The Economic Journal of Nepal, Vol. 23, No. 4, Issue 92, Octo.-December, 2000 © DOE-TU

Institutional Credit for the Rural Poor: A Study on Grameen Bank in Bangladesh

Syed Zabid Hossain*

Mohammad Main Uddin**

INTRODUCTION

Bangladesh, a country of hundred and ten million people, is often cited as an international basket case by many in the western world because the country is steeped in deep poverty, which is particularly concertrated in the rural areas where more than 90 percent of the country's population live (Ray 1987) . It is one of the poorest country of the world. Per capita income was about 259 US Dollar in 1996 which is one of the lowest in the world (DDS 1996). Estimates based on the FAO recommendation of the normative minimum dietary intake show that more than 80 percent of the population in Bangladesh live below the poverty line (Ahmad 1984). Those who live below the poverty line right now are deprived of almost all human rights. "Poverty is a disgrace for entire mankind. Because we allow another human being to die of hunger, or malnutrition, or common curable diseases, or exposure to climate, we are reduced to lesser human being (Yunus 1991). The situation is more worse in case of women in a society like Bangladesh. They experience hunger, malnutrition and poverty in much more intense ways than men. They have to stay home and manage the family with virtually nothing to manage with. If anyone in the family has to starve, it has to be the mother.

Professor Yunus opined that "Development means positive change in the lives of the bottom half of the population" (Yunus 1991). This will imply that those economic actions/programmes/projects should be accepted as development actions/programmes/projects which can bring changes in the lives of the bottom fifty percent of the population. The most important factor in bringing a positive change in the lives of the bottom half of the population is the availability of the right type of productive resources including credit at the time it is actually needed. A poor man without access to income generating assets remains poor despite very hard labour. Unfortunately, rural poor do not have any income generating resources in their own possession and they have always been bypassed by almost all sources of services including the institutional sources of credit. Credit is a very powerful social and economic weapon. Anybody who has

* *Dr. Hossain is Associate Professor, Department of Accounting, Rajshahi University, Rajshahi, Bangladesh.*

** *Mr. Uddin is Assistant Professor, Department of Accounting, Rajshahi University, Rajshahi, Bangladesh.*

it moves up and anybody who does not have it moves down or stay down. Professor Yunus, therefore, called credit a basic human right.

The landless rural poor remained outside the umbrella of credit operation of the financial institutions because of the lack of collateral against which loans are issued. The collateral principle makes it clear that if you don't have it, you don't get it (Yunus 19994) Professor Yunus accused that "financial institutions have created a caste system throughout the world, by tying loans with physical collateral. If you are a Brahmin, a financial Brahmin, the bank would be interested in talking to you. If you are not in the right caste then you are not credit-worthy, meaning you are an untouchable" (Yunus 1994). Moreover, the cumbersome procedure of completing formalities for obtaining credit discourage the illiterate rural poor because they find difficulty to observe the formalities.

Recognising the gravity of the problems, Professor Yunus started, Grameen Bank Project as a small personal research project in 1976 at Jobra, a village near Chittagong University campus, with the hypothesis that it would not at all risky to extent credit to the landless rural poor who can not provide collateral. It struggled through several years, till September 1983, to grow into a bank owned by the poor, presently 90 percent of shares are owned by the landless borrowers and the remaining 10 percent by the Government of Bangladesh, for the poor. This rural bank provides credit and organisational support to the rural poor, particularly destitute women, 94 percent of the borrower are women (Yunus 1994) who are otherwise excluded from the formal credit system as they can not provide material collateral. This financial institution has replaced physical collateral requirements with group responsibility by organising poor individuals into groups, it has created the social and financial conditions enabling them to receive loans. The Grameen also promotes social development by making the poor individually and socially accountable. Such intermediation improves the productivity and income of the poor. This, in turn, also improves their loan repayment rate and, hence, contributes to the Grameen Bank's financial viability (Khander 1995). Its recovery rate is close to 98 percent within two years from the date of disbursement (Shams 1992). A number of organisations and countries all over the world are presently experimenting with the Grameen Bank model and many of them as for example Malaysia, the Philippines, Indonesia, SriLanka, Malawi, Nigeria, Canada and the United States have gone a long way in replicating the programme either partially or in full.

The objective of the present study is to examine and evaluate the growth and development of GB in Bangladesh over a period of 13 years, 1984) to 1996. The study is mainly based on secondary information from audited annual reports and other publications of Grameen Bank. Moreover, the researchers visited the area under Joylaskar Dagonbhuiyan Branch and met with 413 GB borrowers. They also met with some GB officials in this

regard. For the present study the collected primary information has also been used where necessary to supplement factual information.

GRAMEEN BANK : AN OVERVIEW OF THE CREDIT DELIVERY MODEL

A Grameen Bank branch is set up with one Branch Manager (BM), three male bank workers (BWs), three female bank workers (BWs), and one peon-cum-guard. The BM and BWs at first move around the villages and talk to the villagers informally to identify the prospective clientele and explain to them the purpose and mode of functioning of the Grameen Bank.

To get credit, intending poor borrowers of Grameen Bank are required to form a homogeneous group of five like-minded people of the same locality. Relatives or male and female members can not form one group. Only one member of a family having less than 50 decimals of cultivable land or whose assets value does not exceed the value of one acre of medium type land of a specific area, is eligible to be a member of a particular group. Each group elects a chairperson and a secretary, who are responsible for the discipline of group members. Both of them hold office for one year. All group members have a chance to be elected before office-holders can be re-elected. Each group must hold its weekly meetings where the group members practice, learn and discuss the rules of Grameen Bank and other group activities. Several groups normally five to eight groups in the same village form a centre and they find a convenient day and time to hold their weekly meeting jointly. All the group chairperson in a centre elect a *Centre-Chief* and a *Deputy Centre-Chief* from amongst themselves. Each member is required to attend all group and centre meetings. Each *Centre-Chief* and *Deputy-Chief* hold office for one year and new chief and deputy-chief is elected every year. If the *Centre-Chief* does not behave properly and act against the interest of the members or Grameen Bank, he or she can be replaced by a new chief.

The Bank Worker (BW) plays a vital role in forming groups, centres and in disbursement of loans and collection of repayments. He attends the centre meetings regularly, where loan proposals of individual members are discussed. Once a loan proposal is accepted, the sanctioned amount is disbursed by the BW in weekly meetings. He also collects weekly instalment of the repayments. Thus with Grameen Bank, the poor borrowers do not have to come to the bank, instead the bank goes to the poor borrowers.

Once a new group is formed it is kept under observation for two or three weeks to see if the members are obeying the rules and procedure of the bank. During that period the BW teachs them to put signature. Moreover, the Group members have to make small savings deposits of Tk. 1 per week. After the observation period is over, two members of a group

are given credit. They are allowed to use their loan amount in any productive activity of their own choice. All loans except house building loans are repayble in weekly instalments spread over a year. The rate of interest on general loan is 20 percent per annum, 16 percent until 1991. However, house building loans are long-term loans, require weekly repayment over ten years and are lent at a lower rate of 8 percent, 5 percent until 1991.

If the first two borrowers of the group utilised their loan and pay their weekly instalments as well as maintain group discipline, new loans are given to the next two members. The group chairperson generally is the last to receive loan.

Individual loans are small about Tk. 2000-5000 with an upper limit of Tk. 10,000, while, collective loans are some what larger amount and are given to centres that unanimously decide to participate in any joint venture. Grameen Bank loans are available to members for more than four hundred different activities. The main activities for which loans are taken are, Livestocks, Fisheries, Agriculture, Forestry, Processing manufacturing and Trading, Peddling and Shopkeeping, Collective enterprises, Housing. All loan utilisation are closely supervised by the group and by the BW.

ANALYSIS AND OUTCOME

Organisational Growth of Grameen Bank

It is evident from Annex Table1 that Grameen Bank has grown remarkably in term of the expansion of its branches, groups, centres and membership as also of its activities within a short span of time. The number of branches increased to 1079, 7.10 times, by the end of 1996 from a low figure of 152 in 1984. The number of villages covered demonstrates the same situation as the number increased to 36,420, 16.05 times, villages during the same period, which is more than half of the total villages in Bangladesh. Like-wise the number of groups increased to 4,33,791, 17.91 times, in 1996 from 24,211 in 1984. The priority placed on the expansion of female groups is also evident in the portfolio of borrowers. Over the period, the female groups increased by 30.0 times, while the male groups increased by 2.42 times only. Th number of centres also increased by 13.16 times during the period of review. The growth of Grameen Bank loanees was 16.68 times over the same period. Gramen Bank currently lends money to 1.8 million borrowers, 94.4 percent of them are women. The coverage of women was faster rate than the male loanees. The proportion of female borrowers increased from 55.8 percent to 94.4 percent over the period. Whild the reverse situation was observed in case of male borrowers as the same decreased from 44.2 percent to 5.6 percent over the same period. Thus, Grammen Bank has given more attention to the poor women.

Growth In Loan And Advances

It is evident from Annex Table 2 that in absolute amount the annual loan disbursement increased to Tk. 12046.5 million 39 times in 1996 from Tk. 307.9 million in 1984. The cumulative amount of loan disbursed increased to Tk. 71331 million, 141.8 times, by the end of 1996 from Tk. 503.3 million in 1984 (Annex Table 3). The amount of annual loan disbursed had an upward trend till 1994 and thereafter a downward trend was set in. The total annual loan disbursement increased to Tk. 15,395.3 million, 50 times in 1994 from a mere figure of Tk. 307.9 million in 1984. While the total amount of loan disbursement decreased to Tk. 12,046.5 million in 1996 from Tk. 15395.3 million in 1994. The decrease in the amount of total loan disbursed was due to the increase of dropout of GB members. At present about one hundred organisations are replicating the GB programmes of micro-credit among the rural poor and as such the GB has currently been facing competition with these organisations. Consequently, dropout rate and switching of GB members to other similar organisations have been increasing. Moreover, wilful diversion of loan towards unproductive sectors by some GB members also affecting the loan repayment performance of GB and retarded growth of GB loans. Thus, during the last two years the decrease was about 21 percent as compared to 1994. More revealing is that the disbursement of loans to female members increased at a faster rate than male members. The total annual loan disbursement excluding technology loan increased to Tk. 312.8 million, 2.0 times in 1996 from Tk. 153.8 million in 1984 for male borrowers and Tk. 11733.7 million, 76.1 times in 1996 from Tk. 154.1 million in 1984 for female borrowers. Till 1995, Grameen Bank provided 4 types of loan to its member-borrowers. The portfolio mix of 1995 included general loan, 94.4 percent, collective loan 0.1 percent, house building loan, 4.9 percent, and technology loan, 0.6 percent, however from 1996 Grameen Bank has stopped disbursement of collective loan and technology loan. As part of its decentralisation programme GB has started transfer all the existing collective and technology loans to its family organisations. The emphasis on woman is evident in the disbursement pattern of Grameen Bank loans (Annex Table 2).

In absolute figure, annual general loan disbursements increased to Tk. 312.8 million, 2.3 times from Tk. 136.5 million in case of male borrower, while for female borrowers the same increased to Tk. 11,564.9 million, or 80.9 times, in 1996 from Tk. 142.9 million in 1984. The cumulative amount of general disbursements rose to 11.5 times for male and 130.9 times for female over the same period (Annex Table 3). Thus, the increase was more pronounced in case of female borrowers than in case of male borrowers. As in 1984 women had received a little more than half, 51.1 percent, of the total amount of loan of Tk. 279.4 million. By 1996 women had been granted 97.4 percent of the total annual figure of general loan disbursement had an

upward trend till 1994 and thereafter a down word trend was set in. General loans are provided for a 52 weeks term to a group member at an interest rate of 20 percent, 16 percent until 1991. Borrowers need not provide collateral and can use the credit to invest in any activity listed under broad categories of activities such as processing and manufacturing, agriculture and forestry, live stock and fisheries, services, trading, peddling and shopkeeping. General loans are the core of Grameen Bank operations and the backbone of its lending portfolio. The consistently high recovery rates in general loans have been instrumental in the growth of banks lending.

In case of collective loan, the emphasis is also on women borrowers (Annex Table 2). The annual figure of collective loan disbursements decreased from Tk. 15.6 million in 1984 to Tk. 1.0 million, 0.06 times, in 1995 for male borrowers. While for female borrowers the annual amount of collective loan disbursements decreased to Tk. 2.4 million, 0.26 times) in 1996 from Tk. 9.3 in 1984. Thus, the decrease was more pronounced in case of male than in case of female. A point is to note that Grameen Bank has stopped disbursement of collective loan from 1996. Collective loans were provisioned to give to centres or some groups of a centre that unanimously decided to participate in any joint venture activity. The loan approval and disbursement procedures were similar to those of general loans.

Grameen Bank introduced house-building loans in 1984 as part of its social development programme. In this case women also get preferential treatment. As in 1984, women had received 52.8 percent of the annual disbursements of house-building loan. By 1995, women had been granted 95.1 percent of the total annual disbursements of Tk. 712.9 million. The most revealing feature is that, this loan had an upward trend till 1993, thereafter a declining trend was set in. As is evident from the Annex Table 2 that house-building loan increased to 807.4 times during 1984/93, while the same decreased to 356.8 times in 1995 from 80.74 times in 1993 over 1984. House-building loans are longer term loans that require weekly repayments over ten years and are lend at a lower rate of 8 percent interest, 5 percent until 1991. It was design to help poor Grameen Bank members to construct low cost housing. It requires that borrower should be the owner of that particular piece of land. This has enabled the legal transfer of home-ownership to thousands of poor women from their husbands or parents.

Technology loans have been recorded separately since 1988, prior to which they were recorded as collective loans. This type of loan provides finance for larger projects and involves larger amounts of credit. This loan had an increasing trend till 1990, thereafter a declining trend was set in. It is worthy to be mentioned that, from 1996, GB has stopped disbursement of technology loan.

The Grameen Bank loans have been used productively and have led to significant increase in income. Consequently, the loan repayment

performance has been excellent. Another most important reasons for high repayment are constant supervision, peer pressure and peer support. The basic feature of Grameen Bank is to develop close relationship between the bank and the borrowers, and among the borrowers themselves. In such a congenial situation, close and constant supervision is possible. Moreover, the formation of small five member groups help create the right king of peer pressure at times when a member tries wilfully to default, and peer support at times when a member fall in any difficulty in pursuing his economic aims.

Savings And Deposits Mobilisation

As stated earlier Grameen Bank mobilises savings by requiring members to make deposits of different types. These savings are alternative sources of credit for borrowers. These savings also help the Bank to minimise its dependency on external sources of fund.

Each member of the group must deposit Taka two, Tk. one till October 1995, every week as personal savings in a group fund account. Moreover, when a group member receives a loan from Grameen Bank, an obligatory deduction of five percent of the loan amount, called group tax, is made and deposited in the group fund account. If the members do not leave the group they will be able to get return of the principal amount of their saving in group fund after the expire of ten years. While, for the second time, the amount of group tax in group fund account is refundable after the expire of three years. This account is managed by the group on a consensual basis. At times of need, the group members can borrow from this fund with the approval of the group at terms fixed by the group. The savings earn interest at the rate of 8.5 percent per annum and are refundable with interest when a borrower leaves the group or expelled from the group.

Besides, group members create another fund, called *Emergency Fund* which is basically an insurance coverage in case of default, death, disability, theft and other accidents. Each borrower had to pay to the *Emergency Fund* an amount equivalent to 25 percent of interest payments on this loan till July, 1991. After that, this mandatory contribution has been changed to Taka five per thousand for loan amounts over Taka one thousand. This fund is also kept in a separate account and earns 8.5 percent interest per annum. The *Emergency Fund* is managed by the centre which can quickly decide on its use during major crisis. From October 01 1995, GB has stopped collection of subscription for Emergency Fund and on January 01, 1996, the remaining balance of *Central Emergency Fund* was transferred to *Central Welfare Fund*.

It was also obligatory for members to contribute Taka one per week in *Children's Welfare Fund*. The fund was designed to provide education for member's children in schools managed and run by Grameen Bank

members, and to support children's involvement in small-scale income earning project. (Khandelkar 1995). Around 16000 pre-primary schools are currently being managed by the centres (Shams 1999). However, from October 01 1995, GB has stopped collection of members contribution in *Children's Welfare Fund*. The bank also mobilises deposits of different types savings and current deposits from its members and non-members. However, the mojor portion comes from its own members and staff as in other commercial banks. The Grameen Bank has recorded enormous growth in savings mobilisation through mandatory and voluntary savings during the period of review. The cumulative amount of savings and deposits increased to Tk. 16,773.6 million, 369.0 times, by the end of 1996 from Tk. 44.7 million in 1984 (Annex Table 5). The cumulative amount of savings increased so much so that by the year 1996 it reached to Tk. 112524 million, or 1258.8 times, from a mere figure of Tk. 44.2 million. The increase was more noticed in case of femal savings than in male savings. For example female savings increased to 469.6 times over the period, while male savings increased to 95.7 times over the same period (Annex Table 4). The same situation is also true in all the components of savings. On the other hand, the cumulative amount of deposit increased to Tk. 5521.2 million, 11042.4 times, in 1996 from a very low figure of Tk. 05 million in 1984. Thus, a very high growth was observed in deposit mobilisation. (Annex Table 5).

CONCLUSION

Grameen Bank, owned by the poor, 90 percent of the share are owned by the landless borrowers and the remaining 10 percent by the Government of Bangladesh, is the most innovative bank in Bangladesh, which has replaced physical collateral requirements with group responsibility, by organising poor individuals into groups, has created the social and financial conditions enabling them to receive loans. This rural bank provides micro-credit and organisational suport to the rural poor, particularly destitute women, 94 percent of the borrowers are poor women, who are otherwise excluded from the formal credit system as they can not provide collateral. Grameen Bank also promotes social development by making the poor individually and socially accountable. Such micro-credit and organisational support improved the productivity and income of the poor. Consequently, their loan repayment capacity has improved significantly. Grameen Bank's recovery rate is close to 98 percent during the whole period of review. Such an outstanding record of repayment is no doubt, unique. Unless the Grameen Bank loans were highly productive to generate sufficient income, such a repayment record would not have been possible. The high recovery rate has been contributing to the Grameen Bank's organisational growth and financial viability. The organisation has experienced an unbelievable growth in its branches, groups, centres,

membership as also in its activities within a short span of time. For, the number of branches, villages covered, centres, groups and borrowers increased to 7.10 times, 16.05 times, 13.16 times, 17.91 time and 16.68 times respectively over the period. Grameen Bank has covered almost half of the total villages in Bangladesh. The most revealing is that the growth in borrowers was more noticed in case of female than in male. For, female borrowers growth was 28.2 times over the period, while male borrowers growth was only 2.8 times over the same period. Moreover, the proportion of female borrowers in the total borrowers increased to 94.4 percent from 55.8 percent over the period. Thus, Grameen Bank has successfully reached the rural poor women, who are the most neglected in the society.

The financial indicators registered even a more rapid growth than the organisational growth. For, the annual loan disbursement increased to 39 times during the period of review. The portfolio mix of Grameen Bank included general loan, collective loan, house-building loan and technology loan. However, Grameen Bank has stopeed disbursement of collective loan and technology loan from 1996. Among the four types of loans, general loan alone accounted for more than 95 percent of the total loan disbursed durin the period of study. The emphasis of women is also evident in the disbursement pattern of Grameen Bank loans. It is observed that general loan for female borrowers increased to 80.9 times over the period, while the same for male borrowers increased to 2.3 times only. The same situation is also observed in case of collective loan and house-building loan.

Savings and deposits also recorded high growth as group fund saving increased over 52 times, emergency fund savings increased over 35 times. But from October 1995, GB has stopped collection of obligatory savings in group fund, emergency fund, children welfare fund and special savings funds. The volume of savings and deposits account increased over 369 times during the period of review. The growth in savings and deposits was also high in case of female than in case of male.

There are so many organisations now replicating the Grameen Bank programmes of micro-credit among the rural poor and as such the Grameen Bank has currently been facing competition with these organisations in implementing its programmes. Moreover, about one hundred organisations are now working with the rural poor and for that matter the dropout rate of Grameen Bank members is on the increase. An analysis of a field survey study of these dropouts reveals that the dropout members are getting loan from other Government, like Bangladesh Rural Development Board and Non Government Organisations (NGO,s) on a free play basis. This is a mojor problem. The Grameen Bank has to find out a suitable measure to prevent such dropout. Co-ordinated efforts among the Grameen Bank type organisations in this regard may help to prevent the dropout rate and switching of rural poor from one organisation to another. Credit information technology along with meeting at regular interval with

other organisations, who are working with the rural poor, may be a fruitful step in this direction. Another reasons for such dropout is wilful diversion of loans purposes other than the stated objectives. Loan utilisation should be strictly complied with as per loan agreements. More often than not women are taking loans for some explicit productive purposes, while their husbands are taking away the money from their wives coercively and utilising such loans for some unproductive purposes. This practice must be prevented, otherwise dropout rate and loan default will go on increasing.

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ANNEX

Table 1

Progress Of Grameen Bank : Branches, Centres, Group And Borrowers During 1984-96

Year	Total No. of Branch	No. of Villages Covers	No. of Centres			No. of Groups			No. of Borrowers			Distribution of Borrowers by Sex (%)	
			Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
1984	152 (100)	2268 (100)	1972 (100)	2791 (100)	4763 (100)	10602 (100)	13609 (100)	24211 (100)	47229 (100)	59714 (100)	106943 (100)	44.16	55.84
1985	226 (148.7)	3666 (161.6)	2254 (114,5)	4956 (177.6)	7210 (151.4)	11852 (111.8)	22473 (165.1)	34325 (141.8)	53131 (112.5)	99332 (1663)	152463 (142.6)	34.85	65.15
1986	295 (194.8)	5170 (227.9)	2363 (119.8)	7916 (283.6)	10279 (215.8)	12092 (114.1)	34778 (255.5)	46870 (193.6)	54325 (115.0)	155142 (259.8)	209467 (195.9)	26.37	73.63
1987	396 (260.5)	7502 (330.8)	2542 (128.9)	11848 (425.8)	14390 (302.1)	12712 (120.0)	55121 (408.0)	67833 (280.2)	63142 (133.7)	265415 (444.5)	328557 (307.2)	9.22	80.78
1988	501 (329.6)	10552 (465.3)	2746 (139.2)	16917 (606.1)	19663 (412.8)	13881 (131.0)	83194 (611.3)	97075 (401.0)	68805 (145.7)	403625 (676.0)	272430 (254.7)	14.56	85.44
1989	641 (421.7)	1507 3 (664.6)	2960 (150.1)	24016 (860.5)	26976 (566.4)	14694 (138.6)	117762 (865.3)	132456 (547.1)	73150 (154.4)	575117 (963.1)	648467 (606.4)	11.28	88.72
1990	781 (513.89)	19536 (861.4)	3156 (160.0)	31050 (1112.5)	34206 (718.2)	15588 (147.0)	158323 (1163.4)	173911 (718.3)	77075 (163.2)	775547 (1298.8)	852522 (797.2)	9.04	90.96
1991	915 (602.9)	25248 (1113.2)	3300 (167.3)	39451 (1413.5)	42751 (897.6)	16011 (151.0)	197275 (1449.6)	213286 (880.9)	79482 (168.3)	962148 (1611.3)	1041630 (974.0)	7.63	92.37
1992	1015 (667.8)	30619 (1350.0)	3513 (178.2)	47854 (1714.6)	51367 (1078.5)	18022 (170.0)	266857 (1960.9)	284879 (1176.7)	88766 (188.0)	1296558 (2171.3)	1385324 (1295.4)	6.41	93.59
1993	1040 (684.2)	33667 (1448.4)	3770 (191.3)	53879 (1930.5)	57649 (1210.3)	22266 (210.0)	350032 (2572.1)	372298 (1537.7)	97431 (206.3)	1585483 (2655.1)	1682914 (1573.7)	5.79	94.21
1994	1045 (687.5)	34913 (1539.4)	3866 (196.0)	56055 (2008.4)	59921 (1258.0)	24321 (229.4)	387824 (2849.8)	412145 (1702.3)	108899 (230.6)	1751775 (2933.6)	1860674 (1739.9)	5.85	94.15
1995	1055 (694.1)	35533 (1566.7)	3953 (200.5)	57203 (2049.5)	61157 (1284.0)	25367 (239.3)	399626 (2936.5)	424993 (1755.3)	107723 (228.1)	1762648 (2951.7)	1870371 (1748.8)	5.76	94.24
1996	1079 (709.9)	36420 (1605.8)	4052 (205.5)	58629 (2100.6)	62681 (1316.0)	25731 (242.7)	408060 (2998.5)	433791 (1791.7)	99471 (210.6)	1684489 (2820.8)	1783960 (1668.0)	5.58	94.42

Note : Figures in Parentheses are percentage growth rates for the respective figures over the base year, 1984.
Source : Grameen Bank, Bangaladesh.

Table 2
Annual Disbursement Of Loans By Type And Gender

(In Million Taka)

Year	General		Collective		House Building		Sub Total		Technology Loans	Total
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female		
1984	136.5 (100)	142.9 (100)	15.6 (100)	9.3 (100)	1.7 (100)	1.9 (100)	153.8 (100)	154.1 (100)	0.0	307.9 (100)
1985	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
1986	146.8 (107.5)	387.5 (271.2)	2.9 (18.5)	4.6 (49.5)	1.4 (82.3)	4.3 (226.3)	151.1 (98.2)	396.4 (257.2)	0.0	547.5 (177.8)
1987	160.7 (117.7)	634.3 (443.9)	4.9 (31.4)	10.1 (108.6)	32.4 (1905.9)	108.4 (5705.3)	198.0 (128.7)	752.8 (488.5)	0.0	950.8 (308.8)
1988	193.7 (141.9)	1070.4 (749.1)	4.1 (26.3)	12.2 (131.2)	29.9 (1758.8)	140.4 (7389.5)	127.7 (83.0)	1223.0 (793.6)	33.2	1483.9 (481.9)
1989	203.5 (149.1)	1551.1 (1085.4)	3.7 (23.7)	10.0 (107.5)	28.5 (1676.5)	207.8 (10936.8)	235.7 (23.2)	1768.9 (1147.9)	63.4	2068.0 (671.6)
1090	205.4 (150.5)	2039.9 (1427.5)	3.5 (22.4)	14.1 (151.6)	17.2 (1011.8)	207.4 (10915.8)	226.1 (147.0)	2261.4 (1467.5)	168.6	2656.1 (862.7)
1991	194.6 (142.6)	2433.0 (1702.6)	2.7 (17.3)	8.8 (94.6)	27.5 (1617.6)	274.5 (14447.3)	224.8 (146.2)	2716.3 (1762.7)	765.5	3706.8 (1203.9)
1992	385.8 (282.6)	4802.9 (3661.0)	2.4 (15.4)	12.8 (137.6)	49.2 (2894.1)	510.0 (26842.1)	436.7 (283.9)	5325.7 (3456.0)	598.0	6361.1 (2066.0)
1993	553.3 (405.3)	10055.8 (7036.9)	4.2 (26.9)	8.7 (93.5)	139.0 (8176.5)	1534.0 (80736.8)	696.5 (452.9)	11598.5 (7526.6)	148.0	12443.0 (4041.2)
1994	1003.2 (734.9)	12888.9 (9019.5)	3.5 (22.4)	16.8 (180.6)	91.7 (5394.1)	1246.9 (65626.3)	1098.4 (714.2)	14152.6 (9443.6)	144.3	15395.3 (5000.1)
1995	10071.1 (737.8)	12653.0 (8854.4)	1.0 (6.4)	2.4 (25.8)	35.0 (2058.8)	677.9 (35678.9)	1043.1 (678.2)	13333.3 (8652.4)	88.3	14464.7 (4697.9)
1996	312.8 (229.2)	11564.9 (8093.0)	-	-	N.A.	N.A.	312.8 (203.4)	11733.7 (7614.3)	N.A.	12046.5 (3912.5)

Note : (1) Grameen Bank has stopped disbursement of collective loan from 1996.
(2) Technology loan have been recorded separately since 1988, period to which recorded as collective loan.
(3) Figures in parentheses are percentage growth rates for the respective figures over the base year, 1984.

Source : Annual Reports of Grameen Bank, Bangaladesh.

Table 3
Cumulative Disbursement Of Loans By Type And Gender Structure of Grameen Bank Loans

(In Million Taka)

Year	General		Collective		House Building		Sub Total		Technology Loans	Total
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female		
1984	261.4 (100)	209.2 (100)	19.1 (100)	9.5 (100)	1.7 (100)	1.9 (100)	282.4 (100)	220.6 (100)	0.0	503.0 (100)
1985	415.1 (166.0)	462.2 (231.1)	30.9 (160.7)	19.5 (204.8)	10.1 (594.1)	10.7 (563.2)	456.1 (161.5)	492.4 (223.2)	0.0	948.5 (188.6)
1986	561.9 (224.8)	849.7 (234.9)	33.8 (175.8)	24.1 (253.1)	11.5 (676.5)	15.0 (789.5)	607.2 (215.0)	888.8 (402.9)	0.0	1496.0 (297.4)
1987	722.6 (289.0)	1484.0 (742)	38.7 (201.2)	34.2 (359.1)	43.9 (2582.4)	123.4 (6494.7)	805.2 (285.1)	1641.6 (744.2)	0.0	2446.8 (287.6)
1988	916.3 (366.5)	2554.4 (1277.2)	42.8 (222.6)	46.4 (487.2)	73.8 (4341.2)	263.8 (13884.2)	1032.9 (365.8)	2869.6 (1298.5)	33.2 (100)	3930.7 (781.5)
1989	1119.8 (447.9)	4105.5 (2552.8)	46.5 (241.8)	56.4 (592.2)	102.3 (6017.6)	471.6 (24821.1)	1268.6 (449.2)	4633.5 (2100.4)	96.6 (3498.1	5998.7 (1192.6)
1090	1325.2 (530.1)	6145.4 (3072.7)	50.5 (262.6)	70.5 (740.3)	119.5 (7029.4)	679.0 (35736.8)	1494.7 (529.3)	6894.9 (3125.5)	265.2 (9603.4)	8654.8 (1720.6)
1991	1519.8 (607.9)	8578.4 (4289.2)	52.7 (274.0)	79.3 (832.7)	147.0 (8647.1)	953.5 (50184.2	1719.5 (608.9)	9611.2 (4356.8)	1030.9 (37331.0)	12361.6 (2457.6)
1992	1905.6 (762.2)	13381.3 (6690.7)	55.1 (286.5)	92.1 (967.1)	196.2 (11541.2)	1463.7 (77036.8)	2156.9 (763.8)	14937.1 (6771.1)	1628.9 (58985.8)	18722.9 (3722.2)
1993	2458.9 (983.6)	23437.1 (11718.6)	59.2 (303.8)	100.8 (1058.4)	335.2 (19717.6)	2997.5 (157763.2)	2853.3 (1010.4)	26535.4 (12028.7)	1351.4 (48937.0)	30740.1 (6111.4)
1994	3462.1 (1384.8)	36326.0 (18163.0)	62.7 (326.0)	117.6 (1234.8)	426.9 (25111.8)	4244.4 (223389.5)	3951.7 (1399.3)	40688.0 (18444.2)	1495.7 (34162.4)	46135.4 (9172.0)
1995	4496.4 (1798.6)	48979.0 (24489.5)	63.7 (333.5)	120.0 (1260.0)	461.9 (27170.6)	4922.3 (259068.4)	5022.0 (1778.3)	54021.3 (24488.3)	1580.0 (57215.0)	60623.3 (12052.3)
1996	4778.1 (1911.2)	60547.9 (30274.0)	63.7 (333.5)	120.0 (1260.0)	*456.0 (26823.5)	5097.0 (268263.2)	5297.8 (1876.0)	65765.7 (29812.2)	267.8 (9697.6)	71331.3 (14181.2)

Note : Figures in Parentheses are percentage growth rages for the respective figures over the base year 1984.
* Cumulative disbursement of House loan for male loanee reduced due to reduction in male borrowers.

Source : Grameen Bank Annual reports for relevant years, Bangaladesh.

Table 4
Grameen Bank Cumulative Member's Saving by Type and Sex

(In Million Taka)

Year	Group Fund Saving			Emergency Fund Saving			Other Saving			Total Saving		
	Male	Female	Sub Total	Male	Female	Sub Total	Male	Female	Sub Total	Male	Female	Sub Total
1984	21.1 (100)	16.8 (100)	37.9 (100)	4.2 (100)	2.1 (100)	6.3 (100)	3.8 (100)	3.6 (100)	7.4 (100)	25.3 (100)	18.9 (100)	44.2 (100)
1985	34.2 (160.7)	37.2 (223.2)	71.4 (185.6)	7.5 (178.5)	5.2 (247.5)	12.7 (201.9)	15.8 (415.5)	15.0 (415.5)	30.8 (99.9)	57.4 (101.2)	57.5 (304.8)	114.9 (264.3)
1986	46.7 (219.5)	67.8 (406.8)	114.5 (297.7)	11.3 (268.9)	11.0 (523.6)	22.3 (354.6)	22.2 (583.4)	29.7 (822.7)	51.9 (700.7)	80.2 (320.8)	108.5 (575.1)	188.7 (434.0)
1987	62.7 (294.7)	123.6 (741.6)	186.3 (484.4)	15.1 (359.4)	19.6 (933.0)	34.7 (551.7)	36.3 (954.7)	123.9 (34320.0)	187.2 (2527.2)	114.1 (456.4)	267.1 (1456.6)	408.2 (938.9)
1988	81.8 (384.5)	215.6 (1293.6)	297.4 (773.2)	19.6 (466.5)	34.8 (1656.5)	54.5 (866.6)	119.8 (3150.7)	200.5 (5553.9)	320.3 (4324.1)	221.2 (884.8)	450.9 (2389.8)	672.1 (1545.1)
1989	101.8 (478.5)	349.2 (2095.2)	451.0 (1172.6)	24.6 (585.5)	59.4 (2827.4)	84.0 (1335.6)	213.5 (5615.1)	320.4 (8875.1)	533.9 (7207.7)	339.9 (1359.6)	729.0 (3863.7)	1068.9 (2458.5)
1990	122.9 (577.6)	526.7 (3160.2)	649.6 (1689.0)	30.7 (730.7)	98.1 (4669.6)	128.8 (2047.9)	408.0 (10730.4)	500.7 (13869.4)	908.7 (12267.5)	561.6 (2246.4)	1125.5 (5965.2)	1687.1 (3880.3)
1991	145.1 (682.0)	746.8 (4480.8)	891.9 (2318.9)	36.7 (873.5)	145.4 (6921.0)	182.1 (2895.4)	571.4 (15027.8)	730.4 (20232.1)	1301.8 (47574.2)	753.2 (3012.8)	1622.6 (8599.8)	2375.8 (5464.3)
1992	177.2 (809.3)	1130.6 (6783.6)	1307.8 (3400.3)	38.5 (916.3)	151.6 (7216.2)	190.1 (3022.6)	859.8 (22612.7)	1121.1 (31054.5)	1980.9	1075.5 (4392.0)	2403.5 (12738.5)	3478.8 (8001.2)
1993	230.9 (1085.2)	1886.5 (11319.0)	2117.4 (5505.2)	44.3 (1054.3	172.6 (8215.8)	216.9 (3448.7)	1354.0 (35610.2)	2575.6 (71344.1)	3924.6 (26742.2)	1629.2 (6516.8)	4634.7 (24563.9)	6263.9 (14401.9)
1994	296.8 (1395.0)	2850.6 (17103.6)	3147.4 (8183.2)	45.2 (1075.8)	177.4 (8444.2)	222.6 (3539.3)	1770.3 (45506.9)	3828.9 (106060.5)	5599.1 (75587.9)	2112.3 (8449.2)	6856.9 (31041.6)	8969.2 (20629.2)
1995	397.1 (1866.4)	3813.5 (22881.0)	4210.6 (10947.6)	41.9 (997.2)	178.9 (8515.6)	220.8 (3501.7)	2074.9 (54569.9)	4487.5 (124303.7)	6562.4 (88542.4)	2024.9 (8099.6)	8479.9 (44943.5)	10504.8)
1996	495.6 (2329.3)	4759.9 (28559.4)	5255.5 (13664.3)	-	-	-	1896.3 (49872.7)	4101.2 (113603.2)	5997.5 (80966.3)	2391.3 (9565.2)	8861.1 (46963.8)	11252.4 (25880.5)

Note : Figures in Parentheses are percentage growth rates for the respective figures over the base year, 1984.
(ii) Others savings includes personal current account, special savings and saving in education programme.
(iii) Special Saving and saving in education programme has stopped from 1996.
(iv) GB has stopped collection of emergency fund from October 1995.

Source : Grameen Bank, Bangaladesh.

Table 5
Grameen Bank Member's Total Saving And Doposits
(In Million Taka)

Year	Total Saving	Total Deposits	Total Saving & Deposits
1984	44.2 (100)	0.5 (100)	44.7 (100)
1985	114.9 (264.3)	16.8 (3360)	131.7 (289.7)
1986	188.7 (434.0)	57.4 (11480)	246.1 (541.4)
1987	408.2 (938.9)	146.6 (29320)	554.8 (1220.6)
1088	672.1 (1545.1)	291.6 (58320)	699.8 (1539.6)
1089	1068.9 (2458.5)	516.3 (103260)	1188.4 (2614.5)
1090	1687.1 (3880.3)	803.3 (160660)	2490.4 (5488.9)
1991	2375.8 (5464.3)	1184.0 (236800)	3559.8 (7831.6)
1992	3478.8 (8001.2)	1782.0 (356400)	5260.8 (11573.8)
1993	6263.9 (14407.0)	2464.5 (492900)	8688.4 (19114.5)
1994	8669.2 (20629.2)	3262.7 (652540)	12231.9 (26910.2)
1995	10504.8 (24161.0)	4264.8 (852960)	147669.6 (32493.1)
1996	11252.4 (25880.5)	5521.2 (1104240)	16773.6 (36901.9)

Note : (i) Figures in parentheses are percentage growth rates for the respective figures over the base year, 1984.
(ii) Total saving includes group fund saving, emergency fund saving and other savings.
(iii) Deposits means savings in personal savings account.
Source : Grameen Bank, Bangaladesh