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IMPACT OF Grameen Bank on the Situation  
of Poor Rural Women

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### Acknowledgement

BIDS is currently engaged in an indepth study on the socio-economic impact of Grameen Bank. This is indeed the second phase of the study, the first one was conducted in 1982. In this phase, a special attention was given to look into the impacts of GB intervention on the rural poor women, a segment usually bypassed by conventional rural development programme. Impact of Grameen Bank Loan on the situation of Poor Rural Women is the first of a series of working papers on the latest BIDS study on Grameen Bank. Though the author is primarily responsible for this component of the study, she draws upon the findings from the other components of the study conducted by Dr. Atiur Rahman & Dr. Mahabub Hossain. The author is grateful for their co-operation. The researchers engaged in this study owe their intellectual debt to Dr. Mahabub Hossain, who was initially the Project coordinator of this study (who is now on a sabbatical leave to IFFRI) for not only initiating and guiding us through the study, but also for his interest which he still takes in the project.

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Rushidan Islam Rahman  
Research Fellow, BIDS.

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## Chapter 1

### The Background

#### Introduction

It is now recognised that the fruits of economic development should reach all people. This distributive justice approach to development does not necessarily lead to the recognition that women's integration in the development process has to be treated as a distinct issue. Theories and programmes of development implicitly assume that the household is an unit of converging interest and can provide the basis for planning. But the household members of the two sexes may sometimes have conflicting interest and a development program may not benefit them equally. So the issue of integration of women in development needs special investigation. Such integration can be defined to consist of two broad components (APDC 1983). First, women should enjoy their share of the fruits of development. Second, their human potential needs to be fully developed and utilised so that women can also contribute to the development process by participating in productive activity. Remunerating women for their participation in productive activity can be a direct means of channeling the fruits of development to women. It can also help create consciousness among women and give them control over decision making. These two components should not be seen independently because one without the other will not be very meaningful.

In Bangladesh, given the existing social and economic situation, it is not very straightforward to increase women's participation in labour force. Women as a group vary according to

their access to resources, current workload, qualifications etc. So, concrete programmes cannot be formulated for women as a whole. On the other a target group approach focussing on a homogeneous group of women may have a better success in designing a development programme which could be easily implemented and more effective in achieving its objectives.

Development programmes for the poorest women should receive the first priority. This will not only ensure women's integration in development but also enhance distributive justice and ameliorate absolute poverty.

Bangladesh is not only characterised by an alarming proportion of poverty stricken population but also is threatened by an increase in their proportion. It has also been shown that the burden of poverty falls more heavily on women. So the poorest women should receive top priority in strategies for alleviating poverty.

The general causes of poverty are identified as (i) lack of land and productive assets and a consequent involvement in low productivity and/or low paid jobs, (ii) a low labour force participation rate resulting in high dependency ratio and (iii) a high rate of underemployment among those who actually participate in labour force. Among the poor women from landless households, all those causes work with greater intensity as compared to their male counterpart. A number of micro-studies conducted recently gives a comparison of male and female participation rate among the landless (Cain 1979, Khuda 1980).

The rate varies between half to one third of that for male. Under-employment rate among them is also much greater. When they are engaged in wage employment, the wages they receive are much lower than male wage rate in the area (for unskilled labour) (Salcha and Gneely 1983, Cain 1979, Westergard 1983, Rahman 1986 RISP, 1981).

In rural society, productive and other assets of a household belong mostly to the male head of the household (Westergard 1983). This situation is worse for landless group. Whatever productive assets they possess belong to the male workers. So they either engage themselves in very low productive job which does not require any skill or capital or they engage in poorly paid wage employment. Studies have pointed out that the expansion of wage employment for this group is not an easy job. On the other hand most of these women express dissatisfaction about their terms of employment and intends to give up these jobs if family earnings increases or alternative self employment is available.

Providing access to asset for the women is possible either by a genderwise redistribution of resources or by allocating financial resources to women. The first may be impractical in the present social system. The latter is also difficult under the present rules and patriarchal conventions followed by the financial institutions. The attempts of the Grameen Bank to reach the poor women with credit are exceptional in the current modality of operation of other banks and financial institutions which require collateral against loans that the women will never be able to provide except through their husbands. The Grameen Bank provides credit to landless men and women

in rural areas without any collateral security. The credit provides a resource which can be utilized for organising activities to generate self employment. The credit operation for women is entirely independent of the transactions with male loanees, and at no stage the men enter the scene before a woman is provided credit.

Thus, the credit programme of the Grameen Bank if carried out successfully, can make some dent into both the aspects of distributive and genderwise justice. The experience of the Grameen Bank operation gives one a scope to examine the impact of such a programme on the situation of women in rural Bangladesh.

#### The Grameen Bank Approach to Credit for Rural Women

The Grameen Bank is a specialised credit institution established for extending credit to the landless men and women in rural areas. The major difference of this bank with other banking institutions is that, it has designed a framework for providing loans to the landless without any collateral. The women can enter transactions with the bank without having the husbands or a male guardian to mediate. The special features of this banking process is described by Hossain (1985) in details. Briefly, it consists of the following: Agents (Female Bank workers in the case of female loanees) from the bank/communicate with the loanees and for banking operation they do not have to go to the bank. Groups are formed before loan is obtained and several groups join in a 'centre'. Weekly meeting of the centre is held where the loan is repaid to bank workers in weekly installments.

## The Scope and Objectives of the Study

The assumption behind the innovative banking procedures is that when loan is provided without collateral and the banking procedure is such that the women do not have to go to the bank to perform the formalities. It is only required that they form a group with other women and attend weekly meetings, and as such they are encouraged to come forward to join the Bank even under the existing socio-cultural barriers. The first line of inquiry should thus be to assess the extent to which the GB has been successful in attracting the women, and how the female members have been performing the rules and disciplines of the GB as compared with their male counterparts.

The ultimate objective of the GB is to improve the levels of living of its members. Thus the evaluation of the programme should investigate the impact of credit on various aspects of women's life. The primary economic impact will be on incomes and employment this study will investigate whether these programmes substitute other self employment or wage employment by new activities or generate fresh opportunities of employment. The magnitude of their involvement in terms of hours of work will then be examined. Women are expected to have direct access to the income generated by them. We shall examine separately the amount of income contributed by female loanees from their new employment and their access to the income.

Apart from total earnings, it is worthwhile to examine the profitability of the activities in which women are involved. This will provide us with insights about the future direction of expansion

of activities. The income and self employment is likely to enhance the position of these women in their family, their consciousness and aspirations. Unless the women benefit from the income generated by their own toil - by having control on spending the money, by getting a better share of family's consumption and a greater say in family decision making one cannot claim that women are enjoying the new opportunities of income and employment but are merely being exploited by their male counterparts. So we shall investigate whether the women loanee enjoy a better standard in terms of their consumption of food and clothing. We shall also examine whether their role in various decision making process is more significant than one-loanee women.

An important secondary impact which may occur as a consequence of women's greater involvement in productive activity is on their reproductive behaviour. The hypothesis that can be put forward is that along with a rise in consciousness and greater involvement in productive activity, the loanee women may be motivated to make more use of contraceptives and reduce the rate of reproduction. In this respect we shall examine the knowledge, acceptance and adoption of family planning practices and estimate the level of fertility of the participating women compared to the non-participants.

An improvement in the standard of living and level of aspirations of these women can have permanent influence in the lives of the next generation as well. They are likely to guide their next generation to

a better future if they spend more for their education and create opportunities for employment in high productive jobs. They may also raise the age of marriage for their daughter. All this depends not so much on their employment as such but on the enlightenment they receive in the process of joining the Bank. We shall try to throw light on these issues to see whether their consciousness and aspirations have change after joining the Bank.

#### Data and Methodology

This study is based on primary data collected by field level surveys conducted during June to October 1985. A multi-stage sampling procedure was adopted for the survey. Firstly we randomly selected 20 per cent of the bank branches, which have been operating for more than three years and 10 per cent of Branches operating for one to less than three years. Thus a total of 15 branches were selected. From each branch we randomly selected one male centre and one female centre subject to the condition that both of them belong to one village. In the first phase of the survey all loanees from these centres were interviewed. This survey focussed attention more specifically on credit operation and repayment performance. For the female loanees another intensive survey was conducted in the next phase. In this phase we covered five villages selected randomly from the earlier sample villages and are under the operation of the Bank for more than 3 years. This survey includes information on her income, cost and returns and employment from the loan financed activity,

pattern of investment, expenditure on basic needs and some aspects of consciousness raising, fertility and family planning practices and her role in family decision making.

To evaluate the impact of GB loan on various aspects of the life of these women we firstly compare the data for women who have been members of the GB for different periods. To compare them with women of similar status (landless) who have no access to GB loan we selected two control villages in two area (Tangail and Rangpur) The control villages were selected such that they resemble the project villages in terms of physical characteristics and landownership pattern. Hossains (1984) earlier study shows that the landless group from such control village closely resemble the benchmark characteristics of GB loanees. Households from these control villages and from each of the GB village were stratified according to four landholding and two occupation groups. Then 40 households were selected from each village on the basis of stratified random sampling where sample from each strata was represented in proportion to its size. The housewife from each household who did not join the GB were interviewed and formed the basis for comparison. So we shall get a comparative picture for loanee women, non-loanee landless women from project village, non-loanee landless women from control village and nonloanee women from land-owning groups in the project and control villages.

## Chapter 2

### Background characteristics of the female loanees

This section will examine the background of the female loanees with a view to identify any difference from the non-member target group and the male loanees. Since the GB membership is a non-traditional endeavour, it may be expected that women with an unusual background will first come forward. We examine the personal qualifications like educational attainment, marital status, age etc of the loanees and some information about the characteristics of the household where she lives.

#### Age:

Table 2.1 gives age distribution of male and female loanees. It is seen that the female loanees are more concentrated among the younger age than the male loanees. While 73% of female loanees are below the age of 35 years, 61% of male loanees fall in this group. When we compare the age distribution of women by the age of membership with GB it appears that the women who have been GB members for longer duration are more concentrated in the older age group. This would support the contention that the first initiative was taken mostly by older women who are likely to be more free from norms of purdah or traditional shy behaviour. In table 2.3 we compare the average age of loanee women with housewives of other groups of women, e.g., the wife of male loanees, wife of non-loanee landless and land-owning groups. Age of the active loanee women is slightly lower than wives in non-loanee groups.

Table 2.1: Age Distribution of Male and Female Loanees

Age group	Male		Female	
	Number of cases	% of loanees	Number of cases	% of loanees
14 - 20	21	4.8	76	14.4
21 - 35	249	56.5	303	58.3
36 - 50	147	33.3	126	23.9
51 & above	24	5.4	18	3.4
All group	441	45.5	528	54.5

Table 2.2: Percentage Distribution of Female Loanees by the Period of Membership and Age

Age group	Age of membership with GB (years)*				
	One	Two	Three	Four	Five +
14 - 20	19.5	12.9	13.2	4.5	11.8
21 - 35	60.3	60.4	47.4	52.3	76.5
36 - 50	20.1	23.0	31.6	38.6	0.0
51 & above	0.0	3.7	7.9	4.5	11.8
All group	33.0	41.1	14.4	8.3	3.2

Total percentage in each column may slightly deviate from hundred because of rounding.

Table 2.3: Age of the housewives in various loanee and non-loanee groups.

Group	Average age (years)
1. Active female loanee	31.01
2. Ineffective female loanee	34.00
3. Wife of male loanee	23.19
4. Control village target group	34.22
5. G.B. village non member	33.51
6. (.50-2.50 acre) landowners	37.35
7. 2.50 & above landowners	40.84
All group	33.36

### Marital status:

The widows and divorced/seperated women form a special disadvantaged group in rural societies. They may need to support themselves and the family and may be prepared to do so. They enjoy some degree of freedom in taking their own decision. So they have an advantage to come forward to join the GB. In this respect unmarried women are in the most disadvantageous position. Since married women constitute the major part of adult women population, a programme with equal number of men and women (or more of women) cannot rely only on widowed or divorced women. We find that (Table 2.4) 84% of GB women members are currently married and 11% come from widowed and divorced. Among male members 88% are currently married. GB has been successful to attract 4.5% of its female members from unmarried women. If we look at the marital status of women by their period of membership, we find that (Table 2.5) even among the older members, nearly four-fifth of the women were married. Thus, marriage is not a barrier to the membership of GB.

A comparison of the pattern of marital status of the loanees with the national level distribution of marital status for ten years and above aged women show that the representation of divorced/widowed women is similar. The proportion of married women has a greater representation among the female loanees which is balanced by a lower percentage of unmarried women being members (Table 2.6).

Table 2.4: Distribution of Male and Female Loanees  
By The Marital Status

Marital status	Male		Female	
	Number of cases	% of male loanees	Number of cases	% of female loanees
Unmarried	45	10.2	24	4.5
Currently married	390	88.6	446	84.3
Divorced/separated	3	0.7	9	1.7
Widowed/Widower	2	0.5	50	9.5

Table 2.5: Percentage Distribution of Female Loanees by  
Marital Status and the Period of Membership

Marital Status	Age of membership				
	One	Two	Three	Four	Five & above
Unmarried	2.9	4.6	10.4	0.0	5.9
Currently married	87.4	86.2	72.7	84.1	82.4
Widowed/Separated/Divorced	9.7	9.2	16.9	15.9	11.8

Table 2.6: Comparison of Marital Status of Female Loanees  
with the National Distribution

Marital Status	% of female loanees	% of 10 or above aged women for the whole country
Never married	4.5	23.7
Currently married	84.3	63.4
Divorced/Widowed	11.2	12.9

### Educational attainment:

Attainment of school education is not expected to be very high among the landless group who are the clientelle of GB and especially their womenfolk. Only one woman out of our sample of (534) had S.S.C. level education. Only 25% of these women had an education of primary or higher level. Among male loanees 2% were SSC and HSC holders and another 45% had primary or above level education. The female loanees have similar educational background compared to the housewives belonging to the non-loanee households as revealed by Table 2.7. Thus education does not seem to be a necessary prerequisite to act as a driving force to join the GB.

We should clarify one point. Among the female loanees as compared to male loanees and specially to non-loanee housewives, a larger percentage mentioned that they can sign their names. This is because the members have to learn signing their names as they join the GB. Of course, this reveals that these women are able to learn this at this age.

### Family background

The women loanees belong mostly to nuclear families. Only about one - sixth of the loanee group as compared to about one - fifth of the control group sample come from extended or joint families.

Table 2.7: Educational Status of Male and Female Loanees

Educational Status	No. of male loanees	%	No. of female loanees	%
Illiterate	2	0.5	31	5.8
Can sign only	233	52.8	371	69.5
Below primary	128	29.0	119	22.3
Upto class eight	60	13.6	9	1.7
Upto class ten	9	2.0	3	0.6
SSC & HSC	9	2.0	1	0.2
	<u>441</u>	<u>45.2</u>	<u>534</u>	<u>54.8</u>

Table 2.8: Educational Status of Housewives From Various Groups of Loanee and Non-loanee Households

Groups	Illiterate	Can sign only	Below Primary	Upto class ten	SSC & H S C
1	12.78 (17)	76.69 (102)	4.51 (6)	6.01 (8)	-
2	5.55 (1)	66.67 (12)	11.11 (2)	6.67 (3)	-
3	64.86 (24)	16.22 (6)	5.40 (2)	10.81 (4)	2.70 (1)
4	83.33 (45)	9.28 (5)	-	5.55 (3)	1.85 (1)
5	73.01 (46)	6.35 (4)	6.35 (4)	11.11 (7)	3.17 (2)
6	50.79 (32)	11.11 (7)	6.35 (4)	23.81 (15)	7.94 (5)
7	52.00 (13)	4.00 (1)	8.00 (2)	32.00 (8)	4.00 (1)
All group	54.29 (178)	34.86 (137)	5.09 (20)	12.21 (48)	2.54 (10)

## Group Identification

- 1 = Active female loanee
- 2 = Ineffective female loanee
- 3 = Wife of male loanee
- 4 = Control village target-group
- 5 = G.B. village non-member target group
- 6 = (.50 - 2.50 acre) landowners
- 7 = 2.50 & above landowners

Table 2.9: Type of Households for Various Groups of Loanee and Non-loanee Households

Groups	Type of Household					
	Nuclear		Extended		Joint	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
1. Active female loanee	112	84.3	16	12.0	5	3.8
2. Ineffective female loanee	15	83.3	2	11.1	1	5.6
3. Wife of male loanee	25	67.6	10	27.0	2	5.4
4. Control village target group	43	79.6	4	7.4	7	13.0
5. GB village non-member target group	47	74.6	10	15.9	6	9.5
6. (.50-2.50 acre) landowners	34	54.8	12	19.3	16	25.8
7. 2.50 & above landowners	8	32.0	3	12.0	14	56.0

Table 2.10: Relationship Between the Loanee and Non-Loanee Housewives of Various groups With the Head of the Household.

Groups	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Relationship With the Head of the Household							
Self: Cases	13	-	-	-	-	-	-
%	9.8	-	-	-	-	-	-
Husband: Cases	113	16	35	53	60	55	23
%	85.0	88.9	94.6	98.1	95.2	87.3	92.0
Son: Cases	4	1	1	-	3	4	1
%	3.0	5.6	2.7	-	4.8	6.3	4.0
Other male: Cases	3	1	1	-	-	2	1
%	2.3	5.6	2.7	-	-	3.2	4.0
Mother: Cases	-	-	-	1	-	2	-
%	-	-	-	1.9	-	3.2	-

#### Group Identification

- 1 = Active female loanee
- 2 = Ineffective female loanee
- 3 = Wife of male loanee
- 4 = Control village target group
- 5 = G.B. village non-number target
- 6 = (.50-2.50 acre) land owners
- 7 = 2.50 & above land owners.

Interesting point to note, however, is that 10% of the loanee women ~~were~~ heads of the household themselves. Few of the control groups in our sample had female headed households. Male member other than husband was head of the family for 6% of the loanees (Table 2.10).

#### Resource base

In terms of the average size of own land, the male and female loanees are of almost equal standing. The average size of land owned was 23 decimal for male loanees and 25 decimal for female loanees, the difference between these averages is not at all significant statistically. This average was .9 decimal for non-member landless and 16 decimal for the control village target group. Thus among the cliental group women belonging to larger landholding group joined GB.

Even within such similar average landownership, there is one difference between male and female loanees. Among the women, a larger percentage is completely landless (possesses no land, not even for homestead). 24% female loanees and 8% male loanees fall in this group. So even within the target group, women form a lower strata and deserves more attempt for their uplifting.

Other important assets in rural areas consist of livestock. We found that the average number of cows and goats owned by the loanee women and men were almost same at the time they entered the Bank. The figures are 1.66 and 1.59 cows and 1.33, 1.95 goats for male and female loanees respectively. But only 33% of male loanees and 22% of female loanees possessed cows and 32 and 28% possessed goats.

Table 2.11: Distribution of Ownership of Homestead for Various Groups of Loanee and Non-Loanee Households.

Groups	Homestead owned by		
	Self	Others within the family	Others outside the family.
1. Active female loanee	22.6 (20)	74.5 (99)	3.0 (4)
2. Ineffective female loanee	-	88.9 (16)	11.1 (2)
3. Wife of male loanee		97.3 (36)	2.7 (10)
4. Control village target group	1.9 (1)	88.9 (48)	9.3 (5)
5. G.B. village non-number target group	6.3 (4)	88.8 (56)	4.8 (3)
6. (.50-2.50 acre)	4.8 (3)	95.2 (59)	-
7. 2.50 and above land owners	4.0 (1)	96.0 (24)	

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Table 2.12: Ownership of Land and the Size of Cultivated Holding of Loanee and Non-loanee Households

Groups	Land owned per household (in acres)	Average size of cultivated holding (acres)
1. Active female loanee	.25	.25
2. Ineffective female loanee	.26	.19
3. Wife of male loanee	.23	.38
4. Control village target group	.09	.23
5. G.B. village non-member target group	.16	.25
6. (.50-2.50 acre) landowners	1.27	2.99
7. 2.50 and above land owners	5.45	3.45
All households	0.93	1.04

Table 2.13: Ownership of Non-land assets by Male and Female loanees.

Loanee	Percentage of loanees who own		Average number of animal owned	
	Goat	Cows	Goat	Cows
Male	32	38	1.88	1.66
Female	28	22	1.95	1.59

Thus the male and female loanees do not show any large difference in terms of the ownership of basic resources by the family, though among the female loanees a larger percentage fall in the completely deprived group with very meagre assets.

In terms of average family size the loanee and the control groups are very similar (table 2.14). But the difference arises from the smaller mean number of male earners among the active female loanee households as compared to other loanee and non-loanee households. This is one of the factors which accounts for the joining of Grameen Bank by these women.

We should highlight one point of difference of the loanee groups as compared to non-loanee groups. This relates to the participation ratio. The last column of table 14 shows that all the loanee groups and specially the active female loanee families have much higher participation ratio. This is the consequence of increased female participation resulting from GB financed activities.

Table 2.14: Average Number of Earning members among Various Groups of Loanee and Non-Loanee Households.

Groups	Family size	Average number of male earners	Average number of total earning members	Participation rate
1. Active female loanee	4.36	1.29	2.24	46.1
2. Ineffective female loanee	5.11	1.56	2.06	40.3
3. Wife male loanee	4.83	1.49	1.77	36.6
4. Control village target group	4.84	1.36	1.50	31.0
5. G.D. village non-member target group	4.96	1.45	1.69	34.1
6. (.50-2.50 acre) land owners	5.98	1.65	1.78	29.8
7. 2.50 & above land-owners	3.80	2.12	2.17	24.7
All	5.48	1.50	1.94	35.4

### Chapter 3

#### Banking Performance of Female Loanees

##### Progress of Credit Operatior

This section will review the progress of credit operation of the GB among women and will examine the repayment performance of female loanees vis-a-vis the male loanees.

.....Progress of credit operation for women has two aspects - the increase of the number of women joining the Bank and the expansion in the amount of loan disbursed. Table 3.1 shows the trend in the number of female loanees over the entire period. During the recent years the number has increased faster than in previous years. The reason may be either that women are becoming more progressive and coming forward as the Bank is becoming well known in an area.

But the more mportant reason seems to be the encouragement given form the side of the GB. The female members are larger in proportion in the new compared to the old branches. This policy is rational in view of the better repayment performance of female loanees and the consciousness about the need to enhance the position of women. Whatever be the reason, rural women have improved their position day by day in terms of their access to institutional credit provided by Grameen Bank.

Table 3.1 shows that the amount of loan taken by each loanee is increasing. Two points can be noted. The amount of loan given to the new loanees has increased over time. The size of loan has

also increased with the age of membership with GB. The first may be explained in terms of supply side policies. The second from demand side. The confidence of the loanees and/or the profitability of an enterprise increase with the volume of investment. This becomes apparent to the loanees after they get their first loans. So they place a higher request next time. As a branch becomes older and/or with the success of GB venture it is possible to take the risk of giving a larger loan to the new members.

Table 3.2 shows the amount of loan currently lying with male and female loanees. It is observed that the amount of loan given to both male and female loanees are higher for the older members. This is partly due to a gradual increase in the amount of loans disbursed each year. This is reflected by the difference of the present loan with ones first loan, which is higher for older loanees (Table 3.3). This along with the data on the volume of the first loan shows one interesting trend. Male loanees who are members for five years or more obtained on the average taka 2063 as their first loan from the GB. Average loan given initially to the female loanees (who have been members for 5 years or more) was taka 1094 which is almost half the amount given to male loanees. Over the years, the amount of loans disbursed to old members has increased, for female loanees the rate of increase has been proportionately more than the male loanees. The size of current loan for male loanees for this group is only 16% higher than that for the female loanees. Even the situation of new female loanees

has also improved. The size of the current loan for none of the groups (on the basis of age of GB membership) of male loanes is more than 16% higher than the current loan of female loanees. Male - female difference in the amount of first loan disbursed from GB has decreased for the new members. These figures suggest that the male - female difference in the amount of loan given by GB is being gradually removed. It appears from the findings that female loanees started their journey cautiously and timidly who have now gathered experience and confidence over time.

Table 3.1: Distribution of GB loan between the two sexes during the last 8 years.

Year	Total amount of loan (00,000)		Total Members		Average amount of loan	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
1978	2.87	0.53	220	700	1304	757
1979	23.17	7.35	1297	903	1786	814
1980	160.96	40.5	10,175	4,655	1532	870
1981	390.01	146.71	14,772	9,356	2640	1568
1982	674.46	281.32	18,631	11,785	3620	2387
1983	1284.03	665.17	31,782	26,538	4040	2506
1984	2805.45	2137.34	53,006	38,045	5293	3214
1985 (upto November)	4331.21	4592.96	59,076	109,443	7331	4197

Table 3.2: Average amount of loan currently distributed by the age of GB membership and sex.

Membership Duration (Number of loans)	Male		Female	
	Average amount (taka)	Standard deviation	Average amount (taka)	Standard deviation
One	2376 (101)	72.25	2043 (174)	58.61
Two	3365 (159)	90.83	3061 (221)	96.40
Three	3787 (94)	123.67	3597 (77)	101.64
Four	3315 (46)	117.55	3284 (44)	97.29
Five or more	3005 (41)	131.28	3273 (18)	91.11
All group	3264 (441)	114.31	2832 (534)	103.84

Figures in the parenthesis show the number of cases.

Table 3.3: The average amount of loan received on the first occasion for GB members of various duration by sex

Membership Duration (Number of loans)	Male		Female	
	Amount (Taka)	Standard Deviation	Amount (Taka)	Standard Deviation
One	2273 (80)	84.24	2044 (169)	56.39
Two	2224 (159)	69.80	1821 (221)	73.36
Three	1929 (94)	79.87	1699 (77)	82.61
Four	2018 (46)	77.05	1391 (44)	67.61
Five or more	3805 (41)	131.28	3278 (18)	91.11
All group	3264 (441)	114.31	2832 (534)	103.84

Figures in the parenthesis show the number of cases.

Table 3.4: Difference (in taka) Between the current and first loan for loanees of various duration of membership and by sex.

Duration of Membership (Number of loanes)	Male	Female
Two	1141	1240
Three	1858	1898
Four	1297	2183
Five or more	1741	2183
All group	1236	1035

### Repayment performance of female loanees

In view of the procedure of weekly repayment in small amounts, the GB members find it easy to repay the loan. It is found from the credit survey that most loans are repaid timely and very small proportion remains overdue (Table 3.7). Only 3.2% of the total loans remained overdue among the female loanees. The loan repayment performance of women is better than that of male loanees. Amount falling overdue beyond 52 weeks (by which time the loan needs to be entirely repaid) is insignificant (less than 1%).

Table 3.5 gives information about the regularity of repayment performance. 81.3% of female loanees do not have any overdue installments, as compared to 74.4 for male loanees. 8.6% of male loanees and 7.8% of female loanees have 6 or more overdue installments. On the other hand 11.4% of male loanees and 13.5% of female loanee (table 3.6) have paid some installments in advance. 3% loanees of each sex have paid 6 or more installments in advance. Thus in each count, the repayment performance of female loanees is better and the rate of repayment is excellent.

Such repayment performance by female loanees deserves more credit on a few other related grounds. An earlier study (Hossain 1985) as well as the present study, shows that female activities financed by GB loan yield a lower return than male activities. So a regular repayment means a greater strain for these loanees. Apart from that, the loan of many of the female loanees are used by their husband or male household members who may be reluctant to supply the loanee

Table 3.5: Distribution of overdue loans by Number of instalments overdue

Number of advance instalments	Male loanee		Female loanee		All loanee	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Nil	328	74.4	434	81.3	762	78.2
1 - 2	51	11.6	30	5.6	81	8.3
3 - 4	24	5.4	28	5.2	52	5.3
6 & over	38	8.6	42	7.8	80	8.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>441</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>534</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>975</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Table 3.6: Distribution of Cases by Number of advance instalments paid, by Sex.

Number of advance instalments	Male loanee		Female loanee		All loanee	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Negative (overdue)	113	25.6	100	18.7	213	21.8
Nil	278	63.0	362	67.8	640	65.6
1 - 2	27	6.1	42	7.9	69	7.1
3 - 5	10	2.3	14	2.6	24	2.5
6 +	13	3.0	16	3.0	29	2.9
<b>All loanees</b>	<b>441</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>534</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>975</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Table 3.7: Extent of overdue loans

Sex	Amount of credit received	Amount overdue		Percent overdue	
		Total	Beyond 52 weeks	Total	Beyond 52 weeks
Male	14,41,500	49,650	4,810	3.4	0.3
Female	15,12,500	49,060	9,310	3.2	0.6

with funds to pay the installments. It remains her responsibility to get the required sum by generating other sources of income (like vegetable gardening) or by persuading the husband who is otherwise indifferent. The survey findings show that a larger percentage (8.1%) of loan taken by female loanees are spent for unproductive purposes as compared with that for the men (4.9%). This part of a loan is difficult to pay back as it does not generate any income directly. The good repayment record of female loanees has to be assessed against this unfavourable background which will further glorify their performance.

## Chapter 4

## Use of Loan by Female Loanees

In this chapter, we shall examine the pattern of utilisation of loan in general, and the extent of utilisation for generation of self-employment for the women in particular. In patriarchal rural society, there is a risk that even if institutions are channelling resources to women, it may ultimately go to the hands of male guardians in the family. This may result from the forcible claim by a husband (or other male member) as well as through the willful surrender of the money to the husband by the loanee herself. This she may do to avoid the physical labour that is required or simply because of the lack of confidence required in organising an activity and may rely on the husband to maximise the income and welfare of the family. GB's recent policy of giving loan to only one member of the family may encourage this even more. She may use the loan to add to the capital of her husband. This often becomes essential when an urgent investment was held up due to the lack of fund, e.g. mending the transport vehicle used by the husband for earning etc. As long as the weekly installment payment is assured by the husband, the wife has no interest to deny a sharing of the loan with the husband.

In such a situation it is rather unexpected that we found 77.4% women utilising more than 75% of the loan herself. Only 12% loanees surrendered all their borrowed money to their husband (or male guardians).

Table 4.1: Average Amount of Loan Used by the Loanee Herself for various Sizes of Total Loan.

Amount of total loan	Average Amount of loan taken* (TL)	Average amount (taken) of loan used by the loanee herself (LS)	$\frac{LS \times 100}{TL}$
1-1000	912	912	100.00
1001-1500	1430	1296	90.62
1501-2000	1899	1688	88.89
2001-2500	2369	2192	92.53
2501-3000	2831	2272	80.25
3001-4000	3666	2642	72.07
4001-5000	4460	2055	46.08
All groups	2376	1920	80.80

\*This is for those loanees who use at least a part of the loan themselves.

Table 4.2: Size of the Loan Given to Women who Did not use any part of the loan herself

Amount of total loan	Total cases	Number of cases not using the loan herself
1-1000	15	-
1001-1500	16	1
1501-2000	34	5
2001-2500	20	-
2501-3000	33	5
3001-4000	25	9
4001 & above	8	3
All groups	151	18

If we consider only those who did not surrender the total amount, we find that 80% of their loan is used by them. Table 4.1 and 4.2 show the relation between total amount of loan and the percentage used by the loanee herself. We find that those who borrow a larger amount, transfer a greater percentage to other family members.

If we relate the proportion of loan used by the female loanees themselves, with the number of times they had taken loan, we find that the performance of the new loanees are better. The rate of utilisation by self falls with the number of years of SB membership (except the oldest group where the number of cases is very small). Table 4.4 gives this information.

Table 4.3: Percentage of loan used by the female loanee herself for various periods of GB Membership

Percentage used by herself	Number of cases	Amount of loan (taka) used by herself	Total amount of loan taken (taka)
00	18	00	3057
1 to 10	4	206	2881
11 to 25	5	702	3327
26 to 50	11	1259	3134
51 to 75	10	1832	3019
75 to 90	5	2155	2565
90 to 100	97	2143	2149
All group	151	1701	2461

Table 4.4: Relationship between the percentage of loan used by the loanee herself and the period of her membership

Period of membership	Percentage of the loan used by herself	Number of cases
1 year	87.60	26
2 "	81.99	72
3 "	61.67	35
4 "	53.83	12
5 & above	65.83	4
All members	75.49	149

### Pattern of Sectoral Allocation of Loan

An interlinked issue is the diversion of loan to unproductive or consumption use. When the loan is obtained, a part of it is spent on consumption items or consumer durables such as mending house etc. When we report this as a drain of productive resources, we should bear in mind that in future families resources may be used to supplement the rest of the fund from loan to make a sufficient amount for investment. A few borrowers may even add her own resources over and above the borrowed amount. This would be a net addition to the investment. This supplementary investment would not be made in the absence of the borrowed fund. Such net addition to investment may be seen as some form of pull factor generating new saving and investment. An estimation of such incremental investment is easier for female loanees who did not usually operate the same enterprise earlier. For them the whole investment in the GB activity is a new investment and a deduction of the GB loan coming to the hands of the woman from the total investment will show the net addition or reduction (through consumption) in investible fund supplied by the loan.

Our data (table 4.6) shows that 95 loanee added an amount of taka 89252.00 from other sources. In this discussion we considered only the loan to which the loanee had access. Any amount taken by the husband did not enter this calculation. In contrast a total of 83350.00 were channelled to the male family members which is slightly higher than the amount of investment supplemented from the

Table 4.4: Relationship between the percentage of loan used by the loanee herself and the period of her membership

Period of membership	Percentage of the loan used by herself	Number of cases
1 year	87.60	26
2 "	81.99	72
3 "	61.67	35
4 "	53.83	12
5 & above	65.83	4
All members	75.49	149

Table 4.5: Distribution of the total amount (net of GF & EF) of loan given to women

Range of total loan (taka)	Number of cases	Average amount of loan for each woman
1-1000	15	911.7
1001-1500	16	1424.7
1501-2000	34	1898.8
2001-2500	20	2368.7
2501-3000	33	2838.6
3001-4000	25	3675.2
4001 & above	8	4016.9
All group	151	2457.8

**Table 4.6: Total capital Investment by Female Loanees in comparison to Total Amount of Loan Obtained.**

Total Amount of loan (taka)	Number of loanees who invest			Average amount of investment over and above then loan
	More than the loan	Less than the loan	same amount	
1-1000	14	-	1	741.87
1001-1500	12	1	2	616.47
1501-2000	23	1	5	788.10
2001-2500	15	2	3	715.25
2501-3060	18	2	8	464.64
3001-4000	11	-	3	522.31
4001-5000	2	-	3	270.00

families resources. But we shall not think that this amount is lost totally from the productive sector because a part of the fund taken by the husband was also invested in productive activity.

What happens to the money that is transferred to the husband or other male members of the family? Table 4.7 shows the distribution of this money. It includes the fund used by the male members from both the groups of female loanees; who partly use the loan and who surrender the total amount. Twenty Six percent of this money is spent on essential and non-essential consumption. The proportion is larger than that spent for consumption purposes by the female loanees themselves. Thus on the grounds of productive

Table 4.7: Sectoral Distribution of the GB Loan Used by the Male Family Members

Sector	Number of cases engaged in this sector	Amount of the loan used	% of total amount used by male members
Livestock	4	5077	5.76
Agriculture	10	25350	18.07
Processing	3	9500	6.77
Trading	25	59500	42.42
Essential consumption	14	17100	12.19
Non-essential consumption	10	19635	14.00
Others	1	11.00	.01

utilisation of loan it may be useful to see that the female loanee retains the control over the loan herself. We should take note of another fact. Twenty five percent of the fund taken by the husband was used in agriculture. Most of it was invested in taking land on mortgage or releasing previous mortgaged out land.

What are the sectors where the loan is used by the loanee? Only in four cases Tk. 305, on average, was spent for consumption and housebuilding purposes. This is an insignificant percentage of the total amount of loan used by them.

Livestock raising is the most popular activity in which the loan is used. 89 female loanees out of 133 were engaged in beef-fattening or raising milch cow. Another 9 women reared goats. The next important activity was paddy processing combined with trading. The nature of this activity is that paddy is purchased from the market and the women are involved in processing the paddy which is husked either in the dhaki or in rice mills (or a combination) and the rice is then sold. The margin between the sale proceeds and the initial investment in paddy is the profit. This activity involves two components: processing and trading. They cannot be separated and has to be treated as joint activity. 79 women were engaged in this paddy processing cum trading activity.

In one area of Tangail, oil pressing has been a traditional skill and many women invested on oil pressing machine and/or bullocks used in that machine. This has been the third major activity financed by the loan.

Oilpressing required the largest amount of capital on the average followed by milchcow raising. Trading, paddy processing and beeffattening follow the list. It is found that capital per enterprise is not very large in any of these activities. This is because of the fact that in the existing circumstances none of the activities could be carried out on a larger scale. For example, most women would lack the space and adequate supply of fodder for accommodating more than one cattle. In the circumstances they often choose to diversify the investment in two different activities. This also

reduces the risk and since income from livestock raising comes with a long gestation period, a supplementing of a quick return yielding investment facilitates the repayment of weekly installments. Paddy processing and poultry raising is most often undertaken as the supplementary investment.

For most of the activities, we find that when they are undertaken as the second important activity the capital investment is smaller than in the same activity undertaken as the first activity (table 4.9). This is due to both a shortage of funds as well as due to the constraints on the availability of family labour input in some cases. The first constraint could be relaxed by enhancing the amount of loan in the next phase.

Table 4.8: Importance of various activities undertaken by female loanes and financed by GB.

Sectors	Number of enterprises	Total capital involved (Tk)	Average capital per enterprises
Beef fattening	43	53690	1481
Miltoh cow raising	46	93305	2028
Goat & Poultry	13	4315	332
Paddy processing cum trading	79	128032	1621
Murimaking and selling	5	10490	2098
Oil pressing	11	27600	2509
Trading	3	6100	2033
Others	1	2050	2050

Table 4.9: Total capital per Enterprise in each activity when undertaken as primary or secondary involvement

Sector	Average capital when undertaken as	
	Primary activity*	Secondary activity
Beeffalting	1517 (39)	1131 (4)
Milchcow raising	2041 (44)	1750 (2)
Paddy processing cum trading	1924 (24)	1488 (55)
Muri making	2517 (3)	1470 (2)
Oil pressing	2509 (11)	-
Goat, poultry	305 (8)	375 (5)
Trading	2050 (2)	2000 (1)
Others	2050 (1)	-

\*Figures in the parenthesis are the number of cases.

## Chapter 5

### Impact on Income and Employment

#### Income

GB loan is expected to raise the level of income for the loanee and thus raises the total income of the family as a whole. The loan may not only raise the income of the loanee but may increase the income of other members through a few direct and indirect processes accompanying the loan. Firstly, a part of the loan may be invested by another member of the household which will enhance his/her income. Indirectly, the loan may act as an incentive to all members of the family who may try to increase income. For example when the husband buys a cow with GB loan, the wife may try to grow more vegetable which can be sold to enable them to repay the weekly installment. In assessing the impact of GB loan on income earned by the women both of the above aspects should be kept in mind.

The estimates of household income earned by different groups of samples are presented in table 5.1. In terms of average family income, the female loanees have fared well and earned more than both the project village non-members as well as control village target group. The families of female loanees earned a slightly higher average income than families with only male loanees. This may be due to a larger average income as the female members are involved in productive employment, along with the male workers of the family.

**Table 5.1: The Situation of Household Income of various  
Loanee and Non-loanee Groups**

	Average yearly household income (in Taka)	Number of cases
Male loanee	18019	35
Female loanee	18090	33
Project Village Non-member	14204	68
Control village target group	12696	63
(51-250 dec.) landowners	21296	56
275+ landowners	416555	23
All group	18504	278

Thus a loan given to a women is no less efficient to raise family income than a loan to the male workers.

It should be mentioned here that the positive impact on income occurred despite the fact that a larger percentage of female loan from GB is spent on consumption purposes, which do not directly add to the family income. But some indirect forces must have worked in such cases. Since installments are paid weekly, some income is generated through means which do not require much financial investment.

A loan may reduce income of a family, if it is consumed and if its repayment required the selling of productive assets. Or if the loan is consumed and the scope of escaping repayment may encourage the loanee to sit idle and not being engaged in income generating work as the consumption needs are met from the loan. Neither of these can be true for GB loan which needs to be repaid in weekly installments.

In fact, it is found that in those cases where the loanees reported a decline in their income after being GB member occurred due to some adverse situations not related to the GB loan.

The comparison of change in income for male and female loanees after joining GB are given in table 5.2. For the female loanees, only 12 out of 525 reported a decline in income after they started taking GB loans, which is only 2% of the whole group. As to the reason of such decline of income, only 2 women out of 12 reported it to be due to not performing any productive work. All others reported accident, misfortune like crop damage and a rise in cost as the causes of decline of income. Thus GB loan not only raises family income on the average, but income of (91%) the large majority of the loanees had seen an increase.

As to the reason of the rise in income, an increase in the amount of capital invested in business is most important for both male and female loanees. But for a large percentage of women the reason of income increase is their involvement in income earning activities which they did not do previously. In fact all the reasons

**Table 5.2: Grameen Bank Loanees Own Perception About the Change in Their Income After Joining the Bank**

Type of change	Number of loanees		% of total sample	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Increase	409	482	95.41	91.51
Same as before	23	33	5.31	6.31
Decrease	6	12	1.31	2.21
<b>Total</b>	<b>438</b>	<b>527</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>

mentioned are direct or indirect impact of GB loans, except an increase in the volume of wage employment, rise in wage and others. These three exceptions are general in nature but may as well be related to the operation of GB. Table 5.3 and 5.4 gives distribution of the importance of the various reasons.

Table 5.3: The Most Important Reasons of Rice in Income of the Grameen Bank Loanees

Reason	% of loanees	
	Male	Female
1. Free from the clutches of money lender	12.37 (49)*	5.26 (23)
2. Increase in business Capital	67.68 (263)	52.63 (230)
3. Participation in productive employment as against non-involvement	8.08 (32)	31.35 (137)
4. Rise in agricultural wage	1.01 (4)	1.37 (6)
5. Now they are employed for larger number of days	0.50 (2)	-
6. Engaged in poultry growing	-	0.46 (2)
7. Engaged in fruits and vegetable growing	0.50 (2)	0.23 (1)
8. Investment of the GB loan in Agriculture	2.76 (11)	1.37 (6)
9. Others	7.07 (28)	7.32 (32)
Total	396	437

\* Number of respondents is shown in the parenthesis.

**Table 5.4: The Relevance of Various Reasons for a Rise  
in Income of the Gramscen Bank Loanees**

Reasons (stated either as the most important, second or third reasons)*	Number of loanees**	
	Male	Female
1. Free from the clutches of money lender	132 (33.33)	59 (13.50)
2. Increase in business Capital	350 (88.38)	346 (79.18)
3. Participation improductive employment as against non-involvement	87 (21.97)	263 (60.36)
4. Rise in agricultural wage	31 (7.83)	50 (11.44)
5. Now they are employed for larger number of days	24 (6.06)	23 (5.26)
6. Engaged in poultry growing	55 (13.89)	86 (19.70)
7. Engaged in fruits and vegetable growing	206 (52.02)	167 (38.21)
8. Investment of the GB loan in Agriculture	108 (27.27)	62 (14.19)
9. Others	77 (19.44)	107 (24.48)
Total		

\* Each loanee had the option of stating three most important reasons, in the order of importance.

\*\*Figures in the parenthesis give the percentage of total respondents who consider this as a relevant reason.

The income earned by the women themselves from utilisation of the loan can be seen from Table 5.5. On the average they earn 5140 taka per year. This comes to about 36% of the total income earned by the household on the average. Table 5.5 also shows the distribution of earnings of these women. We find that 30% of them earn above taka 6000 per year. Such an income is sufficient to maintain 2.2 persons above the poverty level.<sup>1</sup> 16% loanee women earn a negligible sum of less than 1000 taka per year. This is mostly due to the fact that such a percentage uses less than 25% of their loan themselves. The rest is used by male members of the family. The income from such activity (organised by women with loan from GB) is around 28% of family income. A more important point to note is that 4% of these loanee women contributed almost the whole of the family income because there were no male earners. In total 22% contributed 50% or more to household income.

It was mentioned earlier that though these activities are organised mainly by the female loanee and mainly with the finance provided by the GB, this often emerges as a family activity where families resources are also pooled and other members contribute labour input to this activity. But still we think that it is justified to consider that the female loanee generates this income, because it is her catalytic role as GB member that had made possible this endeavour.

<sup>1</sup> This is based on the estimate of poverty level income by Atiq and Saha (1985).

**Table 5.5: Distribution of Yearly Income Earned by  
Grameen Bank Loanee Women**

Range of Income (Tk.)	Income from only Loan activities	
	Cases	Average Income
1-500	7	309
501-1000	14	775
1001-2000	11	1330
2001-3000	5	2417
3001-4000	29	3601
4001-6000	26	4877
6001-8000	17	6892
8001+	23	12605
All group	132	5140

**Table 5.6: Women's Income Earnings from Activities not  
Financed by Grameen Bank Loan.**

Group of women	Number of earners	% of all household in the group	Average yearly earning (Taka)
Active loanee	55	24.81	497
Inactive loanee	4	22.22	442
Wife of mal. loanee	12	32.43	92
Housewives of non member target group in project villages	19	35.18	62
Housewife of target group population in control villages	22	34.37	178
Housewife of (50-2.50) landowners	14	22.58	106
Housewife of (1.51+) landowning group	6	24.00	113

Table 5.7: Average Income and Employment From Gramen Bank Activities for Female Members of Various Duration

Periods of membership	Number of members	Average yearly income from GE activities	Average monthly employment for the loanee in GE activities
One	25	4964 Taka	121.0 (hours)
Two	65	5151 "	127.0 "
Three	29	4773 "	82.7 "
Four	8	3692 "	54.4 "
Five and above	4	8715 "	124.1 "
All members	149	5149 "	110.2 "

### Employment

It is argued (Rahman 1984) that the participation of women in development means that they engage themselves in productive employment and thereby enjoy an income. So apart from income generation, GB loan may be considered to have fruitfully contributed to integration of women in development if they earn an income by engaging in the productive activity themselves. This survey collected information on the time input of various members of the family to the activity organised by GB loanee women. The reference period of survey is last one month. We find that during this period, the loanee women on the average worked 4.2 hours a day in their GB loan financed

activity. Including their participation in other productive activities of the household these women worked 4.93 hours a day in direct income earning activities. Such involvement in productive activity was small for other groups of women.<sup>1</sup> Table 5.8 shows that housewives in non-loanee groups worked an average of 15 to 58 hours a month on such productive work (self-employment). This comes to .44 hours to .66 hours a day.

#### Employment creation for other members of the family.

In rural areas of Bangladesh, the farm and the household are closely interlinked. The household premises accommodate the economic activities while in most cases (except in a few very rich families) the family members contribute most of the labour. This is also true for GB loan financed activities.

Though a loan is given to a specific person who is responsible for its use and repayment, other members of the family often participate by contributing their labour time. So the employment creating effect of female loanee activities cannot be fully understood from table 5.6 only. In 75 cases the husband of the loanee contributes labour time. Table 5.9 shows different indicators of participation of other family members. Since most of these loanee women previously did not organise such activities, the employment generated for others is likely to be a net addition to employment opportunity for them.

1. This amount of involvement in productive work may not be very representative for the year as a whole, because our survey was conducted during the period September-October which is a slack of all activities in rural areas. But the intergroup comparison may not be affected very much.

Table 5.8: Impact of GB activity on employment of women

Identification of the group	Hours worked over a month*		
	GB activity	Other self employment	Other wage employment
Active GB loanees	125.9(131)	35.3(67)	
Passive GB loanees		50.4(6)	
Wife of male loanee		28.5(33)	
Control village target group		15.1(49)	90(1)
GB village non-member		19.7(54)	4(1)
GB village (.51-2.50 acre)		19.9(56)	
GB village (2.5 & above)		15.1(25)	

\*Figures in the parenthesis indicate the number of cases.

Table 5.9: Employment for other family members generated by activities organised by Grameen Bank loanee women

The type of member	Average monthly (in hours) employment in female GB activity
Husband	52.6(75)*
Other male members	67.0(30)
Other female members	62.2(61)

\*Figures in the parenthesis show the number of cases.

In 61 cases other female members of the household were also involved in these loan financed activities and on an average 2.1 hours of labour input was contributed by them per day.

We tried to see whether the total amount of loan given to the woman shows any systematic pattern with the employment generation for the loanee, her husband and other members of the family. But we did not find any obvious pattern.

Table 5.10: Relationship between employment creation in female GB activity and the total amount of loan given to them

Amount of loan (taka)	Monthly hours of employment in GB activity for			
	Loanee	Husband	Other male member	Other female members
01-1000	128.1 (25)	29.3 (6)	98.4 (2)	83.5 (6)
1001-1500	154.4 (14)	47.1 (10)	104.9 (2)	69.5 (8)
1501-2000	123.1 (30)	54.3 (16)	78.0 (9)	39.4 (15)
2001-2500	127.3 (20)	79.4 (11)	121.9 (6)	86.1 (8)
2501-3000	126.7 (28)	51.1 (16)	62.8 (6)	91.4 (11)
3001-4000	113.4 (20)	43.8 (12)	76.2 (5)	41.4 (9)
4001 & above	67.3 (5)	56.7 (4)	-	20.3 (4)
All group	125.6 (132)	52.7 (75)	87.0 (38)	62.2 (61)

## Chapter 6

**Impact of GB loan on the Consumption Standard of Women**

The situation of consumption of basic necessities by women in a family (and the housewife in particular) will depend not only on the family income but also on who earns it, who decides the expenditure pattern and how much control these women have with respect to their basic wellbeing. We had shown that the GB loanees (active) earn an income many times higher than that they did before they joined the Bank and also in comparison to their counterpart housewives in the non-member target group. They contribute more than one third of the family income. We shall also see in a later section that these women have a greater control in the family decision making process. Apart from their involvement with the Bank, its membership and access to institutional credit also means an access to some fixed assets and endows these women with a special status within the family. Other family members become more conscious about the comfort and wellbeing of the loanee women. All these forces are likely to exert beneficial impact on the level of consumption of these women. Now we shall present some indicators on their consumption level.

It requires very specialised surveys to measure exact food consumption or nutritional intake by a person which was beyond the scope of this study. We enumerated the number and type of food items consumed by the husband and the wife during the last one day. In addition,

for the reference period of last one week we collected the number of meals they had, i.e. the number of days when they had one meal, day for which they had two and three meals. Our assumption is that a larger number of meals means a better standard of food intake. It is also desirable to avoid long periods of hunger.

Table 6.1 shows that the number of meals taken yesterday are higher for the loanee groups but are not very different for the male and female loanee groups. This is true for the husband and the wife separately. We also enumerated the type of food items consumed by each of them during the last one day. This was done to reflect the variety in their meal. We find an improvement in this respect for both the husband and the wife occurring in the families of active female loanees.

Table 6.1: Number of meals taken by the husband and the wife for various groups

Group	Average number of meals taken			
	Last day		Last week	
	Husband	Wife	Husband	Wife
1. Active female loanee	2.73	2.68	19.00	18.58
2. Ineffective female loanee	2.39	2.78	19.22	18.94
3. Male loanee	2.70	2.62	18.65	17.14
4. Control village target group	2.45	2.30	15.08	14.74
5. C.B. village non-number target group	2.55	2.41	18.52	16.63
6. 1.50-2.50 acre land owners	2.32	2.77	19.15	18.52
7. 2.50 & above land owners	2.86	2.96	20.29	19.48

Table 6.2: Types of food items consumed by the husband and the wife in various groups.

Group	Average number of items consumed by the	
	husband	wife
1. Active female loanee	3.22	3.00
2. Ineffective female loanee	2.55	2.44
3. Male loanee	2.84	2.65
4. Control village target group	2.85	2.74
5. G.E. village non-member target	2.81	2.66
6. (.50-2.50 acre) land owners	3.32	3.22
7. 2.50 & above landowners	3.16	3.12

Similarly a slight improvement is seen for both the husband and wife of the female loanee group (table 6.2). Thus, there is some indication that a loan to women may improve the food consumption standard of women (but not at the cost of that of male members) though the differences as yet are not very significant.

Consumption of clothing and expenditure on them can reflect the improvement in the standard of consumption, more than that reflected by food consumption or number of meals. These loanee households being drawn from the poorest strata would suppress their need for clothing in favour of maintaining an adequate food intake. So an improvement in income will be reflected more in an increased expenditure on clothing than on food.

Data collected includes the number and value of the items consumed by the head of the household and the housewife. Some difference may be noted for the male and female loanee. We compare the number of sarees (the main dress for women) and the number of shirts and Punjabis bought during the last one year for them.

Expenditure on clothing was found to be significantly higher for the loanee groups as compared to the comparable control groups. But the amount of expenditure on clothing by male and female loanee households were very close. So we should not expect very large difference in the consumption standards (of clothing) for women from male loanee household or for female loanees. Again, like the slightly improved situation of food consumption indicators, consumption of clothing by female loanees is somewhat better than the housewives in male loanee households. In table 6.3 we give figures on the number & value of Sarees purchased during last one year for various groups of women. Table 6.4 gives the total expenditure on clothing for housewives in different groups.

We find that the situation of the wives of male loanees are not better than the wives of non-member landless. On the contrary, the loanee women get larger number of sarees and spend a greater amount on this item than the housewives in group 3,4 and 5. The differences in both the number and value are statistically significant. While such improvement is achieved for the female loanee, their husbands are not neglected. The number of items purchased (lungi and shirt-punjabi) by the husbands and their values are higher than those purchased by loanee males and the same in non-loanee groups (table 6.5).

Table 6.3: Some Indicators on the Consumption of Clothing by Women from Various Loanee and Non-loanee groups

Group	Number of Sarees	Amount spent on sarees (taka)
1. Active female loanee	2.10	222.50
2. Ineffective female loanee	2.06	210.78
3. Male loanee	1.65	177.16
4. Control village target group	1.65	181.43
5. G.B. village non-number target group	1.78	193.02
6. (.50-2.50 acre) land owners	2.16	262.27
7. 2.50 & above land owners	2.64	346.92

Table 6.4: Number and values of clothing items purchased by husband of female loanees and the male head of household in other groups.

Groups	Average number and values of items per male head of household			
	Lungi		Shirt & Punjabi	
	Number	Value	Number	Value
1. Active female loanee	2.29	140.05	1.14	72.99
2. Ineffective female loanee	2.50	148.03	1.39	93.33
3. Male loanee	2.11	126.70	1.03	68.24
4. Control village target group	1.96	119.17	0.74	44.26
5. G.B. village non-number target group.	2.03	132.78	0.98	60.01
6. (.50-2.50 acre) land	2.14	142.32	1.16	101.62
7. 2.50 & above landowners	2.84	196.72	1.28	136.03

The last item we discuss to illustrate the situation of women in terms of expenditure for their own benefit, is the medical expense. Table 6.5 gives data on average medical expenses per woman who got any treatment. But the data on this account should be treated with caution because the nature and seriousness of diseases may vary. Still we get some indication that the loanee women are receiving more attention for their healthcare at least in terms of the money spent in a year. We do not expect a systematic bias to make the diseases of loanee women more serious.

We should conclude by noting a small point. We find that the situation of female loanees who passed the entire loan to their husband is better than the wives of male loanees in terms of number of meals taken, the number and value of clothing purchased and also in terms of medical expenses. Thus even such a passive loan improves the situation of a woman in the family.

Table 6.5: Medical expenses for treatment of housewives in various groups.

Group	Average amount (taka) spent last year
1. Active female loanee	62.43
2. Ineffective female loanee	55.47
3. Inl. loanee	18.50
4. Control village target group	16.47
5. C.T. village non-number target group	37.31
6. (.50-2.50 acre) land owners	80.69
7. 2.50+ acre land owners	23.50

### Impact of GB loan for women on the situation of fertility

The proximate determinants of fertility are the age of marriage, the extent of breastfeeding, extent of induced abortion and the extent of contraceptive use. GB membership among women can effectively influence the last one only. The other three are related more deep rooted socio-cultural attitudes and practices. Before going to the analysis of why and how the extent of contraceptive use can be influenced by participation in GB activity, we would like to mention that some of the GB programmes may in the long run influence the secondary factors affecting fertility as well. Some of these are reduction of infant mortality rate, higher value attached to the female children etc. GB is engaged in active campaign of the health and sanitation problems. Boiling of drinking water and use of sanitary latrines are encouraged. But these are long run processes and the problem of sanitation cannot be solved only by disciplining the GB members, unless the whole village cooperates.

Similarly a perception of the value attached to female children may change as the GB loanees perceive the scope of income earning by the female members. In fact the lower value attached to female children often comes via the labour market opportunities (Lipton 1983).

Coming to the more proximate determinant of fertility, we have to analyse how far the GB member families adopt family planning and whether they actually show any decline in fertility rate. The pattern of adoption of family planning practices give some useful insights.

The rate of adopters are highest for male loanee group followed by active female loanees and control village target group. The other groups show a much lower adoption rate (Table 7.1).

Table 7.1: Adoption of Family Planning Practices by Various Groups

Group	Adopters of family planning	
	No. of cases	% of eligibel cases
1. Active female loanee	55	46.9
2. Ineffective female loanee	2	11.8
3. Wife of male loanee	18	40.6
4. Control village target group	22	44.9
5. G.E. village non-member target group	16	29.1
6. (.50-2.50 acre) land owners	15	23.3
7. 2.50 & above landowner	6	30.0

Further insights may be derived from the information on the actual adopter of the family planning practices. We asked the question as to who adopts the practices, the husband or the wife or each of them alternately. The answers are presented in Table 7.2. In group 2 the number of adopters are very small. Among the others, wife is the adopter in largest percentage in the group of active loanees. In most other groups, the practice of the shifting use of family planning method among the husband and the wife is predominant. In such

cases we have doubts about the seriousness of the adopters and the continuity of use.

Table 7.2: Who Adopts Family Planning Practices Among the Various Loanee and Non-loanee Group

Group	Adopter					
	Wife only		Husband only		Both, alternately	
	Cases	%	Cases	%	Cases	%
1. Active female loanee	33	63.5	10	19.2	9	17.3
2. Ineffective female loanee	2	100.0	-	-	-	-
3. Wife of male loanee	5	29.4	1	5.9	11	64.7
4. Control village target group	9	40.9	1	4.5	12	54.5
5. G.E. village non-member target group	7	43.8	2	12.5	7	43.8
6. (.50-2.50 acre) landowners	7	46.7	1	6.7	7	46.7
7. 2.50 & above landowners	1	33.3	1	33.3	1	33.3
All groups	64	50.4	16	12.6	47	37.0

Apart from contraceptive use, GE loan to female members initiate a basic change in the lives of these women, a change which is considered only as a long term process in the society. This change consists of the active participation in economic activity to a much larger extent than usually done by women. Not only that they contribute

labour input, but they also participate in the entrepreneurship of the activity. They contribute to the family's income and they also have a greater influence in family's decision making. This is likely to influence their attitude and values. They will perceive the cost of having a child to be larger than if they were not involved in the economic activity.

Now let us see how these changes have actually affected the fertility rates among women.

The evidences on birth rates are not so clear cut and often difficult to interpret. Table 7.3 presents the data on child birth during last one year. The average rate is calculated for the currently married women in the eligible age group (15-50 yrs).

Table 7.3: Birth rate for the previous year for various groups of GB loanee and non-loanee

Group	Number of eligible women	Number of births	Rate of birth
1. Active female loanee	113	16	.137
2. Ineffective female loanee	17	4	.235
3. Total loanee	37	3	.176
4. Control village target group	49	7	.142
5. C.V. village non-loanee target group	55	6	.111
6. (1.50-2.50 acre) landowners	53	1	.151
7. (2.50 & above) landowners	20	1	.050

From this table we find that some of the loanee groups have higher birth rate than other groups. But it is encouraging to see that the active female loanees have the lowest rate among the loanee groups. Secondly these rates should be treated with caution because we find large difference in the total children born to various groups of these women. Table 7.4 shows that the average number of children born during the life time are much lower for the loanee groups. One important factor explaining this difference is the lower average age of the loanee women. This may also account for the larger number of births among them during the previous year. We tried to compare the births last year among women of same age in the various loanee and non-loanee groups. But the comparison is not meaningful since the number of births in each cell are very small. To get a better picture to assess the impact of GB on fertility, we compare a longer period of time and construct the following analysis.

Table 7.4: Total Fertility Rates for Various Loanee Groups

Loanee group	Number of cases	Total children born	Total fertility rate
1. Active female loanee	129	504	3.91
2. Passive female loanee	17	65	3.82
3. Hal loanee	31	100	3.40
4. Control village target group	50	224	4.48
5. G.P. village non-member target group	56	247	4.41
6. (.50-2.50 acre) landowners	57	266	4.72
7. 2.50 & above landowners	25	171	6.84

Table 7.5 gives an interesting finding where we present the number of birth over the loan period for the male and female loanees who are CD members for varying periods. We find that total children born during the loan period as well as per year is smaller for female loanees who are members for longer periods. During the shorter periods the female loanees have higher rate of births.

Though the above analysis does not give any conclusive evidence of larger contraceptive use rate by female loanee couples or of a gratefully reduced fertility rate, there is indication that a loan given to a woman may have better impact in this respect than a loan to a male member.

Table 7.5: Average number of children born to male and female loanees over the years of membership

Period of membership	Total number of children born per loanee over the period		Average number of children born per year per member	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
1	.098	.286	.098	.286
2	.279	.312	.139	.156
3	.945	.333	.318	.111
4	.676	.590	.169	.147
5 & above	1.846	.333	.359	.067

## Chapter 3

Impact of GB loan on the consciousness, aspirations and decision making power of women.

Women's participation in economic activity not only means an increase in their income but is expected to generate some secondary influences in the life and attitude of these women. As women are earning money and organising economic activities, they are expected to have a more prominent role in families decision making with respect to expenditure of income and other related family matters. Such an active participation by women may help to develop their personality as well as help the family by making it possible to take more judicious decisions.

In this sphere it is very difficult to collect data and pass any judgement. Within the family, the husband and the wife may have various importance in various types of decision making. To get a picture of this we collected information on decision making with respect to (a) day to day purchases of food items (b) the purchase of clothing (c) type of treatment in diseases (d) going out for a travel to relatives house (e) Marriage of son or daughter. These areas of decision making reflect a varying degree of important activities. In assessing the role of wife we classify the responses to two groups the wife is important in decision making if it was reported that the decision is taken (a) mainly by the wife or (b) with an equal emphasis on the opinion of the husband and the wife. The wife is not important

as a decision maker if the decision is taken only by the husband or mainly by the husband. The results on the five areas of decision making are reported in Table 8.1.

Table 8.1 shows that in all spheres of decision-making, the pattern of influence in various groups is not the same. But one clear conclusion emerges from the table. Among the three loanee groups, the housewives in the male loanee group have the least participation in decision-making. The 'transfer making' female loanees are in a better situation than housewives in the male loanee group though they are less important than the active loanee women. Among the non-loanee groups the trend is not clear though it may be suggested that the decision making power of women has no systematic relation with the family's land-ownership situation.

Now, let us see whether such importance in their role in family's decision taking is accompanied by a rise in the level of consciousness among the loanee women. Here again, we can present only a few indicators to reflect the level of consciousness and aspirations.

Recently there has been a national level drive by various organizations to educate rural women about the oral rehydration therapy as a treatment of diarrheal diseases which is most prevalent among children in rural areas. The process of preparing oral saline is disseminated by various mass media. GE also promoted this as the bank workers teach the loanees about this process. So we enquired about the knowledge of saline preparation among housewives from various groups.

Table 3.1: Importance of women in family decision making for various loanee and non-loanee women.

% of families where decision is taken mainly by the housewife or jointly by husband and wife in the case of					
Group	Day to Day purchase of food	Purchase of clothing	Type of treat- ment	Travel to relatives house	Marriage of son or daughter
1	72.9	45.1	66.2	69.2	78.0
2	72.3	39.0	63.3	55.6	94.4
3	59.4	3.1	37.8	27.0	71.5
4	94.4	31.6	38.9	68.9	86.3
5	74.0	31.7	55.6	61.8	75.8
6	54.0	31.7	44.5	52.4	67.7
7	80.0	48.0	52.0	68.0	92.0

Another indicator we chose about consciousness is whether the women exercised their voting right in the last election for local level representatives (Upazila Chairman). In this respect GB did not exert any influence directly or indirectly. So we selected this as representing an unhindered criterion.

Table 3.2 gives information on these two aspects. With respect to preparation of oral saline, a very high percentage in each group know this. Yet the percentage is larger for loanee groups compared to other landless-group housewives. Among the loanee groups, female loanees have a larger percentage in the sample who knows the preparation,

With respect to voting, we find that a larger percentage of women in the lower families had cast votes.

Table 3.2: Indicators on the level of consciousness of women in different groups

Group	% of women who knows the method of preparing oral saline	% of women who had cast votes in the last local election
1	92.5	73.5
2	94.4	76.5
3	81.1	59.5
4	53.7	46.3
5	77.8	43.5
6	80.6	50.0
7	76.0	52.0

These are some of the indications, that the involvement in CB activity may initiate some changes in the lives of the women. To assess the prospect of changes in future, we tried to identify their aspirations about their sons and daughters. In this respect, we tried to dig out their mind with respect to a few future ambitions. They include, the educational attainment of their son and daughter, the age at which they would like to arrange the marriage of the daughter and the occupation in which they would like to see the son.

In terms of their vision of education of their sons and daughters, the loanee groups show some difference with other groups. Few women from loanee groups expected that their sons or daughters would remain illiterate or would leave school before completing the primary level. Among the non-loanee landless groups a much larger percentage thought that their sons and daughters would not go above primary level. In this respect the loanee women are even better than the landowning groups. But in terms of ambition of higher education for sons and daughters, the non-loanee groups are more ambitious as a larger percentage of women expected them to go above the P.S.C. level. In this respect we should not compare the loanee groups with the landowning groups because the latter have a higher expectation which is based on their difference in the background. The lower ambition of loanee groups may also be viewed as a more cautious and practical assessment of the future prospect. It may however be mentioned that the ambition of educating girls is lower than that for boys, for all groups. But loanee women show significant enlightenment in attitude, as they would prefer not to leave girls illiterate as much as for sons.

Similarly when we enquired about the preference of occupation for the son, two occupations emerged as popular: trading and salaried job. There was no thinking about large or small scale industrial and processing activities. Few of them preferred cultivation as an activity except some medium farmers. None of the large farmers showed preference for agriculture. Among the female (active) loanees and the non-member landless there is an equal preference (35% and 33%)

Table 3.3: Aspirations of various groups of women about the education of son and daughter

Group	% of women who aspire for various levels of education for sons and daughters					
	Below primary		Upto S.S.C.		H.S.C. & above	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
1	2.6 (3)	2.0 (2)	62.0 (67)	64.3 (65)	35.6 (38)	13.7 (14)
2	6.3 (1)	-	37.5 (6)	64.6 (11)	56.2 (9)	15.4 (2)
3	-	3.1 (1)	45.7 (16)	78.2 (25)	54.3 (19)	12.7 (6)
4	17.5 (7)	23.1 (9)	27.5 (11)	51.3 (20)	55.0 (22)	25.6 (10)
5	11.0 (5)	17.0 (7)	44.5 (20)	51.2 (21)	44.5 (20)	31.6 (13)
6	-	9.1 (5)	33.4 (10)	72.7 (40)	66.6 (36)	13.2 (10)
7	4.3 (1)	9.1 (2)	21.7 (5)	36.3 (8)	74.0 (17)	55.6 (12)

Table 3.4: Preferred age of marriage for the daughter

Group	Average preferred age (years) at marriage for daughter
1	16.15
2	16.25
3	16.18
4	15.02
5	15.86
6	16.52
7	17.32

Table 8.5: Preferred occupation for the son

Group	% of women preferring various occupations for the son				
	Trading	Rickshaw pulling	Salaried job	Own agriculture	Wage work
	% cases	% cases	% cases	% cases	% cases
1	34.9 (38)	0.9 (1)	59.3 (65)	1.0 (2)	2.8 (3)
2	25.7 (4)	-	66.7 (10)	-	6.7 (1)
3	27.8 (10)	2.3 (3)	58.3 (21)	5.6 (2)	-
4	17.5 (7)	-	67.5 (27)	5.0 (2)	10.0 (4)
5	33.3 (13)	2.1 (1)	52.1 (25)	4.2 (2)	8.4 (4)
6	14.5 (3)	-	70.9 (39)	14.5 (2)	-
7	18.2 (4)	-	31.3 (18)		

respectively for trading. So these preferences do not tell us much about the future direction of employment generation or activity expansion. But as to the possible uses of fund from Gramscn Bank in the future, we do not see any significant desire to change the current emphasis on trade.

Lastly, we consider that in rural areas the preference of age at marriage is an important reflection of one's consciousness. In rural Bangladesh, the age at marriage is still low and the parents usually arrange the marriages of the children. The replies from various groups of women are summarised in table 0.4. Loanee women and housewives from loanee (male) families showed a higher preferred age of marriage for their daughters than the housewives of other landless groups. Even if these are not actually implemented and the actual age at marriage is lower than these opinions, it reveals an awareness among the housewives in loanee groups that it is desirable that girls are married at a higher age. However, the landowning group and specifically the largest owners give the highest age for the marriage of daughter. This is again explained by their greater economic and social power.

Apart from matters related to general consciousness, we consider the matters which are directly related to Grameen Bank activities.

Grameen Bank recently is trying to popularise some broad norms of activities and behaviour which are expected to improve the health and economic situation. Before the loanees accept these norms they must be familiar with them. To this end a list of sixteen statements describing these norms were formulated (the current version of this list was finalised by suggestions from loanees themselves). To make the loanees-aware of these norms, the Bank Workers encourage the loanees to remember these statements which are currently popular as 'sixteen decisions'. The seriousness to remember these statements reflect

the enthusiasm of the loanees about the disciplines related to bank activities.

In our survey we tried to check, how many of these statements are actually remembered by the loanees. Before we go to our findings, we should recognise that it is not proper to expect that they should recollect large number of these statements as they are new norms of behaviour as well as they are formulated in a vocabulary with which they are not familiar. Yet it is encouraging to find that most loanees remember some of these statements. In this respect the female loanees perform better than the male loanees. On the average male loanees could remember 6.6 statements as compared to 7.6 statements by female loanees. Twenty six percent of male loanees and 17.5 percent of female loanees did not remember any of these statements. Seventeen percent of male loanees, and 23 percent of female loanees could recollect all the sixteen statements.

Since this programme is taken up recently, those loanees who have been members for a longer period show less familiarity with these statements. New members, both male and female remember more of them. The difference between female and male loanees is larger for new members than on average for all members (Table 8.7).

How far these norms are actually followed is difficult to judge. We examine one of them which is easy to follow in the day to day life. This relates to the source of drinking water. They are made aware that they should drink water from tubewells or should boil the drinking water.

Table 8.6: Performance of Male and Female loanees in Recollecting the 'Sixteen Statements'.

Number of statements recollectd	Percentage of male loanees	Percentage of female loanees
None	26.0(114)	17.5(95)
1-5	23.9(105)	28.4(151)
6-10	23.3(102)	21.0(112)
11-15	9.8(43)	10.5(56)
All (16)	16.9(74)	22.6(120)
Total	99.8(438)	100.0(532)

Figures in the parenthesis are the number of cases.

Table 8.7: Average Number of Statements Recollectd by Male and Female Loanees For Various Periods of Membership .

Period of membership	Average number of statements recollectd	
	Male loanees	Female loanees
One	7.67	9.14
Two	6.51	8.25
Three	7.52	5.26
Four	4.35	3.57
Five and above	4.85	4.83
All loanee	6.61	7.61

We found that 75.6 percent of female loanees drink tubewell water, the corresponding percentage for male loanees being 70.7 (table 3.8).

Those who do not use tubewell water should boil their drinking water. We asked whether they do so. Sixty percent of such female loanees and 42 per cent of male loanees responded that they boil water. As percentage of all loanees 12 percent of male and 14 percent of female loanees boil their drinking water (Table 3.9). This confirms that it may be more useful to operate among female loanees who are more serious about improving the standard of health and living.

As a matter of routine, all meetings of the 'Centre' start with physical exercise by the members. In the social setting of the rural areas, we thought that the female members may have objection about such physical exercise. But 85 percent of the female members replied that they have no objection to these discipline.

Our observation is that, these additional activities, which are not essential for the success of the credit programme itself, are helpful to improve the discipline among the GB members in all spheres of life. Moreover, these activities give them a feeling of being united in a group. They gather confidence and a self esteem.

The usual stance of a poor rural woman is that under a long veil she bows down and eyes are fixed on the ground and she talks in a shy and timid manner. She never looks straight to the eyes of an unknown urban visitor (male or female). When one talks to a GB loanee woman the difference is striking and very obvious. They will stand

Table 8.8: Source of Drinking Water by Male and Female loanees

Source	Percentage of* male loanees	Percentage of female loanees
Tubewell	70.7(312)	75.8(405)
Well	21.3(94)	14.4(171)
Pond, river etc.	7.3(35)	9.7(87)

\* Number of cases are given in the paranthesis.

Table 8.9: Whether Drinking Water is Boiled

Whether boils drinking water	Male loanees		Female loanees	
	No.	% of all loanees	No.	% of all loanees
Yes	51	11.78	72	13.71
No	382	88.22	452	86.29
Total	433	100.00	524	100.00

confidently and speak out as an equal partner in a conversation. Though they have veils on the head and a baby on the lap, they do not bow down but reflect the spirit that now they are being valued by the society. The spirit is more apparent among those women loanees who have been members for a longer period. The new ones are proceeding step by step.

We do not want to overemphasise the progress. But when an outsider goes to a group of female loanees he/she is likely to be moved to see that those poor rural women who were simply ignored, have risen to establish themselves as independent entities.

## APPENDIX: Tables Giving Results of Some Statistical Test

Table - A.1: Statistical Tests showing the significance in the difference in the characteristics of female loanee households.

Variable: Number of Sarees Purchased in a year by the Loanee/Housewife

Groups	Average value of the variable	Number of cases	Separate variance estimate		
			T-Value	Degrees of freedom	2-tail probability
Active female Loanee	2.14	133	2.13	77.36	0.036
Controll village target group	1.76	54			
Active female Loanee	2.14	133	4.01	85.85	0.000
Male loanee household	1.64	37			

Table - A.2: Statistical Tests showing the significance in the difference in the characteristics of female loanee households.

Variable: Amount spent on Sarce in a Year  
the Loanee/Housewife

Groups	Average value of the variable	Number of cases	Separate variance estimate		
			T-Value	Degrees of freedom	2-tail probability
Active female Loanee	220.83	133	2.01	71.76	0.048
Control village target group	181.48	54			
Active female Loanee	220.83	133	2.09	61.22	0.005
Male loanee household	177.167	37			

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Table - A.3: Statistical Tests showing the significance in the difference in the characteristics of female loanee households.

Variable: Number of Lungis Purchased by the Male Head of Household over a Year

Groups	Average value of the variable	Number of cases	Separate variance estimate		
			T-value	Degrees of freedom	2-tail probability
Active female Loanee	2.19	127	2.35	166.72	0.020
Controll village target group	1.96	54			
Active female Loanee	2.19	127	0.78	98.69	0.437
Male loanee household	2.10	37			

Table - A.4: Statistical Tests showing the significance in the difference in the characteristics of female loanee households.

Variable: Amount Spent by the Male Head of Household on Purchase of Clothing over a Year (tak)

Groups	Average value of the variable	Number of cases	Separate variance estimate		
			T-Value	Degrees of freedom	2-tail probability
Active female Loanee	240.54	124	4.09	151.43	0.000
Controll village target group	103.92	54			
Active female Loanee	240.54	124	1.02	72.59	0.312
Male loanee household	22.59	37			

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Table - 4.5: Statistical Tests showing the significance in the difference in the characteristics of female loanee households.

Variable: Number of meals Taken by the Male Head of Household during one Week

Groups	Average value of the variable	Number of cases	Separate variance estimate		
			T-Value	Degrees of freedom	2-tail. probability
Active female Loanee	10.05	128			
Controll village target group	15.00	24	5.90	32.19	0.000
Active female Loanee	10.05	128			
Male loanee household	10.05	37	1.51	59.27	0.136

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Table - A.6: Statistical Tests showing the significance in the difference in the characteristics of female loanee households.

Variable: Number of Meals Taken by the Male Head of Household the Day Before the Interview

Groups	Average value of the variable	Number of cases	Separate variance estimate		
			T-value	Degrees of freedom	2-tail probability
Active female Loanee	2.60	124			
Controll village target group	2.40	52	2.58	96.86	0.009
Active female Loanee	2.58	124			
Male loanee household	2.70	37	-0.17	71.89	0.868

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Table - A.7: Statistical Tests showing the significance in the difference in the characteristics of female loanee households.

Variable: Number of Meals Taken by the Housewife During One Week.

Groups	Average value of the variable	Number of cases	Separate variance estimate		
			T-Value	Degrees of freedom	2-tail probability
Active female Loanee	18.46	131			
Controll village target group	14.74	53	9.67	124.65	0.000
Active female Loanee	18.46	131	2.65	60.65	0.010
Male loanee household	17.13	37			

Table - A.8: Statistical Tests showing the significance in the difference in the characteristics of female loanee households.

Variable: Number of Children Born Last Year

Groups	Average value of the variable	Number of cases	Separate variance estimate		
			T-Value	Degrees of freedom	2-tail: probability
Active female Loanee	0.12	133			
Control village target group	0.13	54	-0.17	95.03	0.864
Active female Loanee	.12	133			
Male loanee household	.08	37	0.73	66.57	0.467

Table - A.9: Statistical Tests showing the significance in the difference in the characteristics of female loanee households.

Variable: Total Number of Children Desired by the Household.

Groups	Average value of the variable	Number of cases	Separate variance estimate		
			T-Value	Degrees of freedom	2-tail probability
Active female Loanee	2.66	133			
Controll village target group	3.48	52	-3.56	63.94	0.001
Active female Loanee	2.66	133			
Male loanee household	2.70	37	0.73	66.57	0.467

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