Group Lending in South-India A Gender Perspective

Isabelle Guérin Institut de Rercherche pour le Développement, French Institute of Pondicherry)

Presentation Outline

- Context
- Methodology
- Research Questions
- Main Results
- Concluding Toughts

The context The Self-Help-Group Model

- SHG as « microbanks »
 - Stage 1 group formation (12/20 members)
 - Stage 2 savings and internal lending
 - Stage 3 linkage
 - external loan (group loan), which is then lended to the members individually
- Linkage types
 - MFI
 - Banking linkage
 - Direct linkage (17%)
 - NGOs as Facilitators (75%)
 - NGOs as financial intermediaries (8%)

The SHG movement: main strenghts

- A dramatic growth...
 - Number of clients:
 - +82% per year since 1993 (2 924 973 linked groups in 2007)
 - Volume of credit disbursed:
 - •+ 110% per year since 1993
- A strong focus on women
 - 90% of the clientele
- A strong focus on rural areas
 - 80% of the clientele
- The SHG model: 2/3 of the total Indian microfinance supply

But many weaknesses

- Quantity at the detriment of quality
 - Rigid and standard supply
 - Limited amounts (100\$ on average)
 - Short term (one year)
- Microfinance NGOs:
 - A « credit plus » approach
 - Women empowerment » as a permanent and recurring discourse
 - But no real gender strategy (FWWB, 2005)

Research questions

- Members' perspective
 - social and financial aspects
- Group management
- Diversity of behaviors

Methodology

- An emphasis on the production of primary data
 - Diversity of socioeconomic contexts (rural areas in south India)
 - Diversity of microfinance NGOs
 - A focus on poor women (low caste)
- A combination of quantitative and qualitative tools
 - MIS, survey sampling
 - Live histories, group discussions, observation
- The challenges of empirical analysis
 - Poor MIS
 - Lack of transparency, NGOs control
 - Getting reliable figures on income, debt and savings

Members' perspective (1)

- Strong patriarchal norms
 - Men as breadwinners
 - Control on women mobility
- Daily practices
 - Men's « laziness »
 - Significative women's contribution to household income
 - Men's suspicion and resistance to social change
- Women's perception of « empowerment »
 - Challenging patriarchy is hardly conceivable
 - Women are rather looking for compromises, adjustement, bypassing and resistance

Members' perspective (2)

- Tensions and conflicts
 - « The SHG solve some problems but create others »
 - Intrahousehold tensions, group tensions, internal tensions
 - The tricky question of time
- Compromises
 - Additional women obligations as a counterpart of group participation
- Mutual learning of resistance practices
 - The group as a platform for discussions, exchanges and mutual learning to bypass patriarchal hierarchy

The example of financial practices

The context:

 A permanent paradox: managing family budgets without any control on family income

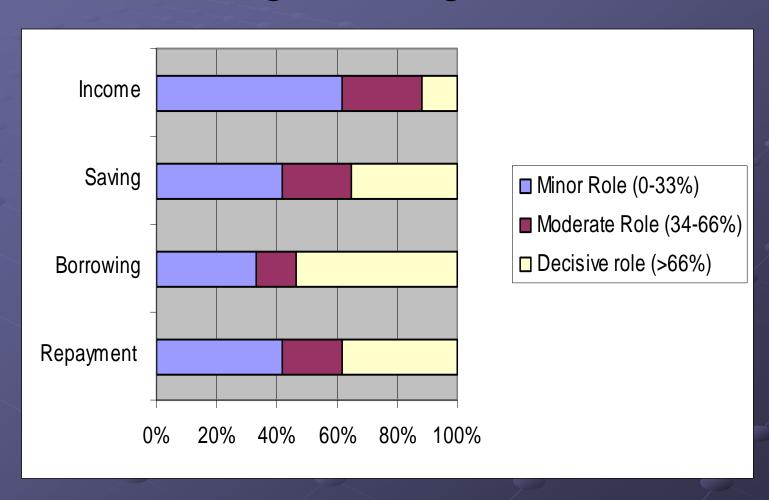
The consequences

- Diversity of financial women-led practices (borrowing, saving), partly clandestine
- Diversity of financial women circuits

SHG impact on financial practices (1)

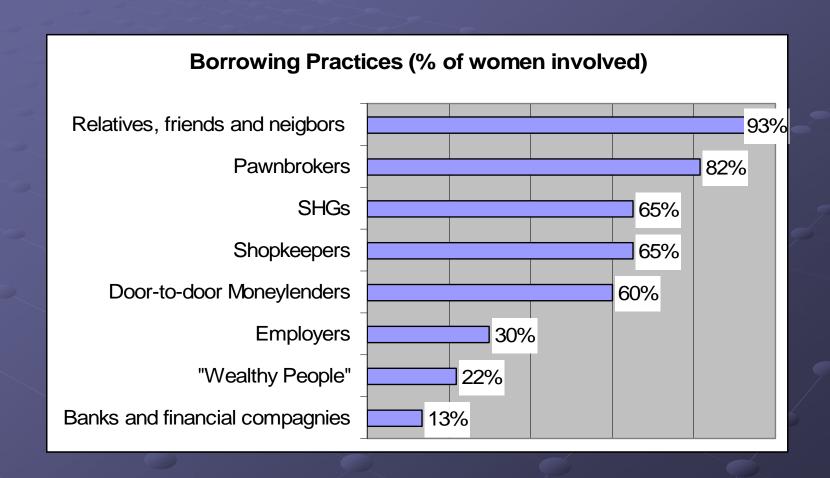
- Additional source of borrowing
 - But amounts remain limited compared to global indebtedness (5 to 30%)
- Additional pressure (regular instalments and social pressure)
- Internal arrangements
 - Flexibility
 - Strenghtening of women financial circuits

Women responsabilities in household budget management



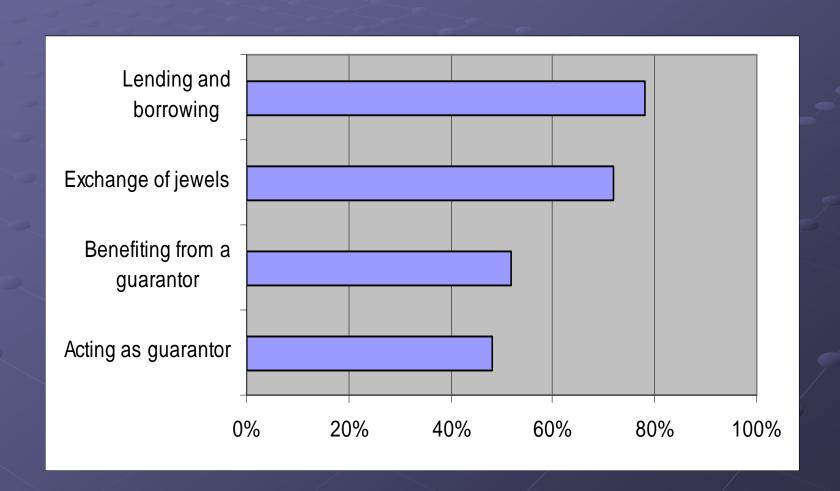
Source: author's survey, 2007 (Tiruvallur District, Tamil Nadu, India)

Women borrowing practices

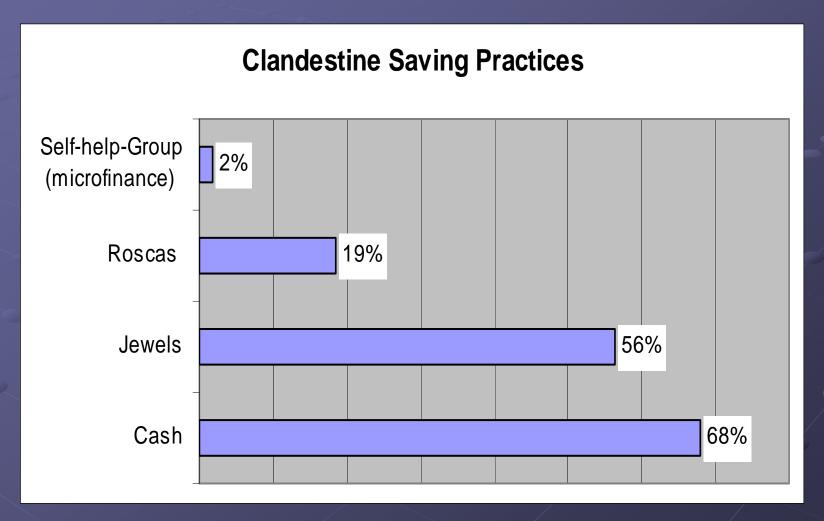


Source: author's survey, 2007 (Tiruvallur District, Tamil Nadu, India)

Women financial circuits



Women clandestine saving practices

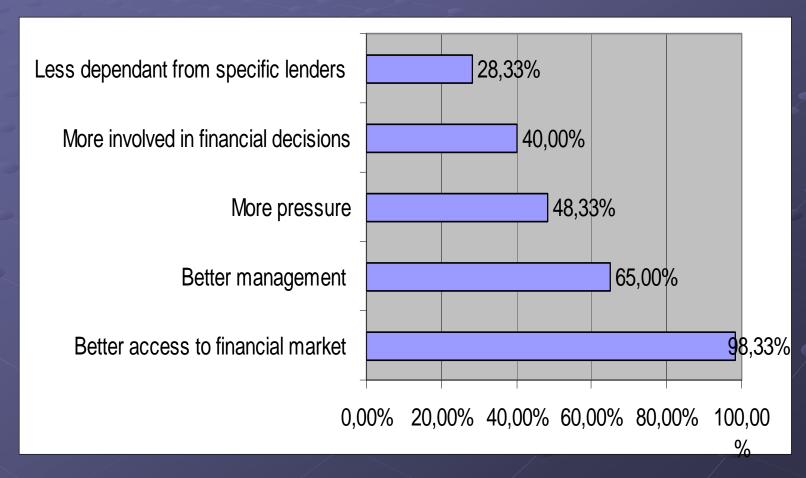


Source: author's survey, 2007 (Tiruvallur District, Tamil Nadu, India)

SHG impact on financial practices (2)

- Better access to the financial market
 - Better creditworthiness
 - Better information through mutual learning (informal financial market is non transparent and highly segmented)
 - The consequences:
 - For some, broader range of choice and diminution of dependance toward specific moneylenders (around 30%)
 - For others, vicious spiral of debt
- Better management
 - Regular instalments
 - Mutual learning in terms of management know how (strategies and tricks to bypass male and in-laws excessive control)

Microfinance impact on financial practices



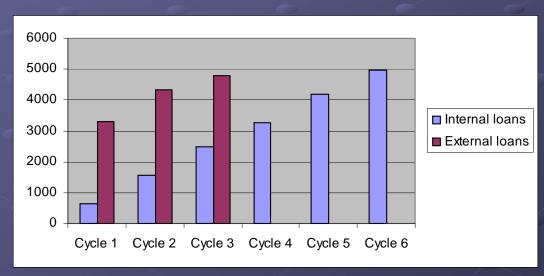
Source: author's survey, 2007 (Tiruvallur District, Tamil Nadu, India)

Group management (1)

- The decisive role of kinship relations
 - Positive: solidarity, incentive and enforcement
 - Negative: conflicts, bias in selection
- Leadership
 - Positive: « Multipurpose » group leaders and field workers
 - And negative (Power asymetries)
- Support from microfinance NGOs
- Local socioeconomic context

Group behaviors

- Financial circulation: passive versus hyperactive
- Types
 - « Average » behavior: progressive lending
 - example IRCDS (Thiruvallur District; 2003-2006)



Source: IRCDS data

- « Elitist » groups
- « Egalitarian » groups

Individual borrowing behaviors

- Types
 - Totally inactive (around 10%)
 - Partially inactive (around 30%)
 - Irregular (around 30/40%)
 - Hyperactive (around 10/20%)
 - Drop out (10%)
 - Non clients
- Explaining factors?
 - Diversity of profiles
 - Diversity of needs
 - Diversity of power and social relations

Concluding Thoughts

- The ambivalence of the SHG model
 - flexibility
 - highly vulnerable to capture by vested interests and to inequitable distribution of the benefits (Harper, 2002; Johnson, 2004)
- The ambivalence of leadership
- Can hardly promote directly social change but rather mutual learning allowing a better resistance to patriarchy
- Considerable hidden costs
- Group lending as a second rate system (Harper, 2007)?