

INCEPTION REPORT

Debt Spiral in Bangladesh's Microfinance:
An Assessment of its size and implication for
indebted household and suggestions for
remedial measures

December 9, 2025

Submitted to

Microcredit Regulatory Authority (MRA)

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Acronyms

BARD	Bangladesh Academy for Rural Development
BB	Bangladesh Bank
BBS	Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics
BDT	Bangladesh Taka
BHB	Bangladesh Handloom Board
BIDS	Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies
CAPI	Computer-Assisted Personal Interviewing
CIB	Credit Investigation Bureau
DA	Debt-to-Asset Ratio
DC	Deputy Commissioner
DSI	Debt Service-to-Income Ratio
DSK	Dushtha Shasthya Kendra
ERG	Economic Research Group
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
GB	Grameen Bank
GED	General Economics Division
GOB	Government of Bangladesh
HIES	Household Income and Expenditure Survey
LLP	Loan Loss Provision
LLPE	Loan Loss Provision Expense
MFI	Microfinance Institutions
MFS	Mobile Financial Services
MRA	Microcredit Regulatory Authority
MRA-NDB	MRA-National Database
MSE	Micro and Small Enterprise
NBFI	Non-Bank Financial Institutions
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
ODK	Open Data Kit
PAR	Portfolio-at-Risk
PKSF	Palli Karma-Sahayak Foundation
PO	Partner Organizations
RDA	Rural Development Academy
SME	Small and Medium Enterprise
TIN	Taxpayer Identification Number
ToR	Terms of Reference

1 Introduction: Background and Updates

1.1 Background to the MRA-ERG Contract

Over the years, the Microcredit Regulatory Authority (MRA) introduced a series of policy measures aimed at strengthening the microfinance sector in Bangladesh, grounded in the belief that access to financial services for poor and vulnerable populations is essential for promoting inclusive and sustainable growth. Despite these efforts, concerns have been raised regarding the possible emergence of a ‘debt spiral,’ in which borrowers get trapped in repeated cycles of borrowing and repayment. There are apprehensions that microfinance’s role in alleviating poverty may be increasingly getting overshadowed by the worsening financial hardship of an increasing proportion of borrowers. In extreme instances, such circumstances have reportedly contributed to suicides among heavily indebted households. MRA, therefore, seeks to measure the extent of over-indebtedness and identify the underlying drivers of the debt spiral, whether linked to MFIs or other financial actors.

Against this backdrop, MRA issued the call for an EOI for a research undertaking on April 28, 2025, to which ERG submitted its EOI on May 15, 2025. Following the short-listing of four firms, the RFP was released on July 15, 2025, and ERG submitted its proposal on August 18, 2025. Once the proposal was accepted and negotiations concluded, ERG was awarded the contract, which was signed on November 5, 2025.

The following table is a summary of the timeline to date:

Table 1: Important Dates till Signing of the contract

SI	Details	Date	Remarks
1	EOI Call	April 28, 2025	
2	EOI Submission	May 15 2025	
3	RFP Call	July 15 2025	
4	RFP Submission	August 18 2025	
5	Financial Proposal Opening	September 22, 2025	The proposals submitted by ERG were selected after the financial proposals were opened and assessed.
6	Contract Negotiation	September 25, 2025	Both MRA and ERG negotiated in good faith realizing the burden of taxes
7	Contract Signing	November 5, 2025	Effectively closed on November 9

1.2. Summary of Progress: Activities committed earlier

Table 2 presents the activities that were committed to be initiated or completed before the submission of the inception report. Status of those activities along with additional observations (if any) are mentioned in the last two columns.

Table 2: Summary of Ongoing and Completed Activities

SI	Proposed Activity	Commitment	Status	Remarks
1	Review of literature on indebtedness	To be initiated	Initiated, On-going	See Annex A.2 for a partial set of literature under review/to be reviewed
2	Review of existing policies and regulations about the MFIs framework	To be initiated	Initiated, On-going	See Annex A.3 for a partial set of existing policy documents under review/to be reviewed
3	Identify potential data sources for secondary data analysis	To be completed	Completed	A good portion of the branch-level MRA data has been received. Few other sources to be investigated, please see Section 3.
4	Finalize sampling methodology, respondent selection criteria, and identify study areas.	To be initiated	Partially completed. On-going	A revised scope of the survey activity is proposed, and details are given in Section 2. Sampling method under revised framework is also mentioned in Section 2.
5	Identify districts for data collection by the Reporter-Enumerator	To be completed	Completed - proposed	Based on revisions, a list of 16 districts is mentioned in Section 2.

In addition to stated commitments, the study team had extensively engaged in the following areas:

- Recruitment of a multi-disciplinary team and their in-house training along with multiple field visits to rural areas as well as to low-income settlements in Dhaka.
- Engage a Coordinator for the Reporters' Survey and undertake preliminary probing into availability of data in district Courts and upazila level police stations ('thana').
- Sign contract with software developer where the work is progressing along with questionnaire development. The intent is to simultaneously address both.
- Establish initial contacts with faculties of local universities and colleges for identifying and training motivated fresh graduates and senior university students who may engage in intensive field work in their localities.
- Secondary data compilation, along with literature review continue.

2. Research Approach and Methodology: Proposed Changes

2.1 Scope and Methods

The ERG study team had actively probed into several spaces. Beyond MRA and other data, members of the Team experimented with questionnaire, especially those of qualitative nature, in both rural and urban settings. Intensive engagement and in-house consultations led us to believe that structured questionnaire survey, in spite of the newly introduced balance sheet approach, will fail to capture the (presence or absence of) spiral indebtedness. The problem lies primarily in the ‘quick & dirty’ nature of the survey constrained by impatience of interviewees and the rush to fill in questionnaires by hired enumerators of survey firms. Thus several changes have been made with greater ERG supervision and in-housing grooming and motivation of Research Assistants and a few key enumerator-cum-supervisors-cum-junior researchers. Figure 1 provides the sketch while Table 3 gives the details.

Figure 1: Working backwards from Objectives (literature survey applies to all)

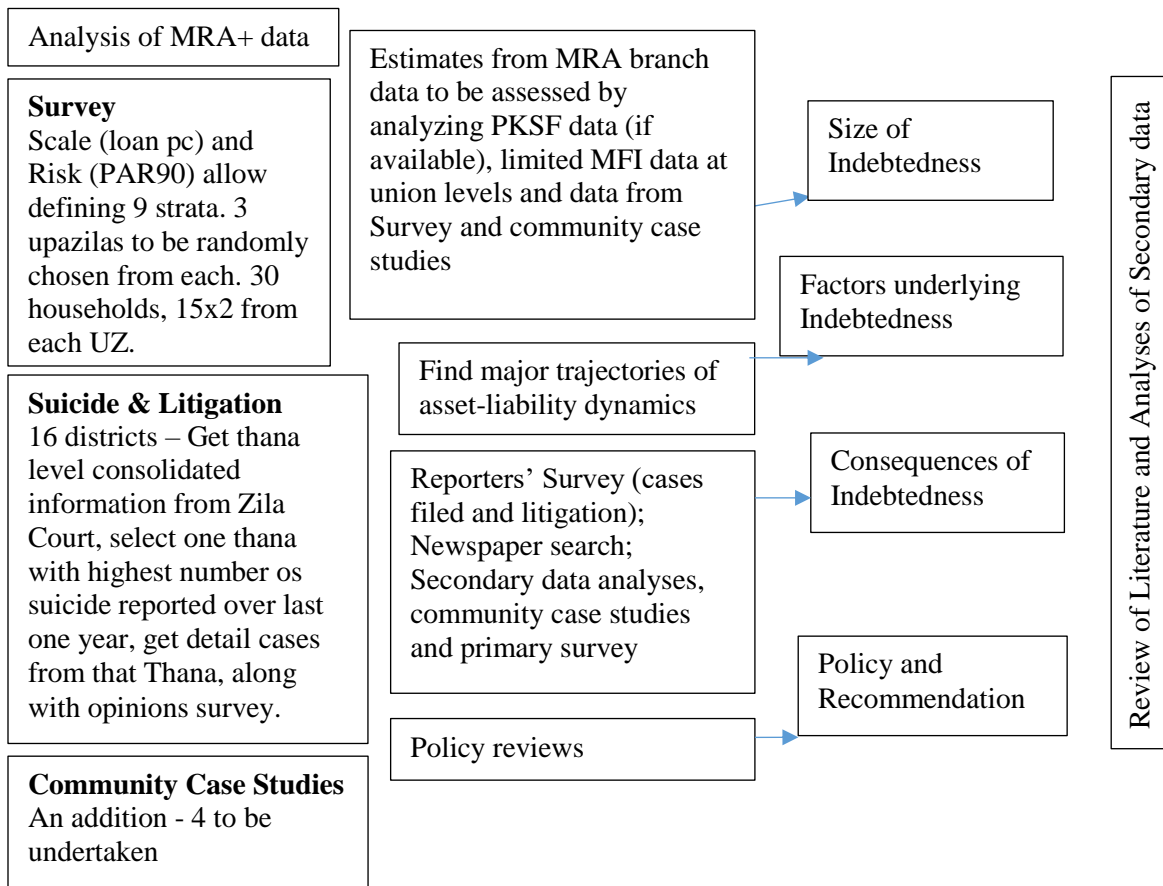


Table 3: Post-Inception Report Activities mentioned in the Technical Proposal, along with a few Changes Proposed

Research Activities Proposed in the Technical Proposal	Proposed Changes and Rationale	Remarks
Collection and Compilation of Secondary Data (Active cooperation from MRA is expected)	No major changes to these activities. However, data analyses at the national level will be confined to MRA branch-level data supplemented by upazila level statistics.	Review of existing literature and Data received from MRA provided the opportunity to identify hotspots and potential survey locations. Analyses tying in other data will be undertaken. We have not received any from PKSF
Analysis of Secondary Data		
Preparation of a report from the Literature review and analysis of secondary data		
Preparation of draft survey tools (questionnaires, manuals, case study design, etc.)	<p><i> Size of household survey combining quant and qualitative to be reduced from 1200 to 810, representing 9 strata defined on scale-risk dimensions (see Section 3).</p> <p><ii> 4 in-depth community-level studies that will include (a) rural-agriculture, (b) peri-rural/peri-urban, (c) a remittance-dependent area, (d) metropolitan.</p>	Reduction in sample size will be counteracted by the inclusion of community case studies, to be undertaken for a more nuanced and in-depth understanding of indebtedness and its consequences. Structured questionnaires will also be administered, which will add 100+ households to survey data.
Collection of Data (departmental data by reporter-enumerator and field survey by OrQuest)	Data to be collected under ‘Reporters’ Survey’ will follow up on thana-level consolidated information and concentrate on one thana per district for case details. Structured questionnaire survey, with reduced load for OrQuest, supplemented by ERG supervised field surveys engaging university-based groups) will be undertaken in April-May researchers. The community-based case studies will be initiated soon after the Inception report.	For the community level in-depth studies, we propose to include an agriculture-based rural neighborhood in Rajshahi, a a peri-rural at the fringe of a municipality in Mymensingh, and a remittance-dependent semi-rural area in Sylhet. Settlements of low-income groups in Dhaka and (if possible) in Chittagong metropolitan areas will be covered.
Recruitment and Training of Field Personnel		
Recruitment and Training of Reporter-Enumerator	Area coverage to be reduced from 24 to 16 districts. Suicide data collected from the district level would be checked against the district level indebtedness data to establish a causal relationship.	

Research Activities Proposed in the Technical Proposal	Proposed Changes and Rationale	Remarks
Conduct interviews and case studies.	Community case studies would be explored across three settings: i) Urban, ii) Peri-urban, and iii) Rural Areas. Urban case studies would incorporate elements that allow us to better understand the cases of various urban informal workers, like street vendors and domestic workers.	
Development of Apps for Survey/Balance Sheet	No major changes to these activities	Has been on since the inception
Pilot testing and finalization of research instruments, including the Apps		
App-based cleaning of data and consistency checks		
Analysis of the collected data		
In-house preparation of drafts and consultations		
Preparation of Draft Report with an executive summary (policy paper), and a policy brief with summary findings		
Revision of the draft report based on comments from the dissemination workshop		
Additional field visits (if required) and preparation of the final report		

In order to achieve the study objectives, both secondary data and literature are being reviewed to conceptualize indebtedness and understand its trajectory within the MFI framework. Table A.1 in the annex presents a partial list of literature that is under review for this assignment.

Review of Relevant Policies and Programs/Projects in

Table A.2 of the annex presents a detailed list of all the policies to be reviewed under this project.

List of Ongoing Microcredit Programs under Government/Autonomous Agencies in

Table A.3 of the annex presents a list of ongoing microcredit programs under the Government/autonomous agencies under this project. These programs will be reviewed further through communication with the relevant agencies and probing further into the details.

2.2 Survey Design and Sampling Strategy

There are three important surveys to be undertaken, which, along with a review of literature and policy documents, are expected to address the four objectives of the study. The household level survey is discussed first, followed by community case studies, and the third is the survey of MFI loan-related litigations in a selected number of districts.

2.2.1 Stratified Sample for the Nation-wide survey

The survey area will be drawn largely by making use of the branch-level MRA data. The original dataset contained 26,690 branch records from 585 MFIs. After removing duplicates, fixing location problems, and dropping branches without valid geographic information, we ended up with 24,813 usable branch records (about 1,877 fewer than the raw file) covering 525 upazilas.

Table 4: Screening of branch-level MRA data for sampling

Description	MRA data	included	dropped
<i>Number of branches</i>			
1st screening	26976	26690	286
2nd screening	26690	24813	1877
<i>Number of MFIs</i>			
1st stage screening	654	585	69
Covers 99% of total outstanding loans	585	216	369
Number of upazilas	544	525	19

Many MFIs in the dataset are extremely small and contribute little to the national loan portfolio. When we examined portfolio concentration, we found that 216 MFIs accounted for about 99

percent of all outstanding microfinance loans in Bangladesh. Focusing on this 99-percent universe allowed us to reduce the number of MFIs from 585 to 216 while still capturing almost the entire microfinance footprint of the country. Based on these 216 MFIs, we rebuilt the upazila-level database, which now includes 544 upazilas with aggregated information on borrowers, savings balances, outstanding loans, repayment performance, and population for per-capita measures.

We have had preliminary probing into three potential routes to sampling beyond that proposed (captured in (i) below). Those are stated in (ii) to (iv).

- (i) As proposed in the Technical Report, choose 2 (two) districts from each of the 8 (eight) divisions, 2 (two) upazilas from each of the selected districts and 2 (two) unions from each of the 32 upazilas.
- (ii) Stratify divisions and follow a three-stage random (or mixed) sampling for upazila selection.
- (iii) Stratify districts and follow two-stage sampling for selecting upazilas.
- (iv) Stratify (525) upazilas.

To design a representative sample, we propose to consider a wide set of potential stratification variables, including borrowers per 1,000 population, savings per capita, loan-outstanding per capita, and PAR30/ PAR90/ PAR180 (the share of loans overdue by more than 30, 90, and 180 days, respectively)¹.

A correlation analysis across all 544 upazilas shows two clear patterns. First, the scale variables are almost perfectly correlated. The correlation between borrowers per 1,000 people, savings per capita, and loan-outstanding per capita is above 0.89, indicating that they measure the same underlying dimension of microfinance intensity. Second, the correlation among the three PAR indicators PAR30, PAR90, and PAR180 is above 0.95, suggesting that any one of them adequately captured credit risk.

Based on this evidence, we propose to confine the stratification framework to two independent and conceptually meaningful variables:

- **Loan-outstanding per capita**, representing the depth of microfinance engagement in an upazila; and
- **PAR90**, representing credit risk and the quality of the loan portfolio.

Each variable will be divided into three groups (Low, Medium, and High). Their combination will produce nine strata arranged in a 3×3 grid that captures the country's diversity across lending scale and risk without redundancy.

¹ PAR stands for portfolio at risk.

To ensure robustness, we evaluated three sampling schemes.

- **Scheme 1** follows the administrative hierarchy. We first stratified the eight divisions using the two core variables and then randomly selected two districts from each division, giving a total of 16 districts. From within each selected district, we then randomly selected two upazilas, producing 32 upazilas in total.
- **Scheme 2** ignores divisions and instead stratified all districts nationwide, selecting one district from each stratum and then one upazila per selected district.
- **Scheme 3** works directly at the upazila level. All upazilas were assigned to one of the nine strata formed by loan-outstanding per capita and PAR90. As these strata reflect the full range of financial conditions without administrative constraints, Scheme 3 offers a direct and balanced way to represent microfinance diversity across the country. From these nine strata, we then randomly selected three upazilas per stratum, producing a statistically representative sample of 27 upazilas.

Once a common understanding is reached in favor of Scheme 3, ERG will proceed to pick the upazilas and proceed with the administration of field surveys with the OrQuest and appropriate education/research clusters.

It is also proposed that 30 households from each of the 27 upazilas will be selected, if possible, by

- (a) Following the same stratification principle to randomly select two unions using MFI data in the selected upazilas, and by
- (b) Selecting 15 households from clusters where there are concentrations of MFI borrowers.

2.2.2 Survey of Loan-related Litigations and Suicidal cases

We refer to this as the ‘Reporters’ Survey’. While national level newspapers/news portals will be scanned to identify and locate incidents, 16 districts will be chosen to undertake the followings:

- (i) Compile thana-level information on MFI loan-related litigations,
- (ii) Compile information from local newspapers and from Key Informants on occurrences of such incidents,
- (iii) Select on thana/police stations where the incident is the highest (normalized by population size)
- (iv) Look into the records in the selected thana to assess the cause of those incidents.

We anticipate an 80% success rate and additional fund allocation (from ERG account) to engage additional hands for scrutinizing the files in the police stations. Though yet to be finalized, the ERG team proposes to engage district-level reporters in the 16 districts listed in Table 5.

Table 5: List of Districts for Information on Suicides and Loan-related litigation

Sl	Survey districts	Sl	Survey districts
1	Chittagong	9	Bogura
2	Mymensingh	10	Rajshahi
3	Pabna	11	Jashore
4	Panchagarh	12	Sathkhira
5	Pirojpur	13	Bandarban
6	Sirajganj	14	Natore
7	Sylhet	15	Rangpur
8	Tangail	16	Cumilla

Note: Aggregate Information on all thanas in each district will be sought and the one with the highest number of suicides will be picked for further probing into the causes of death. Information on MFI loan related incidents will also be sought from the same thana. Opinion survey will cover: (i) legal practitioners in the district, (ii) law enforcement agency in the selected thana, and (iii) Key informants from persons residing in and knowledgeable about the thana selected.

3. Secondary Data Analysis

3.1 Sources of Data & Summary Statistics

For the purposes of realising the study objectives, the ERG study team plans to look into existing large samples and nationwide data, published reports, and annual statistics to probe into possible impacts and trajectories of indebtedness. Here, the main data sources and datasets are identified, which will be used for the secondary data analysis:

Table 6: List of secondary unit-level data sources to be considered for quantitative analyses

Sl	Data source/Dataset	Years	Description
1	MRA Annual Statistics	2023, 2024	A comprehensive report that includes information on the financial landscape of the microfinance institutions in Bangladesh
2	Annual Reports of BRAC	2024	The annual report of BRAC, containing information about its activities during the year
3	Annual Reports of Grameen Bank	2021, 2022, 2023	The annual report of Grameen Bank, containing information about its activities during the year
4	Population and Housing Census	2022	A large-scale, nationwide statistical survey that includes comprehensive data on the country's population and living conditions. Information on the various socioeconomic and demographic indicators is calculated at the Upazila level from this data survey
5	District Reports by BBS	2022	Information on the various socioeconomic and demographic indicators is calculated at the District level from this data survey

Note: The reports from the stated years are the primary source of the data. Reports from other years may also be reviewed, depending on the information received

In addition to these several survey data/reports will be consulted to compile indebtedness recorded at various times and places in Bangladesh. A few of the reports are listed below (Table 7).

Table 7: List of additional data sources to be considered for quantitative analyses

SI	Title	Reference Year
1.	Khandker, S. R., & Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies. (2013). Long-Term Impact of Microcredit 1991-1992. World Bank, Development Data Group.	1991-92
2.	Khandker, S. R., & Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies. (2013). Long-Term Impact of Microcredit 1998-1999. World Bank, Development Data Group.	1998-99
3.	Khandker, S. R., & Samad, H. A. (2014). Dynamic effects of microcredit in Bangladesh (Policy Research Working Paper No. 6821). World Bank.	2010-11
4.	Bhuiya, M. M. M., Khanam, R., Rahman, M. M., & Nghiem, H. S. (2016). Impact of microfinance on household income and consumption in Bangladesh: Empirical evidence from a quasi-experimental survey. <i>The Journal of Developing Areas</i> , 50(3), 305–318.	2014
5.	Islam, A., Nguyen, C., Smyth, R., Does microfinance change informal lending in village economies? Evidence from Bangladesh, <i>Journal of Banking & Finance</i> (2014).	2007-2008
6.	Mahmud, M., Sawada, Y., & Tanaka, M. (2021). Microfinance Competition and Multiple Borrowing: Evidence using Panel Data from Bangladesh (Working Paper No. 216). JICA Ogata Sadako Research Institute for Peace and Development.	2014
7.	Banu, B., Hossain, M. M., Haque, M. S., & Ahmad, B. (2021). Effect of Microfinance Adoption on Rural Household Income In Selected Upazila of Kushtia District of Bangladesh. <i>Bangladesh Journal of Multidisciplinary Scientific Research</i> , 3(1), 24-32.	2020
8.	Hossain, S. M. A., & Rahman, M. A. (2022). The impact of microcredit on the living standard of loan takers: A study in Naogaon District, Rajshahi. <i>International Journal of Research and Innovation in Social Science</i> , 6(11), 266–270.	2022
9.	Mazumder, M. S. U. (2022). The effects of microfinance programs on recipients' livelihoods in rural Bangladesh. <i>The European Journal of Development Research</i> , 34, 1383–1418.	2012

3.2 Analyses of Secondary Data

The ERG research team has been looking into HIES and questionnaires from other large-scale household surveys, as well as into the loan forms of banks and several MFIs. The purpose is to develop a questionnaire suitable for the purpose of capturing various measures of indebtedness and identify dominant trajectories of asset-liability dynamics from the surveys.

Past empirical surveys and publicly available data will be consulted to compile the information on those measures (where available) across time and space. For this study, the team will primarily compile upazila-level data from all other sources and link those with the branch-level MRA data aggregated at upazila levels for a multi-variate analysis.²

² We are yet to access upazila level data or branch level data of Grameen Bank.

4. Timeline of Activities and Deliverable

Table 8: Timeline of Deliverables

SI	Deliverable Name	Effective Work Week Number	Tentative Date
1	Submission of the Inception Report	5-6 (One month after the signing of the contract)	9 December 2025
2	Submission of Preliminary Findings from an Analysis of Secondary Data	15-16	10 February 2026
3	Submission of draft report with executive summary with summary findings, and policy brief	45-46	5 September 2026
4	Submission of the final report along with a soft copy of the final data	51-52	5 November 2026

5. Team Composition

The original team composition remains with some redistribution of workload at the margin. Contract has been signed with OrgQuest Research Limited, Software developer (Abu Hasnat Abdullah). Once the study districts for the reporters' survey is finalized, individuals will be hired. However, formal agreement has been reached with the coordinator for the activity. Preliminary agreement has also been reached with SUST faculty and select group of students and with several other educational institutions for possible engagement in field surveys and in selected paper writing. In addition, several part-time resource persons for inputs to policy and social issues are being engaged without requiring additional funds from the MRA.

Table 9: In-house Research Team and Key Resource Persons

SI	Names	Organization	Position Assigned	Task Assigned
1	Dr. Sajjad Zohir	ERG	Principal Researcher	Overall supervision and coordination of the project. Conceptualize indebtedness, provide inputs in creating the analytical framework
2	Dr. Atonu Rabbani	ERG	Resource Person 1- Qualitative 1	Identify potential secondary data sources. Provide inputs in survey designs.
3	Khondokar Shakhawat Ali	Independent	Resource Person 1- Qualitative 2	Has provided limited inputs to developing semi-structured questionnaire
4	Dr Syed Abul Basher	Independent	Resource Person 2- Financial	Conceptualize the balance sheet approach and consolidate indebtedness within this framework. Support analyses of data.

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Annex

A-1 Maps and Figures

Using the available data on the number of MFIs with their branches and their locations, the ERG research team was able to prepare the following maps. Figure A.1 shows the location of all the MFI branches across Bangladesh. Figure A.2 shows the Top 12 MFI Branches as a percentage of total MFI Branches by Upazilas. Figure A.3 and Figure A.4 shows the number of MFIs and the number of MFI branches by Upazilas in Bangladesh. Finally Figure A.5 shows the scale and risk of Upazilas

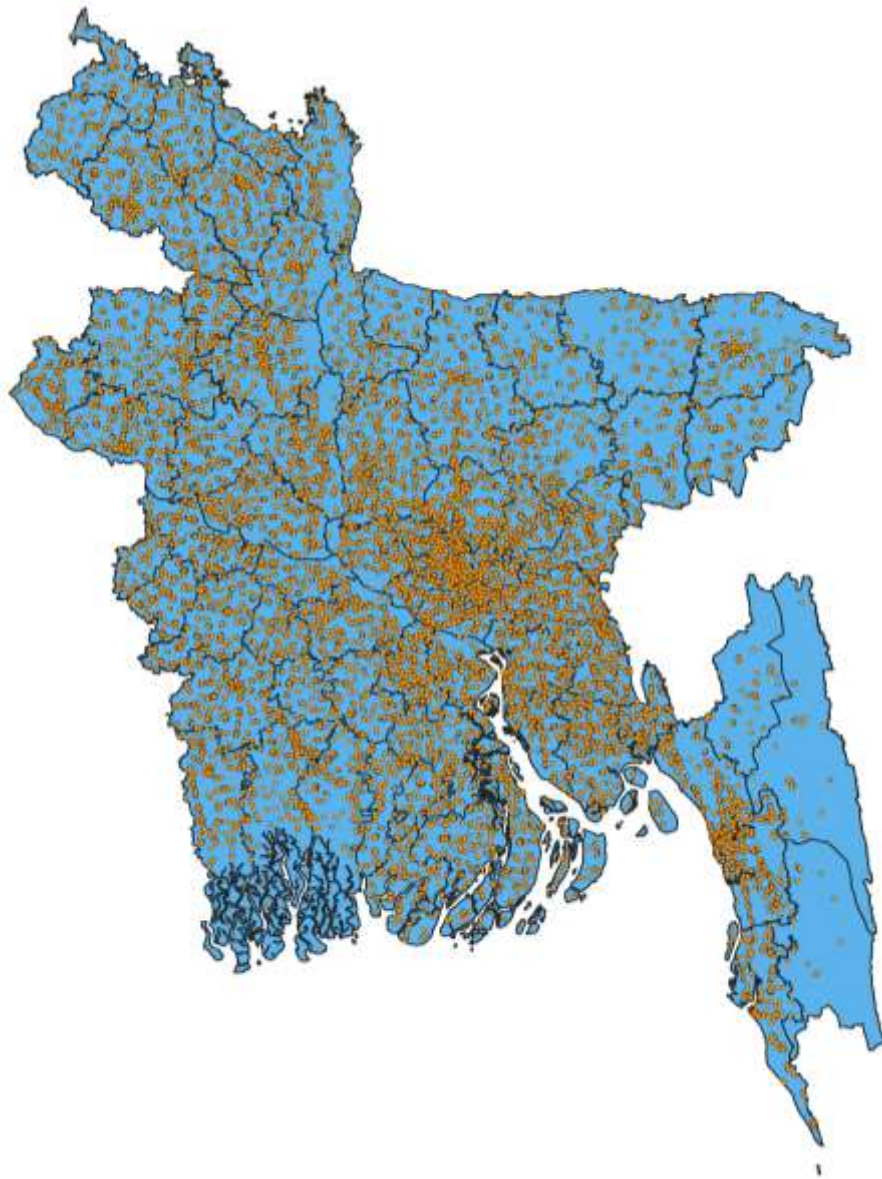


Figure A. 1: Location of all MFI Branches

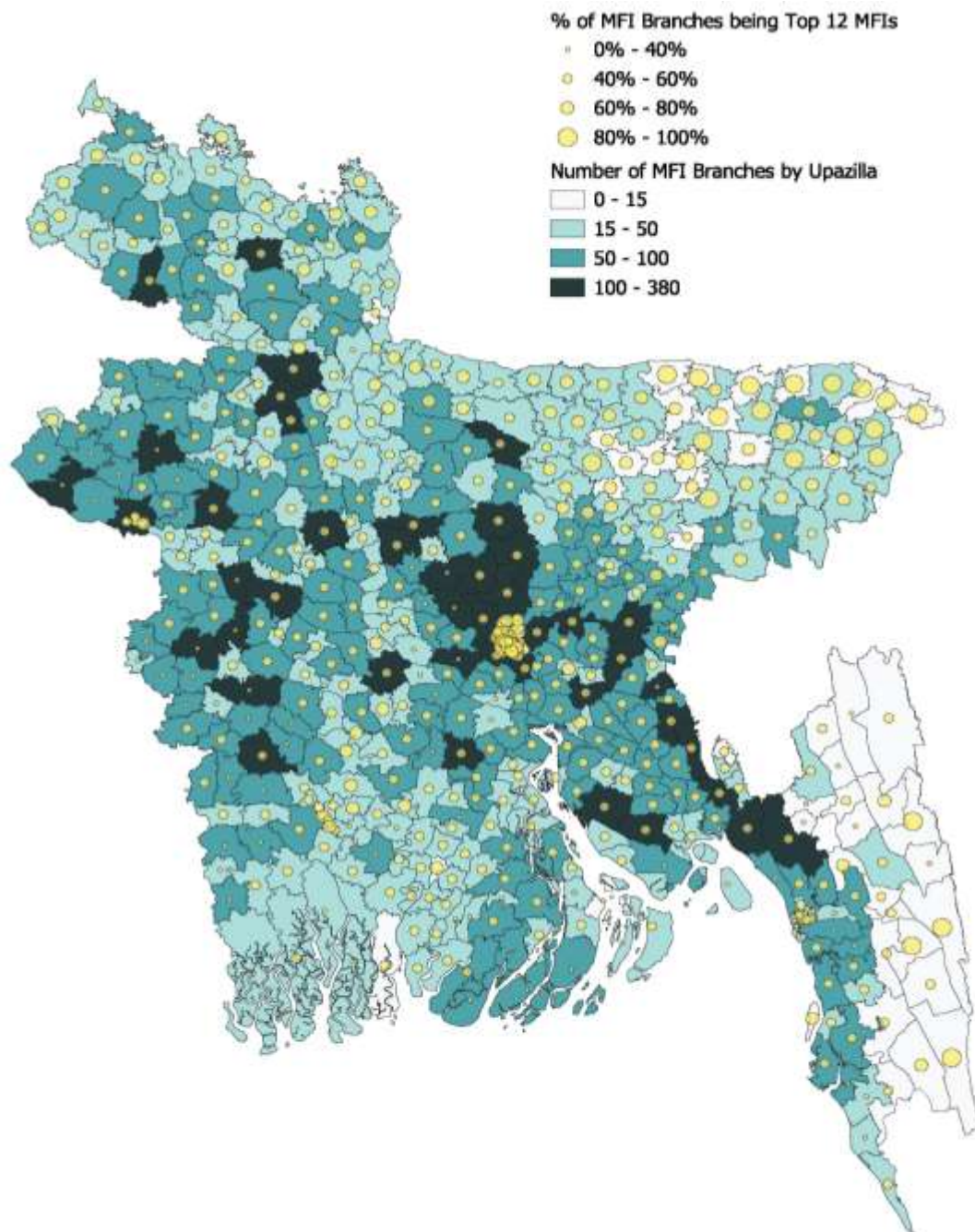


Figure A. 2: Top 12 MFI Branches as % of total MFI Branches by Upazilas

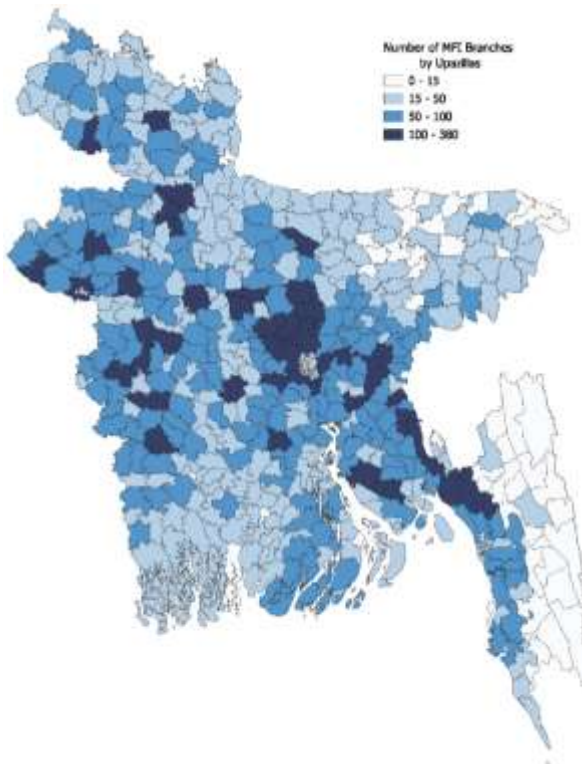


Figure A. 3: Number of MFI Branches by Upazilas

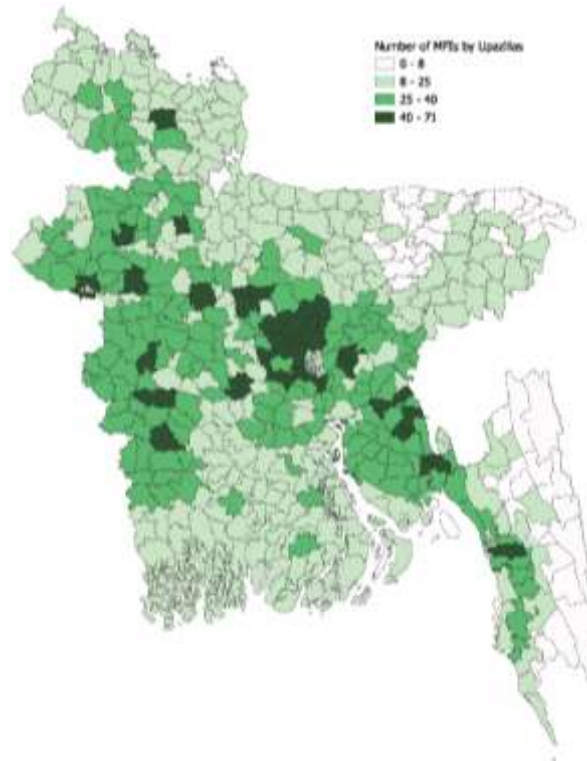


Figure A. 4: Number of MFIs by Upazilas

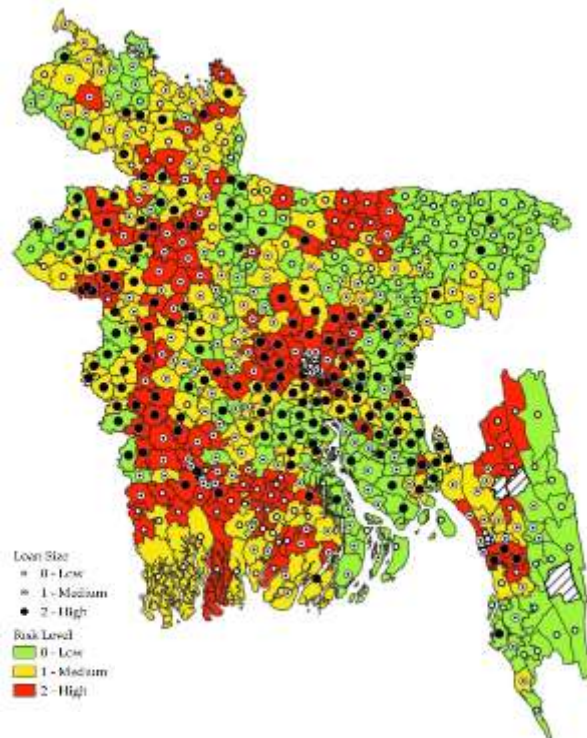


Figure A. 5: Scale & Risk Mapping of Upazilas

A.2 Literature under Review

Table A. 1: Literature under review

SI	Sources	Description
1	Gonzalez (2008); Krishnaswamy & Ponce (2010); Guérin et al. (2011); Maurer & Pytkowska (2011), Pytkowska & Spannuth (2012)	Signs of borrower distress in Bolivia, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Kosovo are observed here. Evidence from these studies indicate that widespread repayment difficulties often pushed borrowers further into poverty or default.
2	Zohir (1999); I. Matin and S. Zohir (2002)	Prevalence of overlapping loans among microcredit clients, indicating that multiple borrowing became a significant pattern as early as the late 1990s.
3	Khandker et al. (2013)	Presents the relationship between rapid microcredit expansion and multiple borrowing to over-indebtedness
4	Zohir (2009)	Shows that a major driver of rural-to-urban migration was indebtedness
5	Taylor (2011)	Connecting the microfinance crisis to broader socio political dynamics
6	Schicks (2013)	The insufficiency of conventional risk-management practices to safeguard highly vulnerable borrowers
7	Servet (2013)	Provides a macro-level perspective by linking rising indebtedness to the broader monetization of social relationships
8	Kappel, Krauss, and Lontzek (2010)	Proposes an early-warning system designed to identify emerging microfinance crises
9	Bankowska et al. (2015), Zabai (2017) and Kavonius and Honkkila (2016)	Provides evidence about the inadequacy of the conventional income-based indicators of indebtedness
10	Renowned News Portals including, BBC News;	Used to refer to various cases that has been linked to indebtedness
11	PKSF and MFI Loan Forms	These forms are also being reviewed to assess the extent of information collected from potential borrowers.

Source: Compiled by ERG

A.3 Policy Documents under Review

Table A. 2: List of Policy Documents to be looked into

SI	Document Title	Date	Document type	Issuing Authority
1	Microcredit Regulatory Authority Act	16-Jul-2006	Act	Bangladesh Gazette
2	Microcredit Regulatory Authority Rules	17-Jan-2011	Rules	Bangladesh Gazette
3	ক্ষুদ্রঋণ প্রতিষ্ঠান কর্তৃক লাভজনক প্রতিষ্ঠানের ন্যায় পণ্যসামগ্রী বিক্রয়/সরবরাহ বন্ধকরণ	4-Jul-2023	Circular	MRA
4	ক্ষুদ্রঋণ প্রতিষ্ঠানের ঝুঁকি নিরসনে তহবিলের উৎসের সাথে ঋণস্থিতির সংশ্লিষ্টতা	11-Oct-2023	Circular	MRA
5	Loan/Advance Classification A	22-Jun-2021	Circular	MRA
6	Loan/Advance Classification B	30-Dec-2021	Circular	MRA
7	Regarding Debt Consolidation Loans A	16-Jun-2022	Circular	MRA
8	Regarding Debt Consolidation Loans B	22-Jun-2023	Circular	MRA
9	Compliance with the rules and regulations related to the confidentiality and disclosure of customer information in microfinance institutions	1-Sep-2021	Circular	MRA
10	Policy on Financing of Microcredit Institutions by Microfinance Institutions, 2022	23-Aug-2022	Circular	MRA
11	Regarding the preservation of loan loss reserves	9-Jan-2025	Circular	MRA
12	Distribute relief goods and provide necessary assistance to the flood victims	19-Jun-2022	Circular	MRA
13	Regarding the distribution of relief goods among the victims of the recent floods, suspension of loan installments, disaster loans and other assistance	25-Aug-2024	Circular	MRA
14	Lending Policy of PKSF	2015	Policy Document	PKSF
15	Lending Procedure of PKSF	2015	Policy Document	PKSF
16	ঋণ/অগ্রীম শ্রেণীকরণ	22-Jun-2021	Circular	MRA
17	ক্ষুদ্রঋণ প্রতিষ্ঠানের প্রধান নির্বাহী কর্মকর্তা ও অন্যান্য কর্মকর্তা নিয়োগ	24-Aug-2021	Circular	MRA
18	ক্ষুদ্রঋণ প্রতিষ্ঠানের গ্রাহকের তথ্যের গোপনীয়তা ও প্রকাশ সংশ্লিষ্ট বিধি-বিধান পরিপালন	01-Sep-2021	Circular	MRA

SI	Document Title	Date	Document type	Issuing Authority
19	ঋণক্ষয় সশিষ্টি সংরক্ষ	16-Jul-2022	Circular	MRA
20	ক্ষুদ্রঋণ প্রতিষ্ঠান কর্তৃক ক্ষুদ্রঋণ প্রতিষ্ঠানকে অর্থায়ন নীতিমালা, ২০২২	23-Aug-2022	Circular	MRA
21	বেসরকারী ব্যক্তি এবং কর্পোরেশন কর্তৃক অর্থ বিনিময়	25-Sep-2022	Circular	MRA
22	ঋণক্ষয় সশিষ্টি সংরক্ষ	28-Dec-2022	Circular	MRA
23	ক্ষুদ্রঋণ প্রতিষ্ঠানের ঝুঁকি নিরসনে তহবিলের উৎসের সাথে ঋণস্থিতির সংশ্লিষ্টতা	11-Oct-2023	Circular	MRA
24	সাম্প্রতিক বন্যায় ক্ষতিগ্রস্তদের মাঝে ত্রাণ সামগ্রী বিতরণ দুর্যোগকালীন ঋণ ও অন্যান্য সহায়তা প্রদান	25-Aug-2024	Circular	MRA
25	ক্ষুদ্রঋণ প্রতিষ্ঠান কর্তৃক ক্ষুদ্রঋণ প্রতিষ্ঠানকে অর্থায়ন নীতিমালা, ২০২২	08-Jan-2025	Circular	MRA
26	বেসরকারি ব্যক্তি এবং কর্পোরেশন কর্তৃক অর্থের বিনিময়	25-Apr-2019	Circular	MRA

Source: Compiled by ERG

A.4 Ongoing Programs under Government Agencies/Departments

Table A. 3: Government Agencies/Departments reportedly pursuing microcredit programs

SI	Name of the Organization	Programs with micro lending (#)	Remark
1	Bangladesh Rural Development Board	4	Less visible after 2020
2	Department of Social Services	2	Only Urban social services
3	Small Farmers development	1	Phase 2 of SFD
4	Department of Livestock	nav	
5	Jatiya Mohila Sangstha	2	
6	Department of Women's Affairs	1	
7	Bangladesh Handloom Board	2	
8	Department of Youth Development	3	
9	Department of Fisheries	nav	
10	Bangladesh Academy for Rural Development (BARD)	3	RWSEEDE and a program in hilly areas
11	Rural Development Academy (RDA)	1	No ongoing progress appears
12	Palli Sanchay Bank	nav	Reportedly several
13	Palli Daridro Bimochon Foundation	5	Several are reportedly ongoing
14	Local government Engineering Department	nav	

Note: nav = Could not be availed; Source: Own compilation from reports and websites, listed below.

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