

Sustainable Rural Livelihoods Resources

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Abstract

The sustainable livelihoods approach is a perspective which promotes the importance of developing deep understanding about the way the poor and vulnerable live their lives and the importance of policies and institutions in the choices they make regarding their livelihood. It helps formulate development activities that are people-centered; responsive and participatory; multilevel; conducted in partnership with the public and private sectors; and presents dynamic and sustainable qualities. With this approach towards development, the concept of 'sustainable rural livelihoods (SRL)' is increasingly central to the debate about rural development, poverty reduction and environmental management. Chambers and Conway (1992) have defined SRL as "A livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets and activities required for a means of living. A livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks, and maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets both now and in the future, while not undermining the natural resource base." Later in the year 2000, Ellis included the term 'institutions' and stated that "A livelihood comprises the assets, the activities and the access to these mediated by policies and institutions that together determine the living gained by the individual or household." In development economics and the widely-used Sustainable Livelihoods Framework, these resources are typically categorized into five key types of capital: 1. Natural Capital the natural resource stocks from which resource flows and services useful for livelihoods are derived. Examples: Land, soil, water, forests, air quality, and biodiversity. 2. Social Capital the social resources upon which people draw in pursuit of their livelihood objectives. Examples: Networks, membership in formalized groups, relationships of trust, and access to wider institutions of society. 3. Human Capital the skills, knowledge, ability to work, and good health that together enable people to pursue different livelihood strategies. Examples: Formal education, vocational training, physical health, and practical labor capacity. 4. Physical Capital The basic infrastructure and producer goods needed to support livelihoods. Examples: Affordable transport, secure shelter, water supply and sanitation, access to information (communications), and tools/equipment. 5. Financial Capital the financial resources that are available to people and provide them with different livelihood options. Examples: Savings, available credit/debt, regular remittances, pensions, and wages. Why are they important? - If we discuss about these importance then it is very importance for us because When vulnerable communities have access to a healthy balance of these assets, they are more resilient to external threats (like droughts or job losses) and can sustainably lift themselves out of poverty. Organizations like the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) use these resource categories to design policies that promote both environmental conservation and economic.

Keywords: Sustainable Livelihoods Approach, Importance, Vulnerable, Development, Resources.

Introduction

The sustainable livelihoods approach is a perspective which promotes the importance of developing deep understanding about the way the poor and vulnerable live their lives and the importance

of policies and institutions in the choices they make regarding their livelihood. It helps formulate development activities that are people-centered; responsive and participatory; multilevel; conducted in partnership with the public and private sectors; and presents dynamic and sustainable qualities. With this approach towards development, the concept of 'sustainable rural livelihoods (SRL)' is increasingly central to the debate about rural development, poverty reduction and environmental management. This chapter will reflect on the operation a implications of a Sustainable livelihood approaches along with definitions, framework, strategies and outcomes.

Chambers and Conway (1992) have defined SRL as "A livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets and activities required for a means of living. A livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks, and maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets both now and in the future, while not undermining the natural resource base." Later in the year 2000, Ellis included the term 'institutions' and stated that "A livelihood comprises the assets, the activities and the access to these mediated by policies and institutions that together determine the living gained by the individual or household."

The framework of sustainable livelihoods and elaborates on its different elements are following;

Livelihoods Framework: Key Elements

Sustainable livelihoods framework links various components such as contexts, resources, institutions, and livelihood strategies required for sustainable livelihood outcomes (Figure 6.1). It highlights resources that constrain or enhance livelihood opportunities and their relation to one another. It further illustrates the importance of institutions and contexts in understanding the livelihoods of the poor and the marginalized (Serrate, 2017). A central notion is that different households have differential access to livelihood assets, and this shapes their wellbeing outcomes, alongside impacts on sustainability.

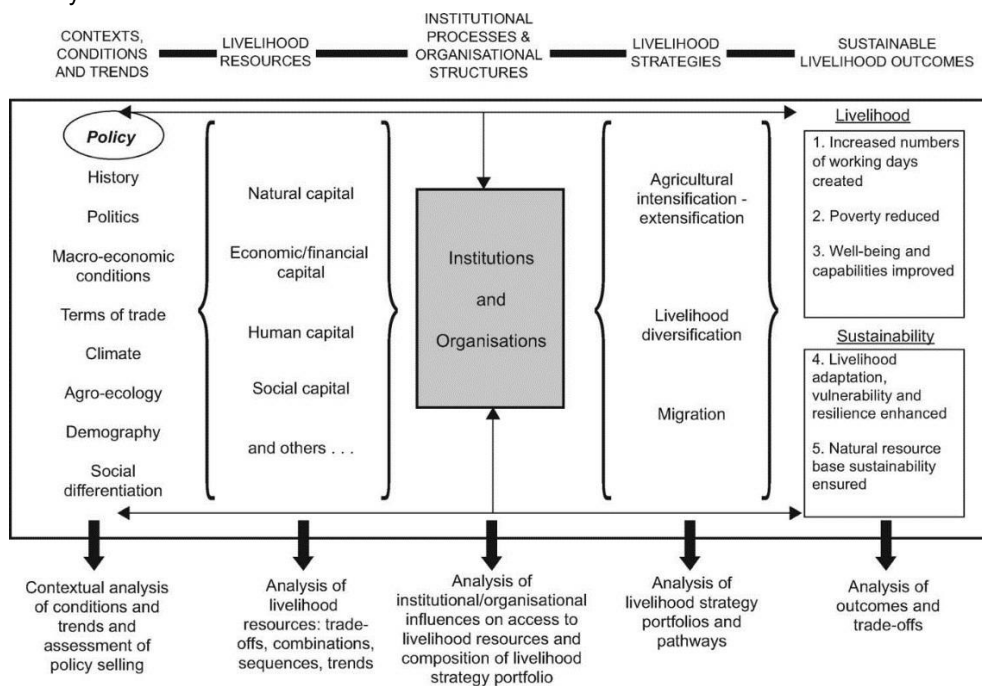


Figure 1: Sustainable Livelihoods Framework (Scoones, 1998)

Contexts with regard to Vulnerability

The concept of vulnerability is deeply associated with natural hazards and poverty. Balkier et al., (1994) define vulnerability as the characteristics of a person or group in terms of their capacity to anticipate, cope with, resist, and recover from the impact of a natural hazard. It involves a combination of factors that determine the degree to which someone's life and livelihood is put at risk by a discrete and identifiable event in nature or in society. Vulnerability assessment is therefore a powerful analytical tool in

assessing the existing condition of susceptibility to harm, powerlessness, and marginality of both physical and socio-ecological systems.

The vulnerability context refers to the risks people face in the internal and external environment in which they live. This includes trends such as national or international economic trends, changes in available technology, political systems, shocks such as illness or death, conflict, weather and seasonality of prices, production cycles, and so on. The vulnerability context is important because the three factors of trend, shocks and seasonality have a direct impact upon people's asset status and the options that are open to them in pursuit of beneficial livelihood outcomes. Wider economic conditions can create more or fewer opportunities; an illness in the family can deprive a family of an important source of income and can force them to sell assets that they have built up. Seasonal shifts in prices, production and employment opportunities are one of the most enduring sources of hardship for poor people all over the world.

Livelihood analysis does not have to be extensive to be effective. Rather it has to develop a full understanding of all dimensions of the vulnerability context, with an aim to identify those trends, shocks, and aspects of seasonality that are of particular importance to livelihoods. Effort can then be concentrated on understanding the impact to these factors and how their negative impacts can be minimized. This requires a prior understanding of the nature of local livelihoods involving the types of livelihood strategies employed by local people and the factors constraining them from achieving their objectives. Such understanding is gained by doing a social analysis that helps to identify particular social groups and their relationships with various other factors within the vulnerability context. In identifying heavy workload periods, periods of relative ease, credit crunch, diseases, food security, and wage availability among people of different social groups. These seasonal calendars are also useful in planning the timings for implementing various programmes and activities by identifying busy and lean periods of a community.

- **Livelihood Resources/Assets**

The idea of assets is central to the sustainable livelihoods approach. Rather than understanding poverty as simply a lack of income, the sustainable livelihoods approach considers the assets that poor people need in order to sustain an adequate income to live. Five types of assets, or capitals, have been identified that we all and not just the poor need to make a living. These are outlined below:

- **Human capital** includes skills, knowledge, the ability to work and good health. Good health is not simply a means to earning a livelihood; it is also an end.
- **Social capital** comprises of social resources that people draw on to make a living, such as relationships either with more powerful people (vertical connections), with people like themselves (horizontal connections), or membership of groups or organizations. Generally, relationships of trust, reciprocity and exchange are the relationships that the poor can draw on times of need. Like human capital, social capital has an intrinsic value; good social relationships are not simply a means, they are an end in themselves. Coleman (1988) describes social capital as 'the structure of relations between actors and among actors' that encourages productive activities.
- **Natural capital** comprises of access to a range of natural resources such as land, water, soil, forest, wildlife, fauna, aquatic resources, grazing and biodiversity including agro-biodiversity. Natural capital generates required ecosystem services (pollination services, nutrient cycling, erosion protection etc.) that are essential for the well-being of the humans and eco-systems.
- **Physical capital** includes the basic infrastructure that people need to make a living, as well as the tools and equipment that they use. For example, transport and communication systems, shelter, water and sanitation systems, and energy contribute to physical capital.
- **Financial capital** includes savings, in whichever form such as cash, term deposits, jewellery and property, access to financial services, and regular inflows of money.

More the assets a household has access to, less vulnerable will that household be to the negative effect so trends, shocks and seasonality, and the more secure will their livelihood be. Increase in one type of capital often leads to increase in other types of capital, for example, as people become educated (increase in human capital) they may get a better job which earns them more money (increase in financial capital) which in turn means that they are able to upgrade their home and facilities (increase

in physical capital). Sometimes, however, one form of capital decreases as other increases. This could be true in cases where a person or household sells their land to migrate to a city.

- **Institutions**

Institutions, organizations, government policies and legislation shape livelihoods and can change both the vulnerability context and the livelihood assets to which poor people have access. Institutions/organizations operate at multiple levels, from the household to the international arena, and in all spheres, from the most private to the most public. They effectively determine access to various types of capital, livelihood strategies, and decision-making bodies and sources of influence. They also affect the terms of exchange between different types of capital, and economic returns or any other returns to a given livelihood strategy. In addition, they have a direct impact up on whether people are able to achieve a feeling of inclusion and well-being. For instance, SHGs credit-linked with financial institutions such as MFIs (Micro-Finance Institutions), Co-operative

Banks and Public Sector Banks enable its members to achieve financial inclusion. Also, as culture is very much included in the livelihood patterns of people, organizations such as NGOs and CBOs, or institutions of local governance such as Panchayats, or even marriage rules and norms account for different ways in which things are done in different societies.

Institutions are defined as 'regularized practices (or patterns of behavior) structured by rules and norms of society which have persistent and wide spread use' (Giddens, 1979). Institutions may thus be both formal and informal. Power relations are embedded within institutional forms, making contestation over institutional practices, rules and norms important. Institutions are also dynamic, continually being shaped and reshaped over time. They are thus a part of the process of social negotiation, rather than fixed 'objects' or 'bounded social systems'.

Institutions play an important role in framing government policies and practice of development for sustainable livelihoods. They also influence livelihoods by shaping people's abilities to pursue combination of strategies, identification of restrictions/barriers and opportunities to meeting sustainable livelihood outcomes. Understanding of institutions and organizations is therefore key to designing interventions which improve sustainable livelihood outcomes.

- **Livelihood Strategies**

The context of vulnerability, the resources available, and the institutional structures and processes contribute to the final mix of livelihood strategies adopted by individuals and households. These range from coping with everyday survival to achieving a degree of security, or being able to achieve growth.

The sustainable livelihoods framework identifies following three broad clusters of livelihood strategies:

- **Agricultural intensification/intensification** - This livelihood strategy opens a range of options for rural people and enables them to gain a more secure livelihood from agriculture including lives to careering, aquaculture, forestry etc. The strategy focuses on the processes of intensification. e., more output per unit area through increased capital or labour investments, and intensification i.e. acquiring more land under cultivation. Intensification strategies can either consist of replacing traditional crops or agricultural inputs with new high yield varieties, requiring improved technology. Green Revolution in India that took place in the 1960s is an example of agricultural intensification where high yielding varieties of wheat, better irrigation facilities and technologies, fertilizers, and pesticides were used to increase agricultural production.

However, intensification can only work when market and societal conditions enable farmers to sell their produce at a price that compensates the increased cost of production deriving from the use of high yielding inputs (FAO, 2002).

- **Livelihood diversification**-Another livelihood strategy is diversification where rural people diversify to a range of off-farm and non-farm income earning activities. Diversification helps rural people to cope with temporary adversity or to move towards more permanent adaptation of livelihood activities, when farming activities are failing to provide a sustainable livelihood. Diversification involves developing a wide income earning portfolio so isotope with all types of shocks or stress. Further, diversification may also involve calingupor value

addition, especially aim edit small holders. In the farm sector, value addition can be plugged into various aspects of the value chain, such as storing, drying, and cooling, energy supply, irrigation, agro-processing, cooking, food processing, transport, and marketing. These value additions not only create jobs and improve household income, but a higher price is fetched for value-add products.

- **Migration** - Migration has become a major livelihood strategy, within and between countries, especially in there a of globalization. The causes of migration are several, including the pulls of urbanization, or the push of degradation of natural resources, increasing climate shocks, decreased interest in agricultural production, and changing demographic patterns, including youth aspirations. These causes are also mediated by the social, human and physical capital that individuals and groups have access to, and these in turn shape the patterns of movement as well as its outcomes. Uma Kothari (2003) has unpacked the role of different capitals including human, physical, cultural, and political, amongst others, in shaping decisions around who moves and who stays. She established the interlink ages of these capitals and their influence on the type of migration. Kotharial so highlights that family responsibilities of women may influence the form and extent of their economic and political capital which further shapes the duration and distance of their movement.

• **Sustainable Livelihood Outcomes**

Livelihood outcomes can be viewed as achievements or outputs of livelihood strategies, such as more income, increased well-being, reduced vulnerability, improved food security and a more sustainable use of natural resources.

The livelihood outcomes are evaluated on the following aspects:

- **Creation of working days** – A particular combination of livelihood strategies resulting in creation of gainful employment for a certain portion of the year. This may be on-farm or off-farm, part of a wage lab our system, or subsistence production.
- **Poverty reduction** – Reduced poverty level is a key criterion in the assessment of livelihood outcomes. Indicators of poverty reduction include improved income levels of poor and non-poor, greater household food security, improved basic needs (shelter, health), changes in income distribution and decreases in inequities, diversification of income sources, increased access to public goods and services, increased yields, and changes in consumption and diet.
- **Well-being and capabilities** - With regards to sustainable outcomes, Robert Chambers provided a wider definition of livelihoods to include self-esteem, security, and happiness, lack of stress, vulnerability and exclusion, in addition to conventionally measurable material concerns. **Amartya Sen** also added the concept of 'capabilities' in understanding livelihood outcomes. These concepts encompass far more than the material concerns such as food intake or income. According to Sen., the concept of capability is more than the human capital and allows people to do things they value; pointing to the intrinsic value of human 'capability'-what people can door be with their entitlements. Chambers argues that such a well-being approach to poverty and livelihood analysis may allow people themselves to define the criteria which are important to them.
- **Livelihood adaptation, vulnerability and resilience**–The ability of a livelihood to be able to cope with and recover from stresses and shocks is central to the definition of sustainable livelihoods. Such resilience in the face of stresses and shocks is key to both livelihood adaptation and coping (Davies, 1996). Those who are unable to cope (temporary adjustments in the face of change) or adapt (longer term shifts in livelihood strategies) are inevitably vulnerable and unlikely to achieve sustainable livelihoods. Indicators of increased resilience and reduction in vulnerability are – reduction in frequency and severity of shocks, increase in risk preparedness, increased capacity to cope with, prepare for and adapt to natural or economic shocks and seasonality.
- **Natural resource base sustainability**–Most rural livelihoods are reliant on the natural resource base at least to some extent. Natural resource base sustainability refers to the ability of a system to maintain productivity when subject to 'stresses (a small, regular,

predictable disturbance with a cumulative effect), or a 'shock', (a large infrequent, unpredictable disturbance with immediate impact). This implies the balance between the decline in natural resources and their ability to continue to yield livelihood products and services (Scones, 1998).

The Importance of Social Capital to Livelihoods-

Social and Cultural Capital

- **Social Capital** - The term social capital captures the idea that social bonds and social norms are an important basis for sustainable livelihoods. Agro-based communities prominently sustain their farming activities based on their social capital. For instance, a farmer's family may support in weeding operation of his friend's farm and vice versa. Similarly, two families may share the same harvesting machine during crop harvesting.

Social capital is built on four central aspects which include: relations of trust; reciprocity and exchanges; common rules, norms and sanctions; and connectedness, networks and groups.

- **Relations of trust** - Trust facilitates co-operation. It reduces the transaction costs between people, and so frees resources. The trust could be on individuals one knows, or it could be on those whom one does not know, but it arises because of their confidence in a known social structure.
- **Reciprocity and exchanges** - Reciprocity and exchanges enhance social capital. There are two types of reciprocity-specific reciprocity referring to simultaneous exchanges of items of roughly equal value, and diffuse reciprocity referring to a continuing relationship of exchange that at any given time may be unrequited, but over time is repaid and balanced.
- **Common rules, norms and sanctions** - Common rules, norms and sanctions are the mutually agreed or handed-down norms of behavior that place group interests above those of individuals. They give individuals the confidence to invest in collective or group activities, knowing that others will do so too. Individuals can take responsibility and ensure their rights are not infringed. Mutually-agreed sanctions ensure that those who break the rules are punished. Formal rules are those set out by authorities, such as laws and regulations, while informal ones are those which individuals use to shape their own every day behavior. Norms are, by contrast, preferences and indicate how individuals should act; rules are stipulations of behavior with positive and/or negative sanctions. A high level of social capital implies high 'internal morality' with individuals balancing individual rights with collective responsibilities (Etzioni, 1995).
- **Connectedness, networks and groups** - Connectedness, networks, and groups and the nature of relationships therein are a vital aspect of social capital. There may be many different types of connection between groups (trading of goods, exchange of information, mutual help, provision of loans, common celebrations (prayer, marriages, funerals)). They may be one-way or two-way, and may be long-established (and so not responsive to current conditions), or subject to regular update (Pretty, 2001).
- **Cultural capital** - Culture is seen as a set of attitudes, practices and beliefs that are fundamental to the functioning of different societies. Culture is expressed in a particular society's values and customs, which evolve over time as they are transmitted from one generation to another (Throsby, 1995). Cultural capital then comprises the social assets of a person (education, intellect, style of speech, style of dress, etc.). It is the accumulation of knowledge, behaviors, and skills that a person can tap into to demonstrate one's cultural competence and social status (Harker, 1990; Barker, 2004). These assets allow the person/individual to move from one strata to another in a given society (Harper and Samson, 2009). There are three types of cultural capital: embodied capital; objectified capital, and institutionalized capital (Bourdieu, 1986). *Embodied cultural capital* comprises the knowledge that is consciously acquired and passively inherited, by socialization to culture and tradition. *Objectified cultural capital* comprises the person's property (e.g., a work of art, scientific instruments, etc.) that can be transmitted for economic profit (buying-and-selling). Objectified cultural capital can also signal an individual's economic class.

Institutionalized cultural capital comprises an institution's formal recognition of a person's cultural capital, usually academic credentials or professional qualifications.

As discussed in section 6.2, education is a form of human capital. However, it can also be a form of cultural capital. The difference between human and cultural capital resides in how the 'capital' benefits its owner. Human capital increases the owner's productivity; they get rewarded with higher salary. In contrast, cultural capital conveys social recognition and acceptability on the strength of which people get desirable jobs, marriages, and business contacts. Therefore, the same diploma has value as human capital and as cultural capital; and the difference depends on whether we emphasize the real vocational competencies that diploma represents or the prestige recognition it commands. When a person's education has bestowed both enhanced productivity and prestige recognition, that person has two forms of capital (human and cultural), both of which transmute into money and social networks.

Relationship Between Livelihood Capitals

• The Role of Agrobiodiversity

This section takes up the case of agro-biodiversity to understand the relationship between livelihood resources, namely, natural capital, physical capital, human capital, and social and cultural capital. Agro-biodiversity (Agricultural biodiversity) comprises of the variety and variability of plants, animals and microorganisms at Genetic, Species and Ecosystem levels which are necessary to sustain key functions in the agro-ecosystem, its structures and processes for, and in support of, food production and food and nutrition security (FAO, 1999). In the above definition of agro-biodiversity, genetic diversity reflects the biological variations that occur within species such as different varieties with in paddy (rice crop) like IR8, IR20, IR50 etc. The diversity of species reflects the variety of species of plants, insects, animals, bacteria etc., and ecosystem diversity denotes the diversity of non-harvested species that support production (soil micro-organisms, predators, pollinators), and that support agro-ecosystems (agricultural, pastoral, forest and aquatic) in a wider context.

Agro-biodiversity is a subset of biodiversity (as shown in Figure 6.2) that supports food and economic requirements of the community and is a Fundamental feature of any farming system (Thrupp, 1997). As natural capital is crucial for the communities directly dependent on agriculture, animal husbandry, fishing etc. for their livelihoods, the agro-biodiversity is an important natural capital for farmers, especially for the farmers who are resource-poor, and solely depend on farming for their livelihoods.

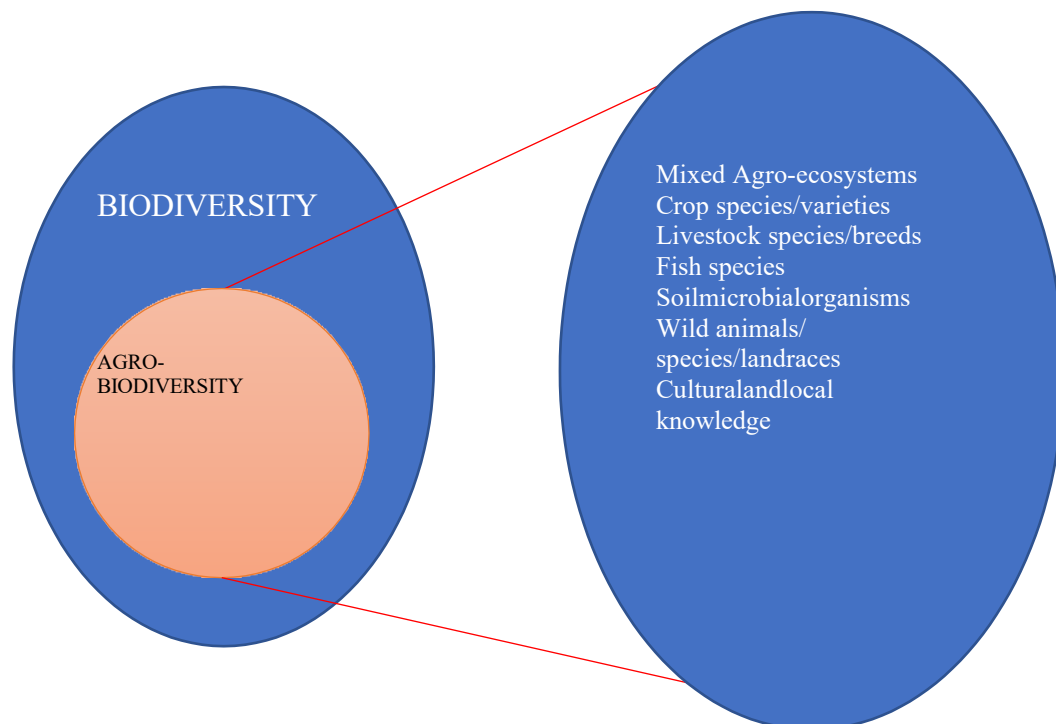


Figure 2: Agro-bio diversity and its components

- **Benefits of Agro Biodiversity**

Apart from providing livelihoods to farmers, agro-bio diversity helps in building resilient production systems; provisioning of diverse ecosystems services such as pollination, soil fertility, pest management and water retention; providing stability to species' diversity; serving as a pool for genetic resources for future crop developments; nurturing self-reliance and localization of food systems and reducing risks in farming.

In the context of nutrition, agro-biodiversity provides the following three major benefits: (i) foods both cultivated and wild, which contribute to adequate dietary diversity and quality, (ii) a safety net from seasonal food shortages and hunger during lean agriculture season—for instance, tribal communities depend on wild yam/mushrooms/wild animals or birds, and (iii) a reserve for genetic resources that help in future crop development—for example bio fortified varieties – Zinc rich paddy variety – DRR Dhan 45, DRR Dhan 48 and DRR Dhan 49, Dhanashakti and iron rich pearl millet variety.

- **Livelihood Capitals and there Interaction with Agro-biodiversity**

- **Human Capital** - Agro-biodiversity which is a natural capital interacts closely with human capital. In a sustainable agro-biodiversity management system, local knowledge is an important human capital that results in varied context-specific livelihoods strategies and outcomes. Hence, understanding such local knowledge is crucial to build the systems required for sustainable livelihood outcomes, asset encompasses life experiences and skills which have been constantly tested in the local context for long periods of time across different seasonal conditions.

Human Capital of women in their role as food providers and producers plays a key role in managing agro-biodiversity as they are traditional care takers of crop and animal genetic diversity in agriculture. Due to their close interaction with different species for functional use in ensuring household food and nutrition, they have gained deep knowledge and skills in its management. Their unique role in the management of home gardens, varietal selection, seed networks are crucial in agro biodiversity management. For instance, women are the lead players in small millets cultivation, as they have unique knowledge in maintaining different varieties, storing seeds and contributing to informal seed networks. However, their contributions in plant genetic resource management have not been widely recognized. The gap in documentation of such knowledge systems results in inequalities in benefit-sharing. Considering women's skills and strong knowledge of agro biodiversity management, they should be made part of food and nutrition related programmes such as millet development, as in the above example. Recently, both government and non-governmental organizations have been developing gender-sensitive models to pursue such ecological skills in agro biodiversity management.

- **Physical capital** – Similar to human capital, physical capital also interacts closely with then at rural capital of agro-biodiversity. Physical capital consists of necessary infrastructure and tool sand technology for livelihood activities. Here access to the infrastructure and tools are crucial in the management of agro-biodiversity. Specifically, access to land, necessary technology (both traditional and modern) and farm machinery, helps resource poor producers to improve their production and develop innovative ideas to nurture such diverse resources. Use of rain water harvesting systems, tube wells, tractors, threshing and harvesting machines, irrigation facilities, and so on, constitute physical capital and contributes to sustainable agro-biodiversity management systems.

- **Changing Livelihood Capital –A Challenge to Agro-biodiversity**

Besides 'context, conditions and trends' which include demography, climate change, globalization, macro-economy, trade policies, socio-politics, science and technology, and land use changes; changing livelihood capitals have also been drivers of biodiversity loss.

At present, the heterogeneity which is characteristic of agro biodiversity has been declining at afastrate. In over 100 years of agricultural practice; more than 75% of plant genetic diversity has been lost in crops (species and genetic diversity). The FAO (1999) has indicated that out of the 2,50,000 to 3,00,000 known edible plant species, only 150-200 are consumed by humans, of which rice, maize and wheat contribute 60% of calories and proteins. 75% of the food is derived from only 12 plants and 5 animal species and 30% of livestock breeds are at risk of extinction. with six breed sloes teach month. Such a loss in the genetic sources having also adversely affected the associated human knowledge which is crucial for addressing malnutrition and adaptation to environmental changes.

The factors responsible for biodiversity loss due to changing livelihood capitals are:

- Loss of traditional knowledge and practices that promote agro-biodiversity due to changes in agrarian relations and land use systems. In the absence of Traditional knowledge, people have adopted new cropping systems and crop rotations towards monocultures which reduce the on-farm diversity even among small holders and geographically isolated farming systems.
- Changing social and cultural capital leading to rapid changes in the values placed on foods – e.g., dominant cereals are given greater value. Rice and wheat available in the Public Distribution System discourage families from cultivating millets, leading to changes in dietary and food practices. At the same time, many youths do not associate themselves with agriculture and move out of farming. Migration of men and women has led to the disruption in the cultivation of crops and practices that nurture agro biodiversity.
- Declining social capital disabling the sharing of labour, inputs, outputs at the village level has adversely affected the management of agro biodiversity at the systems level. Example softened networks among farmers that helped to exchange high quality seed materials of traditional varieties and crops, are now lost.

Summary

Rather than understanding poverty as simply a lack of income, the sustainable livelihoods approach considers the assets that poor people need in order to sustain an adequate income to live; social, human, physical, natural and financial capital. SRL further highlights the importance of access to common property resources (forest produce, pond, grazing land etc) that help poor people deal with vulnerabilities.

Conclusion

Sustainable Rural Livelihood (SRL) recognizes rural people not just as farmers but also equal partners and participants in the larger context of livelihoods and rural development. It focuses on understanding vulnerability and on the role of assets in coping with vulnerability, building livelihood strategies, alongside sustainable resource management. It aims at making various livelihood outcomes sustainable and rooted in the concept of wellbeing and capabilities.

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