

Optimal (Partial) Group Liability in Microfinance Lending

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Abstract

This paper develops a simple model of microfinance borrowing that incorporates partial group liability, where borrowers are penalized if their group members default but are not held responsible for the entirety of the failed loan. The model clearly illustrates the trade-off of group liability lending: while higher levels of group liability increase the willingness for group members to cover each other's bad returns, when liability becomes too high, borrowers find it optimal to strategically default. The model implies the existence of an optimal partial liability that maximizes transfers between group members while avoiding strategic default. Two extensions of the basic model incorporating household structure and group size, respectively, are shown to be able to estimate the prevalence of strategic default even in the presence of correlated returns to borrowing. Using administrative data from large microfinance institution in Mexico, structural estimates suggest high but variable returns to borrowing and variation across loan officers in *de facto* group liability. Exploiting this variation in group liability, a U-shaped relationship between group liability and default rates is demonstrated empirically, as predicted by the model. Structural estimates and out-of-sample regressions suggest that moving from full group liability to 75% liability could substantially reduce the incidence of default in microfinance lending.

1 Introduction

Access to credit has long been identified as a necessary component of poverty alleviation (Morduch 1994), (Rosenzweig and Wolpin 1993). In response, microlending - giving small loans to the poor - has become increasingly prominent in the past twenty years (Morduch 1999). Microlenders often use group liability, whereby loans are made to a group of individuals who are all liable if any borrower defaults, to overcome information asymmetries and to encourage group cooperation. Such group liability programs have been credited with increasing the poor's access to credit worldwide; there are now over 70 million microfinance clients worldwide, and microfinance has become the most common source of credit for household enterprises (de Mel, McKenzie, and Woodruff 2008).

Despite its popularity, some have argued that group liability may in fact increase default rates compared to individual liability. In particular, group liability may create incentives for "strategic default" whereby group members purposefully default on their own loans despite being able to repay in order to avoid liability for other group members' loans (Besley and Coate 1995). Empirical evaluations of microfinance lending have been unable to disentangle the effects of group liability from other common components of such lending programs, such as more intensive monitoring (Ghatak and Guinnane 1999). One notable exception is (Giné and Karlan 2008), which randomly remove the group liability provision in existing borrowing groups, finding no evidence of increased default rates, suggesting that group liability has no advantages over individual liability once borrowing groups have formed.

The current debate on the merits of group liability relative to individual liability has thus far ignored a third possibility: partial group liability. With partial group liability, individuals are penalized if fellow group members fail to repay, but are not responsible for the entirety of their group member's loan. While partial group liability may exist as a *de facto* policy in certain lending situations (such as when loan officers make "exceptions" to the full group liability), to my knowledge, there has been no rigorous examination of the benefits of such leniency. This paper develops a simple yet novel model based on a repeated game framework to demonstrate that defaults are minimized when partial group liability is high enough to encourage group cooperation (in the form of transfers between group members to cover shortfalls in returns) yet low enough to avoid strategic default. Despite its tractability, the model includes several realistic features of the group borrowing, including correlated stochastic returns, limited liability, dynamic optimization, intra-group transfers, and, of course, partial group liability.

The primary goal of the paper is to estimate the optimal partial group liability. To do so, I structurally estimate the model parameters using administrative data from a large microfinance organization in southern Mexico. Such a task is made difficult by the possibility of correlated returns: while empirically I observed

that in the majority of default cases, the entire group defaults, it is unclear whether this is because of a high correlation in returns to borrowing between group members or because of strategic default. Indeed, it can be shown that the basic model separate correlated returns from strategic default using data on repayment alone.

To disentangle strategic default from correlated returns, the model is extended in two separate ways. First, the model is extended to incorporate household structure. By focusing on a subset of borrowers where fellow household members are borrowing in different microfinance groups, it is possible to disentangle correlated returns from strategic default under the assumption that household members share a common budget. Intuitively, if there is strategic default but no correlated returns to borrowing, when my spouse's group member defaults, I will be more likely to repay, since my spouse will strategically default and her returns to borrowing can be used to pay back my loan. Conversely, if there is no strategic default but there are correlated returns, when my spouse's group member defaults, I am less likely to repay because it is likely that I too had bad returns. The second extension exploits differences in group size to disentangle correlated shocks from strategic default. Intuitively, if groups equitably share the liability when a member defaults, then the larger the group, the smaller the penalty that will be incurred by each individual when a single member defaults, but the greater the penalty that will be incurred by an individual when all other group members default. Hence, in the presence of strategic default, one should expect that in large groups, either one or two members default or the entire group defaults, rather than some intermediate value. Both extensions allow the identification of underlying model parameters by simply observing the combinations of defaults and repayments in a borrowing group. The structural estimates using both strategies suggest high but variable returns to borrowing; specifically, the household structure strategy estimates 26% returns over a loan cycle net of interest with a standard deviation in returns of 32 percentage points, while the group size strategy estimates 45% returns with a standard deviation of 62 percentage points. The group size strategy also estimates a correlation in returns across group members of 0.384, but the household structure strategy estimates very little correlation in returns (0.001). Given the estimated model parameters, the household structure model implies an optimal group liability of 87% of a group members loan, while the model incorporating group size finds that full (100%) group liability minimizes default.

Both estimation strategies also exploit the variation across bank branches and individual loan officers in policies regarding default, allowing for the possibility that some loan officers are already practicing *de facto* partial group liability. To do so, both strategies estimate a loan officer-specific penalty for having a group member default. Despite the differences in identification strategy, the correlation in the estimated loan officer penalties between the strategies is remarkably high (.89). Furthermore, since the estimation uses only a subset of borrowers and these individuals share the same loan officers with a large number of other

borrowers, it is possible to test whether or not the estimated loan officer penalties are able to predict default rates out of sample. These out of sample findings reinforce the conclusion that there exists an optimal partial group liability that achieves lower default rates than either individual liability or full group liability. The out of sample estimates of optimal partial group liability range between 54% and 100%, although the statistically significant coefficients range between 54% and 65%.

The household structure model predicts that moving from full group liability to the optimal partial group liability will more than halve the number of defaults, while the out of sample regressions suggest even larger reductions. While there is variation in the estimates of the optimal partial group liability, the simple policy of 75% group liability (i.e. "if your group member borrows 4, you are responsible for 3") is shown to have nearly as large an effect on default rates as the optimal partial group liability.

This rest of the paper is organized into five sections. Section 2 develops the basic model. Section 3 extends the model to include household structure and multiple group members, respectively. Section 4 describes the empirical context and data that will be used for structural estimation. Section 5 describes the two structural estimation techniques used, presents the results and tests the models predictions using out-of-sample loans. Section 6 concludes.

2 The Basic Model

In this section, I introduce a simple model of group liability borrowing. In the next section, I will extend this model to allow for structural estimation using observed default rates. For now, I assume borrowing groups are only comprised of two individuals. Borrowing is modelled as a repeated game, in which in every period borrowers have an incentive to default, but continue to repay in order to remain eligible for future loans. Partial group liability is modeled as a penalty that a borrower incurs if her group member fails to repay. The basic intuition of the role partial group liability is simple: as the penalty increases, borrowers will be willing to transfer more money to their group member to allow the group member to repay; however, if the penalty becomes too high, then borrowers will find it optimally to strategically default when their group member fails to repay.

The model proceeds in three stages. In the first stage, individuals eligible to borrow choose whether or not to borrow. Those that choose not to borrow (or are ineligible) pursue an outside option with normalized value 0.¹ The stochastic returns to borrowing are then realized and become known to fellow group members but not the borrowing institution. These returns may be correlated across individuals within a borrowing

¹This could be modified so that the expected value of the outside option is 0, but that the realized value of the outside option may be random, so that individuals may sometimes choose not to borrow. Such an extension would allow the model to explain the empirical observation that not all eligible borrowers take a loan at every available opportunity.

group. Let R denote the vector of realized returns and assume that all individuals have the same expected value of returns, μ , and variance, σ^2 . In the second stage, group members may choose to transfer some of their returns to each other. In the third stage, individuals choose whether or not to repay their loan, given the realized returns and net transfers received. If an individual is unable or unwilling to repay her loan, she keeps her returns and transfers but becomes ineligible to borrow in future periods.² Individuals who repay may continue to borrow in the future, even if their group member fails to repay.

It is immediately evident that this model fails to incorporate several important characteristics of the reality of group borrowing. First, the model takes as given the formation of the borrowing group and, more broadly, the decision to borrow. As such, it abstracts from issues of selection, adverse or otherwise, into groups.³ Second, it is assumed that the returns to borrowing are not a function of effort on the part of the borrower, abstracting from concerns of moral hazard. Group liability lending has often been praised because of its ability to reduce problems of moral hazard and adverse selection (Ghatak and Guinnane 1999). Hence, by ignoring these two important characteristics, the model is underestimating the benefits of group liability lending. Third, the model assumes that the individual only makes the borrowing decision on the extensive margin (i.e. whether to borrow or not) rather than on the intensive margin (i.e. how much to borrow). This assumption is made primarily for simplicity. While it is true that there is substantial variation in the amount borrowed, within a given group, the amount each member borrows is much more homogeneous.⁴

Before introducing the model, some notation is required. Let i refer to one borrower and $g(i)$ refer to her group member. Let T refer to the transfer made from i to $g(i)$ in a particular period (T can be negative). Let I refer to the cost of repaying the loan (principal plus interest). Let P be the penalty an individual incurs if her group member defaults and she continues to borrow.⁵ It is assumed that $P \in [0, I]$, where $P = 0$ indicates individual liability and $P = I$ indicates full group liability. Let each player discount the future by $\beta < 1$. Let R_i indicate the realized return to borrowing for individual i . Finally, let V indicate the present discounted value of being eligible to borrow.⁶

²The inability of the bank to levy any punishment upon a defaulter other than refusing to lend in the future is consistent with the empirical setting that I examine. The model can easily be extended to incorporate a fixed cost to defaulting, such as a loss of collateral. If the cost of defaulting is a function of the realized returns as in (Besley and Coate 1995), however, the model becomes more complicated since the optimal partial liability becomes a function of realized returns.

³Note that even if selection into groups was modeled, the assumption of the homogeneity of the first two moments of the distribution of returns would prevent group formation based on assortative matching.

⁴Extending the basic model to allow different group members to borrow different amounts is a straightforward task and does generate new insights into the model. To briefly summarize the results: with low levels of group liability, the borrower with the larger loan is less likely to default, whereas at higher levels of group liability, she is more likely to default, while in intermediate ranges it is ambiguous. This is because at low group liabilities, the smaller borrower is willing to transfer more than the larger borrower to avoid a large penalty, while at high liabilities, the larger borrower is willing to transfer more than the small borrower because her PDV of continuing to borrow is higher. I find no empirical evidence in support of this prediction, however, possibly because of the relatively small variation in amounts borrowed within the group.

⁵It is assumed the choice to pay the penalty P and continue to borrow when a group member defaults remains feasible to an individual even if the returns from borrowing are not sufficient to cover both the repayment of the loan and the penalty, i.e. when $R_i < I + P$. This assumption both greatly simplifies the model and is consistent with the empirical setting I consider.

⁶It is important to note that V depends on P as well as the rest of the model parameters. I refrain from using the notation $V(P)$ in what follows for the sake of readability.

In what follows, I assume that $\beta\mu > I$; i.e. the present discounted value of expected returns in the next period is greater than the cost of repayment. This ensures that individuals would choose to repay their loan so that they can continue to borrow if the penalty they incur is small enough.

As is normal, the model is solved by backwards induction.

2.1 Stage 3: Choosing Whether or Not to Repay

In Stage 3, after returns to borrowing have been realized and transfers have been made, if both i and $g(i)$ are able to repay their loans (i.e. $R_i - T \geq I$ and $R_{g(i)} + T \geq I$), they both decide simultaneously whether or not to repay. If they both repay, they receive their returns net of transfers and are able to borrow in the next period, but have to pay back the loan at cost I . If neither repays, they both receive their returns net of transfers and avoid paying back I , but are unable to borrow in the future. If i repays and $g(i)$ defaults, then they both receive their returns net of transfers, $g(i)$ becomes ineligible to borrow in the future but avoids paying back the loan, and i pays back the loan, incurs penalty P , and remains eligible to borrow in the future. The strategic form of the game is depicted below:

$i / g(i)$	Repay	Default
Repay	$R_i - T + \beta V - I, R_{g(i)} + T + \beta V - I$	$R_i - T + \beta V - I - P, R_{g(i)} + T$
Default	$R_i - T, R_{g(i)} + T + \beta V (\sigma) - I - P$	$R_i - T, R_{g(i)} + T$

Since regardless of the action, both individuals get to keep their returns net of transfers ($R_i - T$ and $R_{g(i)} + T$, respectively) the strategic form can be simplified to:

$i / g(i)$	Repay	Default
Repay	$\beta V - I, \beta V - I$	$\beta V - I - P, 0$
Default	$0, \beta V - I - P$	$0, 0$

Since it is assumed that $\beta\mu > I$, it can be shown (see below) that $\beta V > I$, so one Nash equilibrium of this game is for both group members to repay. If $P > \beta V - I$, another possible Nash equilibrium is for both group members to default. Such an equilibrium seems undesirable, both theoretically (as its payoffs to both players are strictly lower than if they both repaid) and empirically (since the most common outcome we observe in group lending is both members repaying). Hence, in what follows, I assume that if both group members are able to repay, then the loan is repaid.

If one player can't repay because of insufficient funds, then the game is more interesting. Without loss of generality, assume that $R_i - T \geq I$ and $R_{g(i)} + T < I$ (the case is of course symmetric). Then individual i faces the following problem:

$$\max \{\text{Repay, Default}\} = \max \{R_i - T + \beta V - I - P, R_i - T\} = \max \{\beta V - I, P\} \quad (1)$$

Clearly, i will repay (not strategically default) if $\beta V - I > P$. Conversely, if $\beta V - I < P$, then i will choose to default even though i could have repaid, i.e. i will strategically default. If $\beta V - I = P$, then i will be indifferent between strategically defaulting and not strategically defaulting. Define $P^* \equiv \beta V - I$. This result is intuitive: if the penalty for having a group member default is sufficiently high (i.e. $P > P^*$), then the value of being able to continue to borrow will not be worth paying the penalty, and individuals will choose to default. In what follows, I refer to the case where $P > P^*$ as the strategic default equilibrium (or SD equilibrium) and the case where $P < P^*$ as the non-strategic default equilibrium (or NSD equilibrium).

2.2 Stage 2: Sending Transfers to Group Members

In the second stage, individuals determine how much to transfer to their group members, knowing the realized returns and foreseeing the results of stage 3. Since sending transfers is costly, the only value of sending a transfer is when one's group member is otherwise unable to repay her loan. In this case, the transfer will be just sufficient to allow the group member to repay; there is no additional benefit to sending any more than what is needed to repay and no benefit at all to sending any less. Also, there is no benefit to sending a transfer if after sending the transfer the sender is unable to pay her own loan.

Hence, an individual will only send a transfer when it is affordable and when it allows their group member to repay her loan. But how much would an individual be willing to send? Clearly, an individual will be willing to make transfers up to the point where she is indifferent between sending the transfer and letting her group member default. This maximum transfer depends on the equilibrium. Without loss of generality, let i be considering whether to send a transfer to $g(i)$. Specifically, $R_i > (I - R_{g(i)}) + I$ and $R_{g(i)} < I$; i.e. $g(i)$ cannot afford to repay her loan without a transfer from i , and i can afford to repay her loan as well as $g(i)$'s loan. From stage 3, it can be seen that in the SD equilibrium, i will send a transfer if and only if:

$$\underbrace{R_i - T + \beta V - I}_{\text{if } g(i) \text{ repays}} \geq \underbrace{R_i}_{\text{if } g(i) \text{ defaults}} \Leftrightarrow \beta V - I \geq T \quad (2)$$

Similarly, in the NSD equilibrium, i will send a transfer if and only if:

$$\underbrace{R_i - T + \beta V - I}_{\text{if } g(i) \text{ repays}} \geq \underbrace{R_i + \beta V - P}_{\text{if } g(i) \text{ defaults}} \Leftrightarrow P \geq T \quad (3)$$

Hence, the maximum transfer that i will be willing to send, T^* , is:

$$T^* = \min(P, P^*) = \min(P, \beta V - I) \quad (4)$$

These results are intuitive: in the SD equilibrium (i.e. $P \geq P^*$), if i does not cover $g(i)$, then $g(i)$ will default, causing i to default too (because it is optimal for i to default). This makes i ineligible for future loans (but saves her from having to repay the current loan); the net cost to i from not transferring anything to $g(i)$ is $\beta V - I$. Hence, it is optimal for i to transfer up to this amount in order to avoid having $g(i)$ default. Similarly, in the NSD equilibrium (i.e. $P < P^*$), $g(i)$ defaulting will cause i to incur a penalty P and so i will be willing to transfer any amount up to P to avoid this penalty.⁷

Given the optimal maximum transfers, it is possible to determine whether or not i and $g(i)$ repay based entirely on the realized returns $R_i, R_{g(i)}$, the maximum transfers between group members, and the equilibrium. This is depicted graphically in Figure 1. In region B , $g(i)$ will be transferring funds to i ; similarly, in region F , i will be transferring funds to $g(i)$. In either case, both will repay. In region C , both i and $g(i)$ will repay without the need of transfers. If the returns are in region D , neither i nor $g(i)$ will repay. In regions A and E , $g(i)$ or i , respectively, will repay if and only if the group is in the NSD equilibrium.

2.3 Stage 1: Choosing Whether or Not to Borrow

In the first stage, eligible individuals choose whether or not borrow prior to their returns being realized. With the outside option normalized to 0, individuals will choose to borrow as long as $V > 0$. Given the discussion above and the assumption that $\beta\mu > I$, it is straightforward to show $V > 0$, where for simplicity of notation, the areas in Figure 1 are made reference to. Note that the optimal transfers are implicitly given by these areas:

$$V = E(R_i) + (\Pr(C) + \Pr(B) + \Pr(F))(\beta V - I) - \beta \Pr(B)(I - E(R_{g(i)}|B)) + \beta \Pr(F)(I - E(R_i|F)) + \beta \Pr(A) \max(0, \beta V - I - P) \quad (5a)$$

$$= \mu + (\Pr(C) + \Pr(B) + \Pr(F))(\beta V - I) + \beta \Pr(A) \max(0, \beta V - I - P) \quad (5b)$$

$$\geq \mu + (\Pr(C) + \Pr(B) + \Pr(F))(\beta V - I) \quad (5c)$$

$$= \frac{\mu - (\Pr(C) + \Pr(B) + \Pr(F))I}{1 - \beta(\Pr(C) + \Pr(B) + \Pr(F))} > 0 \quad (5d)$$

⁷An astute reader might wonder if a cooperative equilibrium where borrowers are willing to transfer more than T^* may be sustained, similar to the risk sharing models of (Coate and Ravallion 1993) or (Ligon, Thomas, and Worrall 2002). It turns out that such agreements are not possible because the value of the increase in the probability of future repayment is substantially smaller than the cost to the borrower called upon to make a painful transfer. In particular, it can be shown that if the distribution of returns is such that moderate returns are more likely than extreme returns and $\frac{1}{4} > \frac{\beta(1-\beta)}{(1-\beta A)} T^* f(I + T^*, I - T^*)$, where A is the probability that both borrowers are able to repay, then no cooperative equilibrium where maximum transfers are greater than T^* can occur. $T^* f(I + T^*, I - T^*)$ will be very small under reasonable parameter assumptions.

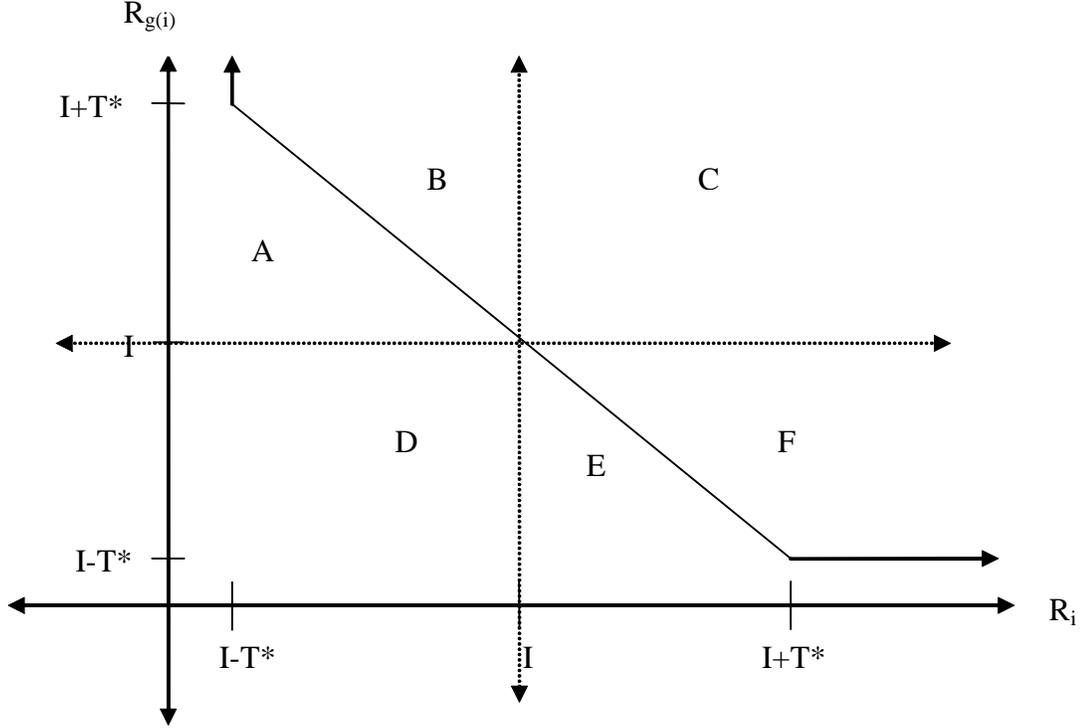


Figure 1: Returns to Borrowing and Defaults in the Basic Model

where the second line used the fact that transfers are symmetric and hence expected transfers are zero and the last line uses $\beta\mu > I$.⁸ Note too that:

$$V \geq \mu + (\Pr(C) + \Pr(B) + \Pr(F))(\beta V - I) \implies \quad (6a)$$

$$\beta V - I \geq \beta\mu + \beta(\Pr(C) + \Pr(B) + \Pr(F))(\beta V - I) - I \implies \quad (6b)$$

$$\beta V - I \geq \frac{\beta\mu - I}{1 - \beta(\Pr(C) + \Pr(B) + \Pr(F))} > 0 \quad (6c)$$

This proves the claim above that if $\beta\mu > I$, then $\beta V - I > 0$.

If $P = P^*$, then from [5b], we have:

$$V = \mu + (\Pr(C) + \Pr(B) + \Pr(F))(\beta V - I) \Leftrightarrow \quad (7a)$$

$$V = \frac{\mu - (\Pr(C) + \Pr(B) + \Pr(F))I}{1 - \beta(\Pr(C) + \Pr(B) + \Pr(F))} \quad (7b)$$

⁸The equation is implicit since the areas of default and repayment depend on T^* , which depends on V in the strategic default equilibrium.

Since $P^* = \beta V - I$, [7b] implies:

$$P^* = \frac{\beta\mu - I}{1 - \beta(\Pr(C) + \Pr(B) + \Pr(F))} \quad (8)$$

2.4 Model Implications

It is important to realize that T^* depends on the value of P ; as P increases, T^* increases until P crosses P^* , where T^* remains constant at P^* . As is clear from Figure 1, as T^* increases in the NSD equilibrium, the repayment regions B and F expand and regions A and E , in which least one group member defaults, contract. Hence, conditional on remaining in the NSD equilibrium, an increase in P decreases the probability of default. However, if P becomes too large (i.e. greater than P^*), strategic default becomes optimal, causing both members to default in regions A and E , raising default rates. Figure 2 depicts this relationship between group liability P , probability of default and the maximum transfers. With no group liability ($P = 0$), the probability of default is A ; as group liability increases, group members are willing to transfer more to each other (as indicated by the blue line), lowering default rates (as indicated by the red line) until the group liability reaches P^* , when the probability of default is C . Beyond this point, strategic default becomes optimal, causing the probability of default to jump to B . It is theoretically ambiguous whether A is greater or less than B , depending on whether intra-group transfers lower default rates more than strategic default increases them (which could explain the results of (Giné and Karlan 2008)). What is clear is that neither full group liability ($P = I$) nor zero group liability ($P = 0$) minimizes default rates.⁹ Instead, the P that minimizes defaults is an arbitrarily small amount below P^* . At this amount, transfers between group members are maximized and the penalty is not large enough to induce strategic default. The primary goal of the empirical portion of this paper is to estimate this optimal partial group liability.

3 Extending the Model

The model presented above clearly depicts the relationship between group liability and strategic default and generates a clear policy implication: to minimize default, group liability should be set high enough to promote intra-group transfers, but low enough to avoid strategic default. But what is this optimal group liability? One method for identifying such liability is using a randomized control trial, where borrowing groups are randomly assigned different partial group liabilities. Even if perfectly implemented, such a project would be difficult because of the number of treatment groups necessary to precisely identify the optimal group liability. In this paper, I instead structurally estimate the model using repayment information obtained

⁹Unless $\beta V - I > I$, in which case $P^* = I$.

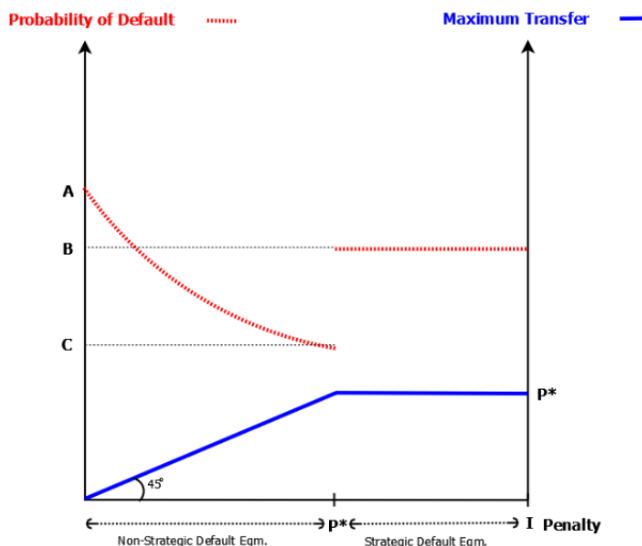


Figure 2: The Effect of Group Liability on the Probability of Default and Transfers

from a large microfinance institution. Such a methodology generates precise estimates with minimal data requirements: all that is needs to be observed is who repays and who defaults in a group loan. Hence, the procedure developed in the remainder of the paper can (and should!) be replicated in other empirical contexts to assess the robustness of the findings.

Unfortunately, the basic model is under-identified and structural estimation is impossible using only data on whether each group member repays or defaults. This is because of the inability to disentangle correlated stochastic returns to borrowing between group members and strategic default. Intuitively, just because it is observed in the data that any time one group member defaults, all other group members default, it cannot be claimed that strategic default is present - it could very well be that group members have highly correlated shocks, so when one gets poor returns, all other group members do too. Formally, even after assuming a particular distribution of returns, the model has (at least) four parameters: μ (average returns), σ^2 (variance to returns), ρ (correlation between group members returns) and P (group liability). For each group, however, only four possible default combinations can be observed: i either defaults or repays and $g(i)$ either defaults or repays. Given that one event occurs with probability 1, there are three degrees of freedom to estimate four parameters; the model is under-identified. To overcome this problem, this section of the paper extends the basic model in two ways: first, household structure is incorporated into the model and second, the model is extended to allow for borrowing groups of more than two members.

3.1 Household Structure

Consider a household with two members, each of whom is in a lending group with an individual in a single-member household. Let individuals i and $h(i)$ be the two individuals in the two-member household (hereafter "household members") and let $g(i)$ and $g(h(i))$ refer to their respective borrowing group members. This household-group structure, hereafter referred to as "household-individual groups," is illustrated in Figure 3.

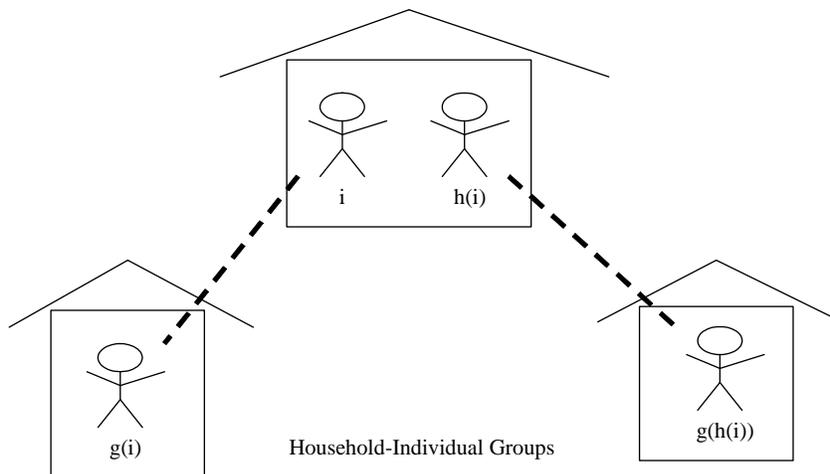


Figure 3: Household-Individual Group Structure

I assume i and $h(i)$ maximize household returns to borrowing.¹⁰ This assumption implies that the household will pool the returns both receive from borrowing and determine how to best allocate those returns to the repayment of the two household loans. Given this assumption, extending the basic model to household-individual groups enables the disentanglement of correlated returns and strategic default by providing information about how a borrower's fellow household member (i.e. $h(i)$) responds to actions by a borrower's group member (i.e. $g(i)$). Intuitively, if there is strategic default but no correlated returns to borrowing, when $g(i)$ defaults because $R_{g(i)}$ is low, $h(i)$ will be more likely to repay, since i will strategically default and R_i can be used to pay back $h(i)$'s loan. Conversely, if there is no strategic default but there are correlated returns, when $g(i)$ defaults (suggesting that $R_{g(i)}$ is low), $h(i)$ is less likely to repay because $R_{h(i)}$ will likely be low too. Formally, focusing on household-individual groups provides 16 possible combinations of repayments/defaults, while the model can be parameterized (given assumptions on the distribution of returns) by as few as 6 parameters: the mean μ and variance σ^2 to returns, the group liability penalty P , the correlation between group members $\rho_{i,g(i)}$, the correlation between household members, $\rho_{i,h(i)}$, and the

¹⁰This assumption is implied by household Pareto efficiency. Note that i and $h(i)$ may receive different proportions of the total returns to borrowing under this assumption.

correlation between "strangers" $g(i)$ and $g(h(i))$, $\rho_{g(i),g(h(i))}$.¹¹

The implications of the basic model outlined above generalize to the household-individual groups under one additional assumption; namely that the expected net transfers between group members in any period are equal to zero. This assumption is not innocuous; since i and $h(i)$ fully share resources, they will be able to repay their loans more often than either $g(i)$ or $g(h(i))$, suggesting that they will be making more transfers to $g(i)$ and $g(h(i))$ than they receive from $g(i)$ and $g(h(i))$. Hence, this assumption requires that $g(i)$ and $g(h(i))$ will transfer some returns in periods when everyone can repay to i and $h(i)$ to make average transfers between group members equal to zero.

The assumption of zero expected transfers ensures that all four individuals are in the same equilibrium. To see this, let V^h and V^g refer to the value of being eligible to borrow for households members (i and $h(i)$) and household members' group members ($g(i)$ and $g(h(i))$), respectively. As in equation [1], all group members will repay if $\beta V^x - I > P$, default if $\beta V^x - I < P$, and will be indifferent if $\beta V^x - I = P$, for $x \in \{h, g\}$. Let $P^x \equiv \beta V^x - I$. I claim that $P^h = P^g \equiv P_{hg}^*$, i.e. the cutoff penalty is the same for all individuals in the household-individual group. This can be seen by explicitly calculating the value V^g and V^h for the case where $\beta V^g - I = P^g$ and $\beta V^h - I = P^h$. Without loss of generality, I focus on the value functions for i and $g(i)$. Let A be the probability that both i and $g(i)$ repay their loans and T be the transfer from i to $g(i)$.

$$V^h = E(R_i) - E(T) + A(\beta V^h - I) \iff \quad (9a)$$

$$V^h = \frac{\mu - AI}{1 - \beta A} \quad (9b)$$

$$V^g = E(R_{g(i)}) + E(T) + A(\beta V^g - I) \iff \quad (9c)$$

$$V^g = \frac{\mu - AI}{1 - \beta A} \quad (9d)$$

Since $V^h = V^g$, $\beta V^g - I = P^g$, and $\beta V^h - I = P^h$, it must be the case that $P^h = P^g \equiv P_{hg}^*$.¹² The importance of assuming that $E(T) = 0$ is clear in the above derivation; since in the SD equilibrium, individuals will continue to borrow only if both group members are able to repay, then the value of borrowing is the same for i and $g(i)$ as long as both transfers will cancel out on average.

As in the basic model above, individuals will be willing to transfer up to the net benefit of having the

¹¹ While there are 16 possible combinations of repayment and default, 2 will never occur: where $g(i)$ and $h(i)$ default / i and $g(i)$ repay and where $g(i)$ and $h(i)$ repay / i and $g(i)$ default. These do not occur because if the household only can repay one loan, it will never choose to pay the loan in which the group member defaulted. Hence there are 13 degrees of freedom to estimate 6 parameters.

¹² It is interesting to note that this does not imply that $V^h = V^g$ when $\beta V^x - I > P$; indeed, in this case, $V^h > V^g$ since on average i will be able to repay more often than $g(i)$.

other group member repay. Letting T_{hg}^* refer to this maximum transfer, the analogs to [8] and [4] are:

$$P_{hg}^* = \frac{\beta\mu - I}{1 - \beta A} \quad (10)$$

$$T_{hg}^* = \min(P, P_{hg}^*) = \min\left(P, \frac{\beta\mu - I}{1 - \beta A}\right) \quad (11)$$

As in the basic model, the probability of both group members repaying (A) depends on the maximum transfer between group members, so equation [11] implicitly defines T_{hg}^* .

Hence, given household returns $R_h \equiv R_i + R_{h(i)}$, household group member's returns $R_{g(i)}$ and $R_{g(h(i))}$, maximum transfers T^* , and the equilibrium, it is possible to determine which individuals repay and which individuals default, just like in the basic model. In particular, Figure 1 can be replicated. Of course, now that there are three returns to keep track of, the figure must represent the three dimensional $R_h \times R_{g(i)} \times R_{g(h(i))}$ space. I dissect this three dimensional space into cross sections along the R_h axis in figures, available in an online appendix.¹³ The appendix maps 44 areas in the three dimensional space to default outcomes for all four individuals in each equilibrium.¹⁴

3.2 Groups with more than 2 members

Empirically, most borrowing groups are substantially larger than two members; hence, the basic model and its household structure extension simplify substantially. Unfortunately, modeling borrowing groups larger than two complicates the analysis considerably, as the number of possible combinations of default (strategic or otherwise) increase exponentially. As a compromise between complication and verisimilitude, this section extends the basic model to include multiple group members by assuming that each individual in the group treats the other group members like a single group member who has taken out multiple loans. The advantage of such an extension is that the basic strategies and intuition remain unchanged while allowing the empirical estimation strategy below to incorporate the size of the borrowing group. The disadvantage is that such a method effectively assumes that all other group members share a common budget. While this seems like an egregious simplification, I will argue below that such an assumption will actually lead to estimates that bias the extent of strategic default downwards, working against my central claim of the importance of addressing strategic default. In what follows, I refer to this model as the "multiple group member" model.

Extending the basic model to incorporate more than 2 group members enables the disentanglement of correlated returns from strategic default by allowing the observation of combinations of defaults within a

¹³Available at <http://pantheon.yale.edu/~dwa6/Working%20Papers/Working.htm>

¹⁴In the case where the household is only able to repay one of the two loans and both $g(i)$ and $g(h(i))$ are able to repay, it is assumed that the household chooses one of the loans to repay with probability $\frac{1}{2}$. This is optimal since the household is indifferent about which loan to repay.

group. Intuitively, if groups equitably share the liability when a member defaults, then the larger the group, the smaller the penalty that will be incurred by each individual member when a single member defaults, but the greater the penalty that will be incurred by an individual when all other group members default. Hence, in the presence of strategic default, one should expect that in large groups, there will exist some threshold of number of group members that an individual will tolerate defaulting, above which all group members will default. Conversely, if there is no strategic default but returns to borrowing are highly correlated, no such threshold would exist. Table 1 depicts the percentage of group members that default by group size when a single group member defaults. The table appears to be more consistent with a story of strategic default than correlated returns to borrowing. While in the vast majority of cases, when one group member defaulted, the entire group defaulted, one or two group members defaulting occurred more frequently than all but one or two group members defaulting, and this effect becomes more pronounced as the size of the borrowing group increases (although the number of observations decline). This, of course, is merely descriptive evidence that motivates the structural estimation of the model.

Table 1: OBSERVED COMPOSITION OF DEFAULTS BY GROUP SIZE

Defaulting members	Number of Members in Borrowing Group						
	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1	14.08%	13.93%	7.81%	6.90%	0%	14.29%	0%
2	85.92%	7.38%	6.25%	6.90%	5.26%	0%	0%
3		78.69%	3.13%	0%	0%	0%	0%
4			82.81%	0%	0%	0%	0%
5				86.21%	0%	0%	0%
6					94.74%	0%	0%
7						85.71%	0%
8							100.00%

Each column is a different group size. Each row indicates the number of group members that defaulted (conditional on there being one default). Full sample.

Consider an $N + 1$ member borrowing group. Suppose if there are k individuals defaulting, the total penalty Pk is shared equally among the $N + 1 - k$ non-defaulters. This assumption seems reasonable in terms of fairness and is also a Nash equilibrium: if everyone will repay at most an equal share of the debt burden among those that repay and will default if called upon to pay more than this, then the best response is to do the same.¹⁵ If k others default, individual i will choose to repay if and only if $\beta V - I \geq \frac{k}{N+1-k}P$. Let $k^* \in \{0, \dots, N\}$ refer to the k such that $\beta V - I \geq \frac{k^*}{N+1-k^*}P$ and $\beta V - I < \frac{k^*+1}{N-k^*}P$, or equivalently, $\frac{N-k^*}{k^*+1}(\beta V - I) \leq P < \frac{N+1-k^*}{k^*}(\beta V - I)$. k^* gives the maximum number of other individuals in the group that a member will tolerate defaulting before being induced to strategically default. Note that k^* can be

¹⁵If i chooses to deviate from the equilibrium, she has two options: first, she could be willing to pay more than her equal share, making her (weakly) worse off; second, she could refuse to pay her equal share, making at least one other individual have to repay more than an equal share, causing this individual to default. If i repays her equal share of the now-larger penalty, she will be strictly worse off than if she had not deviated. If she refuses to repay her equal share again, then another group member will default, increasing the penalty to be paid yet again.

solved in terms of P :

$$\frac{N - \frac{P}{(\beta V - I)}}{\frac{P}{(\beta V - I)} + 1} \leq k^* < \frac{N + 1}{1 + \frac{P}{(\beta V - I)}} \quad (12)$$

From individual i 's perspective, let the sum of the N other group members returns be $R_{g(i)}$. Suppose that if $aI \leq R_{g(i)} < (a + 1)I$, then the rest of the group can at most repay a of its loans without transfers. This assumption makes the problem computationally feasible by mapping the \mathbb{R}^N space of returns of the N different group members to \mathbb{R} space, but comes at the cost of assuming that the distribution of returns between the other group members does not matter; equivalently, from each individual group member's perspective, the rest of the group is sharing their returns and repaying (at most) the maximum number of loans that the sum of their returns allows them to afford. Such an assumption will of course underestimate the number of loans that will be defaulted. Since the greater the number of loans that group members have defaulted on, the greater the incentive to strategically default, this assumption biases downward the estimates of strategic default. Hence the empirical results following from this estimation technique can be considered a lower bound on the incidence of strategic default.

To determine transfers, consider the case where $aI \leq R_{g(i)} < (a + 1)I$ and $R_i \geq I + ((a + 1)I - R_{g(i)})$; i.e. i is determining whether or not to send a transfer to the rest of the group so that they can repay $a + 1$ loans instead of a loans. If $N - (a + 1) < k^*$, i will not transfer anything since even if $a + 1$ other group members could repay, they would choose not to since they are in the strategic default equilibrium. If $N - (a + 1) = k^*$, then i has an important decision to make: if she transfers enough money so that $a + 1$ will repay, then there will be k^* total defaulters, and all the other borrowers will choose to repay. If she does not transfer the money, there will be $k^* + 1$ defaulters and everyone will choose to strategically default. In the former case, she will receive (excluding her returns which she keeps regardless) $\beta V - I - T - \frac{k^*}{N+1-k^*}P$; in the latter case, she receives nothing. Hence she will, at most, be willing to transfer $\beta V - I - \frac{k^*}{N+1-k^*}P$. If $N - (a + 1) > k^*$, then i , by making a transfer, will be merely avoiding having to pay some share of the of a penalty. If $N - a$ others default, she would have to pay $\frac{N-a}{a+1}P$, whereas if she covers a group member so that only $N - (a + 1)$ others default, she would have to pay $\frac{N-(a+1)}{a+2}P$. Hence, she would be willing to transfer at most $\left(\frac{N-a}{a+1} - \frac{N-(a+1)}{a+2}\right)P$. Note that if $a = N - 1$ (that is, all but one other group members can repay), this simplifies to $\frac{P}{N}$, i.e. i would be willing to transfer up to $\frac{P}{N}$ to help the last person pay, since if that person defaulted, i would be penalized $\frac{P}{N}$.

Figures 7, 9, and 8 included in the appendix depict graphically the different combinations of default and repayment given the realized returns R_i and $R_{g(i)}$. Note that the regions in which "some $g(i)$ default" are actually combinations of many smaller regions giving the exact number of loans on which $g(i)$ defaults; the structural estimation of the model uses these exact regions rather than the more easily interpretable

aggregate regions pictured.

In Figure 7, the group liability penalty P is sufficiently small such that individual i would be willing to repay even if all other group members defaulted; hence, there is no strategic default. Figure 8 depicts the opposite extreme, where the group liability penalty P is sufficiently large such that individual i would be unwilling to tolerate even one group member defaulting; hence, either the whole group repays or the whole group defaults. Figure 9 presents the intermediate case, where P is a moderate size such that individual i would be willing to tolerate up to k^* other group members defaulting; if any more than k^* default, i will choose to strategically default.

Extending the model to groups of more than 2 borrowers generates a richer relationship between the group liability penalty P and default rates than depicted in Figure 2, although the underlying forces at work are the same. As P increases, the maximum transfers that group members are willing to make to one other increases, lowering default rates. At the same time, the number of group members that an individual is willing to tolerate falls once certain thresholds have been crossed, which increases the prevalence of strategic default and causes discrete increases in the probability of default. The relationship is depicted graphically for a borrowing group of 4 members in Figure 4. Two important features of the figure should be noted. First, each subsequent fall in k^* induces a larger increase in strategic default. This occurs because it is less likely that n group members are unable to repay than it is that $n - 1$ members are unable to repay. Second, ignoring the discrete increases due to strategic default, as P increases, the reduction in the probability of default diminishes (i.e. $\frac{\partial^2 \Pr(Default)}{\partial P} > 0$). This occurs because it is less likely that an individual will have to make a large transfer to a group member than a small transfer, so the willingness to make large transfers does not reduce the probability of default as much as willingness to make small transfers.¹⁶ These two features of the model combined suggest that full group liability ($P = 1$) may result in higher default rates than an optimal partial group liability; in Figure 4, for example, the optimal group liability occurs at about $P = \frac{1}{2}I$.

4 Empirical Context

This section summarizes the lending environment and data that will be used in the empirical portion of the paper.

¹⁶This is true as long as more extreme returns are less likely than less extreme returns, i.e. the distribution of returns is bell-shaped.

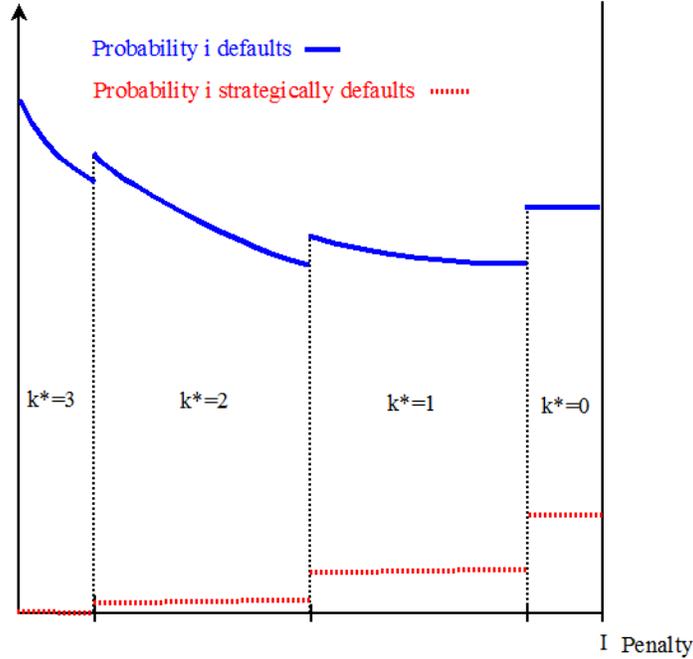


Figure 4: Multiple Member Borrowing Groups: Group Liability and Probability of Default

4.1 The Lending Environment

To structurally estimate the models above and determine the optimal partial group liability, administrative data from a large microfinance institution (MFI) are used. This particular MFI has 17 branches located throughout a southern state of Mexico. It offers both individual loans and group loans. Individual loans require more collateral (typically 20% instead of 10% for the group loans) and usually are for smaller amounts.¹⁷

During the period of study, the lending process was very decentralized. Branches had almost complete autonomy in determining the policies regarding loans, and substantial leeway was granted to individual loan officers. The one exception was interest rates, which were set by the central office. Typically, after clients chose to pursue a group loan, they formed their own group and each were given their own loan with their own repayment plan. If all the loans in the group were successful, each group member was offered a new loan with an increased amount of credit.¹⁸ If any member of the group was unable to repay their loan at the end of the repayment period, the entire group was supposed to be dissolved and all the loans were supposed to be "restructured" into individual loans with a new payment schedule and continuing interest payments.

¹⁷For simplicity, collateral was not included in the model, although it could be easily included. Including it as a fixed amount $C > 0$. It is straightforward to show that with collateral, $P^* = \frac{\beta\mu - I + (1-\beta)C}{1-\beta A}$. Including collateral has two effects: it increases value of continuing to borrow relative to defaulting and reduces the present discounted value of continuing to borrow. As a result, P^* increases as C increases, but less than one for one.

¹⁸The increasing size of the loan over time is not specifically incorporated into the model, although the discount factor could be interpreted to represent both impatience and the increasing value of the loan (assuming the latter is less than the former).

Once restructured, an individual must have repaid the restructured loan to be able to continue to borrow. However, as emphasized by qualitative interviews with the General Director and several branch managers, there was a substantial amount of flexibility regarding the default process. In some cases, if one group member failed to repay, the group was allowed to continue without that group member. In other cases, individuals who had been restructured were discouraged from continuing to borrow, even after repaying. There were also cases where borrowers were not allowed to continue to borrow until all group members had repaid their restructured loans in full. The specific penalty to having a group member fail to repay was determined by the loan officer. Hence, qualitative evidence suggests that the value of P varied substantially and was ultimately set by the loan officer. This variation in P across loan officers is central to the empirical analysis.

4.2 Data

The administrative data include every loan made by the MFI between 2004 and 2008. During this period, over 33,000 loans were made to over 18,000 individuals in over 5,000 groups. The data include the start and end dates of the loan, the amount of the loan (principle and interest), some basic information about the client, the borrowing group, and whether or not the loan was repaid. Summary statistics for the entire sample are presented in Table 4 in the appendix. The average loan amount was slightly more than 10,000 pesos (1 US dollar is worth approximately 10 pesos). The default rate was relatively low (4.5%), which is similar to default rates in other microfinance lending programs worldwide (Morduch 1999).

The following structural estimation uses only a subset of the administrative data representing loans taken out by household members in household-individual groups. Specifically, the sample includes only loans by borrowers in which another member of the household had a loan with a different group at the same time. Households are defined to comprise of all borrowers that have the same address in the same town; addresses with more than 6 borrowers are excluded as they are unlikely to be considered households in the traditional sense. Of the 33,772 total loans, 1,782 are included in this sample. Table 5 in the appendix depicts the summary statistics for this reduced sample; the values of the variables are quite similar to those of the entire database, although default rates and loan amounts are slightly lower, and the number of group members is slightly higher. Note that there is no need to constrain my focus to this particular sample for the multiple group member model; I choose to do so both to retain comparability with the household-individual model results and to exploit the possibility of out-of-sample tests.

There are at least two potential issues using this sample frame to estimate the household-individual group modeled above. First, in the model, all four individuals make the decisions of whether or not to

repay simultaneously; however, in the data, different household members' loans start and end at different times. In creating this sample, I assume that any loans that overlapped (i.e. one began before the other ended) occur at the same time. Since most loans are six months in length (see Table 5), this could mean that the decisions on whether or not to repay may be made multiple months apart. The second problem arises from the fact that the model only considers four individuals, whereas empirically the number of group members and often the number of household members is larger. In the estimation below, the "other" group or household members are simply amalgamated into one individual. Note that neither of these problems plague the estimation of the multiple group member model. Structural estimation of the multiple group member model does exclude all groups with more than 13 members because of computation time; these individuals comprise less than 5% of the sample.

5 Structural Estimation of the Models

5.1 Methodology

Two additional assumptions are necessary to complete the structural estimation of the models. First, I assume that the returns to borrowing have a multivariate normal distribution. Since the household shares a budget, it is sufficient to consider its total returns $R_h \equiv R_i + R_{h(i)}$. For the household-individual group, this means that I assume that the returns to borrowing for individuals i , $h(i)$, $g(i)$, and $g(h(i))$ are distributed as follows:

$$\begin{pmatrix} R_h \\ R_{g(i)} \\ R_{g(h(i))} \end{pmatrix} \sim N \left(\begin{pmatrix} 2\mu \\ \mu \\ \mu \end{pmatrix}, \sigma^2 \begin{pmatrix} 2\rho_{i,h(i)} + 2 & \rho_{i,g(i)} + \rho_{i,g(h(i))} & \rho_{i,g(i)} + \rho_{i,g(h(i))} \\ \rho_{i,g(i)} + \rho_{i,g(h(i))} & 1 & \rho_{g(i),g(h(i))} \\ \rho_{i,g(i)} + \rho_{i,g(h(i))} & \rho_{g(i),g(h(i))} & 1 \end{pmatrix} \right) \quad (13)$$

where $\rho_{i,j}$ is the correlation between individuals i and j . Since the model assumes that the $g(i)_1$ through $g(i)_N$ pool their returns in the multiple group member model, the distribution can be written as:

$$\begin{pmatrix} R_i \\ R_{g(i)} \end{pmatrix} \sim N \left(\begin{pmatrix} \mu \\ N\mu \end{pmatrix}, \sigma^2 \begin{pmatrix} 1 & N\rho \\ N\rho & N(N-1)\rho + N \end{pmatrix} \right) \quad (14)$$

Second, I assume that the group liability parameter P varies by loan officer while the other model parameters are the same for all individuals. The empirical context suggests that it is the individual loan officer who determines P , and conversations with those familiar with the MFI indicated that loan officer assignment

was plausibly random within a given branch, providing credence to this assumption. However, since loan officers worked only at one branch and the characteristics of borrowers were likely different depending on the branch, this assumption is realistic only comparing borrowers within a given branch. Ideally, I would estimate the model separately for each branch. Unfortunately, there are insufficient observations to do so. I address this problem below by including branch fixed effects in one specification of the out of sample tests.

These assumptions narrow the set of model parameters to estimate to $\beta, I, \mu, \sigma^2, \rho$, and P_o for the multiple group member model and $\beta, I, \mu, \sigma^2, \rho_{i,g(i)}, \rho_{i,h(i)}$ and $\rho_{g(i),g(h(i))}$ for the household-individual model, where P_o is the group liability parameter for loan officer o . I set the discount parameter $\beta = .9$ and normalize $I = 1$, so that $\mu - 1$ gives the expected returns to borrowing as a percentage of the loan and P gives the group liability as a percentage of the group member's loan. This leaves $3 + L$ ($5 + L$ in the household-individual model) parameters to be estimated, where L is the number of loan officers ($L = 58$). Let $\theta^{mg} \equiv (\mu, \sigma^2, \rho)$ and $\theta^{hh} \equiv (\mu, \sigma^2, \rho_{i,g(i)}, \rho_{i,h(i)}, \rho_{g(i),g(h(i))})$; i.e. θ^{mg} and θ^{hh} contain all the parameters needing to be estimated other than P_o for the multiple group member model and the household-individual model, respectively. Note that if $P_o > P_{hg}^*$, then regardless of its specific value, the household-individual model predictions are identical; hence the specific value of P_o will be unidentified for loan officers setting the group liability high enough to cause strategic default. This is not an issue for the multiple group member model.

I estimate both models using Maximum Likelihood (ML). Let D_i be an dummy variable equal to 1 if i defaulted. For each loan in the sample, I observe the loan officer (l), group size ($N + 1$), whether or not the individual defaulted (D_i), how many of the individual's group members defaulted ($\sum_{j=1}^N D_{g(i)_j}$), whether or not *any* of the individual's household members defaulted ($D_{h(i)}$), and whether or not *any* of the individual's household member's group members defaulted ($D_{g(h(i))}$). The multiple group member model only uses the information about N , D_i , and $\sum_{j=1}^N D_{g(i)_j}$. The household-individual model only uses information about D_i , whether or not *any* of the other group members defaulted ($\mathbf{1}(\sum_{j=1}^N D_{g(i)_j} \geq 1)$), $D_{h(i)}$, and $D_{g(h(i))}$.¹⁹

For a given θ^{mg} and P , the probability of observing any one of the possible 2^{N+1} combinations of repayments and defaults in the multiple group member model can be calculated. Similarly, for a given θ^{hh} and P , the probability of observing any one of the possible 2^4 combinations of repayments and defaults in the household-individual model can be calculated. Let D_n^o refer to the observed default combination of the n^{th} borrower who with loan officer o , and let N_o be the number of borrowers that loan officer o oversees. Let $l^{mg}(D, \theta, P)$ and $l^{hh}(D, \theta, P)$ be the probability of observing a particular default combination

¹⁹Considering *any* group member (or household member or household member's group member) defaulting as a default is necessary to map many member households and groups into the simplified 4 individual household-individual group structure pictured in Figure 3. Given that the vast majority of defaults are group wide (see Table 1), this assumption is not as problematic as may first appear. Because it is an oversimplification of reality, however, it is important to pursue two distinct methods of estimation to get insight on how much such simplifications affect the results.

D given parameters θ and penalty P in the multiple group member model and household-individual model, respectively. Then the total likelihood functions for the multiple group member model and the household-individual model can be written (in logs) as:

$$\ln [L^{mg}(\theta)] = \sum_{o=1}^L \max \left(\max_{P \in [0,1]} \sum_{n=1}^{N_o} \ln [l^{mg}(D_n^o, \theta, P)] \right) \quad (15a)$$

$$\ln [L^{hh}(\theta)] = \sum_{o=1}^L \max \left(\max_{P \in [0, P_{hg}^*(\theta)]} \sum_{n=1}^{N_o} \ln [l(D_n^o, \theta, P)], \sum_{n=1}^{N_o} \ln [l(D_n^o, \theta, P > P_{hg}^*(\theta))] \right) \quad (15b)$$

The difference between equations [15a] and [15b] comes from the fact that in the household-individual model, when $P > P_{hg}^*$, the predicted probabilities are the same regardless of the P . Hence, a point estimate of such a P can not occur. Since each loan officer has his or her own penalty, all household-individual borrowers with the same loan officer are in the same equilibrium. To estimate which equilibrium each loan officer is in, I take the maximum log likelihood over all possible value of P_o less than P_{hg}^* (which can be calculated given θ using [10]) and compare it to the log likelihood if $P_o \geq P_{hg}^*$. If the latter is greater than the former, the loan officer will be estimated to be in the SD equilibrium.²⁰

The ML estimates of θ are defined as:

$$\hat{\theta}^{mg} \equiv \arg \max_{\theta \in \Theta} \ln [L^{mg}(\theta)] \quad (16a)$$

$$\hat{\theta}^{hh} \equiv \arg \max_{\theta \in \Theta} \ln [L^{hh}(\theta)] \quad (16b)$$

The estimated penalty for each loan officer is defined as:

$$\hat{P}_o^{mg} \equiv \arg \max_{P \in [0,1]} \sum_{n=1}^{N_o} \ln [l^{mg}(D_n^o, \hat{\theta}^{mg}, P)] \quad (17a)$$

$$\hat{P}_o^{hh} \equiv \left\{ \begin{array}{l} P_{hg}^*(\hat{\theta}^{hh}) \text{ if } \max_{P \in [0, P_{hg}^*(\hat{\theta}^{hh})]} \sum_{n=1}^{N_o} \ln [l(D_n^o, \hat{\theta}^{mg}, P)] < \sum_{n=1}^{N_o} \ln [l(D_n^o, \theta, P > P_{hg}^*(\hat{\theta}^{hh}))] \\ \arg \max_{P \in [0, P_{hg}^*(\hat{\theta}^{hh})]} \sum_{n=1}^{N_o} \ln [l^{mg}(D_n^o, \hat{\theta}^{mg}, P)] \text{ otherwise} \end{array} \right\} \quad (17b)$$

The standard errors for $\hat{\theta}^{mg}$ and $\hat{\theta}^{hh}$, respectively, that are reported below are estimated by taking the square root of the diagonals of the variance-covariance matrix $\hat{\Omega}$ estimated by the negative of the inverse of

²⁰In the empirical analysis below, such loan officers are assigned a $P = \hat{P}_{hg}^*$, even though their P is not point identified and could be anywhere between P_{hg}^* and 1. Since $\hat{P}_{hg}^* = .87$, this arbitrary assignment does not likely have a large effect on the estimates.

the Hessian of the log likelihood function evaluated at the estimated parameters:

$$\hat{\Omega} = - \left(\frac{\partial^2 \ln [L(\hat{\theta})]}{\partial \hat{\theta} \partial \hat{\theta}'} \right)^{-1} \quad (18)$$

This standard procedure, however, fails to account for the fact that the $\{\hat{P}_o^{mg}\}_{o=1}^L$ and $\{\hat{P}_o^{hh}\}_{o=1}^L$ were maximized in an inner step in $L^{mg}(\theta)$ and $L^{hh}(\theta)$, respectively.²¹ While this produces consistent and unbiased estimates, the standard procedure for calculating standard errors is not correct. The best way of correcting the standard errors would be to use a nonparametric bootstrapping procedure; however, given that the structural estimation of each model takes about 12 hours to run on a high speed computing cluster, such a procedure is computationally infeasible. Hence, the absurdly precise standard errors of model parameters presented in the results below should be interpreted with caution.

5.2 Structural Estimation Results

Table 2 presents the structural estimates of the underlying model parameters. These results appear realistic and are estimated very precisely (although recall that the standard errors fail to account for the inner maximization of loan officer specific penalties). The returns to borrowing, net of interest costs, are 26.7% per loan in the household-individual model and 44.6% per loan in the multiple group member model. Since each loan is approximately 6 months long and the annual interest rate is about 46%, this suggests that the gross monthly returns to borrowing are 7.10% ($\frac{\ln(1.267)}{6} + \frac{\ln(1.46)}{12}$) and 9.30% ($\frac{\ln(1.446)}{6} + \frac{\ln(1.46)}{12}$), which is very similar to experimental estimates of the returns to borrowing among small business owners in other developing countries (de Mel, McKenzie, and Woodruff 2008). The variance in returns to borrowing implies a standard deviation in returns equal to 0.318 and 0.620 for the household-individual and multiple group member models, respectively, which, given the estimated mean returns and the normal distribution, suggests that a household member will get negative returns (relative to the principal plus interest) on a loan 20.04% (household-individual model) to 23.59% (multiple group member model) of the time. The estimated correlation of returns between group members is virtually zero for the household-individual model, but substantial for the multiple group member model.

Given the household-individual model parameter estimates, $\hat{P}_{hg}^* = .8733$. This means that only borrowers who faced close to full group liability would find it optimal to strategically default. Of the 58 loan officers in the sample, 45 (who oversaw 68% of total borrowers) were estimated to have penalties greater than P_{hg}^* .

²¹Computationally, the two-step ML process was accomplished by performing a grid search over possible values of P for each loan officer given θ and selecting the P that maximized the log likelihood for the loan officer. The sum of the log likelihoods of the maximized values of P for all loan officers was then maximized over the space of Θ using the constrained optimization function `fmincon` in Matlab.

Table 2: STRUCTURALLY ESTIMATED MODEL PARAMETERS

	Household Estimate	Structure SE ($\times 10^9$)	Multiple Group Estimate	Members SE ($\times 10^9$)
Mean Returns to Borrowing	1.267	0.005	1.446	0.029
Variance of Returns to Borrowing	0.101	0.031	0.384	0.014
Correlation between group members	0.001	0.083	0.381	0.008
Correlation between household members	-0.001	0.022	N/A	N/A
Correlation between $g(i)$ and $g(h(i))$	-0.031	0.161	N/A	N/A

Interestingly, despite the entirely different identification strategies, the estimated loan officer penalties using the household-individual model and the multiple group member model were surprisingly consistent, having a correlation of .88. Figure 5 depicts the relationship, where the area of the dot represents the number of loans the combination represents. As can be seen, the vast majority of loans were overseen by loan officers who were estimated to enforce high group liabilities, although there were some loan officers that were estimated to enforce a low level of group liability by both models. As can also be seen, the household-individual model generated greater variation in the estimated group liabilities between loan officers than the multiple group member model. This is likely because the multiple group member model has less identifying power since its identification comes from variation in combinations of defaults for a given loan officer between different sized groups. Since defaults are a relatively rare event, there does not exist substantial variation in the combinations of default across different group sizes for a given loan officer. This makes the correlation of the estimated loan officer penalties between the two models even more remarkable. This variation across loan officers in estimated penalties will be exploited in out of sample tests below.

5.3 Predicting Default Rates

How well do the two extensions of the model reflect the reality of group borrowing? Recall from the discussion above that many important aspects of group borrowing (e.g. adverse selection and group formation, moral hazard, collateral, etc.) are absent in the model and both extensions rely on critical simplifications; specifically, the household-individual group model treats other group and household members as single persons while the multiple group member model assumes the other group members pool their returns. To assess the quality of the model, this section evaluates how well the estimated group liabilities of different loan officers predicts default rates of borrowers.

Recall the prediction of the basic model that as group liability increases, the probability of default falls (at a diminishing rate) until strategic default becomes optimal, when the probability increases discretely and remains constant thereafter (see Figure 2). The multiple group member model predicted a more nuanced version of the relationship between group liability and probability of default, where increasing the group

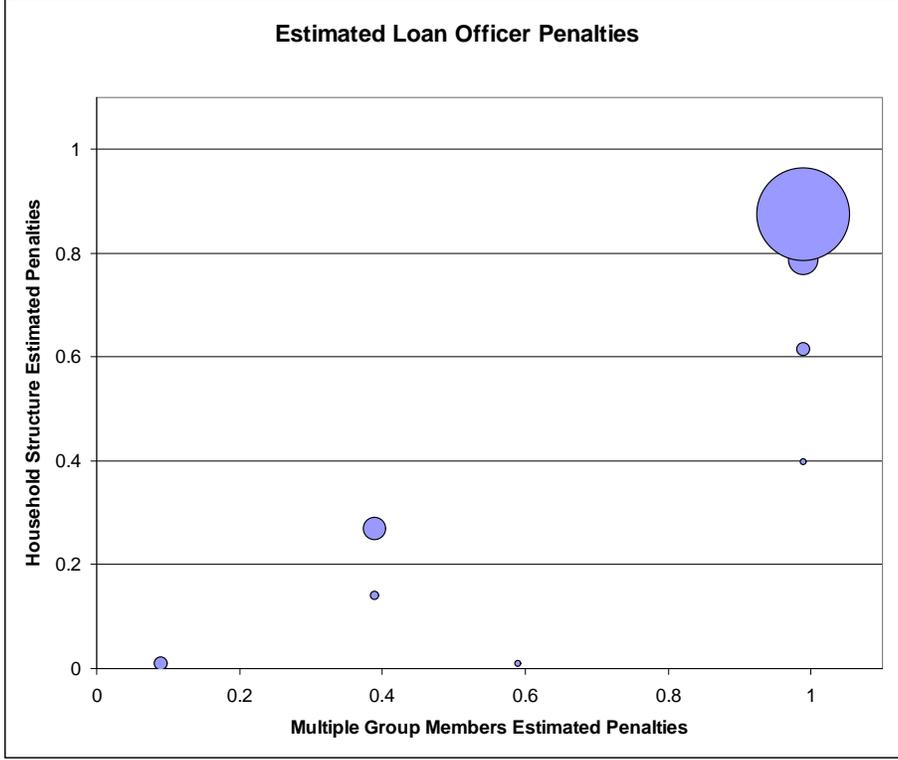


Figure 5: Correlation of Estimated Loan Officer Penalties using Household-Individual Model and Multiple Group Member Model

liability reduced the probability of default (at a diminishing rate), but there were several thresholds that caused discrete increases in the probability of default as borrowers' tolerance for the number of defaulting group members reduced (see Figure 4). Since both models estimated the liability enforced by each loan officer separately, it is possible to analyze the extent to which the model's predicted relationship between default rates and group liability exists in the data using the variation in estimated loan officer's enforced group liability. Specifically, whether or not loan n of loan officer o ends in default, D_n^o , can be regressed on the estimated penalty of loan officer o , \hat{P}_o , its square \hat{P}_o^2 and a vector of controls X_n :

$$D_n^o = \alpha + \gamma_1 \hat{P}_o + \gamma_2 \hat{P}_o^2 + \beta X_n + \varepsilon_n \quad (19)$$

To the extent that the relationship between group liability and default illustrated in Figures 2 and 4 can be approximated by a quadratic polynomial, the model would predict that $\gamma_1 < 0$ (accounting for the decreasing probability of default as P increases) and $\gamma_2 > 0$ (accounting for both the diminishing returns at lower levels of P as well as the discrete jumps at higher levels of P).

Of course, the structural estimates of a loan officer's enforced group liability are an imprecise estimate of

the true enforced group liability. If there is substantial measurement error, then estimates of γ_1 and γ_2 can be biased towards zero. Fortunately, there exists two estimates of each loan officer's enforced group liability: one from the household-individual model estimation (\hat{P}_o^{hh}) and one from the multiple group member model estimation (\hat{P}_o^{mg}). Suppose that the true loan officer o 's enforced group liability is P_o and:

$$P_o = \hat{P}_o^{hh} + u_o \quad (20a)$$

$$P_o = \hat{P}_o^{mg} + v_o \quad (20b)$$

$$u_o \text{ and } v_o \text{ are and mean zero i.i.d.} \quad (20c)$$

$$E(u_o v_o) = 0 \quad (20d)$$

The assumption that $E(u_o v_o) = 0$ seems reasonable considering that the two models use distinct methods of identifying a loan officer's group liability. If these assumptions hold, then the measurement error bias can be overcome by instrumenting for one measure of group liability (say \hat{P}_o^{mg}) with the other measure (\hat{P}_o^{hh}).²²

Of course, observing that $\hat{\gamma}_1 < 0$ and $\hat{\gamma}_2 > 0$ using the same loans that were used to structurally estimate the model is not very convincing evidence of the validity of the model: the estimated parameters and loan officer penalties were chosen to make the model match the data! What is needed instead is to see if $\hat{\gamma}_1 < 0$ and $\hat{\gamma}_2 > 0$ for loans that the structural estimates were not based upon. Here too I am fortunate; since the household-individual model could only be estimated for the subset of loans where the borrowers fit the household/borrowing structure depicted in Figure 3, there exists a large number (25,643) of other loans *overseen by the same loan officers* where the borrowers did not come from households with multiple household members in different borrowing groups. For these observations, estimates of the loan officer's enforced group liability exist but the loans themselves were not used to estimate the model. If it is true that loan officers have a constant group liability that they apply to all groups and the model's prediction regarding the relationship between group liability and defaults is correct, then one would expect to see that $\hat{\gamma}_1 < 0$ and $\hat{\gamma}_2 > 0$ for these loans out of sample. (If, however, it is not observed that $\hat{\gamma}_1 < 0$ and $\hat{\gamma}_2 > 0$, it could be either that loan officers do not enforce a constant group liability or that the model's prediction is incorrect.)

For both the household-individual sample ("in sample") and the loans not in the household-individual sample but sharing the same loan officers ("out of sample"), I estimate equation [19] using both \hat{P}_o^{hh} (columns labeled "HH") and \hat{P}_o^{mg} (columns labeled "Group") as well as instrumenting for \hat{P}_o^{mg} using \hat{P}_o^{hh} (columns labeled "IV"). I consider three different specifications: first, I include no control variables; second, I include

²²While either measure can legitimately be chosen as the instrument, I have chosen \hat{P}_o^{hh} as the instrument because it has more variation and hence more predictive power (see figure 5 and the associated discussion).

various individual and loan specific control variables as well as time fixed effects; and third, I include all of these control variables as well as branch fixed effects. The second specification is meant to test to see if the structural estimates of loan officer's enforced group liability merely reflect differences across loan officers in observable characteristics of the loan and borrower. Including branch fixed effects tests to see if the estimated loan officer's penalties merely reflect differences (observed or unobserved) across branches in loans and borrowers. Unfortunately, because much of the variation in group liability occurs across branches rather than within, the power of such a specification is low.

The results of the regressions are presented in Tables 6 and 7 for the "in sample" and "out sample", respectively. As expected, in the sample used to make the structural estimates, $\hat{\gamma}_1 < 0$ and $\hat{\gamma}_2 > 0$ for the household-individual model, and the coefficients are statistically significant for all specifications. Surprisingly, however, the results for the multiple group member model and the instrumented variable columns are statistically significant in the "wrong" direction, suggesting that default rates increase concavely as group liability increases. This relationship could reflect the imprecise estimates of the multiple group member model (although such an explanation fails to explain why the results are statistically significant as well as at odds with the model predictions).

In the out of sample loans, the household-individual predicted loan officer penalties are statistically significant and consistent with model predictions, even for the restrictive branch fixed effects specification. Interestingly, despite getting the "wrong" sign in sample, the multiple group member estimated loan officer penalties now have the "right" sign out of sample for two of the three specifications (although they are insignificant). With branch fixed effects, however, the multiple group member estimated loan officer penalties are statistically significant in the "wrong" direction. The IV results are consistent with the model and statistically significant, except for the branch fixed effects model, which has the "right" sign but is not statistically significant. The IV results are also larger in magnitude than the other estimates, which is consistent with the existence of measurement error. That the estimated loan officer penalties have substantial predictive ability of defaults out of sample and are consistent with model predictions lends substantial support to the ability of the model to describe the reality of group borrowing despite its simplicity. The results also lend credence to the assumption that each loan officer has a constant group liability that she applies to all the loans she oversees.

One obvious objection to the above results is that estimates of \hat{P}_o^{mg} and \hat{P}_o^{hh} do not reflect a loan officer's enforced group liability, but rather the quality of the loan officer. Hence, the results above merely reflect the fact that "better" loan officers have lower default rates. Such a critique is unfounded because the estimates of \hat{P}_o^{mg} and \hat{P}_o^{hh} do not arise from average default rates, but rather from the particular combination of defaults, whether it be within households (in the case of \hat{P}_o^{hh}) or within a given group (in the case of \hat{P}_o^{mg}).

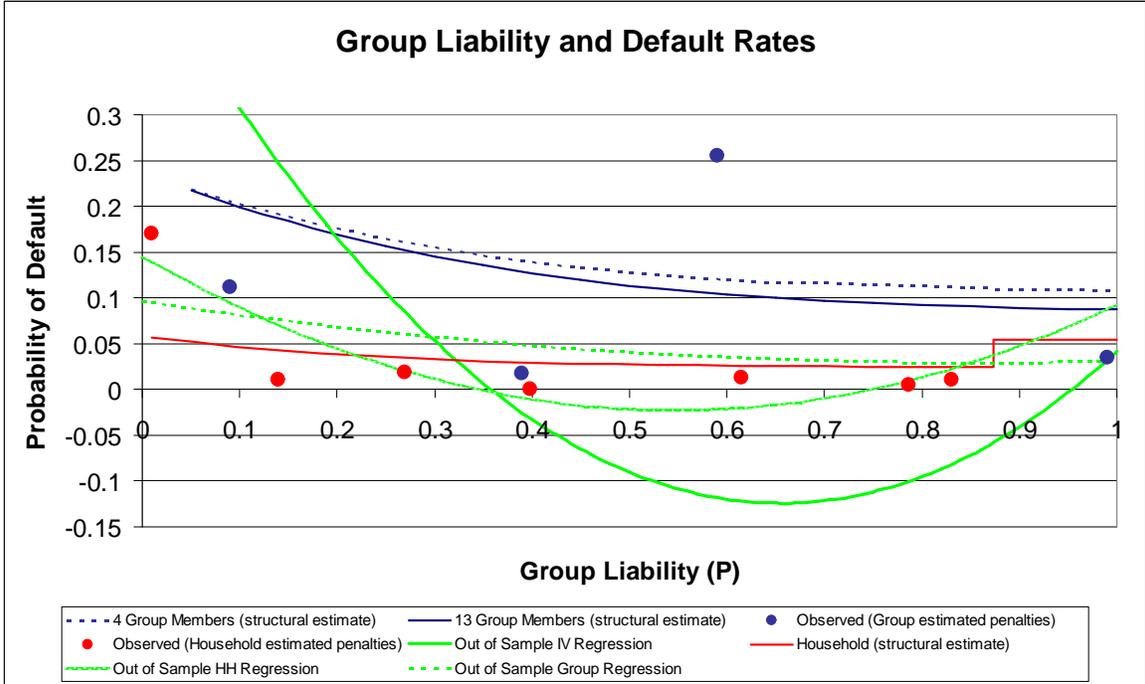


Figure 6: Group Liability and Default Rates

Put another way, two loan officers with very similar average default rates (and hence of similar "qualities") may be estimated to have very different group liabilities depending on the combination in which the defaults were realized. This is indeed the case, as clearly evident in Figure 6 below, where the red dots show that \hat{P}_o^{hh} varies substantially for a given rate of default. Of course, it could be that loan officers that have successfully determined the optimal liability are also better in other unobservable dimensions. If this story is true, then $\hat{\gamma}_1$ and $\hat{\gamma}_2$ estimate the combined effect of optimal liability and these other unobservables on default rates.

5.4 Optimal Group Liability

Given the structural estimates and the empirical analysis above, what is the implied optimal group liability? Figure 6 illustrates the relationship between group liability and default rates implied by structural estimates of the household-individual model, the structural estimates of the multiple group members model (for both 4 member groups and 13 member groups), and the implied relationship given the estimated coefficients from the regressions (without controls) in Table 7. It also depicts the average default rates for each of the estimated loan officer penalties for both the household-individual model and the multiple group member model. Table 3 presents the implied optimal group liability for each method.

As can be seen, the estimated optimal liability varies substantially depending on the method. As mentioned above, the household-individual model structural estimates imply an optimal group liability of

87.33%. Interestingly, the group member model structural estimates imply that full group liability is optimal; this is because the structural estimates suggest that group members are willing to tolerate a relatively large number of fellow group members defaulting before they are induced to default as well; since it is relatively unlikely that such an event will occur, the benefits of larger group liability outweighs the costs of strategic default. Recall, however, that the assumption of pooling of returns among "other" group members underestimates strategic default and hence biases the optimal partial liability toward 100%. The implied optimal liability from the regression analyses tends to be lower than the implied optimal liability implied by the structural estimation; disregarding the statistically insignificant results and the multiple group member branch fixed effects result with the "wrong" signs on the coefficients, the estimates range from 54.2% to 67.6%. This, however, could merely be reflecting the imperfect fit of a quadratic polynomial to the actual relationship.

Table 3: ESTIMATED OPTIMAL GROUP LIABILITY

Methodology	Optimal Liability	Reduction in Default:	
		Optimal Liability	75% Liability
Structural Estimates			
Household-Individual	87.33%	2.96%	2.91%
Multiple Group Members	100.00%	0.00%	-0.68%
Out of Sample Regressions			
<i>Penalties estimated using Household-Individual Model</i>			
No controls	54.73%	11.51%	9.20%
Controls	54.22%	11.51%	9.20%
Branch FE	67.56%	12.42%	9.86%
<i>Penalties estimated using Multiple Group Members Model</i>			
No controls*	67.56%	0.19%	0.10%
Controls*	85.41%	0.20%	0.10%
Branch FE	100.00%	0.00%	-0.75%
<i>IV regressions</i>			
No controls	65.58%	16.55%	15.31%
Controls	65.45%	17.01%	15.71%
Branch FE*	85.00%	0.58%	0.32%

Asterisks indicate the estimated coefficients were statistically insignificant.
"Reduction in Default" columns report the estimated decline in default rates
(in percentage points) from full group liability.

Table 3 also depicts the estimated reduction in default (in percentage points) from moving from full group liability to the optimal group liability and to 75% group liability. Given the observed default rate of 4.5%, the estimated reduction in default rates is substantial. Of course, for the out of sample regressions, this is likely just a by-product of the polynomial estimation technique - this is clearly evident in Figure 6, where certain ranges of liabilities are estimated to have negative default rates. Still, the household-individual structural estimate suggests that default rates would fall by more than half if the optimal group liability was adopted - an enormous effect for a relatively small change in policy. Comparing full group liability to 75% group liability demonstrates that the reduction in default is almost as large as moving to the optimal liability, while for the methods predicting full liability is optimal, the move to 75% liability would increase

default rates only minimally. A policy of 75% group liability is also easily explained to potential borrowers ("they borrow 4, you're responsible for 3"). Of course, these estimates do not account at all for problems of moral hazard and adverse selection, which would likely be exacerbated as group liability is reduced. It seems unlikely, however, that the marginal increase in default rates rising from such problems would eclipse the gains from reduced strategic default, i.e. the discontinuous increase in defaults arising from strategic default will likely eclipse any effects that are continuous functions of group liability. Put simply, if I am held responsible for 75% instead of 100% of my group member's loan, it seems unreasonable to assume that borrowers would put substantially less effort into choosing good group members and making sure they use their loans responsibly.

6 Conclusion

This paper developed a model of group lending that contrasts the costs and benefits of group liability. The model implied that greater group liability encourages greater intra-group transfers, but if group liability is too large, it induces borrowers to strategically default. While simple, the model incorporated several realistic characteristics of group lending, including correlated stochastic returns to borrowing, limited liability, and forward-looking behavior. Since the model could not disentangle strategic default from correlated returns to borrowing using observations on repayments alone, the model was extended in two directions, first to include household structure and second to incorporate borrowing groups of more than two individuals.

Both model extensions were structurally estimated using repayment data from a large microfinance institution in southern Mexico. Despite differences in the methods of identification, structural estimates of model fundamentals were similar in both extensions, suggesting high but variable returns to borrowing. The multiple borrowing member model also estimated substantial correlation in group member returns, although the model based on household structure did not. Exploiting the fact that individual loan officers were largely able to choose their own policies regarding default, each loan officer's *de facto* group liability was estimated; these estimates were remarkably similar for the two models, finding the majority of loan officers enforced full group liability and the remaining loan officers exhibited substantial variation in their degree of group liability enforcement. Using this variation, the model's predictions regarding the relationship between group liability and default rates were tested on loans that were not used to make the structural estimates. Measurement error was corrected for by instrumenting for one estimate with the other. The out of sample results strongly supported the conclusion of the model that partial group liability results in lower default rates than either full group liability or full individual liability. Estimates of the optimal partial group liability ranged from 55% to 100% of full group liability, although 75% group liability was shown to reduce default rates nearly

as much as the optimal group liability.

Hence, this paper suggests a clear policy prescription that has the potential to substantially reduce default rates in group lending programs. Reducing group liability to 75% of group member's loans is an easily implementable policy change that retains most of the "good" of group liability loans without one of the major disadvantages. It is also important to note that such a policy change benefits both borrowers and lenders alike – strategic default is good for no one. However, it should be emphasized that these empirical findings rely on the experience of one particular lender in one particular environment. A natural extension would be to extend the analysis above to other contexts. One major advantage of the model and estimation strategy developed in this paper is its data requirements are relatively minimal: one only needs to observe group size and whether or not each individual in the group repaid for estimation to be possible (for the multiple group member model). Experimental interventions would also serve to test how well the findings presented in this paper generalize.

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7 Appendix

Table 4: SUMMARY STATISTICS FOR ALL GROUP LOANS

Variable	Mean	(Std. Dev.)	Min.	Max.
Default	0.045	(0.207)	0	1
Age	38.612	(11.44)	13.933	87.441
Sex (1=male)	0.181	(0.385)	0	1
Loan Amount (pesos)	10036.727	(12145.261)	384.61	260000
Tenure with Bank (weeks)	51.208	(33.35)	4.429	311.143
Interest Rate (annual)	0.461	(0.052)	0	1.725
Loan Length (weeks)	28.417	(6.295)	3.714	107.571
Group Size	4.472	(3.437)	2	31
N		33772		

Table 5: SUMMARY STATISTICS FOR HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS IN HOUSEHOLD-INDIVIDUAL GROUPS

Variable	Mean	(Std. Dev.)	Min.	Max.
Default	0.036	(0.186)	0	1
Age	38.691	(11.918)	18.209	82.188
Sex (1=male)	0.183	(0.387)	0	1
Loan Amount (pesos)	9666.183	(8903.115)	763.070	101680
Tenure with Bank (weeks)	48.287	(29.625)	13.857	172.286
Interest Rate (annual)	0.457	(0.046)	0	0.565
Loan Length (weeks)	27.733	(3.836)	13.857	54.143
Group Size	5.036	(3.993)	2	27
N		1782		

Table 6: EFFECT OF LOAN OFFICER PENALTIES ON DEFAULT RATES (IN SAMPLE)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
	HH	HH	HH	Group	Group	Group	IV	IV	IV
Loan Officer Penalty	-1.507*** (0.432)	-1.470*** (0.419)	-0.966** (0.428)	4.981* (2.785)	5.039* (2.671)	4.101** (1.935)	17.119* (8.920)	15.782** (7.945)	0.000 (0.038)
Loan Officer Penalty (squared)	1.279*** (0.361)	1.242*** (0.352)	0.686** (0.347)	-3.670* (2.012)	-3.710* (1.929)	-3.170** (1.410)	-12.361* (6.458)	-11.412** (5.751)	-0.362* (0.212)
Constant	0.382*** (0.108)	0.477*** (0.127)	0.212 (0.169)	-1.303* (0.786)	-1.259* (0.752)	-1.053* (0.557)	-4.800* (2.501)	-4.301* (2.223)	0.253 (0.177)
Controls	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Branch Fixed Effects	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes
Year Fixed Effects	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Observations	1782	1782	1782	1782	1782	1782	1782	1782	1782
R-squared	0.051	0.066	0.117	0.041	0.061	0.125	.	.	0.101

Borrowing-group clustered standard errors reported in parentheses. Controls include age, sex, loan amount, tenure with bank, interest rate, loan length, and group size. HH columns use the loan officer penalties structurally estimated by incorporating household structure. Group columns use the loan officer penalties structurally estimated by incorporating group size. IV columns instrument for the penalties estimated using group size with the penalties estimated using household structure. Stars indicate statistical significance: * $p < .10$ ** $p < .05$ *** $p < .01$

Table 7: EFFECT OF LOAN OFFICER PENALTIES ON DEFAULT RATES (OUT OF SAMPLE)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
	HH	HH	HH	Group	Group	Group	IV	IV	IV
Loan Officer Penalty	-0.614*** (0.082)	-0.643*** (0.086)	-0.337*** (0.088)	-0.157 (0.143)	-0.046 (0.141)	0.467** (0.200)	-1.833*** (0.298)	-1.864*** (0.302)	-0.441 (0.652)
Loan Officer Penalty (squared)	0.561*** (0.071)	0.593*** (0.075)	0.250*** (0.078)	0.092 (0.110)	0.009 (0.108)	-0.476*** (0.172)	1.397*** (0.220)	1.424*** (0.224)	0.259 (0.537)
Constant	0.145*** (0.020)	0.279*** (0.053)	0.136* (0.079)	0.096*** (0.036)	0.139** (0.063)	0.053 (0.087)	0.477*** (0.080)	0.554*** (0.093)	0.195 (0.126)
Controls	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Branch Fixed Effects	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes
Year Fixed Effects	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Observations	25643	25643	25643	25643	25643	25643	25643	25643	25643
R-squared	0.015	0.043	0.086	0.002	0.030	0.085	.	.	0.076

Borrowing-group clustered standard errors reported in parentheses. Controls include age, sex, loan amount, tenure with bank, interest rate, loan length, and group size. HH columns use the loan officer penalties structurally estimated by incorporating household structure. Group columns use the loan officer penalties structurally estimated by incorporating group size. IV columns instrument for the penalties estimated using group size with the penalties estimated using household structure. Stars indicate statistical significance: * $p < .10$ ** $p < .05$ *** $p < .01$

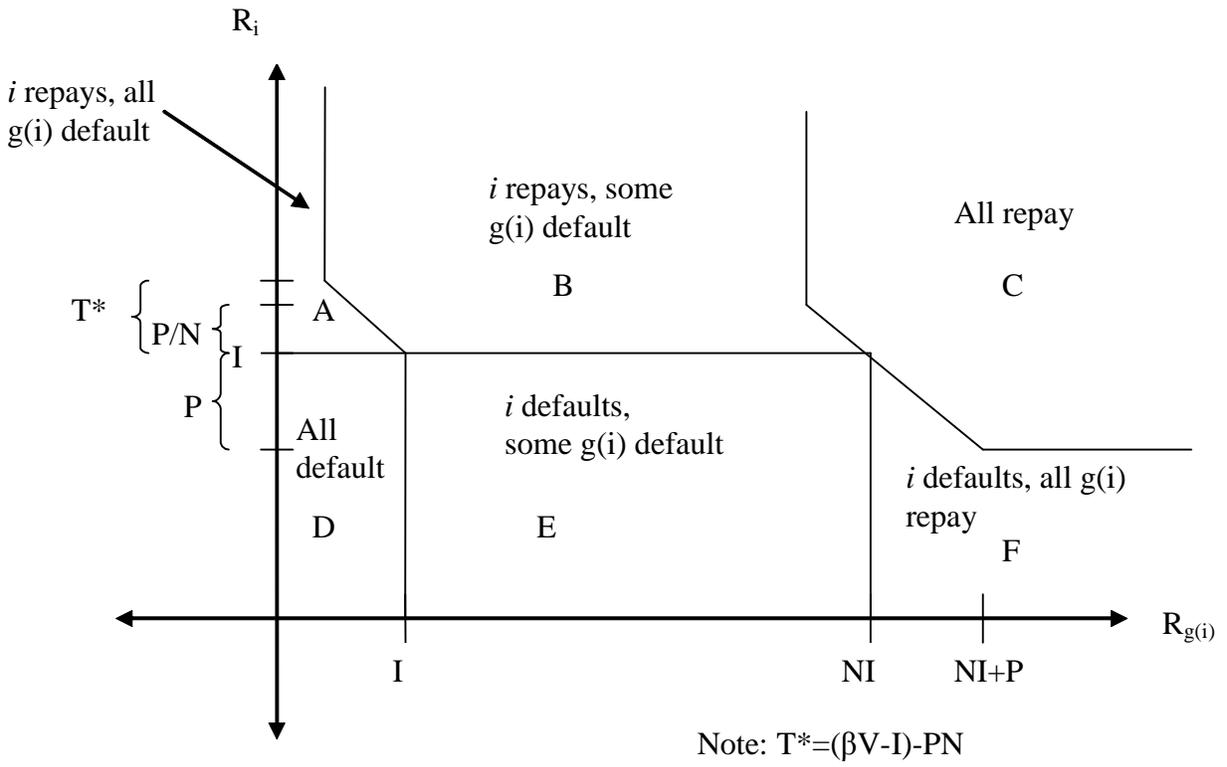


Figure 7: Multiple Member Borrowing Groups: $P < (\beta V - I)/N$

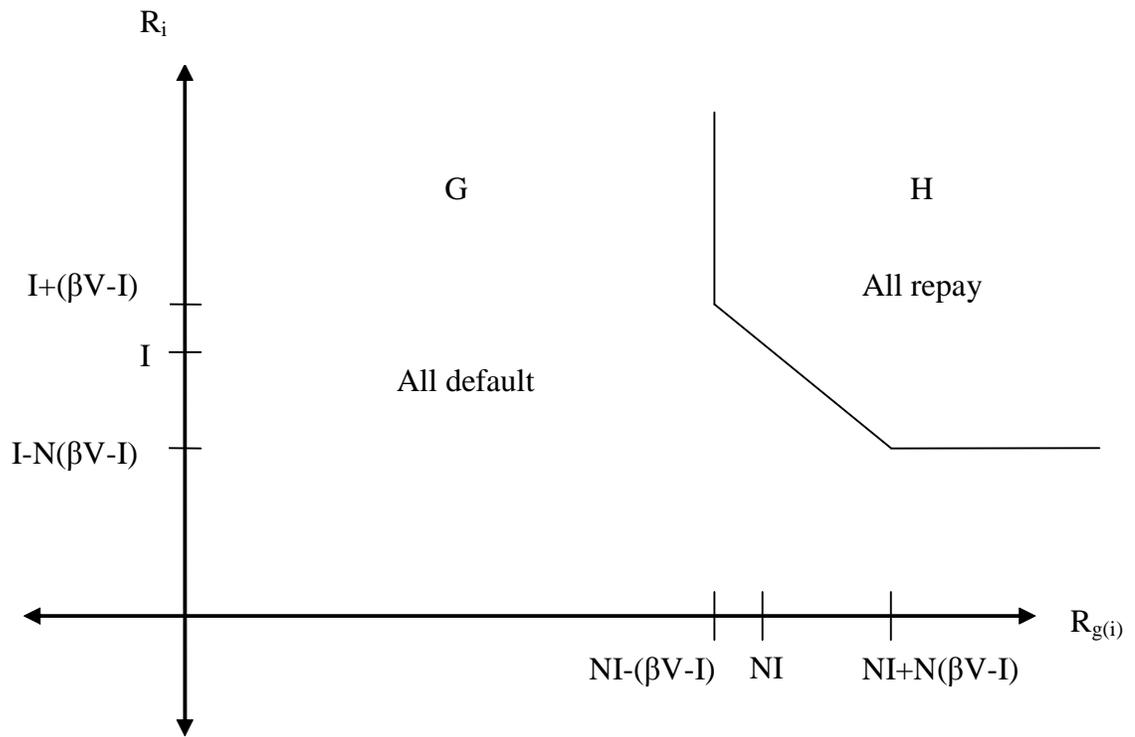


Figure 8: Multiple Member Borrowing Groups: $P > N(\beta V - I)$

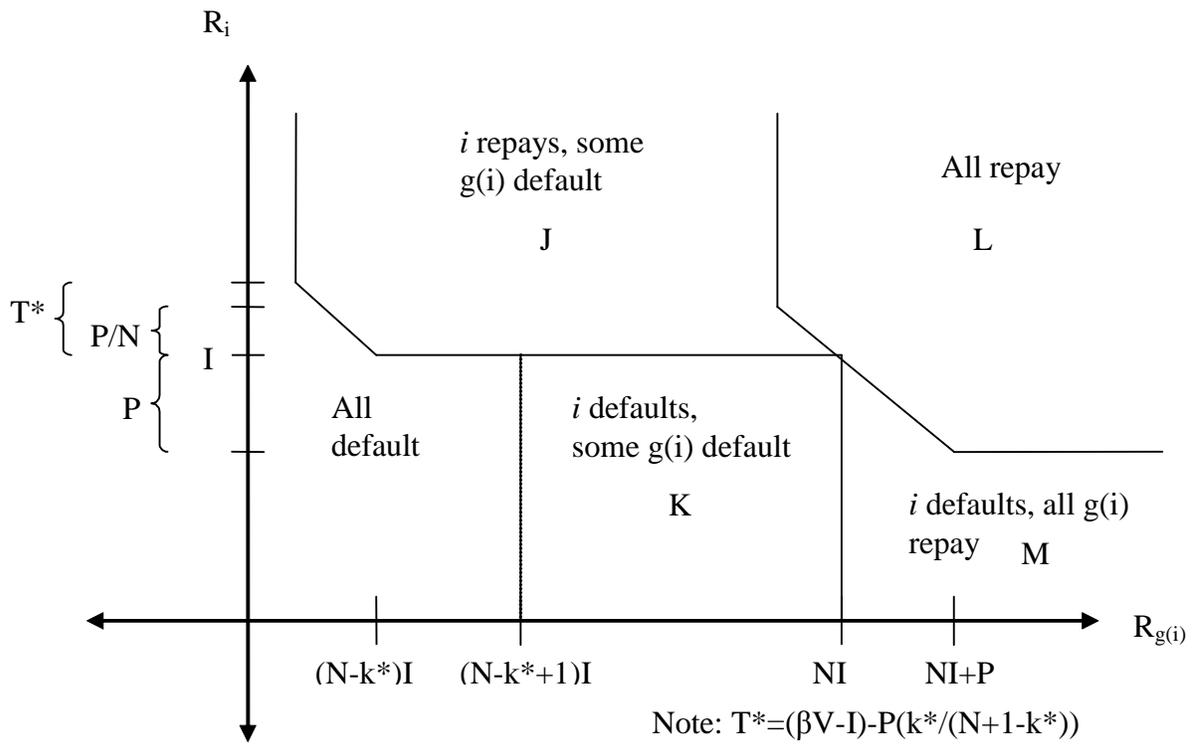


Figure 9: Multiple Member Borrowing Groups: $(\beta V - I) \frac{(N-k^*)}{(k^*+1)} < P < (\beta V - I) \frac{(N+1-k^*)}{k^*}$