



Journal Homepage: -www.journalijar.com

INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF ADVANCED RESEARCH (IJAR)

Article DOI:10.21474/IJAR01/18714
DOI URL: <http://dx.doi.org/10.21474/IJAR01/18714>



RESEARCH ARTICLE

SOCIAL CAPITAL OF THE PEASANTS IN BANGLADESH: CHANGES AND CHALLENGES

Md. Shafikuzzaman Joarder, PhD¹ and S.M. Imtiaz²

1. Professor, Department of Sociology, University of Rajshahi, Bangladesh.
2. Associate Professor, Department of Sociology, University of Rajshahi, Bangladesh.

Manuscript Info

Manuscript History

Received: 10 March 2024
Final Accepted: 14 April 2024
Published: May 2024

Key words:-

Social Capital, Peasants, Agriculture,
Agrarian Relations, Bangladesh

Abstract

The aim of the study was to analyze changes in social capital among Bangladeshi peasants over the past decade, with a specific focus on their social relations and reciprocal arrangements. A mixed-methods approach was employed to gather comprehensive data for this study. The findings reveal that bridging social relationships between peasants and local elites has not shown any promising trend. Economic inequality and discrimination in accessing education, healthcare, and job opportunities are significant factors that contribute to the increasing distance between different groups. The reciprocal relationships among peasants have become more distant, particularly with the local elites. Economic inequality, politically biased hierarchical structures, and discrimination in accessing education, healthcare, and job opportunities all contribute to the increasing distance between different groups. Overall, peasant communities in Bangladesh have experienced a decline in social capital, which is crucial for sustaining agrarian relations and agricultural production systems.

Copy Right, IJAR, 2024. All rights reserved.

Introduction and Problem Statement:-

The peasants are the focal point of Bangladesh agriculture (Thapa and Gaiha, 2014; Rapsomanikis, 2015; Rouf et al., 2015; Gautam et al., 2016; Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics [BBS], 2022). These communities are often portrayed as close-knit and harmonious, characterized by a strong sense of community and solidarity (Khan, Rifaqat& Kazmi, 2007; Wiesinger, 2007). When faced with difficulties, individuals within this community are more likely to lend a helping hand, exemplifying their commitment to mutual support. Moreover, the peasants exhibit a high level of social cohesion, relying on each other for assistance, cooperation, and shared resources. This demonstrates the prevalence of strong social capital within these communities (Sorensen, 2002).

Social capital refers to the interconnected relationships and networks that individuals or groups possess, as well as the social resources available to them, which enable them to effectively navigate and thrive in society (Lin, 1999; Putnam, 2005). Social capital also plays a vital role in facilitating cooperation, communication, and collective action, according to Field (2003). It is widely recognized as a resource that enables individuals to collaborate and work together towards shared objectives. This notion has been supported by various scholars, including Coleman (1988), Putnam (1993), Woolcock and Narayan (2000), and Woolcock and Sweetser (2007).

Kilpatrick and Bell (1998) provided a comprehensive definition of social capital, referring to the mechanisms and structures that foster individuals' effective utilization of their knowledge and skills, as well as those of others, for the

Corresponding Author:- Md. Shafikuzzaman Joarder, PhD

Address:- Professor, Department of Sociology, University of Rajshahi, Bangladesh.

Email: shafikuzzaman@ru.ac.bd

collective benefit of the community. They further argued that social capital plays a crucial role in enhancing the utilization of human capital. Fafchamps and Minten (2001) conducted research on social capital and its impact on the economic prosperity of agricultural activities. Their findings highlighted the importance of social capital in the success of agricultural cooperatives and in improving productivity in rural communities. Overall, different scholars have proposed different definitions and interpretations of social capital, but they all agree on its fundamental importance in social interactions and collective well-being.

The agriculture sector in Bangladesh often faces challenges due to lack of mechanization and technology, inadequate infrastructure, unpredictable market conditions, extreme weather events, labor shortages, and limited access to capital (Noman & Joarder, 2011; Mottaleb and Mohanty, 2015; Rapsomanikis, 2015; Joarder, 2018; Asaduzzaman, 2021; Islam et al., 2022; Joarder and Islam, 2024). In these conditions, social capital has the potential to provide assistance to peasant communities in various ways. Firstly, it helps peasant communities overcome their labor resource constraints (Hunter, 2016; Ellis et al., 2018) through labor-sharing arrangements (Swinton and Quiroz, 2003; Knowles, 2006; Nyangena, 2007; Kirori, 2015; Shiferaw et al., 2009). Secondly, social capital also promotes adoption by providing farmers with access to informal financial resources that may alleviate their cash constraints. Thirdly, it facilitates the flow of information within the agricultural sector (Hayden and Buck, 2012). By enabling effective communication and collaboration among farmers, it enhances knowledge sharing, which can facilitate the adoption of new practices and technologies (Berresaw et al., 2013).

As a consequence, when peasants collaborate, they can pool their resources such as land, labor, and equipment in order to enhance productivity and profitability. Moreover, by sharing their knowledge, they can learn from one another's experiences, best practices, and innovative solutions, thereby improving their farming practices and ensuring the long-term sustainability of their operations. By collaborating, peasants can also establish a sense of community (Helliwell and Putnam, 2005; Ellis, Hoskin, & Ratnasingham, 2018), in which they share challenges and rejoice together in their success. This sense of community offers a sense of belonging and resilience, enabling them to overcome difficult periods and remain motivated in their farming endeavors. Hence, the wellbeing of peasants heavily relies on social capital, specifically on social relations (bonding and bridging) and reciprocal relationships.

However, peasantries across the globe have undergone different trajectories of changes of the livelihood of peasants (Edelman, 2008, 2013; Borrás, 2009; Thapa & Gaiha, 2014; van der Ploeg, 2023). The lives of peasants have been significantly impacted by various factors such as socioeconomic, technological, and cultural changes (Ellis, 1994, 2000; Bhalla & Singh, 2019; Fan et al., 2019)). Both the rural societies and the peasants have experienced significant changes, including an increase in education, migration, urbanization, media exposure, and consumerism. This has led to a diversification and dynamism in the rural economy and society, creating new opportunities and challenges for peasants in Bangladesh as well (Misra, 2016; Mujeri and Mujeri, 2021).

In this context, this study aims to gain a deeper understanding of what has transpired with peasants' social capital, specifically focusing on their social relations and reciprocal arrangements in comparison to "a decade¹" ago. By examining these changes, we can gain valuable insights into the evolving dynamics of rural societies and their impact on peasant well-being.

Methods:-

The study employed a mixed-methods approach in order to examine the research problem holistically. By employing secondary data and considering the availability of peasants who share similar characteristics to other regions within Bangladesh, two villages were selected purposively from Tanore upazila of Rajshahi, namely, Ratoil and Chanduria. The study used two sampling methods to collect data. The primary approach utilized was "complete enumeration sampling", which aimed to ensure that all the initially selected peasant households had an equal chance of being included in the study. Through this method, a rapid baseline survey identified a total of 331 "peasant

¹According to Sourisseau et al. (2018), a time frame of 10 to 15 years, and possibly even 20 years, is deemed adequate for understanding the significant changes that have taken place in both the agricultural and non-agricultural sectors. Therefore, taking into account the substantial socioeconomic changes that have transpired in Bangladesh in recent decades, the study focused on analyzing the alterations across different sectors within a ten-year period.

households²” in two villages. However, 22 households were uncontactable for the interview, while 10 households declined to participate. A pre-tested questionnaire was employed to interview 299 “heads” of the peasant households, with the aim of obtaining accurate, reliable, and sound data. After careful consideration, 287 questionnaires were determined suitable for analysis. The presence of mismatches in twelve of the questionnaires served as a determining factor in reaching this decision, as it raised concerns regarding the potential for distortion of the results. The second sampling strategy employed was “purposive sampling,” specifically for the purpose of conducting Focus Group Discussions (FGDs). A total of three FGDs were conducted, each involving 10 to 12 peasants from different age groups. These discussions took place in two villages, and the point of saturation in terms of findings was reached during the course of the research. By utilizing these two distinct sampling strategies, the study aimed to ensure a comprehensive and well-rounded data collection process. The data analysis conducted in this study combined both quantitative and qualitative methods. The quantitative approach involved descriptive statistics to analyze the data, while the qualitative approach involved text analysis based on the findings from FGDs. These methods were combined to analyze the data thoroughly.

Results:-

This study aims to explore the pattern of social relationships and the reciprocal exchanges of goods and services that occur within the peasant community. By analyzing various social interactions and transactions, it gained insights into how individuals engage with one another and exchange resources.

Pattern of Social Relationships

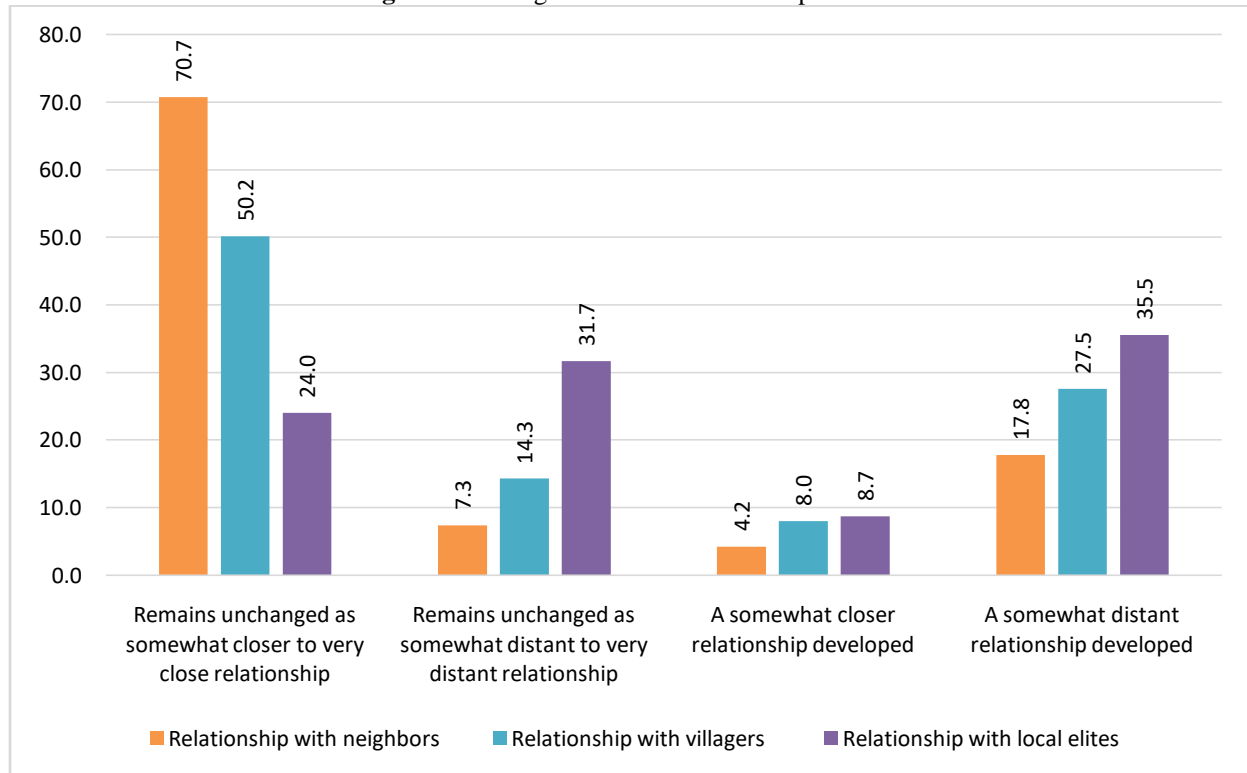
Social relationship patterns among the peasants reveals a complex multidimensional pattern. According to Figure 1, there has been a noticeable decline in social relationships among various stakeholders. One notable trend is the evolving nature of the relationship between peasants and their closest neighbors, which has shifted towards a somewhat distant dynamic. Similarly, the relationship with villagers and local elites is also characterized by a growing distance, although to a lesser extent.

However, it is important to highlight that the overall relationship between peasants and their neighbors and villagers remains relatively stable, with approximately 71% and 50% of respondents reporting a closeness ranging from somewhat close to very close, respectively. On the other hand, the research indicates that approximately 28% of peasants experienced a somewhat distant relationship with villagers, while around one-fourth of the respondents reported maintaining a very close to very close relationship with local elites. The remaining 31.71% indicated a somewhat distant to very distant relationship with these influential individuals. Overall, the study suggests that bridging social relationships between peasants and local elites has not shown any promising trend.

The findings obtained from the FGDs indicate that one of the primary factors contributing to the increasing distance between the peasants and their neighbors, villagers, and local elites is economic inequality. Additionally, as the local elites became more involved in politics, a politically biased hierarchical structure emerged that plays a significant role in exacerbating the distance between the peasants and local elites. Furthermore, there is a rising pattern of discrimination in accessing education, healthcare, and job opportunities, which has resulted in a significant number of peasants feeling alienated from the broader community. This discrimination not only creates a sense of mistrust and resentment but also contributes to further widening the gap between different groups.

These findings provide us with a comprehensive understanding of the current state of social relationship patterns among the peasants, highlighting both the significant changes and continuities observed over the past decade.

²In order to categorize, identify, and select the sample and ensure consistency among respondents, the following criteria were established: (a) the respondent must primarily be a small-scale farmer practicing agriculture for subsistence; (b) the household head must own land between 0.50 and 2.5 acres; (c) the total farm-land ownership (owned plus sharecropping, leased, and/or other arrangements) cannot exceed five acres; and (d) at least 25% of production must be reserved for household consumption. The use of these criteria allows for a systematic approach in determining the eligibility and consistency of the sample.

Figure 1:- Changes in Social Relationship Pattern.

Pattern of Reciprocal Relationships

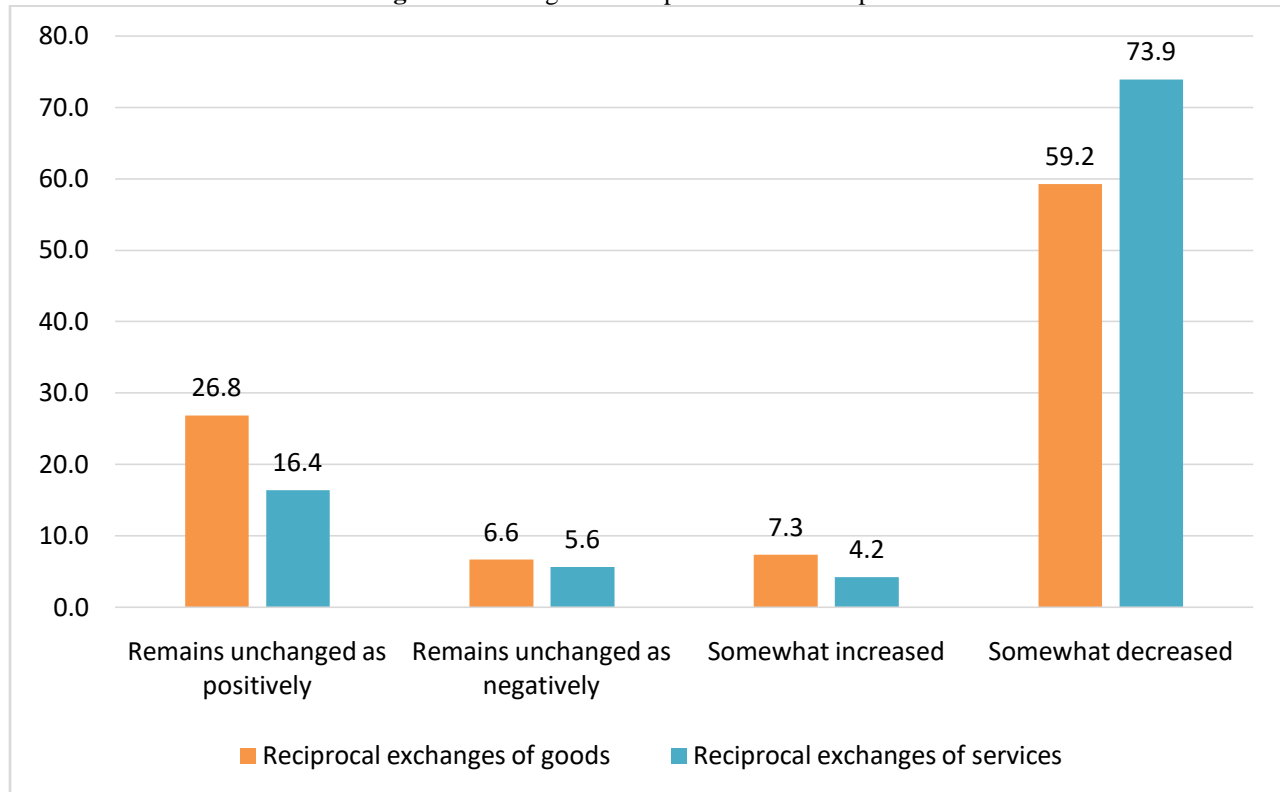
Historically, reciprocal relationships between peasants and rural people have played a significant role in fostering mutual exchange and cooperation. These relationships promote economic integration and livelihoods for peasants. The study examined two types of reciprocal relationships, namely reciprocal exchange of goods and services, for both generalized reciprocity and reciprocal exchange.

In the context of reciprocal exchange of goods, various tools, machinery, seeds, and other items necessary for the production and harvest of crops are exchanged. This exchange helps peasants meet their mutual obligations and enhance their agricultural productivity.

On the other hand, a reciprocal exchange of services involves providing labor to fulfill mutual obligations. Peasants assist each other with tasks such as harvesting, threshing, and other agricultural activities. By doing so, they contribute to each other's livelihoods and ensure a stable supply of agricultural goods.

The figure below presents a clear alteration in the reciprocal relationships among peasants when contrasting the present scenario with the situation ten years ago. It is evident that there has been a substantial decrease in both exchanges for a majority of the peasants. Approximately 60% of the peasants have experienced a decrease in the exchange of goods, while about 74% have reported a decline in the exchange of services. According to the study, reciprocal exchanges of goods and services have remained stable for approximately 27% and 16% of respondents, respectively. However, there has been a noticeable decline in reciprocal exchanges experienced by approximately 59% and 74% of respondents, respectively. Moreover, approximately 7.3% and 4.2% of respondents reported a slight increase in exchanges of goods and services, while only 7.3% and 4.2% of respondents indicated a somewhat decline in these exchanges.

In summary, Figure 2 showcases a significant shift in the reciprocal relationships among the peasants, with a decline in both exchanges for a majority of the respondents.

Figure 2:- Changes in Reciprocal Relationships.

The FGDs with peasants revealed that the declining trend of reciprocal relationships is a complex issue influenced by various factors as follows.

Individualistic mindset:

Concerns have been raised by numerous participants regarding the increasing prevalence of an individualistic mindset among villagers in recent years. Participants expressed that people are becoming more self-centered, prioritizing their own needs and desires over communal well-being. It has been observed that the emphasis on personal gain has taken precedence over the significance of reciprocal relationships.

Changing socioeconomic dynamics:

The socioeconomic dynamics within the village have also played a role in the decline of reciprocal relationships. Participants mentioned that with the introduction of modern market systems and convenient access to commercial goods and services, the need for relying on each other has diminished. This has resulted in a decreased sense of interdependence and weakened communal ties. The participants have further indicated that this shift in mindset has had a detrimental effect on the sense of community and solidarity that was once integral to rural life.

Lack of trust:

During the focus groups, participants pointed out that trust erosion is one of the biggest barriers to maintaining reciprocal relationships. A sense of distrust among villagers has been created by the rapid spread of satellite channels, as well as the influx of new technologies (especially smartphones). Their lack of trust has made it difficult for them to rely on each other and engage in reciprocal relationships.

Changing economic landscape:

The participants identified the changing economic landscape as a significant factor contributing to the decline in reciprocal relationships among peasants. Traditional belief systems are being eroded by income disparities and commercial agriculture. As profits have become more important, community-oriented practices have shifted away, causing reciprocal relationships to decline.

Discussions:-

The decline in social capital particularly the bridging social relations, and both the reciprocal relationships among peasants have significant implications for their livelihoods and communities. These implications can be grouped into three main categories: social cohesion and solidarity, access to resources, and the loss of traditional knowledge and practices.

Social Cohesion and Solidarity:

Historically, rural communities have been characterized by strong social cohesion and solidarity. Peasants have relied on one another for support, assistance, and the exchange of goods and services. However, the decline in reciprocal relationships disrupts this social fabric, leading to a sense of isolation and atomization among individuals. Moreover, the loss of reciprocal relationships undermines the sense of collective responsibility that has historically existed within rural communities. Peasants are no longer obligated to help each other in times of need or share resources equitably. This lack of social cohesion and solidarity can have far-reaching consequences for the well-being and resilience of rural communities.

Access to Resources:

The decline in capital also has implications for access to essential resources. In traditional communities, peasants relied on one another for access to land, water, and other natural resources. However, with the dissolution of reciprocal relationships, it becomes more challenging for individuals to secure these resources on their own. Peasant communities that have traditionally relied on mutual aid may face difficulties in accessing resources solely through market-based transactions. Those who are unable to participate in these transactions due to financial constraints or limited skills may be left behind, exacerbating inequalities and perpetuating poverty within these communities.

Loss of Traditional Knowledge and Practices:

The decline in reciprocal relationships also threatens the loss of traditional knowledge and practices that are essential for the sustainable management of natural resources and the well-being of peasant communities. These knowledge systems and practices have been developed and refined over generations, providing peasants with valuable tools and techniques for farming, fishing, and natural resource extraction. However, without the ongoing transmission of traditional knowledge through social relationships, these valuable resources are at risk of being lost. As older generations pass away or move away from rural communities, the younger generations may not have access to these traditional practices, leading to a decline in agricultural productivity and the erosion of traditional ecosystems.

Several social scientists have emphasized the significance of social capital for livelihood development and security, particularly in rural communities in developing countries. In their landmark study, Chambers and Conway (1991) emphasized the importance of social relations and the participation of rural individuals in sustaining livelihood strategies. Helliwell and Putnam (2005) further argued that smooth functioning of social relations and reciprocal relationships are essential for the well-being of people. In a recent report by the High Level Panel of Experts (HLPE) in 2013, social capital was seen as an investment to ensure smooth functioning of agricultural activities and food security in developing countries. Harris (2001), Mayer and Rankin (2002), Magnani and Struffi (2009), and Hayden & Buck (2012) have also emphasized social capital for community development and overall well-being of the farming community. Hence, the importance of strong social capital for the Bangladesh perspective, particularly for the peasantry, cannot be ignored.

Therefore, the importance of strong social capital for the Bangladesh perspective, particularly for the peasantry, cannot be ignored. Thus, it is high time to take initiative to restore social capital for peasant community so that agrarian relations and agricultural production systems sustain.

Conclusion:-

The study examines changes in social capital among Bangladeshi peasants over the past decade, focusing on social relations and reciprocal arrangements. It seeks to understand the impact of these changes on rural societies and peasant well-being.

Social relationship patterns among peasants have become more distant, particularly with the local elites. However, the overall relationship between peasants and their neighbors and villagers remains relatively stable, with a majority

reporting a closeness ranging from somewhat close to very close. Economic inequality, politically biased hierarchical structures, and discrimination in accessing education, healthcare, and job opportunities contribute to the increasing distance between different groups. Reciprocal relationships, both in terms of goods and services, have decreased for a majority of peasants, with a noticeable decline in exchanges experienced. An individualistic mindset, changing socioeconomic dynamics, lack of trust, and the changing economic landscape are identified as factors contributing to the decline in reciprocal relationships among peasants.

Rural communities in Bangladesh have been traditionally characterized by strong social cohesion and solidarity, but the loss of reciprocal relationships has led to a decline in social capital, access to resources, and transmission of traditional knowledge. This threatens the well-being of these communities, making it essential to restore social capital for agrarian relations and agricultural production systems to sustain.

References:-

1. Asaduzzaman, M. (2021, March 26). Agriculture in Bangladesh: The last and the next fifty years. The Daily Star. <https://www.thedailystar.net/supplements/celebrating-50-years-bangladesh/news/agriculture-bangladesh-the-last-and-the-next-fifty-years-2066689>
2. BBS (Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics). 2022. Yearbook of Agricultural Statistics-2021. Dhaka: Ministry of Planning, GoB. www.bbs.gov.bd
3. Berresaw, M. K. et al. (2013). Adoption of interrelated sustainable agricultural practices in smallholder systems: Evidence from rural Tanzania. *Technological Forecasting and Social Change*, 80(3):525–540. DOI:10.1016/j.techfore.2012.08.007
4. Bhalla, G. S., & Singh, I. (2019). Agricultural Mechanization in Punjab, India: Challenges and Opportunities. *International Journal of Engineering and Advanced Technology*, 8(6), 1825-1832.
5. Borras, S. M. (2009). Agrarian Change and Peasant Studies: Changes, Continuities and Challenges – an Introduction. *The Journal of Peasant Studies*, 36(1), 5-31.
6. Coleman J. (1988). Social capital in the creation of human capital. *American Journal of Sociology*, 94 (9), 95–120.
7. Chambers, R., & Conway, G. (1991). Sustainable Rural Livelihoods: Practical Concepts for the 21st Century. IDS discussion paper. <https://www.ids.ac.uk/files/Dp296.pdf>
8. Edelman, M. (2008). Transnational Organising in Agrarian Central America: Histories, Challenges, Prospects. *Journal of Agrarian Change*, 8(2 & 3), 229-257.
9. Ellis. F. (1994). *Peasant Economics: Farm Households and Agrarian Development*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
10. Ellis, F. (2000). The Determinants of Rural Livelihood Diversification in Developing Countries. *Journal of Agricultural Economics*, 51(2), 289-302.
11. Ellis, L., Hoskin, A. W., & Ratnasingam, M. (2018). *Handbook of Social Status Correlates*. London: Elsevier Inc.
12. Fan, S., Brzeska, J., Keyzer, M. A., & Halsema, G. V. (2019). Agricultural Mechanization and Nonfarm Labor Supply in Rural China. *Agricultural Economics*, 50(4), 503-515.
13. Fafchamps, M. & Minten, B. (2001). Social Capital and Agricultural Trade. *American Journal of Agricultural Economics*, 83(3), 680-685.
14. Field, J. (2003). *Social capital*. London: Routledge.
15. Fukuyama, F. 1995. *Trust: The social virtues and the creation of prosperity*. London: Hamish Hamilton.
16. Gautam, M. et al. (2016). Dynamics of Rural Growth in Bangladesh: Sustaining Poverty Reduction. World Bank. <http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/951091468198235153/Dynamics-of-rural-growth-in-Bangladesh-sustaining-poverty-reduction>
17. Harris, J. (2001). *Depoliticizing development: the world bank and social capital*. London: Anthem Press.
18. Hayden, J., & Buck, D. (2012). Doing community supported agriculture: tactile space, affect and effects of membership. *Geoforum*, 43 (2), 332–341.
19. Helliwell, J. F., & Putnam, R. D. (2005). The Social Context of Well-being. In F.A. Huppert, N. Baylis, & B. Keverne (Eds.), *The Science of Well-being* (pp. 435-459). London: Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780198567523.003.0017>
20. HLPE. (2013). *Investing in Smallholder Agriculture for Food Security. A Report by the High Level Panel of Experts on Food Security and Nutrition of the Committee on World Food Security*. https://assets.fsnforum.fao.org/public/discussions/contributions/HLPE_V0_draft_-_Investing_in_SH_-_20-12-2012_1.pdf

21. Huntur, B. A. (2016). Social Capital: Models and Efforts to Build and Restore among Marginalized Individuals and Communities. In A.G. Greenberg, P.G. Thomas, & M. Bloom (Eds.), *Social Capital and Community Well-being*. New York: Springer.
22. Islam, R. (2017). The peasantry in Bangladesh: historical context and contemporary challenges. *The Journal of Peasant Studies*, 44(6), 1281-1303.
23. Islam, M. S., Islam, A. H. M. S., & Sato, M. (2022). Nexus Between Climatic Extremes and Household Expenditures in Rural Bangladesh: A Nationally Representative Panel Data Analysis. *Asia-Pacific Journal of Regional Science*, 7, 355–379. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s41685-022-00266-3>
24. Joarder, S. (2018). Dimensions of Smallholders' Coping to Drought in Bangladesh. *International Journal of Advanced Research*, 6(8), 588-596.
25. Joarder, M.S. & Islam, Z.A.I. (2024/2020). Major challenges of agricultural practices in northwestern Bangladesh: Peasants' perspectives. *Rajshahi University Journal of Social Science and Business Studies*, 28 (2020), 70-76.
26. Khan, S. R., Rifaqat, Z., & Kazmi, S. (2007). *Harnessing and Guiding Social Capital for Rural Development*. England: Palgrave Macmillan.
27. Kirori, G. N. (2015). *Social Capital as a Strategy for Promoting Rural Livelihoods: Case for Kenya*. Birmingham: Progressive Academic Publishing.
28. Knowles, S. (2006). *Is Social Capital Part of the Institutions Continuum and is it a Deep Determinant of Development?* Nottingham: Centre for Research in Economic Development and International Trade.
29. Kilpatrick, S., & Bell, R. (1998). *Support networks and trust: how social capital facilitates economic outcomes for small businesses*. Discussion paper D17/1998. Launceston: Centre for Research and Learning in Regional Australia
30. Madalgi, S. S. (1969). Small Farmers: Problems of Identification. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 4(13), A37–A40.
31. Magdoff, F., Foster, J. B., & Buttel, F. H. (2000). *Hungry for Profit: The Agribusiness Threat to Farmers, Food and the Environment*. New York: The Monthly Review Press.
32. Magnani, N., & Struffi, L. (2009). Translation sociology and social capital in rural development initiatives: a case study from the Italian Alps. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 25, 231–238
33. Mayer, M., & Rankin, K. (2002). Social capital and (community) development: a North/South perspective. *Antipode*, 34 (4), 804–808
34. Misra, M. (2016). Is Peasantry Dead? Neoliberal Reforms, the State and Agrarian Change in Bangladesh. *The Journal of Agrarian Change*, 17(3), 594-611.
35. Mottaleb, K., & Mohanty, S. (2015). Farm Size and Profitability of Rice Farming Under Rising Input Costs. *Journal of Land Use Science*, 10(3), 243-255.
36. Mujeri, M. K., & Mujeri, N. (2021). Bangladesh's Rural Transformation. In: M.K. Mujeri & N. Mujeri (Eds.), *Structural Transformation of Bangladesh Economy*. South Asia Economic and Policy Studies (pp. 117-170). Singapore: Springer.
37. Narayan, D. & Pritchett, L. (1999). Cents and sociability: Household income and social capital in rural Tanzania. *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, 47(4), 871-897.
38. Nyangena, W. (2007). Social determinants of soil and water conservation in rural Kenya. *Environment Development and Sustainability*, 10(6):745-767. DOI:10.1007/s10668-007-9083-6
39. Noman, A. N. K., & Joarder, M. S. (2011). Agricultural Transformation, Climate Change and Issues of Food Security in Bangladesh. *Bangladesh Economic Studies*, 13, 139-168.
40. Putnam R. D. (1993). *Making democracy work: civic traditions in modern Italy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
41. Pretty, J. and Smith, D. 2004. Social Capital in Biodiversity Conservation and Management. *Conservation Biology*, 18 (3), 613-638.
42. Rahman, A. (2014). Differentiation of Peasantry and Capitalist Development in Agriculture of Bangladesh. In M.K Mujeri (Ed.), *Development Constraints and Realisations* (pp. 33-97). Dhaka: The University Press Limited.
43. Rapsomanikis, G. (2015). *The Economic Lives of Smallholder Farmers: An Analysis based on Household Data from Nine Countries*. Rome: Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations.
44. Rouf, K. A., Ali, M. L., & Saifullah, M. (2015). Peasants Socio-Economic Scenarios and Technology use Dynamics in Bangladesh. *Global Journal of Human-Social Science*, 15(1), 41-54. https://globaljournals.org/GJHSS_Volume15/5-Peasants-Socio-Economic-Scenarios.pdf

45. Shiferaw, B. A., Okello, J., & Reddy, R. V. (2009). Adoption and adaptation of natural resource management innovations in smallholder agriculture: reflections on key lessons and best practices. *Environ Dev Sustain*, 11:601–619. DOI: 10.1007/s10668-007-9132-1
46. Sorensen, C. (2000). *Social capital and rural development: a discussion issue*. Washington DC: World Bank.
47. Sourisseau, Jean-Michel et al. (2018). Introduction. In Bosc, Pierre-Marie et al. (Eds.), *Diversity of Family Farming Around the World* (pp. 1-9). Switzerland: Springer in association with Éditions Quæ, France. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-024-1617-6>
48. Swinton, S., & Quiroz, R. (2003). Is Poverty to Blame for Soil, Pasture and Forest Degradation in Peru's Altiplano? *World Development*, 31 (11), 1903–1919.
49. Thapa, G., & Gaiha, R. (2014). Smallholder Farming in Asia and the Pacific: Challenges and Opportunities. In P. Hazell & A. Rahman (Eds.), *New Directions for Smallholder Agriculture* (pp. 69-114). United Kingdom: Oxford University Press.
50. van der Ploeg, J. D. (2023). *The Sociology of Farming: Concepts and Methods*. New York: Routledge.
51. Wiesinger, G. (2007). The importance of social capital in rural development, networking and decision-making in rural areas. *Journal of Alpine Research*, 95(4),43-56. <http://rga.revues.org/354>
52. Woolcock, M., & Narayan, D. (2000). Social Capital: Implications for Development Theory, Research, and Policy. *The World Bank Research Observer*, 15(2):225-49. DOI:10.1093/wbro/15.2.225
53. Woolcock, M., & Sweetser, A.T. (2007). *Social Capital: The Bonds that Connect*. Asian Development Bank (ADB), Manila.