What is driving the use of illegal moneylenders?

DAMON GIBBONS
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About the Centre for Responsible Credit

The Centre for Responsible Credit ('CfRC') is a charity working to influence the regulation of credit markets, and to improve the way that credit is provided. We also work to develop better support and solutions for people who are struggling with debt.

We are primarily concerned with the impacts of credit use on lower income households and monitor the development of credit markets; research models of responsible provision and promote policy responses which protect the long-term interests of households.

We drove the campaign for caps on the total cost of credit that could be charged by payday lenders. Brought into effect by the Financial Conduct Authority in 2015 the total cost cap has saved approximately 760,000 borrowers up to £150 million per year since then.

We also campaigned for, and won, a cap on the rent-own-lenders in 2019. This reduced costs for people who had previously been paying very high prices for basic household items such as cookers and fridges.

Aside from our campaigning activities, we are the innovators behind FlexMyRent and Financial Shield, and provide high quality research, evaluation, and consultancy services to improve lending practices and support for people in debt.

We are committed to promoting greater equity and social justice; to inclusivity and the celebration of diversity, and to empowering lower income people and communities who are in debt to exercise greater autonomy in their lives.

We promote equality of opportunity, social justice, inclusion, and celebration of diversity, especially in respect of the established equality strands of gender, impairment (including health and disability), learning difference, age, ethnicity, religion and belief, sexual orientation, and gender reassignment but also in respect of socio-economic or marital status, trade union membership, family circumstances, political belief, language, or culture.

For further information, please visit **responsible-credit.org.uk**

About the Author

Damon Gibbons is CfRC's Chief Executive, and has more than thirty years' experience of providing, designing, commissioning, and evaluating services to meet the needs of disadvantaged groups and communities. He has been involved in consumer campaigns at the national and international levels on issues of credit, debt, and financial exclusion for well over a decade. He holds a BA(Hons) Economics and Politics from the University of Warwick and an MA Public Policy (With Distinction) from the University of Nottingham.

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1 Introduction

Over the past two years there has been increasing concern about levels of illegal moneylending. Estimates have leapt alarmingly from fewer than 200,000 borrowers in the UK in 2020 (Financial Conduct Authority, 2021) – a figure unchanged since 2017[1] - to "as many as 1.08 million" the following year (Centre for Social Justice, 2022[2]), and to "over three million people in Great Britain…in the last three years" (Fair4AllFinance, 2023[3]).

Yet, the most recent Financial Lives Survey report, published by the Financial Conduct Authority ('FCA') in July this year - for which the fieldwork was conducted in 2022 - found no increase in the reported use of illegal lenders compared to two years ago (p.52):

" *Very few adults (0.5% or 0.2m) said they had borrowed from an unlicensed moneylender or another informal lender (i.e., an illegal moneylender) in the previous 12 months.* "

Whilst the FCA noted that there is likely to be a level of under-reporting to their survey, these wide variations in estimates prompted us to explore the potential reasons for this in more detail.

Our study has focused on the varying methodologies employed by the different surveys, and we have also conducted secondary analysis of the Financial Conduct Authority's 2020 Financial Lives Survey. This was undertaken with respect to the demographics of people reporting use of illegal lenders; the extent of their financial pressures, and whether they had been declined any financial services or products in the previous two years.

We selected the Financial Lives Survey for our analysis as the safeguarded data for this is available on application through the Consumer Data Research Centre ('CDRC'), and it is also by far the largest undertaken, with around 16,000 respondents.

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[1] Pg.15, 'Financial Lives 2020 survey: the impact of coronavirus', Financial Conduct Authority, 2021.

[2] 'Swimming with Sharks', Centre for Social Justice, March 2022.

[3] Fair4all Finance, **https://fair4allfinance.org.uk/as-one-door-closes-illegal-money-lending/**

Our study aimed to answer the following research questions:

- Are there combinations of demographic characteristics alongside other factors including indebtedness to legal lenders/ problems with household bill repayments etc., which have a statistically significant association with illegal moneylending use?

- If so, what is the likely relative impact of changes in these variables on overall illegal moneylending use?

- Does this exercise enable us to estimate how many people may have become at greater risk of illegal moneylending because of the cost-of-living crisis between 2020 and 2022?

In section two, we report the main findings from our analysis. We highlight the variables which are correlated to illegal lending use and explain how these affect the probability of using an illegal lender.

In section three, we consider whether the findings could help explain the wide variation in recent estimates. We explain why we do not consider it plausible to extrapolate from recent surveys to the national population at the current time, and why some re-weighting of the CSJ, and other survey results, may be needed before reliable estimates can be made. We also highlight that the greatest risk of using an illegal lender is posed by having borrowed from legal payday or door to door moneylenders in the last twelve months, and caution against any relaxation in responsible lending requirements as a result.

2 Analysis of the Financial Lives Survey, 2020

The FCA's Financial Lives Survey is a nationally representative survey involving over 16,000 interviews. Most of the interviews for the 2020 survey were completed that year, although the survey was started in late 2019. The survey uses random probability sampling to recruit respondents to a largely online survey, with a smaller number of interviews conducted over the phone, to include those without internet access and to increase the number of participants aged 70 and over.

Despite the large sample size, it should be noted that there is, nevertheless, likely to be some under-reporting of illegal lending use within the survey. The nature of the subject is sensitive, and, as we proceed to report, the use of illegal moneylenders is likely to be clustered within specific groups. It may also be clustered in some geographic areas. As a random probability sample (although the results are weighted), the survey may therefore miss some individuals that are more likely to take up illegal money lending.

Nevertheless, the survey includes a question concerning the use of illegal lenders[4] and gathers information across a wide range of other variables, including with respect to demographics, levels of financial pressure, and whether people have previously been declined a financial product or service. For our study, we identified the variables of interest as set out in table 1, below.

Table 1: Variables of interest

Variable	Description
d1	Gender
pd2d3_1	Age
d5	Marital status
d7b	Number of financially dependent children <17
d10	Working status
d10b	Short term internet jobs (e.g., Uber/ Deliveroo/ City Sprint/ Fiverr etc.) in past 12 months
d20	Ability to use internet
d22	Ethnicity

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[4] The survey asks whether respondents are either currently borrowing from an "unlicensed moneylender or another informal lender" or have done so in the past 12 months. Unlicensed lending is further described as "…where someone lends money on a commercial basis, but without being authorised by the Financial Conduct Authority (FCA)".

d30	Highest qualification
d33	Long-term health condition
d35	Impact of health condition on daily activities
d38dv	Derived annual household income brackets
dd13c	Type of rented accommodation
p_cc5	Types of borrowing, currently or in past 12 months (incl. unlicensed lender)
p_cc20	Whether used debt advice or debt management service, past 12 months

To conduct the analysis, we created a dummy variable for illegal lending use and created additional binary variables for:

- Age group (based on a split at 55 years).

- Highest qualifications (based on a split at level 3 qualifications).

- Impact of health conditions: differentiating respondents with long-term health conditions, and for whom this had a major impact on their daily activities from those who either did not have a health condition at all, or for whom it had only a limited impact.

- Whether respondents lived in rented accommodation or not.

- Whether any credit or bill payments had been missed in the past 6 months.

- Whether respondents had borrowed from a Payday lender in the past 12 months.

- Whether respondents had used Home Credit in the past 12 months.

- Whether respondents had been declined a financial product or service within the past two years.

- Financial resilience: flagging those who would be unable to cover their living expenses for less than a month if they lost their main source of income.

- Respondents reporting an increase in their total credit debt in the past 12 months.

- Whether debts were felt to be a heavy burden or not.

We first conducted a logistic regression[5] of the illegal lending dummy variable (null model), and then conducted bivariate logistic regressions between the illegal

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[5] All analysis was conducted using STATA version 18.

lending flag and each of the demographic indicators (age group, household income, highest qualifications, long-term health conditions, ethnicity, marital status, working status, and number of children). Finally, we proceeded with multivariate logistic regressions to assess the impact of the other variables.

Results

All results are for the weighted responses. The logistic regression of the null model returned an average probability of using an illegal lender of 0.0032 (i.e., of fewer than 1 in 300). This extrapolates to a central estimate of just 167,000 people using illegal moneylenders in 2020.

We then ran the bivariate analyses for the demographic variables, finding that undertaking short-term work, such as driving for Uber or working for Deliveroo; having only low or no qualifications; and having a long-term health condition which significantly limits daily activities, all increase the probability of using illegal lenders (see table 2, below, frequencies of less than 10 have been suppressed).

Table 2: Statistically significant demographic factors

	Hasn't borrowed from unlicensed lender	Has borrowed from unlicensed lender	Logit (p values)
N	15,761 (99.7%)	51 (0.3%)	
Short-term internet jobs			
No	15,320 (96.7%)	>40 (>80%)	0.002
Yes	518 (3.3%)	<10 (<20%)	
Age group			
Under 55	9,841 (62.1%)	>40 (>80%)	0.001
Over 55	5,997 (37.9%)	<10 (<20%)	
Qualifications			
A level or higher	10,697 (69.0%)	22 (45.3%)	0.008
Low or no quals	4,811 (31.0%)	27 (54.7%)	
Impact of health condition			
No condition/ not limited	14,040 (93.5%)	>35 (>80%)	0.009
LTHC limits activity a lot	970 (6.5%)	<10 (<20%)	

We tested for collinearity amongst these variables. Finding that age group was

significantly correlated to the other variables we removed this from the model and, taking a complete case approach to missing values, we ran a logistic regression to calculate the odds ratios (table 3, below[6]).

Table 3: Logistic regression, demographic variables

Variables	Odds ratio
Short-term, internet job (e.g., Uber, Deliveroo)	3.41**
	(1.75)
Low or no qualifications	2.58**
	(1.01)
LTHC limits daily activities "a lot"	2.58**
	(1.19)
Constant	0.00***
	(0.00)
Observations	14,488

Std. err in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Relative impact of the variables

Examining the marginal effects, we find that the probability of using an illegal lender rises from an average of 0.0019 (1 in fewer than 500) for people who have a level 3 qualification or above, to 0.005 (1 in 200) for people with low or no qualifications (fig 1, below).

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[6] The overall model Prob >F = 0.000, and the pseudo R2 (McKelvey and Zinovia's) is 0.09

Figure 1: Impact of qualifications on probability of using illegal moneylenders

Adjusted prediction with 95% CIs
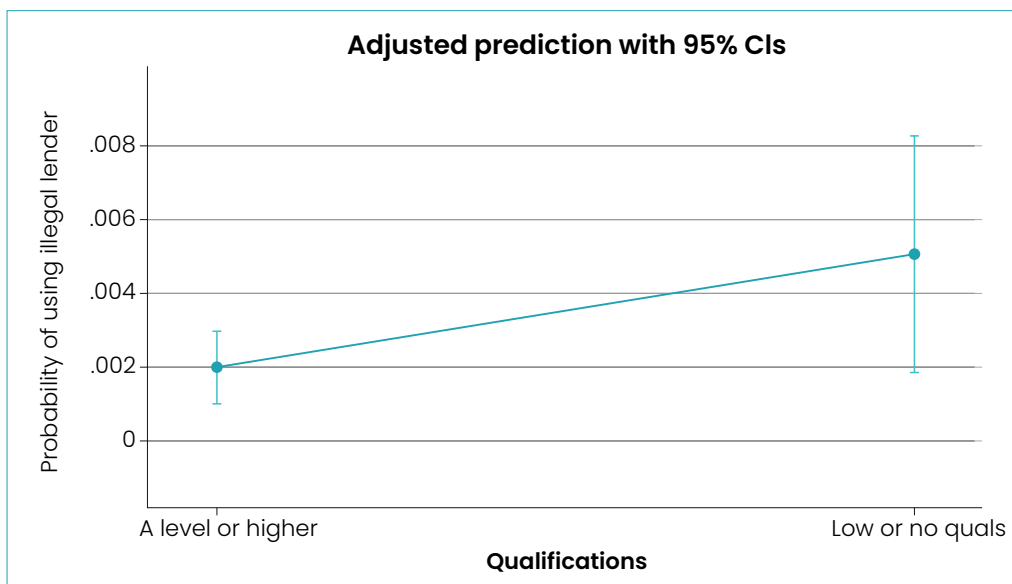
Figures 2 & 3, on the following page, report the additional impacts of working in short-term internet-based jobs and of having a long-term health condition which significantly impacts daily activities.

The two figures indicate that the average effects of undertaking short-term insecure work, or having a long-term limiting health condition which considerably limits daily activities, could be significant. However, the very wide 95% confidence intervals also indicate that considerable caution is needed.

We can be more confident that having low, or no, qualifications increases the risk of using an illegal lender, than we can about the impact of working in the 'gig' economy or long-term health conditions.

Figure 2: Impact of short-term internet jobs (e.g., Uber/ Deliveroo)

Predictive margins of short term internet jobs by qualifications with 95% CIs
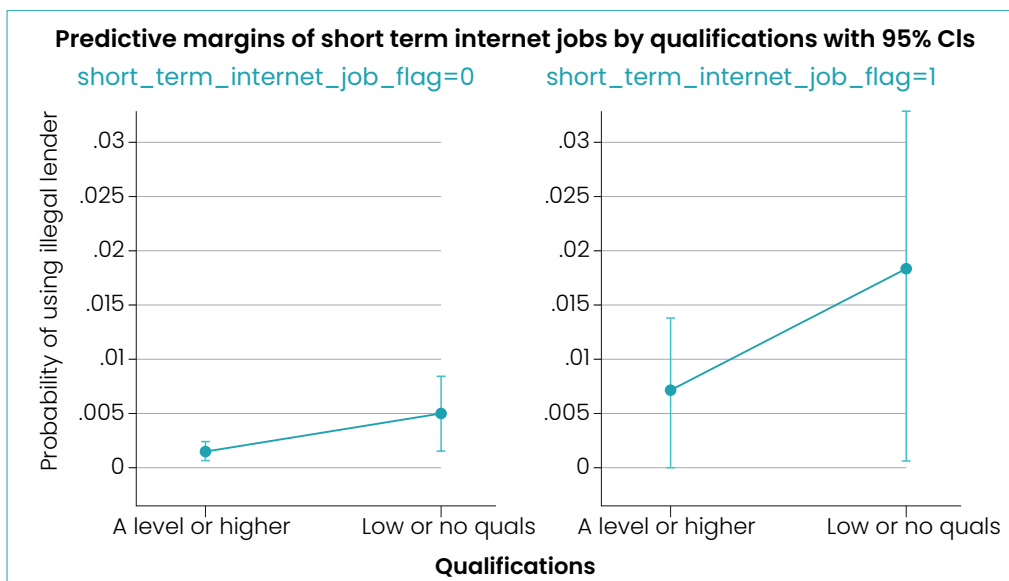
Figure 3: Impact of significantly limiting long-term health conditions

Predictive margins of significantly limiting health condition by qualifications with 95% CIs
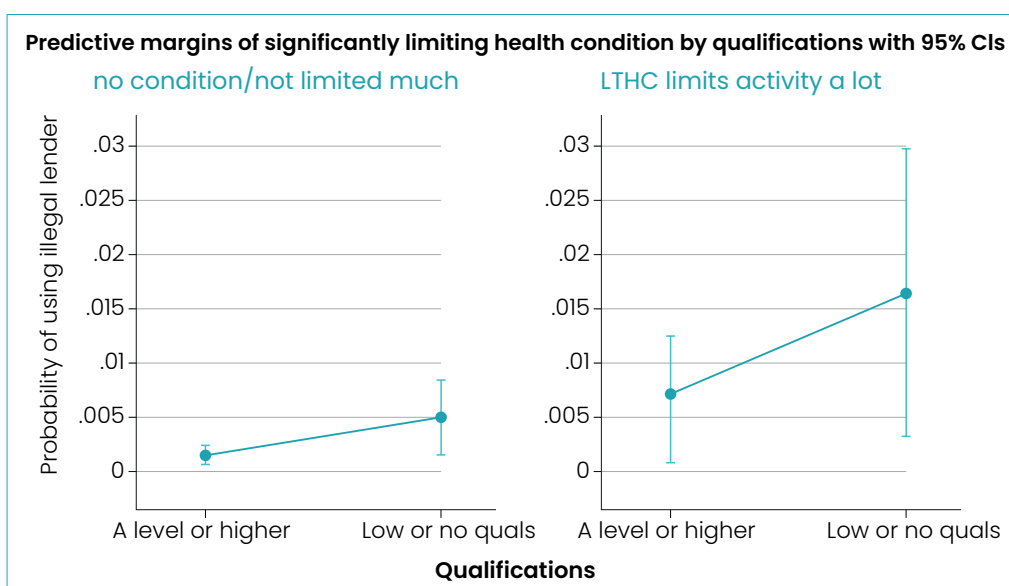
Additional indicators

"We repeated the approach using the other variables of interest. We also included flags for payday and home credit borrowing in the past 12 months. Except for internet proficiency, all these variables correlated to the use of illegal lending.

Table 4: Other statistically significant indicators

	Hasn't borrowed from unlicensed lender	Has borrowed from unlicensed lender	Logit (p values)
N	15,761 (99.7%)	51 (0.3%)	
Debt Advice			
Hasn't had advice	15,286 (97.0%)	>40 (>80%)	0.001
Has had advice	472 (3.0%)	<10 (<20%)	
Debt burdens			
Not a heavy burden	13,709 (90.1%)	35 (73.4%)	0.003
Heavy burden	1,512 (9.9%)	13 (26.6%)	
Missed three payments, last 6 months			
No	14,418 (92.9%)	31 (64.0%)	<0.001
Yes	1,095 (7.1%)	18 (36.0%)	
Missed any payment			
No	14,290 (91.5%)	27 (54.6%)	<0.001
Yes	1,330 (8.5%)	22 (45.4%)	
Financial resilience			
More than 1 month	10,964 (78.4%)	25 (51.9%)	0.002
Less than 1 month	3,020 (21.6%)	23 (48.1%)	
Declined in past 2 years			
No	14,262 (94.2%)	>30 (>80%)	0.011
Yes	886 (5.8%)	<10 (<20%)	
Increased credit debt, past 12 months			
No debt or increase	13,145 (83.0%)	29 (55.4%)	<0.001
Increased debt	2,693 (17.0%)	22 (44.6%)	
Payday loan, past 12 months			
No	15,504 (98.6%)	31 (68.7%)	<0.001
Yes	221 (1.4%)	14 (31.3%)	
Home credit, past 12 months			
No	15,635 (99.2%)	31 (61.0%)	<0.001
Yes	128 (0.8%)	20 (39.0%)	

Testing for multi-collinearity, however, returned the result that all these variables were also correlated to each other, as well as with the demographic variables included in the initial model.

We therefore ran logistic regressions iterating the model with a single additional variable in turn. We report the results in table 5, on the following page.

The odds ratios for the additional variables range from 2.74 (debts are a heavy burden) to 66.49 (for people who have borrowed from a home credit lender in the past 12 months).

Examining the marginal effects (see table in appendix 1), we found that, once health and qualification levels are considered:

- The three factors associated with the greatest probability of using an illegal lender are having used home credit or payday lenders in the past 12 months and having missed payments on credit and household bills (either at all or having missed three payments in the past six months).

- Around 1 in every 9 home credit borrowers are at risk of using an illegal lender, compared to 1 in 25 payday borrowers. Around 1 in every 100 people missing credit or bill payments are likely to use an illegal lender.

- Being declined for a financial product or service in the past two years does not have as significant an impact on illegal lending use. The probability in these cases is 0.006 (or around 1 in 166): the same as for people reporting that their debts are a heavy burden.

- The average probability of using an illegal lender rises if people have sought debt advice or used a debt management service. This is around 1 in 100. However, the negative lower bound of 95% confidence interval indicates that for some people debt advice/ debt management services reduces the risk.

Table 5: Iterated model, odds ratios

VARIABLES	(1) Odds ratio	(2) Odds ratio	(3) Odds ratio	(4) Odds ratio	(5) Odds ratio	(6) Odds ratio	(7) Odds ratio	(8) Odds ratio	(9) Odds ratio	(10) Odds ratio
Short-term, internet job	3.41**	2.79*	3.42**	2.53*	2.38*	3.17**	2.80**	2.64	1.29	2.63**
	(1.75)	(1.46)	(1.75)	(1.31)	(1.24)	(1.69)	(1.42)	(1.65)	(0.81)	(1.26)
Low or no quals	2.58**	2.51**	2.53**	2.31**	2.26**	2.42**	2.88***	2.76**	2.68**	2.12*
	(1.01)	(0.98)	(1.06)	(0.96)	(0.93)	(1.03)	(1.17)	(1.13)	(1.15)	(0.83)
LTHC limits activity a lot	2.58**	2.30*	1.92	1.41	1.31	1.67	2.38*	3.01**	1.80	0.87
	(1.19)	(1.13)	(0.93)	(0.65)	(0.61)	(0.95)	(1.09)	(1.46)	(0.94)	(0.54)
Has had debt advice/ debt mgt. service		3.80**								
		(2.10)								
Debts are a heavy burden			2.74**							
			(1.17)							
Missed 3 payments, last 6 months				5.65***						
				(2.29)						
Missed a payment, last six months					7.11***					
					(2.90)					
Financial resilience: less than 1 month						2.81**				
						(1.35)				
Increased credit debt, 12 mths							4.58***			
							(1.88)			
Declined, past 2 years								3.53**		
								(1.84)		
Payday loan, last 12 mths									27.34***	
									(12.16)	
Home credit, last 12 mths										66.49***
										(34.10)
Constant	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***
Observations	14,488	14,449	14,143	14,322	14,385	13,233	14,488	14,036	14,398	14,431

Finally, we also looked at the impact on the probability of borrowing from an illegal lender where someone had both taken out a payday loan and used home credit in the past year. We added both variables to the initial model and plotted the marginal effects. In this model, only qualification levels remains significant amongst the demographic factors.[7]

Table 6: Revised model, with both payday and home credit borrowing included

Variables	Odds ratio
Short-term internet job (e.g., Uber)	1.51 (0.80)
Low or no qualifications	2.71** (1.18)
LTHC limits daily activities a lot	0.87 (0.63)
Payday loan, last 12 months	7.05*** (4.41)
Home credit, last 12 months	33.61*** (25.33)
Constant	0.00*** (0.00)
Observations	14,353

Std. err in parentheses   *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$

Figure 4: Impact of borrowing from both payday and home credit lenders

Predictive margins of payday and home credit borrowing, with 95% CIs

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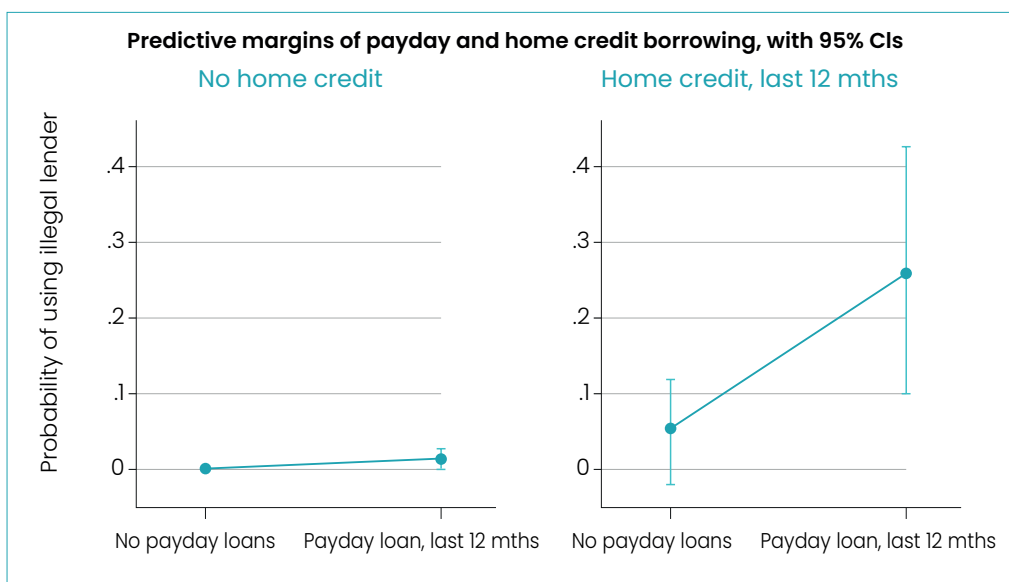
[7] Prob >F =0 and the pseudo R2 is 0.11

What is driving the use of illegal moneylenders?

3 Estimating scale and recommendations

The wide confidence intervals and low overall pseudo R^2 returned by our model indicates that there remains a great deal of uncertainty concerning the factors that lie behind the decision to use an illegal lender. Estimating the scale of illegal lending from current surveys should therefore be undertaken with great caution.

For example, based on the current population in England and Wales who have low or no qualifications[8], where we have tighter 95% confidence intervals, our model results in a central estimate of just 110,000 using illegal lenders, and an upper bound estimate of only 175,000.

Using the average probability of 0.008 for people with significantly limiting long-term health conditions and applying this to the ONS estimate[9] that 18.1% of UK adults are in this position, would indicate that only 75,000 are using illegal lenders. However, at the top of the 95% confidence interval this rises to as high as 1.4 million.

Nevertheless, it is plausible that the use of illegal lending has grown in recent years. For example, the FCA has recently reported[10] that the number of people finding their debts to be a heavy burden (a factor that is associated with the use of illegal lenders) has increased from 5.8 million in February 2020 to 7.2 million in May 2022.

Similarly, abrdn Financial Fairness Trust's Financial Impact Tracker survey reported[11] that 16% of the UK population were behind with their credit or domestic bills in June 2020 but that by October 2022, this figure had increased to 22.9%[12]. The same survey reports that 2.9% of the population have taken loans from an illegal lender in response to the cost-of-living crisis[13].

However, it is not clear how the Financial Impact Tracker sample of around 6,000 respondents has been weighted, and the unweighted sample appears to contain higher than expected numbers of people with life limiting illness or disability[14].

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8   Utilising **Education, England and Wales - Office for National Statistics (ons.gov.uk)** data for figure 2

9   'Health, demographic and labour market influences on economic inactivity, UK: 2019 to 2022', Office for National Statistics, May 2023.

10   **Financial Lives 2022 survey: insights on vulnerability and financial resilience relevant to the rising cost of living | FCA**

11   **[129998]-[CD]-SLF-JUNE-2020-COVID-19-Tracker.pdf (financialfairness.org.uk)**

12   **Tables - by FWBS cat + working age + earners.xlsx - Google Sheets** Tab 2: Credit and Bills, sum of Column E, Rows 85-87.

13   **Tables - by FWBS cat + working age + earners.xlsx - Google Sheets** Tab 5: Cost of Living, sum of Column E, Rows 161 and 162.

14   See **https://docs.google.com/spreadsheets/d/10EkPAWb0pIYHcyEDDmiy3gNHJ07s1f6Tw is9sINpJu8/edit#gid=2096143332** Tab: Sample, Col. D, Row 30. This indicates that 28.6% of the sample are people from households containing someone who is disabled and whose activities are limited 'a lot'.

Problems of weighting could also have impacted the CSJ estimate of illegal lending use in 2022. The CSJ commissioned a representative poll of 4,002 adults carried out by Opinium between 30 November and 3 December 2021. The poll showed that 2.4 per cent of people in England said they were 'currently borrowing' from 'someone locally who charged [them] interest (excluding legitimate lenders such as banks, authorised doorstep lenders, payday lenders, and credit unions).' They then extrapolated the total number of people who said they are currently borrowing from this source (using the 18–105+ population of England in 2021 according to the ONS Population Projections), which they reported as suggesting that "1,079,026 people could be borrowing from an illegal lender".

Whilst stating the poll was representative, the CSJ report does not indicate how this was weighted and there are no demographic breakdowns of the survey's results presented within the report.

It is likely that a more sophisticated extrapolation strategy is needed, which takes account of the clustering of illegal lending users in the population. Our analysis indicates that it is necessary to ensure future survey responses are correctly weighted for age, level of qualification, long-term life-limiting illness/disability, and whether someone is working in the 'gig' economy, prior to extrapolating to the wider population. Surveys should also ask whether respondents have used a payday or home credit lender in the past twelve months, and weight responses to the Financial Lives Survey in these respects.

Of these factors, the technical note to the recent survey commissioned by Fair4All Finance from Ipos Mori states that data were weighted to take account of age and qualification levels alone. But, whilst qualification levels were included, the responses were weighted based on a split between graduates and non-graduates. Our analysis indicates that a split between those with low or no qualifications and level 3 is likely to be more important[15].

Whilst addressing these issues in future surveys would be helpful, there may also be a need to arrive at a consistent means of asking questions relating to illegal lending use. For example, the CSJ survey used a different question to that of the Financial Lives Survey, specifically:

" Have you borrowed from someone in your local area who charged you interest (this excludes legitimate lenders such as banks, authorised doorstep lenders, payday lenders, and credit unions) " .

And the survey conducted for Fair4AllFinance appears to have asked whether respondents or "someone in their household" had "borrowed from an unlicensed or unauthorised informal money lender who charges interest (sometimes known as a loan shark)", within the past three years.

It would therefore be helpful to be consistent not only in respect of the description of illegal lending that is used, but also with respect to whether we are interested in the

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15 It should be noted that the Ipsos Mori technical note includes the statement "In view of the online panel methodology, scaling up to population estimates isn't strictly appropriate."

respondent alone or their wider households, as well as the timeframe respondents are being asked to reflect upon. As indicated previously, the Financial Lives Survey asks for information relating to whether respondents are currently borrowing from unlicensed lenders or have done so in the previous 12 months.

Whilst improved weighting of results, and greater consistency with respect to the question, could both be helpful, we do not, however, consider that these alone will be sufficient to arrive at a reliable estimate of illegal lending. After considering twenty-one variables of interest, our model still only explains a very small degree of the variation within the Financial Lives Survey.

This implies that other factors are likely to be having a much bigger impact on the decision-making of borrowers. These could, for example, be supply rather than demand related. It is possible that the decision to use an illegal lender is highly contingent on the opportunity to do so (i.e., for two potential borrowers with the same demographics, the deciding factor is likely to be whether they know an illegal lender or have a mutual acquaintance who does). Future surveys could therefore usefully ask respondents whether they know of any illegal lenders as well as whether they have borrowed from one.

Pending further research, we conclude by urging great caution when publishing estimates of illegal lending use. This is particularly the case when the survey design may include clusters of groups more likely than the general population to be at risk of illegal moneylending. The threat of a boom in illegal moneylending has traditionally been used by high-cost lenders as a justification to allow legal, extortionately priced, products to be marketed to low-income households. We have previously reported on how, instead of reducing the demand for illegal loans, these legal high-cost products result in greater financial damage – both to the individuals using them, and their wider communities. This, in turn, then drives a growth in illegal lending. For example, in Japan illegal moneylending grew alongside an expansion of high-cost credit[16].

This study confirms that borrowing from a legal payday or door-to-door moneylender increases the risk of turning to illegal lenders within one year. It is particularly interesting to us that the risk is greatest for home credit borrowers, as door-to-door moneylending escaped the total cost cap that was applied to payday loans in 2015.

Whilst payday and home credit lending has reduced in recent years, this would imply a reduction in the demand for illegal lending use. However, other factors including the cost-of-living crisis push in the opposite direction. In any event, recommendations made by previous studies for an expansion of more affordable credit – although welcome – are unlikely to be sufficient to counter the underlying financial pressures behind any rise. Rather, our study points to the need to directly address the cost-of-living crisis. We need to put more money in the pockets of those struggling to pay for life's essentials as a matter or urgency.

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[16] 'Taking on the Moneylenders: lessons from Japan', Centre for Responsible Credit, 2012. Available at **Taking on the Moneylenders: Lessons from Japan (responsible-credit.org.uk)**

Appendix 1: Marginal effects

The table below provides the marginal effects of the additional variables when added to the initial model, at means.

Marginal effects, additional variables, at means

	Margin	std. err.	T	P>T	[95% conf. interval]	
Debt advice						
Hasn't has advice	0.0024	0.0005	4.55	0	0.0014	0.0035
Had advice,12 months	0.0092	0.0049	1.88	0.06	−0.0004	0.0188
Debt burdens						
Not heavy	0.0022	0.0005	4.13	0	0.0012	0.0033
Heavy	0.0060	0.0023	2.56	0.01	0.0014	0.0106
Missed 3 payments						
Not missed 3 payments	0.0020	0.0005	3.9	0	0.0010	0.0030
Has missed 3 payments	0.0111	0.0037	3.01	0.003	0.0039	0.0183
Missed any payment						
Not missed any payment	0.0017	0.0005	3.55	0	0.0008	0.0027
Has missed a payment	0.0121	0.0037	3.3	0.001	0.0049	0.0194
Financial resilience						
More than 1 month	0.0020	0.0005	4.09	0	0.0010	0.0029
Less than 1 month	0.0056	0.0023	2.47	0.014	0.0011	0.0100
Increased debt						
No debt or increase in debt	0.0016	0.0005	3.41	0.001	0.0007	0.0026
Increased debt, 12 mths	0.0074	0.0022	3.41	0.001	0.0031	0.0117
Declined						
Not declined	0.0018	0.0004	3.99	0	0.0009	0.0026
Declined, 2 years	0.0062	0.0031	2.01	0.044	0.0002	0.0122
Payday loan						
No payday loan	0.0017	0.0005	3.82	0	0.0008	0.0026
Payday loan, 12 mths	0.0455	0.0162	2.8	0.005	0.0137	0.0773
Home credit						
No home credit	0.0018	0.0004	4.14	0	0.0010	0.0027
Home credit, 12 mths	0.1079	0.0425	2.54	0.011	0.0245	0.1913

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