

"This is an Author's Accepted Manuscript of an article published in *International Review of Economics* , Vol. 64, Issue 2, June 2017, pp.125–143. The final publication is available at <https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007%2Fs12232-016-0265-0> ”.

# International Review of Economics

## Poverty, Economic Stress and Quality of Life - Lessons from the Irish Case

--Manuscript Draft--

<b>Manuscript Number:</b>	IREC-D-16-00028R1	
<b>Full Title:</b>	Poverty, Economic Stress and Quality of Life - Lessons from the Irish Case	
<b>Article Type:</b>	S.I. : Happiness and Health	
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<b>Abstract:</b>	<p>The issue of multidimensionality is well-established in poverty research and it is generally recognised that income alone is inadequate as a measure of social inclusion or quality of life (Ringen, 1988; Maître, Nolan and Whelan, 2006; Whelan, 2007; European Commission, 2010; European Commission, 2013; Stiglitz, Sen and Fitoussi, 2009). However, social policy still tends to address the different dimensions of quality of life (QoL) - such as poverty, health, housing and social cohesion - in isolation. This raises the question of the variation across dimensions or groups in the extent of multidimensionality. For instance, are housing or health problems experienced by people with a range of other QoL problems, or do they tend to occur in isolation? Does this differ between social risk groups, such as lone parents, older adults or children? The answers have implications for the service needs of people with health problems or with inadequate housing. We address these issues in this paper, analysing the 2013 Quality of Life module on the EU-SILC data for Ireland and adapting the Adjusted Headcount Ratio (AHCR) methodology of Alkire and Foster (Alkire and Foster, 2007, 2011a and b) to address the issue of multidimensionality.</p>	
<b>Response to Reviewers:</b>	<p>We have revised the manuscript based on the very helpful comments of the reviewers. The main changes are as follows:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Discussed our understanding of the concept of quality of life on page 1</li> <li>2. Related dimensions of QoL to Sen's capabilities approach</li> <li>3. Clarified the strengths and weaknesses of the AHCR approach compared to some alternatives</li> <li>4. Clarified our understanding of social risk groups (p. 8)</li> <li>5. Explained why equal weighting of dimension was chosen (p. 6)</li> <li>6. Corrected typos</li> </ol>	

7. Based Figure 1 on all persons (not just adults)

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# Poverty, Economic Stress and Quality of Life - Lessons from the Irish Case

## Abstract

The issue of multidimensionality is well-established in poverty research and it is generally recognised that income alone is inadequate as a measure of social inclusion or quality of life (Ringen, 1988; Maître, Nolan and Whelan, 2006; Whelan, 2007; European Commission, 2010; European Commission, 2013; Stiglitz, Sen and Fitoussi, 2009). However, social policy still tends to address the different dimensions of quality of life (QoL) – such as poverty, health, housing and social cohesion – in isolation. This raises the question of the variation across dimensions or groups in the extent of multidimensionality. For instance, are housing or health problems experienced by people with a range of other QoL problems, or do they tend to occur in isolation? Does this differ between social risk groups, such as lone parents, older adults or children? The answers have implications for the service needs of people with health problems or with inadequate housing. We address these issues in this paper, analysing the 2013 Quality of Life module on the EU-SILC data for Ireland and adapting the Adjusted Headcount Ratio (AHCR) methodology of Alkire and Foster (Alkire and Foster, 2007, 2011a and b) to address the issue of multidimensionality.

**Keywords:** Quality of Life; Multidimensionality; Poverty; Ireland; Adjusted Headcount Ratio

**JEL codes:** I140; I310; I320

## Introduction

The issue of multidimensionality is well-established in discussions of poverty. Since the work of Townsend (1979) it is accepted that poverty does not simply consist of low income but that it is more broadly about the “inability to participate fully in society” due to a lack of resources (Townsend, 1979, p.31). There is now general recognition that income alone is inadequate as a measure of social inclusion or quality of life (QoL) (Ringen, 1988; Maître, Nolan and Whelan, 2006; Whelan, 2007; European Commission, 2010; European Commission, 2013; Stiglitz, Sen and Fitoussi, 2009). The multidimensional nature of poverty creates measurement challenges which have been an important focus of research (Moisio, 2004; Whelan and Maître, 2005; Whelan, Nolan and Maître, 2014; Kakwani and Silber, 2007). The academic and policy debates on such methodological approaches have highlighted a tension between the value of summary indices for communication to a wide audience and the potentially arbitrary nature of the decisions required in combining distinct dimensions.

However, there has been less emphasis on variations across social groups or dimensions in the extent of multidimensionality. For instance, are quality of life (QoL) problems in dimensions such as housing or health experienced by people with a range of other QoL problems, or do they tend to occur in isolation? Does this differ between social risk groups, such as lone parents, older adults or children?

Approaching individual QoL domains from a multidimensional perspective involves asking whether housing problems, for instance, are experienced by people who also have a range of other quality of life problems. The extent to which this is true will have a bearing on whether housing policy needs to grapple with broader aspects of disadvantage or can focus on housing supply. It is this issue which is the focus of the present paper.

Our concept of quality of life is informed by the capabilities approach of Sen, which emphasises the type and range of things that people are enabled to do or to be (Sen, 1992, 1993, 2009). Income and, more broadly, resources are of instrumental importance as they condition that range of options in terms of what a person can be or do. From the perspective of QoL, resources are an important component of what enables people to have choices. However, resource-based measures are not a very precise indicator of what a person can be or do because people may have different needs which means that they may require different levels of resources in order to achieve the same outcomes. As Sen puts it, different “conversion” factors are involved. Also, some outcomes may not be responsive to differential resources. The capabilities approach is flexible enough to embrace non-material resources such as health and mental well-being, social support and a stable socio-political environment.

We draw on the 2013 Survey on Income and Living Conditions (SILC) data for Ireland to develop a multidimensional indicator of quality of life problems. In the spirit of going ‘beyond GDP’, this analysis considers quality of life more broadly. The decision to focus on the disadvantaged end of the spectrum (quality of life problems rather than quality of life in the positive sense) derives from a general concern with social exclusion: it is those who are particularly disadvantaged that are excluded from the normal or typical way of life of a community.

## The challenge of capturing multidimensionality

One challenge that must be faced in seeking to capture multidimensionality is the question of how to combine different dimensions. The ‘counting’ approach would involve summing the number of dimensions on which an individual is deemed to have a problem (Atkinson, 2003). Atkinson goes on to distinguish between the union and intersection approaches to counting dimensions. The union approach would count as poor or deprived anyone lacking on any of the dimensions. This is the approach adopted in the EU2020 target: the population ‘at risk of poverty or exclusion’ consists of those at-risk-of-poverty (i.e. below the 60% of median poverty threshold), or experiencing severe material deprivation (i.e. lacking at least four of nine basic goods and services) or being in a household with very low work intensity (VLWI) (i.e. a jobless household containing working-age adults). The intersection approach, on the other hand, is adopted in setting the Irish anti-poverty target. This target is defined in terms of ‘consistent poverty’ which involves being below the 60% of the median income poverty threshold and lacking 2 or more of 11 basic goods and services (Department of Social Protection, 2015).

The problem with the union and intersection approaches is that, as a consequence of the fact that deprivation dimensions tend to be more moderately correlated than is generally assumed, they tend not to perform particularly well in terms of identifying the poor. Where the number of dimensions is large, the union approach can result in the identification of an implausibly large group while the intersection approach can result in the identification of an extremely small minority (Whelan, Nolan and Maître, 2014).

A number of increasingly sophisticated approaches to the issue of multidimensionality have been developed to address these problems. In this paper we take as a starting point a specific multidimensional approach with clearly understood axiomatic properties, namely the one developed by Alkire and Foster (2007, 2011a and b). This is a methodology that allows one to examine differences between groups in both the levels and patterns of multidimensional disadvantage. We extend it in this paper to ask the extent to which an individual with problems on one QoL dimension is likely to have problems on multiple other dimensions as well.

A number of authors have questioned the need for a multidimensional poverty index (Ravillion, 2011) and there has been robust debate relating to the merits of an aggregate indicator such as the composite United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Human Development Index versus the set of Millenium Development Goals which avoid such aggregation. Without arbitrating on the relative value of these alternatives, here we maintain the position that where a multidimensional index is constructed, there is much to be gained from adopting an approach that with clearly understood axiomatic properties.

## Methodology

### Data

The data are from the 2013 Survey on Income and Living Conditions (SILC) for Ireland, an instrument designed to provide statistics on household and individual income as well as related indicators of living standards, poverty and inequality (CSO, 2013). Within each household, every adult (aged 16 and over) is interviewed face-to-face and detailed information is also collected on the household as a whole. The total sample size in 2013 was 4,922 households and 12,663 individuals.

1 The SILC sample is re-weighted to ensure that it is representative of the population, including design  
2 weights and re-calibration on the basis of age by sex (four age categories), region (eight regions) and  
3 household composition (six categories) (CSO 2012, p. 88).

4 In 2013, a special module was added to the SILC survey designed to capture a range of dimensions of  
5 quality of life (QoL) in addition to the core variables collected in every wave. The QoL module was  
6 completed by adults in the household who were interviewed directly (i.e. excluding those  
7 interviewed by proxy). We excluded the population interviewed by proxy. The rate of proxy  
8 interviews in SILC 2013 for Ireland was high (at about 35 per cent), so that the module data was  
9 available for just over 6,100 adults, or 65 per cent of those over the age of 16 in the SILC 2013  
10 households. In order to include children in the analysis here, we attribute the AHCR score of the  
11 mother to the children in a household.  
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### 16 **Adjusted Headcount Ratio (AHCR) methodology**

17 This methodology originated in the economic literature on the multidimensionality of poverty and  
18 inequality that was largely influenced by the work of Amartya Sen (1979; 1985; 1992, 1999). The  
19 approach initially focused on multidimensional poverty in the developing world (CONEVAL, 2010;  
20 Alkire and Santos, 2010, 2014; Angulo et al., 2013; Ministerio de Desarrollo Social, 2015). Recent  
21 work has applied this approach to developed countries and have examined the situation in the US  
22 and Europe (Alkire et al, 2012; Watson, Maître and Kingston, 2014; Whelan et al., 2014; Williams et  
23 al., 2014; Dhongde and Haveman, 2016). Alkire and Foster (2011) demonstrate that their  
24 methodology is characterised by a number of desirable axiomatic properties. Of particular relevance  
25 for our analysis is decomposability in relation to dimensions and socio-economic groups.  
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31 The AHCR methodology is structured around three distinct choices (Alkire and Foster, 2007, 2011a  
32 and b). These are:

- 33 1. The choice of dimensions and indicators (and weights)
- 34 2. The choice of indicator thresholds – this is the threshold on each indicator beyond which an  
35 individual will be regarded as ‘deprived’ or as ‘experiencing a deficit’.
- 36 3. The choice of overall multidimensional threshold – this is the decision regarding on how many  
37 indicators someone must experience problems before they are regarded as having multi-  
38 dimensional QoL problems.

39 It should be clear that the AHCR methodology as such has nothing to say regarding the number and  
40 type of dimensions to be included in the analysis. In choosing the dimensions in the present analysis  
41 we have drawn on the set of QoL items included in the 2013 SILC module, as well as a number of  
42 items from the core of SILC. There is no universally agreed set of dimensions of quality of life, with  
43 several studies opting for different sets of dimensions (Fahey et al., 2005; Layte et al., 2010; Sen,  
44 1992, 1993; NESO, 2009; *Canadian Index of Well-being (CIW)*, 2012; *OECD Better Life Index*; Watson,  
45 Pichler and Wallace, 2010; Sponsorship Group on Measuring Progress, Well-being and Sustainable  
46 Development, 2011; Eurostat, 2015).

47 In the current analysis we have drawn on previous analysis at EU level in order to identify a set of  
48 dimensions that allows our findings to be located in a wider comparative context (Eurostat, 2015).  
49 An alternative approach would involve employing clustering techniques such as latent class analysis  
50 or self-organising maps). Such techniques differ in terms of the extent to which they involve prior  
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1 assumptions relating to the number and type of dimensions involved and the optimum thresholds  
2 relating to constituent items. In general there tends to be a trade-off between the strength of prior  
3 assumptions and the challenges presented by *post hoc* interpretation of the findings (Pisati et al.,  
4 2010; Whelan et al., 2010). Further analysis would be valuable in establishing the extent to which  
5 the conclusions deriving from the current analysis are affected by our choice of dimensions based on  
6 substantive rather than statistical considerations.  
7

8 A number of considerations inform the choice of dimensions. First, the dimensions must correspond  
9 to the unit of analysis. Since we analyse individuals and households, aggregate indicators such as the  
10 Gini coefficient are not useful because they do not vary across individuals within countries. Second,  
11 the indicator should be relevant to all of the groups being compared. Where we compare levels of  
12 QoL problems for people at different stages of the life-cycle, dimensions specific to particular life-  
13 cycle stages (such as work-life balance or access to child care) are not appropriate. Finally, the  
14 nature of the analysis with respect to causal inference will also have an influence on whether or not  
15 certain dimensions are included. It would not be possible to assess the impact of having a disability  
16 on quality of life, as we wish to do here, if one included disability as a component of the QoL  
17 indicator (as in Dhonge and Haveman, 2016 or Mitra and Brucker, 2014). As Whelan and Whelan  
18 (1995) argue, an uncritical insistence on multidimensionality in the indicator could paradoxically  
19 have the effect of obscuring the processes involved in generating social exclusion.  
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22 The dimensions chosen are shown in Table 1. Given the focus on social inclusion, it was important to  
23 include the two Irish national indicators of poverty: income poverty and deprivation. The other  
24 dimensions were financial strain, poor health, mental distress, crowding, housing quality problems,  
25 neighbourhood problems, and institutional mistrust, lack of social support and lack of safety.  
26

27 From the capability perspective, income is an important resource and income poverty is a mark of  
28 inadequate resources. Deprivation and financial strain capture elements of the extent to which the  
29 available material resources meet the households' needs. This will be sensitive to differences in  
30 'conversion factors' which will be influenced by characteristics of the household (such as need for  
31 childcare, presence of disability) and also the socio-political context (range of services that are  
32 'decommodified' or provided by the state versus needing to be purchased on the market, Esping-  
33 Andersen, 1990, 2002). Health problems and mental distress capture elements of the individual's  
34 personal or embodied resources or the lack thereof. These are both resources and also indicators of  
35 the cumulative impact of a history of negative material and social experiences as evidenced by the  
36 social gradient in health (Marmot. 2015). Crowding and housing quality problems are indicators of  
37 QoL problems in the area of housing – evidence of a reduced capability. Neighbourhood problems,  
38 institutional mistrust, lack of social support and lack of safety are all aspects of the quality of society  
39 and community which may be a drain on the individual's personal or material resources or may  
40 contribute to personal and social resilience.  
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43 Having chosen the indicators, we now need to decide at what level the person will be regarded as  
44 having a QoL problem on each indicator. If we have an item with a yes/no response, then the choice  
45 is limited to taking the group with the 'yes' responses as having a quality of life deficit. Where there  
46 is a range of responses or a scale, there is an element of arbitrariness in deciding on a threshold on  
47 the basis of which to identify those with QoL problems. One wants to identify a group for whom the  
48 problem is in some sense significant. The rationale we adopt here, following Whelan, Nolan and  
49 Maître (2014) is to take the income poverty rate (at-risk-of-poverty rate) as a benchmark. Income  
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1 poverty is a widely-used indicator of poverty in the EU as well as in Ireland. In 2013 the income  
2 poverty rate across the entire population in Ireland was 15.2 per cent. We choose the threshold on  
3 each QoL indicator that identifies a group that is as close as possible in size to the overall percentage  
4 of people who are at-risk-of-poverty. This threshold has the merit of being linked to an indicator of  
5 social exclusion that has broad acceptance in European social policy. The thresholds were  
6 developed for the population of adults interviewed directly and, as noted above, the scores of the  
7 parent were applied to children.  
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10 [Table 1 here]

11 Each of the dimensions was weighted equally, following Whelan, Nolan and Maître (2014). For some  
12 purposes it might be appropriate to give the items different weights. For instance, if the items  
13 captured whether or not a household could afford each of a set of goods or services, we might give a  
14 higher weight to those deemed more important to 'essential' according to certain external criteria.  
15 For instance, it might be the case that lack of access to adequate heating for the home was more  
16 'important' than an inability to afford to replace worn-out furniture. Consideration of weighting  
17 would be particularly important where the thresholds on the items were very different but, as we  
18 shall see in the next step, we adopt a similar threshold across all items. Given our research question  
19 here, however, an equal weighting of the items is more appropriate. We are essentially interested in  
20 whether those meeting a certain threshold (in terms of the population percent deprived) on one  
21 domain will meet the same threshold on multiple domains. The interpretation of the results would  
22 be difficult if different thresholds had been used on the different domains.  
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29 The third column of Table 1 shows the percentage identified as experiencing disadvantage on each  
30 dimension. The thresholds were developed on the basis of responses from the adults aged 16 and  
31 over who were interviewed directly, and the figures for this group are shown in Table 1. Their  
32 income poverty rate is a little lower (14.6 per cent) than for the general population, because the rate  
33 of income poverty is higher for children who are not included here.  
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36 The threshold for the deprivation items was 4 or more items which is higher than the national basic  
37 deprivation threshold of 2 or more. This is because the level of basic deprivation (close to 30 per  
38 cent across the entire population in 2013 were unable to afford two or more of the items) was much  
39 higher than the 15.2 per cent which is the target cut-off here. In fact, the level identified by the 4+  
40 threshold is 13 per cent, which is much closer to the target.  
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43 Apart from lacking social support, the range across the dimensions is from about 13 per cent to  
44 about 20 per cent. The threshold on the indicator for lacking social support is lower at just 6.7 per  
45 cent, because very few people identify a lack of social support on these indicators.  
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48 The second threshold is used to determine whether a person has deficits on a sufficient number of  
49 dimensions to be considered as having multidimensional QoL problems. Thus in order to be  
50 considered as having multidimensional QoL problems – as opposed to having problems with  
51 particular dimensions – an individual must be above the appropriate dimension-specific threshold on  
52 the requisite number of dimensions (Whelan, Nolan and Maître, 2014).  
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55 Figure 1 shows the percentage of the adults who exceeded the threshold on each number of  
56 dimensions. The union and intersection approach to capturing multidimensionality can be  
57 illustrated with respect to Figure 1. If we were to regard someone experiencing any of these quality  
58 of life problems – the union approach – this would identify close to 70 per cent of the population as  
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1 having multidimensional QoL deficits. This is clearly so high as to compromise its usefulness. Further,  
2 26 per cent of them have problems on only one of the dimensions, so it is difficult to see how their  
3 experience can be viewed as 'multidimensional' in terms of the dimensions distinguished here. At  
4 the other extreme, if we required someone to be experiencing problems on all eleven of the  
5 dimensions, we would identify nobody as having multidimensional QoL problems.  
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7 [Figure 1 here]  
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9 Again, there is a certain level of arbitrariness in deciding on where to set this threshold. Choosing a  
10 threshold of three or more indicators would identify 27.8 per cent of persons as experiencing  
11 multiple QoL deficits, while a threshold of four or more indicators would identify 15.4 per cent.  
12 Identifying the larger group (27.8 per cent) has the merit of making more cases available within  
13 subgroups (such as age groups or social classes) for whom the AHCR could be decomposed.  
14 Therefore, we adopt the threshold of three or more here: someone experiencing problems on three  
15 or more of the indicators is regarded as having multidimensional quality of life problems.  
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### 19 **Measuring Social Risk Groups** 20

21 We distinguish social risk groups on the basis of their different capacities to meet their needs  
22 through paid work, either directly through their own work or indirectly through work of other family  
23 members. They are characterised by different kinds of challenges or barriers to participation in  
24 employment, which is the main way of accessing resources for those without substantial capital.  
25 This is different from social class differences which we would see as distinctions that operate within  
26 the market rather than barriers to market participation. The kinds of challenges might be linked to:  
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- 30 • Life cycle stage: children and people older than 'working age' adults
- 31 • Personal resources: illness or disability may limit a person's capacity to work as well as  
32 involving additional costs associated with treatment, medication or disability-specific devices  
33 and aids.
- 34 • Non-work responsibilities: responsibility for child care or others who have an illness or  
35 disability is likely to reduce the time available for paid work.  
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39 In the context of a capabilities approach, different social risk groups could also be seen as reflecting  
40 both differential needs and differential capacity to convert resources into capabilities. For instance,  
41 many people with a disability face higher costs associated with the disability itself, so that fewer  
42 resources are available for other things. Different life-course stages also tend to be associated with  
43 differential needs, with the highest levels of need for material resources typically found in the  
44 household formation and family formation stages. Table 2 shows the social risk groups we identify  
45 and the percentage of the population in each in 2013.  
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49 [Table 2 here]  
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51 It is possible to identify other dimensions of differentiation such as those based on employment/  
52 unemployment or differences in human capital – skills, education, experience, time out of work and  
53 so on. However, we would argue that these subdivisions are better regarded as sources of variation  
54 within social risk groups (such as among lone parents or other working-age adults) rather than as  
55 constituting distinct social risk groups. Levels and types of education are consequential in terms of  
56 social class position, that is, with market power. Having a job, or not, once the person is seeking  
57 work is also a consequence both of market power of the individual and of overall demand for labour  
58 (which is influenced by the business cycle).  
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## Quality of life problems by social risk: Level and Decomposition

As well as having the advantage of being explicit regarding the decisions made in constructing the index, an important strength of the AHCR approach is in allowing comparisons between groups in terms of both the level and the composition of their disadvantage (Alkire and Foster, 2011b). This means that it is possible to calculate the contribution of each dimension to the AHCR for different groups and the proportion of the total population AHCR accounted for by each socio-economic group (Whelan, Nolan and Maître, 2014).

Three different indicators of the level of multidimensional disadvantage can be derived from the AHCR methodology, as illustrated in Table 3. The head count (H) is the proportion of people who are experiencing multidimensional QoL deficits – the percentage experiencing 3 or more quality of life problems. As noted above, this is 27.8 per cent overall. It ranges from 54 per cent for working age adults with a disability and 46 per cent for lone parents down to 18 per cent for other adults age 30 to 65 and 20 per cent for those aged 66 and over. The ratio of highest to lowest is 2.9.

[Table 3 here]

The intensity (I) is the average deficit score for those experiencing multidimensional QoL deficits – the proportion of the QoL indicators on which they experience a deficit. This is 37.6 per cent in the present case, indicating that those who are experiencing three or more QoL problems have problems on roughly one third of dimensions included, or just over 4 of the 11 indicators. The intensity ranges from 33 per cent to 42 per cent across social risk groups. Intensity tends to be higher for the groups with the highest headcount but differences by intensity are more muted than differences in headcount

The third indicator of the level of multidimensional QoL problems is the adjusted head count ratio (AHCR). This is the product of the head count and the intensity, with the intensity set to zero for cases where person is below the three or more threshold. The AHCR is 10.5 out of 100 for the total population. This does not refer to a percentage of the population – that is what the headcount does – but rather to the proportion of the total problems possible (i.e. if all the population had all eleven problems) that is found in the population. A score of zero would indicate that no member of the population experiences problems with 3 or more of the QoL indicators. A score of 100 would indicate that all members of the population have problems with the maximum possible number of QoL indicators – a highly unlikely occurrence. The AHCR figure is particularly useful when comparing different groups in the population, as we do for social risk groups. It ranges from 6 to 22 per cent by social risk group. Differences between groups are mainly driven by the headcount rather than the intensity which does not differ a great deal between those that are already above the 3+ threshold.

As Alkire et al. (2015:188-189) note, from a capability perspective a higher value of AHCR is interpreted as representing more ‘unfreedom’. Deprivations among the poor can be interpreted as them not having the capability to achieve the associated functionings under the following assumptions regarding the parameters:

- (a) Indicators measure (or proxy) functionings or capabilities;
- (b) People generally value being below the deprivation cut-off level of each indicator;
- (c) Weighting choices are defensible;
- (d) The cross dimensional poverty cut-off reflects who is capability-poor.

1 The decomposition in the final column of Table 3 shows the percentage of the total package of QoL  
2 problems in the population that is accounted for by the problems in each social risk group. It will be  
3 a function of the sizes of the groups as shown in Table 2 and the level of problems as shown in the  
4 AHCR column in Table 3. In terms of social risk group, other adults age 30 to 65 account for 23 per  
5 cent of the total. Although the level of social risk problems in this group is relatively low, it is a large  
6 group, particularly compared to lone parents and working age adults with a disability. Nevertheless,  
7 lone parents and their children account for 19 per cent of QoL problems while working age disabled  
8 adults and their children account for 26 per cent.

### 11 **Decomposition of multidimensional QoL by dimension**

12 One of the advantages of the adjusted head count ratio measure is that it is decomposable not only  
13 in terms of group, as we saw above, but also in terms of dimensions of QoL within groups. This  
14 decomposition is not the same as the percentage of the population who have problems on each  
15 dimension but the contribution of each dimension to the overall QoL deficit 'package' (or AHCR) of  
16 the group. For instance, roughly 15 per cent of the population experience income poverty and  
17 income poverty contributes roughly 8 per cent to the total AHCR. The figure for the decomposition is  
18 lower not only because the decomposition must sum to 100 but also because not all of those who  
19 are deprived on each dimension have problems on 3 or more dimensions.<sup>1</sup>

20 From the second column of Table 4 we can see that six of the eleven items each contribute 10-11  
21 per cent to the AHCR (deprivation, financial strain, mental distress, crowding, housing quality,  
22 neighbourhood problems). At the other end of the scale, lack of social support and lack of safety  
23 each contribute less than 6 per cent; in one case because the indicator has a low prevalence in the  
24 population (lack of social support) and in the other because the indicator is less likely to occur as  
25 part of a multidimensional complex of problems (lack of sense of safety).

26 In the second column, we began with the observation of multidimensionality and asked how  
27 'central' the different dimensions were in terms of their contribution to the totality of  
28 multidimensional QoL problems. It is also possible to approach the question from another  
29 perspective, which is an extension to the AHCR approach. This would be to begin with the different  
30 dimensions (income poverty, health, deprivation etc.) and ask to what extent the 15 per cent of the  
31 population with the greatest problems on each dimension have multiple other QoL problems. This  
32 question might be of interest to in health policy, for example, since the presence of problems related  
33 to housing, lack of social support and so on would have implications for service needs of those with  
34 health problems. We focus on the headcount because there is little variation in intensity by social  
35 risk group and most of the difference between groups in the AHCR is driven by differences in the  
36 headcount.

37 [Table 4 here]

38 The third column of the table shows the percentage of those who are deprived on each indicator  
39 who have problems on multiple (three or more) indicators. We could term this the  
40 multidimensionality quotient (MQ) – the proportion of the specific kinds of QoL problem that is  
41 found among those with multidimensional problems. It varies by dimension, as can be seen in Table  
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43 <sup>1</sup> The percentage of the income poor who have 3 or more of the eleven QoL problems is shown in the third  
44 column of Table 4, discussed below.

1 4. The figure is over 70 per cent for four of the indicators: deprivation, financial stress, mental  
2 distress and lack of social support. Where these individual QoL problems occur, they are likely to be  
3 part of a constellation of QoL problems. On the other hand, crowding, neighbourhood problems and  
4 lack of safety are found as part of such a constellation in between 50 and 59 per cent of cases.  
5 Income poverty is only slightly above this at 61.4 per cent. Neighbourhood problems, lack of safety  
6 and income poverty are somewhat less central than the other ten indicators to multidimensional  
7 QoL problems in the sense that they are slightly more likely than the other indicators to be found in  
8 the absence of other QoL problems.  
9

### 11 **Decomposition of by dimension within social risk group**

12  
13 As well as the decomposition by social risk group and by dimension, the AHCR can be decomposed  
14 by dimension within social risk group. This is shown in Figure 2. The indicators are sorted so that  
15 those that do not vary very much by social group are at the bottom of the chart to make it easier to  
16 see which dimensions differ by group. The most noticeable pattern is that the relative importance of  
17 the dimensions differs markedly between those over age 66 and younger adults and children.  
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20  
21 Looking across dimensions, the differences between the social risk groups are most noticeable for  
22 poor health, lack of safety, crowding and financial stress. Poor health and lack of safety are more  
23 significant for older adults than for their younger counterparts. Poor health is also more significant  
24 for working age adults with a disability and mental distress is also relatively more important for this  
25 group. Financial stress and crowding, on the other hand, are relatively more significant among  
26 households with children. Crowding, in particular, declines very sharply with age, accounting for less  
27 than 1 per cent of the QoL problems of adults age 66 and over, compared to 21 per cent among  
28 children. Poverty and deprivation are most significant for lone parents and their children and  
29 mistrust in institutions is relatively more important for adults under age 30.  
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32  
33 Problems with housing quality, lack of social support and neighbourhood problems do not differ a  
34 great deal in their relative contribution to the AHCR across social risk groups.  
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37 [Figure 2 here]  
38

### 39 **Proportion of those with each kind of problem who have multiple other problems**

40  
41 We can also bring a second perspective to bear on variations in the manner in which dimensions of  
42 deprivation are interlinked in the population as a whole by focusing on the multidimensionality  
43 quotient broken down by social risk group. Do the social risk groups differ in terms of whether any  
44 particular QoL problem will occur on its own or be part of a multidimensional constellation of QoL  
45 problems? Since the level of multidimensional QoL problems (both the headcount and AHCR) is high  
46 for families of lone parents and adults with a disability, then any particular QoL problem for these  
47 groups is likely to co-occur with several others. The average MQ across dimensions is shown in the  
48 last column of the table beneath Figure 3. However, if we take the higher MQ for some groups as  
49 read, we can shift the focus to the relative MQ for the different items within group by dividing by the  
50 average MQ across items. This allows us to compare by dimension within groups and ask whether  
51 those experiencing deprivation on a specific QoL dimension are *more or less likely than average*  
52 *across dimensions for the group* to be found among those with at least three QoL problems. For  
53 instance, the MQ for deprivation is 85.5 per cent for lone parents and their children compared to an  
54 average MQ across dimensions of 78.5 per cent. The relative MQ is 85.5/78.5 or 1.09. Deprivation is  
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1 somewhat more likely than the other dimensions, then, to occur together with at least two other  
2 types of QoL problems for lone parent families.

3 [Figure 3 here]

4  
5 The relative MQ is shown Figure 3. Here we combine lone parents and their children and working-  
6 age adults with a disability and their children in order to have a sample of sufficient size. Some  
7 figures are not produced for older adults because the number of cases is too low for the types of  
8 QoL problem that are uncommon in this group (crowding and financial stress). Among lone parents  
9 and their children, the relative MQ fluctuates in a narrow range from 0.9 to 1.1. The range is a little  
10 wider for working-age adults with a disability and their children, extending from 0.8 for crowding to  
11 1.2 for lack of support. Among other children, the MQ ranges from 0.7 for crowding to 1.4 for  
12 deprivation. This indicates that crowding for this group is less often found as part of a constellation  
13 of 3+ quality of life problems but that deprivation is a central component of multiple QoL problems.  
14 Among other adults under age 66, although the average MQ is lower than for other children, the  
15 relative pattern across dimensions within the groups are quite similar, with a high relative score for  
16 material deprivation and low relative scores for neighbourhood problems and crowding. However, it  
17 is older adults who emerge as most distinctive in terms of the relative MQ of the dimensions.  
18 Although the average level of MQ is low for this group at 54 per cent, the relative MQ by dimension  
19 ranges from only about 0.6 times this figure for income poverty to 1.6 times this figure for  
20 deprivation. The relative MQ is also low (about 0.8) for health problems, lack of support and feeling  
21 unsafe while it is high (1.3) for mental distress. The very low relative MQ for income poverty for  
22 older adults is linked to the fact that the basic State Pension rate was protected during the recession  
23 so that most pensioners are just above the income poverty threshold.

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31 The overall picture is one where deprivation remains highly indicative of multidimensional QoL  
32 problems, even where the overall MQ is low. On the other hand, QoL problems related to crowding,  
33 neighbourhood problems and lack of safety are somewhat more likely to occur in the absence of  
34 other QoL problems.

### 35 36 37 38 **Discussion and Implications**

39  
40 In this paper, we drew on the AHCR methodology to examine the extent to which different social risk  
41 groups experienced multidimensional QoL problems. We found differences in the level of  
42 multidimensional QoL problems by social risk group and also distinctive compositional patterns,  
43 particularly for older adults.

44  
45 We saw that overall levels of multidimensional QoL problems tended to be higher for lone parents  
46 and their children and for working age adults with a disability and their children, with between 46  
47 per cent and 54 per cent having three or more problems. By comparison, the rates for other  
48 children, young adults, other working age adults and older adults were much lower, falling in the  
49 range from 18 per cent to 26 per cent. The AHCR, which takes account of the number of QoL  
50 problems as well as the percentage with three or more problems, follows a similar pattern across  
51 groups.

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56 The differences in the composition of multidimensional QoL problems across social risk groups were  
57 particularly evident for poor health, lack of safety, crowding, financial stress, mental distress and  
58 mistrust in institutions. As we might expect, poor health was relatively more important for older  
59 adults and those with a disability. Mental distress was also more significant among working age  
60

1 adults with a disability. Financial stress and crowding were more common among families with  
2 children. Mistrust in institutions was more prevalent among young adults while poverty and  
3 deprivation were relatively more significant among lone parents.

4 Another aspect of the analysis was to investigate the extent to which specific QoL problems, when  
5 they occur, are likely to affect the population already experiencing several other QoL problems.  
6 Taking a threshold of the most disadvantaged 15 per cent on each dimension means that the  
7 comparison does not necessarily have an absolute referent but it is useful in comparing across  
8 dimensions. The analysis showed that the extent to which the most disadvantaged 15 per cent on a  
9 particular dimension have three or more distinct problems ranges from about one half to about four  
10 fifths. The highest figures are for deprivation, financial strain, mental distress and lack of social  
11 support. The lowest figures, but still over one half, are for crowding, income poverty, lack of safety  
12 and health. The main differences in this respect by social risk group are found for older adults, for  
13 whom deprivation, is more likely than income poverty, lack of support and lack of safety to be found  
14 among those who already experience at least two other problems.  
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20 The extent of multidimensional disadvantage was striking. When we take the most disadvantaged 15  
21 per cent on a range of QoL dimensions, we find that at least half of those with any specific kind of  
22 problem have at least two other QoL problems. Certain kinds of problems rarely occur on their own  
23 (deprivation and mental distress in particular). This has implications for the design of policy and  
24 services which need to take account of the multidimensionality of disadvantage. In designing mental  
25 health policy, for instance, it needs to be acknowledged that well over half of those experiencing  
26 mental distress are likely to have several other QoL problems. Crowding and neighbourhood  
27 problems were less likely to be found among those with multiple other issues, but even here over  
28 half of the most affected fifteen percent had at least two other QoL issues.  
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33 Our analysis confirms a variety of earlier finding showing that the correlation between income  
34 poverty and other dimensions of deprivation is both modest and variable across dimensions  
35 reflecting variability in the range of socio-economic factors that contribute to the distinct outcomes  
36 (Nolan and Whelan, 2011, Whelan and Maître, 2012). However, the possibility exists that the  
37 magnitude of this effect is exacerbated by the fact that Ireland was particularly badly affected by the  
38 Great Recession where falling incomes meant a corresponding fall in the poverty threshold. As a  
39 result, the income poverty level remained relatively flat after the onset of the recession and the  
40 relative nature of the measure meant that it did not capture the income drop faced by almost all  
41 households. The lower overlap between income poverty and the other dimensions might be  
42 partially a consequence of the behaviour of this relative measure in a period where falling incomes  
43 became pervasive.  
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## 49 **Compliance with Ethical Standards**

50 An earlier version of this paper was funded by the Social Inclusion Division of the Department of  
51 Social Protection in Ireland.  
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54 The authors declare that they have no conflict of interests.  
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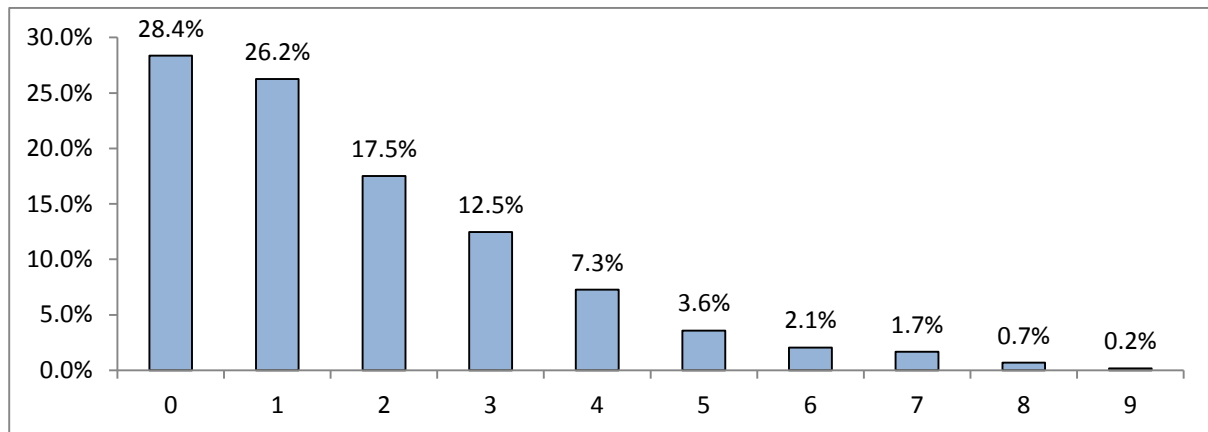
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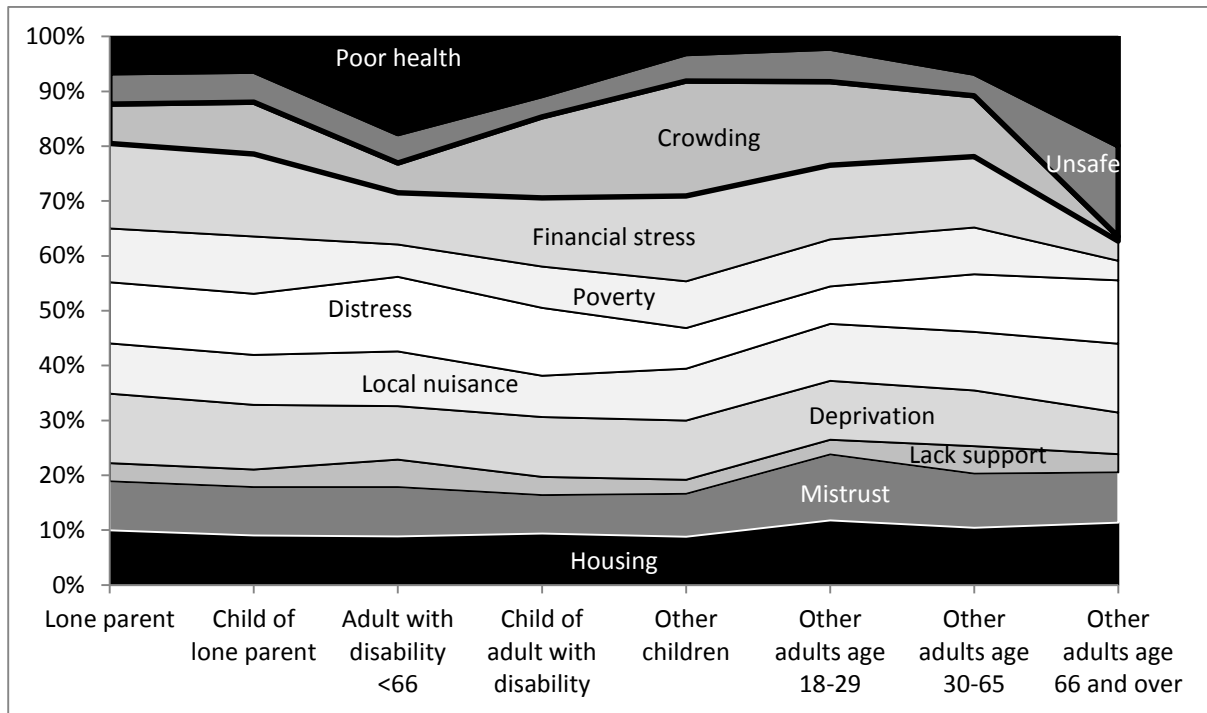
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**Figure 1: Percentage of adults experiencing QoL deficits by number of dimensions**



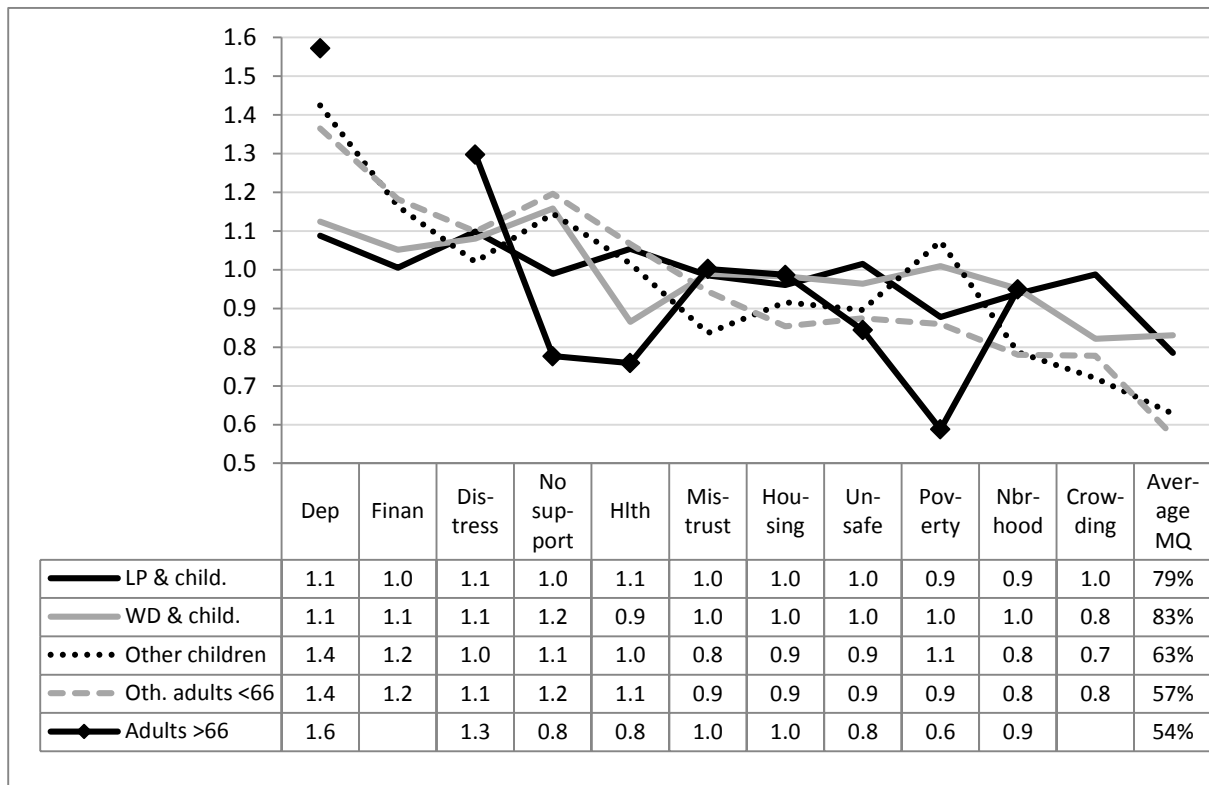
Source: SILC 2013 for Ireland, analysis by authors. Cases for whom QoL items available, all ages (with children assigned score of parents, N=8932).

**Figure 2: Decomposition of QoL problems (AHCR) by dimension within social risk group**



Source: SILC 2013, analysis by authors. N persons multidimensionally disadvantaged =1,458 with between 110 and 364 (age 51-64) in each social risk group.

Figure 3: Relative Multidimensionality Quotient by Social Risk Group



Source: SILC 2013, analysis by authors. N persons multidimensionally disadvantaged =1,458 with between 110 and 364 (age 51-64) in social risk group. Too few cases to report results for financial stress and crowding among older adults.

**Table 1: Dimensions of quality of life and indicators of each dimension**

<b>Dimension</b>	<b>Indicators</b>	<b>Threshold</b>
<b>Income poverty</b>	Income poverty – in household with equivalised income below 60% of median	14.6%
<b>Deprivation</b>	Inability to afford 4 or more of 11 basic goods and services, including adequate food, clothing, heating, replacing worn furniture and basic social engagement.	13.0%
<b>Financial strain</b>	Composite indicator – problems on 4 of 5 items: difficulty making ends meet, housing costs burdensome, going into debt to meet ordinary living expenses, arrears on mortgage/rent or utility bills and inability to save	16.0%
<b>Health problems</b>	Self-rated health is 'fair', 'bad' or 'very bad'	19.8%
<b>Mental distress</b>	WHO 5-item indicator of mental distress: frequently feeling nervous, depressed, down; infrequently feeling happy, calm	16.1%
<b>Crowding</b>	Number of persons per room and number of persons per bedroom (additive scale; threshold taken as score of 1.24 or higher on scale ranging from 0.06 to 2.06).	17.3%
<b>Housing quality problems</b>	Composite indicator – dwelling has problems with dampness and/or insufficient light	18.2%
<b>Neighbourhood problems</b>	Indicator based on three items – problems with noise, pollution and/or crime in the area.	20.2%
<b>Institutional mistrust</b>	Composite indicator based on three items: Low level of trust in political system, legal system, police (threshold taken as score of 2.1 or higher on scale from 0 to 3).	16.1%
<b>Lack of social support</b>	A composite indicator based on two items: lacking someone to talk to and unable to get help from others	6.7%
<b>Lack of safety</b>	A single indicator based on one item, feeling 'very unsafe' walking in area after dark.	12.2%

Source: SILC 2013 data for Ireland, analysis by authors. Population aged 16 and over on whom we have data from a direct interview (N=5760).

**Table 2: Sizes of Social Risk Groups in 2013**

<b>Social Risk Groups</b>	<b>Size of group</b>
Lone parent	4%
Child of lone parent	6%
Working age, disability*	8%
Child of working-age, disability	5%
Other children	23%
Young adults (18-29)	6%
Other adults (30-65)	36%
Adults 66+	12%
Total	100%

Source: SILC data for Ireland, 2013, weighted; analysis by authors. Cases for whom QoL items available, all ages (with children assigned score of parents, N=8932). \* Disability is measured as having a health problem that for at least the last 6 months limited the person in terms of activities people usually do.



**Table 3: Level of QoL problems by Social Risk Group and decomposition of QoL by social risk group (SILC 2013, Ireland)**

<b>Social Risk Groups</b>	<i>Headcount</i>	<i>Intensity</i>	<i>Adjusted Headcount Ratio (AHCN)</i>	<b>Decomposition of AHCN by group</b>
Lone parent	46%	40%	18%	7%
Child of lone parent	48%	42%	20%	12%
Working age, disability	54%	41%	22%	17%
Child of working-age, disability	53%	42%	22%	11%
Other children	24%	35%	8%	18%
Young adults (18-29)	26%	35%	9%	5%
Other adults (30-65)	18%	35%	7%	23%
Adults 66+	20%	33%	6%	7%
<b>Total</b>	<b>27.8%</b>	<b>37.6%</b>	<b>10.5%</b>	<b>100%</b>

Source: SILC data for Ireland, 2013, weighted; analysis by authors. Cases for whom QoL items available, all ages (with children assigned score of parents, N=8932).

**Table 4: Percentage of people above the threshold on each Quality of Life Indicator and contribution of the indicator to the AHCR**

<b>Indicator</b>	<b>% above threshold on indicator</b>	<b>Contribution of indicator to AHCR</b>	<b>Of those above item threshold, % with 3+ QoL problems</b>
<b>Crowding</b>	24.9%	11.3%	52.1%
<b>Neighbourhood problems</b>	20.0%	9.8%	56.4%
<b>Lack of safety</b>	11.4%	5.8%	59.0%
<b>Housing quality problems</b>	18.3%	9.7%	61.1%
<b>Income poverty</b>	14.9%	8.0%	61.4%
<b>Health problems</b>	16.5%	9.0%	62.7%
<b>Institutional mistrust</b>	16.3%	8.9%	62.8%
<b>Lack of social support</b>	5.9%	3.8%	73.9%
<b>Mental distress</b>	16.3%	10.7%	75.4%
<b>Financial strain</b>	19.2%	12.6%	75.5%
<b>Deprivation</b>	14.1%	10.5%	85.8%

Source: SILC 2013 data for Ireland, analysis by authors. Cases for whom QoL items available, all ages (with children assigned score of parents, N=8932).