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Income, Poverty and Deprivation among Children

A Statistical Baseline Analysis

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Income, Poverty and Deprivation among Children:

A Statistical Baseline Analysis

Delma Byrne and Morag Treanor

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Glossary of Acronyms and Abbreviations

AROP	At-risk-of-poverty
AROPE	At risk of poverty or social exclusion
AHC	After Housing Costs
BHC	Before Housing Costs
CRC	Convention on the Rights of the Child
CSO	Central Statistics Office
DCYA	Department for Children and Youth Affairs
ECCE	Early Childhood Care and Education
EU	European Union
EU-SILC	Survey on Income and Living Conditions
GUI	Growing up in Ireland study
HRP	Household Reference Person
PRSI	Pay Related Social Insurance
USC	Universal Social Charge

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Minister's Foreword



I am pleased to publish this report, *Income, Poverty and Deprivation among Children: A Statistical Baseline Analysis*. It is the first output of the Department's Child-specific Poverty Research Programme, initiated by my predecessor Katherine Zappone in September 2019.

While we have made real progress in Ireland, we know that poverty continues to steal childhoods and children's futures, and undermines the economic, social and political well-being of the State. Poverty affects not only children's material living conditions, but also their sense of belonging and the opportunities they have to fully participate in society. Poverty affects children's futures as empowered, civically engaged, healthy and fulfilled adults.

In order to strengthen our efforts to end child poverty, I believe we must deepen and broaden our understanding of it. 'Child poverty' as currently defined and measured is about children living in households experiencing poverty and deprivation. Children and young people are, as individuals, effectively 'invisible' in official measures. Through this report, and the broader Child-specific Poverty Research Programme, we aim to enrich understanding of child-specific poverty, and to expand our knowledge of the unique ways children experience poverty and deprivation.

This first report under the new Research Programme is a foundational report. It draws from existing data and literature to provide a 'baseline' understanding of what we know about the situation of children living in poverty. It describes families' financial circumstances at different income levels, providing insights into the depth of poverty and movements into and out of poverty from 2011 to 2018. The report identifies the main risk factors for children and households that experience child poverty, assesses trends and risks factors by age groups of children and young people, and compares levels of child poverty in Ireland and in other EU member states. Crucially, the report provides analyses to inform future policy development, by setting out policy

implications and by contextualising the measurement of child poverty in current debates in Ireland and internationally.

This research helps bring us closer to understanding how to realise the vision of Ireland as a place where ‘the rights of all children and young people are respected, protected and fulfilled; where their voices are heard and where they are supported to realise their maximum potential now and in the future’. This is the vision of *Better Outcomes, Brighter Futures, The National Policy Framework for Children and Young People, 2014-2020*. The report will also inform our Programme for Government commitments to improve outcomes for those most at risk of poverty, especially as we continue to deal with the consequences of the COVID-19 pandemic.

I look forward to ongoing, policy-engaged research outputs under the Child-Specific Poverty Research Programme and to efforts to develop a child-centred perspective of the experiences and impacts of child poverty on their lives.



Roderic O’Gorman, TD

Minister for Children, Disability, Equality and Integration

July 2020

Executive Summary

This report has been commissioned by the Department for Children and Youth Affairs (DCYA) with the key objective to achieve a better understanding of income, poverty and deprivation among children and families living in Ireland. This focus is important, given that in Ireland as in many other European countries, children are more likely to experience poverty and deprivation than adults (Russell et al. 2010; Watson et al. 2012).

This study builds on previous research on child poverty in the Irish context (Nolan and Farrell 1990; Fanning and Veale 2004; Nolan et al. 2006; Callan et al. 2007; Russell, Maître and Nolan 2010; Kerrins, Greene and Murphy 2011; Swords et al. 2011; Arnold 2012; Atkins 2015; Cantillon et al. 2017; Gray et al. 2019; Watson, Maître and Whelan 2012; Watson et al. 2015; Nolan and Pells 2020). It comes at a time when research finds that child poverty is associated with lower child well-being, and that there are negative long-term effects of childhood poverty (Bellani and Bia 2019 in Europe; Yang 2019 in the US; Lesner 2016 in Denmark). In addressing these concerns, this study provides a baseline analysis of income, poverty and deprivation among children and their households in Ireland in 2018 (the latest available data).

The key questions that this study seeks to address are:

- What are the current debates that inform the measurement of child poverty among children?
- How do children fare in terms of income, poverty and deprivation?
- Have trends in income, poverty and material deprivation among children in Ireland changed between 2011 and 2018?
- What are the main risk factors for children and households that experience child poverty and material deprivation?
- How does child poverty in Ireland compare to child poverty in EU member states?
- What are the implications for policy, and future national policy frameworks for children and young people?

Data

The study draws on data from the European Survey on Income and Living Conditions (EU-SILC). The findings of this study are informed by SILC data derived from three sources. Firstly, the 2018 Central Statistics Office (CSO) Irish SILC dataset is used to examine income, poverty and material deprivation among children and households with children, and the characteristics of children and households that experience child poverty. The study centres on the established measures of poverty that currently exist, namely, income poverty, enforced material deprivation and consistent poverty. Secondly, time series data obtained from the SILC data in the CSO Statbank is used to describe trends in income, poverty and deprivation among children in Ireland between 2011 and 2018. Finally, SILC data obtained from Eurostat is used to describe how child poverty in Ireland compares to child poverty in other EU member states.

Key Findings

In the section below, the key findings from the study are summarised.

Current debates that inform the measurement of child poverty

A key aim of the study is to review current debates that inform the measurement of child poverty. In the literature, there is a concern that a focus on household disposable income alone is inadequate to identify children who are at risk of poverty. However, there is general agreement in the literature that income must continue to be central to any measurement of child poverty given that child poverty is a lack of material resources, and that this should be distinguished from the drivers of child poverty. Thus, any further approaches should involve adding to, rather than replacing established measures of child poverty.

A further debate in the literature on poverty and poverty measurement in other country contexts centres on the need to build on the traditional disposable income measure (income less tax and PRSI in the Irish context), to include the inescapable costs that households routinely face. In other country contexts, there is increasing emphasis placed on the measurement of the wider financial resources and costs that households endure. For example, in the Scottish context, poverty statistics are

presented before and after housing costs (BHC, AHC). Research in the UK context argues that the inescapable costs that households face should also be considered in the definition of disposable income, including the costs of childcare, the impact that disability has on the ability of a household to make ends meet (Social Metrics Commission 2018, 2019), and the cost of housing (Scottish Government, 2020).

There is also general agreement in the literature that the measurement of child poverty should adopt a rights-based, child centred, multidimensional approach. Thus, a further debate in the literature on poverty and poverty measurement centres on how to construct meaningful multidimensional measures of child poverty. Rather than adopting a single index based on multidimensional measures of child poverty, there is general agreement in the literature that a distinction should be made between sets of indicators that are used to measure:

- Measures of children's current material living standards;
- Measures of children's wider wellbeing;
- Measures of the causes of child poverty, and
- Measures of the future chances of children.

Finally, there is general agreement that research on the lived experience of poverty has been neglected in the Irish context. There are some exceptions, particularly in the case of research on the experience of poverty among lone parent families (Daly and Kelly, 2015; Rooney and Gray, 2020; Millar et al., 2018). However, there is general agreement in the literature that more research is required on the lived experience of poverty, and a need to draw on children's experiences of poverty.

How much child poverty is there in Ireland?

While more recently all households, including households with children, have experienced an increase in real incomes, a descriptive analysis of the Irish SILC data shows that in 2018, households with children aged 0-17 are under-represented in the three highest income deciles. Households with children also experience higher rates of both relative and absolute poverty. In these households, income poverty at the 70% and 60% median income thresholds is higher than in households without

children. They also have higher rates of enforced material deprivation (lacking two or more items), and experience considerably higher rates of consistent poverty.

Children experience higher poverty risk than the population average, and this holds for each of the poverty measures. In 2018, 1,199,926 children aged 0-17 were living in Ireland. The number and share of children living in poverty in 2018 according to each established measure of poverty is as follows:

- Over a quarter (26.7%) of children are in poverty using the 70% poverty line, equating to just under 320,000 children. At this line, the rate of child poverty is above the rate of poverty for the whole population (24%). 27 per cent of all people living in poverty are children, and when young adults (18-24) are included, 36 per cent of people living in poverty are children and young adults.
- 15.8 per cent of children are in poverty using the 60% poverty line, equating to almost 190,000 children. The child poverty rate stands above the poverty rate for the whole population (14%). 28 per cent of all people living in poverty are children, and when young adults (18-24) are included, this increases to 38 per cent.
- When using the 50% poverty line, which is commonly referred to as an indicator of 'deep poverty', 7.4 per cent of children live in deep poverty, equating to almost 89,000 children. The rate of child poverty is marginally above the rate of poverty for the whole population (6.9%). Of those in deep poverty, 26 per cent are children and 38 per cent are children and young adults.
- One-in-five children aged 0-17 experienced enforced material deprivation, equating to almost 237,000 children, and children have a higher rate of material deprivation than the whole population (15.1%). Almost a third (32%) of all people living in material deprivation are children, and when young adults (18-24) are included, 41 per cent of all people living in material deprivation are children and young adults.
- Children aged 0-17 have a higher consistent poverty rate than the general population (7.7% compared to 5%). In 2018, it is estimated that just over 92,000 children and just over 121,000 children and young adults were living in consistent poverty. Using this definition of poverty, over a third (34%) of all people that experience consistent poverty are children. When young adults (18-24) are included, 45 per cent of all people that experience consistent poverty are children and young adults.

When housing costs are considered in the definition of income poverty, in 2018 children continue to experience higher rates of income poverty than working age adults. Eurostat data reveals that between 2010 and 2017 children experienced higher rates of income poverty than all adults.

A key contribution of this study has been to examine poverty risk by age-group. The study finds that poverty risk differs quite substantially according to the age of children. That is, in 2018, older children continue to be more likely to experience poverty than younger children, replicating findings from previous research (Russell et al., 2010; Watson et al., 2012).

- The youngest group of children (those aged 0-5) have an at-risk-of-poverty rate that is lower than that of the overall population and of other groups of children, and this pattern prevails across each poverty line. The current child poverty rate of 8.9 per cent for very young children is at its lowest rate ever.
- Primary school aged children (those aged 6-11) have an at-risk-of-poverty rate that is higher than that of the overall population, and this pattern prevails across each poverty line, except for the 50 per cent poverty line.
- Secondary school aged children (those aged 12-17) have the highest risk-of-poverty compared to the overall population and of all other children and young adults, and this pattern holds across each of the poverty lines.
- Across each of the income poverty lines, young adults (those aged 18-24) have a higher at-risk-of-poverty rate than that of the overall population.
- School age children aged 6-11 and those aged 12-17 continue to experience the highest rates of deprivation among all children in 2018 at 20.5 per cent for both cohorts. The current material deprivation rate of 17.9 per cent for the 0-5-year olds is at its lowest over the ten-year period 2008-2018.
- Pre-school children (0-5) have the lowest consistent poverty rate (4.7%), followed by young adults (7%), second level school aged children (8.7%) while primary school aged children (age 6-11) have the highest rate (9%).

Has the trend of child poverty in Ireland changed between 2011 and 2018?

There is evidence of some modest improvement in child poverty rates in Ireland between 2011 and 2018, a period set against a backdrop of the economic recession (2008-2013) and subsequent improved economic circumstances. Most of the gains made in reducing child poverty have occurred after 2016. While the overall pattern shows modest improvement, the 6-11-year-old age group are of concern, given that

this group have recently experienced an increase in both income poverty (60% median income threshold) and consistent poverty when all others age cohorts have experienced a reduction in these poverty indicators. Child poverty trends between 2011 and 2018 for each measure are as follows:

- In terms of household disposable income, while the relative position of children aged 0-17 has remained broadly stable over time, a three-year rolling average approach illustrates a longer-term trend of an increase of children in the highest income decile group. However, more recently this pattern shows some decline, and subsequently, a recent trend of an increase in the share of children in the middle- and low-income deciles.
- The established measure of poverty (the at-risk-of-poverty rate based on 60% of median income) shows that between 2011 and 2018 the child poverty rate (0-17) in Ireland has dropped 2.9 percentage points from 18.8 per cent in 2011 to 15.9 per cent in the 2018, the lowest rate of child poverty yet observed. Reducing the relative gap between poor children and those who are better off has been slow, and much of the progress in reducing child poverty has been made after 2016. Using this definition, most groups of children have experienced a decline in poverty between 2011 and 2018. However, what is of concern is that the child poverty rate for 6-11-year olds has increased by one percentage point, and the three-year rolling average shows a pattern of increasing poverty incidence for the 6-11 age group after 2016, the only group of children to show an increase in poverty incidence.
- Material deprivation among children aged 0-17 steadily increased during the recessionary years until it reached a peak in 2013. Between 2011 and 2018 the child material deprivation rate in Ireland dropped 12.4 percentage points from 32.1 per cent in 2011 to 19.7 per cent in the 2018. The three-year rolling average shows a persistent decline in material deprivation among children aged 0-17 after 2014. Yet, despite these improvements in the rate of absolute poverty, the current rate for children remains high compared to pre-recessionary rates (pre-2008).
- The national child poverty target seeks to lift over 70,000 children (aged 0-17) out of consistent poverty by 2020, a reduction of at least two-thirds on the 2011 level. By 2018, the share of children in consistent poverty has decreased from 9.3 per cent in 2011 to 7.7 per cent, a reduction of 1.6 percentage points. This corresponds to a reduction of 14,000 children living in consistent poverty between 2018 and 2011. In order to meet the national target, the number of children living in consistent poverty would have to decline further by 56,000 between 2018 and 2020. Change in consistent poverty has been driven by a decline in absolute poverty (material deprivation) rather than

relative poverty (income poverty). More recently, between 2017 and 2018, children aged 6-11 have experienced an increase in consistent poverty, up from 8.2 per cent in 2017.

What are the main risk factors for children and households that experience child poverty?

To summarise, in 2018 26.7 per cent of children are at risk of living at or below the 70% poverty line, 15.8 per cent of children are at risk of living at or below the 60% poverty line and 7.4 per cent of children are at risk of living in deep poverty - at or below the 50% poverty line.

A descriptive analysis drawing on the individual characteristics of children (sex, age, nationality, region, local area deprivation¹) shows that females, and older children, particularly those aged 6-11 and aged 12-17, have above average rates of poverty across each of the measures. Above average rates on the 60% and 70% median income threshold measures are also evident among children that do not hold Irish nationality: 43 per cent of children who have a nationality other than Irish live at or below the 70% poverty line compared to 25 per cent of Irish nationals. Children living outside Dublin have above average rates of poverty than children living in Dublin, while those living in affluent areas have below average rates of poverty than children living in all other areas.

Regression analyses were undertaken to consider the independent influence of these factors on the likelihood of children falling below each of the poverty lines and the likelihood of experiencing material deprivation or consistent poverty. Confirming the descriptive findings, older children are more likely to experience income poverty and consistent poverty than younger children. With the exception of deep poverty, children living in disadvantaged or very disadvantaged areas are more likely to experience poverty and material deprivation than children living in affluent or very affluent areas. Children who are nationals of a country other than Ireland are more likely to experience poverty at the 70% median income threshold than children who

¹ Each small local area is classified according to the Pobal HP (Hasse and Pratschke) Deprivation Index by the CSO. The Deprivation Index shows the level of overall affluence and deprivation in the local area within which the household is located.

hold Irish nationality. This could suggest that minority ethnic children are more exposed to poverty, as in other country contexts (Koball and Jiang 2018).

At the household level, of an estimated 644,000 households with children in 2018, 24 per cent of households with children are at or below the 70% poverty line, 14 per cent are at or below the 60% poverty line, 11 per cent experience very low work intensity and 6.1 per cent of households with children are living in deep poverty (at or below the 50% poverty line).

A descriptive analysis of households with children shows that:

- Households with children where the household reference person (HRP) has a migrant history experience above average levels of poverty across a range of measures. While differences by migrant status are not so important for enforced material deprivation, differences are quite pronounced at the 70% poverty line (32% of migrant households compared to 22% of households without a migrant history).
- The health of the HRP matters for all measures of poverty, whereby households with children where the health of the HRP is limited by illness demonstrate well above average rates of poverty when compared with households where this is not a concern.
- Higher education levels among the HRP are associated with a lower share of households with children that experience poverty. Households with low levels of education experience well above average rates of poverty and deprivation, across all measures.
- Households with children where the HRP is in employment experience considerably lower levels of child poverty than households where the HRP is unemployed or inactive.
- Family structure also matters, as households with three or more children and lone parent families experience considerably higher levels of poverty across each of the measures.
- The socio-demographic character of the local area has an association with child poverty as households in disadvantaged or very disadvantaged areas and households in rural areas have higher rates of poverty across all the measures. One third (33.7%) of households with children in very disadvantaged area experience income poverty (at the 70% line) compared to 17 per cent of households in affluent areas. Households with children in rural areas have higher levels of income poverty than urban households with children at the 60% and 70% lines, while households with children in urban areas experience

higher rates of very low work intensity, and marginally higher rates of material deprivation.

- Households with children where the HRP is a childcare user (including centre based, play centres and friends/family) show lower than average rates of income poverty, while households with children that do not use childcare have above average rates of income poverty.
- There is also a strong relationship between housing tenure and child poverty. Child poverty rates are particularly pronounced in households with children where the home is rented than in households where the home is owner-occupied.

As before, regression analyses were undertaken to consider the independent influence of these factors on the likelihood of households with children falling below each of the poverty lines, experiencing material deprivation or consistent poverty. The findings reveal that households with one or more children aged 6-11 are twice as likely to experience income poverty (60% median income threshold) than households with no 6-11 year olds. Households with one or more children aged 12-17 are more likely to experience income poverty, twice as likely to experience material deprivation, and three times as likely to experience consistent poverty than households without children aged 12-17. The risk of income poverty is also greatest for households with children headed by a migrant adult. Households headed by lone parents, and parents who are limited by their health are much more likely to experience each of the poverty statuses. When the level of work intensity is introduced to the model, households with children that are classified as very low work intensity households are 11 times more likely to experience income poverty, 3 times more likely to experience material deprivation and 6 times more likely to experience consistent poverty.

How does child poverty in Ireland compare to child poverty in EU member states?

The EU combines three measures; at-risk-of-poverty, material deprivation and low work intensity; to identify a total population 'at-risk-of-poverty or social exclusion' (ARPOE). While much of the attention placed on this indicator is focused on the national picture, in this report we examine the European 2020 poverty target, and its constituent measures, among children in EU member states.

Children at risk of poverty (60% median income)

- In a comparison of the share of children at-risk-of-poverty in Ireland and the EU, Ireland fares relatively well, and ranks 10th out of 28 countries, as the rate of 15.8 per cent is lower than the European average rate of 20.2 per cent. While the at-risk-of-poverty rates for children aged 6-11 and 12-17 are marginally lower than the average European rate, young children aged 0-5 in Ireland have considerably lower rates (9.4% compared to a European average of 17.1%). In 2018, Ireland had the lowest poverty rate among children 0-5 in the EU.

Severe Material Deprivation

Severe material deprivation is an indicator in EU-SILC that expresses the inability to afford some items considered by most people to be desirable or even necessary to lead an adequate life. It is defined as the enforced inability to pay for at least four out of the nine deprivation items.

- 5.9 per cent of children aged 0-17 in Ireland experience severe material deprivation compared to an EU average of 6.4 per cent. Ireland ranks 14th out of 28 member states. In Ireland, the share of children that experience severe material deprivation is higher among older children, a pattern that is observed on average across European member states. The 12-17-year-old group continue to experience the highest severe material deprivation risk (8.7%), followed by 6-11-year olds (5.6%) and those aged 0-5 (5.2%). It is important to note that in some other countries, the opposite pattern is evident, whereby rates of severe material deprivation decline as children get older (such as Denmark).

Living in a Very Low Work Intensity Household

- The Irish national very low work intensity rate of 13 per cent in 2018 compares unfavourably to an EU28 average of 8.8 per cent. Ireland holds the second highest rate in the EU, just after Greece (14.6%). In 2018 Ireland was the country with the highest proportion of children age 0-17 living in very low work intensity households in the EU: 14.8 per cent of children are living in household with very low work intensity, compared to an EU average of 7.4 per cent. The EU average figures suggest that there is little variation among children of different ages. In the Irish context, however, a very high proportion of children aged 6-11 (18.2%) live in very low work intensity households, followed by 12-17-year olds (14%) and very young children (12%).

At risk of poverty or social exclusion

Each of these three measures: at-risk-of-poverty, material deprivation and low work intensity, are combined to identify the total population at risk of poverty or social exclusion.

- By 2018, the number of people living at risk of poverty or social exclusion in Ireland has decreased by 174,000 from 1,200,000 in 2010 to 1,026,000 in 2018. 21.1 per cent of people living in Ireland are at risk of poverty or social exclusion compared to the EU average of 21.8 per cent.
- In Ireland a greater share of children than working age adults experience this level of poverty (24.1% compared to 18.4%). Rates are highest among children aged 12-17 (27.3%), followed by the 6-11 age group (26.1%), young adults (21.8%) and very young children aged 0-5 (17.4%). The number of children at risk of poverty or social exclusion in Ireland has decreased by 110,000, down from 412,000 in 2010 to 302,000 in 2018. This represents a ten-percentage point decline, which is greater than that corresponding percentage point decline for working age adults (7.4 percentage points). Child poverty rates have reduced quite substantially for young children, down 12.2 percentage points between 2010 and 2018, and young adults, down 10.3 percentage points.
- How do children in Ireland fare compared to their European counterparts? On average, children aged 0-17 experience a similar risk of poverty or social exclusion as their European counterparts (24.1% compared to 24.2%, respectively). While very young children and young adults fare better in Ireland than the EU average, children aged 6-11 have higher risk of poverty and social exclusion than their EU28 counterparts.

The Irish Contribution to the Europe 2020 Target

The Irish contribution to the European 2020 poverty target seeks to reduce by a minimum of 200,000 the population in combined poverty (that is, consistent poverty, at-risk-of-poverty or basic deprivation) between 2010 and 2020. In 2018, the population affected by 'combined poverty' reduced to 23.5 per cent, compared to 27.8 per cent in 2017 and 31 per cent in 2010. Nominally, this represents a decrease of 270,000 people on the 2010 baseline figure, exceeding the European 2020 Target. In 2018, primary and secondary school aged children continue to experience higher rates of combined poverty than the adult population.

What are the implications for policy, and future national policy frameworks for children and young people?

This study highlights several reasons for policy makers to be concerned with poverty in childhood. While poverty among children shows some modest improvement since 2011, the current level of child poverty in society is unacceptable.

The implications of the findings for policy can be summarised as follows:

- Specific policy actions are urgently required to address child poverty, and, the variation in poverty risk across age-groups of children in Ireland. The findings presented here suggest that policy measures that were taken to reduce child poverty among very young children (such as increased public investment in early childhood care and education) were successful. This same commitment needs to be extended to all age groups of children, across all domains of children's lives.
- A reduction in poverty demands investment in public spending beyond supporting parental labour market participation. Future investment in public spending on family benefits needs to take into account the persistent variation in poverty risk across age-groups of children in Ireland. As shown in this report, the Nordic countries demonstrate both low rates of child poverty across all measures, and much less variation in poverty risk across age-groups of children. These countries also typically have higher public spending on family benefits. Furthermore, as in many other European countries, child-related cash transfers to families with children in Denmark appear to do a better job of meeting the rising cost of raising children as they become older.
- The descriptive analysis highlights the role of structural factors such as gender, nationality, and migrant status as well as socio-economic situation on poverty risk in childhood. While socio-economic status and the employment situation of families has attracted considerable attention in policy and research circles, much less attention has been paid in the Irish context to how child poverty operates along migration status, minority ethnic, or racial lines. Given that children and young adults comprise the majority of minority ethnic populations in Ireland, this oversight needs to be addressed by both policy and research.
- The employment situation of the household and the education level of the HRP continue to be two strong indicators of child poverty, across a range of measures. OECD (2018) advocate that policy measures should support parental employment, provide opportunities for decent work, and make work pay by 'repairing' low income with financial support directed at poor families with children. These findings suggest that recent policy developments in the areas of labour market activation, and in-work benefits need to be evaluated

to determine their effectiveness in reducing child poverty. These findings also suggest that room for educational development should also be part of any welfare to work strategy.

- The descriptive analysis shows that despite an increase in investment in ECCE, access to childcare is associated with household risk of child poverty. Households with children where the HRP is not a childcare user show higher than average rates of child poverty (income poverty) compared to households with children that use childcare. This suggests that access to childcare remains a barrier in the Irish context, highlighting the need to enhance access to affordable all-day childcare, particularly for low-income families.
- Child poverty rates are much more pronounced in households with children where the home is rented than in households where the home is owner-occupied. There is general recognition that a safe, adequate housing and living environment is necessary for child wellbeing. In the Irish context, there is a need to increase the supply of social housing, but also to improve the benefit coverage of poor families and ensure that such benefits do not reduce living standards of children and their families.
- It is well established, that several policy mechanisms are required to produce a reduction in child poverty, involving policy that spans a range of Government Departments. A multidimensional approach to the reduction of child poverty will require continuing emphasis on a cross-departmental approach among departments that support public policies for families and children. Future cross-departmental, cross-sectoral approaches to reducing child poverty need to address the persistent variation in poverty risk across age-groups of children in Ireland.
- There is a need for Irish society to more actively focus on the reduction of child poverty and poverty among young adults. This could be achieved through devising a comprehensive anti-poverty strategy that captures the wider range of policies that seek to improve the lives of families with children living in poverty, as recommended by OECD (2018). The National Advisory Council for Children and Young People recommend the appointment of a Child Poverty Lead to encourage and facilitate the child poverty agenda. Concerted efforts to reduce child poverty in other institutional contexts have gone so far as to introduce legislation to eradicate child poverty (see for example the Child Poverty (Scotland) Act 2017).

1. Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Tackling child poverty is a key stated aim of government policy, and a major challenge for Irish society. To tackle this issue effectively, the contemporary situation of income, poverty and deprivation among children must be understood. This study, commissioned by DCYA, contributes to the existing body of research on child poverty in the Irish context, and provides a contemporary baseline analysis of income, poverty and deprivation among children and their families.

The remainder of this chapter is set out as follows. Section 1.2 sets out the aims of the study, Section 1.3 provides a short overview of the composition of children and young people living in Ireland in 2011 and 2016.

1.2 Aims of the Study

The central aims of the study are to:

- Review current debates that inform the measurement of child poverty and material deprivation;
- Describe how trends in income, poverty and material deprivation among children in Ireland have changed between 2011 and 2018;
- Identify the main risk factors for children and households that experience child poverty;
- Compare levels of child poverty in Ireland and other EU member states;
- Provide policy implications regarding child poverty.

1.3 An Overview of Children Living in Ireland

Before examining the rates of child poverty in Ireland, it is important to first consider the composition of the population of children and young people living in Ireland.

Table 1 provides a summary of the population of children and young adults aged 0-24 in 2011 and 2016 using Census of Population data.

Table 1: Number of 0-24-year olds living in Ireland 2011-2016

	2011		2016		% Change
	N	%	N	%	
0-4 year olds	356329	7.8	331515	7.0	-0.8
5-12 year olds	504267	11.0	548693	11.5	0.5
13-18 year olds	344931	7.5	371588	7.8	0.3
19-24 year olds	354313	7.7	331208	7.0	-0.7
Total Population	4588252	100.0	4761865	100.0	
Total 0-18	1205527	26.3	1251796	26.3	No Change
Total 0-24	1559840	34.0	1583004	33.2	-0.8

Source: Central Statistics Office, Census of Population, 2011 and 2016

In all, the youth population (0-18) consistently between 2011 and 2016 represents over a quarter (26.3%) of the population, while the youth and young adult population combined (0-24-year olds) in 2016 represents a third (33.2%) of the population. Thus, children and young people represent a sizeable share of the total population.

Over the period 2011-2016, some minor demographic change is evident. While the number and share of 0-4 year olds (pre-school population) and 19-24 year olds (young adults) in the population has declined between the two time points, the number and share of 5-12 year old (primary school age) children has remained relatively stable between 2011 and 2016, and there is some increase in the number and share of 13-18 year olds (secondary school age) between the two time periods. More recent data obtained from CSO Population Estimates show that a total of 1,199,926 children aged 0-17 were living in Ireland in 2018 (CSO Statbank).

Short-term Central Statistics Office (CSO) population projections to 2026 anticipate a decline in the pre-school and primary school populations, but an increase in the second level school population (CSO 2017). Ireland, along with France, is distinctive among EU member states, as having the highest fertility rates in Europe. Yet, it is expected that OECD populations will continue to become older in the coming decades (OECD 2019).

The youth dependency ratio is used to capture the relative size of younger population (0-14) compared to the working age population (between 15 and 64). Between 2011 and 2016, the youth dependency ratio² in Ireland increased marginally from 31.9 per cent in 2011 to 32.3 per cent in 2016. This suggests that children are increasingly dependent on the working age group to provide funds for public services and benefits. Youth Dependency ratios also vary across regions, the highest being in the Mid-East (38.8%) and the lowest being in Dublin (31.3%) (CSO 2016). In 2018, Eurostat report a young age dependency ratio in Ireland of 31.9 per cent, substantially higher than the youth dependency ratio across the EU, which was at 24 per cent in 2015 (Eurostat 2018, 2019).

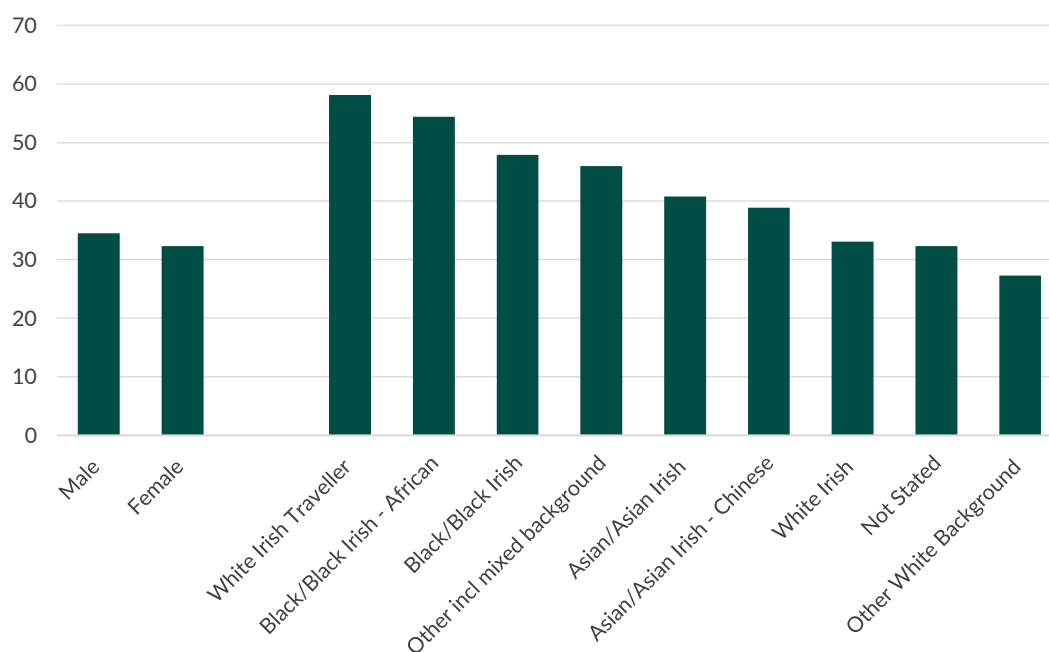
The 2016 Census of Population also reveals that the distribution of children and young adults varies quite considerably across the country. Thus, different regions have varied patterns of demography, a consideration that should be taken into account when devising policy to reduce child poverty.

The sex and ethnic composition of the child and youth population

Census of Population data reveals the sex and ethnic composition of the youth and young adult population in 2016. In terms of sex composition, Figure 1 and Table A1 in the Appendix shows that the youth population represents over a third of the total male population (34.5%) and almost a third of the total female population (32.3%).

As shown by Figure 1 and Table A1, children and young people represent a considerable share of minority ethnic groups, reflecting the ethnic and cultural diversity of the youth population in contemporary Irish society. Over half of the white Irish traveller ethnic group (58%) and the black or black Irish – African population (54%), and just under half (47.9%) of the Black or Black Irish population are aged under 25. Children and young people also represent a considerable share of the Asian or Asian Irish – Chinese population (38.9%), the Asian or Asian Irish population (40.8%) and the mixed background population (46%).

² Dependents are defined for statistical purposes as people outside the working age 15-64. The youth dependency ratio is defined as the number of young people aged 0-14 as a percentage of the working age population.

Figure 1: Share of 0-24 Year Olds by Gender and Ethnicity, 2016

The households that children and young people live in

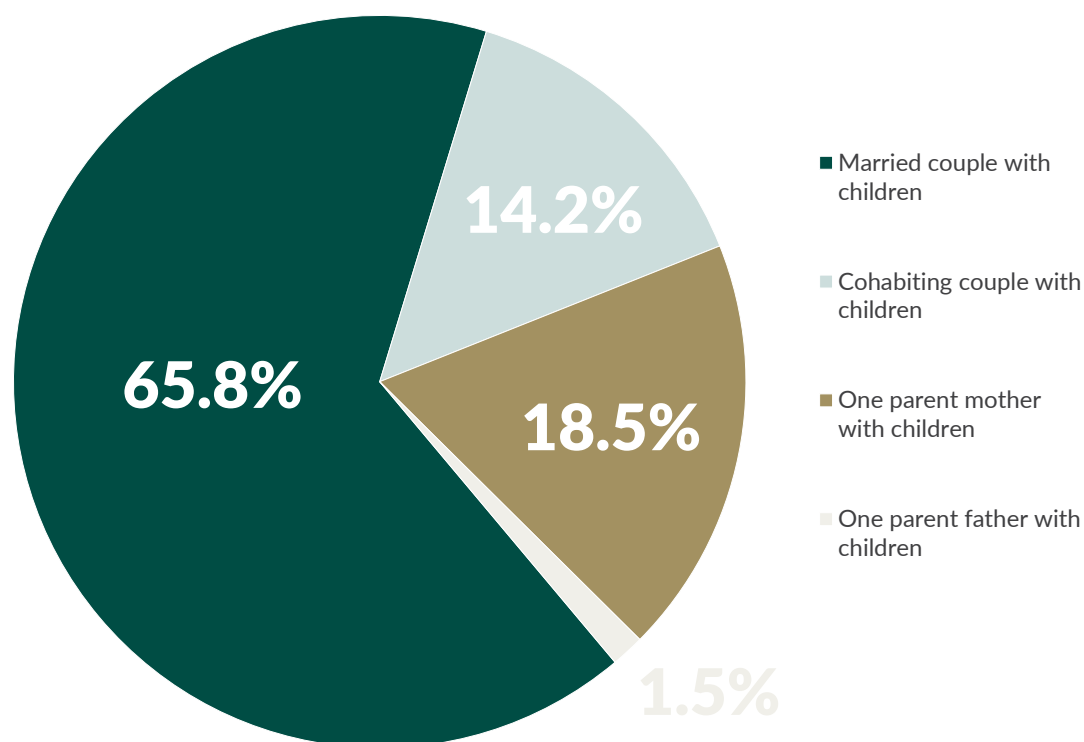
Research consistently finds that households differ in their propensity to experience poverty. The Census of Population also provides information on the types of families and households that contain children. The Census of Population 2016 records 862,721 families with children in 2016, an increase of 28,455 since 2011. In 2016, 40 per cent of family units have one child, 26 per cent have two children, 18 per cent have three children and 7 per cent have four or more children.

In 2016, almost two-thirds (65.8%) of households with children comprised a married couple with children, one-in-five (19.9%) households with children were lone parent families with children, and 14.2% of households with children comprised a cohabitating couple with children (Figure 2).

The family structure of households with children has changed quite substantially between 2011 and 2016. Cohabiting couples with children increased quite substantially by 25.4 per cent to 75,587 since 2011, reflecting a longer-term increasing trend towards cohabitation. In the Irish context, since 2011 all married couples and registered civil partners are treated the same way for tax purposes. These families tend to be younger, have just one child, and over three-quarters have

a child under 15 (CSO 2017). Between 2011 and 2016, the number of married couples with children increased by 1.7 per cent, while the number of lone parents with children increased by 1.5 per cent. Most lone parent families had just one child.

Figure 2: The Distribution of Family Units with Children, 2016



Source: Central Statistics Office, Census of Population, 2011

The Census of Population also revealed considerable variation in the housing tenure of households with children. In 2016, over half (53%) of cohabiting couples were renting, almost half (46%) of one parent mother families were renting, compared to 29 per cent of one parent father families and 18 per cent of married couples with children.

1.4 Methodological Approach

Data and Method

This report draws on data from several sources to provide a baseline analysis of the financial circumstances of children and families. The central focus is on the established measures of poverty that are used in the Irish context, namely, income poverty lines that provide information on the depth of poverty (using the national

measure of at-risk-of-poverty ie. 60% of median income threshold, as well as 70% and 50% of the median income thresholds), enforced material deprivation and consistent poverty³. In order to compare incomes that are equivalent across households, equivalised income adjusts for household size and composition – including the number of adults and children.

The 2018 CSO Irish EU-SILC dataset is used to provide a descriptive analysis of these established measures of income, poverty and deprivation among children and their families. This data is used to provide descriptive statistics on the characteristics of children and households that experience income poverty, deprivation and consistent poverty. Individual level data is used to examine the characteristics of children that are living in households that experience poverty according to age, sex, region, and nationality and local area characteristics. Household level data (based on the household reference person (HRP)) is used to examine the characteristics of households with children that experience poverty according to the age of the children in the household, the number of children in the household, HRP migrant status, HRP health, HRP education, HRP employment status, family structure, regional characteristics, an indicator of whether the household is a childcare user, and an indicator of housing tenure. A series of regression models are used to consider the independent influence of these factors on the likelihood of households with children falling below each of the poverty lines and the likelihood of experiencing material deprivation or consistent poverty.

Given the centrality of target setting as a national poverty reduction strategy, time series data obtained from the SILC data in the CSO Statbank is used to provide a descriptive analysis of how poverty and material deprivation among children has changed between 2011 and 2018.

Finally, SILC data obtained from Eurostat is used to compare trends of child poverty and material deprivation in Ireland with those in other EU member states. This data is used to examine how Ireland fares with regard to EU targets for poverty reduction.

³ Each of these measures are based on the standard equivalence scale whereby a weight of 1 is applied to the first adult, 0.66 to each subsequent adult (aged 14+ living in the household) and 0.33 to each child aged less than 14 years. Disposable household income is then divided by equivalised household size to produce equivalised income, which is the applied to each member of the household.

The EU combines three measures; at-risk-of-poverty, material deprivation and low work intensity; to identify a total population 'at-risk-of-poverty or social exclusion' (those who are at-risk-of poverty or material deprivation or low work intensity).

Methodological Concerns

A key contribution of the study is to examine how poverty risk varies according to the age of children. Each of the poverty rates are derived from the 2018 SILC data, and are applied to the CSO Population estimate of the total number of children living in Ireland in 2018 (1,199,926). It is important to note that disaggregation by age group comes with its risks. Following Watson et al. (2012) some of the variation by age of child may be because in adjusting for household size and composition, a greater weight is given to children age 14 and over. That is, in adjusting for household size and composition (the equivalence scale), a higher weight is given to children aged 14 and over (they receive the adult weight of 0.66) than to younger children (weight=0.33). This means that a household with children over age 14 would need to have a higher total income than a household where the children are under 14 in order to be at the same equivalised income level. However, this does not distort patterns for the pre-school and primary school groups, as they each use the same equivalence rate.

A key objective of the study is to identify the main risk factors for children and households with children that experience poverty. Because cross-sectional data is used here, the report does not seek to tease out the underlying causal processes that are at play. Rather, it identifies the characteristics that are most relevant to poverty risk. Work intensity is a case in point: workless families may have a high risk of poverty but getting them into work may not solve the problem – given their generally low earning power, it might simply increase the rate of in-work poverty.

Finally, the data that this study draws from has both strengths and limitations. A strength of using the SILC data is that it collects nationally representative, timely and comparable multidimensional micro data on income, social exclusion and living conditions. A wide range of poverty indicators are derived from these data and published by Eurostat, so many that they are too numerous to consider in detail in this study. Thus, this study draws on but a selection of key poverty indicators. A

limitation of using this data to examine income, poverty and deprivation among children lies in its inability to capture children and families that are homeless, or those living in direct provision centres. Each of these groups of children are known to experience higher than average risks of child poverty (see for example Fanning and Veale 2004; Arnold 2012; Atkins 2015).

2. Literature Review and Policy Context

2.1 Introduction

Here, we set out the Irish policy and service response to child poverty (Section 2.2), and a literature review on the relationship between child poverty and child outcomes (Section 2.3). Section 2.4 then provides a review of the current debates that inform the measurement of child poverty.

2.2 Policy and Service Response to Child Poverty

Ireland, like other country contexts, has sought to reassess the policy and service response to child poverty. More recently, these efforts have been re-focused in line with a pledge to radically reduce poverty in Europe, as articulated in the European Commission Europe 2020 strategy. The Europe 2020 strategy, adopted by the European Council in June 2010, has as one of its aims ‘promoting social inclusion, in particular through the reduction of poverty, by aiming to lift at least 20 million people out of the risk of poverty and exclusion’ (European Council 2010, p.12). The Council agreed a target defined in terms of three indicators: at-risk-of poverty, severe material deprivation and being in a household with very low work intensity. While national policy is driven by this pledge, the Council is flexible, ‘leaving Member States free to set their national targets on the basis of the most appropriate indicators, taking into account their national circumstances and priorities’ (European Council 2010, p.12).

Since April 2014, the Irish Government has been working towards several poverty reduction targets. The key indicator used is the degree of consistent poverty in Irish society. This measure combines the relative income poverty measure with the material deprivation measure. Thus, those who are income poor (below the 60 per cent of median income poverty line) and those experience material deprivation (lacking two or more of the basic deprivation items) are regarded as living in consistent poverty. This indicator is central in national policy as it informs the national social targets for poverty reduction, namely:

- The 'Headline Target' to reduce consistent poverty to 4 per cent by 2016 and to 2 per cent or less by 2020, from a 2010 baseline rate of 6.3 per cent.
- The Irish contribution to the 'European 2020 poverty target' seeks to reduce by a minimum of 200,000 the population in combined poverty between 2010 and 2020.
- The 'Child poverty target' to lift over 70,000 children (aged 0-17) out of consistent poverty by 2020, a reduction of at least two-thirds on the 2011 level.

The national child poverty reduction target is outlined in *Better Outcomes, Brighter Futures: The National Policy Framework of Children and Young People 2014-2020* with an aim of 'improving the lives and life chances of children and young people, addressing child poverty, social exclusion and wellbeing' (DCYA 2014, p. 13). It is in this document that the Government has articulated its stated objective to reduce the number of children living in poverty by at least two-thirds on 2011 levels, or 70,000 by 2020. The document sets out that a reduction in child poverty is to be achieved via commitments to improve rates of parental employment, reduce the number of jobless households, and increase investment in evidence-based effective services that can reduce child poverty. These commitments are to be achieved through a cross-sectoral approach involving agencies across the statutory and voluntary sectors⁴. In 2015 an NGO child poverty subgroup was established to support the Government in achieving its child poverty target. This group has published several rights based, child centred recommendations to achieve the child poverty reduction target (NGO Sub-Group on Child Poverty 2016, 2019).

Unlike in other country contexts, target setting has been a recurring feature in governmental policy approaches to reducing national poverty since 1997. Yet, it is only since the publication of *Better Outcomes, Brighter Futures* in 2014 that specific child poverty targets have been set. However, policy has sought to reduce child poverty in the past, where the policy direction was articulated in *Social Partnership agreement Sustaining Progress* (2003-2005) which also contained a 'Special Initiative on Ending Child Poverty' (Nolan, et al. 2006).

⁴ These included the Department of Children and Youth Affairs, the Department of Education and Skills, the Department of Health, the Department of Housing, Planning and Local Government, as well as the Children's Rights Alliance, Barnardos, One Family, the Society of St. Vincent de Paul and the National Youth Council of Ireland.

In 2016 the Better Outcomes Brighter Futures Advisory Council issued a policy paper on child poverty, recommending approaches for tackling child poverty. A second paper, A Whole of Government Approach to Tackling Child Poverty, published in late 2017 was drafted by the Department of Employment Affairs and Social Protection (DEASP) in conjunction with partner Government Departments. This paper identified six priority area for actions, namely:

- providing universal access to general practitioner care for those under 18 years;
- reducing the cost of education;
- housing;
- affordable childcare;
- labour activation; and
- the provision of in-work benefits.

2.3 Child Poverty and Children's Outcomes

There is a wide body of international literature dealing with the prevalence of child poverty and its impact on children's life chances and opportunities (see for example Duncan and Le Menestrel 2019). Increasingly, research in Ireland is moving towards a better understanding of trends in child poverty (Nolan and Farrell 1990; Fanning and Veale 2004; Nolan et al. 2006; Callan et al. 2007; Russell, Maître and Nolan 2010; Kerrins, Greene and Murphy 2011; Swords et al. 2011; Arnold 2012; Watson, Maître and Whelan 2012; Atkins 2015; Watson, Whelan, Maître, and Williams 2015; Nolan and Pells 2020) and how poverty impacts multiple domains of children's lives.

Duncan and Le Menestrel (2019) offer a useful way to conceptualise how poverty may influence children's development and outcomes, by identifying two key mechanisms:

- The first relates to 'what money can buy' – how poverty shapes parent/guardian access to goods and services that are known to enhance child development and outcomes.
- The second relates to the negative effect that poverty has on exposure to environmental stressors that a family may experience, which in turn influences child development and outcomes.

These mechanisms can be applied to the Irish context. There is a body of research evidence that documents how low-income parents face considerable challenges in meeting basic family financial needs. Studies have found that low income, jobless families and lone parent families are more likely to experience financial exclusion – they are less likely to hold a bank account, and have limited access to low-cost sources of credit, while lone parent families are less likely to have savings (Corr 2006; Russell, Maître and Donnelly 2011). When faced with stretched income, low income families are forced to cut back on expenditure, even for essential goods and services such as food, as families living in poverty are more likely to face food poverty (Healy 2019), and are also likely to experience lower housing quality (Corrigan and Watson 2018), and threats to housing stability (Hearn 2011). High housing costs are associated with poorer cognitive outcomes for children in other country contexts (Newman and Holupka 2014 in Corrigan et al. 2019).

Low income also extends to influence the quality of children’s lives and activities. Previous research has found that household income is a barrier to children participating in structured cultural activities (at age 9 and at age 13), given that many cultural activities outside of school require payment. Children who engage in these paid activities outside of the home and school also experience higher scores in math and reading, and higher scores on a range of child wellbeing outcomes (Smyth 2016; McCoy, Byrne and Banks 2011). Higher income in families facilitates more investment in enrichment and cognitively stimulating activities such as constructive use of books and computers in the home. Low income is also associated with poorer cognitive and educational outcomes among children (Byrne and O’Toole 2012; McGinnity, Russell and Murray 2015). Research in other country contexts finds that having more money directly improves the development and level of achievement of children (Cooper and Stewart 2013).

Research in the Irish context highlights the social stratification of access to nonparental childcare, and how high-income families are more likely to use multiple forms of childcare (Byrne and O’Toole 2012). In contrast, low-income families spend a greater proportion of their disposable income on childcare compared to high income families (Russell et al. 2018), and low-income families are more likely to send their

child to school at an earlier age, and are more likely to indicate that they would have been unable to send their child to preschool in the absence of the early childhood care and education scheme (ECCE) (McGinnity, Russell and Murray 2015). This body of research suggests that improving the financial circumstances of low-income households is likely to support children's development and outcomes, by enabling parents to meet such basic needs.

The second approach, the stress mechanism, draws on research that highlights how economic hardship can increase psychological distress in families, including children, and decrease emotional wellbeing for both parents/guardians and children. It is argued that psychological stress may manifest in parenting behaviour, family stress or marital conflict, which in turn influence or shape children's cognitive and socioemotional outcomes and general well-being. For example, research in the Irish context has identified an association between low household income and maternal stress scores, low household income and emotional behavioural adjustment, and low household income and mother-child conflict (Nixon 2012; Nixon, Swords and Murray 2013; Nixon 2012). In Scotland, financial vulnerability has the largest negative effect on mothers' emotional distress, which, in turn, has an adverse effect on child wellbeing (Treasor 2016). However, recent research conducted by Layte and McCrory (2018) in Ireland on the effects of the recession and economic pressure on child psychological adjustment downplay this stress mechanism. That is, they find that little of the effect of the recession and economic pressure on socio-emotional well-being was mediated through the mental health of parents or parent/child relationships.

Reviewing Child Poverty Using Cross-sectional and Longitudinal studies

The child poverty literature prompts researchers and policy makers to make a clear distinction between research that, on the one hand, provides evidence of how poverty is associated with child development measures and outcomes, and on the other, research that provides evidence of a causal effect of child poverty on child development measures and outcomes.

The Growing up in Ireland study represents a valuable source of data to capture the effects of poverty on a range of child and household outcomes. Because it was not

designed to measure income and living standard on a harmonised basis, the estimated levels of at-risk-of-poverty and deprivation in this survey may not be as robust as those derived from EU-SILC (Watson et al. 2012). However, as indicated above, the data has to date provided rich and valuable insights into the effects of low income, socio-economic disadvantage and economic stress on child development and outcomes.

Research that informs the causal effect of child poverty in the Irish context is now emerging from the Growing Up in Ireland (GUI) study. That is, the data allows researchers to extend our understanding of the relationship between poverty and child development in order to better understand the causal mechanisms that lead to poverty, and the casual effect of poverty in childhood on later outcomes. Watson et al. (2014, 2015) used a standardised measure of poverty, economic vulnerability, to highlight the characteristics of families that are most at risk of economic vulnerability. The measure of economic vulnerability captures children living in families that are economically vulnerable, as a result of low income, economic stress and household joblessness (very low work intensity). They found that levels of economic vulnerability were highest among lone parent families (and higher again for those with two or more children), primary caregivers under the age of 25 when the study child was born, and among primary caregivers with low levels of education. By comparison those with high levels of education were protected from economic vulnerability, even during the recession.

In an exploration of the dynamics of poverty, they found that economic vulnerability increased during the Great Recession for both the '08 Cohort (infant cohort) and the '98 Cohort (child cohort) and was higher for the '08 Cohort than the '98 Cohort. In an examination of the persistence of economic vulnerability, in both cohorts, a significant group of families was economically vulnerable in both waves: 14 per cent of the '08 Cohort and 10 per cent of the '98 Cohort.

Transient economic vulnerability was also explored, and among the '08 cohort, 12 per cent of families were not economically vulnerable in Wave 1 but had become economically vulnerable in Wave 2. Only 5 per cent of families moved in the opposite direction, from economic vulnerability into non-economic vulnerability. Among the

'98 Cohort 15 per cent of families moved from non-economic vulnerability to vulnerability with only 5 per cent exiting from economic vulnerability. Socio-economic differences were significantly sharper for persistent economic vulnerability than transient economic vulnerability.

Watson et al., (2014; 2015) also report a strong association between economic vulnerability and high scores on a Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire (SDQ), which indicate negative socio-emotional outcomes. An estimated 10 per cent of children in families that were economically vulnerable in both waves were found to have high SDQ scores, with other characteristics held constant, compared to 6-7 per cent where the family had been vulnerable in either wave and only 4 per cent where the family had been vulnerable in neither wave. Economic vulnerability matters at all ages, but the risk of having more negative socio-emotional scores was significantly greater for the 13-year olds than for the 3-year-olds (6.6% and 4.7%, respectively) and was higher for boys than girls (6.5% and 4.6%, respectively). Persistent economic vulnerability was most detrimental to children in terms of their socio-emotional development (Watson et al., 2015).

Finally, McCoy et al., (2016) use GUI to examine the role of family economic vulnerability on child self-concept and academic skill development. While they find no influence of family economic vulnerability on child self-concept, children who were living in households that were deemed to be economically vulnerable in wave 1 (at age 9) were 1.7 times more likely to be in the lowest numeric ability quintile by age 13, all else being equal.

Economic Recession and Child Poverty

The research evidence suggests that concerted efforts need to be made to buffer children living in poverty in times of economic recession. During the 2008-2013 recession, more than 70 per cent of families experienced a reduction in income between 2008 and 2011 and over a quarter (26%) reported cutting back on basic items that are typically captured when measuring material deprivation such as clothing and food (Layte and McCrory 2018). Comparative European research has shed light on the larger negative effects of the 2008 recession on the average real

incomes of disadvantaged children in Ireland compared to other country contexts (Bradbury, Jäntti, and Lindahl 2019).

Research in the Irish context shows that even a short-term deterioration in the economic circumstances of children matters for child development, and that the costs of the 2008-2013 recession at later stages of childhood were unequally distributed across socio-economic groups (Watson et al. 2015). Importantly, they also found that persistent economic vulnerability was more detrimental to children in terms of their socio-emotional development than becoming economically vulnerable as a result of the recession.

International research finds that recessionary climates tend to amplify inequalities in health between the richest and poorest members of society (Suhrcke and Stuckler 2012). In the Irish context, there is evidence to suggest that children's health outcomes were influenced and shaped by the welfare state during the 2008 recession. Reinhard et al. (2018) found that a reduction in welfare benefits during the recession was associated with a significant increase in the risk of asthma and a tendency to develop allergic diseases among children. A reduction in parental working hours (but not job loss) was associated with increased reports of child health problems, and difficulties with affording basic necessities. Jabakhanji et al. (2017) also found that obesity levels were higher among children by age 3 if their family had experienced a significant crisis effect.

2.4 Measuring Child Poverty

A key objective of this study is to review current debates that inform the measurement of child poverty.

The Measurement of Child Poverty

The section below provides a summary of the key debates that inform the measurement of child poverty.

Income-based measures

In the Irish context and internationally, there is a strong focus on income based measures to understand the prevalence and depth of child poverty. This relates to Duncan and Le Menestrel's (2019) 'what money can buy' mechanism, given that

poverty is often understood as having two elements: an inability to participate, due to inadequate resources and secondly, an exposure to environmental stressors. As argued by Whelan and Maitre (2008) this dual emphasis is in line with Sen's (2000) argument that a true approach to social inclusion should encompass a focus on individuals' command over resources – capabilities – and the resulting outcomes – functionings.

In the case of income-based measures, both absolute and relative measures of income poverty are used, and each have their explanatory strengths and limitations⁵, making each equally important for the study of poverty. The child income poverty rate is usually defined as the proportion of children (0-17 year olds) that live in households with an equivalised income of less than a certain threshold below which all family members are considered to be poor. The measure is relative, and centres on the equivalised household disposable income situation (after transfers) of the household of the child, relative to the average individual in the country, defined as the person with the median income. This approach can be extended to examine the depth of poverty, using a 50% median income threshold that captures deep poverty, a 60% median income threshold and a 70% median income threshold.

In the literature, there is a concern that household disposable income may be inadequate to identify children who are at risk of poverty. The general limitations of income based poverty measures have been discussed extensively in the poverty measurement literature. However, more recently, there is a concern regarding the adequacy of measures of disposable household income to reflect households' wealth and/or standard of living. Increasingly in other country contexts, poverty statistics are presented before and after the inescapable costs that households face. For example, in the Scottish context, poverty statistics are presented before and after housing costs (BHC, AHC). Research in the UK context argues that the wider financial resources and costs that households face should also be considered in the definition of disposable income, including the costs of childcare and the impact that disability has on the ability of a household to make ends meet (Social Metrics Commission

⁵ Absolute measures using family equivalised disposable income tell us about what is happening to living standards more generally, while relative measures using poverty thresholds tell us about the relative position of groups of people.

2018, 2019), the cost of housing (Scottish Government, 2020) and housing quality (IFS 2013). Despite these concerns, there is general agreement in the literature that income must continue to be central to any measurement of child poverty and distinguished from the drivers and causal processes that lead to child poverty. Thus, any further approaches to the measurement of child poverty should involve adding to, rather than replacing established income-based measures.

Rights-based multidimensional approach

Concern has been expressed in the literature that income based measures of poverty and material deprivation may not fully identify children who are socially excluded because of a lack of resources, because social exclusion is multidimensional and requires an approach that goes beyond a focus on income alone (Watson, Maitre and Whelan 2012). In recent years, the adoption of a multidimensional approach and the use of multidimensional indicators with reference to children is driven by the United Nations commitment to a human rights approach, shaped by Article 27 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC). The international definition of child poverty set by the UN General Assembly is rooted in the CRC and is multidimensional 'Children living in poverty are deprived of nutrition, water and sanitation facilities, access to basic health-care services, shelter, education, participation and protection'. It promotes the measurement of child poverty that is rights based and child centred, across a range of domains of children's lives (Chzhen and Ferrone 2017; Nolan and Pells 2020) and is supported by the Irish Human Rights and Equality Commission (IHREC 2015).

Those coming from a children's rights perspective also highlight the limitations of household income based measures of child poverty, whereby concern has been expressed about the extent to which children are distinguishable from households in discussions of poverty (see also Millar and Ridge 2018). In the children's rights perspective, concern has also been expressed about the extent to which household resources are equally distributed among children, shaping children's access to services such as health, housing, education as well as water and transport (Nolan and Pells 2020). There is now a better understanding that children experience poverty and social exclusion in the various domains of children's lives beyond the family to

include school, peer and neighbourhood contexts. It has been argued that a multidimensional approach aligns more closely with both a child-focused and a more holistic rights-based approach by recognising the multiple and interconnected domains of people's lives that are shaped by poverty. In the Irish context, specific child-level multidimensional poverty indices have been created (Swords et al., 2011; Watson, Maitre and Whelan 2012).

Despite the general recognition that poverty is a multidimensional phenomenon (Townsend 2009), research frequently adopts a unidimensional approach to distinguishing those in poverty, using income-based measures. This may be because a rights based, child-centred, multidimensional approach brings its own challenges, assuming the identification of suitable measures. Approaches vary from adopting a 'dashboard' approach whereby indicators are analysed individually to attempts to develop multidimensional indices of child poverty (Roelen and Gassmann 2008), and each has their own challenges. The indicator approach means that important policy information about the joint distribution of indicators is lost (Duclos et al. 2006; Ferreira and Lugo 2013). Yet, there is a strong argument against devising a single index of child poverty from a range of indicators into a single measure of child poverty (IFS 2013). Chzhen and Ferrone (2017) summarise 'how, rather than if, to construct meaningful multidimensional measures of child poverty' (pp. 1001). In the UK, the Institute for Fiscal Studies (IFS 2013) argues that a distinction should be made between sets of indicators that are used to measure:

- Measures of children's current material living standards;
- Measures of children's wider wellbeing;
- Measures of the causes of child poverty, and
- Measures of the future chances of children.

Experiential, as voiced by children

A third body of research seeks to get beyond quantitative income-based measures of the prevalence and outcomes of poverty to highlight to relational/symbolic aspects and the lived experience of child poverty, as voiced by children (Lister 2004). While important to capture, in the Irish context, there are few examples of the voice of children that experience poverty. This is in contrast to a rich body of research in other

country contexts (Ridge 2002; Millar and Ridge 2018). Where Irish studies exist, they capture measurement concerns - how children themselves define and perceive poverty in terms of material deprivation (Kerrins, Greene and Murphy 2011; Swords et al. 2011) - as opposed to how children experience poverty.

3. Results

3.1 Introduction

This section draws on data obtained from the 2018 Irish SILC, the CSO Statbank and Eurostat. A range of measures are considered including the income distribution of households with and without children (Section 3.2), the share of children living below the poverty line (Section 3.3), the share of children that experience material deprivation (Section 3.4), and the share of children that experience consistent poverty (Section 3.5). The characteristics of children and the households that they live in are presented in Section 3.6. Finally, Section 3.7 considers how Ireland fares compared to other European countries.

3.2 Income Distribution of Households with and without Children

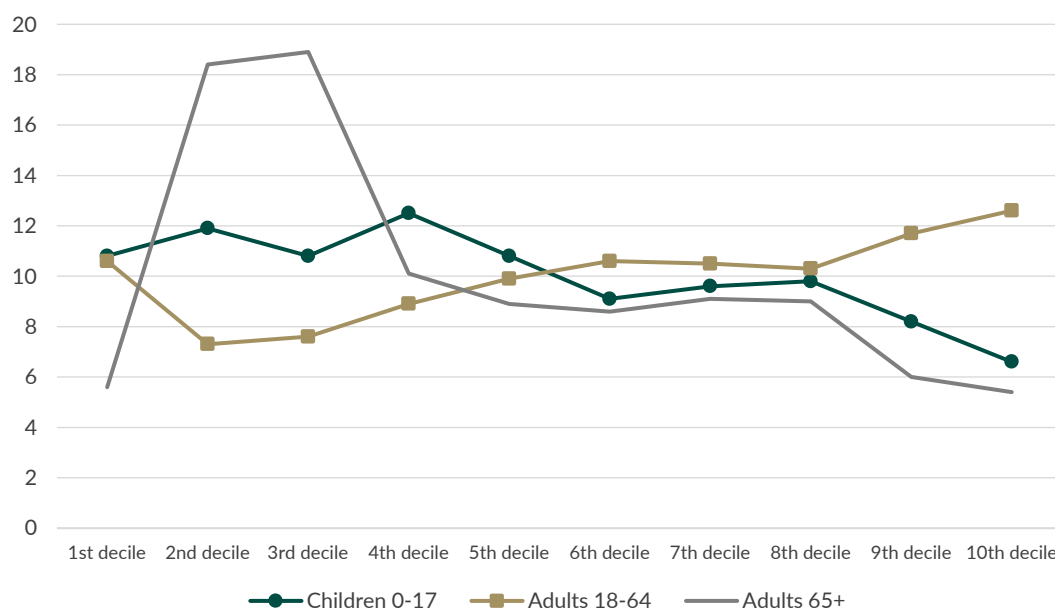
In this section, the income distribution of households with and without children are considered. Household income as a measure of a household's spending power and material living standard is considered, taking both a life-cycle approach and distinguishing between households with and without children. Table A2 in the Appendix documents how households have experienced change in real household income between 2008 and 2018. While household income has fluctuated over the time period, more recently all households (including households with children) have experienced an increase in real incomes. In the analyses that follows, our focus is on income poverty relativities, using a measure of equivalised disposable household income that includes the income of all members of the household from all sources (including State transfer payments), as well as deductions for income tax and PRSI⁶.

Figure 3 shows that in 2018 a high share of children aged 0-17 are found in the lower part of the income distribution – in the bottom three deciles: 34 per cent of 0-17 year olds are located compared to 26 per cent of working age adults and 43 per cent of

⁶ This measure is derived from household disposable income. The measure is constructed as the sum of the income of every individual in the household across all sources (income from work and property, plus State transfer payments), after income tax and PRSI contributions. This is the same concept of household income used by several child poverty studies in Ireland, and one which is deemed to be most directly relevant to a household's spending power (see Nolan et al. 2006; Watson et al. 2014).

older adults (see Figure 3). Almost half of children aged 0-17 (46%) are in the four lowest income deciles. More striking is how children are underrepresented in the two highest income deciles – 15 per cent of children age 0-17 compared to 24 per cent of working age adults and 11 per cent of older adults.

Figure 3: Percentage of Children, Adults of Working Age and Older Adults in Each Income Decile (Equivalised) 2018



Source: CSO Statbank

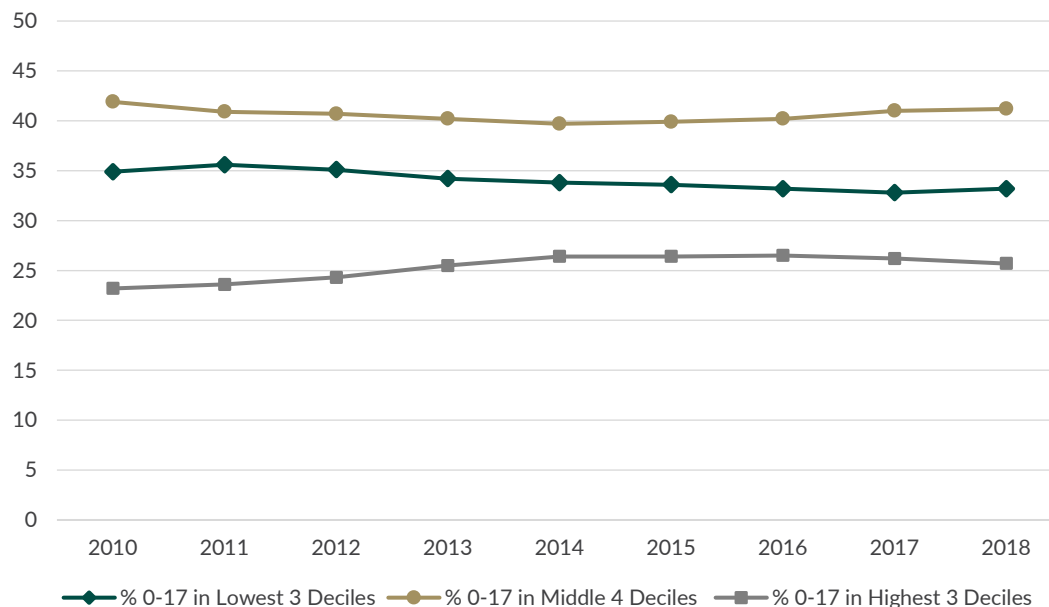
Household Disposable Income Over Time

Figure 4 seeks to contextualise the distribution of equivalised household disposable income in 2018, by presenting time series data obtained from CSO for the ten-year period 2010 to 2018. Here, the share of children 0-17 in the 'low' (bottom three) 'medium' (middle four) and 'high' (top three) income deciles over a ten-year period (2008 to 2018) are presented using a three-year rolling average approach, which is used to illustrate the trajectory of change over time.

Figure 4 illustrates an improvement in the relative position of low-income children over time, as the share of children in this category has declined over time, reflecting some improvement in the post 2008-2013 recessionary climate. It also illustrates a recent trend of an increase in the share of children in the middle and low-income deciles. A longer-term trend of an increase of children in the highest income decile group is evident, even during the recessionary period that began in 2008. However,

more recently this pattern shows some reversal as the share of children in the highest income decile group shows a marginal decrease.

Figure 4: Rolling Average of the Share of Children in the Low, Medium and High-Income Deciles, 2008-2018

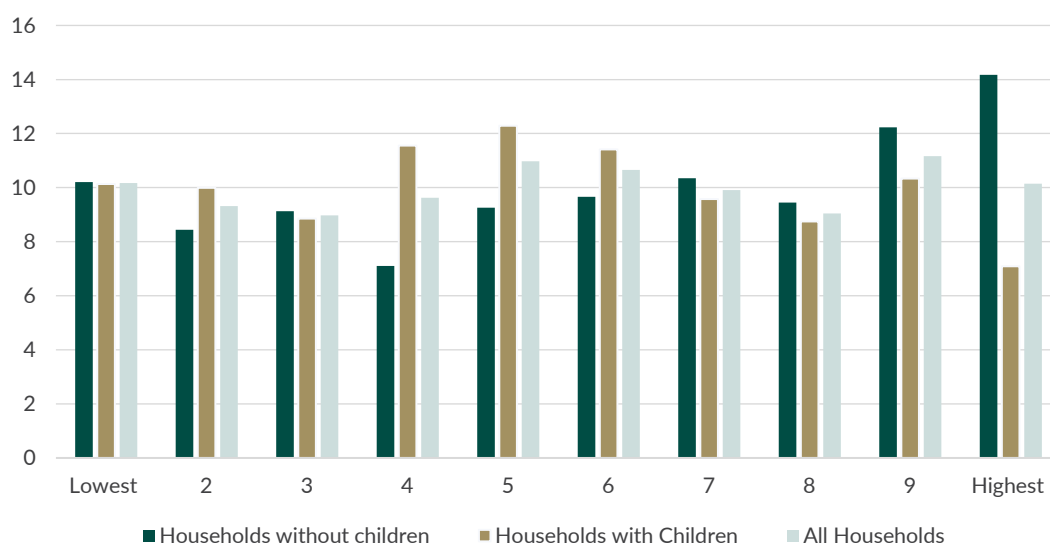


Source: Own calculations based on CSO Statbank

Households with and without children

In 2018, CSO data estimate that there were 1,846,100 households in the State. Of these, 644,000 are households with children aged 0-17, while 1,202,100 are households without children aged 0-17 (CSO 2018).

Figure 5 illustrates the distribution of household income (in deciles) for households with and without children. A similar share of both types of households are found in the three lowest income deciles, representing 28 per cent of households without children and 29 per cent of households with children. Clearly, households with children are quite noticeably under-represented in the three highest income deciles – where 36 per cent of households without children are located compared to 26 per cent of households with children.

Figure 5: Distribution of Household Income (Equivalised), by Household Type, 2018

Source: SILC 2018

3.3 Children Living Below the Relative Poverty Lines

The at-risk-of-poverty (AROP) rate is traditionally defined as having a household equivalised income at or below 60% of the median income and is commonly used as a relative measure of income poverty in the literature. In this report, we extend this definition to also examine the poverty line at or below 70% of the median, and at or below 50% of the median. The use of a range of poverty thresholds allows a consideration of the breadth and depth of poverty, given that the established literature research points to the negative effects of children living in poverty, especially living in deep poverty, on their future development (for a review see Cai and Smeeding 2020).

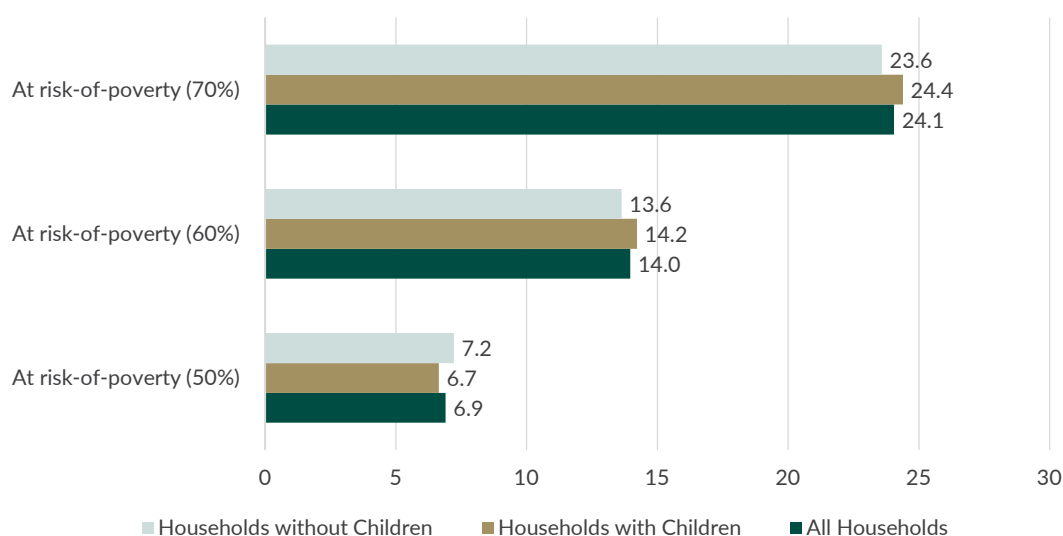
An examination of the poverty rates and their relationship to income deciles reveals that each capture those living within low and very low-income thresholds. For example:

- The 70 per cent poverty rate captures all those in the two lowest income decile and just over half (51%) of those in the third lowest income decile.
- The 60 per cent poverty rate captures all those in the lowest income decile and 41 per cent of those in the second lowest income decile.
- The 50 per cent poverty rate, the standard definition of 'deep poverty' captures just over two-thirds (68%) of those in the lowest income decile.

Households with and without children

In an examination of poverty risk by household type, Figure 6 provides a summary of the at-risk-of-poverty rates for people living in households with and without children in 2018. It shows that people living in households with children experience marginally higher rates of poverty at the 70 per cent and 60 per cent lines than people living in households without children.

Figure 6: Percentage of people, by household type, at each poverty line



Source: RMF SILC, 2018

This pattern reverses for those living in deep poverty at the 50 per cent line, where people living in households without children experience marginally higher rates of poverty than people living in households with children.

At-risk-of-poverty by Age Group

Table 2 shows the number and percentage of children and adults, disaggregated by age group, at each poverty threshold⁷. Taking first the standard 60% poverty line definition; of the total population living in the Republic of Ireland, almost 680,000 people are living in poverty. 15.8 per cent of children are in poverty, equating to almost 190,000 children, and the child poverty rate is above the poverty rate for the whole population (14%). Thus, using this definition, 28 per cent of all people living in poverty are children. When young adults (18-24) are included, 38 per cent of people living in poverty are children and young adults.

⁷ Poverty rates obtained from SILC data have been applied to CSO population estimates.

Table 2: The number and share of children living in households with equalised income below 70%, 60%, 50% of the national median income, 2018

€ Threshold	70% Poverty Line		60% Poverty Line		50% Poverty Line	
	€16,010		€13,723		€11,436	
	%	N	%	N	%	N
Age 0-5	20.5	79,462	8.8	34,111	3.6	13,954
Age 6-11	25.6	109,401	17.0	72,649	6.7	28,632
Age 12-17	32.2	123,956	20.2	77,762	10.9	41,960
Age 18-24	24.9	103,150	15.7	65,039	9.4	38,940
Age 25-64	20.1	516,463	13.4	344,309	6.9	177,293
Age 65+	32.9	221,536	11.4	76,763	4.2	28,281
Total	24.0	1,165,684	14.0	679,982	6.9	335,134
Total Children 0-17	26.7	320,380	15.8	189,588	7.4	88,795
Total 0-24	26.3	424,530	15.8	255,041	7.9	127,521

Source: SILC 2018 & CSO Population Estimates (Baseline numbers may differ because of rounding)

Using the 70 per cent poverty definition, of the total population, almost 1.2 million people are living in poverty. 26.7 per cent of children are in poverty equating to just over 320,000 children, and the child poverty rate is above the poverty rate the whole population (24%). 27 per cent of all people living in poverty are children. When young adults (18-24) are included, 36 per cent of people living in poverty are children and young adults.

Finally, taking the deep poverty 50 per cent poverty line definition, of the total population, just over 335,000 people are living in poverty. 7.4 per cent of children are in deep poverty, equating to almost 89,000 children, and the child poverty rate is marginally above the poverty rate for the whole population (6.9 per cent). Of those in deep poverty, 26 per cent are children and 38 per cent are children and young adults.

Table 2 also shows that poverty risk differs quite substantially according to the age of children. That is, in 2018, older children continue to be more likely to experience poverty than younger children, replicating findings from previous research (Russell et al. 2010; Watson et al. 2012). The youngest group of children (0-5) have an at-risk-of-poverty rate that is lower than that of the overall population and of other groups of children, and this pattern prevails across each poverty line. Primary school aged children (those aged 6-11) tend to have an at-risk-of-poverty rate that is higher than that of the overall population, and this pattern prevails, except for the 50 per cent

poverty line. Secondary school aged children (those aged 12-17) tend to have the highest at-risk-of-poverty rate compared to the overall population and of all other children and young adults, and this pattern holds across each of the poverty lines shown in Table 2. Across each of the poverty lines, young adults (those aged 18-24) have a higher at-risk-of-poverty rate than that of the overall population.

As highlighted by Watson et al. (2012, p.14), some caution should be exercised, as these patterns by age of child may be partly due to the procedure used to adjust for household size and composition. However, this procedure does not influence the difference between pre-school and primary school children, as the same equivalence weight is used for both groups.

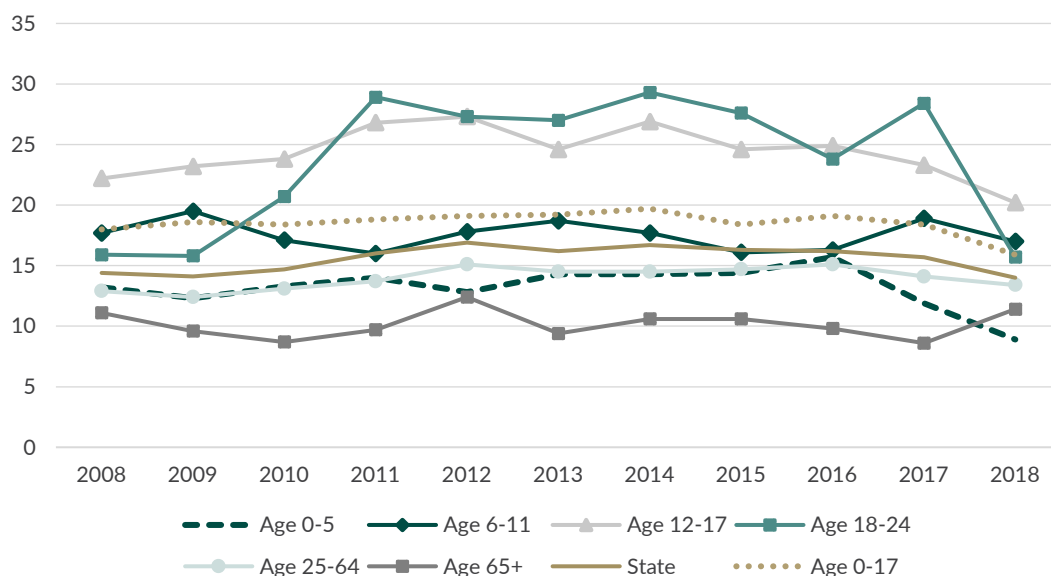
Child Poverty Over Time (60% Median Income)

In 2018, 15.9 per cent of children aged 0-17 were at risk of poverty. This baseline rate has dropped substantially since the mid-1990s (not shown here), when in 1994, almost one-in-four children aged 0-17 were at risk of poverty compared to a national rate of 15.4 (Nolan 2006). Between 1994 and 2007, the child at-risk-of-poverty rate reduced 4.6 percentage points from 24.5 per cent to 19.9 per cent respectively (Nolan 2006; Watson et al. 2012).

As illustrated by Figure 7, before the effects of the 2008 recession were felt, the relative income poverty rate for children was 18 per cent. Child poverty grew from 18 per cent in 2008 to a peak of 19.7 in 2014. Changes to child benefit payments during the recession may have contributed to this trend⁸, as well as reductions in age eligibility and support for back to school clothing and footwear allowances. Between 2011 and 2018 the overall child poverty rate in Ireland has dropped 2.9 percentage points from 18.8 per cent in 2011 to 15.9 per cent in the 2018, the lowest rate yet observed.

⁸ In January 2011, a €10 per month cut was enforced for the first and second child in families from €150 per month to €140 per month. Budget 2012 standardised the child benefit rate for all children, over a 2-year period. This had a particular impact on larger families, whereby families with 3 children took a cut of €19 per month, families with 4 children a monthly cut of €36, families with 5 children a cut of €53 per month, families with 6 children a monthly cut of €70, families with 7 children a cut of €87 per month and families with 8 children a cut of €104 per month. A further €10 reduction in the child benefit rate to €130 for the first, second and third child was implemented in Budget 2013, coupled with reductions in Back to School Clothing and Footwear Allowances.

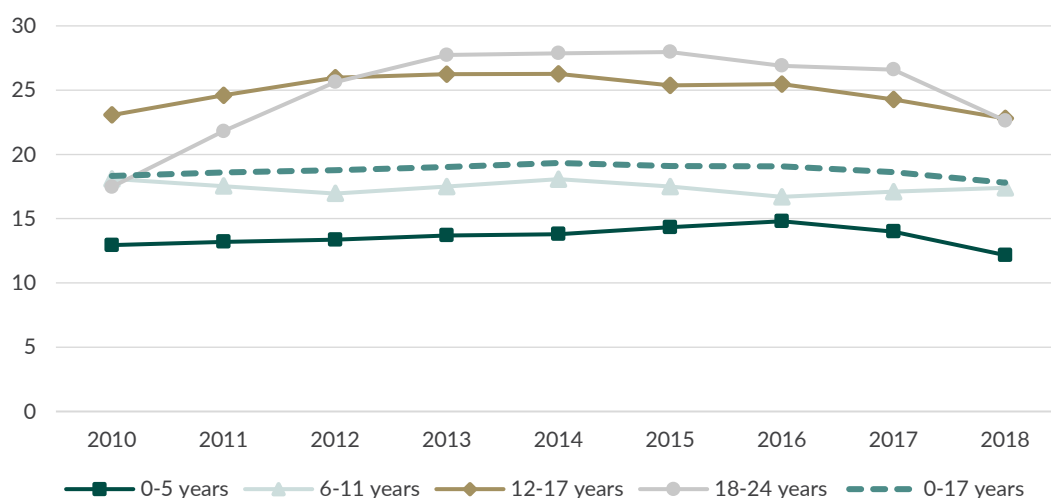
Figure 7: Percentage of Children and Adults At-Risk-of-Poverty (60%) 2008-2018



Source: CSO StatBank

However, it’s important to note that child poverty trends have behaved inconsistently as rates have fluctuated over the time period. As illustrated by Figure 7, between 2011 and 2014 the at risk of poverty rate among children age 0-17 increased, but more recently in 2017 and 2018 the rate is in decline. Thus, much of the progress in reducing child poverty has been made between 2017 and 2018. The three-year rolling average approach (Figure 8) reveals a pattern of slow poverty reduction among children 0-17, but only since 2014.

Figure 8: Three-year rolling average of at risk of poverty rate (%), 2008-2018



Source: CSO Statbank

Comparison of this data with other existing time series data (not shown here) shows that in the long term, there has been a considerable improvement in the at-risk-of

poverty rate (60% median income) for the 0-5 year old group, down from 18.8 per cent in 2004. Child poverty among this group of children has been quite inconsistent year-on-year, yet, a general trend is evident of increasing child poverty during the recessionary years and beyond, reaching a peak in 2016. Between 2011 and 2018, the child poverty rate decreased by 5.1 percentage points, down from 14 per cent in 2011 to 8.9 per cent in 2018, however, much of the progress in reducing child poverty for this group was made between 2017 and 2018. The 2018 child poverty rate of 8.9 per cent for the 0-5-year olds is at its lowest rate. The three-year rolling average approach (Figure 8) reveals a pattern of consistent poverty reduction among children 0-5 since 2016.

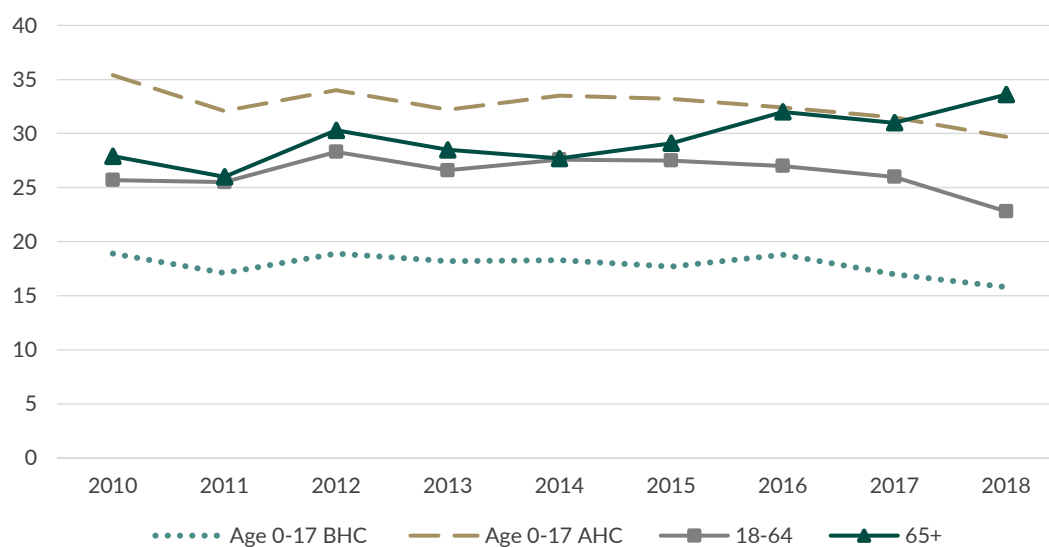
In 2018, a greater share of children age 6-11 were living in poverty compared to working age adults (17 per cent compared to 13.4 per cent). This group has experienced very high levels of poverty in the mid-2000s (not shown here) when approximately one-in-four in 2005 were in poverty. While rates of poverty have dropped among this group more recently, they are still high (Figure 7). Between 2011 and 2018, the child poverty rate for 6-11-year olds has increased by one percentage point. However, the pattern throughout that time is quite inconsistent. The three-year rolling average shows a pattern of increasing poverty incidence for this group (Figure 8), the only group of children to show an *increase* in poverty incidence.

Children aged 12-17 hold the highest poverty risk among children, and well above that of working age adults (20.2 per cent compared to 13.4 per cent). This group has historically experienced very high levels of poverty in the mid-2000s (not shown here) when 27 per cent (2004/5) were in poverty. While children aged 12-17 have been experiencing an almost consistent reduction in poverty over time from a high of 27.3 per cent in 2012 (also the rate in 2005), rates remain very high among this group in 2018. In 2018 one-in-five 12-17-year olds experience this level of poverty. However, this group has experienced a large percentage point decline (6.6 percentage points) in poverty between 2011 and 2018, down from 26.8 per cent in 2011 to 20.2 per cent in 2018. The three-year rolling averages also show a pattern of consistent decline in poverty for this group of children since 2014 (Figure 8).

Finally, Figure 7 also shows that young adults aged 18-24 have experienced a considerable reduction in poverty in the short-term from 28.4 per cent in 2017 to 15.7 per cent in 2018. Yet, the current poverty rate of this group remains higher than that of working age adults and is now in line with pre-financial crisis rates for young adults. There is evidence to suggest that the legacy of the recession through unemployment and growing precariousness has been felt most deeply by young adults. Since 2017, as well as an improved economic situation among young adults, policy has sought to address the economic situation of young adults through an increase in the education and training rate for any young person under 26, and a reduction in the contribution which young people on the lower rates of welfare payments are required to make towards their rent supplements. These policy decisions were accompanied with reductions in USC, and a small increase in minimum wage. This group has experienced the greatest percentage point decline (13.2 percentage points) in poverty from a high of 28.9 per cent in 2011 to 15.7 per cent in 2018. The three-year rolling average reflects a pattern of poverty reduction for this group since 2016 (Figure 8).

Child Poverty After Housing Costs (60% Median Income)

As indicated in a previous chapter, increasingly in other country contexts, poverty statistics are presented before and after housing costs (BHC, AHC) as the cost of housing is considered in the definition of disposable income. This approach seeks to address poverty measurement issues by incorporating the cost of housing and address a very pressing policy problem in Ireland. Figure 9 illustrates the at-risk-of-poverty after housing costs (AHC) rate for all age groups. Over the time period shown here, until 2017, children aged 0-17 consistently experienced a higher at-risk-of-poverty AHC rate than all other age groups. Eurostat estimate that in 2018 the at-risk-of-poverty rate decreased for children to 29.7 per cent, while it increased for the 65+ age group. Also shown in Figure 9 is the difference in poverty risk before and after housing costs are considered in the definition of poverty risk. In 2018 Eurostat estimate that the at-risk-of-poverty rate BHC for children in Ireland to be 15.8 per cent compared to 29.7 per cent AHC.

Figure 9: At risk of poverty rate before and after deducting housing costs

Source: Eurostat

3.4 Material Deprivation

A measure of material deprivation is used to capture material living standards and relative poverty in a different way (an absolute measure) and considers access to resources other than income. This measurement captures enforced deprivation by asking people about access to certain items or activities that are typical in society and whether they are denied access to these items or activities because of a lack of income, as opposed to personal choice not to access them. It is measured using 11 items such as food and clothing and minimal levels of social activities with family and friends (see Figure 10), and these items are measured at the household level. Thus, households who experience two or more of eleven listed items are experiencing enforced deprivation. Basic deprivation also informs the consistent poverty measure which will be discussed in Section 3.5.

Material Deprivation by Age Group

Table 3 shows the material deprivation rate in 2018, disaggregated by age group. Of the total population living in Ireland, over 733,000 experienced enforced material deprivation in 2018. Almost one-in-five (19.7%) of children 0-17 experience material deprivation, equating to over 236,000 children, and the child rate is above the rate for the whole population (15.1%). Using this definition of poverty, almost a third (32%) of all people living in material deprivation are children. When young adults (18-

24) are included, 41 per cent of all people living in material deprivation are children and young adults.

Table 3: Material Deprivation Rate by Age Group, 2018

Age Group	Material Deprivation	
	%	N
0-5	17.9	69,384
6-11	20.5	87,606
12-17	20.5	78,916
18-24	16.2	67,110
25-64	14.5	372,573
65+	8.2	55,216
Total	15.1	733,409
Total Children (0-17)	19.7	236,385
Total Children and Young Adults (0-24)	18.8	303,467

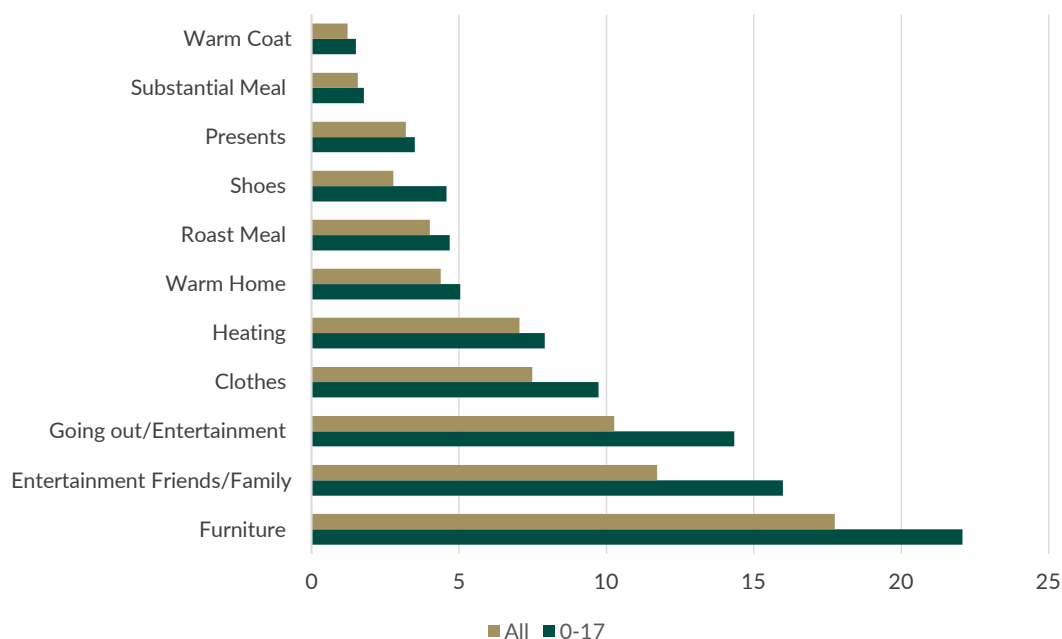
Source: SILC 2018 & CSO Population Estimates (Baseline numbers may differ because of rounding)

Unlike the previous poverty measures, deprivation rates do not vary so much according to age group. Pre-school children (0-5) and young adults (18-24) tend to have higher rates of material deprivation than primary or secondary school aged children. Yet, it is important to note that children aged 0-17 (19.7%) and young adults (16.2%) show a greater propensity to be exposed to basic deprivation than the population at large (15.1%).

Material Deprivation among Children

Here, we examine the percentage of children aged 0-17 who are in households that do not have the item because they cannot afford it (Figure 10). As reported by previous research findings (Russell et al. 2010) children are more likely to experience deprivation on each of the 11 items, than the population at large. The most common forms of enforced deprivation include inability to replace furniture (22%), getting together with family and/or friends (relatives) for a drink or a meal once a month (16%), having a morning, afternoon or evening out in the past fortnight for entertainment (14%).

Figure 10: Material Deprivation Items by Age Group, 2018

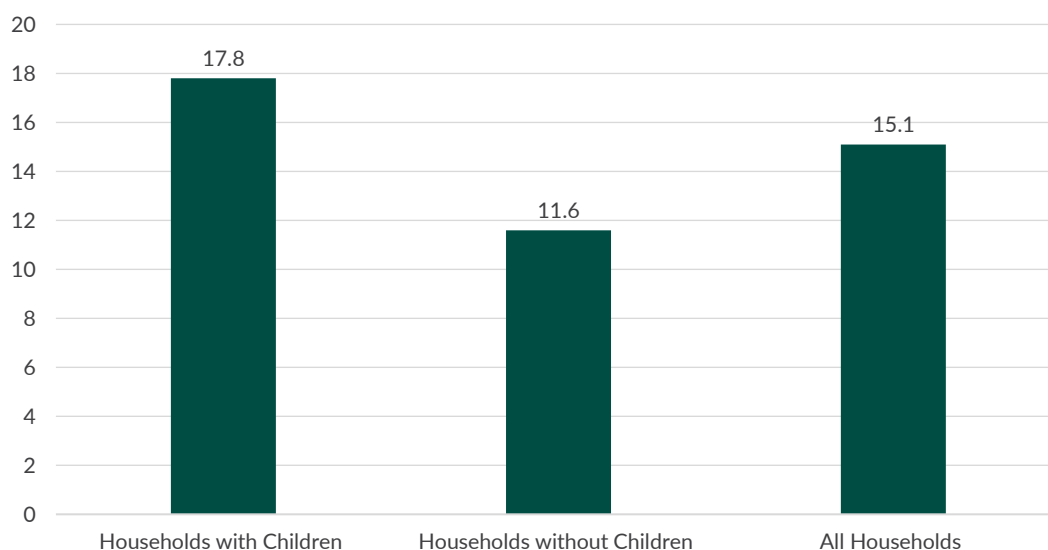


Source: SILC, 2018

Households with and without children

In an examination of enforced deprivation risk by household type, Figure 11 provides a summary of enforced deprivation for people living households with and without children in 2018. Figure 11 shows that people living in households with children experience considerably higher rates of enforced deprivation (18%) than those living in households without children (12%).

Figure 11: Material Deprivation Rate by Household Type, 2018



Source: SILC 2018

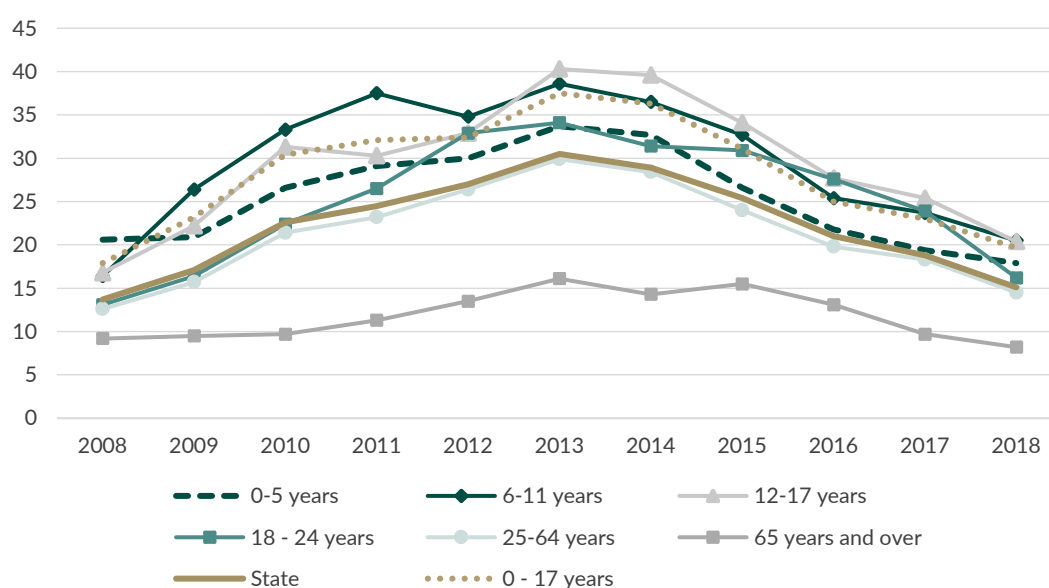
Time Trends

As illustrated by Figure 12, the national material deprivation rate has been in decline from a high of 30.5 per cent in 2013 to 18.8 per cent in 2017 and 15.1 per cent in 2018. Irrespective of declining rates since 2013, in each year all groups of children and young adults typically experience higher levels of deprivation than adults of working age (those aged 25-64).

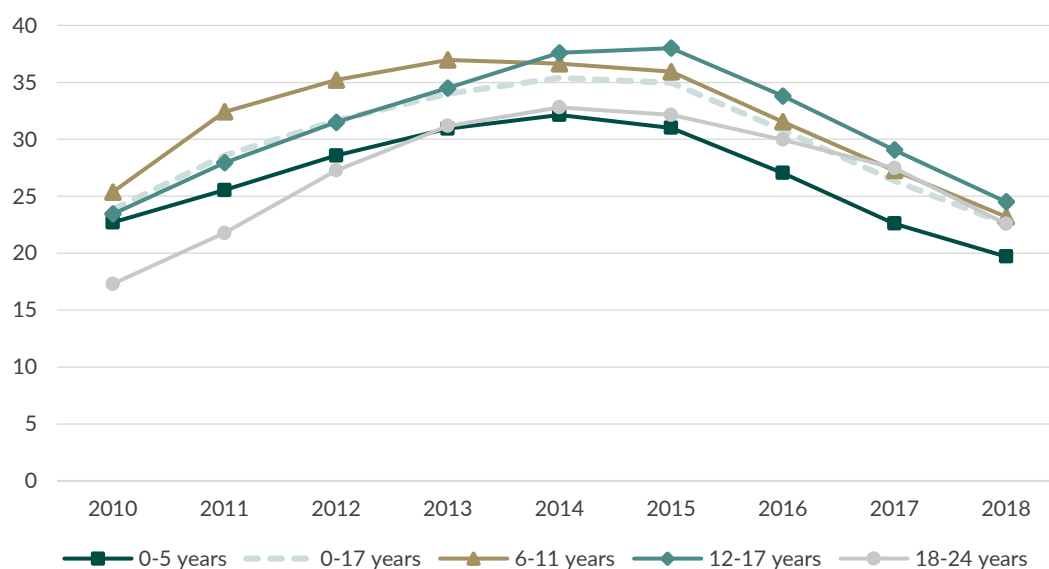
Material deprivation among children aged 0-17 steadily increased during the recessionary years (2008-2013) until it reached a peak in 2013. Between 2011 and 2018 the material deprivation rate for children in Ireland has dropped 12.4 percentage points from 32.1 per cent in 2011 to 19.7 per cent in the 2018. The three-year rolling average shows a persistent decline in material deprivation among children aged 0-17 since 2014 (see Figure 13). Yet, despite these improvements, the current rate for children remains high compared to pre-recessionary (pre-2008) rates.

Material deprivation among 0-5-year olds shows consistent decline since a high of 33.7 per cent in 2013 to 19.4 per cent in 2017 and 17.9 per cent in 2018. Between 2011 and 2018, the material deprivation rate among this group decreased by 11.2 percentage points, down from 29.1 per cent in 2011 to 17.9 per cent in 2018. The three-year rolling average approach (Figure 13) reveals a pattern of consistent poverty reduction among children 0-5 since 2014.

Figure 12: Material Deprivation Rate (%) by Age Group, 2008-2018



Source: CSO Statbank

Figure 13: Three-Year Rolling Average Deprivation rate (%) by age group 2008-2018

Source: CSO Statbank

School age children aged 6-11 and those aged 12-17 continue to experience the highest rates of material deprivation among all children in 2018 at 20.5 per cent. In 2011 the 6-11-year olds had a higher rate of material deprivation than 12-17-year olds, and between 2011 and 2018, the 6-11-year olds have experienced a larger percentage point reduction in material deprivation than the 12-17 year olds (17 percentage points compared to 10 percentage points respectively). Three-year rolling averages (Figure 13) show a decline in material deprivation for both groups, a process which began earlier for the 6-11-year-old group (after 2013) compared to the 12-17-year-old group (after 2015). The 12-17-year-old group continue to experience the highest material deprivation risk.

Finally, between 2011 and 2018, young adults have experienced a 7.7 percentage point reduction in the risk of material deprivation, down from 26.5 per cent in 2011 to 16.2 per cent in 2018. The three-year rolling average shows a decline in material deprivation for young adults after 2015.

3.5 Consistent Poverty

The consistent poverty measure combines the relative income poverty measure with the material deprivation measure. Thus, those who are income poor (below the 60 per cent of median income poverty line) and experience material deprivation (lacking

two or more of the basic deprivation items) are regarded as living in consistent poverty.

Consistent Poverty by Age Group

Table 4 shows that in 2018 children aged 0-17 have a higher consistent poverty rate than the general population (7.7 per cent compared to 5.6 per cent). In 2018, it is estimated that just over 92,000 children and just over 121,000 children and young adults were living in consistent poverty. Of the total population living in Ireland, almost 272,000 experience consistent poverty. Using this definition of poverty, over a third (34%) of all people that experience consistent poverty are children. When young adults (18-24) are included, 45 per cent of all people that experience consistent poverty are children and young adults.

As shown in Table 4, pre-school children (0-5) have the lowest consistent poverty rate (4.8%), followed by young adults (7.1%), second level school aged children (8.8%) while primary school aged children have the highest rate (9%).

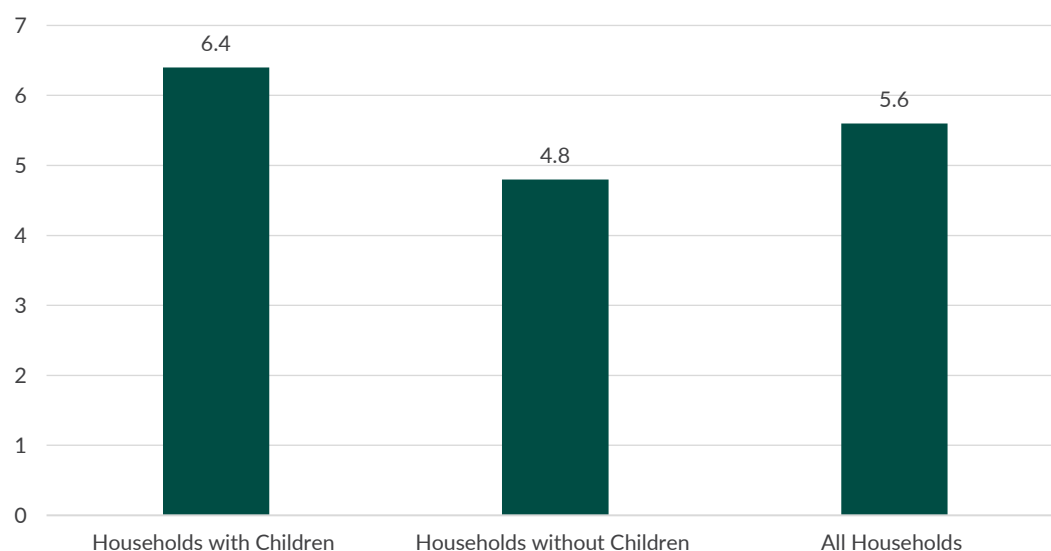
Table 4: Consistent Poverty Rate by Age Group, 2018

Consistent Poverty		
Age Group	%	N
0-5	4.8	18,606
6-11	9.0	38,461
12-17	8.8	33,876
18-24	7.1	29,412
25-64	5.4	138,751
65+	1.7	11,447
Total	5.6	271,993
Total Children (0-17)	7.7	92,394
Total Children and Young Adults (0-24)	7.5	121,064

Source: SILC 2018 & CSO Population Estimates (Baseline numbers may differ because of rounding)

Households with and without children

In an examination of consistent poverty by household type, Figure 14 provides a summary for people living households with and without children in 2018.

Figure 14: Consistent Poverty Rate by Household Type, 2018

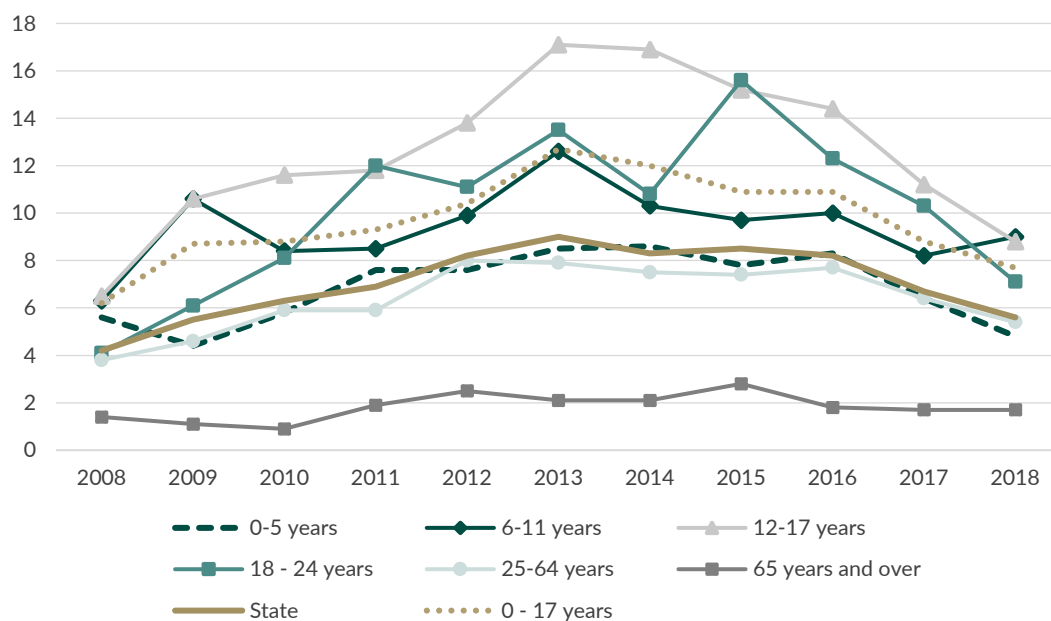
Source: SILC 2018

Here, we find that people living in households with children experience considerably higher rates of consistent poverty (6.4%) than those living in households without children (4.8%).

Time Trends by Age Group

Figure 15 illustrates the consistent poverty rate by age group over the period 2008-2018. As illustrated by Figure 15, consistent poverty among children reached a peak of 12.7 per cent in 2013, but has been in decline since. The humpbacked shape of the consistent poverty curve in Figure 15 is closer to the shape of the trend in deprivation (Figure 13) than to the relatively flat trend for income poverty shown in Figure 8. Therefore, it would seem likely that much of the movement in consistent poverty is due to its deprivation rather than its income component, that is, to changes in the absolute circumstances of poor children rather than a closing of the relative gap with better-off children, though there were signs of relative improvement in income poverty in 2017-18 (Figure 8).

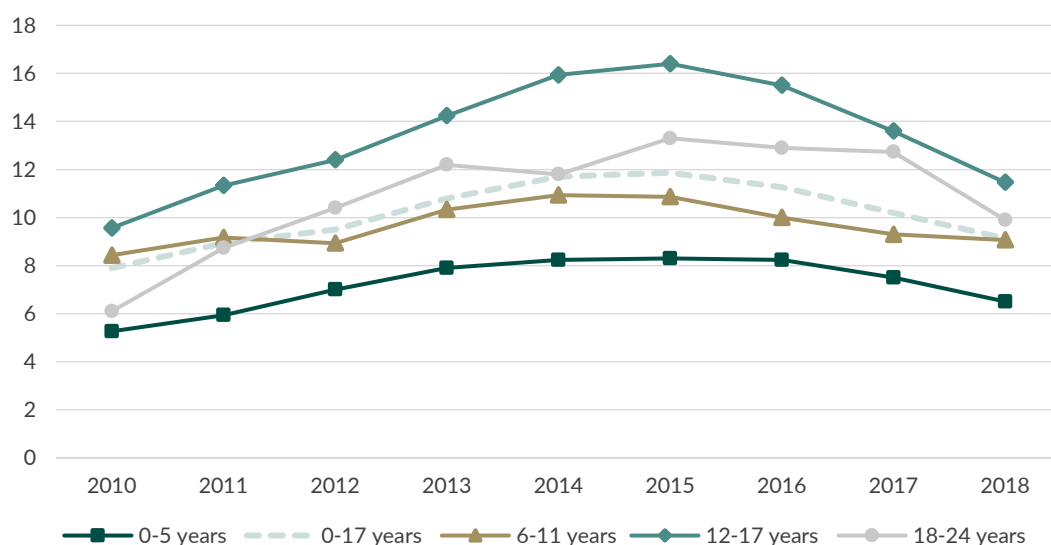
Figure 15: Consistent poverty rate (%) by Age Group, 2008-2018



Source: CSO Statbank

Figures 15 and 16 show that children aged 6-11, those aged 12-17, and young adults aged 18-24, experience high levels of consistent poverty in the Irish context, and in 2018 they continue to experience higher levels of consistent poverty than the adult population. The consistent poverty rate for 12-17-year olds has reduced by 3.2 percentage points since 2011, while the rate for the young adults has reduced by 4.9 percentage points since 2011.

Figure 16: Three-Year Rolling Average Consistent Poverty Rate (%) by Age Group, 2008-2018



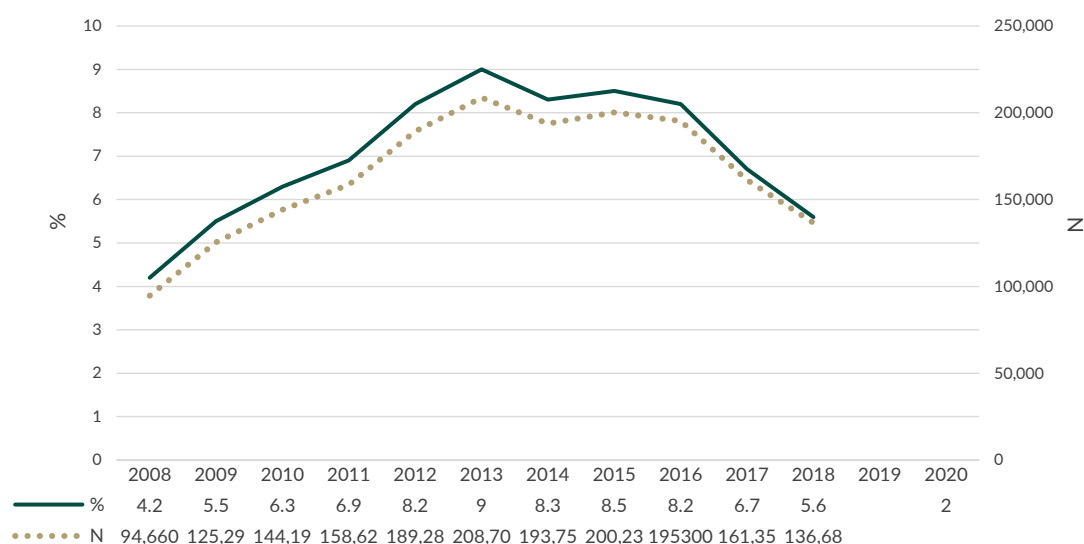
Source: Own Calculations based on CSO Statbank

Progress on the National Headline Target

The national 'Headline Target' seeks to reduce consistent poverty among the population of Ireland to 4 per cent by 2016 and to 2 per cent or less by 2020, from a 2010 baseline rate of 6.3 per cent.

Figure 17 provides a summary of progress on the national headline target to date. In 2016, the national consistent poverty rate was 8.2 per cent (195,000 people), greater than the projected interim headline target of 4 per cent⁹. By 2018, the national consistent poverty rate is 5.6 per cent (136,000 people) and represents a reduction of just over one percentage point from the national rate of 6.9 per cent in 2011. In order to meet the national target of 2 per cent by 2020, the rate of consistent poverty would have to decline further by 3.6 percentage points by 2020.

Figure 17: Progress towards the national social target for poverty reduction¹⁰



Source: CSO Statbank & CSO Population Estimates

Progress on the National Child Poverty Target

The national child poverty target seeks to lift over 70,000 children (aged 0-17) out of consistent poverty by 2020, a reduction of at least two-thirds on the 2011 level.

Figure 18 provides a summary of progress to date on the child poverty target.

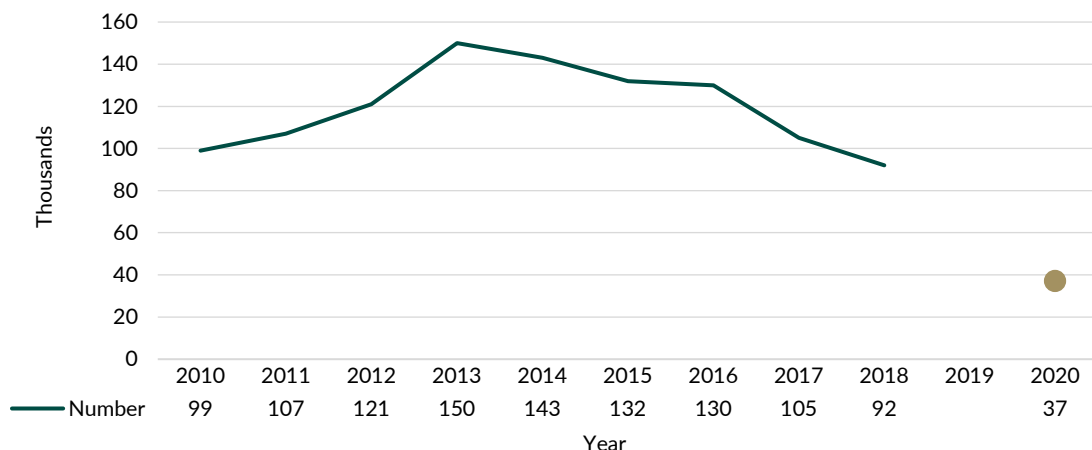
By 2018, the consistent poverty rate for children has decreased from 9.3 per cent in

⁹ Consistent Poverty rate derived from SILC and applied to CSO Population Estimates (revised figures).

¹⁰ Data from this graph was obtained from the CSO Statbank Time Series Data and the 2017 Social Inclusion Monitor.

2011 to 7.7 per cent, a reduction of 1.6 percentage points. This corresponds to a reduction of 14,000 children living in consistent poverty between 2018 and 2011. In order to meet the national target, the number of children living in consistent poverty would have to decline further by 56,000 between 2018 and 2020.

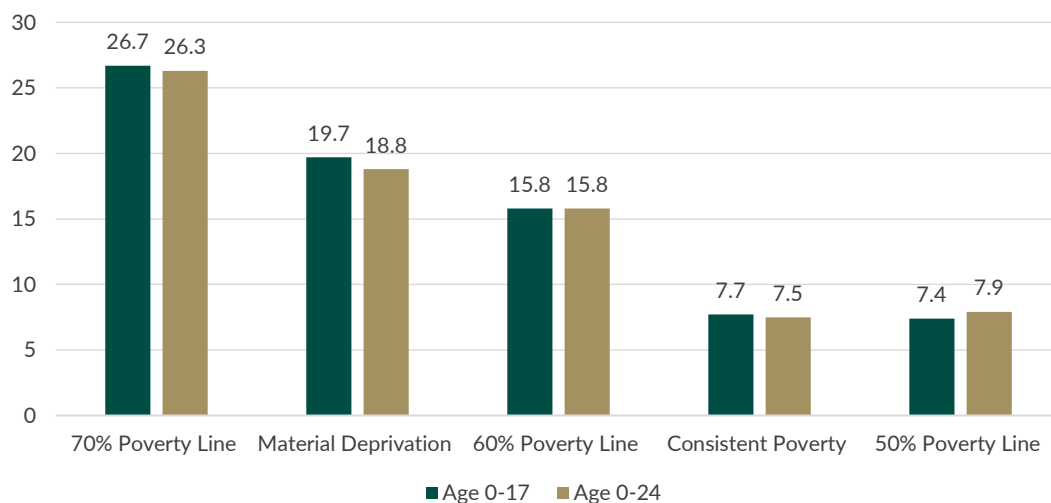
Figure 18: Progress towards the child poverty target



Source: 2017 Social Inclusion Monitor, SILC 2018 & CSO Population Projections

Figure 19 offers a summary of child and young adult poverty rates in 2018, using the range of definitions described above. For those aged 0-17, the 70% median income poverty line shows the greatest proportion of children living in poverty (26.7%), followed by the measure of enforced material deprivation (19.7%), the 60% median income poverty line (15.8%), while the measure of consistent poverty and deep poverty (50% median income poverty line) show similar rates of child poverty: 7.7 per cent and 7.4 per cent respectively.

Figure 19: Summary of Child and Young Adult Poverty Rates, 2018



Source: SILC 2018

Table 5 presents a description of the percentage of poor children that experience each of the types of poverty and material deprivation.

- Among children in deep income poverty (50% median income), 45 per cent of experience material deprivation and 45 per cent experience consistent poverty.
- Among children in income poverty (60% median income), 48 per cent experience material deprivation and 48 per cent experience consistent poverty.
- Among children in income poverty (70% median income), 59% experience income poverty (60% median income), 43 per cent experience material deprivation, 29 per cent experience consistent poverty and 28 per cent experience deep poverty (50% median income).
- Among children living in material deprivation, 58 per cent experience income poverty and the 70% line, 39 per cent experience income poverty at the 60% line, 39 per cent are living in consistent poverty, and 17 per cent are living in deep poverty (50% median income).
- Among children living in consistent poverty, 43 per cent are living in deep poverty.

Table 5: Percentage of Poor Children in Poverty

	60% Poverty Line	70% Poverty Line	Material Deprivation	50% Poverty Line	Consistent Poverty
Children @50% Line	100	100	44.9	100	44.9
Children @60% Line	100	100	48.5	47.1	48.5
Children @70% Line	59.3	100	43.0	27.9	28.8
Children that experience Material Deprivation	39.1	58.4	100	17.0	39.1
Children that experience Consistent Poverty	100	100	100	43.5	100

3.6 Characteristics of Children and Households with Children Living in Poverty

Children

In this section, the characteristics of children that are living in poverty are considered. While much of the SILC data collection is focused on the household as the unit of

analysis, individual-level data on children aged 0-17 can be used to consider the risk of experiencing poverty, controlling for sex, age, nationality, region and a measure of local area deprivation.

Table 6 provides a descriptive summary of the prevalence of poverty risk among children, using each of the definitions reported above. It also shows how poverty risk across each of the five poverty measures differs according to these factors. While some sex differences exist, whereby females typically show a higher poverty risk than males, these bivariate associations are not statistically significant.

The relationship between poverty risk and age group is statistically significant, meaning that some groups of children are more at risk of poverty than others. With the exception of the material deprivation measure, a clear age gradient is evident across each of the poverty threshold measures, whereby a greater proportion of older children experience a risk of poverty than younger children.

The relationship between poverty risk and nationality varies across the poverty measures. For example, at the 60% median income poverty line, children who are citizens of countries in the EU/rest of the world (other than Ireland) display a higher poverty risk than children who are Irish citizens, and this relationship is statistically significant (with the exception of the measure of material deprivation).

Poverty risk also varies quite substantially by region, and the relationship between poverty risk and age group is statistically significant (except at the 50% median income poverty line). Children living in regions other than Dublin display the highest poverty risk¹¹. Poverty risk also varies by the degree of disadvantage or affluence in the area. Children living in affluent areas typically display the lowest poverty risk, much lower than children that live in disadvantaged or very disadvantaged areas.

¹¹ While not shown here, young people living in the Border, West and South-East consistently display the highest poverty risks (60%, 70% Poverty Lines and Material Deprivation), while young people living in Dublin, the Mid West and the South East display among the lowest poverty risks regionally.

Table 6: Child Poverty: Child Characteristics

	60% Poverty Line	70% Poverty Line	Material Deprivation	50% Poverty Line	Consistent Poverty
% Children 0-17	15.8	26.7	19.7	7.4	7.7
Sex: Female	17.3	28.2	19.6	7.5	8.4
Male	14.5	25.4	19.8	7.4	7.0
Age 0-5	8.9	20.6	17.9	3.6	4.8
Age 6-12	17.0	25.7	20.5	6.8	9.0
Age 13-17	20.2	32.3	20.5	10.9	8.8
Nationality: Irish Citizen	15.7	25.4	19.8	7.5	#
Citizen other than IRL	18.1	43.4	19.2	6.9	#
Region: Dublin	12.3	21.6	17.8	7.2	4.7
All other regions	17.1	28.6	20.4	7.6	8.8
Local Area Deprivation					
Disadvantaged/very dis	19.7	33.5	26.9	8.5	11.1
Neither Disadv/Affluent	18.0	38.8	17.8	6.1	10.8
Affluent/Very Affluent	11.9	20.3	14.4	7.1	3.7

Note: # indicates that the unweighted cell size is too small to display. Source: SILC 2018

Which factors have the strongest influence on child poverty? Many of the characteristics examined here are inter-related; therefore it is informative to consider the independent influence of the factors on the likelihood of children falling below each of the poverty lines (Table 7, Models 1, 2 and 3), and the likelihood of experiencing material deprivation or consistent poverty (Table 8, Models 1 and 2). The tables here summarise which groups have a significantly higher or lower chance of being in income poverty, material deprivation or consistent poverty compared to the reference category. The full model results are presented in the Appendix (Table A3 and Table A4).

The models show that when controlling for the range of factors, the age of the child has a significant influence on income poverty at the 50% and 60% median income poverty thresholds (Table 7 Model 2, Model 3) and on the risk of consistent poverty (Table 8, Model 2). Older children are twice as likely to experience income poverty at

the 60% level than children aged 0-5, and three times as likely to experience income poverty at the 50% level than children aged 0-5. At the 70% median income poverty threshold, children aged 12-17 are more likely to experience poverty than children aged 0-5. Children aged 6-11 are twice as likely to experience consistent poverty than children aged 0-5. Age does not distinguish children who experience material deprivation from those who do not, all else being equal (Table 8, Model 1).

Table 7: Logistic Regressions on At-Risk-of-Poverty at 50%, 60% and 70% Lines

	Model 1 70% Poverty Line		Model 2 60% Poverty Line		Model 3 50% Poverty Line	
	Eq 1	Eq 2	Eq 1	Eq 2	Eq 1	Eq 2
Female	No effect	No effect	No effect	No effect	No effect	No effect
Ref: Male						
Age 6-11	+^	No effect	++	++	+	+
Age 12-17	+	+	++	++	+++	+++
Ref: Age 0-5						
Dublin	No effect	No effect	No effect	No effect	No effect	No effect
Ref: All other region						
Disadvantaged	+	+	+	+	No effect	No effect
Not Disadv/Affluent	No effect	No effect	No effect	No effect	No effect	No effect
Ref: Affluent						
EU/Rest of World		++		No effect		No effect
Ref: Irish National						
N=2875						

Note: "No effect" difference from reference not statistically significant at 5 per cent level
 +^ Approached significance, group more likely to experience poverty than reference group
 ++ Group more than twice as likely to experience poverty than reference group
 +++ Group more than three times as likely to experience poverty than reference group

While region per se does not distinguish children who experience poverty from those who do not, the level of deprivation or affluence in the local area can. At the 60% and 70% income poverty lines, children living in areas that are classified as disadvantaged or very disadvantaged are more likely to experience income poverty than children living in areas classified as affluent. Children living in disadvantaged areas are also more likely to experience material deprivation and risk of consistent poverty (Table 8, Model 2).

When nationality is included in the models, children that do not hold Irish nationality are twice as likely to be at risk of experiencing poverty at the 70% median income

poverty threshold than children who hold Irish nationality (Table 7, Model 1). Nationality matters less for all other poverty measures.

Table 8: Logistic Regressions on Material Deprivation and Consistent Poverty

	Model 1 Material Deprivation		Model 2 Consistent Poverty	
Female	No effect	No effect	No effect	No effect
Ref: Male				
Age 6-11	No effect	No effect	++	++
Age 12-17	No effect	No effect	++	++
Ref: Age 0-5				
Dublin	No effect	No effect	No effect	No effect
Ref: All other region				
Disadvantaged	++	++	+	+
Not Disadv/Affluent	No effect	No effect	No effect	No effect
Ref: Affluent				
EU/Rest of World		No effect		No effect
Ref: Irish National				
N=2875				

Note: "No effect" difference from reference not statistically significant at 5 per cent level

+^ Approached significance, group more likely to experience poverty than reference group

++ Group more than twice as likely to experience poverty than reference group

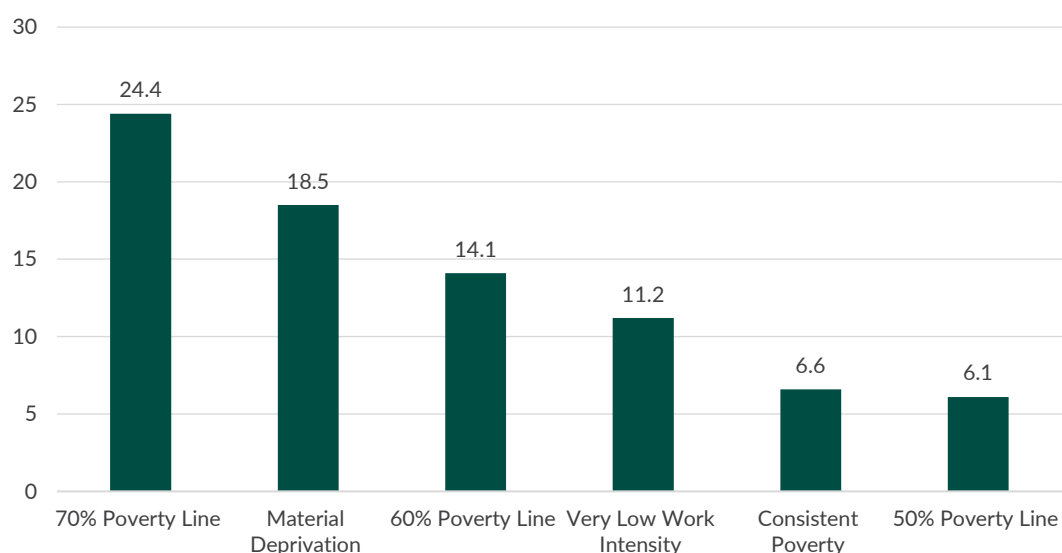
In summary, these findings indicate that policy solutions are required to tackle specific age-related poverty risk, given that older children clearly exhibit a greater propensity to experience income poverty and consistent poverty compared to younger children. This is true too of the geographic socio-economic dimension, given that children living in areas that are disadvantaged or very disadvantaged are more likely to experience poverty than children living in areas of affluence. Children that hold nationality of Europe/rest of the world are more likely to experience income poverty at the 70% median income threshold than children that hold Irish nationality. These findings are of concern, given that children represent a considerable share of their minority ethnic populations (Table 2 above).

Households with Children

In this section, we draw on household level data, to determine the characteristics of households with children that experience poverty.

What percentage of households with children experience each of the measures of income poverty and material deprivation? Figure 20 shows that the 70% median income poverty line shows the greatest proportion of households with children living in poverty (24.4%), followed by the measure of enforced material deprivation (18.5%), and the 60% median income poverty line (14.1%). In this analysis, the concept of households with very low work intensity is introduced, and Figure 20 shows that 11.2 per cent of households with children are very low work intensity households. 6.6 per cent of households with children experience consistent poverty, and 6.1 per cent of households with children are in deep poverty (50% median income poverty line).

Figure 20: Percentage of Households with Children that Experience Poverty, 2018



Source: SILC 2018

At the household level Table 9 presents a description of the percentage of households with child poverty that experience each of the types of poverty and material deprivation, and work intensity:

- Among households in deep income poverty (50% median income), 41 per cent experience material deprivation and 41 per cent experience consistent poverty.
- Among households in income poverty (60% median income), 47 per cent experience material deprivation, very low work intensity households and consistent poverty, and 43 per cent experience deep poverty (50% median income).
- Among households in income poverty (70% median income), 58% experience income poverty (60% median income), 40 per cent experience material

deprivation, 34 per cent are very low work intensity households, 27 per cent experience consistent poverty and 25 per cent experience deep poverty.

- Among households living in material deprivation, 53 per cent experience income poverty at the 70% line, 36 per cent experience income poverty at the 60% line, deep poverty (50% median income), and consistent poverty, and 33 per cent are living in very low work intensity households.
- Among households living in consistent poverty, 53 per cent are very low work intensity households, and 38 per cent are living in deep poverty.
- Among households with very low work intensity, 73 per cent experience income poverty at the 70% line, 59 per cent at the 60% poverty line, 54 per cent experience material deprivation, 32 per cent are in consistent poverty and 25 per cent are deep poverty households.

Table 9: Percentage of Households with Child Poverty in Poverty

	60% Poverty Line	70% Poverty Line	Material Deprivation	50% Poverty Line	Consistent Poverty	Very Low Work Intensity
Households @50% Line	100	100	41.1	100	41.1	45.6
Households @60% Line	100	100	46.9	43.2	46.9	46.7
Households @70% Line	58.5	100	40.5	25.3	27.5	33.9
Households that experience Material Deprivation	35.8	52.7	100	35.8	35.8	32.8
Households that experience Consistent Poverty	100	100	100	37.9	100	53.2
Households with Very Low Work Intensity	59.0	73.2	54.4	25.0	31.8	100

Household level data, and the characteristics of the Household Reference Person (HRP), are used to determine the characteristics of households with children that experience each of the poverty measures. Here, we consider the risk of a household with children experiencing poverty, controlling for the age of the children in the household, HRP migrant status, HRP health, HRP education, HRP employment status, number of children (0-17) in the household, family structure, regional characteristics, an indicator of whether the household is a childcare user, and an indicator of housing tenure.

Table 10 displays the proportion of households with children that experience each of the risk of poverty based on the characteristics of the Household Reference Person (HRP). Because of small cell size, the share of households with children that fall below the 50% median income poverty line (deep poverty) are not included in this analysis.

The following characteristics are associated with households in poverty:

- Children of migrants experience higher levels of poverty than those who are not children of migrants. When households are defined in this way, poverty rates are higher for all measures, except for material deprivation.
- Children living in households where the HRP is limited by illness have higher levels of poverty than children living in households where the HRP is not limited by illness.
- Children living in households where the HRP has a Higher Education degree or greater level of education have the lowest levels of poverty, and this is consistent across each of the poverty measures.
- The labour market situation of the family also matters. Children living in households where the HRP is in employment have lower levels of poverty than children living in households where the HRP is unemployed or inactive.
- The number of children in the household also matters. Rates of poverty are highest in households with three or more families.
- Family structure is clearly related to child poverty – children living in households where the HRP is a lone parent have substantially higher levels of poverty than children living in other family structures.
- The degree of deprivation in the area in which the household is located is related to the presence of household child poverty. Those living in disadvantaged and very disadvantaged areas have the highest levels of child poverty, while households in affluent/very affluent areas have the lowest level of child poverty.
- Households in rural areas have the highest levels of child poverty in terms of income poverty and consistent poverty, while households in urban areas have the highest levels of material deprivation and low work intensity.
- Households were also classified according to whether or not they are childcare users. Households that do not use childcare (centre-based, play centre or family/friends) have higher levels of income poverty, while households that use childcare have higher levels of multiple deprivation and low work intensity.
- Households were also classified according to whether they are household owners or renters. Renters show substantially higher levels of income poverty, material deprivation and low work intensity than households defined as 'owners'.

Table 10: Characteristics of Households with Children Living in Poverty

	60% Poverty Line	70% Poverty Line	Material Deprivation	Consistent Poverty	Very Low Work Intensity
All HH with children	14.1	24.4	18.5	6.6	11.2
HRP Migrant	17.1	32.5	18.9	7.5	13.8
HRP Not Migrant	12.3	22.2	18.2	6.1	9.6
HRP Limited by Illness	34.1	43.0	36.8	16.2	28.6
HRP Not Limited	11.1	21.2	15.8	5.2	8.6
HRP Degree +	10.4	13.2	10.4	3.8	5.9
HRP Lower Level Educ	16.0	29.6	22.6	8.1	13.8
HRP Employed	6.9	14.7	11.5	#	#
HRP Unemployed	42.0	64.3	48.6	#	#
HRP Other	38.4	54.1	40.8	#	#
1 child in household	12.3	19.9	17.6	5.6	9.7
2 children in household	12.0	24.4	16.9	5.0	9.9
3+ children in household	22.9	32.8	23.6	12.6	17.3
Lone Parent Household	30.0	39.6	40.6	18.1	35.4
Other Households	11.2	21.2	14.6	4.5	6.7
Rural	15.4	25.6	17.5	6.7	6.9
Urban	13.6	23.4	18.8	6.6	12.8
Very/Disadvantaged	19.1	31.7	25.4	9.9	14.5
Other Areas	11.1	19.5	14.4	4.6	9.2
Childcare user	12.1	22.1	18.6	#	11.3
Not childcare user	20.0	29.9	18.0	#	10.6
Home Owner	7.8	12.7	11.6	#	3.5
Home Renter	23.9	41.7	29.1	#	23.3

Note: # indicates that the unweighted cell size is too small

Which factors have the strongest influence on households with children that experience poverty? As before, regression analyses are undertaken to consider the independent influence of the factors on the likelihood of households with children falling below the 60% poverty line (Table 11, Model 1), and the likelihood of experiencing material deprivation or consistent poverty (Table 11, Models 2 and 3). The tables here summarise which groups have a significantly higher or lower chance of being in income poverty, material deprivation or consistent poverty compared to the reference category. The full model results are presented in the Appendix (Table A5).

Table 11 reveals that the age and number of children (together, or separately) influence the likelihood that a household will experience poverty, according to different measures. Households that have one or more 12 to 17 year olds are twice as likely to experience income poverty than households with no children aged 12 to 17. Households that have one or more 0 to 5 year olds are more likely to experience material deprivation than households with no children aged 0 to 5. The age of the children within a household does not increase the likelihood that the household will experience consistent poverty. However, the models suggest that the number of children do increase the likelihood of experiencing income poverty and of experiencing consistent poverty, but this increase is not statistically significant for either measure.

Households headed by migrant adults are almost twice as likely to experience income poverty. Households headed by adults whose daily activities are limited by health are three times more likely to experience income poverty and consistent poverty, and twice as likely to experience material deprivation. Lone parent households are four times as likely to experience income poverty than coupled households. Lone parent households are five times as likely to experience material deprivation and consistent poverty. Low education level can also distinguish households with children that do and do not experience poverty – Households headed by an adult with a low level of education are twice as likely to experience income poverty, material deprivation and consistent poverty. Households where the head of the household has a degree are less likely to experience material deprivation. All else being equal, regional

characteristics cannot distinguish households that experience poverty and deprivation from those who do not.

A binary variable indicating whether or not the household is a very low work intensity household is added to each equation 2 in Table 11. While the results reported above hold, the influence of work intensity is very clear on measures of income poverty and deprivation. Very low work intensity households are 11 times as likely to be income poor compared to all other work intensity households, three times as likely to experience material deprivation, and 6 times as likely to experience consistent poverty.

Table 11: Logistic Regressions on At-Risk-of-Poverty at 60%, Material Deprivation and Consistent Poverty (Odds Ratios)

	Model 1 60% Poverty Line		Model 2 Material Deprivation		Model 3 Consistent Poverty	
	Eq 1	Eq 2	Eq 1	Eq 2	Eq 1	Eq 2
One or more 0-5's	No effect	No effect	+	+	No effect	No effect
Ref: No 0-5's						
One or more 6-11's	No effect	No effect	No effect	No effect	No effect	No effect
Ref: No 6-11's						
One or more 12-17's	++	++	+^	+^	No effect	No effect
Ref: No 12-17's						
3+ Children	+^	+^	No effect	No effect	++^	++^
Ref: 1-2 Children						
HRP Migrant	+	+	No effect	No effect	+^	No effect
Ref: HRP Not Migrant						
HRP Health Limited	+++	++	++	++	+++	++^
Ref: Not Limited						
HRP Lone Parent	++++	++^	+++++	+++	+++++	++
Ref: HRP Couple						
HRP Low Education	++	+^	++	+	++	No effect
HRP Degree+	No effect	No effect	-	-^	No effect	No effect
Ref: Upper Sec						
Disadvantaged Area	No effect	No effect	+^	+^	No effect	No effect
Ref: All other regions						
Rural Area	No effect	+^	No effect	No effect	No effect	No effect
Ref: Urban area						
VLWI Household		***		+++		+++
Ref: Other WI Hhold						
N=1465 Households						

Note: "No effect" difference from reference not statistically significant at 5 per cent level
+^ Approached significance, group more likely to experience poverty than reference group
++ Group more than twice as likely to experience poverty than reference group
+++ Group more than three times as likely to experience poverty than reference group
++++ Group more than four times as likely to experience poverty than reference group
+++++ Group more than five times as likely to experience poverty than reference group
*** Group more than ten times as likely to experience poverty than reference group

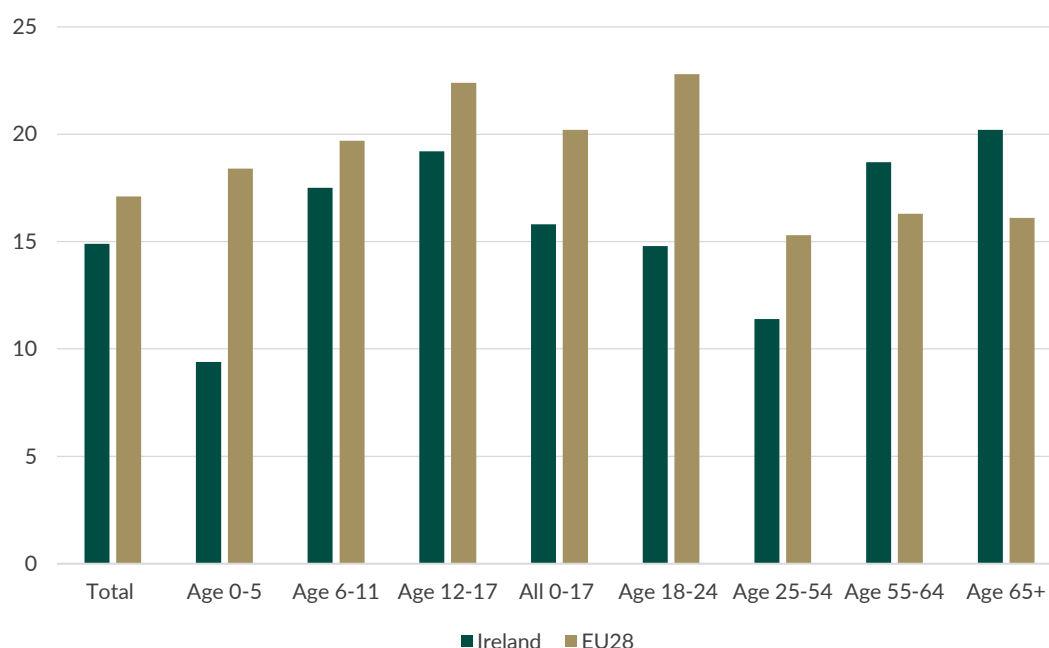
3.7 A Comparison of Irish and EU Child Poverty Trends

In this section, SILC data obtained from Eurostat is used to compare the prevalence of child poverty in Ireland with those in other EU member states. The EU combines three measures; at-risk-of-poverty, material deprivation and low work intensity; to identify a total population ‘at-risk-of-poverty or social exclusion’ (those who are at-risk-of poverty or material deprivation or low work intensity).

At risk of poverty: AROP

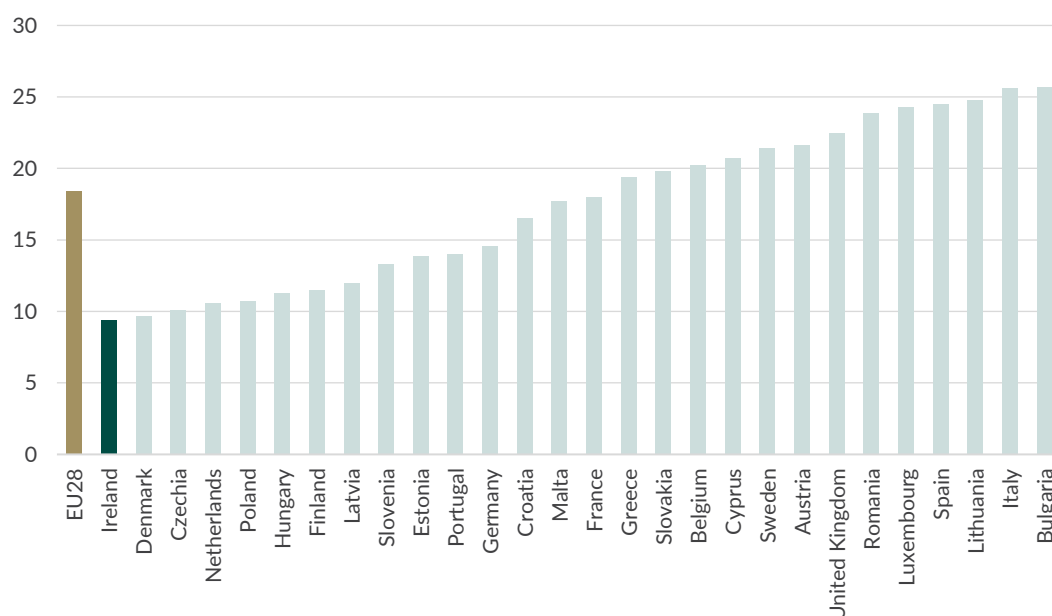
The share of children and young people at-risk-of-poverty (60% median income) (AROP) in Ireland and the EU can be compared using Eurostat data. As illustrated by Figure 21, Ireland fares favourably compared to the European average. While the AROP rate for children aged 6-11 and aged 12-17 are lower in Ireland, but similar, to the average European rate, young children aged 0-5 in Ireland have considerably lower rates (9.4% compared to a European average of 17.1%).

Figure 21: Percentage of Children and Adults At-Risk-of-Poverty in Ireland and the EU, 2018



Source: Eurostat

When rates are disaggregated by age group in Figure 22 (see also Table A6 in the Appendix), it is evident that in 2018 Ireland had the lowest poverty rate among children 0-5 in the EU.

Figure 22: At-Risk-of-Poverty rates for children aged 0-5 in the EU, 2018

Source: Eurostat

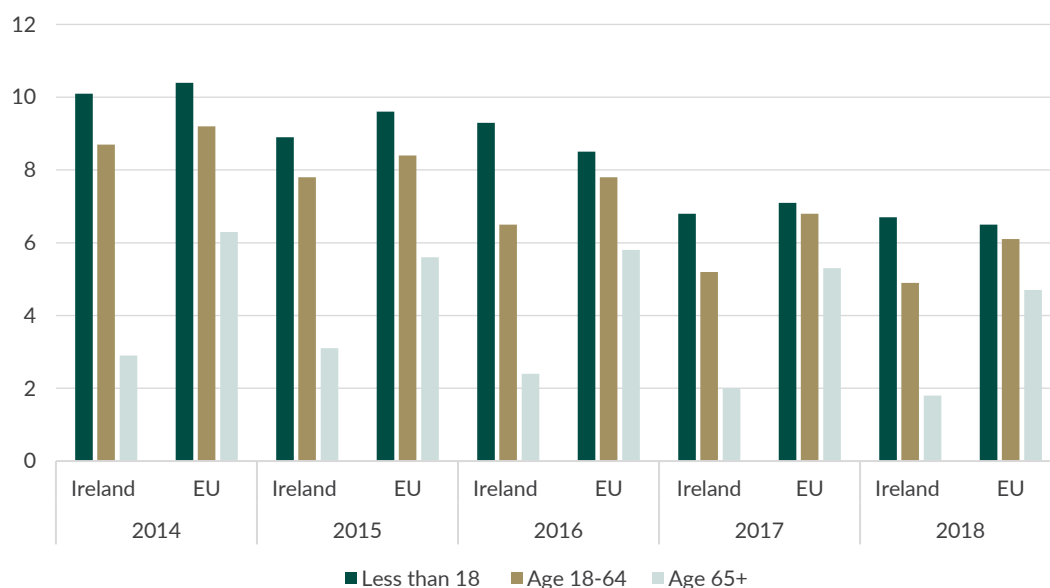
Severe Material Deprivation

The EU material deprivation measure seeks to capture the proportion of people whose living conditions are severely affected by a lack of resources. The severe material deprivation rate represents the proportion of people living in households that cannot afford at least four of nine items¹² (Eurostat, 2019).

Figure 23 illustrates the percentage of children and adults in Ireland and the EU that experience severe deprivation by age group. While the rate has declined in Ireland since 2014, rates of severe material deprivation in 2018 continue to be higher for children aged 0-17 than for working-age adults.

¹² The nine measures are: Coping with unexpected expenses; one week of annual holidays away from home; avoiding arrears; a meal with meat, chicken, fish or vegetarian equivalent every second day; keeping the home adequately warm; a washing machine; a colour TV; a telephone; a personal car.

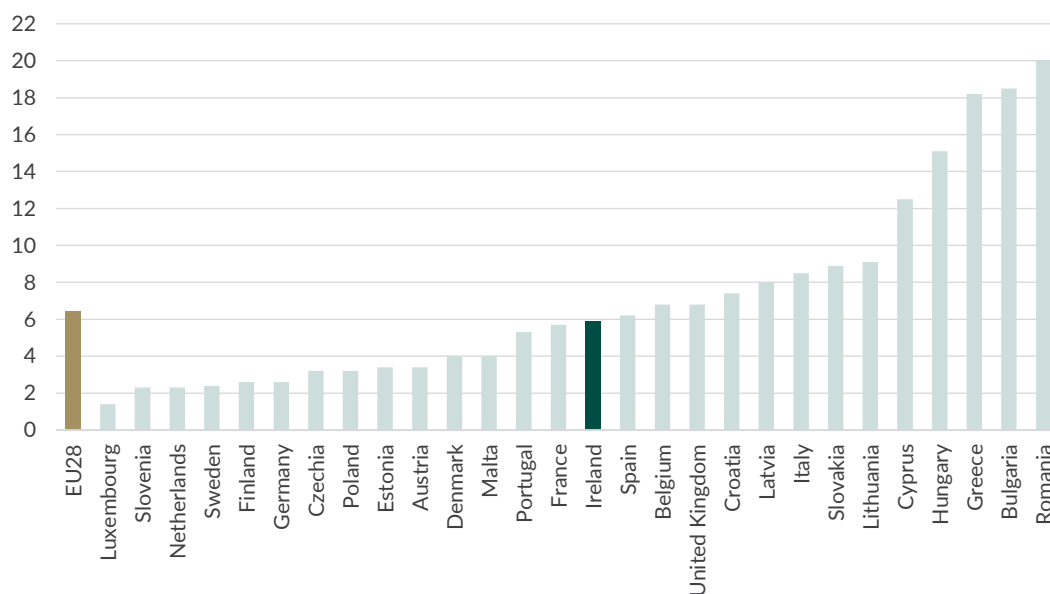
Figure 23: Percentage of people that experience severe deprivation in Ireland and the EU, 2014-2018



Source: Eurostat

Figure 24 compares the proportion of children (age 0-17) that experience severe material deprivation in Ireland and EU28 countries in 2018. The Irish rate of 5.9 per cent in 2018 compares favourably to an EU28 average of 6.4 per cent. Ireland holds an intermediate position among member states on the severe material deprivation indicator.

Figure 24: At risk of severe material deprivation rates for children in the EU, 2018



Source: Eurostat

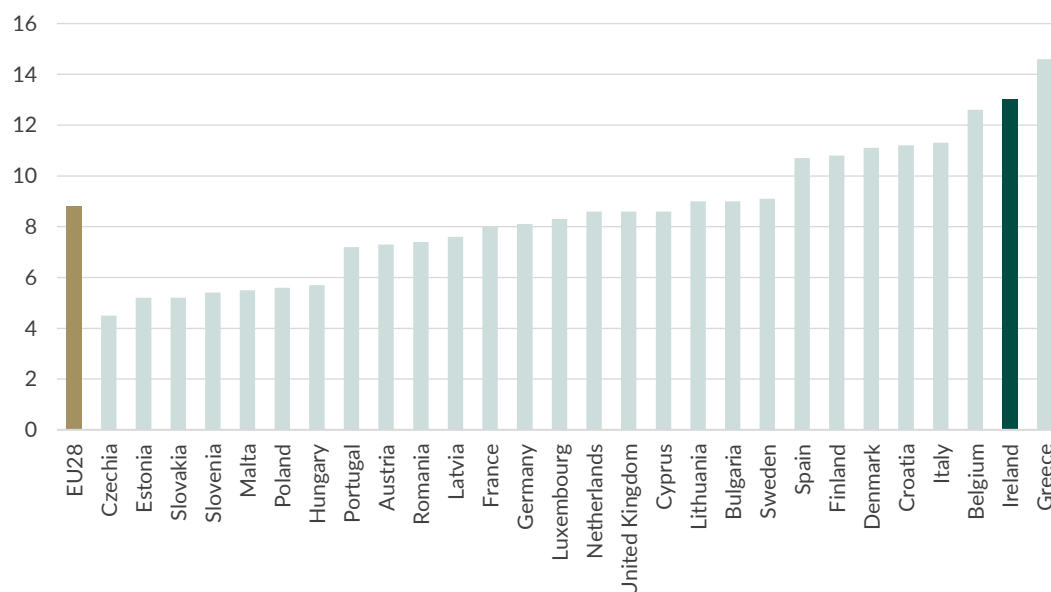
When rates are disaggregated by age-group (see Appendix Table A7), among all children older children, the 12-17 year old group, in Ireland continue to experience the highest risk of severe material deprivation. While this rate is broadly in line with the average European pattern, in other country contexts such as Denmark, the risk of severe material deprivation declines, not increases, as children get older.

Living in a very low work intensity household

The indicator of persons living in households with very low work intensity is defined as the number of persons living in a household where the members of working age worked less than 20 per cent of their total potential during the previous 12 months.

Figure 25 illustrates the percentage of the population in Ireland and the EU that are living in households with very low work intensity. The Irish rate of 13 per cent in 2018 compares unfavourably to an EU28 average of 8.8 per cent. Ireland holds the second highest rate in the EU, just after Greece (14.6%).

Figure 25: People Living in Very Low Work Intensity Household in the EU, 2018

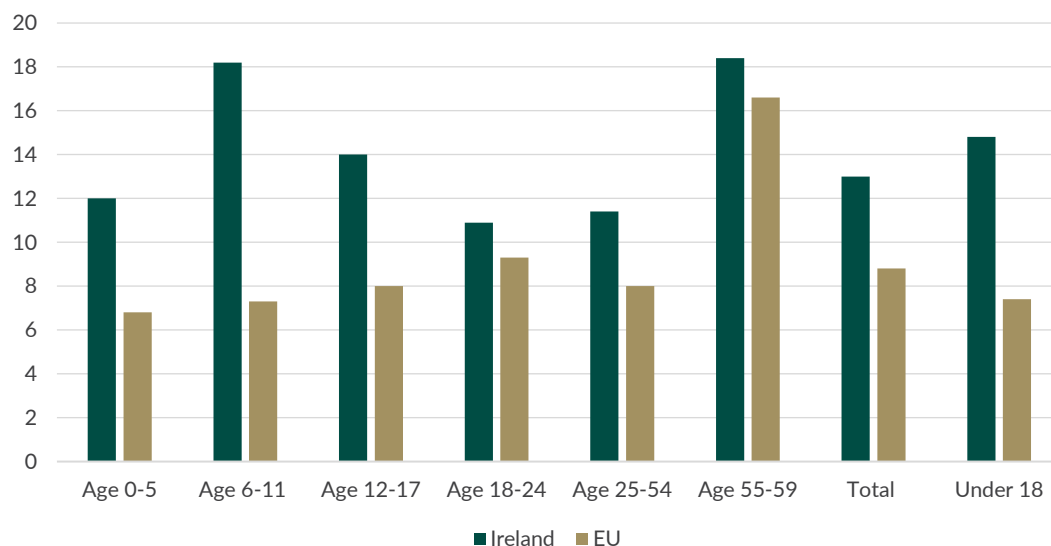


Source: Eurostat

Figure 26 illustrates the percentage of children and adults in Ireland and the EU that are living in very low work intensity households by age group. Clearly, across all age groups, the rate is higher in Ireland than the average EU rate. While there is little variation among children based on the EU average, in the Irish context a very high proportion of children aged 6-11 (18.2%) live in very low work intensity households.

14 per cent of 12-17 year olds and 12 per cent of very young children live in these households.

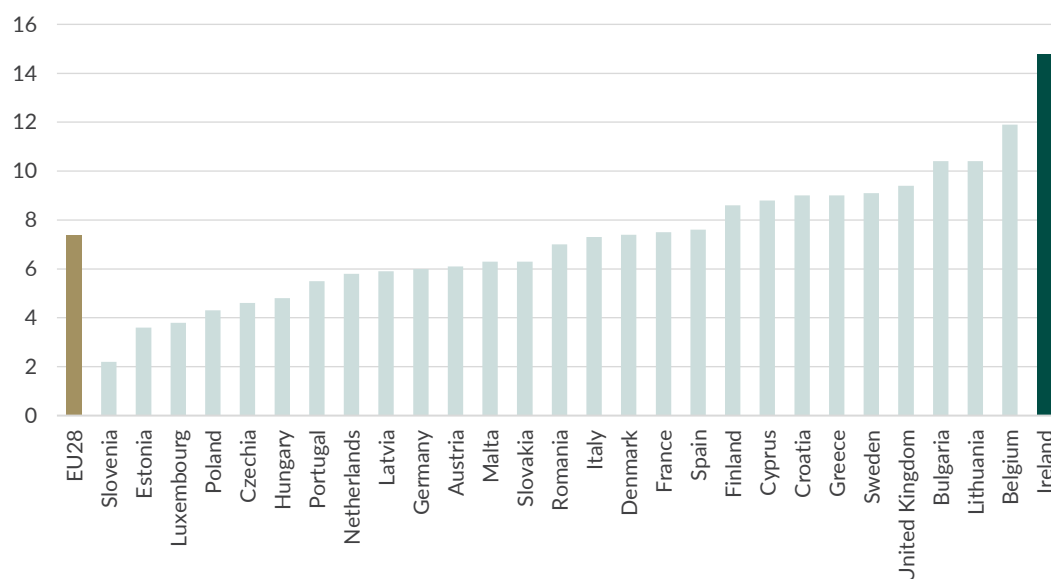
Figure 26: People Living in Very Low Work Intensity Households, by Age Group, Ireland and EU, 2018



Source: Eurostat

When the percentage of children living in households in Ireland with very low work intensity is compared to other EU countries (Figure 27), Ireland holds the highest rate. In 2018, 14.8 per cent of children are living in household with very low work intensity, compared to an EU average of 7.4 per cent. This pattern holds for all age groups of children (see Table A8 in Appendix).

Figure 27: Children Living in Very Low Work Intensity Household in the EU, 2018



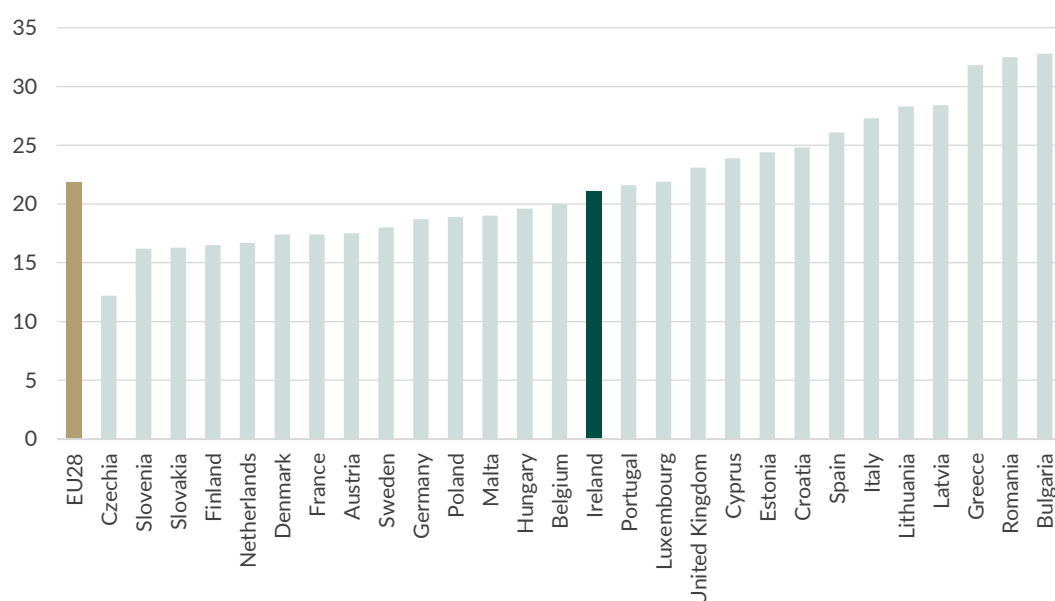
Source: Eurostat

EU Measures of Poverty: AROPE

The EU combines each of the three measures outlined above; at-risk-of-poverty, material deprivation and low work intensity; to identify a total population 'at-risk-of-poverty or social exclusion' (those who are at-risk-of-poverty or material deprivation or low work intensity).

Figure 28 compares the proportion of people experiencing poverty or social exclusion (AROPE) in Ireland and EU28 countries. The Irish rate of 21.1 per cent in 2018 compares favourably to an EU28 average of 21.8. Ireland holds an intermediate position and ranks 15th out of the 28 member states on the AROPE indicator.

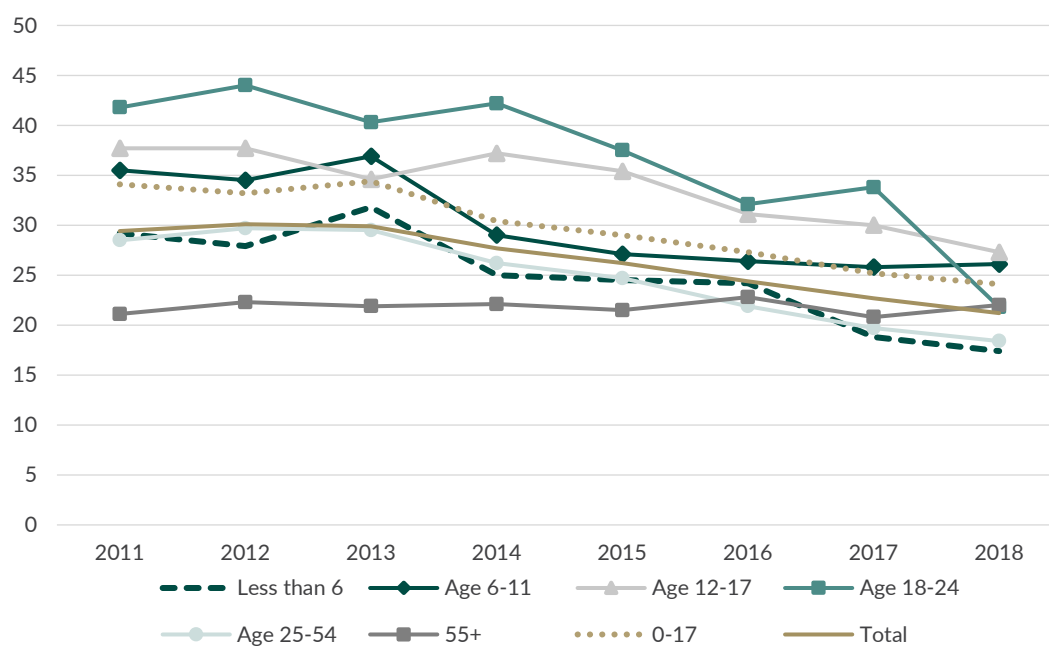
Figure 28: At risk of poverty or social exclusion (AROPE) rates in the EU, 2018



Source: Eurostat

Children at risk of poverty or social exclusion: AROPE

Figure 29 illustrates the time trend for the EU indicator that captures the percentage of people at-risk-of-poverty or social exclusion, disaggregated by age-group over the time period 2011-2018. In 2018 the population AROPE was 21.2 per cent, 18.4 per cent for working age adults, and 24.1 per cent for children aged 0-17 (302,000 children). The rate for young adults aged 18-24 was 21.8 per cent.

Figure 29: EU Indicator: People at Risk of Poverty or Social Exclusion, Ireland, 2011-2018

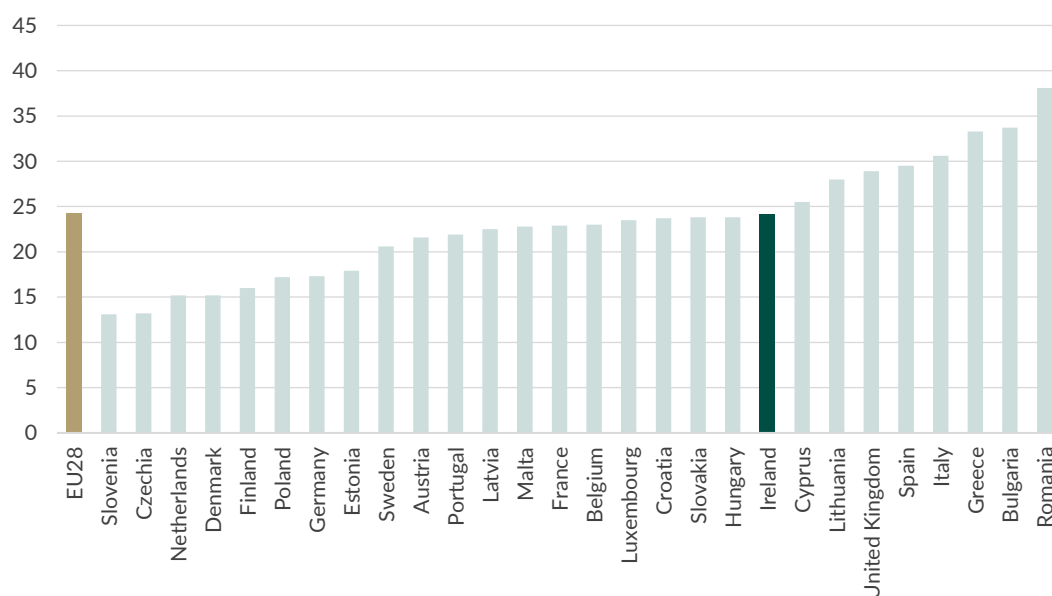
Source: Eurostat

Since 2010, the percentage of children aged 0-17 living in poverty, as defined by this AROPE EU indicator, has reduced ten percentage points from 34.1 per cent in 2010 to 24.1 per cent in 2018.

Disaggregating by age-group, very young children have the lowest risk of poverty or social exclusion (17.4%), followed by children aged 6-11 (26.1%) and children aged 12-17 (27.3%). In 2018, children continue to experience higher rates of poverty than working-age adults. A pattern of decline is generally evident for all child groups. Over time, since 2010, the percentage point reduction in poverty is greater for children aged 0-17 (10 percentage points), than working age adults aged 25-54 (7.4 percentage points). Child poverty rates have reduced quite substantially for young children, down 12.2 percentage points between 2010 and 2018, and young adults, down 10.3 percentage points.

Figure 30 compares the proportion of children aged 0-17 at risk of poverty or social exclusion in Ireland and EU28 countries. In Ireland 24.1 per cent of children aged 0-17 were at risk of poverty or social exclusion in 2018, similar to the EU28 average of 24.2 per cent. Ireland ranks 20th out of the 28 member states on this indicator, but considerably below the Nordic countries.

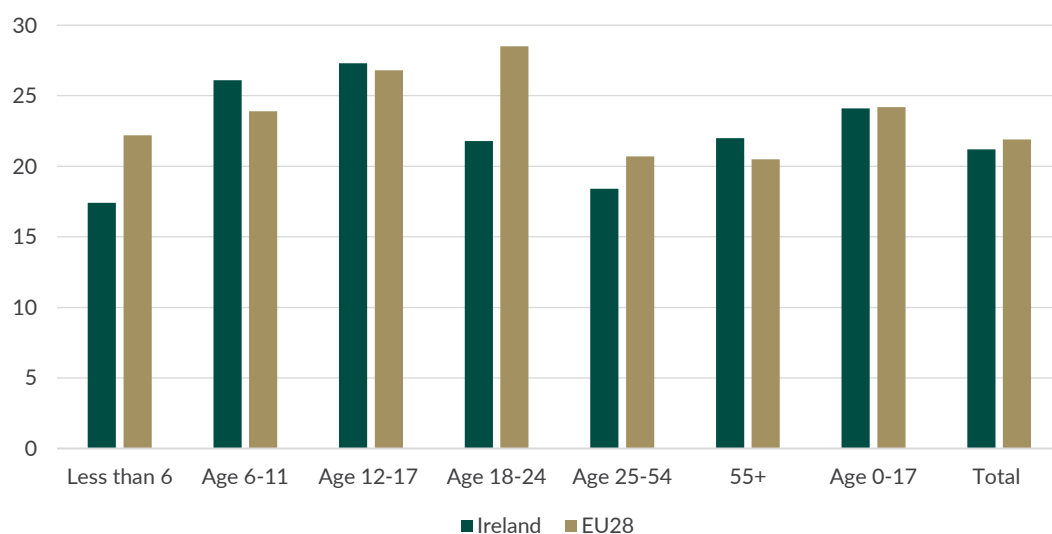
Figure 30: Rates of children at risk of poverty or social exclusion (AROPE) in the EU, 2018



Source: Eurostat

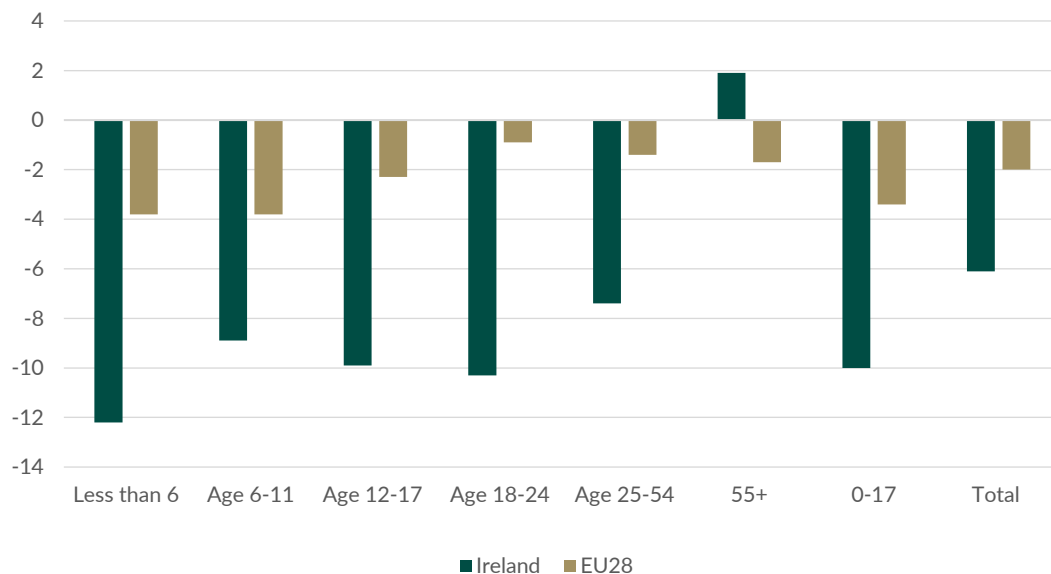
Figure 31 and Table A9 in the Appendix illustrate the relative position of children by age group in Ireland compared to children in the EU28 in 2018. While very young children and young adults fare better in Ireland than in the EU28 as a whole, children aged 6-11 in particular in Ireland have higher rate of poverty (AROPE) than their EU28 counterparts. However, the percentage point reduction in people at risk of poverty or social exclusion is greater in Ireland than the EU28 average for all age groups, with the exception of the 55+ age group (Figure 32).

Figure 31: People at Risk of Poverty or Social Exclusion by Age Group, 2018, Ireland and EU28



Source: Eurostat

Figure 32: Percentage Change between 2010-2018 in EU2020 Target by Age Group, Ireland and EU28

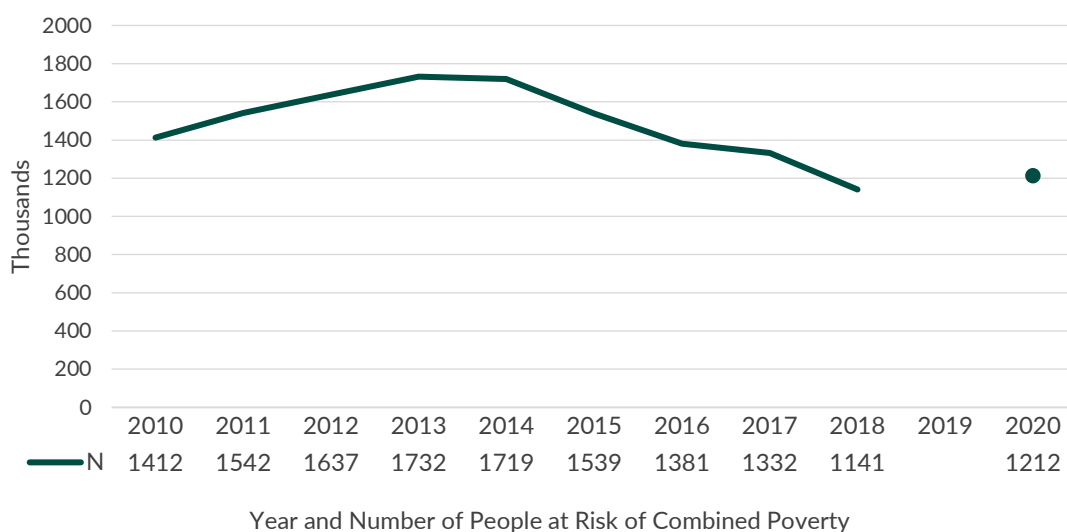


Source: Eurostat

EU Measures of Poverty: The Irish Contribution to the Europe 2020 Target

The Irish contribution to the Europe 2020 poverty target seeks to reduce the number in 'combined poverty' (that is, consistent poverty, at-risk-of-poverty or basic deprivation) between 2010 and 2020 by a minimum of 200,000. Figure 33 illustrates that the population affected by 'combined poverty' was 23.5 per cent in 2018, compared to 27.8 per cent in 2017. Nominally, this equates to 1.14 million people, which exceeds the European 2020 Target and represents a decrease of 270,000 people on the 2010 baseline figure.

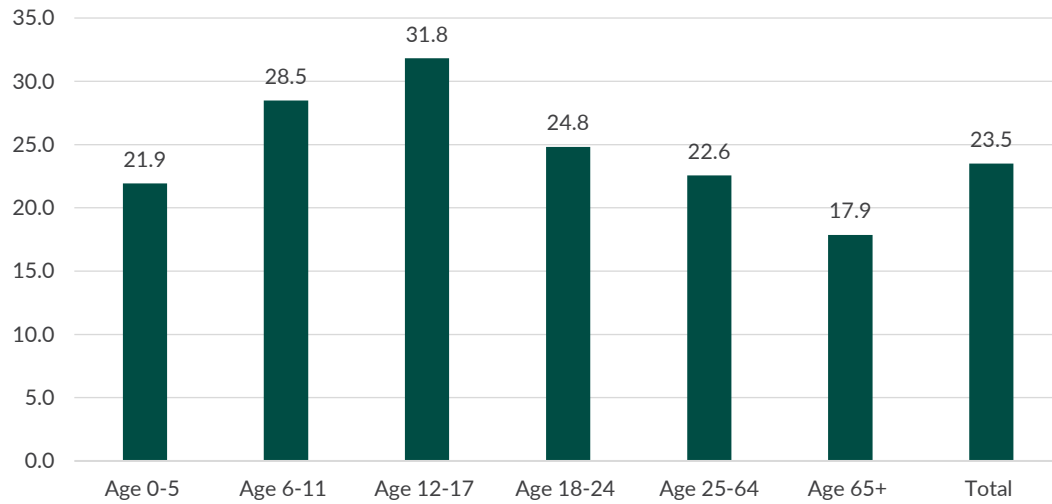
Figure 33: Number and Percentage of the Population in Combined Poverty



Source: Social Inclusion Monitor and 2018 SILC

However, it should be noted that children continue to experience higher rates of combined poverty than the adult population as illustrated by Figure 34.

Figure 34: Percentage of the Population in Combined Poverty in 2018, by Age Group



Source: SILC 2018

4. Discussion of Results

4.1 Summary of Key Findings

Some modest gains have been made since 2011 regarding the number and share of children that are living in poverty. In 2018, children continue to experience higher rates of poverty than working-age adults. The number and share of children that are living in poverty remains unacceptably high. In 2018 almost 190,000 children were living in income poverty (60% median income) and almost 89,000 children were living in deep poverty. Disaggregating children by age group shows that older children are more at risk of poverty than younger children. In some other country contexts, there is less variation by age group. For example, higher rates of child poverty for older children are not observed in the Nordic countries.

Child poverty rates shift over time, and in complex ways. While child poverty was high during and after the 2008-2013 recessionary period, it began to reduce after 2016. More recently, one group of children, those aged 6-11 show a concerning trend of increasing income poverty and consistent poverty.

The national child poverty target seeks to lift over 70,000 children (aged 0-17) out of consistent poverty by 2020, a reduction of at least two-thirds on the 2011 level. By 2018, the consistent poverty rate for children had decreased from 9.3 per cent in 2011 to 7.7 per cent, a reduction of 1.6 percentage points. This corresponds to a reduction of 14,000 children living in consistent poverty between 2011 and 2018. In order to meet the national target, the number of children living in consistent poverty would have to decline further by 56,000 between 2018 and 2020. This pattern of poverty reduction can be largely attributed to changes in the absolute circumstances of poor children (material deprivation) than a closing of the relative gap with better-off children. However, there were signs of relative improvement in income poverty between 2017 and 2018.

The national headline target for poverty reduction seeks to reduce consistent poverty to 4 per cent by 2016 and to 2 per cent or less by 2020, from a 2010 baseline rate of 6.3 per cent. In 2016, the national consistent poverty rate was 8.2 per cent, greater

than the projected interim headline target of 4 per cent. By 2018, the national consistent poverty rate is 5.6 per cent, and represents a reduction of just over one percentage point from the national rate of 6.9 per cent in 2011. In order to meet the national target, the rate of consistent poverty would have to decline by 3.6 percentage points by 2020.

Analyses of the characteristics that contribute to consistent poverty among children highlights the role of age and local area deprivation, where older children and those living in disadvantaged areas experience the greatest risk. Descriptive analyses of the characteristics that contribute to consistent poverty among households with children show that family structure, household labour market engagement, education level and health status of adults in the family clearly influence the likelihood of children living in poverty, with higher risks for those living in lone parent families, those living in low education and households, and those in households where a parent is limited by illness. Regional dynamics are also in play, as children living disadvantaged local contexts have above average rates of income poverty, while households in rural areas have higher rates of poverty across all the measures of poverty. Not surprisingly, housing matters too. Child poverty rates are particularly pronounced in households where the family home is rented in comparison with households where the home is owner-occupied. In terms of access to childcare, households with children that do not use childcare have above average rates of income poverty. Thus, despite the gains that have been made in State supported childcare provision through a combination of universal and targeted schemes, the State still has some way to go in providing accessible childcare provision. Regression analyses highlight the role of lone parenthood and very low work intensity for consistent poverty risk in households with children. These dynamics require more attention in the Irish context by both policy and research.

A comparison of child poverty rates in Ireland and EU member states shows that rates vary very markedly across European countries. As has been highlighted in previous research, child poverty rates tend to be lowest in Nordic countries (Gornick and Jäntti 2012). Ireland typically has rates close to or higher than the EU average, with two exceptions. In 2018 Ireland had the lowest poverty rate among children 0-5

in the EU, and in 2018 Ireland was the country with the highest proportion of children age 0-17 living in very low work intensity households in the EU.

Based on Eurostat data, since the European poverty reduction target was set, the number of children at risk of poverty or social exclusion in Ireland has decreased by 110,000, down from 412,000 in 2010 to 302,000 in 2018. Child poverty rates have reduced quite substantially for young children, down 12.2 percentage points between 2010 and 2018, and young adults, down 10.3 percentage points.

How do children in Ireland fare compared to their European counterparts on this indicator? On average, children aged 0-17 experience a similar risk of poverty or social exclusion as their European counterparts (24.1% compared to 24.2%, respectively). While very young children and young adults fare better in Ireland than the EU average, it is important to note that children aged 6-11 have a higher risk of poverty and social exclusion than their EU counterparts.

The Irish contribution to the Europe 2020 poverty target has been reached and exceeded. The target sought to reduce by a minimum of 200,000 the population in 'combined poverty' (that is, consistent poverty, at-risk-of-poverty or basic deprivation) between 2010 and 2020. The population affected by 'combined poverty' was 23.5 per cent in 2018, compared to 27.8 per cent in 2017 and 31 per cent in 2010. Nominally, this represents a decrease of 270,000 people on the 2010 baseline figure, exceeding the European 2020 Target. However, it should be noted that children continue to experience higher rates of combined poverty than the adult population.

Measuring Child Poverty: Getting beyond disposable income

In this study, child poverty estimates are presented vis-à-vis family income and living standards, as is internationally the dominant approach. The Irish understanding of poverty refers to both a lack of economic resources and more broadly, social exclusion. It characterises the living conditions and living standards of the population, and the results show that irrespective of economic cycles, children in society are often more likely to be at-risk-of-poverty than working-age adults.

This approach to measuring poverty is well established and robust, and the measurement of poverty in Ireland has informed the measurement of poverty in the field generally. While the established and largely quantitative approach to the measurement of poverty has captured inequalities in the lives of children and their families, it is timely to consider what alternative methods could be considered in order to transform anti-poverty policy. There is general agreement in the literature that income must continue to be central to any measurement of child poverty and that child poverty is a lack of material resources, and that this should be distinguished from the drivers of child poverty. Any further approaches should involve adding to, rather than replacing established measures of child poverty.

A key debate in the literature on poverty and poverty measurement in other country contexts centres on the need to build on the traditional disposable income measure (income less tax and PRSI in the Irish context), to include the inescapable costs that households routinely face. Elsewhere there is increasing emphasis placed on the measurement of the wider financial resources and costs that households endure. For example, in the Scottish context, poverty statistics are presented before and after housing costs (BHC, AHC). Research in the UK context argues that the inescapable costs that households face should also be considered in the definition of disposable income, including the costs of childcare and the impact that disability has on the ability of a household to make ends meet (Social Metrics Commission 2018, 2019), and the cost of housing (Scottish Government, 2020).

A second debate in the literature on poverty and poverty measurement centres on how to construct meaningful multidimensional measures of child poverty. There is general agreement that the measurement of child poverty should adopt a right based, child centred, multidimensional approach. Rather than adopting a single index based on multidimensional measures of child poverty, there is general agreement in the literature that a distinction should be made between sets of indicators that are used to measure:

- Measures of children's current material living standards;
- Measures of children's wider wellbeing;
- Measures of the causes of child poverty, and

- Measures of the future chances of children.

Finally, while less of a debate in the literature, there is general agreement that more research is required on the lived experience of poverty (Rooney and Gray, 2020; Millar, Gray, Rooney and Crosse, 2018). This is particularly true of children's experiences of poverty.

4.2 Policy and Service Implications

Specific policy actions are urgently required to address child poverty, and, the persistent variation in poverty risk across age-groups of children in Ireland. The findings presented here suggests that policy measures that were taken to reduce child poverty among very young children (such as increased public investment in early childhood care and education) were successful. This same commitment needs to be extended to all age groups of children, across all domains of children's lives. This research study highlights that policy, services and research should not neglect the life-course of children. Compared to other institutional contexts, much less attention has also been paid in the research literature in the Irish context to the specific policy options that are likely to reduce age-related child poverty.

A reduction in poverty demands investment in public spending beyond supporting parental labour market participation. It is well established that a range of approaches or policy levers are required to reduce poverty, and child poverty, in society. As recommended by OECD (2018) these include:

- Welfare strategies that seek to target benefits and cash transfers at low income families. The OECD advocate an increase in social spending to ensure that social benefits grow at the same rate as wages to reduce the poverty rate of jobless families and single-parent families. OECD also advocate an increase in social transfers for working and non-working households, while maintaining average work incentives at the bottom of the income distribution (Cantillon et al., 2018).
- Work strategies and policies seek to improve access and remove the barriers to employment and incentivise employment, assist hard-to-place workers; and help parents in low income families to improve their skills and access better quality jobs. OCED recommend that work strategies should make work pay and ensure that the tax/benefit system provides incentives to work.
- Family spending strategies that seek to target a mix of cash transfer and in-kind benefits particularly for low-income families, towards households to

enhance access to affordable all-day childcare. OECD data shows that public investment in family spending in Ireland was still in decline in 2016, well after the 2008-2013 recessionary years had passed.

It is essential that future investment in public spending on family benefits¹³ react to high child poverty risk and variation across age-groups of children in Ireland. The Nordic countries demonstrate both low rates of child poverty across all measures, and much less variation in poverty risk across age-groups of children. These countries also typically have higher public spending on family benefits.

Ireland could also look to income maximisation, which is a strategy that is used in Scotland to maximise the incomes of people living in poverty. This is a requirement under the Child Poverty (Scotland) Act 2017. In Scotland, it is widely recognised that some people who are entitled to certain in- work and out- of- work benefits are not claiming their entitlement. Income maximisation is a service that looks at people's entitlements and advises on them, and with a coordinated response across sectors to income maximisation, it has the power to improve lives at a relatively low cost (Treanor, 2020). Furthermore, research finds that money generated by maximising the incomes of people living in poverty is spent in the local community, thus benefiting a multitude of services, including local businesses (Treanor 2020).

The descriptive and regression analyses of households with children highlights the role of structural factors such as gender (lone parenthood) and migrant status, as well as socio-economic situation on poverty risk in childhood. While socio-economic status and the employment situation of families has attracted considerable attention in policy and research circles, much less attention has been paid in the Irish context to how child poverty operates along migration, minority ethnic, or racial lines. Given that children and young adults comprise the majority of minority ethnic populations in Ireland, this oversight needs to be urgently addressed by both policy and research.

The employment situation of the household (through a measure of work intensity) and the education level of the HRP continue to be two strong indicators of child poverty, across a range of measures. There is a need for an evaluation of policy developments in the areas of labour market activation, and in-work benefits

¹³ These include child-related cash transfers to families with children, public spending on services for families with children and financial support for families provided through the tax system.

(‘repairing’ low income) to determine their effectiveness in reducing child poverty. Low education continues to be a key determinant of child poverty. Research cautions that a work-first approach that seeks to alleviate poverty by moving the poor off welfare and into work as quickly as possible, placing emphasis on employment as a route out of poverty and welfare dependency, ignores the critical role that high-quality education and training play in achieving self-sufficiency, especially for the most vulnerable populations (Byrne and Murray, year). Thus, room for educational development is essential in any welfare to work strategy.

The descriptive analysis shows that despite a prioritisation and increase in state supported childcare and education, access to childcare is associated with household risk of child poverty. Households with children where the HRP is not a childcare user show higher than average rates of child poverty (income poverty) compared to households with children that use childcare. This suggests that access to childcare remains a barrier in the Irish context, highlighting the need to enhance access to affordable all-day childcare, particularly for low-income families.

Child poverty rates are particularly pronounced in households with children where the home is rented than in households where the home is owner-occupied. There is general recognition that a safe, adequate housing and living environment is necessary for child wellbeing. In the Irish context there is a need to increase the supply of social housing, but also to improve the benefit coverage of poor families and ensure that such benefits do not reduce living standards.

It is well established that several policy mechanisms are required to produce a reduction in child poverty, involving policy that spans a range of Government Departments. A multidimensional approach to the reduction of child poverty will require continuing emphasis on a cross-departmental approach among departments that support public policies for families and children. It is essential that future cross-departmental, cross-sectoral approaches to reducing child poverty should consider the persistent variation in poverty risk across age-groups of children in Ireland. Earlier in the report, the six priority areas that have been identified by Government were outlined. In recent years there have been attempts to address these measures, albeit with a disproportionate focus on labour market activation and improving rates of

parental employment to reduce the number of jobless households. Less realised have been efforts to increase investment in evidence-based, effective services around health, and reducing the costs of education and housing that can improve child poverty outcomes.

Ireland should more actively focus on the reduction of child poverty. This could be achieved through devising a comprehensive anti-poverty strategy that captures the wider range of policies that seek to improve the lives of families with children living in poverty, as recommended by OECD (2018). The National Advisory Council for Children and Young People recommend the appointment of a Child Poverty Lead to encourage and facilitate the child poverty agenda. Concerted efforts to reduce child poverty in other country contexts have gone so far as to introduce legislation to eradicate child poverty (see for example the Child Poverty (Scotland) Act 2017).

4.3 Future Research on Child Poverty

More attention needs to be paid to structural inequalities in poverty research – gender and ethnicity/race dynamics are of importance in contemporary Irish society.

Publicly available datasets could be used more extensively to inform how multiple domains of children’s lives are shaped by poverty experiences. Derived poverty variables should be available to researchers in all publicly funded nationally representative datasets such as Growing up in Ireland. This would facilitate researchers across a range of disciplines to more easily access and make use of these important variables.

Several research strands should be devised to support policy decision-making in this area. Research should be orientated to children’s experiences of poverty by age group, but also to how public spending can best reduce child poverty, the effectiveness of welfare strategies on reducing child poverty, and the macroeconomic costs of child poverty to society.

Appendix

Table A1: The share of 0-24 year olds as a percentage of the population by gender and ethnic/cultural background 2016

	0-4 Years	5-9 Years	10-14 Years	15-19 Years	20-24 Years	All Youth 0-24
% Male	7.3	7.8	7.0	6.6	5.8	34.5
% Female	6.8	7.3	6.6	6.1	5.5	32.3
% White Irish	6.9	7.4	6.8	6.5	5.5	33.1
% White Irish Traveller	13.9	13.9	11.9	9.9	8.5	58.1
% Other White Background	6.1	6.2	4.8	4.3	5.9	27.3
% Black or Black Irish - African	9.0	13.5	17.2	9.3	5.4	54.4
% Black or Black Irish	10.4	11.5	10.9	7.1	8.0	47.9
% Asian or Asian Irish - Chinese	8.0	6.9	6.6	5.4	12	38.9
% Asian or Asian Irish	9.5	11	7.7	5.9	6.7	40.8
% Other including mixed background	11.2	11.4	8.6	6.8	8.0	46.0
% Not Stated	7.9	7.0	5.6	5.8	6.0	32.3

Source: Central Statistics Office, Census of Population, 2016

Table A2: Median Real Household Disposable Income by Household Composition 2008-2018

	2008	2010	2012	2014	2016	2018
1 adult aged 65+	14,239	15,026	13,920	13,936	14,045	15,160
1 adult aged <65	19,811	17,304	18,357	18,013	17,295	20,957
2 adults, at least 1 aged 65+	27,305	30,553	27,402	28,412	31,732	35,380
2 adults, both aged <65	43,226	40,875	39,216	39,444	41,681	49,456
3 or more adults	66,409	58,703	50,502	49,957	57,854	68,620
1 adult with children under 18	23,697	27,249	22,047	22,191	21,981	28,501
2 adults with children 1-3 children aged under 18	52,021	46,552	43,574	46,075	52,394	55,548
Other households with children aged under 18	63,078	56,991	50,848	52,502	57,155	74,208

Source: CSO Statbank

Table A3: Logistic Regression Models of At-Risk-of-Poverty at 50%, 60% and 70% Lines (Odds Ratios)

	70% Poverty Line		60% Poverty Line		50% Poverty Line	
	Eq 1	Eq 2	Eq 1	Eq 2	Eq 1	Eq 2
Female	1.1	1.1	1.2	1.2	1.0	1.0
Ref: Male						
Age 6-11	1.3 [^]	1.3	2.1 ^{***}	2.1 ^{***}	1.9 ^{***}	1.9 ^{***}
Age 12-17	1.8 [*]	1.7 [*]	2.5 ^{***}	2.5 ^{***}	3.2 ^{***}	3.3 ^{***}
Ref: Age 0-5						
Dublin	0.8	0.7	0.8	0.8	1.0	1.0
Ref: All other region						
Disadvantaged	1.8 [*]	1.9 ^{**}	1.7 [*]	1.7 [*]	1.1	1.1
Not Disadv/Affluent	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	0.8	0.8
Ref: Affluent						
EU/Rest of World		2.3 ^{**}		1.1		0.8
Ref: Irish National						
Constant	.191 ^{***}	.187 ^{***}	.071 ^{***}	.071 ^{***}	.036 ^{***}	.036 ^{***}

Table A4: Logistic Regression Models of Material Deprivation and Consistent Poverty (Odds Ratios)

	Material Deprivation		Consistent Poverty	
	Eq 1	Eq 2	Eq 1	Eq 2
Female	1.0	1.0	1.2	1.2
Ref: Male				
Age 6-11	1.2	1.2	2.1 ^{***}	2.1 ^{***}
Age 12-17	1.1	1.1	2.5 ^{***}	2.5 ^{***}
Ref: Age 0-5				
Dublin	1.0	1.0	0.8	0.8
Ref: All other region				
Disadvantaged	2.2 ^{***}	2.2 ^{***}	1.7 [*]	1.7 [*]
Not Disadv/Affluent	1.3	1.3	1.5	1.5
Ref: Affluent				
EU/Rest of World		1.0		1.1
Ref: Irish National				
Constant	.157 ^{***}	.156 ^{***}	.071 ^{***}	.071 ^{***}

Table A5: Logistic Regression Models of 60% Poverty Line, Material Deprivation and Consistent Poverty (Odds Ratios)

	60% Poverty Line		Material Deprivation		Consistent Poverty	
	Eq 1	Eq 2	Eq 1	Eq 2	Eq 1	Eq 2
One or more 0-5's	1.0	0.9	1.7**	1.7*	1.2	1.0
Ref: No 0-5's						
One or more 6-11's	1.3	1.0	1.1	1.0	1.6	1.3
Ref: No 6-11's						
One or more 12-17's	2.3*	2.4**	1.6^	1.6^	1.8	1.8
Ref: No 12-17's						
3+ Children	1.7^	1.7^	1.1	1.0	2.1^	2.1^
Ref: 1-2 Children						
HRP Migrant	1.9**	1.6*	1.3	1.2	1.6^	1.4
Ref: HRP Not Migrant						
HRP Health Limited	3.6***	2.5**	2.7***	2.2**	3.1***	2.1^
Ref: Not Limited						
HRP Lone Parent	4.1***	2.0^	5.0***	3.4***	5.3***	2.7*
Ref: HRP Couple						
HRP Low Education	2.3**	1.7^	2.0**	1.7*	2.1*	1.5
HRP Degree+	1.0	1.2	0.6*	0.6^	0.7	0.9
Ref: Upper Sec						
Disadvantaged Area	1.4	1.4	1.5^	1.5^	1.7	1.7
Ref: All other regions						
Rural Area	1.3	1.6^	1.0	1.1	1.2	1.4
Ref: Urban area						
VLWI Household		11.3***		3.6***		6.6***
Ref: Other WI Hhold						
Constant	.024***	.020***	.062***	.063***	.009***	.008***
N=1465 Households						

Table A6: Rates of Children at Risk of Poverty (60% Median Income) in the EU, 2018

	All Age 0-17	Age 0-5	Age 6-11	Age 12-17
Austria	19.2	21.6	17.8	18.0
Belgium	20.1	20.2	18.4	21.8
Bulgaria	26.6	25.7	27.0	26.8
Croatia	19.7	16.5	19.5	22.7
Cyprus	17.3	20.7	12.8	18.
Czechia	11.	10.1	9.8	13.7
Denmark	11.	9.7	13.1	9.8
Estonia	15.2	13.9	15.2	16.8
EU28	20.2	18.4	19.7	22.4
Finland	11.1	11.5	9.3	12.3
France	19.9	18.	18.6	23.
Germany	14.5	14.6	12.9	16.1
Greece	22.7	19.4	21.4	27.
Hungary	13.8	11.3	12.	18.4
Ireland	15.8	9.4	17.5	19.2
Italy	26.2	25.6	25.2	27.9
Latvia	17.5	12.	18.3	23.
Lithuania	23.9	24.8	20.2	26.7
Luxembourg	22.7	24.3	20.6	23.
Malta	21.4	17.7	23.2	23.2
Netherlands	13.1	10.6	14.1	14.1
Poland	13.	10.7	11.6	17.6
Portugal	19.	14.	16.7	24.7
Romania	32.	23.9	34.2	33.9
Slovakia	20.5	19.8	18.8	22.9
Slovenia	11.7	13.3	10.3	11.7
Spain	26.8	24.5	27.3	28.6
Sweden	19.3	21.4	18.6	17.8
United Kingdom	23.5	22.5	23.6	24.2

Source: Eurostat

Table A7: Rates of Severe Material Deprivation Among Children in the EU, 2018

	All Age 0-17	Age 0-5	Age 6-11	Age 12-17
Austria	3.6	3.2	3.8	3.7
Belgium	6.9	7.5	6.7	6.6
Bulgaria	19.1	17.6	17.2	22.5
Croatia	7.6	6.3	8.1	8.0
Cyprus	12.6	14.0	10.3	13.3
Czechia	3.4	2.9	3.2	4.3
Denmark	4.3	5.3	4.3	3.4
Estonia	3.5	2.5	2.1	4.4
EU28	6.5	5.9	6.6	7.1
Finland	2.7	2.8	2.4	3.0
France	5.7	5.0	6.2	5.9
Germany	2.7	2.8	2.1	3.1
Greece	18.6	16.4	18.2	20.8
Hungary	15.2	16.4	14.1	15.2
Ireland	6.7	5.2	5.6	8.7
Italy	8.1	8.8	7.5	8.1
Latvia	8.3	6.5	7.5	11.4
Lithuania	10.0	6.8	9.0	14.7
Luxembourg	1.5	1.2	2.0	1.4
Malta	4.0	2.7	4.3	4.9
Netherlands	2.3	2.3	2.0	2.7
Poland	3.6	2.3	3.4	5.4
Portugal	5.7	4.3	5.7	6.8
Romania	19.7	19.0	21.8	18.0
Slovakia	9.0	9.4	7.6	10.1
Slovenia	2.2	2.6	3.8	2.6
Spain	6.5	6.7	6.3	6.4
Sweden	2.3	3.0	1.9	2.1
United Kingdom	7.0	6.5	7.2	7.4

Source: Eurostat

Table A8: Percentage of Children Living in Low Work Intensity Households in the EU, 2018

	All Age 0-17	Age 0-5	Age 6-11	Age 12-17
Austria	6.1	8.6	5.1	4.6
Belgium	11.9	11.1	11.2	13.4
Bulgaria	10.4	10.8	10.5	9.8
Croatia	9.0	8.3	9.0	9.8
Cyprus	8.8	9.2	8.3	8.8
Czechia	4.6	5.0	4.7	3.9
Denmark	7.4	6.4	7.6	8.1
Estonia	3.6	4.6	3.3	2.7
EU28	7.4	6.8	7.3	8.0
Finland	8.6	10.6	6.8	8.6
France	7.5	6.4	7.4	8.9
Germany	6.0	6.1	6.1	6.0
Greece	9.0	7.0	8.5	11.2
Hungary	4.8	4.8	4.7	4.8
Ireland	14.8	12.0	18.2	14.0
Italy	7.3	7.0	6.3	8.7
Latvia	5.9	5.2	4.9	7.9
Lithuania	10.4	10.0	9.0	12.4
Luxembourg	3.8	2.6	3.1	5.5
Malta	6.3	4.0	7.5	7.3
Netherlands	5.8	4.0	6.6	6.6
Poland	4.3	3.3	4.2	5.6
Portugal	5.5	4.5	5.0	6.7
Romania	7.0	6.7	7.0	7.2
Slovakia	6.3	6.5	5.7	6.9
Slovenia	2.2	2.4	1.9	2.2
Spain	7.6	5.9	8.0	9.0
Sweden	9.1	11.0	8.4	8.0
United Kingdom	9.4	9.6	9.5	9.1

Source: Eurostat

Table A9: Percentage of Children in the EU At Risk of Poverty or Social Exclusion, 2018

	All Age 0-17	Age 0-5	Age 6-11	Age 12-17
Austria	21.6	24.1	20.1	20.5
Belgium	23.0	21.8	20.7	26.5
Bulgaria	33.7	31.6	32.8	36.5
Croatia	23.7	20.3	23.6	26.9
Cyprus	25.5	27.5	21.1	27.7
Czechia	13.2	12.3	11.4	16.3
Denmark	15.2	13.5	17.0	14.5
Estonia	17.9	16.8	17.5	19.8
EU28	24.2	21.1	22.9	26.1
Finland	16.0	17.4	14.3	16.5
France	22.9	20.3	22.7	25.8
Germany	17.3	17.2	16.0	18.8
Greece	33.3	27.8	32.4	39.0
Hungary	23.8	22.9	21.9	26.8
Ireland	24.1	17.4	26.1	27.3
Italy	30.6	30.6	28.8	32.3
Latvia	22.5	18.1	22.5	27.5
Lithuania	28.0	28.3	22.9	32.9
Luxembourg	23.5	24.6	21.0	24.7
Malta	23.0	18.8	24.2	25.7
Netherlands	15.2	12.0	16.5	17.1
Poland	17.2	13.6	16.0	23.1
Portugal	21.9	16.1	19.6	28.3
Romania	38.1	30.8	39.4	40.3
Slovakia	23.8	23.8	22.0	25.6
Slovenia	13.1	15.1	11.4	13.0
Spain	29.5	26.8	29.9	31.9
Sweden	21.0	22.2	20.1	19.4
United Kingdom	28.9	27.6	29.4	29.7

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