the relationship between social capital, community resilience and community-based tourism (CBT) in the collaborative management of a common pool of natural resources.

Collaborative management (commonly known as co-management) is an inclusionary approach that stems from the development of national and international policies to promote the participation of all concerned actors (Musavengane & Simatele, 2016; Reed, Henderson, & Mendis-Millard, 2013; Spires, Shackleton, & Cundill, 2014). In common-pool natural resources management, co-management has become popularised given the increasing inequality and exclusion concerns by those considered 'lower' in a society (Child & Jones, 2006; Muller, 2012). The trajectory of exclusion and inequality are a result of repressive colonisation and apartheid, when decisions were made centrally in a top-down approach (Chambers, 1994; Child & Barnes, 2010). This approach left many communities with no or little voice regarding the way in which natural resources should be governed (Child, Mupeta, Muyengwa, & Lubilo, 2014; Simatele & Simatele, 2015). This led to the disenfranchisement of many communities, in particular the poor, and resulted in the unsustainable use of natural resources and increased environmental degradation (Ngubane & Brooks, 2013).

Most of the land reformed communities in Africa appear to pursue CBT projects, however the rate of progress varies between communities

* Corresponding author.
E-mail address: regmuss2000@yahoo.com (R. Musavengane).

https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tmp.2020.100654
Received 30 March 2019; Received in revised form 13 February 2020; Accepted 18 February 2020

(Kamuti, 2018; Musavengane, 2019; Ngubane, 2018). Land reform and post-colonial redistribution are often viewed as the death knell of a number of industries, including tourism, with investors scared to move funds to projects where tenure is uncertain or communally held (The Citizen, 2018). Recent calls by the South African government and the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF), an opposition political party in South Africa, to expropriate land without compensation in order to address inequality and the wrongs of apartheid, sent shockwaves across the world (Mavuso, 2019; Merten, 2018), bringing many high-end tourism investments to a halt (Mhlanga, 2018). Citing various examples of failed land redistribution projects, the opponents of the process present strong, and unfortunately sometimes racially motivated, arguments against expropriation, painting a future where there is no food security as agricultural systems collapse, as well as a lack of international investment (Mamdani, 2019; Ramutsindela, 2012; The Citizen, 2018). However, there are many examples of successful land redistribution in South Africa (Binswanger-Mkhize, 2014; Jacobs, 2014; Ramutsindela, 2002). One such case is that of the Somkhanda Game Reserve (SGR), which was established in 2005 after a successful land claim lodged by a small Zulu-speaking community in northern Kwa-Zulu-Natal, the Gumbi (Musavengane & Simatele, 2016). As it is not clear how communities that are successfully operating CBTs have overcome operational shocks and challenges, there is a need to discuss the factors that promote community resilience in the context of land reformed communities.

At the centre of the collaborative management of community-based natural resources (CBNRM) are the issues of power, participation, funding, devolution, resilience and social capital (Child, 2019; Muzirambi, Musavengane, & Mearns, 2019). In simple terms, CBNRM refers to the collective management of natural resources such as wildlife, forests, water and land by local institutions for local benefit (Roe & Nelson, 2009). Furthermore, to promote CBNRM, common pool theory (Ostrom, 1990) and collaborative theory (Colbry, Hurwitz, & Adair, 2014) were developed. These theories encourage the empowerment and participation of citizens in managing and accessing their local natural resources. Nevertheless, collaboration efforts in CBNRM have been characterised by significant power imbalances, which result in continued conflicts between community members and leaders (Colbry et al., 2014). A bounce-back from various shocks associated with poor devolution, poor funding and a lack of power-sharing is called 'community resilience' in this article. In all key definitions of community resilience, three fundamentals elements emerge: a community's resources, a community's ability to adapt, and a community's capacity to absorb disturbances (Folke et al., 2010; Holling, 1973; Skerratt, 2013). Combined, community resilience identifies the ability of a community to survive a disturbance. Before a disturbance strikes, each community has some resources, including political, economic and cultural infrastructures, as well as social capital, values and shared life orientation (Flora & Flora, 2004), however it is not clear how these resources can contribute towards building community resilience.

In light of the above, this paper discusses the role of social capital in the collaborative management of natural resources. It specifically analyses the role of social capital in building community resilience in land reformed communities. It further attempts to explain how community resilience-building activities contribute to community well-being and quality of life. Finally, to a lesser extent, the paper assesses the extent to which governance in the SGR's networks contributes to destination resilience.

2. Land reform, community-based nature tourism, social capital and community resilience

This section provides a review of community-based tourism and related governance issues. It also highlights the linkages between social capital, community-based natural resources management and community resilience.

2.1. Revisiting historical land governance trajectories in Africa

The strength of colonial powers was strengthened by European policies regarding natural resource management, which extended European political control in rural African territories (Neumann, 1998). The occupation of black-owned land in the 18th and 19th centuries disregarded the traditional rights of the indigenous people (Colchester, 1994), with the American ideology of setting pristine land aside for leisure purposes and 'nature protection' being used to underpin the conservation approaches by European countries (Adams, 2004). Land ownership was gradually forcefully transferred to the state domain by local authorities, thereby expanding the colonisation of African lands, labour and natural resources (Roe & Nelson, 2009). This eventually served as a key driver of the push for African independence, whereby indigenous people had to go to war or through civil unrest to recover their land and related resources.

Following independence, however, natural resources remained centrally regularised by the states, thereby limiting access for local people (Mamdani, 1996). In this way, the newly independent African nations inherited the colonial and Apartheid systems – the only thing that changed was the 'colour' composition of the political leadership. Bates (1981) noted that African states chose to maintain socialist ideologies that favoured state ownership of key economic resources to enable the growth of the nations. Unfortunately, this facilitated the ability of the elites to gain more access to economic and social drivers and establish patronage networks to keep them in power and maintain political stability (Ake, 1996; van de Walle, 2001). For this reason, the colonial and Apartheid land tenure systems remained in place, limiting local people's rights to access the land and key natural resources (Alden, 2008). Local people remain disgruntled and disenfranchised, to the extent that calls for radical land reforms are inevitable. A well-known radical land reform programme took place in Zimbabwe in 2000 under the leadership of the late Pan-Africanist and war veteran, Robert Gabriel Mugabe (Matondi, 2012). Regardless of how different groups view the Zimbabwe fast-track land reform programme, the point remains that most indigenous people want their land back. This can be seen in the growing calls by the EFF and the South African ruling party, the ANC (African National Congress), that black Africans be given their land back without compensation for the current owners (Merten, 2018). Musavengane and Leonard (2019) noted a correlation between the continual exclusion of black South Africans from accessing the land and their lack of interest in conservation. Steyn (2004) argued that the ideologies of white people regarding conservation during apartheid perpetuated a hatred for it among the black populace.

The Apartheid system can be traced back as far as 1652, although it was formally legalised in 1948 when the National Party won the elections. Over time, a series of laws were enacted to ensure that Black Africans were forcefully kept off their land, most notably the Natives Trust and Land Act of 1936, whereby Blacks were forced to vacate their 'prime' land to pave the way for Whites to pursue conservation and agricultural activities (Musavengane & Leonard, 2019; Stull, 2004). The Group Areas Act (GAA) of 1950 later enforced a deep racial segregation, as it specifically imposed control over interracial property transactions and property occupation throughout South Africa (South African History Online [SAHO], 2014). The GAA enabled the establishment of group areas based on race, where only people of a specific race were allowed to reside in demarcated areas (SAHO, 2014). The GAA led to the forceful displacement of people, which led to the breaking up of families. The introduction of the Separate Amenities Act of 1953 further widened the inequality gap between Black Africans and Whites by restricting certain public premises to a particular race and excluding other races (SAHO, 2011). This Act was used as a weapon by the government to ensure the unfair and unequal distribution of natural resources. Khan (2002) was of the view that this negatively affected Black people's attitudes and perceptions towards conservation-related issues, which is highlighted in the South African National Parks' (SANParks)

Table 1
South African National Parks domestic visitor profiles.

Population	2012/3		2013/4		2014/5		2015/6		2016/7		2017/8	
	Black South Africans	White South Africans	Black South Africans	White South Africans	Black South Africans	White South Africans	Black South Africans	White South Africans	Black South Africans	White South Africans	Black South Africans	White South Africans
Day Visitors	385,826	827.463	424,489	865.751	465,689	985.056	508,744	1091.080	555,800	1001.063	577,823	1000.934
Day Visitors/ Total SA Day Visitors	31.8%	68.2%	32.9%	67.1%	32.1%	67.9%	31.8%	68.2%	35.7%	64.3%	36.6%	63.4%
Overnight Visitors	48,390	445.386	42,529	451.994	40,584	466.716	45,821	486.981	52,737	444.782	58,548	450.565
Overnight Visitors/ Total SA Overnight Visitors	9.8%	90.2%	8.6%	91.4%	8.0%	92%	8.6%	91.4%	10.6%	89.4	11.5%	88.5%
Total	434,216	1268.592	467,018	1322.323	506,273	1456.025	554,565	1570.205	608,537	1447.331	636,371	1450.091
Total Visitors/ Total SA Visitors	25.5%	74.5%	26.1%	73.9%	25.8%	74.2%	26.1%	73.9%	29.6%	70.4%	30.5%	69.5%

Source: SANPARKS (data received through e-mail and modified to contextualise).
* Please note that "Black South Africans" is inclusive of "Indian" and "Coloured".
* Due to the way in which the South African demographic figures are collected and captured, SANParks is aware and accepts that there may be a small margin of error involved and that these figures may not be 100% accurate. This does not diminish the value of these measures in indicating trends in park visitation by South Africans.
* The table exclude figures from Agulhas, Table Mountain and West Coast National Parks. Agulhas overnight figures included as from, 2011/2 and Lighthouse as from the second quarter of the 2012/3 financial year.
* Data capturing errors at Numbi Gate in 2013 caused considerable numbers of day visitors to reflect as overnight visitors to the Kruger National Park.

domestic tourist profile (see Table 1).

Efforts by the international community to integrate Black Africans into conservation began in the 1980s (Musavengane & Simatele, 2016; Roe & Nelson, 2009). This led to the growth of a community-based narrative as a result of shared ideas and crises, which provoked inclusive, broad and critical thinking on combined conservation and development.

2.2. Land reform and the rise of collaborative natural resources management in Africa

The portfolio of large-scale natural resources co-management programmes in Southern Africa include the Communal Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources (CAMPFIRE), referred to as the parent of all co-management schemes, which originated in Zimbabwe (Frost & Bond, 2008; Muboko & Murindagomo, 2014). Another well-known programme was the Administrative Management Design for Game Management Areas (ADMADE), which was implemented in Zambia. In its early phases, ADMADE was a successful scheme, but due to poor administration, the programme collapsed (African College of CBNRM, 2012). Mozambique has multiple co-management schemes that commenced soon after the end of the civil war in the early 1990s, which aim to support policy frameworks and reforms in land management and the forestry and wildlife sectors. Of these schemes, the most successful are Chipanje Chetu in Niassai Province and Tchuma Tchato in Tete Province (Binot et al., 2009). The success of these projects in Mozambique can be attributed to the devolution and decentralisation strategies that have strengthened the governance of local natural resources, as well as donated funds and the sharing of benefits.

Namibia's Communal Conservancy Programme, which creates conservancies on communal land with rights over wildlife, generates income through tourism, hunting and non-timber products (Binot et al., 2009; Muyengwa, 2015). Similarly, Botswana began to create wildlife trusts in 1989 through funding from the USAID Natural Resources Management Project (NRMP) II. Over 100 community wildlife trusts have been created since the inception of the project (Binot et al., 2009; Bunting et al., 2013).

Despite these successes, the literature shows that there are a growing number of conflicts relating to protected areas and land reform communities regarding the use of communal natural resources (Kamuti, 2018; Kepe, 2004; Musavengane & Simatele, 2016; Ngubane & Brooks, 2013; Ramutsindela, 2002). These conflicts have led to increasingly strident calls for enhanced, effective governance processes for co-managing common-pool natural resources, which would facilitate people's participation in, and ownership of, conservation efforts (Borrini-Feyerabend, Pimbert, Farvar, Kothari, & Renard, 2004; Cundill, Thondhlana, Sisitka, Shackleton, & Blore, 2013). In an effort to promote community participation in the management of communal resources, there has been an increase in community-based natural resources management schemes in Southern Africa (Cundill et al., 2013; Musavengane & Simatele, 2017). However, most CBNRM schemes in land reformed communities have been found to be susceptible to environmental uncertainty and social shocks caused by various factors. These factors include tensions between centralisation and decentralisation forces, policy fragmentation (Carley & Christie, 2000), a lack of appropriate institutional frameworks, divides between national development and planning policies (Reed et al., 2013), and the hegemony of the elite bureaucrats and party loyalists who tend to disregard the voices of the poor (Binns, Dixon, & Nel, 2012).

Land reformed communities are often associated with conflicts regarding the access to, and/or use of, common-pool natural resources due to the presence of multiple actors with diverse and divergent goals (Kamuti, 2018; Musavengane & Simatele, 2016). Cousins (1999) observed that land reform seems to proffer an opportunity to communities to access vast natural resources such as wood from forests and water from streams, as well as communal lands for grazing purpose. Ngubane

(2018) regarded access to communal lands as a victory for communities at large, as the expansion of grazing space leads to direct benefits for them. Notably, an increase in livestock (i.e. cattle, chicken, ducks and goats) is regarded as an increase in the 'wealth portfolio' of community members. Yet these land rights are restricted in community nature conservation areas, such as the Dwesa-Cwebe and Mkambati Nature Reserves in the Eastern Cape Province of South Africa (Kepe, 2004; Ntshona, Kraai, Kepe, & Salilwa, 2010), and the Makuleke community, which owns a portion of Kruger National Park (Ramutsindela, 2002).

2.3. Social capital and natural resources management

Attaining conservation goals may seem like an insurmountable objective for land reformed communities, however social capital can be used to create successful CBNRM schemes in these areas. Social capital emphasises the building of social networks that lead to productive groups with shared norms, values and understandings (Baksh, Soemarno, Hakim, & Nugroho, 2013). The social capital concept is defined by varied interlinking factors, such as trust, solidarity, fairness, networks, social inclusion and cohesion, communication and empowerment (Blewit, 2015; Lyon, 2000; Pretty & Smith, 2003). Bourdieu (1986, p. 248) defined social capital as "the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition". He also pointed out that social capital is "made up of social obligations ('connections'), which is convertible, in certain conditions, into economic capital and maybe institutionalized in the form of a title of nobility" (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 243). In this paper, social capital is thus defined as the networks of relationships that promote the development and deployment of resources and gains that can be of benefit to an individual as well as the collective (Floress, Prokopy, & Allred, 2011).

Social capital can be equated to other forms of capital, such as economic capital, in that it possesses several similarities (Claridge, 2004), i.e. it can be invested with an expectation to obtain a return on investment in the future (Adler & Kwon, 2002); it is appropriable (Coleman, 1988); it is convertible (Bourdieu, 1986); and it needs maintenance (Gant, Ichniowski, & Shaw, 2002). However, some authors regard social capital as not being 'real' capital because it resides in social relationships and not in individuals, as other forms of capital do (Robison, Allan Schmid, & Siles, 2002). Further, it cannot be traded on the stock exchange or open market, but is rather embedded within a group (Gant et al., 2002). Nevertheless, social capital is 'real' capital and complements other forms of capital; "*Economic capital is in people's bank accounts and human capital is inside their heads, social capital inheres in the structure of their relationships*" (Portes, 1998, p. 7). This paper highlights the return on investment (community resilience) that can be realised by investing in social capital.

In their attempts to conceptualise social capital, several authors have categorised and differentiated between various forms of social capital. The most common distinctions made are between structural and cognitive capital, and bonding and bridging capital. Structural social capital relates to the properties of a total social system that connects people and includes the roles, rules, precedents and procedures that configure a community (Uphoff & Wijayaratha, 2000). The seminal work of Nahapiet and Ghoshal (1998) differentiated between the three dimensions of social capital: structural, cognitive and rational. Structural social capital comprises a network of individuals who know each other and share advice and information. Structural social capital is typically considered the density, connectivity, hierarchy and relevancy of the network in a community or group. More importantly, structural social capital considers the number of ties a person has, with whom, and the strength of those ties (Musavengane, 2019a; Taylor, 2007). Furthermore, cognitive social capital focuses on resources, providing shared understandings, representations, interpretations, and systems of meaning among multi-actors (Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998). Cognitive social capital also includes shared language, codes, narratives, values, attitudes, and beliefs. At this point, it is important to note that many authors, for example, Chou (2006), Grootaert, Narayan, Jones, and Woolcock (2003) and Krishna and Shrader (1999), do not distinguish between cognitive and rational social capital, and use the terms 'rational' or 'cognitive' interchangeably. This has led to confusion in understanding and differentiating these forms of social capital (Claridge, 2004). The confusion is exacerbated by the fact that both forms emanate from the mental rather than the material realm, so both are ultimately cognitive (Claridge, 2004). Rational social capital focuses on the nature and quality of relationships, including elements of trust and trustworthiness, norms and sanctions, obligations and expectations, identities and identification. This paper embeds rational social capital elements into cognitive social capital, and uses the term 'cognitive social capital' for both.

Aldridge, Halpern, and Fitzpatrick (2002) identified bridging (also known as linking) and bonding (also known as splitting) social capital. Bonding social capital is horizontal and among community actors at the same level, whereas bridging social capital is vertical and between communities and actors at different levels (Dolfsma & Dannreuther, 2003; Narayan, 2002). Bonding social capital is also localised; it is often found within a community or among people who live together in the same or adjacent communities, who interact frequently (Wallis, Crocker, & Schechter, 1998). On the other hand, bridging social capital extends to individuals, institutions and organisations beyond the local community confines. Bridging social capital is closely associated with thin trust, in contrast to bonding social capital which has strong trust (Anheier & Kendall, 2002). Similarly, Musavengane & Matikiti (2015) noted that bridging social capital consists of ties or relationships between community members and members from nearby communities who have a similar social, economic and cultural status.

Most land reformed communities, including the Gumbi community, thrive on strong social capital in pursuing CBNRM schemes, while those that are labelled 'failed schemes' appear to have weaker social capital (Musavengane, 2019a). Pretty and Smith (2003) noted that strong social capital can create positive relationships within and between social groups, which can consequently lower the cost of working together and reduce the likelihood of individualistic activities that result in negative impacts to the group. Several researchers have examined the potential of social capital in community-based tourism (CBT) (Jones, 2005; Thakadu, Mangadi, Bernard, & Mbaiwa, 2005; Johannesson, Skaptadottir, & Benediktsson, 2003; Macbeth, Carson, & Northcote, 2004), for example in Gambia, Jones (2005) established that social capital facilitated the successful development and management of a local ecotourism project. Pongponrat and Chantradoan (2012) similarly noted that social capital acts as an essential mechanism to promote community participation in communal projects, while Shie (2020) highlighted that the ability of community members to respond to disturbances depends on their inherent social capital.

In South Africa, the Makuleke community located in Western Kruger National Park (WKNP) reclaimed their land in 1996. The other piece of the claimed land is a game park which has been collectively managed by Makuleke Community Property Association, South African National Parks (SANParks) and Wilderness Safaris since 1996 (Turner, 2004). To ensure the equitable distribution of benefits, the Maluleke Community Property Association (MCPA) receives 10% of all revenues and local people are prioritised for job opportunities. An arrangement set up in accordance with the Built-Operate Transfer (BOT) premise was also entered into between the MCPA and private partners, which paves the way for private organisations to build and operate lodges for a specific period, before ownership is transferred to the MCPA (Turner, 2004). Narayan and Cassidy (2001) noted that strong relationships between local communities and external actors such as non-governmental organisations (NGOs), conservation organisations and governments strengthen bridging social capital.

Despite the importance of social capital in CBT, there remains a

paucity of evidence regarding the linkages between resilience-building activities and social capital in CBT schemes. Examining this at the Somkhanda Game Reserve thus further enhances our understanding of how resilience-building activities contribute to community well-being and quality of life.

2.4. Community resilience conceptualisation

The concept of resilience has its origins in the physical and natural sciences, in particular ecology (Platts-Fowler & Robinson, 2016), yet this has since been broadened to include human socio-economic institutions and relationships (Adger, 2000; Cinderby, Haq, Cambridge, & Lock, 2016). Despite its wide acceptance, there is no agreement on a single definition of resilience by the interdisciplinary academic fraternity. Nevertheless, there is a common agreement among researchers that resilience relates to the capacity to bend, bounce back and return to normalcy or equilibrium (Folke et al., 2010; Norris, Stevens, Pfefferbaum, Wyche, & Pfefferbaum, 2008; Skerratt, 2013). It has therefore been generally defined as the "capability of individuals or systems (i.e. families, groups, and communities) to cope successfully in the face of significant adversity and risk" (Magis, 2007, p. 1). Community resilience is further defined as "the existence, development, and engagement of community resources by community members to thrive in an environment characterized by change, uncertainty, unpredictability, and surprise" (Magis, 2010, p. 402). This study adopted both definitions as they are related and capture events that exist in land reformed communities.

In view of the above definitions, three main aspects are important to stress for the effective contexualisation of community resilience. First, there have to be changes for community resilience to happen – it does not materialise in static environments (Zautra, Hall, & Murray, 2008). Matarrita-Cascante, Trejos, Qin, Joo, and Debner (2017) noted that these changes should be considerable enough to generate a certain level of crisis or disorganisation at the local level. Magis (2010) described such significant changes as "system disruption", which entails the modification of local structures and functioning of communities. Second, context is important to understand community resilience. Stressors define the context of resilience, and can be natural or man-made (Matarrita-Cascante et al., 2017). Natural stressors include droughts, floods, volcanoes and earthquakes, whereas human-driven stressors include resource depletion, refugee influxes, economic restructuring, economic depression and armed conflicts (Adger, 2000; Matarrita-Cascante et al., 2017). In the case of this article, land grabs or land reform can be classified as human-driven stressors to community resilience. The particular stressor defines the consequences inflicted on a community and the course of action that should be taken to mitigate the impacts thereof. Third, the factors that lead to community resilience have to be identified. These factors can be referred to as capitals (e.g. economic, natural, cultural and social capital) (Roberts & Townsend, 2015). Magis (2010) named these factors 'resources' (i.e. human, built, natural, political, cultural and financial resources). For Berkes and Ross (2013), these community resilience enabling factors can be referred to as strengths, as they foster collective processes to address communal challenges.

The above understanding informed the application of resilience thinking in addressing emergencies, disasters, terrorism and pandemics (Platts-Fowler & Robinson, 2016; Walker & Cooper, 2011). In this context, community resilience is understood to be those communities or people who can withstand or survive external shocks and quickly bounce back to their original state. To address the uneven ability of places to respond to external shocks emanating from social, economic and political processes, community resilience has been adopted by policymakers, planners and managers of both public and private entities (Platts-Fowler & Robinson, 2016). Its adoption by local authorities ensures the ability of communities to adapt and survive long-term stressful environments, consequently tackling inequality and supporting the vulnerable (Platts-Fowler & Robinson, 2016).

The above points to the linkages between community-based natural resources management, social capital and community resilience. Nevertheless, it is not yet clear how social capital can enhance community resilience in land reformed communities due to limited research in this area. To further understand the connection between land reform, social capital and community resilience, a brief discussion on assemblages, systems and systemic-resilience thinking is critical.

3. Assemblages, systems and systemic-resilience thinking – framing resilience in land reform-led community-based tourism

Africa is endowed with vast natural resources, however instead of these being a blessing to the citizenry, they appear to be curses, as seen by the growing conflict over the use of, and access to, such resources (Sachs & Warner, 2001). The problem is chiefly illuminated by how natural resources are implicated in the growth of poverty, inequality, weak institutions, corruption, environmental degradation and violent conflict (Siakwah, 2017, 2018). The 'curse thesis' of natural resources spans from minerals to oil and land, hence the need to frame this study around systemic thinking and assemblages to understand resilience and associated social capitals in land reform-led community-based tourism.

Understanding and interpreting world phenomena is critical in social sciences, and networks are regarded as essential vectors to community development (Law, 1999; Siakwah, 2018). Although understanding political ecology at the national or global level is essential, paying attention to micro-level networks of institutions and social relations, which combine to shape economic activities within communities, will help in understanding the bigger picture of collaborative management of communal natural resources in land reformed communities. Consequently, to grasp how phenomena develop and manifest in communal spaces, it is essential to focus on networks and connections within the community (Siakwah, 2018). For this reason, assemblages are noteworthy elements in explaining phenomena, as things and events are often interconnected (Müller & Schurr, 2016). Globalised assemblages refer to (in)tangible configurations through which global systems, science, technologies, and economics gain prominence and form (Smith, 2010). "Within the assemblage, national economies are influenced and acted upon by external, national and local factors, politics and actors" (Siakwah, 2018, p. 69). For this reason, assemblages help to analyse the impact of land reform and community-based tourism schemes in managing common-pool natural resources, consequently enabling the analysis of the resilience of communities. They further help community developers to understand how development outcomes are produced through interactions between land-reformed communities, local actors and national actors – all of which allow for a better understanding of resilience.

Related to assemblages is the systems approach. A system can be described as a complex whole of interrelated components in diverse forms, such as organised ideas (e.g. a political system), structures (e.g. a building structure), conservation (e.g. wildlife management), or any other assemblage of components encompassing a whole (Cabrera, Colosi, & Lobdell, 2008). The persistent interaction of components may automatically create a system which will be beneficial to all elements within the assemblages, hence a system is commonly defined as a whole collection of interrelated elements (Midgley, 2000). In the context of this study, this entailed the creation of a framework that could accommodate multi-actors in co-managing natural resources to realise the common goals of community-based tourism schemes.

Similar to land reform, Barnes (2009) noted that land tenure plays an essential intermediating role in the inter-relationship between humans and the environment. Nevertheless, multi-stakeholder conflict, complexity and uncertainty are issues that continue to exist in CBNRM and often remain unresolved (Plummer & Fennell, 2009). Allen and Gould (1986) noted that persistent interventions to these issues are essential, however if these fail, such problems may be classified as

messy or *wicked*, hence the adoption of systems thinking to bridge the social and biophysical sciences (Allison & Hobbs, 2004; Strickland-Munro, Allison, & Moore, 2010). Systems thinking enhances the understanding of linkages between social and ecological systems for sustainability (Berkes & Folke, 1998; Musavengane, 2019). Community-based tourism (CBT) is not exempt from systems thinking processes, as most of the issues encountered in such spaces are inherently complex, multi-scale (local, regional, national and global) and involve horizontal and vertical linkages (Dredge, 2006; Fennell, 2004). For example, communities, whether local or further afield, are an integral part of the CBNRM tourism system. Thus CBNRM schemes in land reformed communities should also anticipate system dynamism and transformative changes (Musavengane, 2019; Strickland-Munro et al., 2010).

The discussion thus far points to the importance of networking in building resilient systems. Combined, assemblages and systems thinking emphasise the role of networking to build inclusive and resilient communities. Given the community-level focus of this paper, an emphasis is placed on social resilience throughout the discussion. Adger (2000) related social resilience to the ability of communities to cope with disturbances, external stress and/or shocks resulting from social, political and environmental change. Three essential elements to cope with shocks include the capacity for renewal, reorganisation and development (Folke, 2006). To help define resilience, Carpenter, Walker, Anderies, and Abel (2001) noted three vital properties to consider, i.e. the amount of change a system can absorb without changing its form and shape; the degree to which a system is capable of self-organisation; and the degree to which a system can build capacity to learn/adapt.

Furthermore, adaptability is needed to build resilience (Strickland-Munro et al., 2010). Adaptability is determined by the presence or absence of capital: social, human, financial, natural, physical and technological, as well as governance and institutional systems (Musavengane, 2019; Strickland-Munro et al., 2010; Walker et al., 2006).

3.1. Systematic resilience thinking and CBT in land reformed communities

To enable critical analysis of the linkage between resilience and social capital in shaping the success of the SGR, Musavengane's *Desired systemic-resilience model for co-managing natural resources in tribal communities* was adopted (Musavengane, 2019). The model (Fig. 1) postulates that sustainable community development can only be realised if there is effective participation by all key stakeholders. The key stakeholders in tribal communities pursuing (CBT) include community members, community trusts, conservation groups and traditional leaders.

The '*R1*' in the model emphasises that the reinforcement of all six strategies (from policy formulation to involvement) is necessary for producing or formulating effective, efficient and socially acceptable solutions and systems to improve natural resources management in tribal communities. The model thus promotes plurality governance of communal resources in tribal communities, thereby promoting social capital development. Bounce back from external shocks can be attained in the R1A region when the conflict is reduced, trust is developed and there is equal participation in decision making. This will ultimately lead to improved community development.

The next section outlines the context of the study to throw more light on the context of community-based tourism in land reformed communities.

4. Methodology

4.1. Nature of the study

A case study approach was adopted to allow for the operationalisation of social capital at Somkhanda Game Reserve (SGR). A case study approach is preferred when 'how', 'what' and 'why' questions are being posed in order to analyse a particular phenomenon (Yin, 2003). To that extent, a case study of the Gumbi community enabled the researchers to understand the linkages between social capital and community resilience in pursuit of collaborative management of SGR. To enhance the rigour of the study, the researchers used a number of research techniques (data triangulation), namely interviews, focus group meetings, personal observations and informal conversations. This enabled the researchers to "maintain the multiple realities, the different and even the contradictory views of what is happening" (Stake, 1995, p. 12). Such an approach is critical in spaces that involve wildlife or game ranching, which tend to have diverse actors (Kamuti, 2018; Ngubane & Brooks, 2013).

Data collection: To strengthen our understanding of the linkages between social capital and the Gumbi's community resilience, interviews were conducted between 2015 and 2019 with households (53), a Wildlands Conservation Trust project manager (1), Somkhanda Community Game Reserve employees (9) and managers (2), land reform beneficiaries (4), Emvokweni Community Trust members (2) and Gumbi traditional leaders (1). To have equal chances of selection and to avoid bias, an interval of 18 houses was used to approach 53 households in the Gumbi community. Purposive and snowballing techniques were used to identify and engage with local authorities, community and traditional leaders, and conservation organisation representatives. The interviews were grounded in an appreciation of the interviewees' social identities (Crane & Ruebottom, 2011), interests (Orts & Studler, 2009) and involvement (Carsten, Christensen, & Tarp, 2005) in SGR operations.

Semi-structured interviews (see Appendix), which were aimed at establishing the links between community resilience and social capital within the Gumbi community and SGR, were developed using the World Bank's social capital dimensions (Krishna & Shrader, 2000). The questions were grouped into the five social capital constructs discussed above: i) Groups and networks (structural social capital); ii) Trust and solidarity (cognitive social capital); iii) Collective action and cooperation; iv) Social cohesion and inclusion (inclusion, sociability and conflict); and v) information and communication. Specific questions on each construct were skilfully developed to enable the researchers to capture information on any changes or variations in social capital from the inception of the project to the current stage. For this reason, two identical sets of questions were included in the survey instruments. The first set of questions required the respondents to reflect on the initial networking that took place during the inception of the community project, while the second set asked the respondents' views on the current networking and the extent to which they felt integrated into the community project. The same semi-structured interview guides were used during focus group meetings and one-on-one interviews. The focus groups were comprised of between six and 12 participants. The second author had interviews with the conservation staff.

4.2. Situating the researchers in the study

As noted above, the case study is qualitative in nature, thus it was important to be aware that the researchers were susceptible to bias. The first author is an external researcher, while the second author is an internal researcher who is involved in the operations of the conservation organisation managing Somkhanda Game Reserve. It was therefore imperative to clarify the roles of the researchers in the study and how their emic and etic perspectives did, or did not, influence the data analysis and findings.

The last three decades have seen growing trends towards understanding the effects of race and class, especially when research focuses on establishing political and racial attitudes (Davis, 1997; Januszka, Lora, Wollard, & Rocco, 2007), however the topic of race relations dates back to the 1700s (Alderfer & Tucker, 1996; Musavengane & Leonard, 2019). The race of an interviewer has a high probability to affect interview responses, as respondents tend to adjust their responses to suit

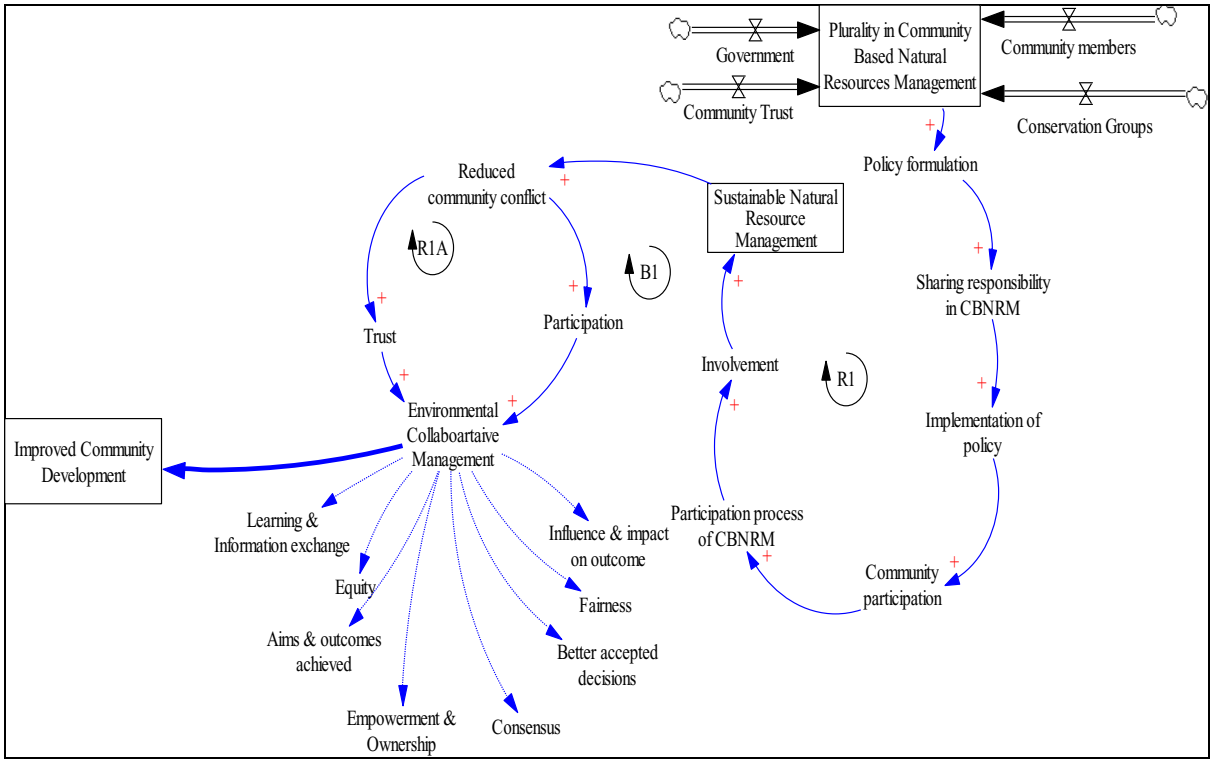

Fig. 1. Desired systemic-resilience model for co-managing natural resources in tribal communities.
Source: Musavengane (2019, p. 53)

or satisfy the expectations of the interviewer (Januszka et al., 2007). This may lead to bias, whether in a focus group, survey or one-to-one interview. In a study conducted by Krysan and Couper (2003), it was shown that the answers provided by African Americans and Whites were influenced by the interviewer's race. In most cases, due to past experiences, Blacks tend to be cautious regarding what they disclose to Whites (Alderfer & Tucker, 1996). On the other hand, White men feel pressure to be politically correct when discussing racial (Taylor, 1992) and land redistribution issues (Musavengane & Leonard, 2019). In their study on the paradoxes of Black scholars working in ethnic communities, Adeyinka-Ojo and Khoo-Lattimore (2018) highlighted the importance of negotiating access to communities to obtain in-depth data with minimal resistance. In this paper, the first author negotiated access to the community through community leaders and the Somkhanda Game Reserve founder. It is important to point out that the first author was involved to a greater extent in the interviewing process.

The researchers strategically allocated themselves groups to interview to ensure they obtained in-depth data. All the community members, including the traditional leaders and Emvokweni Community Trust members, were Black Africans, so the first author interviewed and held focus group meetings with them as the researchers believed that the respondents would feel more comfortable sharing details with a fellow Black person due to past negative experiences between Blacks and Whites during Apartheid. It was evident during the fieldwork that this was achieved, however the first author also held interviews with some White respondents. The second author, a White male, interviewed most of the White respondents, who were mainly in management at the Somkhanda Game Reserve. The responses obtained showed that more valid data from White respondents were obtained from the second author. As the first author is a Black African who was raised in a rural area (in Zimbabwe) and has close associations with rural environments, there was a chance that he could have been biased during the study. Nevertheless, although the researcher's societal upbringing feeds into his belief system on how communities should manage their natural resources, he conducted this research from a position of 'empathetic neutrality'. This position meant that the researcher was neutral and non-judgmental during the research process. The researcher achieved this by making his assumptions, biases and values transparent, i.e. he endeavoured to avoid obvious, conscious or systematic bias, and was neutral during data collection and the interpretation process. This said, the researcher was reflexive about his role and the effect of his beliefs and behaviour during the fieldwork in Gumbi community.

Both researchers took emic and etic notes prior to and during the interview and observation processes. Emic notes describe what is being observed directly, while etic notes detail the feelings being observed (Gay & Airasian, 2003). The emic notes largely focused on what the researchers observed and recorded on their voice recorders and in their research diaries. Their cultural values and backgrounds influenced their feelings and eventually their etic notes. This assisted the researchers to make sense of, or analyse the views of, the respondents objectively. Recording both emic and etic notes enriched their deep understanding of what transpired during the interviews. Combining the cultural perspectives of both Authors (Black African and White) brought diversity and a balance to the analysis of the role of social capital in building community resilience in a land reformed community.

4.3. Data coding and analysis

Data were thematically-analysed to bring out the linkages between the community and resilience in the Gumbi community, specifically at the Somkhanda Game Reserve. The interview transcripts were analysed and data were coded to derive key issues. Three main shocks emerged as key community resilience themes: governance, financial and skills. Table 2 shows the major results of the focused coding analysis of data on community resilience at Somkhanda Game Reserve.

The table shows three superordinate and 29 subordinate categories emerging from the analysis of resilience of SGR stakeholders. The superordinate categories include governance shocks, financial shocks and

Table 2
Major categories of the Somkhanda Game Reserve community resilience.

Major categories	Associated Concepts
Governance shocks	Inclusion, exclusion, transparency, power, elite and the minority, judicial laws, traditional policies, feedback/communication
Financial shocks	Salaries, funding, technological advancement, armoury to protect animals, income generation, amenities
Skills shocks	Experience, exposure to conservation, qualifications, lack of management ideas, monitoring dangerous game, tracking, training, game rangers empowerment, skills transfer

skills shocks. Each superordinate has between eight and 12 subcategories associated with them. The dominant category most frequently referred to by respondents during interviewing was 'governance shocks'. Here the participants' language reflected descriptions, assumptions and reports about governance. Across the three superordinate categories, the subordinate categories were ranked in terms of frequency of mention during interviewing process. The descriptive codes were drawn from the subordinate categories, and were based on what outcomes the community or Somkhanda Game Reserve received from conservation activities. The researchers assigned each unit of data its own unique code. A pattern emerged naturally due to repetition and consistencies in frequency of mentions of specific issues about community conservation. Coding patterns were characterised by similarity, difference, frequency, sequence, correspondence and causation. The key code words and phrases (see right side in Table 2) were then integrated to establish a theme (see left side in Table 2), which is an outcome of coding (Charmaz, 2014).

Affective coding methods were adopted to enable the researchers to investigate the subjective qualities of the participants' experiences with regards to conservation at the Somkhanda Game Reserve. As land reform is a sensitive issue in South Africa, the affective methods assisted the researchers to investigate the emotions, values and conflicts within the community. The authors used: (i) emotional coding to label the emotion recalled or experienced; (ii) value coding to assess the participants' integrated values, attitudes and belief systems; and (iii) versus coding, which acknowledges that people are always in conflict. The codes identified power-play issues. Combined, these codes assisted the researchers to understand the extent of community resilience in the management and governance of the Somkhanda Game Reserve.

5. Social capital and resilience at the Somkhanda Game Reserve in the Gumbi community

The first part of this section provides the study context, which is based on primary sources including the founder and the beneficiaries of Somkhanda Game Reserve, as well as the senior personnel of the key conservation organisation, including the second author of this paper, who have been involved in the SGR project from the onset. The second part of the section focuses on presenting the paper's findings regarding the community resilience shocks encountered at the SGR since its inception. The description of these shocks will systematically help to reveal the role of social actions and social capital in building community resilience in the Gumbi area.

Somkhanda Game Reserve was formed in 2005 after a successful land restitution process, which saw the Gumbi community receive some 21,628.22 ha of land in northern KwaZulu-Natal. The land returned to the Gumbi community was under various forms of land use, primarily game ranching, cattle ranching and sugar cane farming. The Gumbi themselves were dispersed in the late 1960s and 1970s when the government decided to create the Pongolapoort Dam and allocate agricultural land next to the dam to white farmers who settled the area (see Fig. 2). During that time the Gumbi traditional authority did not function and the Gumbi people settled primarily among the Mandlakazi people.

Following the elections in 1994, the Gumbi created the Emvokweni Community Trust to claim the land back for the Gumbi people. The Emvokweni Community Trust was assisted by the Wildlands Conservation Trust (Wildlands), which built strong bonds with the leadership of the Trust. Wildlands, with the assistance of the then Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism, Ezemvelo KZN Wildlife and the WWF-SA, worked closely with the Emvokweni Community Trust in identifying nature-based tourism as future land use for the Gumbi landholdings. This was motivated by the geographic location of this parcel of land as a biodiversity corridor that could potentially link various private and national game farms and protected areas (see Fig. 2). Furthermore, as noted above, large parts of the land were already used for game ranching in various forms, thus the land was conducive for hunting and eco-tourism. The area was also identified by the Black Rhino Range Expansion Programme as being critical for the conservation of this endangered species, further motivating the case for developing a wildlife economy on the land that would benefit the Gumbi people.

When the land was finally returned to the Gumbi people in 2005, they agreed to place 16,418.82 ha under conservation and use the remaining 5209.40 ha for human settlement. The latter saw the large-scale return of people from the Mandlakazi Traditional Area to the erstwhile Gumbi Traditional Area, as well as the development of a new village at Candover, close to Jozini. The Zulu King recognised the return of the Gumbi clan and in 2009, Inkosi Zeblon Gumbi was inaugurated by King Goodwill Zwelithini as chief of the Gumbi clan, within the Zulu Kingdom. Despite this, ownership of the land remained vested in the Emvokweni Community Trust, whose members were appointed by the Master of Courts Office in Pietermaritzburg, which is administered by a group of democratically elected Trustees. Community structures are fundamental to the creation of strong structural social capital, which can in turn foster strong relationships between traditional leaders and community members.

The Emvokweni Community Trust continued to work with Wildlands and Ezemvelo KZN Wildlife, and formally proclaimed Somkhanda as a nature reserve in, 2011. This step was critical in unlocking investor confidence in Somkhanda, as the conservation status was guaranteed and nature-based tourism and wildlife economic activities were confirmed as an avenue for economic growth for at least the following 99 years. This immediately drew the attention of property development groups and secured a multi-million rand investment from the Development Bank of Southern Africa via the Green Fund. The latter investment was used to upgrade reserve infrastructure (roads, entrance gates, etc.) and to introduce significant game populations onto the reserve. At the same time, a management agreement was signed between Wildlands and the Emvokweni Community Trust, leading to the establishment of a Joint Management Board that would oversee conservation and tourism activities inside the reserve. The reserve quickly developed into a Big 5 destination with the introduction of buffalo (2014), elephant (2015) and lion (2016). This laid the foundation for a tourism product that could compete with the likes of Timbavati, Phinda and Thanda.

Whilst the Big 5 tourism product was being developed, Wildlands engaged a responsible academic and volunteer tourism operator who started bringing international and local student groups to Somkhanda. This can be attributed to the strong bridging capital accumulated by SGR through the relationships they created with the external actors. Although the income from this was not significant in terms of

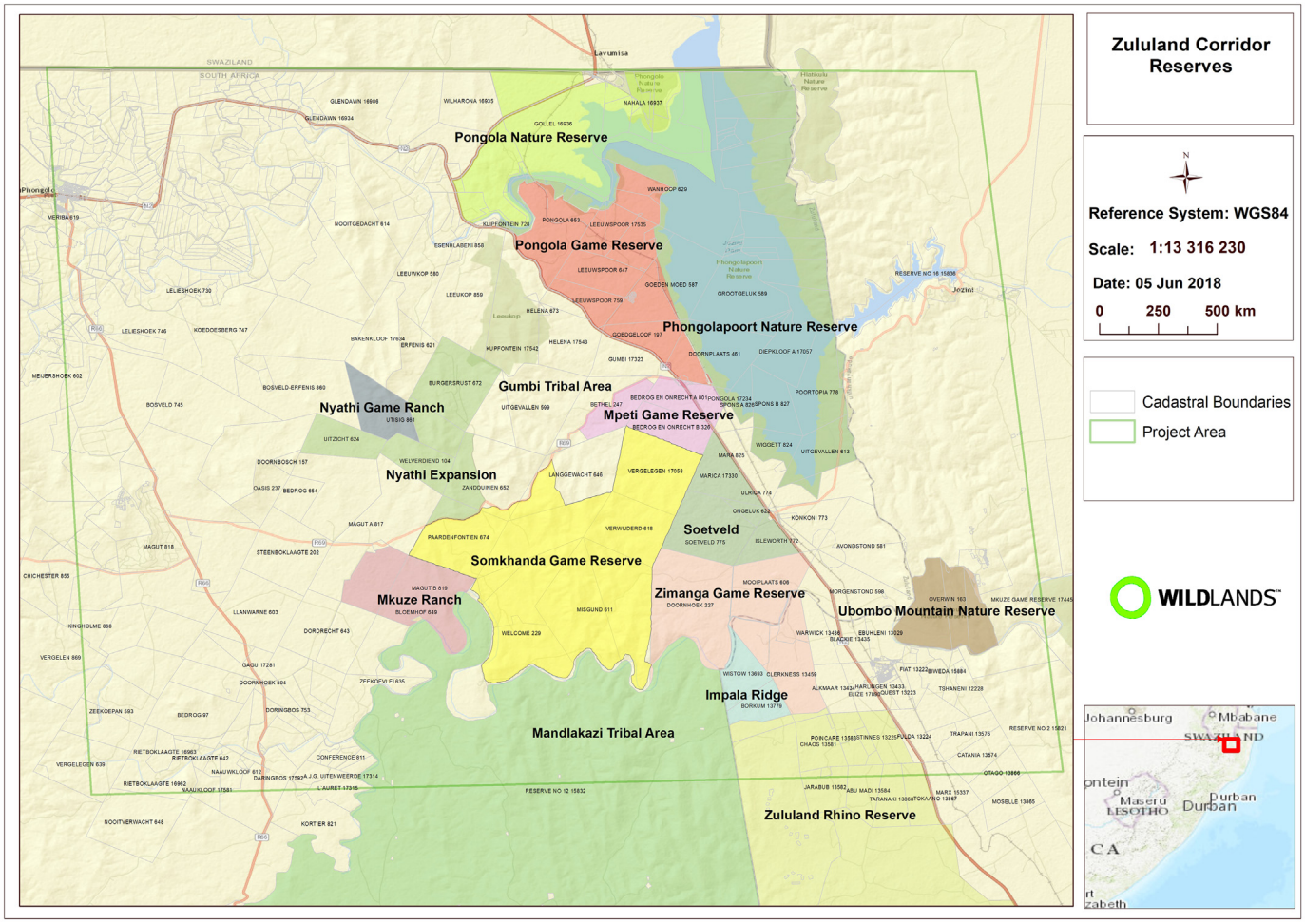

Fig. 2. Somkhanda game reserve locality.
(Source: Wildlands Conservation Trust - received via Email)

contributing to the costs of managing a Big 5 reserve, it did start to illustrate the value of tourism in a post-restitution environment, and brought immediate benefits to the local community through employment and a community levy that contributed to local development projects.

The organic growth of the tourism product at Somkhanda has meant that the local community, and in particular the members of the Joint Management Board, have been fully involved in every step of development. Instead of other models where communities are kept at arms-length and receive only the benefits of rental of their land, the Somkhanda model is a capacity-building model where the local community are real partners in development.

The final step in unlocking the tourism product in Somkhanda is the development of luxury game lodges. This is currently underway through grant funding from the Biodiversity Economy Programme. With these funds, the community will construct luxury lodges and maintain equity in those lodges. At the same time, investors and operators are being approached to market and manage the tourism facilities in partnership with the community. The act of attracting investors requires assurances that the funds will not be misused through corruption. For this reason, strong structural social capital is important to accumulate trust and social cohesion, as this promotes accountability. This will further build bridging capital between SGR and investors. These lodges will eventually deliver profits to underwrite the management of the reserve, and will also contribute to the community's development. The reserve already provides full-time employment to some 80 local community members, and with additional tourism should create another 40 direct and over 100 indirect job opportunities for the local community.

The success of Somkhanda illustrates the value of partnerships in a post land redistribution context. Perhaps more importantly, it addresses the often expressed fear that land will be misused and economies will fall apart if the land is redistributed. The Gumbi community clearly illustrates that the local landowners are competent managers and developers of land in South Africa, and can grow land parcels to generate profit for local communities. Moreover, their activities are in harmony with the local landscape and contribute to the restoration and protection, rather than the extraction and destruction, of local ecosystems and the many services they provide.

The above highlighted the existing social capital, which led to community resilience (Magis, 2010; Roberts & Townsend, 2015). The second part of this section outlines and discusses the three main community resilience shocks that emerged, i.e. the governance, financial and skills shocks.

5.1. Governance shocks

The United Nations World Tourism Organisation [UNWTO] (2008, p. 31–2) has defined tourism governance as the “process of managing tourist destinations through synergistic and coordinated efforts by governments, at distinct levels and in different capacities; civil society living in the inbound tourism communities; and the business sector connected with the operation of the tourism system”. The UNWTO does not, however, explicitly refer to ‘local communities’ and how they are

Table 3
Causes of governance problems at the Somkhanda Game Reserve.

Cause	Rank
The conflict between ECT and the Gumbi Traditional Office	1
Exclusion from decision making	2
Lack of transparency	3
Abuse of power by the elite and traditional leaders	4
Conflict between traditional policies and judicial laws	5
No/Infrequent feedback from the ECT	6

impacted by tourism. Duran (2013) suggested that while UNWTO's ideas on governance represents a considerable advancement in inclusiveness, tourism governance should be analysed within the 'tourism system' (UNWTO, 2008). This will facilitate in establishing the causal-effect of governance practices at destinations.

The first step of the systems approach is to establish the problem or the cause of the mess (Checkland, 2001). Interviews conducted with the community members, conservation organisations and the ECT pointed to governance-related issues as the main cause of conservation conflicts at the SGR, which are mainly societal. Table 3 shows these governance-related causes of conservation problems at the SGR, which are ranked according to the number of times they were mentioned.

The effects of governance problems include community disenfranchisement, loss of community trust, loss of community power/voice, loss of patriotism, poaching and community dissolution. The majority (95%) of the interviewees, including the founder of the SGR, Nathi Gumbi, noted that the relationship between the Emvokweni Community Trust (ECT) and the Gumbi Traditional Authority was a contentious issue from inception. For example, an elderly man reported that:

> *The main problem is the continued conflict between the ECT and our traditional leaders. They are always in fights and this is not good for us. We love our game reserve, but these fights will do no good for us. Our children are employed at the game reserve and if it is to be closed it is us who will suffer. They should stop being greedy, especially the Traditional Leaders. (Household Interviewee, 2015).*

The majority of the respondents (93%) who were available or involved at the inception of the SGR also highlighted a serious erosion of the relationships between the traditional leaders, community members and the ECT. Generally, the Zulu tribe are traditional people who love their traditional norms and culture, yet the encroachment of traditional leaders in the livelihoods of people is not permissible by the majority, and tends to reduce trust, social cohesion and solidarity, which are essential elements of cognitive social capital. A continual decrease in social capital can lead to a decline in structural or bonding social capital. A former ECT member noted that:

> *The passing away of our old chief has brought new dynamics in the power structure. The new chief wants to have the overall voice in the decision making of the SGR. We now have a lot of tensions between the Trust members and the traditional authorities and this is having a multiplier effect on the extent to which local people can participate in managing the SGR. The current traditional authorities have sour working relationships with the existing Emvokweni Community Trust (ECT) and the community at large. (ECT Interviewee, 2015).*

As noted, the Emvokweni Community Trust was created to own all the land on behalf of the Gumbi people. The Trust consists of elected Trustees who represent the beneficiaries of the land claim. In contrast, the Gumbi Traditional Authority does not own any land or have any real right to allocate land, as is the case with all other traditional lands in KwaZulu-Natal, which are owned by the Zulu King and administered by the Ingonyama Trust Board. As a result, the Gumbi traditional authority, represented by the Inkosi, cannot make any decisions with regards to Somkhanda Game Reserve (WCT interviewee & Gumbi Land restitution beneficiary). All legal agreements are made by the Trustees, who have fallen out of favour with the Inkosi, initiating a stand-off between a traditional and modern governance system. The majority (96%) of the conservation group interviewees and ECT members (91%) shared the sentiment that this chaotic situation was manipulated by would-be investors who dealt directly with the Inkosi to gain access to tourism sites and hunting rights in Somkhanda. The Emvokweni Community Trust has opposed these arrangements, further worsening relationships between the two systems of governance.

The conflict between the ECT and the traditional authority caused a further decline in communication, yet effective communication is critical in communities with a patchy historical background (Musavengane & Simatele, 2016). When asked about the flow of information and communication, only a few interviewees (33%) highlighted that they do have open dialogue with the traditional or community leaders. Furthermore, just 10% reported that they receive feedback from the current ECT, even though 91% stated that there was good communication between the ECT and community members. An elderly Gumbi man in his late 70s, who has lived his entire life in this community, lamented:

> *After the formation of Somkhanda Game Reserve, we never had meetings with the Trust. We just know that there is a Trust but we don't know what it is and who is in it. No one provides us with information or reports on the use of financial benefits for the community. I am so angry about this because we should be allowed to participate in decision making. (Household Interviewee, 2015).*

To mitigate the effects of the conflict, the case was taken to the Master of the High Court for Arbitration. The project manager at the SGR noted that, during the hearing process, the Wildlands Conservation Trust, the managing company at SGR, had to halt remission of funds to the ECT until the case had been resolved. This has since been resolved and a very strong relationship exists between the ECT and Wildlands. The ECT has also managed to work much closer with the local community and has established various platforms to ensure more effective communication.

5.2. Financial shocks

Finance plays a critical role in the success of community-based tourism (CBT) projects. Despite significant investment by local and international donors, Somkhanda remains under financial pressure due to a number of factors (see Table 4). Firstly, the reserve is home to white and black rhino populations. The recent increases in rhino poaching driven by demand from the East have placed additional financial pressure on all rhino reserves, which have had to invest in security and technology to combat wildlife crime.

Funds that could have been used to grow tourism or benefit community development projects had to be diverted to rhino security interventions, such as greater numbers of armed guards, rhino dehorning campaigns and technological interventions. A Wildlands Conservation Trust (WCT) representative highlighted that:

> *There has been an increase of rhino poaching at the Somkhanda Game Reserve, and we had to erect an electric fence and beef-up our security by acquiring firearms that are at par with the ones used by poachers. This is a very expensive exercise, but that's the only way to keep our game*

Table 4
Financial shocks at the Somkhanda Game Reserve.

Shock	**Rank**
Security systems - including armed guards and technological advancements	1
Salaries - due to the higher number of employees than income generated	2
Water supply to local communities	3

reserve intact, otherwise, we would end up without a game reserve. These poachers stop at nothing and we have to fight them. We have to defend the community project for the sake of our people. (WCT Interviewee, 2017).

This also had the negative consequence of re-establishing a fortress conservation model, which contradicts the philosophy of cooperative conservation as neighbours are suddenly viewed as potential poachers, rather than partners in development. According to a young man in his early 20s, whose message was echoed by many of the same age:

I failed to obtain employment at the game reserve, and I cannot just enter into the reserve as I may be suspected to be a poacher. It is even worse and difficult for us the young ones, as we are always suspects of these heinous activities. Instead, we should work together with the game reserve to protect our animals. It is our project, but, at times I feel like I am an enemy to them. This is not good, I am not happy about this. (Youth Interviewee, 2018).

Second, because the reserve aims to create employment in an area where there are very few alternative paths for economic growth, a substantial part of the reserve budget is spent on salaries and wages. The reserve currently employs many more people than reserves of similar sizes. In total, 83 people are permanently employed in reserve and tourism management activities, while more than 200 people receive temporary work in invasive alien plant clearing activities. These costs are partially offset by large scale Expanded Public Works Projects that Wildlands implements inside the reserve and in the neighbouring communities. The Expanded Public Works Programme is a government initiative that acts as a safety net against poverty by creating labour-intensive activities that drive large scale employment. In reality it functions as a social grant, but differs from other social grants as it expects recipients to perform physical labour in exchange for wages and training in a variety of activities that aim to lift them out of unemployment and allow them to enter the formal economy. Programmes that are active at Somkhanda include Working for Water and the Biodiversity Economy (Environmental Monitors).

Lastly, the reserve is under significant financial pressure as it provides water for all the neighbouring communities. Water is pumped from eight connected boreholes inside the reserve as well as from the Pongolapoort (Jozini) Dam through a partnership with a neighbouring farmer who has access and water rights to the dam. From reservoirs inside the reserve, water is supplied to the local community, which does not have access to municipal services. This is one of the greatest contributions of the reserve to the local community, but comes at a significant cost in terms of infrastructure, fuel and maintenance.

These financial shocks are absorbed by Wildlands and its donor partners through campaigns such as 'adopt-a-rhino', where corporate donors and individuals contribute directly to rhino conservation, and funding received for water infrastructure from the National Lotteries Commission and the Global Nature Fund. This again emphasises the importance of social capital in successful land redistribution and development. Specifically, strong bridging social capital enables the SGR to absorb the financial shocks. As discussed, bridging social capital consists of relationships or ties with the members of other communities with a similar social, economic and cultural status (Chowdhury, Zakaria, Islam, & Akter, 2013), such as the relationship between two conservancies or environmental collaboratives. The findings of this study add weight to research conducted by Narayan and Cassidy (2001), which found that bridging social capital helps communities to access external NGOs, markets and governments.

5.3. Skills shocks

Soon after claiming their land in 2005, the Gumbi community decided to get involved in conservation, an initiative that they had no experience in. Nathi Gumbi, the founder of Somkhanda Game reserve, expressed that:

After the successful application of our land, we were overzealous and not sure how best to use our land. After consultations with community members, we decided to engage in conservation, but we failed to run it because we had no experience in wildlife management and such projects. Instead of rearing livestock in all the land, we had to engage non-governmental conservation organisations to assist us in this regard. That's when we approached Wildlands. (SGR founder – Interviewee, 2018).

The Gumbi community engaged the Wildlands Conservation Trust (WCT) to manage the reserve on a five-year renewal contract while transferring skills to the local people. The collaborative management arrangement was necessitated by the continual failure of the local people to manage the game reserve on their own in the first five years after establishment.

Three senior Gumbi managers attended two-year courses in Natural Resource Management at the Wildlife College. In addition, 15 game rangers received armed weapons competency training as well as accredited training in tracking and monitoring dangerous game. Through the Jobs Fund, a further 25 individuals received training from the Wildlife College as qualified game rangers, and were placed in positions at Somkhanda and other private game reserves after completion of their training. In addition to the ranger-focused training, 15 individuals received accredited training in tourism and hospitality to enable them to manage and work in the developing tourism industry at Somkhanda. Families outside the reserve were also identified and assisted to establish 'home-stay' businesses for tourists who will visit the reserve, but stay in the community.

The relationship between the Gumbi community and Wildlands, including the Southern Africa Wildlife College and the South African Department of Environmental Affairs (DEAT), has created strong linking social capital to empower local people. This link, whereby the ECT contracted Wildlands Conservation Trust to manage and transfer skills to local community members during its tenure, has created strong bridging and linking capital among the actors. The ECT also leased the tourism section of the game reserve to African Insight to oversee the management of tourism operations, including accommodation and a restaurant, which allows WCT to concentrate on conservation. Both entities are operating on five-year renewable leases. The three female employees interviewed at the restaurant all shared the same sentiments, which were highlighted by one:

I didn't know what a restaurant is, and I had never worked at a hotel or lodge before. This is my first employment since the completion of school. My manager is very supportive; she provided us with in-house training and always guides us on how to improve our hospitality skills. The company promised to enrol us for further studies. We are very grateful! (African Insight Employee – Interviewee, 2019).

It can be observed that bridging social capital was an important factor in the success of SGR. By engaging the WCT, the SGR received information that was critical for the establishment and management of the game reserve, specifically the transfer of skills. Social capital encourages the presence of external actors in building strong bridging networks. The collaborative structure, which includes the WTC, African Insight, Wildlife ACT and the World Wildlife Fund (WWF) in the operation of the SGR, allowed the community to tap into a range of competencies and human resources. For example, the WWF supported SGR in its black rhino expansion project, leading to a significant increase in the rhino population. This has attracted many game ranchers and consequently increased revenue to the community game reserve. Wildlife ACT helps in the monitoring of the rhino population to curb poaching. WCT has also been instrumental in the introduction of different species at the SGR, including 11 herds of elephant that were transferred from Nambiti Game Reserve (a rural community game reserve in KwaZulu-Natal province – see Fig. 1). This occurred through a collaboration with the Elephant Rhino and People Project (ERP), which

was funded to the amount of US$ 20,000 by Group Elephant.

The discussion so far points to the importance of collaborative governance approaches in bridging the skills gap in land reformed communities. Bridging social capital thus has an essential role to play in enabling communities to acquire critical skills to develop and operate CBT schemes. This will further strengthen collective action and co-operation towards the management of communal natural resources.

6. Implications for research on community-based tourism, social capital and resilience in land reformed communities

Social capital appears to be essential in building community resilience in CBTs, as reflected in the Gumbi community's Somkhanda Game Reserve case study. Investing in social capital seem to be the best way to build strong and resilient communities. Wilson (2010) and Ashkenazy et al. (2018) noted that communities with strong social, economic and environmental capital are likely to be more resilient than places where none of these are present.

Somkhanda Game Reserve encountered governance shocks that strongly threatened its survival. These included conflicts between the ECT and the traditional leaders, the exclusion of community members from decision making, a lack of transparency, an abuse of power by the elite and traditional leaders, conflict between traditional policies and judicial laws, and a lack of feedback from the ECT. Combined, these factors suggest that 'power-dynamics' are rife in communal communities, which if not managed properly can threaten the attainment of shared CBT visions. Plummer and Fennell (2009, p. 150) regarded *power* as the root cause of conflict between local people and government structures (in this case traditional authority vs. community trusts). In the same vein, Olsson et al. (2006) and Strickland-Munro et al. (2010) noted that leadership is a crucial aspect of underpinning system interactions. Consequently, leadership defines the extent to which constructs of social capital will be realised, i.e. trust and solidarity (cognitive social capital), boundaries of groups and networks (structural capital), and linking key individuals and initiating group partnerships (bridging/linking social capital). Social capital and trust are products and functions of power relations. This linkage between power, governance and social relations can be summarised in Wolf's (1999) words:

> *Power is often spoken of as if it were a unitary and independent force, sometimes incarnated in the image of a giant monster such as Leviathan or Behemoth, or else as a machine that grows in capacity and ferocity by accumulating and generating more powers, more entities like itself. Yet it is best understood neither as an anthropomorphic force nor a giant machine, but as an aspect of all relations among people. (*Wolf, *1999, p. 4).*

Furthermore, financial shocks appear to be prevalent in community-based schemes, as reflected in the Somkhanda Game Reserve case study. This supports the findings of other researchers whose work focused on CBT schemes (Cundill et al., 2013; Ntshona et al., 2010; Skerratt, 2013). The Somkhanda Game Reserve discussion revealed that financial capital cannot be isolated from social capital. In other words, strong social capital attracts financial capital, which is key to building successful and resilient communities. For this reason, understanding how to build social capital that can attract financial resources is critical. It is important to go beyond what Kaplan (1999) described as "correlates of resilience" (which may have no causal significance) towards examining "mechanisms that underlie resilience and the causes of these mechanisms" (Kaplan, 1999, p. 61). The SGR case highlighted the key social attributes that are essential to attracting financial partners in CBTs operating in land reformed communities. These include trust between Trusts (e.g. ECT) and traditional leaders, openness between Trusts and conservation organisations, and the inclusion of community members in decision-making processes. In the context of this case, SGR managed to attract more funders during the initial working agreement between the ECT and traditional authorities, but the passing away of the Chief who was involved at the inception of SGR created a path to conflict between the current ECT and traditional leaders. A more critical and precise analysis of resilience is thus essential in land reformed communities to establish adaptability:

> *Resilience through adaptability emerges through decisions to leave a path that may have proven successful in the past in favour of a new, related or alternative trajectory. This different kind of resilience carries a series of substantive challenges in developing capacities and tolerances to deal with the cognitive uncertainties. (*Pike, Dawley, & Tomaney, 2010*, pp. 62–63).*

The above suggests the need for strong linkages between cognitive social capital and resilience in building more financial capital. Combined, these elements will mitigate financial shocks in CBT schemes in land reformed communities. This study further revealed that a systematic analysis of social capital dimensions in CBT operations is vital to determine the resilience shocks within the CBT system, which will enhance the understanding of adaptability. People's adaptability to governance, financial and skill shocks is essential to guarantee community resilience in CBT schemes.

Today, Somkhanda Game Reserve is home to Africa's iconic Big Five and boasts well-run tourism facilities, which are owned and managed by the local community. This represents an ideal opportunity for international investment and contradicts the dystopian scenarios painted by those who argue that land reform is destined to fail. What has made, and is making, Somkhanda a resilient success story, and what can be replicated on other land parcels to achieve the same degree of success? The answer is simple. Somkhanda's success can be attributed to the many partnerships that were created through bridging social capital with non-governmental organisations (NGOs), government agencies and neighbouring landowners, who were often originally opposed to their new neighbours (Musavengane, 2019a).

7. Conclusion

The present study was designed to discuss the role of social capital in the collaborative management of natural resources, which included an analysis of the role of social capital in building community resilience in land reformed communities. Furthermore, a discussion on how community resilience-building activities contribute to community well-being and quality of life was provided. Lessons were drawn from the Somkhanda Community Game Reserve in the Gumbi community, KZN, South Africa. The paper identified three main community resilience shocks: governance, financial and skills. The study noted that strong social capital has the capacity to promote the realisation of community resilience in communal natural resources management. It further pointed to the need for avoiding environmental romanticisation, and to rather focus on the complexities involved in managing communal natural resources in land reformed communities. Only through analysing assemblages within a system in a systematic manner will researchers be able to establish the linkages between social capital and community resilience.

Of the three main community resilience shocks that emerged, governance-related issues seem to be the main cause of conservation conflicts in the management of communally owned game reserves, and these are mainly societal. Most notable are the conflicts between traditional and community leaders, and the abuse of power by the elite and traditional leaders. Furthermore, the exclusion of some community members in decision making, especially those seen as 'lower' in the society, a lack of transparency and a lack of integration between the traditional policies and judicial laws are governance shocks. The effects of these governance problems include community disenfranchisement, loss of community trust, loss of community power/voice, loss of patriotism, poaching and community dissolution.

The study also revealed that strong finances are critical in ensuring

the successful operation of community-based tourism (CBT) projects. The dominant financial shocks in communal game reserves include armed guards and technological advancements, salaries and the provision of water to local communities. These financial shocks can be absorbed by strong bridging social capital. As noted by Chowdhury et al. (2013), bridging social capital consists of relationships or ties with the members of other communities with similar social, economic and cultural status, such as the relationship between two conservancies or environmental collaboratives. To address skill-related shocks, including a lack of conservation knowledge and inadequate tourism facility management skills, the study revealed that bridging social capital is important because it creates an opportunity for conservation and tourism organisations and the government to train community members. In essence, social capital encourages the presence of external actors in building strong bridging networks. It also promotes social cohesion through bonding networks of members within the community. This points to the fact that bonding and bridging social capital are vital in building community resilience.

In sub-Saharan African countries and communities that are pursuing land reform, the value of partnerships in a post land redistribution context should not be undermined, as shown in the Gumbi community case. Land reformed communities are mainly characterised by the existence of multi-actors with diverse and often divergent interests regarding land use. The need to promote continuous interactions between internal and external stakeholders is highly encouraged to build community resilience. This study shows that communities are more like systems and are complex; they require continual interactions to have common ideas and solutions. This supports Midgeley's (2000) assertion that the persistent interaction of components may automatically create a system which will be beneficial to all elements within the assemblages.

Plurality governance of communal resources in tribal communities is also essential in land reformed communities, as it promotes social capital development. The *Desired systemic-resilience model for co-managing natural resources in tribal communities* revealed the presence of strong linkages between community resilience and social capital in shaping the success of the Somkhanda Game Reserve (Musavengane, 2019). In closing, through good leadership, various key constructs of social capital will be realised that are essential for building community resilience.

8. Limitations and scope for future research

This research was limited to a single tribe, therefore it would be useful for future studies to look at the relationship between community resilience and social capital in multi-tribal societies in sub-Saharan Africa. In addition, the analysis of this study was limited to the local level, therefore future studies on the nexus between assemblages, social networks and community reliance at the national level will be important to shape national land reform policies. The current study was also limited to a land reformed community operation, i.e. a successful game reserve, therefore it is critical for future studies to look at the building of residence in communities with struggling conservation schemes. Finally, future studies should focus on the in-depth linkages between political actors and community-based tourism, the role of the tribal association in the success of community-based tourism schemes, and the relationship between race, social capital and community-based tourism schemes. These areas are critical due to the historic nature of land reformed communities, and have the capacity to weaken or strengthen social capital, thereby defining community resilience.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my mentor, Llewellyn Leonard, Professor of Environmental Science at the University of South Africa for his helpful comments on an earlier version of this article. I am very grateful to the two Anonymous reviewers and Editor-in-Chief, Catheryn Khoo_Lattimore, their comments were insightful.

Appendix A. Supplementary data

Supplementary data to this article can be found online at https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tmp.2020.100654.

References

Adams, W. (2004). *Against extinction.* London, UK: Earthscan.
Adeyinka-Ojo, S., & Khoo-Lattimore, C. (2018). Black on Brown: Research paradoxes for black scholars working in ethnic communities. *Asian qualitative research in tourism* (pp. 255–270). Singapore: Springer.
Adger, W. N. (2000). Social and ecological resilience: Are they related? *Progress in Human Geography, 24*(3), 347–364.
Adler, P. S., & Kwon, S. (2002). Social capital: Prospects for a new concept. *Academy of Management. The Academy of Management Review, 27*, 17–40.
African College of CBNRM (2012). *Next generation approaches to CBNRM institutions in Zambia: Building on a decade of experience.* London: ADMADE Lessons-Learned.
Ake, C. (1996). *Democracy and development in Africa.* Brookings Institution.
Alden, W. L. (2008). Custom and commonage in Africa: Rethinking the orthodoxies. *Land Use Policy, 25*, 43–52.
Alderfer, C., & Tucker, R. (1996). A field experiment for studying race relations embedded in organizations. *Journal of Organizational Behavior, 17*(1), 43–57.
Aldridge, S., Halpern, D., & Fitzpatrick, S. (2002). *Social Capital: A Discussion Paper.* London, England: Performance and Innovation Unit.
Allen, G. M., & Gould, E. M. (1986). Complexity, wickedness, and public forests. *Journal of Forestry, 84*(4), 20–23.
Allison, H. E., & Hobbs, R. J. (2004). Resilience and adaptive capacity of the Western Australian agricultural region: A social-ecological system. *Ecology and Society, 9*(1) article 3.
Anheier, H., & Kendall, J. (2002). Interpersonal trust and voluntary associations. *British Journal of Sociology, 53*, 343–362.
Ashkenazy, A., Chebach, T. C., Knickel, K., Peter, S., Horowitz, B., & Offenbach, R. (2018). Operationalising resilience in farms and rural regions e findings from fourteen case studies. *Journal of Rural Studies, 59*, 211–221.
Baksh, R., Soemarno, T., Hakim, L., & Nugroho, I. (2013). Social Capital in the Development of ecotourism: A case study in Tambaksari Village Pasuruan regency, East Java Province, Indonesia. *Journal of Basic and Applied Scientific Research, 3*(3), 1–7.
Barnes, G. (2009). The evolution and resilience of community-based land tenure in rural Mexico. *Land Use Policy, 26*, 393–400.
Bates, R. H. (1981). *Markets and states in tropical Africa: The political basis of agricultural policies.* University of California Press.
Berkes, F., & Folke, C. (1998). *Linking social and ecological systems. Management practices and social mechanisms for building resilience.* Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press.
Berkes, F., & Ross, H. (2013). Community resilience: Toward an integrated approach. *Society and Natural Resources, 26*, 5–20. https://doi.org/10.1080/08941920.2012.736605.
Binns, T., Dixon, A., & Nel, E. (2012). *Africa: Diversity and development* (1st ed.). London: Routledge.
Binot, A., Blomley, T., Coad, L., Nelson, F., Roe, D., & Sandbrook, C. (2009). Community involvement in natural resources management in Africa – Regional overviews. In D. Roe, F. Nelson, & C. Sandbrook (Eds.). *Community management of natural resources in Africa: Impacts, experiences and future directions, Natural Resource Issues No. 18* (pp. 13–54). London, UK: International Institute for Environment and Development.
Binswanger-Mkhize, H. P. (2014). From failure to success in south African land reform. *African Journal of Agricultural and Resource Economics, 9*(4), 253–269.
Blewit, J. (2015). *Understanding sustainable development* (2nd ed.). London: Earthscan.
Borrini-Feyerabend, G., Pimbert, M., Farvar, T., Kothari, A., & Renard, Y. (2004). *Sharing power: Learning by doing in co-management of natural resources throughout.*
Bourdieu, P. (1986). The forms of capital. In J. G. Richardson (Ed.). *Handbook of theory and research for the sociology of education* (pp. 241–258). New York: Greenwood Press.
Bunting, E., Steele, J., Keys, E., Muyengwa, S., Child, B., & Southworth, J. (2013). Local perception of risk to livelihoods in the semi-arid landscape of Southern Africa. *Land, 2*(2), 225–251. https://doi.org/10.3390/land2020225.
Cabrera, D., Colosi, L., & Lobdell, C. (2008). Systems thinking. *Evaluation and Program Planning, 31*, 299–310.
Carley, M., & Christie, I. (2000). *Managing sustainable development.* London: Earthscan.
Carpenter, S., Walker, B., Anderies, J. M., & Abel, N. (2001). From metaphor to measurement: Resilience of what to what? *Ecosystems, 4*(8), 765–781.
Carsten, N. H., Christensen, S. M., & Tarp, P. (2005). Rapid stakeholder and conflict assessment for natural resource management using cognitive mapping: The case of Damdoi forest enterprises, Vietnam. *Agriculture and Human Values, 22*, 149–167.
Chambers, R. (1994). Participatory rural appraisal (PRA): Analysis and experience. *World Development, 22*, 1253–1268.
Charmaz, K. (2014). *Constructing grounded theory* (2nd ed.). London: SAGE.
Checkland, P. (2001). Soft systems methodology. In J. Rosenhead, & J. Mingers (Eds.). *Rational analysis for a problematic world revisited.* Chichester, West Sussex: Wiley.
Child, B. (2019). *Sustainable governance of wildlife and community-based natural resource management from economic principles to practical governance.* London: Routledge.

Child, B., & Barnes, G. (2010). The conceptual evolution and practice of community-based natural resource management in southern Africa: Past, present and future. *Environmental Conservation, 37*(3), 283–295. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0376892910000512.

Child, B., & Jones, B. (2006). Practical tools for community conservation in southern Africa. *Participatory Learning and Action, 55*, 6–12.

Child, B., Mupeta, P., Muyengwa, S., & Lubilo, R. (2014). Community-based natural resource management. In M. Sowman, & R. Wynberg (Eds.). *Governance for justice and environmental sustainability: Lessons across across natural resource sectors in sub-Saharan Africa* (pp. 156–179). .

Chou, Y. K. (2006). Three simple models of social capital and economic growth. *The Journal of Socio-Economics, 35*(5), 889–912.

Chowdhury, I. A., Zakaria, A. F. M., Islam, M. N., & Akter, S. (2013). Social capital and resource conservation in "community based Haor resource management (CBHRM) project": A case from Bangladesh. *Spanish Journal of Rural Development, IV*(3), 21–34.

Cinderby, S., Haq, G., Cambridge, H., & Lock, K. (2016). Building community resilience: Can everyone enjoy a good life? *Local Environment, 21*(10), 1252–1270. https://doi.org/10.1080/13549839.2015.1100597.

Claridge, T. (2004). *Social capital and natural resource management: An important role for social capital?* Unpublished ThesisBrisbane, Australia: University of Queensland.

Colbry, S., Hurwitz, M., & Adair, R. (2014). Collaborative theory. *Journal of Leadership Education, 13*(4), 63–75. https://doi.org/10.12806/V13/14/C8.

Colchester, M. (1994). Salvaging nature: indigenous peoples, protected areas and biodiversity conservation. *Discussion Paper No. 55, Geneva*. UNRISD.

Coleman, J. S. (1988). Social Capital in the Creation of human capital. *The American Journal of Sociology, 94*, S95.

Cousins, B. (1999). Invisible capital: The contribution of communal rangelands to rural livelihoods in South Africa. *Development Southern Africa, 16*, 299–318.

Crane, A., & Ruebottom, T. (2011). Stakeholder theory and social identity: Rethinking stakeholder identification. *Journal of Business Ethics, 102*, 77–87.

Cundill, G., Thondhlana, G., Sisitka, L., Shackleton, S., & Blore, M. (2013). Land claims and the pursuit of co-management on four protected areas in South Africa. *Land Use Policy, 35*, 171–178.

Davis, D. (1997). Nonrandom measurement error and race of interviewer effects among African Americans. *Public Opinion Quarterly, 61*(1), 183–207.

Dolfsma, W., & Dannreuther, C. (2003). Subjects and boundaries: Contesting social capital-based policies. *Journal of Economic Issues, 37*, 405–413.

Dredge, D. (2006). Networks, conflict and collaborative communities. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism, 14*(6), 562–581.

Duran, C. (2013). Governance for the tourism sector and its measurement, UNWTO statistics and TSA issue paper series STSA/IP/2013/01 (online), available http://statistics.unwto.org/en/content/papers.

Fennell, D. A. (2004). Towards interdisciplinarity in tourism: Making a case through complexity and shared knowledge. *Recent Advances and Research Updates, 5*(1), 99–110.

Flora, C., & Flora, J. (2004). *Rural communities: Legacy and change* (2nd ed.). Boulder, CO.: Westview Press.

Floress, K., Prokopy, L. S., & Allred, S. B. (2011). It's who you know: Social capital, social networks, and watershed groups. *Society & Natural Resources: An International Journal, 24*(9), 871–886.

Folke, C. (2006). Resilience the emergence of a perspective for social-ecological systems analyses. *Global Environmental Change, 16*, 253–267.

Folke, C., Carpenter, S. R., Walker, B., Scheffer, M., Chapin, T., & Rockström, J. (2010). Resilience thinking: Integrating resilience, adaptability and transformability. *Ecological Society, 15*(4), 20–28.

Frost, P. G. H., & Bond, I. (2008). The CAMPFIRE programme in Zimbabwe: Payments for wildlife services. *Ecological Economics, 65*, 776–787.

Gant, J., Ichniowski, C., & Shaw, K. (2002). Social capital and organisational change in high-involvement and traditional work organisations. *Journal of Economics and Management, 11*, 289–328.

Gay, L. R., & Airasian, P. (2003). *Educational research: Competencies for analysis and applications* (7th ed.). New Jersey: Merrill Prentice Hall.

Grootaert, C., Narayan, D., Jones, V. N., & Woolcock, M. (2003). *Measuring social capital: An integrated questionnaire*.

Holling, C. S. (1973). Resilience and stability of ecological systems. *Annual Review of Ecology and Systematics, 4*, 1–23.

Jacobs, G. (2014). *Successful land reform? A critical analysis of the Harmony Trust Land Reform Project, Koue Bokkeveld, Western Cape.* University of Western Cape. Masters Thesis, Available Online Accessed 15 January, 2019 at https://etd.uwc.ac.za/xmlui/handle/11394/4294.

Januszka, C. M., Lora, A. C., Wollard, K. K., & Rocco, T. S. (2007). Investigating race and ethnicity on data collection and analysis. In S. M. Nielsen, & M. S. Plakhotnik (Eds.). *Proceedings of the Sixth Annual College of Education Research Conference: Urban and International Education Section* (pp. 36–42). Miami: Florida International University. http://coeweb.fiu.edu/research_conference/.

Johannesson, G., Skaptadottir, U., & Benediktsson, K. (2003). Coping with social capital? The cultural economy of tourism in the north. *Sociologia Ruralis, 43*(1), 3–16.

Jones, S. (2005). Community-based ecotourism: The significance of social capital. *Annals of Tourism research, 32*(2), 302–324.

Kamuti, T. (2018). Intricacies of game farming and outstanding land restitution claims in the Gongolo area of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. In F. Brandt, & G. Mkodzongi (Eds.). *Land reform revisited: Democracy, state making and agrarian transformation in post-apartheid South Africa* (pp. 124–148). Boston: Brill.

Kaplan, H. B. (1999). Toward an understanding of resilience: A critical review of definitions and models. In M. D. Glantz, & J. R. Johnson (Eds.). *Resilience and development: Positive life adaptations* (pp. 17–83). New York: Plenum.

Kepe, T. (2004). Land restitution and biodiversity conservation in South Africa: The case of Mkhambati, eastern Cape Province. *Canadian Journal of African Studies, 38*(3), 688–704.

Khan, F. (2002). The roots of environmental racism and the rise of environmental justice in the 1990s. In D. McDonald (Ed.). *Environmental justice in South Africa, Athens and South Africa.* Cape Town: Ohio University Press and University of Cape Town Press.

Krishna, A. & Shrader, E. (1999). Social capital assessment tool. In Conference on Social Capital and Poverty Reduction. Washington, D.C

Krishna, A., & Shrader, E. (2000). Cross-cultural measures of social capital: A tool and results from India and Panama. *Social capital initiative working paper no 21*. Washington DC: World Bank.

Krysan, M., & Couper, M. (2003). Race in the live and the virtual interview: Racial deference, social desirability, and activation effects in attitude surveys. *Social Psychology Quarterly, 66*(4), 364–383.

Law, J. (1999). After ANT: Complexity, naming and topology. In J. Law, & J. Hassard (Eds.). *Actor network theory and after*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

Lyon, F. (2000). Trust, network and norms: The creation of social Capital in Agricultural Economies in Ghana. *World Development, 28*(4), 663–681.

Macbeth, J., Carson, D., & Northcote, J. K. (2004). Social capital, tourism and regional development: SPCC as a basis for innovation and sustainability. *Current issues in Tourism, 7*(6), 502–522.

Magis, K. (2007). *Community resilience: Literature and practice review. Washington, DC: US roundtable on sustainable forests, September, special session on Indicator 38: Community resilience.* 1–46.

Magis, K. (2010). Community resilience: An Indicator of social sustainability. *Society and Natural Resources, 23*(5), 401–416. https://doi.org/10.1080/08941920903305674.

Mamdani, M. (1996). *Citizen and subject: Contemporary Africa and the legacy of late colonialism.* New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Mamdani, M. (2019). *Why South Africa Can't Avoid Land Reforms.* The New York Times. Online: Accessed 25 September, 2019 at https://www.nytimes.com/2019/06/17/opinion/south-africa-land-reform.html.

Matarrita-Cascante, D., Trejos, B., Qin, H., Joo, D., & Debner, S. (2017). Conceptualizing community resilience: Revisiting conceptual distinctions. *Community Development, 48*(1), 105–123. https://doi.org/10.1080/15575330.2016.1248458.

Matondi, P. B. (2012). *Zimbabwe's fast track land reform.* London: Zed Books.

Mavuso, S. (2019). #Land Expropriation: DA prepares for battle with ANC and EFF. Online: Accessed 09 September 26, 2019 at https://www.iol.co.za/news/politics/landexpropriation-da-prepares-for-battle-with-anc-and-eff-25287845.

Merten, M. (2018). *Expropriation without compensation is a done deal – all that's left is the formalities.* Daily Maverick. Online: Accessed 20 February, 2019 at https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2018-11-13-expropriation-without-compensation-is-a-done-deal-all-thats-left-is-the-formalities/.

Mhlanga, T. (2018). Land Expropriation in South Africa: Impact on Travellers? Online: Accessed 6 May, 2018 at https://blog.rhinoafrica.com/2018/11/06/land-expropriation-south-africa-travellers/.

Midgley, G. (2000). *Systemic intervention: Philosophy, methodology, and practice.* New York: Kluwer Academic Publishers.

Muboko, N., & Murindagomo, F. (2014). Wildlife control, access and utilisation: Lessons from legislation, policy, evolution and implementation in Zimbabwe. *Journal for Nature Conservation, 22*(3), 206–211. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jnc.2013.12.002.

Muller, K. (2012). *Social capital and collaborative environmental governance: Lessons from Western cape.* South Africa: IUCN. https://cmsdata.iucn.org/downloads/kobus_muller_social_capital_pdf.pdf Accessed 20 January 2016.

Müller, M., & Schurr, C. (2016). Assemblage thinking and actor-network theory: Conjunctions, disjunctions, cross-fertilisations. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, 41*, 217–229. https://doi.org/10.1111/tran.12117.

Musavengane, R. (2019). Using the systemic-resilience thinking approach to enhance participatory collaborative management of natural resources in tribal communities: Toward inclusive land reform-led outdoor tourism. *Journal of Outdoor Recreation and Tourism, 25*, 45–56.

Musavengane, R. (2019a). The beauty of land reform in promoting sustainable livelihoods through collaborative community-based ecotourism: Lessons from Somkhanda game reserve, South Africa. In M. Mkono (Ed.). *Tourism successes in southern Africa: Towards a new Afropositive discourse* (pp. 23–35). London: Routledge.

Musavengane, R., & Leonard, L. (2019). When race and social equity matters in nature conservation in post-apartheid South Africa. *Conservation and Society*. https://doi.org/10.4103/cs.cs_18_23.

Musavengane, R., & Simatele, D. (2017). Significance of social capital in collaborative management of natural resources in sub-Saharan African rural communities: A qualitative meta-analysis. *South African Geographical Journal, 99*(3), 267–282.

Musavengane, R., & Matikiti, R. (2015). Does social capital really enhance community based ecotourism? A review of literature. *African Journal of Hospitality, Tourism and Leisure, 4*(1), 1–18.

Musavengane, R., & Simatele, D. M. (2016). Community-based natural resource management: The role of social capital in collaborative environmental of tribal resources in Kwa-Zulu Natal, South Africa. *Development Southern Africa, 33*(6), 806–821.

Musavengane, R., Tantoh, H. B., & Simatele, D. (2019). A comparative analysis of collaborative environmental management of natural resources in sub-Saharan Africa: A study of Cameroon and South Africa. *Journal of Asian and African Studies,* 1–21. https://doi.org/10.1177/0021909618825276.

Muyengwa, S. (2015). Determinants of individual level satisfaction with community based natural resources management: A case of five communities in Namibia. *Environments, 2*(4), 608–623.

Muzirambi, J. M., Musavengane, R., & Mearns, K. (2019). Revisiting devolution in community-based natural resources Management in Zimbabwe: Towards an inclusive governance approaches. In M. T. Stone, M. Lenao, & N. Moswete (Eds.). *Natural*

resources, tourism and community livelihoods in southern Africa challenges of sustainable development (pp. 143–158). London: Routledge Forthcoming.
Nahapiet, J., & Ghoshal, S. (1998). Social capital. Intellectual capital, and the organisational advantage. *Academy of Management Review, 23*(2), 242.
Narayan, D. (2002). Bonds and bridges: social capital and poverty. In S. Ramaswamy (Ed.). *Social Capital and Economic Development: Well-being in Developing Countries*. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar.
Narayan, D., & Cassidy, M. (2001). A dimensional approach to measuring social capital: Development and validation of social capital inventory. *Current Sociology, 49*(2), 49–93.
Neumann, R. (1998). *Imposing wilderness: Struggles over livelihood and nature preservation in Africa.* University of California Press.
Ngubane, M. (2018). "Disrupting spatial legacies": Dismantled game farms as success stories of land reform? In F. Brandt, & G. Mkodzongi (Eds.). *Land reform revisited: Democracy, state making and agrarian transformation in post-apartheid South Africa* (pp. 246–269). Boston: Brill.
Ngubane, M., & Brooks, S. (2013). Land beneficiaries as game farmers: Conservation, land reform and the invention of the 'community game farm' in KwaZulu-Natal. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies, 31*(3), 399–420.
Norris, F. H., Stevens, S. P., Pfefferbaum, B., Wyche, K. F., & Pfefferbaum, R. L. (2008). Community resilience as a metaphor, theory, set of capacities, and strategy for disaster readiness. *American Journal of Community Psychology, 41*(1–2), 127–150. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10464-007-9156-6.
Ntshona, Z., Kraai, M., Kepe, T., & Salilwa, P. (2010). From land rights to environmental entitlements: Community discontent in the 'successful' Dwesa-Cwele land claim in South Africa. *Development Southern Africa, 27*(7), 353–361.
Olsson, P., Gunderson, L. H., Carpenter, S. R., Ryan, P., Folke, C., & Holling, C. S. (2006). Shooting the rapids: Navigating transitions to adaptive governance of social-ecological systems. *Ecology and Society, 11*(1) article 18.
Orts, E. W., & Studler, A. (2009). Putting a Stake in stakeholder theory. *Journal of Business Ethics, 88*, 605–615.
Ostrom, E. (1990). *Governing the commons: The evolution of institutions for collective action.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Pike, A., Dawley, S., & Tomaney, J. (2010). Resilience, adaptation and adaptability. Cambridge journal of regions. *Economy and Society, 3*, 59–70.
Platts-Fowler, D., & Robinson, D. (2016). Community resilience: A policy tool for local government? *Local Government Studies, 42*(5), 762–784. https://doi.org/10.1080/03003930.2016.1186653.
Plummer, R., & Fennell, D. A. (2009). Managing protected areas for sustainable tourism: Prospects for adaptive co-management. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism, 17*(2), 149–168.
Portes, A. (1998). Social capital: Its origins and applications in modern sociology. *Annual Review of Sociology, 24*, 1–25.
Pretty, J., & Smith, D. (2003). Social capital in biodiversity conservation and management. *Conservation Biology, 18*, 631–638.
Ramutsindela, M. (2012). Property rights, land tenure and the racial discourses. *Geojournal, 77*, 753–763.
Ramutsindela, M. F. (2002). The perfect way to ending painful past? Makuleke land deal in South Africa. *Geoforum, 33*, 15–24.
Reed, M. G., Henderson, A. E., & Mendis-Millard, S. (2013). Shaping local context and outcomes: The role of governing agencies in collaborative natural resource management. *Human Dimensions of Wildlife, 18*, 292–306. https://doi.org/10.1080/10871209.2013.801003.
Roberts, E., & Townsend, L. (2015). The contribution of the creative economy to the resilience of rural communities: Exploring cultural and digital capital. *Sociologia Ruralis, 56*, 197–219. https://doi.org/10.1111/soru.12075.
Robison, L. J., Allan Schmid, A., & Siles, M. E. (2002). Is social capital really capital? *Review of Social Economy, 60*, 1–24.
Roe, D., & Nelson, F. (2009). The origins and evolution of community-based natural resource management in Africa. In D. Roe, F. Nelson, & C. Sandbrook (Eds.). *Community management of natural resources in Africa: Impacts, experiences and future directions, natural resource issues no. 18* (pp. 5–12). London, UK: International Institute for Environment and Development.
Sachs, J. D., & Warner, A. M. (2001). Natural resources and economic development the curse of natural resources. *European Economic Review, 45*, 827–838.
Shie, Y. (2020). Indigenous legacy for building resilience: A case study of Taiwanese mountain river ecotourism. *Tourism Management Perspectives, 33*, 100612. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tmp.2019.100612.
Siakwah, P. (2017). Are natural resource windfalls a blessing or a curse in democratic settings? Globalised assemblages and the problematic impacts of oil on Ghana's development. *Resources Policy, 52*, 122–133.
Siakwah, P. (2018). Actors, networks, and globalised assemblages: Rethinking oil, the environment and conflict in Ghana. *Energy Research & Social Science, 38*, 68–76.
Simatele, D., & Simatele, M. (2015). Migration as an adaptive strategy to climate variability: A study of the Tonga-speaking people of southern Zambia. *Disasters, 39*(4), 762–781. https://doi.org/10.1111/disa.12124.
Skerratt, S. (2013). Enhancing the analysis of rural community resilience: Evidence from community land ownership. *Journal of Rural Studies, 31*, 36–46.
Smith, J. (2010). *Biofuels and the globalization of risk: The biggest change in north-south relationships since colonialism.* London: Zed Books.
South African History Online [SAHO] (2011). South African Parliament repeals The Separate Amenities Act of 1953 (Available Online: Accessed 03/11/2019) https://www.sahistory.org.za/dated-event/south-african-parliament-repeals-separate-amenities-act-1953.
South African History Online [SAHO] (2014). Group Areas Act of 1950 (Available Online: Accessed 03/11/2019) https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/group-areas-act-1950.
Spires, M., Shackleton, S., & Cundill, G. (2014). Barriers to implementing planned community-based adaptation in developing countries: A systematic literature review. *Climate and Development, 6*(3), 277–287. https://doi.org/10.1080/17565529.2014.886995.
Stake, R. (1995). *The art of case study research.* Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
Steyn, P. (2004). The greening of our past. *Historia, 49*, 2.
Strickland-Munro, J. K., Allison, H. E., & Moore, S. A. (2010). Using resilience concepts to investigate the impacts of protected area on tourism communities. *Annals of Tourism Research, 37*(2), 499–519.
Taylor, J. (1992). *Paved with good intentions: The failure of race relations in contemporary America.* New York: Carroll and Graf.
Taylor, S. (2007). Creating social capital in MNC: The International Human Resource Management Challenge. *Human Resource Management Journal, 17*(4), 336–354.
Thakadu, O. T., Mangadi, K. T., Bernard, F. E., & Mbaiwa, J. E. (2005). The economic contribution of safari hunting to rural livelihoods in the Okavango: The case of Sankuyo village. *Botswana Notes and Records, 37*(1), 22–39.
The Citizen (2018). Land expropriation debate scares foreign investors. Online: Accessed 01 august, 2018 at https://citizen.co.za/news/south-africa/1984799/land-expropriation-debate-scares-foreign-investors/.
Turner, R. (2004). *A Crisis in CBNRM? Affirming the Commons in southern Africa.* Mexico: 10th IASCP Conference.
United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) (2008). *International Recommendations for Tourism Statistics 2008.* New York, Madrid: IRTS 2008. (Online), available http://unstats.un.org/unsd/tradeserv/tourism/manual.html Accessed 20/03/2018 .
Uphoff, N., & Wijayaratha, C. M. (2000). Demonstrated benefits from social capital: The productivity of farmer organisations in gal Oya, Sri Lanka. *World Development, 28*(11), 1875–1890.
Walker, B., Gunderson, L., Kinzig, A., Folke, C., Carpenter, S., & Schultz, L. (2006). A handful of heuristics and some propositions for understanding resilience in social-ecological systems. *Ecology and Society, 11*(1) article 13.
Walker, J., & Cooper, M. (2011). Genealogies of resilience: From systems ecology to the political economy of crisis adaptation. *Security Dialogue, 42*(2), 143–160. https://doi.org/10.1177/0967010611399616.
van de Walle, N. (2001). *African Economies and the Politics of Permanent Crisis, 1979–1999.* Cambridge University Press.
Wallis, A., Crocker, J. P., & Schechter, B. (1998). Social capital and community building, part 1. *National Civic Review, 87*, 253–272.
Wilson, G. (2010). Multifunctional 'quality' and rural community resilience. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, 35*(3), 364–381.
Wolf, E. R. (1999). *Envisioning power: Ideologies of dominance and crisis.* Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
Yin, R. K. (2003). *Case research: Design and methods* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
Zautra, A., Hall, J., & Murray, K. (2008). Community development and community resilience: An integrative approach. *Community Development, 39*, 130–147. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.landusepol.2012.07.011.

Regis Musavengane (PhD) is a tourism and community development geographer. Holds a PhD in Geography and Environmental Studies from the Witwatersrand University, South Africa. His research focuses on political ecology in Sub-Saharan African contexts, with particular interest in co-management of natural resources, conservation, environmental governance and tourism systems that promotes stakeholder participation. He has published on political economy, political ecology, community development, tourism geographies, responsible tourism and environmental policy in regional and international journals. A member of the IUCN's World Commission on Protected Areas (WCPA) Tourism and Protected Areas Specialist Group (TAPAS Group).

Roelie Kloppers (PhD) is an Executive Director of WildLANDS, a programme of the WildTRUST, a South African NGO, established in 2004. He has published on themes of poverty, displacement and nature conservation. After completing his studies, he joined the Peace Parks Foundation as coordinator of the Lubombo Transboundary Conservation Area. In 2006 he was appointed by the KwaZulu-Natal Nature Conservation Board, where he remained till 2009. He joined Conservation International in 2009 to develop an Ecosystem Profile for the Maputaland-Pondoland-Albany Biodiversity Hotspot. This led to an investment by the Critical Ecosystem Partnership Fund in the Region, which includes Swaziland and Mozambique, which he headed as leader of the Regional Implementation Team. Since 2010 Dr. Kloppers has been with WildLANDS where he has developed the programme as primary terrestrial conservation arm of the WildTRUST. In this role, he has played a critical role in the development of community-owned conservation areas, such as Somkhanda, the focus of the article in this Special Issue.