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# Debt, Microcredit, and Mental Health: Causal Evidence and Mechanisms

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## ABSTRACT

Debt and microcredit are central to financial inclusion strategies in low- and middle-income countries (LMICs), yet their implications for mental health remain complex and contested. This paper examines the causal relationship between debt, microcredit access, and mental health outcomes, highlighting both beneficial and adverse effects. Drawing on observational studies, randomized evaluations, and meta-analytic evidence, it identifies key mechanisms through which debt influences psychological well-being, including financial strain, coping behaviors, social stigma, and exposure to economic shocks. While microcredit can enhance autonomy, facilitate income-generating activities, and improve resilience, it may also intensify stress due to high interest rates, rigid repayment schedules, and over-indebtedness. The analysis further demonstrates that the mental health effects of debt are heterogeneous, varying by gender, age, and socioeconomic status, with women and vulnerable populations often disproportionately affected. Importantly, the paper underscores challenges in causal identification and measurement, as well as inconsistencies in empirical findings across contexts. It concludes that microcredit is neither inherently beneficial nor harmful; rather, its impact depends on program design, borrower characteristics, and broader socio-economic conditions. Evidence-based policy design integrating financial safeguards, flexible lending structures, and mental health considerations is therefore essential to maximize benefits while minimizing harm.

**Keywords:** Debt and mental health, Microcredit, Financial stress, Causal inference, Low and middle-income countries (LMICs)

## INTRODUCTION

Debt remains a persistent challenge for individuals and households across the globe, imposing significant social and psychological costs [1]. This section outlines these challenges and the related policy discussions surrounding microcredit. The estimated financial burden of debt on individuals and households can reveal useful insights regarding the context for these challenges, especially in low and middle-income countries (LMICs). Such countries are also the primary focus for microfinance initiatives [1, 2].

### The Economic Burden of Debt and Microcredit

Debt and microcredit are a major burden on households in low- and middle-income countries (LMICs). Debt service absorbs a substantial share of income, and loan default risk is prominent, especially among microborrowers [3]. The debt burden is often compounded by unforeseeable financial shocks, including health expenditures, crop failures, and price fluctuations [4]. Low-income households typically lack sufficient savings or affordable insurance to smooth consumption and cope with these adverse events. Microcredit programs vary substantially in design, with respect to interest rates, repayment schedules, and group-lending protocols. While theory suggests

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that such features may have important economic implications, empirical assessments remain scarce [5]. Comparative analysis of diverse microcredit interventions could help identify economically meaningful program elements. Microcredit is widely celebrated for assisting poor entrepreneurs and criticized for inducing overindebtedness. Specific claims emphasize either its alleviation of or exacerbation of economic stress. A systematic survey of the economic effects of both microcredit access and loan amounts documents channels through which the debt experience may meaningfully shape economic well-being [2].

### **Conceptualizing Debt in Low- and Middle-Income Contexts**

In low- and middle-income countries (LMICs), the household debt burden outstanding loans and formal and informal debt service payments as a share of income remains substantial [1]. Moreover, accumulating debt raises the risk of default and its associated social stigma: borrowers fear they will be unable to meet obligations, and the knowledge of possible future nonpayments exerts a similar psychological toll [3]. Households are exposed to economic shocks that provoke financial distress; the poor and vulnerable, in particular, lack savings and insurance that mitigate loss [4]. Such shocks increase reliance on debt as a coping mechanism, but they simultaneously amplify the mental health burden derived from indebtedness itself. The mechanisms connecting debt experience to mental health incorporate both individual and social dimensions. The financial strain of generating repayments, the perceived burden of servicing the loan, the destabilization of spending and saving goals, and the consequent deployment of maladaptive coping strategies constitute direct, individual-level routes. At the social level, community perceptions of credit and the balance between support and grievance affect access to available resources [5]. Heterogeneity analyses indicate that the effects of debt on mental health differ across age, gender, and socioeconomic status, as do the debt-treatment effects of microfinance-program access [6].

### **Microcredit as a Policy Instrument: Goals and Critiques**

Approaches to microcredit, the provision of small loans to low-income individuals, vary widely among financial institutions and global microfinance movements. They differ in fundamental design features such as interest rates, amortization schedules, and the use of group-based versus individual lending approaches [5]. Commercial microfinance often relies on higher interest rates offering faster loan origination than traditional banking, while some development-focused microfinance institutions opt for lower rates without aiming for profit maximization. Some institutions base repayments on cash flow linked to income cycles or offer grace periods [6]. Borrowing alone or through a group may afford clients more operational control and flexibility or impose collective risks and exposure. Individual loans do not preclude borrowers from interacting with other clients, rendering group contracts unnecessary to gauge loan size or recommend borrowers [7]. The prevalence of individual loans also reflects the broader ownership of commercial incomes beyond microfinance. Uncertainties about yields and collections raise questions about interest ceiling effects on outreach. Group contracts can economize on search costs and address organizational hazards in first-time borrower pools [1]. Individual loans reduce group-membership costs, while the simultaneous offer of a group loan option signals a consideration of group-characteristics heterogeneity. Well-being influences the types of economic activity pursued, the use of revenue, and associated stress levels. The availability of a loan may not directly induce activity but facilitate a switch from low-return to higher-return investments with lower reporting burdens [5]. Investment duration and the mechanism determining whether requirements on loans received are met remain opaque; income, net worth, collective investment priority, and family-event cycles of investment return may play roles. Group lending may render pre-existing activities compatible with formal borrowing [8]. Group composition can amplify re-allocation; the release may operate through productive transfers or human capital. horeca (hotels, restaurants, cafés) activities, facilitating family-income smoothing over collectivity cycles are among the early pursuits [ref]. Exclusion effects on alternate business opportunities are questionable; chosen collective activities do not strictly exhaust those while also observing premises, products, and frequency publicly visible. Income easily migrates across household-business borders when free cash surpluses exist (insufficient time for business topping up). Expenditure preparation for priority collective-investment events appears a compelling explanation [9]. Financial decisions are often characterized by time inconsistency and temptation. Even with direct access to borrowing to address shocks or finance smoothing, returns are often discounted before the point of realization. Alternative information sources enable forward-looking decisions even within collective-investment programs [9]. Where the release forms do not match complementary, temptation explicit recognition of future activities that do not occur (poor implementation) becomes an additional mechanism [6].

### **Mental Health Outcomes in the Debt Experience**

Debt remains an important, controversial development issue in low- and middle-income countries (LMICs). The economic burden of debt is substantial, with poor households in many countries devoting a significant fraction of their total expenditures to debt servicing [6]. Microcredit small, unsecured loans designed for low-income

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borrowers are equally contested. While advocates maintain that microcredit provides much-needed access to finance and enables poor households to invest in income-generating activities, detractors argue that microcredit often leads to over-indebtedness and an adverse impact on borrowers' welfare and decision-making [3]. Evidence on how debt and access to microcredit affect mental health therefore holds both theoretical and policy significance. The debt experience is likely to affect multiple mental health domains [8]. Anxiety and depression represent commonly studied mental health outcomes within LMICs and are both linked to the debt experience. Rural Bangladesh has seen an uptick in reported anxiety among female microcredit clients in the wake of financial shocks, and academic studies indicate that indebtedness intensifies life satisfaction concerns [6]. Debt moreover forecasts adverse mental health outcomes, including stress, and is associated with sub-optimal decision-making, substantial subjective burden, and subjective well-being, suggesting important complementarities with financial stress and agency in developing countries [9]. The operationalization of several decision-theoretic frameworks for multidimensional poverty involving these concepts further underscores their relevance in LMICs [1]. Although debt and microcredit represent economically critical topics, the mental health consequences of these experiences are less frequently analyzed empirically. An observational Kenyan study employing fixed effects cannot rule out reverse causation or omitted variables, a significant concern given the role of psychological well-being as a precondition for financial access [8]. Instruments linked to unexpected crop failures at the family level and microfinance provision at the locality appear to produce larger effects than anticipated, albeit for different populations. Randomized controlled trials (RCTs) providing access to microcredit across South Africa, Pakistan, and Ghana likewise identify substantial changes in several related constructs, though additional treatments complicate causal identification [10]. While a systematic meta-analysis finds virtually no generalizable correlation between access to credit and direct measures of psychological well-being, the decision-theory literature on happiness points to the issue's broader significance [11].

#### **Mechanisms Linking Debt to Mental Health**

Debt can adversely affect mental well-being through two main channels. First, debt, particularly when repayment is overdue, induces psychological distress [3]. Service payment requirements constitute a persistent cognitive burden. Second, debt may drive individuals to adopt coping strategies, such as reducing consumption or transferring funds across assets (e.g., borrowing from family, pawning assets, or using savings) [4]. Time spent deploying these strategies compounded when multiple debts are involved can elicit further anxiety or sadness [3]. Both channels imply that borrowing for productive, income-generating purposes should exert less detrimental impact on mental health than financing consumption needs [6]. Yet access to such borrowings hinges on prior engagement with financial products; restricting access to formal loans precludes investment in undertakings expected to yield returns exceeding total debt servicing. Theoretically, microcredit contracts, by targeting consumption needs (for example, health interventions, should be less damaging than other debt types [5].

#### **Heterogeneous Effects by Gender, Age, and Socioeconomic Status**

Debt and microcredit shape mental health in low- and middle-income contexts (LMICs). Preliminary evidence indicates substantial effects, but study designs and contexts vary. Results from LMICs show that anxiety and depression are among the consequences of indebtedness [1]; gender, age, and household welfare status distinguish microcredit programme participants, influencing how debt and microcredit affect mental health [2]. Debt welfare effects differ by socio-demographic group. Gender, age, and household wealth affect microcredit access and risk exposure to debt that influences mental health. Among older men and women in three European countries, financial strain due to debt impacted mental health, with socio-economic status and gender further affecting the relationship [5]. In South Africa, logistical parameters of cash loan programmes were linked to differential mental health effects by gender and household composition. The prevalence of unregulated loans and informal borrowing varies across countries; the direction of impact debt to well-being can differ depending on financial-service access [6].

#### **Causal Evidence on Debt and Mental Health**

Studies suggest that debt defined as unpaid and/or overdue loans or bills contributes to poor mental health. This association draws substantial academic and policy interest, particularly regarding the 2006 Nobel Peace Prize winning microcredit policy, which seeks to alleviate poverty in low and middle-income countries (LMICs) and improve overall living conditions by helping individuals establish small businesses [4]. Empirical research indicates that these programmes can have harmful mental health consequences, necessitating further examination of causal linkages [4]. Debt has been associated with depressive and anxiety symptoms, common mental disorders, and suicidal ideation. The more debts individuals have, the higher their likelihood of experiencing CMD or suicidal thoughts. Most evidence is cross-sectional, conducted around the 2008 financial crisis, mainly in England and the U.S., and focuses on symptoms rather than diagnoses [5]. Longitudinal research indicates that debt is associated

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with an increased risk of depressive symptoms and common mental disorders (CMD). However, there is limited evidence on how debt contributes to the persistence of mental health problems, as well as how poor mental health may influence the onset or continuation of debt [3]. This study investigates the bidirectional longitudinal relationship between debt and CMD among adults in the Netherlands, using data from a nationally representative cohort [3].

### **Observational Studies and Instrumental Variable Approaches**

Many studies have examined the relationship between mental health and debt. For instance, observational studies [6] analyze how debt affects mental health outcomes, including social interactions and depressive symptoms. Several large-scale, national government surveys allow identification of only wealthy households and, thus, restrict assessment of low-income populations, which are harder to reach geographically and financially [5]. Natural disasters can determine household borrowing when an instrument is needed to study the effect of debt. Instrumental variable estimates of the causal impact of household debt on mental health and social interactions are reported [7]. Instrumental variable approaches are essential in microcredit impact evaluations. Although randomized field experiments are more common, some quasi-experimental studies have used naturally occurring instruments, such as policy changes or safe drinking water access [4]. Most evaluations focus on income, expenditures, and business start-ups, leaving room for mental health to remain unexplored in developing countries. Panel datasets, however, evaluate how credit constraints affect time use after programming expands access to loans. A national survey in rural Colombia examines the effect of post-disaster recovery on well-being [6]. Microcredit markets have developed extensively in Indonesia, spurring evaluations of its psychological effects. Data from a longitudinal health survey linked psychological outcomes to various interventions. Over twelve years, respondents described moneylender usage, credit demand from banks, access to cooperatives, formal loan uptake, and micro-finance use [8]. Linkages exist between poverty-risk type and the incidence of financial difficulty and psychological disorders, with “failure to save” and “off-farm economic reduction” reducing the risk of composite psychological disorder and depression, and attenuating the adverse effects of cash-transfer programs [7].

### **Natural Experiments and Randomized Evaluations**

Household access to financial services including credit contributes to resilience in the face of financial shocks. In low- and middle-income contexts, distinguishing the experience of household debt from formal credit and in particular, within the context of microcredit, yet proving challenging, is of vital importance [2]. Policy ambitions for microcredit include offering an alternative source of capital to households unable to supply their own, thereby facilitating the accumulation of productive assets that might, in the long run, mitigate the detrimental effects of either the need for or the actual decision to enter into debt [3]. A meta-analysis of the limited empirical literature surrounding this question suggests debt exerts a causal effect on households’ mental health. Four distinct channels through which debt impacts mental health have likewise been identified, each of which speaks to the impact of microcredit on households’ wellbeing either directly or indirectly: (i) financial strain and coping; (ii) social capital; (iii) economic shocks; and (iv) exposure to violence [7]. With an eye towards the second of these channels understood to describe the neighbourhood of counterfactual mental health for households participating in microcredit; the considerable number of studies specifically investigating non-productive borrowing that nonetheless draw on econometric techniques permitting the isolation of purely causal impacts would seem to present a relatively inviting opportunity for further follow-up [9].

### **Meta-analytic Synthesis of Causal Links**

Debt, microcredit, and mental health are closely linked. Evidence suggests that borrowing can adversely affect well-being, but the underlying mechanisms remain poorly understood [5]. A systematic review documented causal claims, channels, and evidence quality, revealing four main pathways from debt to mental health 2. Figure 1 summarizes the core conclusions [9]. Aspects of personal finances exert a strong influence on mental health decisions, such as reducing spending, increasing income, or seeking assistance [4]. In low- and middle-income countries (LMICs), inadequate financial resources significantly affect capacities for coping and accompanying management problems, although the same applied to rich countries prior to the Great Depression. Overleverage may result in bankruptcy in rich countries, while considerable economic insecurity can still persist [6]. Many borrowers consider debt servitude incompatible with protection of self-respect, dignity, and esteem. The different types of debt (consumer, gambling, medical, etc.) also matter, with the nature of debt affecting its carrying burden [8].

### **Microcredit Program Design and Mental Health Implications**

More generally, microcredit access increases distress in high-debt contexts [1] and access to demand-constrained loans reduces psychological distress. Standard interest rates and rigid repayment schedules intensify the stress of

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existing liabilities and are among the most criticized features of microcredit (Banerjee et al., 2013). Access to microcredit appears beneficial for women of low socio-economic status, particularly if awareness and social networks precede loan uptake [3]. Heterogeneous effects on mental health also arise from household versus individual disbursement, exogenous interventions facilitating access to other credit sources, network characteristics, and demand-constrained loan access [12]. Household-level studies indicate that unsolicited group loans have negative consequences, and access to microcredit tends to decrease well-being in regions with serious debt problems. Grievances and awareness accompany social exchange within these networks [4]. Microfinance is not a panacea despite substantial investments to foster inclusion and diverse programme designs with heightened experimental interest [6]. Demand-constrained loans can enhance mental well-being under specific conditions. In urban areas lacking transparency, access to information, institutions, and consumer literacy prevails; basic consumer skills and budgeting knowledge are among the most pressing needs [6]. Group microfinance remains one of the few means to accumulate savings and requires non-predatory contracts. Financial assistance extends beyond credit access, and greater attention to non-financial support could unlock latent demand [7].

#### **Interest Rates, Repayment Schedules, and Stress**

Access to microcredit may provide much-needed capital for investment, yet microfinance loans can also create a significant psychological burden that can increase stress [7]. As figures 5.1 and 5.2 illustrate, the financial pressure of servicing microcredit loans may aggravate pre-existing economic stress or inadvertently heighten stress levels for borrowers. Microfinance loans typically carry higher interest rates than loans from friends or family [2]. Consequently, despite their potential to support business growth, the relatively high cost of microcredit may reinforce the perception that the client is incapable of managing finances, enhancing instead of alleviating the mental load. The debt service schedule also remains relevant. The client's two months of initial capital can quickly evaporate, yet repayment begins that same month, placing further pressure on the already cash-strapped borrower [6].

#### **Access, Autonomy, and Household Dynamics**

Access to microcredit enhances individuals' capacity to establish and manage their own businesses. The facilitation of income-generating activities is expected to relieve stress related to household finance and thereby improve wellbeing [9]. Furthermore, access to microcredit shifts borrowing from informal to formal channels, altering social networks and potentially affecting mental health [9]. The following aspects of household context and dynamics have been investigated as additional determinants of wellbeing within target populations [6]. First, increasing migration of household members may create both new sources of income and emotional strain from separation. Second, the presence of dependent children in participants' households may project conflicting influences on wellbeing; on the one hand, it fuels parents' motivation to invest in the business, while on the other, it raises demands on time and other resources [4]. Finally, the husband's level of control over the participant's business partly determines the extent of autonomy, which in turn is linked to mental health [2].

#### **Grievances, Stigma, and Help-Seeking Behavior**

People suffering from earning losses, which also challenges to repay any loans they took, turn to somebody in their community to seek for help [9]. However, borrowers from microcredit-programs who are not able to repay their loans tend to feel stigma from their community. Circling grievances, stigma received, and the motivation to look for help form depressingly [8] the research was not correctly cited. Its text has come across unrelated from the paper, and therefore undesired. Grievance and stigma made borrowers utilize unacceptable coping methods and uncomfortable approaches to seek for assistance [9]. Once again, such hidden programs with their aims thoroughly identified induce ineffective microfinance cycle. Certain community structures graft. Demands in tracing the indirect channel emerge, as when taking the central level aspects of the issue, it is more likely to pursue beyond just verify borrowings or search other financing stances [9]. It can raise questions to equip the space elaborating on microcredit-finance remains or not. Some programs offering grants during treatment attend to counteract these behaviors of stigma. Other structures ranging further than just financial-supporting units urge not to tempt these unfavorable strategies against borrowers. The reporting on the forms of debts cumulating on the basis of credit exists, however, constraints take place diminishing its effectively [9]. Determining these sources allowing encompassing on a wide objective relative with the debt devoted to finance. Direct borrowings still tackle whether aspirations in entering micro-institutions rely on micro-loans available beforehand. Overall, proper engagement of both money capital and services still deserve deeper understanding on the interaction between the two yet such in-depth scrutiny postpones in the current stage of the research [6]. The possibility that having access to loans and the acquisition of full autonomy to operate on these loans still prevails in the structure of micro-finance institutions [3]. The need for elucidating or qualifying parts of such broader covering spectrum still surges [8]. The reality that thriving afterwards or enhancing such ascent are possessed grounded by the

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unfinished tackle concerning principles during the microcredit scheme. Whether avid interest-products can be prosperous requisite despite a lesser ability in overall diminution and inexact accessibility to non-intermediated also remains backlogged progression [8].

#### **Mechanisms in Context: Pathways from Debt to Well-Being**

Debt can impact well-being through channels other than income. Financial strain including low income can impose a substantial psychological burden, it can constrict or block coping strategies that safeguard and enhance well-being, or it can do both simultaneously [9]. Financial strain drives low-well-being through increased reliance on detrimental coping strategies and through psychological load created by an ongoing financial dilemma, yet it leaves other pathways stable. Debt that is widely considered burdensome nevertheless can simultaneously safeguard well-being by enhancing educational, familial, or social capital and by providing access to influential social networks [10]. Mental health impacts occur not only through and time stress but also through social mechanisms operating after the debt is taken on [9]. By increasing interdependence, the presence of debt within the household influences the use of mal-adaptive coping strategies for distress. High-debt individuals are significantly less likely to pursue assistance from their social network during coping, which diminishes perceived social support [11]. However, when the debt is issued into a strong pre-existing social network, overall mental well-being is less negatively impacted [11]. Coping becomes more driven by private, individualized strategies, which are detrimental rather than a scarring effect emerges where, following the debt experience, resilience diminishes, current well-being drops, and the slope of well-being recovery is slower [8].

#### **Financial Strain and Coping Capacities**

Experiencing financial strain leaves people with fewer coping options, increasing psychological distress [1]. Borrowers struggle with competing demands on their limited cash, which often leads to difficult decisions [7]. These strains create a psychological load connected to the effort of managing debt and finding solutions to the problems it causes. High psychological load also stems from perceived social pressures and expectations to honor debts, further heightening distress [9]. Debt places a burden on borrowers' financial resources and diminishes their capacity to cope with additional financial demands. Decision-makers facing cash shortages must prioritize expenditures, often depriving their families of essential goods [7]. Financial decision-making suffers when debt increases competition for cash, leading to costly lapses in judgment. A higher debt burden reduces borrowers' capacity to absorb shocks, hindering recovery and thus extending the period of distress. Social pressures and expectations increase borrowers' psychological load [8]. Psychological distress worsens during extra-ordinary demand on household finances, especially to maintain social obligations. Missing a payment that is later rescheduled reduces the likelihood that borrowers will take on an additional loan [9].

#### **Social Capital, Support Networks, and Psychosocial Resources**

Debt relief is expected to mitigate distress by enhancing psychological, emotional, and well-being resources, and various unresolved mechanisms are implicitly involved [9]. Beyond financial resources, social capital and support networks act as critical psychosocial resources that can either buffer or amplify distress in the aftermath of debt [1]. Various forms of psychosocial resource endowment affect the trajectory of psychological distress, enabling different responses to advances in financial resources. Some individuals experience sustained distress despite a stronger financial recovery, while others exhibit a rebound [9]. Prior to, during, or following the debt experience, support networks are likely to influence financial coping mechanisms. Individuals without support networks may resort to more harmful coping strategies that further degrade well-being [8].

#### **Economic Shocks, Resilience, and Mental Health Trajectories**

In South Africa, economic shocks exert a significant, negative influence on individuals' mental health, yet people with more financial resilience tend to experience better mental health outcomes [3]. The relationship between economic shocks and mental health is particularly relevant in the context of microcredit. Since the debt burden arises soon after taking up a microcredit loan, adherence to debt repayment schedule is critical in the first part of the debt-relationship and two scenarios can materialize [9]. Consequently, an economic shock may lead to a temporary negative impact on mental health that is more easily managed with better financial resilience [10].

#### **Policy Implications and Program Design Considerations**

Roughly half of adults living in low- and middle-income countries (LMICs) report monthly expenditure exceeding their available cash. Microcredit products, heavily promoted since the late 20th century, aim to address this unmet demand by enabling individuals to smooth their cash flow yet remain controversial for their potential association with negative mental health outcomes [5]. Key channels linking debt to mental health include reduced psychological and social well-being arising from financial strain and coping strategies, and increased strain and coping arising from economic shocks, availability and adequacy of financial services, and the characteristics of borrowers' social networks [7]. Debt is further associated with the use of legging loss through subsidy

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withdrawal. Microfinance program design features that reduce microfinance-associated financial strain namely lower interest rates and repayment schedules that allow for larger and less-frequent installments appear to mitigate borrowing-related distress. Mental health is afforded additional protection if microfinance borrowers have joint-disbursement and joint-liability access to basic financial services that are also used by non-socially-vetted individuals [6]. A community's economic shocks can worsen the initial financial strain through lost household and group resilience, especially where economic shocks are more frequent [4]. To reduce debt-related distress that microfinance can exacerbate, program features with the opposite effect become critical. Establishing a program's ground-up, evidence-based articulation of how microfinance interventions throughout the causal chain are expected to generate debt-related distress or relief is thus an important priority. Safeguard options are most likely to help where credit is desired but distress is predicted [6]. To maintain focus specifically on mental health, clarifying whether depression, anxiety, stress, mental fatigue, or other orientations are targeted directly by the intervention or are anticipated indirect effects of greater autonomy, freedom, agency, income-generation opportunities, or entrepreneurship is also useful. Other programme features linked to increased distress that should be avoided include: higher interest rates, less transparent fee structures, longer payment frequencies, fewer borrower-initiated payment schedules, down payments (where down payment requirements are not common or anticipated in society more generally), sole-disbursement access; joint-liability arrangements that entrench harassment, stigma, and under-reporting of 'embarrassing' distress; the requirement to use funds for specific business purposes instead of allowing free choice; outreach to already heavily-indebted households; and messages that invoke the need to repay sensibly, wisely, carefully, or proactively. Heterogeneous impact analyses, ex-ante risk assessments, careful fraud monitoring, and transparent risk communication are additional design and evaluation measures that can help respectively understand, mitigate, avoid, and communicate distress across focal intervention pathways. 2

#### **Safeguards, Financial Education, and Financial Inclusion**

Debt legally enforceable financial obligations are widespread in low and middle-income countries (LMICs) and intrinsically linked to microcredit. Microcredit remains an important financial inclusion strategy for improving welfare and well-being, despite critiques emphasizing the detrimental effects of debt on mental health [4]. Debtors may feel pressure to meet repayment schedules, especially if credit is perceived as burdensome. Financial institutions sometimes exploit psychological, social, or economic vulnerabilities, intensifying commitments. Group lending could reinforce peer pressure and stigma when borrowers disclose credit status to peers, alongside normative expectations to repay [11]. Guaranteeing sufficient safeguards, promoting comprehensive financial education, and adhering to inclusive financial practices constitute several potential policies for mitigating distress related to debt exposure [5]. Monitoring frameworks to track changes in credit profiles and mental health outcomes perhaps through joint-country initiatives may further illuminate causal pathways between different forms of indebtedness and welfare [2]. Depressive symptoms, anxiety, and overall well-being serve as salient indicators of mental health whose treatment is informed by gender and socio-economic strata [6]. Prioritizing equity through gender-responsiveness in both the design and evaluation of microfinance offerings across LMICs likewise offers significant promise for advancing well-being even against a backdrop of high indebtedness [7].

#### **Monitoring Mental Health Outcomes in Microfinance Initiatives**

Microfinance initiatives deliver financial services to underserved populations without adequate collateral, bank accounts, or credit history [3]. Microcredit, widely regarded as an appropriate financial product for low-income clients, seeks to lift borrowers out of poverty and reduce its adverse effects on well-being. Other initiatives grant access to deposits, insurance, savings, and money transfers [7]. Despite its reach over 140 million clients globally and the mixed results of numerous impact studies, microfinance planning, funding, and regulation remain crucial concerns for policymakers and the financial services community [2]. Such programs are perceived to reduce stress, but evidence from South Africa and Indonesia contradicts this assumption [1]. When microfinance organizations enter new communities, the prevalence of chronic illness, disability, and stress social determinants of health rises. Psychological well-being is intimately linked to physical health and negatively influenced by financial stress and indebtedness, with microcredit appearing supportive of financial resilience [7]. Existing accounts of cumulative historic debt neglect the fundamentally positive aspect of borrowing. Humans engage in reciprocal social exchanges that build social capital through giving non-financial goods and services, an essential element for understanding psychological well-being. Such practices continue even amidst financial hardship [5]. When financial strain increases, recipients must devote more labour time to repay debts. Compensation for time spent on reciprocal engagements diminishes with a change in currency denominating the transaction [8].

### Equity Considerations and Gender-responsive Approaches

Debt, microcredit, and mental health are interconnected issues for both men and women [1]. Microcredit is designed to provide individuals with small loans to finance income-generating activities, while household debt affects financial stability and psychological well-being. Bertoni et al.'s analysis of self-reported mental health indicators reveals that individuals who repay microcredit loans experience less financial hardship and greater demand for microloans than those who default [12]. Recent evidence indicates that microcredit participation is positively correlated with agency and gender-equitable norms, while entry to a microfinance program is negatively associated with depressive symptoms and intimate partner violence [8]. Debt may produce feelings of shame, embarrassment, or inferiority due to the perception of being unable to honour loans and fulfil responsibilities [7]. Members of borrowing groups are expected to support each other in repaying microloans due to a collective guarantee, shaping individual perceptions of remaining obligations. Yet, some individuals may feel less obliged after leaving a group, suggesting that discontinuing participation in microcredit programs might free rather than restrict households from ongoing obligations [3]. Although empirical evidence confirms the connections between financial stressors, household debt, and mental health, these elements constitute risk factors rather than direct pathways through which microcredit participation influences psychological well-being [10].

### Methodological Reflections and Future Research

Microcredit occupies a prominent yet controversial position in economic policy discussions and development research [2]. Proponents uphold microcredit as a powerful tool for alleviating poverty, spurring entrepreneurial activity, and promoting women's empowerment [6]. These desired ends aim to improve economic well-being while reducing psychological stress. Critics contend that microcredit saddles borrowers with unmanageable debt burdens; that interest rates are excessively high; and that the pressure to satisfy an array of loan obligations crowds out expenditures on basic necessities [7]. In microcredit's three-decade history, the contention that the intervention is benign and stress-reducing has often prevailed; the sector has matured and diversified, yet policy objectives remain sharply focused on the health and well-being of borrowers and their households [8].

### Causal Identification Challenges

While past studies indicate links between debt and mental health, these associations do not imply causation, and only three papers specifically attempt to estimate causal effects [1]. One evaluates a demand-driven intervention to reduce repayment schedules; two examine supply-driven, geographic variations in the expansion of microcredit. The resulting causal estimates range from a 2–15% increase in psychological distress and a 4–8% reduction in self-rated health [2]. Evidence further reveals increased overall debt exposure among maturing borrowers and heightened distress among women, while alternative measures of psychological health respond differently [3]. Diverse microcredit programs offer varying terms and conditions; whether demand for these products spurs borrowing remains uncertain. Nonetheless, debt exposure appears to magnify psychological load from financial strain. Existing observational data on interest rates, term lengths, and collateral requirements have not yielded consistent associations with debt levels or household financing behavior [4]. Conceptualizing debt effects is complicated by broad and heterogeneous definitions. Payment obligations for life-cycle expenditures, such as housing, education, and healthcare, are often treated as debt yet are unlikely to elicit significant stress [5]. Within microcredit programs, term lengths can span months to years, while many participants continue seeking additional loans, further complicating debt interpretation. Some borrowers may even perceive credit access as an opportunity rather than a burden, challenging straightforward assumptions about the debt–well-being relationship [6].

### Measurement of Mental Health and Debt

Debt and microcredit are widely regarded as critical enablers of broad-based economic growth and sustainable poverty reduction in low- and middle-income countries (LMICs) [10]. In this context, microcredit has been hailed as an empowering tool for female entrepreneurs, yet it has also come under attack for contributing to social and economic disaster within vulnerable households. Promoting debt as an empowering source of capital is seen as the primary inroad toward alleviating poverty for those already marginalized, while restricting access to credit advances an entirely different agenda [9]. The vast, intertwined literature on debt, microcredit, and mental health overwhelmingly supports neither view, as firmly established links connect the experience of debt itself however sourced, framed, or financed and deteriorations in mental health and well-being [8]. The set of mental health indicators associated with experiencing debt is broad, encompassing anxiety, depression, psychological stress, life satisfaction, self-regard, and a range of related constructs. Common measures employed in large-scale observational studies and rigorous experimental evaluations span standard globally validated metrics as well as regionally tailored culturally sensitive instruments [5]. The most prominent dimensions affected, particularly in LMICs with concentrated dependence on informal sources of finance, concern anxiety or general distress around

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the financial burden of pending obligations, default risk, and related social stigma. Correspondingly, empirical evidence points to substantive yet heterogeneous causal links connecting the experience of debt *per se*, a multidimensional condition determined by the level, cost, flexibility, and nature of borrowings and psychological deterioration within LMICs [4]. Causal analyses reveal a distinct gradient by gender, with indebtedness-induced deterioration in mental health significantly greater among women than men in South Asia and sub-Saharan Africa, although the underlying determinants remain opaque in both settings [6].

#### Cross-Country Comparisons and Generalizability

Debates about microcredit often treat the loan as a box that, once opened, leads one on an unambiguous journey to a certain destination [11]. However, when the debt box is opened, numerous experiences with debt arrive, each with different consequences depending on entry conditions and the ongoing debt narrative [12]. People can traverse these diverse combinations, each yielding a different journey, depending on how they engage with the loan over time and their specific entry point into debt during the microcredit journey. Understanding own expectations, shocks, and other factors can help illuminate the mental health journeys that result from debt [13, 14].

#### CONCLUSION

The relationship between debt, microcredit, and mental health is multifaceted, context-dependent, and shaped by a range of economic, social, and institutional factors. This study demonstrates that while access to credit can promote financial inclusion, support entrepreneurship, and enhance household resilience, it can also generate significant psychological distress, particularly in cases of over-indebtedness, high repayment pressure, and exposure to economic shocks. Causal evidence suggests that debt affects mental health through interconnected pathways, including financial strain, reduced coping capacity, social stigma, and weakened support networks. These effects are not uniform; rather, they vary significantly across demographic groups, with women, low-income households, and individuals lacking strong social capital facing heightened vulnerability. At the same time, well-designed microcredit programs characterized by flexible repayment schedules, lower interest rates, and supportive financial education can mitigate these adverse outcomes and even improve well-being. The findings highlight critical gaps in current research, particularly regarding longitudinal evidence, bidirectional causality, and culturally sensitive measurement of mental health outcomes. Methodological limitations, including reliance on cross-sectional data and inconsistent definitions of debt, further complicate the interpretation of existing evidence. From a policy perspective, the study underscores the importance of integrating mental health considerations into financial inclusion initiatives. Microcredit programs must move beyond purely economic objectives to incorporate safeguards such as borrower protection mechanisms, transparent lending practices, and access to psychosocial support. Additionally, strengthening financial literacy, promoting gender-responsive approaches, and enhancing social safety nets are essential to reducing the psychological burden of debt. Ultimately, debt and microcredit should not be viewed as inherently beneficial or harmful but as tools whose impacts depend on their design and implementation. A balanced, evidence-based approach that aligns financial inclusion with mental well-being is crucial for achieving sustainable development outcomes in LMICs.

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