

The combat of child poverty across Europe

A comparison of the effect of family-related benefits on child poverty across 17 European countries in the period from 1987/88 to 2005



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Abstract

This thesis deals with the topic of child poverty across 17 countries in Europe. More precisely, it is a comparative research about the effect of family-related benefits on child poverty across these countries and over a time period from 1987/88 to 2005.

Therefore, this thesis searches for an answer to the question: “What is the effect of family-related benefits on child poverty across European countries in the period from 1987/88 to 2005?” In order to give an answer to this research, at first, the background and scientific relevance of the topic has been discussed. Then the determinants of child poverty were investigated more into detail. A significant impact of the welfare state regime of a country, the family -or household- type a child lives in, the background of the households’ head and the period of time a child lives in has been identified. Using a cross-sectional comparative approach with a time element and the data the Luxembourg Income Study provides on child poverty, family-related benefits and the time span from 1987/88 to 2005, the at-risk-of poverty of children pre- and post-transfers has been examined. In addition, by using the Mitchel formula the poverty reduction effectiveness of family-related benefits has been calculated and assessed. Thus, the research question could be answered by observing a general trend over time, both for the poverty rates and the poverty reduction effectiveness scores. It has been found out that the generally family-related benefits reduce the at-risk-of poverty of children, except for Spain since it shows very constantly negative or rather non-effects. Furthermore, the Nordic/Scandinavian countries can be confirmed as pioneers in reducing the risk of children to grow up in poverty. Furthermore, countries with universal benefits show more positive results than those with targeted benefits. Regarding the trend of child poverty, it is observable that for most of the countries the poverty reduction effectiveness rates increased until the mid of the 90s and then they declined again until 2004/2005. Thus, this research contributes to a better understanding of the effect of family-related benefits on child poverty and even a little bit to the role of family types in affecting the risk of being poor as a child. It underlines the importance of family-related benefits as well as their way of utilisation either in a means-tested or in a universal manner in order to achieve a positive effect.

TABLE OF CONTENT

1. INTRODUCTION	5
1.1 BACKGROUND AND SCIENTIFIC RELEVANCE	6
1.2 RESEARCH QUESTIONS	7
2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	8
2.1 (CHILD) POVERTY IN DIFFERENT WELFARE STATE REGIMES	9
2.1.1 CHILD POVERTY AND FAMILY BENEFITS	12
2.2 CHILD POVERTY IN RELATION TO DEMOGRAPHICS	15
2.3 CHILD POVERTY IN RELATION TO PARENTS' LABOUR MARKET PARTICIPATION	17
2.4 CONCLUSION – DETERMINANTS OF CHILD POVERTY	17
3. METHODOLOGY	18
3.1 DATA COLLECTION: THE LUXEMBOURG INCOME STUDY (LIS)	18
3.2 RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHOD OF DATA ANALYSIS	19
3.3 SAMPLING METHOD: THE TIME SPAN AND THE COUNTRIES	21
3.4 CONCEPTS AND OPERATIONALISATION	21
3.5 LIMITATIONS	23
4. ANALYSIS	24
4.1 CHILD POVERTY IN GENERAL IN DIFFERENT COUNTRIES	24
4.2 CHILD POVERTY IN GENERAL IN DIFFERENT WELFARE STATE REGIMES	27
4.3 CHILD POVERTY BY FAMILY TYPES	28
4.4 FAMILY-RELATED POLICIES' EFFECTIVENESS	32
5. CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION	36
REFERENCE LIST	40
APPENDIX	43

LIST OF FIGURES AND TABLES

FIGURES

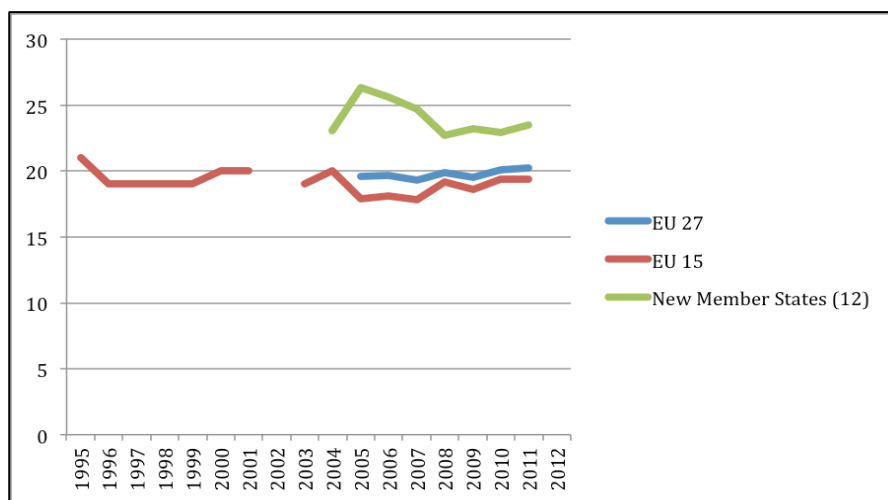
- GRAPH 1-1 – AT-RISK-OF-POVERTY RATE BY POVERTY THRESHOLD (CUT-OFF POINT: 60% OF MEDIAN EQUIVALISED INCOME AFTER SOCIAL TRANSFERS), AGE (LESS THAN 16 YEARS) AND SEX (TOTAL); SOURCE: EUROSTAT
- FIGURE 2-1 – GENEROSITY OF FAMILY POLICY TRANSFERS AFTER ALONG TWO DIMENSIONS IN 21 COUNTRIES 2000; SOURCE: BÄCKMAN, & FERRARINI, 2010, PP.279-282
- FIGURE 4-1 – OVERALL CHILD POVERTY RATES IN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES IN 2004/2005
- FIGURE 4-2 – OVERALL CHILD POVERTY RATES IN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES IN THE PERIOD FROM 1987/1988 TO 2004/2005
- FIGURE 4-3 – OVERALL CHILD POVERTY RATES AND POVERTY REDUCTION EFFECTIVENESS RATES BY WELFARE STATE REGIMES
- FIGURE 4-4 – CHILD POVERTY BY DIFFERENT FAMILY TYPES IN DIFFERENT EUROPEAN COUNTRIES IN 2004/2005
- FIGURE 4-5 – CHILD POVERTY RATES OF NATIVE AND MIGRANT HEADED HOUSEHOLDS IN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES IN THE PERIOD FROM 1987/1988 TO 2004/2005
- FIGURE 4-6 – CHILD POVERTY RATES OF TWO PARENT AND SINGLE PARENT HOUSEHOLDS IN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES IN THE PERIOD FROM 1987/1988 TO 2004/2005
- FIGURE 4-7 – CHILD POVERTY RATES OF EMPLOYED AND UNEMPLOYED HEADED HOUSEHOLDS IN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES IN THE PERIOD FROM 1987/1988 TO 2004/2005
- FIGURE 4-8 – POVERTY REDUCTION EFFECTIVENESS RATES OF NATIVE AND MIGRANT HEADED HOUSEHOLDS IN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES IN THE PERIOD FROM 1987/1988 TO 2004/2005
- FIGURE 4-9 – POVERTY REDUCTION EFFECTIVENESS RATES OF TWO PARENT AND SINGLE PARENT HOUSEHOLDS IN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES IN THE PERIOD FROM 1987/1988 TO 2004/2005
- FIGURE 4-10 – POVERTY REDUCTION EFFECTIVENESS RATES OF EMPLOYED AND UNEMPLOYED HEADED HOUSEHOLDS IN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES IN THE PERIOD FROM 1987/1988 TO 2004/2005

TABLES

- TABLE 2-1 – COUNTRIES ASSIGNED ACCORDING TO THEIR WELFARE STATE REGIMES; SOURCE: ARTS, & GELISSEN, 2002, PP.150-151
- TABLE 2-2 – COUNTRIES ASSIGNED ACCORDING TO THEIR BENEFIT TYPES; SOURCE: BASED ON VAN MECHELEN, & BRADSHAW, 2012, CHAPTER 3

Chapter 1: Introduction

In 2008, poverty became an important topic again when on the political angle. The European Union (EU) decided on the establishment of 2010 as “the European year for combating poverty and social exclusion”. This stood in relation to “Europe 2020 – A strategy for smart, sustainable and inclusive growth”. It stresses poverty’s significance demanding to “foster a society that sustains and develops quality of life, including quality of skills and employment, social well-being, including the well-being of children, and equal opportunities for all” (1098/2008/EC) and “20 million less people should be at risk of poverty” (COM(2010) 2020 (final)). In 2013, Eurostat called the attention on one group particular at risk, namely children, by giving their publication 'Statistics in focus – Population and Social Conditions' the heading “Children were the age group at the highest risk of poverty or social exclusion in 2011”. Looking at the statistics in graph 1-1 below displays the results of the at-risk-of poverty rate for children less than 16 years old¹. One can see the rates of the fifteen European Union countries as they existed from 1994 onwards, of the twelve New Member States from 2004 onwards and of both country groups taken together. Thus, data availability depends on the point of time of their membership. In general, the new member states show a significantly higher at-risk-of poverty rate. A potential explanation is their communist past and the commonly resulting high rates of poverty in the Central and Eastern European Countries (CEECs) contrary the capitalist Western European Countries (WECs). The CEECs built the main group of joining new member states and thus, regarding the EU average, their poverty rates, including the at-risk-of poverty rate of young people under the age of 15, had deviated substantially from the WECs. Overall, a positive trend can be recognised since child poverty has decreased European Union wide until 2008/09. Unfortunately, since 2008/09 a slightly worrisome trend has appeared because the at-risk-of poverty rate has increased again, as recognisable in graph 1-1. The Eurostat's 'Statistics in focus' even clarifies that “in comparison to elderly (20.5%) and adults (24.3%) children are with 27.0% most at risk of poverty in the EU-27” (2013, p.1).



Graph 1-1 At-risk-of-poverty rate by poverty threshold (cut-off point: 60% of median equivalised income after social transfers), age (less than 16 years) and sex (total); Source: Eurostat

¹ and the equivalised income after social transfers. An equivalised income is defined by Eurostat as “a measure of household income that takes account of the differences in a household's size and composition, and thus is equivalised or made equivalent for all household sizes and compositions. It is used for the calculation of poverty and social exclusion indicators.” (2014, Glossary: Equivalised income)

In general, children usually depend on their parents or the household they live in. Thus, living in poverty depends also on the household or parents they grow up in or with. The children are very limited in terms of changing their situation, e.g. physically, by labour law etc.. That means the state has the moral obligation to act for these children by creating the possibility of equal opportunities through family benefits.

Statistically, it is quite evident that child poverty is a problem in Europe. It is noticed publicly, too, but needs to be analysed in order to combat poverty. Hence, the next steps are to survey the background, specify the problem this thesis is going to deal with and to emphasize the scientific relevance of the topic as well as of the study's approach.

1.1 Background and Scientific Relevance

As already mentioned, the topic 'child poverty' is an issue and relevant for policy makers and researchers all over Europe.

Politically, child poverty was discussed as already mentioned in the previous section as well as quite recently when the Commission established the recommendation “investing in children: breaking the cycle of disadvantage” (C(2013) 778 final). This recommendation contains strategies focusing on groups of children “who face an increased risk due to multiple disadvantage such as ..., some migrant or ethnic minority children, ... , as well as children within households at particular risk of poverty, such as single parent or large families”. Other proposals are to “support family incomes through adequate, coherent and efficient benefits, including fiscal incentives, family and child benefits...” and to “address child poverty and social exclusion as a key issue within the Europe 2020 Strategy” (C(2013) 778 final).

Scientifically, the relation of child poverty, family structure and social policies is discussed in many academic papers. Whiteford and Adema (2007) discovered three main factors related to the levels of poverty: the tax and benefits systems of a country, the general levels of poverty among working families in a country and the employment status of the head household members. That means, high levels of child poverty appear either in countries with generally very high levels of poverty among working families and/or with ineffective tax and benefit systems or with high unemployment rates. Overall Whiteford and Adema (2007) conclude “the factors associated with child poverty vary significantly across OECD countries” (p.37). Several Luxembourg Income Study working papers discuss the relation of child poverty, family type, parents' educational attainment, and parents' attachment to paid work, too. Gornick and Jäntti (2010) identify “family demography and parents' labor market engagement” having a big impact on “children's likelihood of living in a poor household” (p.364). Clearly defined, younger children, children living with single parents and children of less educated parents have a higher risk to be poor (c.f. Gornick, & Jäntti, 2010). Among every kind of family, the risk decreases (before and after taxes and transfers) when the parents are (more steadily) employed (c.f. Gornick, & Jäntti, 2010). Likewise, men as single parents as well as dual earner families or couples reduce the risk (c.f. Gornick, & Jäntti, 2010). Additionally, “taxes and transfers reduce child poverty everywhere, although the amount of poverty reduction varies sharply across countries” (Gornick, & Jäntti, 2010, p.364). Overall, the major explanations of the risk level of being poor are institutions regarding labour market structures and policies (c.f. Gornick, & Jäntti, 2010). Brady and Burroway (2012) make a deeper analysis of single mother poverty as

a certain family type. They sum up that “welfare universalism is more effective than targeted policies because they tend to be larger and garner greater political support” (Brady, & Burroway, 2012, p.738). Poverty is alleviated overall by universal social policies, which makes single-mother poverty a by-product of the emerging greater social equality (c.f. Brady, & Burroway, 2012). Similar results are found by Chzhen and Bradshaw (2012) when assessing the influence of social policies and transfers since they found that children of lone parents are more likely to be poor. They also figured out a lower risk of child poverty in countries with more generous social transfer policies due to being more effective. Aside, the newer member states of the EU have overall higher child poverty rates, whereupon older member states have a bigger disparity between single parents and two parents (c.f. Chzhen, & Bradshaw, 2012). In general, “countries differ in the extent to which their welfare states alleviate child poverty in lone parent families with out-of-work social transfers” (Chzhen, & Bradshaw, 2012, p.499). Additionally, transfers make the difference in reducing child poverty, especially in the older member states.

This short literature review shows the general scientific relevance of the issue of child poverty on its own as well as its topicality. It is obvious that children fall victim to their environment and that benefits play a significant role in fighting against the at-risk-of poverty. However, most of the academic literature lacks to analyse the development of the effectiveness of social transfers on child poverty and those, who have, did not use the most actual accessible data and the Central Eastern European countries (CEECs) as a welfare state regime classification. Thus, these research gaps are used as starting-point in the upcoming study. The latest and earliest available data for as many European countries representing different systems of social policies and transfers as possible will be used in order to compare child poverty and its combat across Europe and over time. Additionally, the discussion of family – related benefits and different family types most at-risk-of poverty within these countries is barely found. Consequently, the thesis combines to analyse the mentioned shortcomings, which adds up to the scientific relevance of this study.

In the next section, the research questions are introduced and explained as well as the contribution of the paper to the existing academic literature. Furthermore, the outline is presented in order to inform the reader about the thesis’ structure.

1.2 Research Questions

The general research question is an explanatory one and relates the dependent variable ‘the at-risk-of poverty’ and the independent and explanatory variables ‘time’, ‘family types’ and ‘European countries’ since they represent different welfare state regimes providing varied kinds of family-related benefits. The variables are conceptualised in detail in the third chapter.

‘What is the effect of family-related benefits on child poverty across European countries and in the period from 1987/88 to 2005?’

The following sub-questions specify the content of analysis of the relation between the different variables since the relationship difficult due to being a multi-level one. Thus, first the single relations are defined and analysed in order to facilitate the

comprehension of the overall picture. With the help of these specific questions the thesis obtains a structure, which will be described and explained in the next section.

1. 'In which family types are children most at-risk-of poverty across European countries and what are the related probabilities in the period from 1987/88 to 2005?'
2. 'What is the effect of family-related benefits on the at-risk-of poverty of children in general and what is the trend over time?'
3. 'What is the effect of family-related benefits on the at-risk-of poverty across different family types?'
4. 'What is the effect of family-related benefits on the at-risk-of poverty across different European countries representing different welfare state regimes?'

Briefly summarised, this thesis intends to explain the effect of welfare state regimes on different family types across Europe. More specifically, this thesis contributes to describe and explain the development of child poverty over time. Furthermore, it examines the effectiveness of family-related benefits allocated by the welfare state regimes of different European countries in fighting child poverty. This examination is done kind of longitudinally and across family types.

In the following, the structure of the thesis is mainly based on the sub-questions of the general research question because they allow for a step-by-step approach. This facilitates the analysis, the comparison of the results and the comprehension for the readers. After this introductory chapter, a literature review is made leading to the development of associated hypotheses. Furthermore, the literature review identifies the determinants of child poverty. Subsequently, the precise conceptual framework is proven since narrowing down the selection of units of analysis. The third chapter describes and explains the methodology used and its limitations. This chapter includes the data collection, the sampling method, the conceptualisation and operationalization of the variables of the research questions, the research design and the method of data analysis. In the fourth chapter the actual data analysis is done. First, the at-risk-of poverty rates for all countries, family types and over time are calculated after transfers of family – related benefits. Thus, the first sub-question can be answered. Thereafter, the at-risk-of poverty rates minus the transfers of the family – related benefits are calculated for all countries, family types and over time. Calculating their effectiveness these rates are compared and the second up to the fourth sub-question are answerable. The conclusion is drawn in the final chapter including the reflection and discussion of the results as well as policy recommendations.

Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework

Within this chapter, the relevant literature is reviewed, on which the theoretical framework is built. According to Chen and Corak (2008), there exist three overall determining factors of (child) poverty. These factors are 'the state', 'demographics/family factors' and 'the (labour) market'. The effects of the factors on the at-risk-of poverty are discussed. Additionally, working hypotheses in relation to these determinants are formulated in each sub-chapter. These hypotheses will be tested and interpreted in the empirical chapter.

2.1 (Child) Poverty in Different Welfare State Regimes

The first determinant of child poverty discussed in this chapter is **the state**. The state's impact is discussed by Chen and Corak (2008), too. They point out that the state influences the at-risk-of poverty by changing the amount of monetary benefits. More specifically they found out that the chance of being in risk-of being poor as a child decreases if the entitlement for governmental benefits exists and those benefits are high. This implies that changes in the amount of transfer income affect living standards in a household. Earlier research by Bradbury, Jenkins and Micklewright (2001) found similar results. They observed that governmental benefits are present in order to support households not needing to modify living at a lower standard. Welfare states use monetary as well as non-monetary governmental transfers or benefits, as they are called additionally, as tools to assist citizens who are negatively affected by the market, e.g. by unemployment (Andreß, & Heien. 2001). These different levels of generosity in monetary and non-monetary state benefits or “de-commodification scores” as Scruggs and Allan (2006) call them lead to different typologies of welfare state regimes. Therefore, the countries chosen can be seen as representatives of these different welfare state regime types. They provide different kinds of benefits and the most significant difference between these benefits is their way of distribution, as shown in figure 2-1. On the one hand, the benefits can be targeted, which means that the benefits are provided to people who can prove their need of social benefits in order to be socially secured. Thus, there exist welfare state provisions but not to a very generous amount. On the other hand, benefits can be universal meaning that benefits are provided to everyone living in a country. Thus, the level of generosity is high. With respect to family-related benefits Esping-Andersen and Sarasa (2002) mention that no matter if targeted or universal benefits the level of generosity generally depends on the number of persons living in a household. However, Lundberg et. al. (2008) found out that “vulnerable groups” (p.1634) which include children and single parents are socially better secured against being poor in countries with universal social policies. They see the reason for the greater effectiveness in universal social policies since these policies include all classes of a society and therefore the support and willingness of paying taxes is higher which subsequently facilitates a higher level of generosity. Regarding Chen and Corak's (2008) findings generous benefits are more easily accessible. Hence, better protection against poverty is assumable in countries with high generosity, e.g. Slovenia, Sweden or Norway as displayed in figure 2-1. However, a detailed discussion is offered in the following subchapter.

Following within this part, the different general **welfare state regimes** across Europe are classified by combining geography and the attributes assigned by Ferrera², Esping-Andersen and Deacon. Consequently, there exist five different regimes including the countries as presented in table 2-1.

The **Anglo-Saxon countries** or “liberals” as Esping-Andersen (1990) calls them share several attributes. On the one hand, the two included European Anglo-Saxon countries are isolated from continental Europe due to being islands surrounded by the Atlantic Ocean. Both countries' national language is English and the Anglo-Saxon church determines the majority's religion. The social system is characterised by benefits of a

2 Published in Arts, W., & Gelissen, J. (2002). Three worlds of welfare capitalism or more? A state-of-the-art report. *Journal of European social policy*, 12(2), 137-158.

moderately high amount, but targeting only people proving the need (Arts, & Gelissen, 2002). The financial sources are mixed and managed by public administration.

According to Esping –Andersen (1990) **Bismarckian countries** are the “conservative” and “corporatist” among the European countries. In Bismarckian countries the claiming of social benefits depends on the work position and salary and the family status. Furthermore, employed people have to make a pay related contribution that funds an insurance scheme, which subsequently makes the provision of different kinds of social benefits possible (Arts, & Gelissen. 2002). Labour unions and employer organizations are the corporatist elements in these countries because of influencing the insurance scheme by negotiating labour agreements on salaries and taxes or contributions the employer has to pay.

Southern countries are situated in the South of Europe and are very similar to the Bismarckian countries. They are defined as being “conservative”, too, according to Esping-Andersen (1990). The social system is also kind of an insurance scheme financed by pay related contributions and tax revenues. The social benefits depend on the work position, too. Differences are the lack of a “net of minimum social protection” (Arts, & Gelissen, 2002, p.144) and the arrangements related to health care. In Southern countries health care is recognised as a civil right and organised and financed by the state (Arts, & Gelissen. 2002), whereas in Bismarckian countries the health care insurance system is organised privately and publicly (Hassenteufel, & Palier, 2007).

A universal welfare state including the civil right of being protected against social deprivation and exclusion identifies the **Scandinavian/Nordic countries** as being “social democrats” (Esping-Andersen, 1990) (Arts, & Gelissen, 2002). The dominant actor within these countries is the state due to providing universal benefits, which are fully funded through the state’s tax income (Andreß, & Heien. 2001) (Arts, & Gelissen, 2002). That leads to a society characterized by equality in contrast to a society of “dualism” as it is the case in Anglo-Saxon countries or a society of “segmentation” as it is the case in Bismarckian and Southern countries (Andreß, & Heien, 2001, p. 342).

Lastly, the included **Central Eastern European countries** in this thesis are strongly affiliated with each other due to sharing a common past as members of the Warsaw Pact, which results in their label as “former communist countries” (Andreß, & Heien, 2001). Deacon (2002) attributes the Central Eastern European countries having been very similar to the USSR in their welfare policy. In addition, Andreß and Heien (2001) see the state having been the social benefits distributor and the presence of minimal inequality in the past. Nowadays, the CEECs go through a period of system reformation by minimising their original orientation of being rather ‘social-democratic’ (Deacon, 2002). They become more market-oriented and thus can be characterised as more ‘liberal’ using Esping-Andersen’s typology (Deacon, 2002).

Bismarckian countries	Southern countries	Scandinavian countries	Central Eastern European countries (CEECs)	Anglo-Saxon countries
	Spain	Denmark	Czech Republic	United Kingdom of Great Britain
France	Italy	Finland	Hungary	Ireland
Germany	Greece	Norway	Poland	
Luxemburg	Portugal	Sweden	Slovak Republic	
The Netherlands				
Switzerland				
Belgium				

Table 2-1 Countries assigned according to their welfare state regimes; Source: Arts, & Gelissen, 2002, pp.150-151

Overall, the very universal social benefits of Scandinavian/Nordic countries lead to the highest degree of de-commodification among the different welfare state typologies (Andreß, & Heien, 2001). The degree of de-commodification is defined by Kenworthy (1999) as “the degree to which individuals can uphold a socially acceptable standard of living independently of market participation” (p.10). Therefore, it seems plausible that Scandinavian/Nordic countries generally have a lower at-risk of poverty rate. Another supporting fact for the assumption is that material deprivation tends to be more prevalent in Southern and Anglo-Saxon countries than in Bismarckian and Scandinavian countries (Muffels, & Fourage, 2003). Ranked, financial deprivation occurs most in Southern countries, the second most in Anglo-Saxon countries, the third most in Bismarckian countries and the least in Scandinavian/Nordic countries (Muffels, & Fourage, 2003). Furthermore, Southern countries are worse performing compared to the other welfare state regimes in inequality alleviation (Muffels, & Fourage, 2003). Next to this there exist two ways of looking at the role families, the role of the state and their relation to each other. It is important to mention that in Scandinavian/Nordic and Southern countries the government supports households immediately and directly in a situations they need social protection. This government support is called ‘collective solidarity’ since the state is the dominant actor in taking care of reducing inequality. Contrastingly, Bismarckian countries stress ‘family solidarity’, which can be explained by the principle of subsidiarity (Andreß, & Heien. 2001). This kind of solidarity means that normally the family cares for family members in socially disadvantageous situations. Only if the family does not have the ability to compensate for these family members and this proven by e.g. income statements, the state intervenes by providing social benefits. This is a rather indirect and conditioned support.

Since this is a general overview of welfare state regimes, the topic of child poverty sometimes lacks a little bit the ‘child’ part and concentrates a little bit more on welfare states combating poverty. However, this is still relevant since children are normally not poor themselves, but the households they live in, as already remarked. Thus, the general strategies fighting against poverty are seen as an important part in this study, too. In the next section the focus is laid again on the ‘child’, by looking at the concrete support of families and children by the different welfare state regime types.

2.1.1 Child Poverty and Family Benefits

Within this sub-section the different general family benefit packages are related to the five existing welfare state regimes. In addition, their general effects on alleviating poverty or rather on supporting to maximise the household income are discussed. More details in terms of single countries and their family – related benefits are covered in the analysis part when it is necessary to explain and interpret certain results.

According to Thévenon (2011) there are six objectives that countries pursue with the help of family-support policies. The focus of these policies varies among countries and their image of the family. The aims are listed in the following, summarised and commented if it is necessary on the author's own admission:

Providing family-related benefits, countries aim ...

1. to alleviate poverty and secure social protection by an income guarantee.
2. to support families with monetary benefits in return for costs caused by having children to balance the households' income gap between those one with and without children.
3. to support people having a family and a work in balance.
4. to strengthen gender equality through the support of partners to share the time of parental leave through a better payment.
5. to facilitate childhood development at an early age through educational benefits so that the child has a higher chance of following a high quality education.
6. to increase birth rates by decreasing the economic burden a child can cause.

Thévenon (2011, pp. 58-59)

As already mentioned in the last section, there are two broad categories of benefits. Usually countries set out targeted benefits or universal benefits or a mixture of both. Targeted benefits are normally cash benefits, often income related, aimed to target direct cash transfers to certain types of families, e.g. low-income families (van Mechelen, & Bradshaw, 2012). Universal benefits are not income related, cash benefits and given to any family with children in the country. Additionally, some countries combine both kinds of benefits.

The countries that fall into the different categories are shown in table 2-2 below, excluding Switzerland due to missing information. Furthermore, Germany is one of the best examples of countries combining cash benefits with tax benefits for families with children according to van Mechelen, & Bradshaw (2012).

Targeted Benefits	Universal Benefits	Combination of both Benefit Types
Italy	Hungary	France
Germany	Slovak Republic	The Netherlands
Spain	Sweden	Ireland
Czech Republic	Denmark	Finland
Poland	Norway	
United Kingdom		
Austria		
Luxemburg		

Table 2-2 Countries assigned according to their benefit types; Source: based on van Mechelen, & Bradshaw, 2012, chapter 3

Figure 2-1 presents the generosity of family policy transfers after taxes, which suggests the importance of the objective to directly compensate for the economic cost of children. Furthermore, the importance of the compensation admits to presume the standing of families with children in a country. Thus, if the compensation is generous the status of families with children is presumably high in a society. In addition, the importance of the fourth objective listed by Thévenon (2011), which is gender equality, can be read from the degree of support of dual earning partners with children or of the traditional image of a family with children and the man as principal earner.

Looking at the thesis' sample countries, the Nordic countries, except for Denmark, show the highest level of generosity of policy transfers and of dual earner support. Denmark, Germany, France, Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic belong into the category of a medium support. However, the traditional family support still outweighs the dual earner support. Austria, the Netherlands, United Kingdom, Ireland and Switzerland underperform in terms of generous support. The dimension of dual earner support seems to be very relevant in Sweden, Norway, Finland, Poland and the Netherlands since outweighing the traditional family support. Overall, figure 2-1 allows for the conclusion that children are at the lowest risk of poverty in Sweden, Norway and Finland due to the high level of generosity of family policy transfers and the recognition of the importance of dual earners.

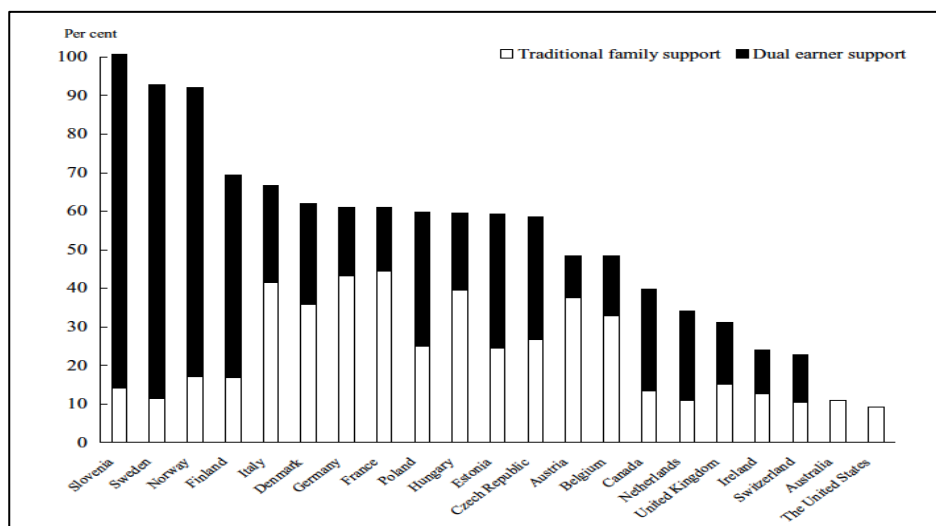


Figure 2-1 Generosity of family policy transfers after along two dimensions in 21 countries 2000; Source: Bäckman, & Ferrarini, 2010, pp.279-282

The next step is to go even more into detail on the compatibility of work and family through financial support by groups of countries. The inclusion of these two factors in family policy benefits influence the household income significantly and is decisive for the at-risk-of poverty. The attributes of the family support policies are listed below per welfare state regime group. This way it is easier to compare the benefit system related to families with the general characteristics of their welfare states.

Anglo-Saxon Countries' policies target especially poor families, single parents and households with preschool children. However, they stand in strong contrast to the public support schemes that the Scandinavian countries have implemented. Paid leave regulated by law (Thévenon, 2011) is rather modest. That means, there exists protected employment for a certain time span, but it is rather short and the financial compensation very limited. Institutionalised childcare exists to a lesser extent while cash benefits for the already mentioned target groups are higher than in any other country.

Bismarckian countries represent a moderate status in financial support and childcare service provision. Except for the Netherlands, family transfers are above average. Indeed, the drivers of the height of family transfers are not gender equity or financial equality of low-income families. It is the conservative point of view, which aims to support families with monetary benefits in return for costs caused by having children in contrast to households without children (Thévenon, 2011). Differences between the Bismarckian countries exist regarding the payment of (maternal) leave and childcare services. In most countries the leave rate is fixed and paid for a long period (Thévenon, 2011). In the Netherlands, part-time work replaces leave. In Germany leave has been reformed. The former leave rate has been rather flat and has been paid a rather long time. The contrary is the case after the reform; nowadays the leave rate is rather high, but paid for a rather short period (Thévenon, 2011). Overall, these countries occupy a "middle position" compared to other OECD countries due to less advanced strategies of support of parents having a job and deprived families (Thévenon, 2011, p.73).

Southern countries lack family policies (Thévenon, 2011). There exists only a limited period of paid leave. Childcare services are provided less frequently than anywhere else in the European Union prior to the accession of the CEECs. All in all, financial support is very low as well as "childcare services for children under preschool age" (Thévenon, 2011, p.70).

Scandinavian countries are said to provide remarkable support in the comparability of work and family, especially for households having children under the age of three (Thévenon, 2011). There exists a mix of public support to working parents. On the one hand, parents can leave work for a generous period of time (Thévenon, 2011) after the child is born. It is even possible for fathers to take 'paternity leave', except for Danish fathers. On the other hand, there childcare services are prevalent and very popular for children under the age of three (Thévenon, 2011). These childcare institutions are financially better subsidised than in any other country. Altogether, this group of countries constitute the pioneers in family support policies combating child poverty.

Central Eastern European countries (CEECs) are reforming their policies at the moment as already mentioned in the previous chapter on welfare state systems.

Therefore, they vary a lot in their attitudes towards “leave and childcare policy” (Thévenon, 2011, p.71). Generally, long leave is supported. Nevertheless, monetary support and child care institutions for preschool children are comparably low.

To draw a conclusion, Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian countries have a very similar level of social transfers provided to the deprived children in their systems (Bradbury, & Jäntti, 2001). Nevertheless, the level of child poverty is still higher in Anglo-Saxon countries. That can be explained by two reasons. On the one hand, in Anglo-Saxon countries the disadvantaged families participate only in jobs involving a low level of market income (Bradbury, & Jäntti, 2001). On the other hand, targeted benefits are said to be less effective than universal ones (Brady, & Burroway, 2012). In general, Scandinavian countries have the most advanced strategy in order to support families with children. In contrast, Southern countries have the biggest lack in assistance to families with children in the European Union disregarding the CEECs. Thus, based on the findings about the effects of the state and its policies as determinant of (child) poverty, the following hypotheses emerge:

1. *Children living in the Nordic countries are less likely to be at the risk of poverty than children living in the rest of Europe.*
2. *Children living in countries with a higher level of family related benefits are less likely to be at risk of poverty than children living in countries with a lower level of family related benefits.*

2.2 Child Poverty in relation to Demographics

Next, **demographics or family factors** and their effects on child poverty are discussed. In this case, demographics or family factors contain characteristics of the households children are living in such as the marital status of the parents or the number of adults responsible for a child, the age distribution of the parents, the education level of the parents, the number of household members, and the origin of the parents and/or household members. Thus, the following influential variables as Chen and Corak (2008, p.541) and Hoelscher (2004, p.32) define them are included: “the average age of parents”, “the number of children per household”, “the education of parents”, “the family structure as indicated by whether the child is living with a single parent or not” and “children in immigrant or minority families”.

To begin with, the factors, which are not analysed in this paper, are shortly discussed. These factors are: the age distribution of parents, the educational level, and the number of household members.³ In relation to the educational level and the age distribution of the parents Chen and Corak (2008) observed that older and/or more educated parents have a positive effect on reducing the at-risk-of poverty. These parents are able to care better as consequence of longer work experience resulting in a higher salary. In addition, the number of siblings and thus, the number of household members are another factor influencing the at-risk-of poverty. According to Chen and Corak (2008), a low number of siblings reduces the risk of being poor. This reducing effect can be

³ They are excluded due to the interest of the thesis' author, the fact that the marital status and the origin of a person are more relevant in affecting child poverty according to the academic literature and the maximum of pages allowed to be written according to university rules.

explained by the ability of a wider distribution of available resources (Chen, & Corak, 2008).

Subsequent to the not analysed variables, the effects of the thesis' tested demographic determinants of child poverty are given attention to. These determinants are: origin /ethnicity /migrant status of the parents and/or household member and the marital status of the parents or the number of persons responsible for a child.

Generally, the origin either of the household members or parents is very relevant for the risk of living a poor life. Hoelscher (2004) concludes that children of immigrants experience disadvantaged living conditions due to discrimination, a different legal status and difficulties in the educational career. Statistically, there is "a 2 to more than 6 times higher risk for Non-EU citizens" (Hoelscher, 2004, p.33) of social exclusion. Regarding monetary and non-monetary indicators in Germany the living conditions differ a lot between children of native parents and children of migrant/foreign (Frick, & Wagner, 2001). Frick and Wagner (2001) even found out that the poverty risk is about 24% higher. The reasons are the parents' limited possibility and/or capability of education in connection with marginal earnings and extensive part-time work. All in all, this often results in poverty and ill housing (Hernandez, Macartney, & Blanchard, 2010). The limited educational possibilities and/or opportunities can be explained by a lack of linguistic background when migrating. The limited educational attainment leads to a higher risk of unemployment or the performance of a part-time or low-paid job. The ill housing, e.g. living in a small or even too small accommodation for the family, is a consequence of a low income. In 2005, the difference between native-born children and children of families with migration background was statistically very strong. Clauss and Nauck (2010) refer to numbers of 7% to 8% more of immigrant households being earners of a monthly income of only up to €1,500 than native households.

Beside the origin, the marital status or rather family structure plays an important role. Generally, children living with single parents have a higher chance of being poor than children living with two parents (Gornick, & Jäntti, 2010). Children of single parents have a lower standard than children living in a household with both parents since the chance is higher that one parent is employed (Chen, & Corak, 2008). Usually, having a job is closely related to earning money and thus, to live in more wealth. Consequently, this means that children living with two parents have a lower risk of living in poverty. In addition this implies that the number of persons working in a household is crucial. In a single parent household, there exists less man-/womanpower and hence less earning potential than in a household with two parents. Research has pointed to an increased risk for children to be poor in single parent households and especially single mother households have a disproportionate high risk of being poor (Brady, & Burroway, 2012). The explanation is that European wide women earn generally less money than men. Overall, Whiteford and Adema (2007) found out that "single parents are represented three times as often in the poor population as in the working-age population as a whole"(p.20).

Based on the before presented findings the following hypotheses related to demographics or family structure arise:

1. *Children living in households headed by parents with a migration background are more likely to be at risk of poverty than children living in households headed by native parents.*
2. *Children of single parents are more likely to be at risk of poverty than children of two parents.*

2.3 Child Poverty in relation to Parents' Labour Market Participation

Labour market participation is a final factor affecting the at-risk-of poverty. As already mentioned, labour market participation implies earning money and thus increasing the household income. Therefore, variables on the status of labour market participation and "the annual income" (Chen, & Corak, 2008, p.541) are considered. Bradbury et. al (2001) even determine the labour market allocating the main share of the total monetary household earnings headed by non-retired persons. Consequently, changes regarding the payment, the working time and the employment status influence strongly the likelihood of households with children having a low or a high risk of being poor (Bradbury, Jenkins, & Micklewright, 2001). Bradbury and Jäntti (2001) even state that looked across states incomes from employment are more significant than social benefits for diversity. Chen and Corak (2008) establish the rule that "the greater the employment rate among fathers and mothers, the less likely children will live in poverty" (p.542). For two and single parent families applies that the probability of being or becoming poor, before and after taxes and benefits, is constantly reduced as the employment status of the parents is guaranteed or the working conditions become even better (Gornick, & Jäntti, 2010). According to Adema and Whiteford (2007) one can conclude that a very decisive and significant factor the poverty probability of a household depends on is the parents' employment status. This is stressed by the fact that unemployed households are five times more at-risk-of poverty than employed ones (Adema, & Whiteford 2007). The statements about labour market participation of households with children and the risk for children to be poor result in the following very general hypothesis:

1. *Children living in households with heads being unemployed are more likely to be at risk of poverty than children living in households with heads being employed.*

2.4 Conclusion – Determinants of Child Poverty

Within this chapter the theoretical framework has been discussed. Based on previous research, five hypotheses have been established in relation to findings regarding the determinants mentioned in the beginning of this chapter. Furthermore, they are proposed referring to the data and variables available in the Luxembourg Income Study (LIS) that is used as data source and explained in the next chapter. It has been found out that the state and its social benefit system is a crucial factor in causing a higher or lower risk of child poverty. Generous and universal benefits support the reduction and thus a lower risk of poverty according to literature, whereas targeted benefits do not contribute that much to lower this risk. Therefore, it is expected that the Scandinavian/Nordic countries, which generally have generous and universal benefits, perform best compared to the other welfare state regimes. In addition, another, very general anticipation with respect to family benefits is that of the greater effectiveness of

high family benefits contrary to low ones. Demographics or family factors have been found to be further decisive factors influencing the risk of child poverty. This thesis includes the family structure, specified as origin/ ethnicity / migrant status of the parents and single or two parent households, as determinants of poverty. According to the literature a migration background increases the risk of poverty due to different living conditions, e.g. discrimination, different legal status and difficulties in education. Thus, it is assumed that children of migrant families bear a bigger risk of being poor in contrast to native-born children. Secondly, as laid down in literature, the family structure has an impact on the risk of child poverty, too. The results show that children of single parents have an enhanced risk of being poor due to a lower probability living with an employed parent and because of missing second man-/womanpower who could work. Thus, it is hypothesized that children of single parents are more likely to be at risk of poverty in comparison with children of two parents. Lastly, by consulting literature I found that changes regarding the labour market participation, e.g. unemployment, wage rates, working hours, have implications on poverty. Unemployment leading to a higher risk of poverty because of reducing the household income becomes the focus of attention within this thesis. The thesis hypothesises that the risk of poverty increases for children of unemployed parents in relation to children of employed parents.

The next chapter contains the methodology used to assess the established hypotheses. Furthermore, this thesis' limitations are addressed and considered against the arguments in favour.

Chapter 3: Methodology

This chapter deals with the methods used in order to answer the research question. Furthermore, a brief discussion of the limitations of this research finalises the chapter. First of all, the Luxembourg Income Study (LIS) is presented. The LIS provides the data for the calculation of the poverty rates that we need for the analysis. Thereafter, the introduction of the sampling method leading to the choice of countries of the units of analysis follows. Then, the indicators are defined and their measurement or operationalization is explained. As the last but one, the research design and the method of analysis are described and clarified.

3.1 Data Collection: The Luxembourg Income Study (LIS)

The Luxembourg Income Study (LIS) is used for the quantitative analysis. The LIS collects, harmonises and documents micro data from countries around the globe (c.f. LIS, 2010-2011)⁴. It provides variables on income, employment, household characteristics, expenditures and wealth. These variables are needed to answer this study's research questions. The overall sample is a representation of a cross-section of the total population during a single time period. This entire sample is divided into two types of samples. On the one hand, there is the household sample - the H-file. It includes only household-level observations of single persons or a group of persons sharing a budget, while residing in the household either at the interview's time or during a

⁴ Link to the LIS website: <http://www.lisdatacenter.org>

specified long period within the income reference period. On the other hand, there is the personal sample - the P-file. It comprises observations of the individuals of the household sample. Institutionalised and collective households are excluded. The datasets, called 'waves, of which I use different ones, are organised based on income reference periods, displayed by table 3-1 in the appendix.

The LIS' database is accessible to registered users. They can submit jobs via the remote-execution system called 'LISSY'. This system analyses the micro data, which is not directly available, and provides it in a secure way. Overall, researchers are able to ask for data in three styles, namely SAS, SPSS or Stata. Within the thesis the SPSS format is used since the author is most familiar with this statistical package. Thus, in order to receive data first jobs are submitted, then they are processed and finally, the requested results are reported back.

3.2 Research Design and Method of Data Analysis

As already mentioned, the study's contribution to the existing literature on child poverty is the analysis of the development over time of the effectiveness of social transfers on child poverty. Therefore, the most recent and the earliest accessible data of several European countries are used. There are two reasons for using the LIS as data source. First, the datasets are available for a longitudinal trend study. This research design allows for "examining changes within a population over time" (Babbie, 2010, p.107), which is aimed at in this study. Secondly, the LIS enables the performance of a longitudinal trend study without spending a lot of time and money. Overall, it is not a longitudinal study in the strict sense since the LIS is not a panel, but in this thesis the data is used as cross sectional data for different years to observe the poverty trend, which will be mentioned later on more specifically.

In the LIS, households are represented, which makes them the units of observation. Contrary, the units of analysis are households with children⁵. The chosen time period is defined from 1987/88 to 2005 and 17 European countries are included. Those countries are Austria, Czech Republic, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Hungary, Ireland, Luxemburg, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Slovak Republic, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom of Great Britain. Therefore, it is an extensive study with a large sample. The choice of countries in relation to the time period will be explained more precisely in the next section.

In this study, a comparison of the results of the dependent variable: 'the at-risk-of poverty rates for the different family types and welfare regimes' is made for different countries and over time. The latter can be regarded as independent variables. On the one hand, family types include lone parents. On the other hand, family types are households with more specific attributes like the 'family head's origin' and 'his/her labour market participation'. Overall, this study looks at different countries over time or rather at different points in time. Therefore, the study can be defined as a cross-sectional study including a comparative and a time element. The chosen approach

⁵ More specifically, when assessing the different family types: Households with parents of immigrant background and children, households comprised of lone parents and children, households comprised of unemployed parents and children, households with native born parents and children, households with employed parents and children, and households with two parents and children.

depends on the research questions and will be explained in the following section. First, the different at-risk-of poverty rates are calculated and described based on the disposable income, which includes family-related benefits. This is done for all countries, family types and over time. By doing this, the first sub-question: “In which family types are children most at-risk-of poverty across European countries and what are the related probabilities in the period from 1987/88 to 2005?” can be answered. Thereafter, the at-risk-of poverty rates excluding family-related benefits are calculated for the before mentioned variables. From these results a poverty alleviating effect of the family-related benefits can be pre – inferred when comparing both, pre- and post-transfer rates. For reasons of accuracy and precision, effectiveness of the family-related benefits is calculated with the formula on the “relative effectiveness of poverty reduction” (Sainsbury, & Morissens, 2002, p.310), which Mitchell established in 1991:

$$\text{Child poverty reduction effectiveness} = \frac{[(\text{pre-family-related benefits poverty rate} - \text{post-family-related benefits poverty rate}) / \text{pre-family-related benefits poverty rate}] * 100}{\text{(per cent of poverty rate changes)}}^6$$

After the calculation of the ‘poverty rate reduction effectiveness’ the second, third and fourth sub-question on the effectiveness of family-related benefits in all countries, on family types and over time can be answered. Figures and tables are constructed based on the at-risk-of poverty rates and the reduction effectiveness scores in order to illustrate and to facilitate the comparisons.

Within this study the dimension of ‘time’ and its relation to the risk of poverty is important. The purpose is to conduct a kind of longitudinal trend study on the poverty alleviating effect of family – related benefits over time. The expectation is seeing a trend of this effect either in a negative or a positive way in the different welfare state regimes. To be clear, this is not a panel study in a strict sense. The data of the LIS does not provide information of the same households or persons in each wave. Thus, the realisation of a panel study is not possible. In this case, the study is cross-sectional with a comparative element as well as a time dimension element. The comparative element consists in looking across different family types and European countries representing different welfare state regimes. The survey of available data for the at-risk-of poverty rate for households with children and across European countries for different points in time within a period of ‘more than 10 years’ stands for the time element. The condition of ‘more than 10 years’ has to be fulfilled in order to review the changes in the rates as kind of a trend. The different points in time and their at-risk-of poverty rates, pre- and post transfers, are compared to each other. The comparison is made based on their child poverty reduction effectiveness for different family types and European countries. Then, these results are interpreted by relating them to the events and the family benefits’ structure at that point of time. This is done with the help of the Mutual Information System on Social Protection (MISSOC)⁷, which has a contract with the European Commission. The MISSOC exchanges data on social protection laws applied in 32 European countries, which includes family – related benefits policies. This study contains the MISSOC report about the situation on the 1st January 1998 and evolution in

⁶ Adjusted to the topic dealt with in this study

⁷ Link to the MISSOC website: <http://www.missoc.org/MISSOC/MISSOCII/MISSOCII/index.htm>

the European Union used to interpret the results of the Waves III and IV. In order to assess the results of Wave VI properly the comparative tables database about the situation on the 1st May 2004 and about the situation on the 1st January 2005 (applicable for France, Hungary and Sweden) are chosen.

3.3 Sampling Method: The Waves and The Countries of the Units of Analysis

As already mentioned, in order to observe a trend data must be available for the indicators of interest at different points in time over a time span of at least 10 years. The LIS provides several datasets organised as waves. In this study, data of European countries on the Waves III, IV and VI are analysed. Wave VI represents the most recently and harmonised data accessible for European countries. Wave III includes the earliest and harmonised data accessible for European countries. Lastly, Wave IV provides data of an additional point in time on the chosen countries, which facilitates the generalisation of the results in order to speak about a trend.

Based on the chosen waves and the availability of data on the family related benefits variables, 14 countries are automatically relevant for the analysis. In table 2-1 those countries are written in black in, the excluded ones are violet. Then, there are three other included countries, written in red in table 2-1. First of all, Ireland is the only other Anglo-Saxon country next to the UK. Additionally, it provides data with the reference year 1987, which is close to the benchmarking year 1988 of Wave III. For Austria the same income reference year is valid as for Ireland. Hence, it belongs to the sample. Therefore, the beginning of the time period is 1987/1988. Switzerland is of interest in this study since it is a European country, but not a EU member state. It lacks only data on Wave IV, which is not as relevant as the framing waves. Hence, Switzerland is included, but the answers cannot be generalised to the same degree as for the other countries.

Overall, that makes the 17 already listed countries, in which child poverty is analysed. There are six countries that belong to the Bismarckian countries, two Anglo-Saxon countries, four Central Eastern European countries, four Scandinavian countries and one Southern country as categorised by Ferrera (in Arts, & Gelissen, 2002), Esping-Andersen (1990) and Deacon (2002). For the Southern country the same problem of generalisation arises as for Switzerland. Therefore, Spain has to be seen for itself and not as a reliable generalizable representative of the Southern countries. Unfortunately, Italy does not provide enough data on family-related benefits.

3.4 Concepts and Operationalization: The Variables

Within this section the important variables – dependent and independent variables – are defined and measured if necessary. A special focus is laid on the variables of the LIS used to conceptualise the relevant family-related benefits. This is necessary in order to understand the quantitative analysis.

To start with, the dependent variable is **the at-risk of poverty rate**. It has to be pointed out that in this thesis 'relative poverty' is considered, which is defined as "poverty in relation to the economic status of other members of the society: people are poor if they fall below prevailing standards of living in a given societal context" (UNESCO, Poverty).

Generally, the at-risk-of poverty rate is defined and measured as “the share of persons with an equivalised disposable income below the risk-of-poverty threshold, which is set at 60 % of the national median equivalised disposable income” (Eurostat, n.d.). Related to the dependent variable is the **cash disposable household income (DPI)**. It is defined by the LIS as “total monetary current income net of income taxes and social security contributions” (LIS Variable Definition List, 2011, Sheet: Other flow). In this case, the DPI includes the family-related benefits.

Next to the dependent variable, there are the independent variables of **family types**, **time** and **European countries**.

In this study, **families** are households with children being less than 18 years old since these are children dependent on their parents, children in law and exist as variable – nhmem17 – in the LIS data. Children, who are 18 years or older are able and allowed to work and seen as adults in law and not absolutely dependent on their parents anymore. More specifically, the study relevant **family types** are *lone parent households*, which are compared to *two parent households*, *migrant headed households*, which are compared to *native headed households*, and *unemployed headed households*, which are compared to *employed headed households*.

Having already pointed out the selection of the sample, the definition of time as a variable can be kept shortly. **Time** is in this case defined as the time span *from 1987/88 to 2005* as a result of the waves’ benchmarking years. It will be studied if child poverty increases or decreases over time and which influence family – related benefits have in reducing it. Another purpose is to find out whether the effectiveness of these benefits changed over time.

The **European countries**, 17 in total, represent different welfare state regimes and are listed in the theoretical framework. They distribute **family-related benefits**, which are therefore independent variables, too. The **family-related benefits** analysed in this paper are all only allocated by the government to support the raising of one or more dependent children monetarily. Thus, in this study Immervoll et. al.’s (2000) definition of **family-related benefits** as “cash payments made to parents or other carers on behalf of children who are dependent on them” (p.2) applies. There exist non-monetary family-related benefits, too. These non-monetary family-related benefits are things like food or educational support (Skoufias, & Gonzales-Cossio, 2008). They can be defined as “the net value to individuals and families of education, health and housing benefits provided to them on a subsidised basis”(Saunders, et. al., 1992, Introduction). Two reasons exist for the exclusion of non-monetary family-related benefits in this study. First, the purpose is to see the effectiveness of government benefits and non-monetary benefits are additionally provided by others, e.g. employers (Saunders, et. al., 1992). Secondly, the inclusion of these benefits and the calculation of their effectiveness would be too extensive. Using monetary state benefits, recommendations regarding modification can be made addressing the governments. Due to working with the LIS data, **family-related benefits** include several variables. I list them here with their complete labelling and the corresponding abbreviation in brackets since the abbreviation has to be used in submitting programmes in LISSY. The variables are ‘family/child universal benefits’ (hmitsufa), ‘child allowances’ (hmitsufaca), ‘advance maintenance’ (hmitsufaam), ‘non-work-related childcare benefits’ (hmitsufacc), and ‘family/children transfers’

(hmiatfam). The definitions of each of these variables given by the LIS can be found in the appendix. Relevant regarding the analysis is that the variable 'family/child universal benefits' is available for most of the countries. Thus, this variable is subtracted from the DPI to create the pre – transfer income. That leads to better comparability of the results. In addition, all family – related benefits variables available for each country and points in time are subtracted from the DPI in order to see the complete effect of the applied benefits.

In the last section of this chapter the limitations of the methodology are pointed out as well as the reasons for the study and the methodology that outweigh the limitations.

3.5 Limitations

Finally, a brief discussion of the limitations of this study concludes this chapter. In general, the biggest disadvantage of longitudinal studies - high costs together with the high time consumption – does not apply to this study since I make use of the data provided by the LIS. Another general limitation exists in the guidelines on writing a master thesis set out by the university. In this case, the number of pages and words play a significant role when looking at the factors of influence on child poverty reviewed.

Then, there exist three limitations related to the LIS data. First of all, the data of the different countries are not collected at the same point in time. However, the LIS tackled this problem by introducing the 'waves' of datasets, which refer to income reference periods. Secondly, the researcher has no influence on the sample that he or she gets the information about and the most actual accessible data is almost ten years old. Nevertheless, these problems are approached by the harmonisation of the data of the surveys according to a standard the LIS explains in their manual called 'The LIS Database: Guidelines'. Thirdly, the LIS receives their data from research institutions of the different countries, which do not ask the same households every time they conduct their surveys. Thus, typical longitudinal panel studies are not feasible to conduct. However, this paper only wants to contribute to the research on child poverty and related policies investigating kind of a trend in the poverty alleviating effectiveness of family – related benefits. A follow-up study could be more precise by conduct surveys among the same households in different countries.

Regarding the statistical methods, a regression analysis could provide useful insights in the determinants of child poverty. However, it is not necessary to answer the research questions posed in this thesis since I am not interested in a study of the determinants, but in observing a general trend over time, both for the poverty rates and the poverty reduction effectiveness scores. These two trends can also be observed with the help of a simple comparison of at-risk-of poverty rates over time and pre- and post-transfers using Mitchell's formula.

Overall, the advantages of the contribution of this thesis are recognised as more important than the limitations. The LIS is academically acknowledged. The contribution to fight child poverty across Europe more effectively is of more significance since poverty is a burden on the society's back. Poverty in the years of childhood is "associated with a greater likelihood of high school non-completion and teen premarital childbearing" (Ratcliffe, & McKernan, 2012, p.9) and the longer the status of poverty lasts, the higher

the likelihood is. Overall, the reduced probability of educational success and the increased chance of becoming pregnant sooner than during the mean age (Ratcliffe, & McKernan, 2012) can produce economic deficits, unemployment and poverty as adults. Hence, it is wiser to fight child poverty effectively instead of producing future financial burdens for the society. Having this in mind, this thesis can provide some useful insights.

Chapter 4: Analysis

In this chapter the empirical results of the analysis are discussed. To start with the results regarding child poverty in general are discussed. Secondly, there are answers given linked to child poverty in family types. All tables including empirical results can be found in the appendix⁸. In order to facilitate the interpretation and understanding for the reader, figures are created showing different kinds of bar charts, I will explain in the respective sections. In order to conduct a complete assessment of the data and to interpret the results properly, information from the EU's Mutual Information System on Social Protection (MISSOC)⁹ is used. The MISSOC contains data on all included countries in this study for the most recent year meaning 2004 and 2005. Data before 1998 is only available for Austria, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Ireland, Luxemburg, the Netherlands, Sweden, Spain, and the United Kingdom. Data of the other six countries, Czech Republic, Hungary, Norway, Poland, Slovak Republic, and Switzerland is missing because the relationship with the EU, previously the European Community (EC), has not been there or that close as it is nowadays. However, the MISSOC is that source containing the most and the most English available data, which is important for the author, since not every language is spoken and understood by her. Furthermore, with regards to Spain it has to be commented that no data on universal benefits is available; therefore these results need to be interpreted with caution

4.1 Child poverty in general in different countries

In this paragraph child poverty is discussed at a general level and across the different countries. To begin with figure 4-1 shows stacked bars of the available at-risk-of poverty rates for children both at the available on overall child poverty pre- and post social benefits level for the most current year¹⁰. The different colours in the figure mark the different kinds of at-risk-of poverty rates as explained in the legend next to the bar charts. The most current year is used to give an overview of the current situation of child poverty and how social benefits have an effect on it.

⁸ They are excluded from this chapter because they are too big and complex

⁹ The MISSOC comprises information on the social systems of the countries being members of the European Union (EU) and of the European Free Trade Association (EFTA).

¹⁰ The most current year within this thesis is either 2004 or 2005

The combat of child poverty across Europe – A comparison of the effect of family-related benefits on child poverty across 17 European countries and in the period from 1987/88 to 2005

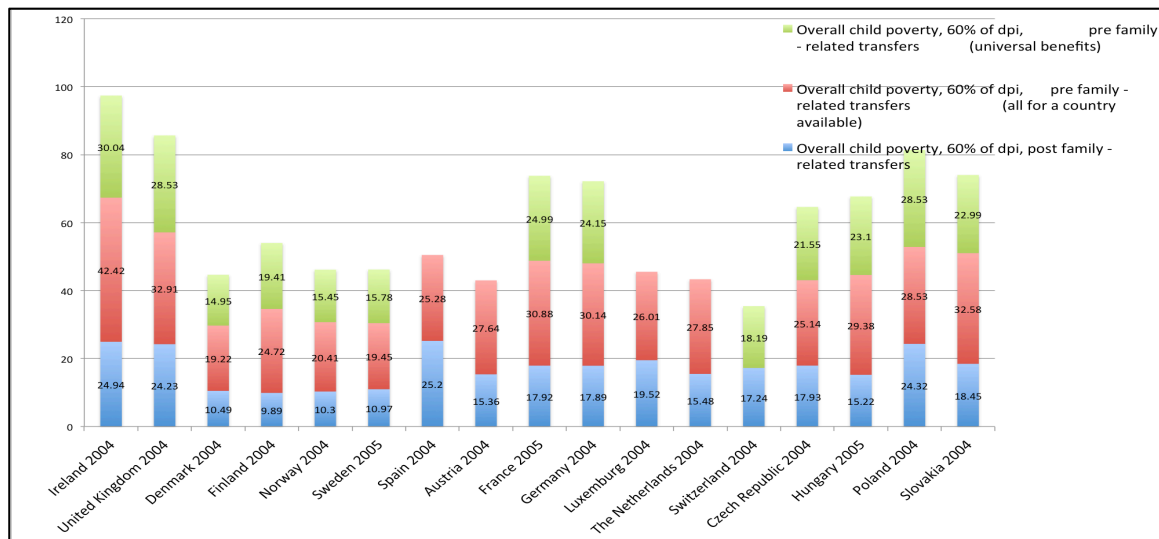


Figure 4-1 Overall child poverty rates in European countries in 2004/2005

In 2005/2004, European wide, the overall poverty rate ranges from 9.89% in Finland to 25.2% in Spain. When ranking the countries' child poverty rate after transfers, the top three places are all hold by the Scandinavian/Nordic countries: Finland, Norway and Denmark and the last three places are hold by Spain, Ireland and Poland. This confirms, the role of the Nordic/Scandinavian countries as pioneers in alleviating child poverty for the most current year. The ineffectiveness of Anglo-Saxon countries' poverty alleviation through family-related benefits can be illustrated by several facts. First of all, Ireland is amongst the top three countries with the highest at-risk-of poverty rates for children. In addition, Ireland has also the highest at-risk-of poverty rate before family-related benefits are received. Furthermore, the United Kingdom follows Ireland having the second highest at-risk-of poverty rate before family-related benefits and being the fourth worst country in alleviating child poverty.

The next step is to study the statistics available for the same countries, but including more years in order to see whether a trend in child poverty can be observed. Figure 4-2 shows stacked bars of the countries, all available years and different kinds of child poverty rates, pre- and post-transfers. The blue part of the bars is most important since it shows the post-transfers rate.

The combat of child poverty across Europe – A comparison of the effect of family-related benefits on child poverty across 17 European countries and in the period from 1987/88 to 2005

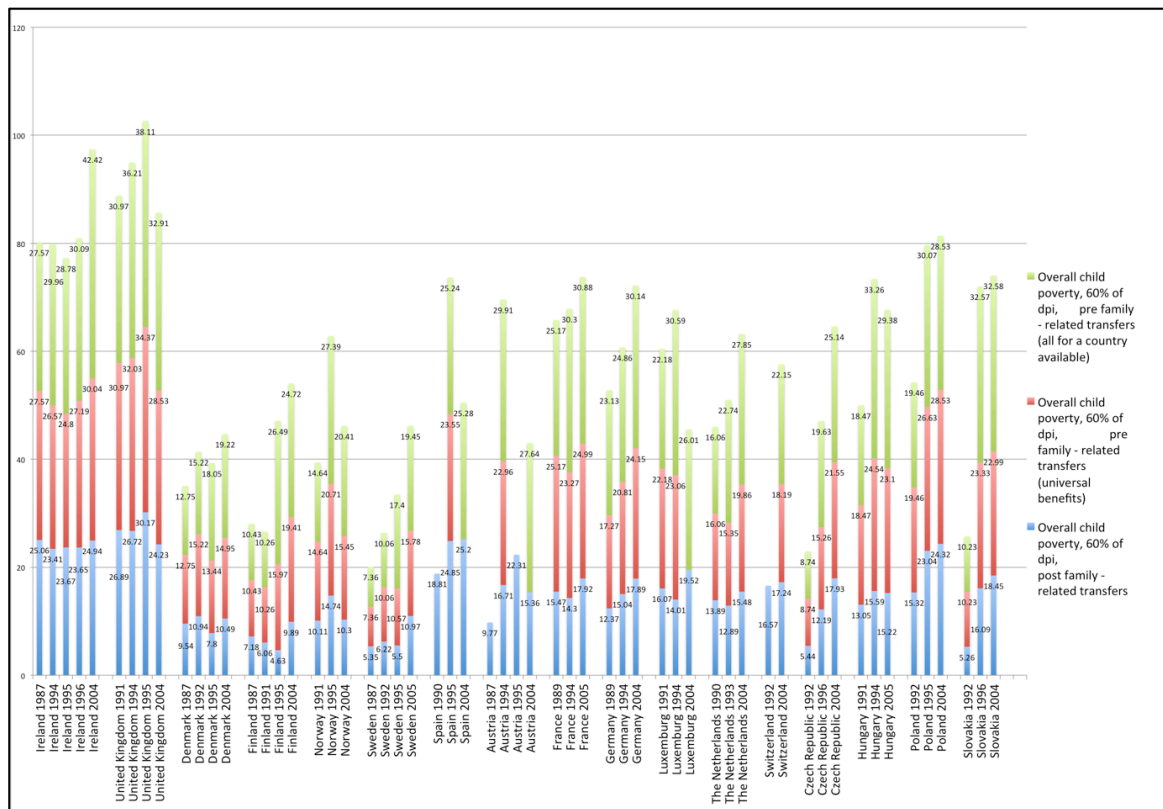


Figure 4-2 Overall child poverty rates in European countries in the period from 1987/1988 to 2004/2005

Looking at figure 4-2 it becomes clear that the grouping of Central Eastern European countries shows an increase of the at-risk-poverty rate over time. This can be explained by the communist past of these countries. During communist times there existed almost no poverty because everybody worked and the social system paid in cases of potential upcoming poverty. The rates increased more rapidly and extremely from the end of the 80s to the mid of the 90s, which can be justified by an extreme system change from communist to capitalist because of the fall of the wall in 1990.

Overall, the Anglo-Saxon countries and Spain show the highest at-risk of poverty rates in contrast to the Nordic/Scandinavian countries, which show very positive results regarding child poverty. The Bismarckian countries perform reasonably well and they and the CEECs show very similar results regarding the poverty rates when looking at the 90s and the most current year. The reason for that is the reform of the CEECs, which are rather moderately successful in reducing child poverty right now and have been very social democratic in the past, which is the explanation of the results at the end of the 80s almost being the same as the Nordic/Scandinavian countries' rates.

Regarding the trend of the at-risk-of poverty rates, it can be said that for Bismarckian countries, except for Austria the trend becomes negative again after a positive development. For Austria the opposite is the case. For Spain the whole trend is negative by showing a rise of the child poverty rate. The two Anglo-Saxon countries differ, too. Ireland shows a very constant at-risk-of poverty rate while the United Kingdom showed an increase and then a fall even below the lowest rate that had been existed before. Even the Nordic/Scandinavian countries show a rise of the poverty rates, except for Norway, whose rate decreased again in 2004. In conclusion, one can say that most countries showed a decrease until the mid of the 90s followed by an increase, which

could be explained by economic problems and reforms of the welfare states into a more market-oriented direction, which means a cutting of benefits.

4.2 Child poverty in general in different welfare state regimes

The next step is to review the assumption of Nordic/Scandinavian countries performing better in alleviating poverty than countries of another welfare state regime typology. On the one hand, I came up with this formulated assumption as a hypothesis in the theoretical framework. On the other hand, the results discussed in the previous section have already pointed in the direction of Nordic/Scandinavian countries as the clear winner of the welfare state regime groups in the contest of fighting or rather reducing child poverty through family-related benefits. Furthermore, this part of the analysis wants to find out how effectively or ineffectively the other welfare state regime types handle the combat of child poverty.

Figure 4-3 displays stacked bars of the different kinds of poverty rates in the colours blue, red and green with the corresponding numbers as well as the different poverty reduction effectiveness rates in violet and turquoise with their corresponding numbers. On the one hand, that makes it possible to look at the average at-risk-of poverty rates of the countries forming a welfare state regime group and over all included years. On the other hand it enables me to interpret the effectiveness of the poverty alleviation through family-related benefits because having the poverty reduction effectiveness rates at hand, which are the only significant rates relating the results of the post-transfer rate and the pre-transfer rates comparatively. Again the comment has to be made that the Southern countries' results cannot be generalised.

To start with, the results of the Nordic/Scandinavian countries are examined. First of all, it can be said that the Nordic/Scandinavian countries show the lowest poverty rates in all categories, pre transfers (universal and all benefits available) and post transfers, as well as the highest poverty reduction effectiveness rates. That means that the hypothesis of children living in Nordic/Scandinavian countries having a lower risk of being poor can be confirmed. Furthermore, the Nordic/Scandinavian can be labelled as best performing welfare state regime in combating child poverty due to the highest poverty reduction effectiveness rates. Since the Southern countries cannot be taken as universally valid example, the Anglo-Saxon countries have the highest at-risk-of child poverty rate and reduce child poverty most ineffectively. Thus, children living in the Anglo-Saxon countries are most at risk to be poor. The Bismarckian and Central Eastern European countries show very similar and moderate results with regard to the at-risk-of poverty rate as well as the poverty reduction effectiveness.

The combat of child poverty across Europe – A comparison of the effect of family-related benefits on child poverty across 17 European countries and in the period from 1987/88 to 2005

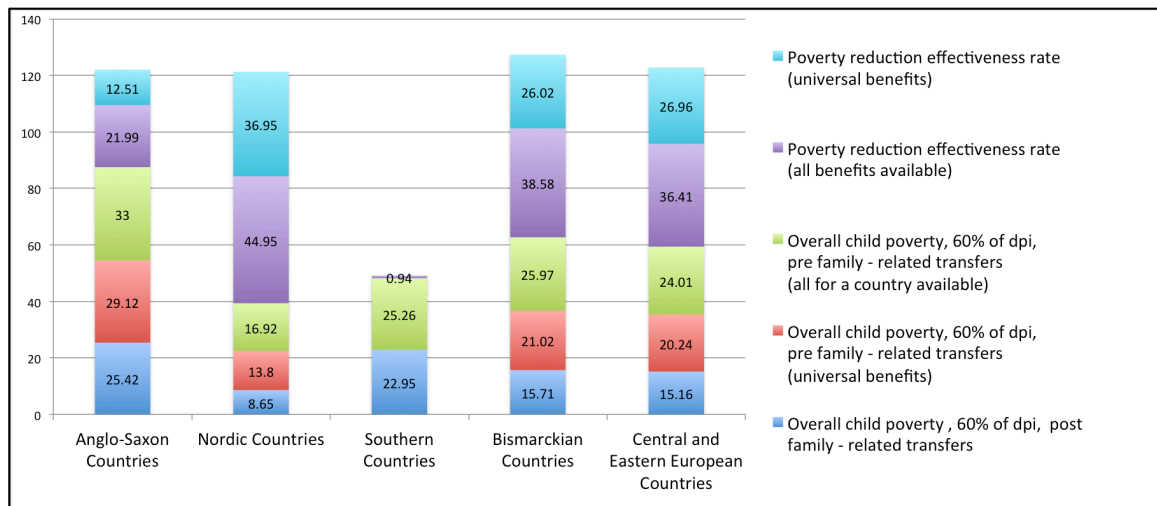


Figure 4-3 Overall child poverty rates and poverty reduction effectiveness rates by welfare state regimes

4.3 Child poverty by family types

In this next step of the analysis the different family types and their connection with the children's at-risk-of poverty is investigated. First of all, the poverty rates post transfers of the different family types of the most current year are looked at. Thereafter, the family types that were mentioned in the theoretical framework as being analysed are examined. They are compared to each other according to the established hypotheses.

As a start, I look at figure 4-4, which presents these most current rates using stacked bars with differently coloured and long stacks for each family type's poverty rate. The different colours represent the different types of poverty rates. In addition, the rule for the length of stacks is the longer they are the higher the corresponding poverty rate is. Furthermore, some poverty rates are not available for some countries. All rates are available for the Ireland, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, France, Germany, Spain, Luxembourg, Czech Republic, the Netherlands, Switzerland and Slovakia. Poland is a special case since only the poverty rate of two parent households is present. Child poverty rates in native and migrant headed households are not available for United Kingdom, Finland, Hungary and Poland. Surveying the bar charts and stacks of the different countries it is visible that child poverty of native headed households is the highest in Spain and the lowest in Denmark. The same applies to migrant headed households' poverty rates. Two parent households have the highest risk to be poor in Spain and the lowest one in Norway. The same applies to unemployed headed households. The children of single parent households are most likely to be poor in Germany and least likely to be poor in Sweden. In the Czech Republic the employed headed households are most at risk of poverty, whereas in Denmark the at-risk-of poverty is the lowest for this grouping. Overall, the highest poverty rate in this figure is found in Germany for single parent households and the lowest poverty appears in Denmark for the employed headed households. That is already pointing at the proportions between all of the different, analysed family types since on average the poverty rates for the employed headed households are the lowest ones contrastingly to the single parent households showing the highest poverty rates.

The combat of child poverty across Europe – A comparison of the effect of family-related benefits on child poverty across 17 European countries and in the period from 1987/88 to 2005

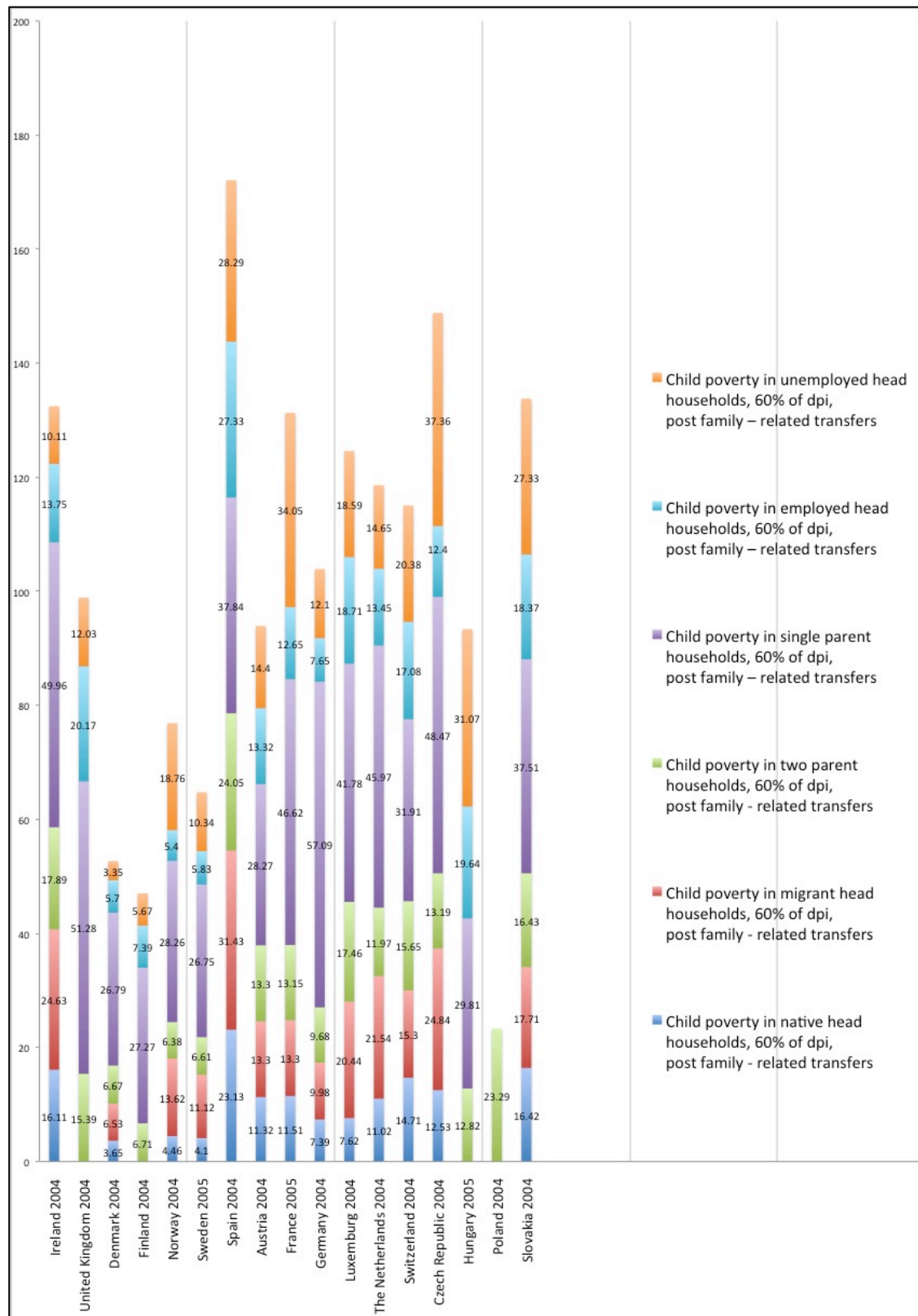


Figure 4-4 Child poverty by different family types in different European countries in 2004/2005

To go more into detail and to test the established hypotheses, three figures can be found showing bar charts regarding the poverty rates post transfers linked to the family types, which are 4-5, 4-6 and 4-7. Figure 4-5 compares child poverty of native headed households with migrant headed households over time and across countries. In figure 4-6 the comparison of single parent and two parent households' poverty rate can be

seen. The third and last figure 4-7 contrasts employed headed and unemployed headed households' poverty rates.

Regarding figure 4-5 making generalisations in relation to the welfare state groupings is not really possible since the United Kingdom, Hungary, Poland and Finland do not show results in any of the chosen years. With respect to these completely missing countries' results and additional lacking results of some years, a development over time is difficult to evaluate and to generalise. The top three of the overall highest poverty rates of migrant headed households consists of Spain, Ireland and the Czech Republic. The opposite is more difficult to determine since for example Luxembourg had a very low rate until the mid of the 90s, but showed proportionately a very high one in 2004. For Spain and Ireland the same applies to the native headed households' poverty rate and Switzerland can be seen as the third worst performing country. For both household types Sweden and Denmark show the lowest poverty rates. When comparing the poverty rates of the two household types one can state that migrant headed households are more at-risk-of poverty than native headed households, but due to the limitations of the generalizability the hypothesis cannot be fully confirmed.

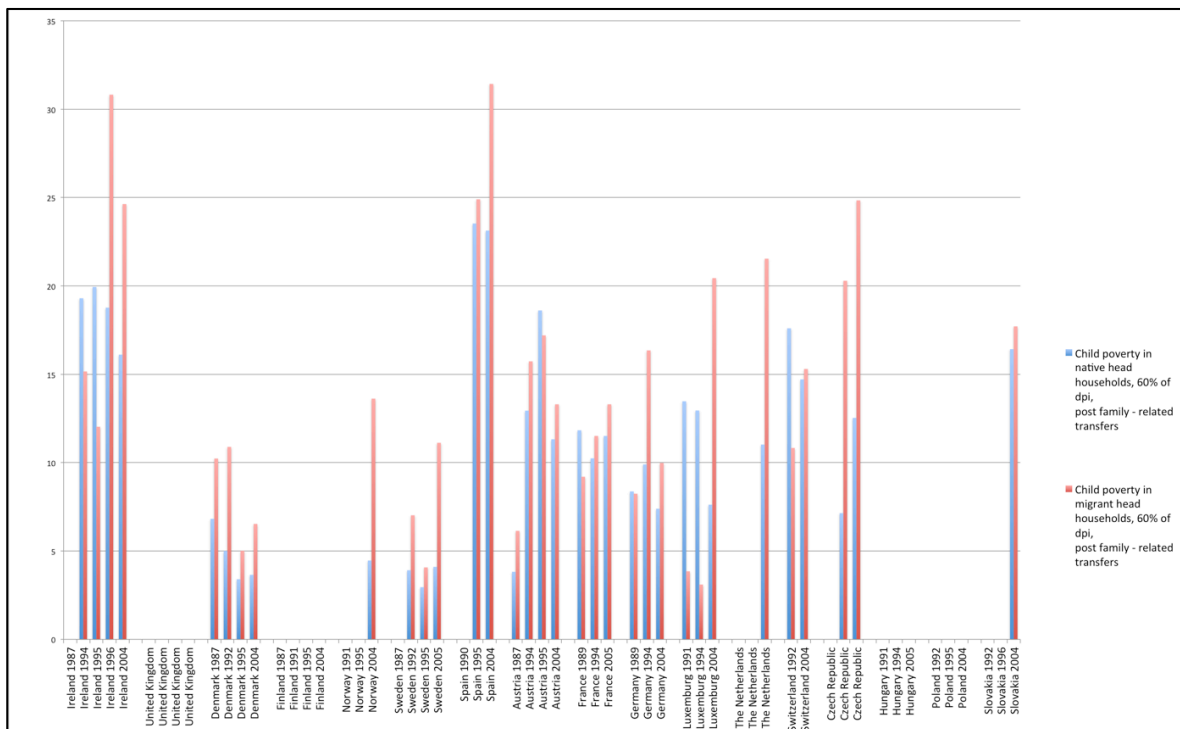


Figure 4-5 Child poverty rates of native and migrant headed households in European countries in the period from 1987/1988 to 2004/2005

Looking at figure 4-6 the objections of generalisation and of evaluation of a development over time are not applicable. Overall it is significant that the poverty rates of single parent households are much higher than of the two parent households as well as contrasted with the migrant headed households. Thus, the hypothesis that 'children of single parents are more likely to be at risk of poverty than children of two parents' as developed in the theoretical chapter can be confirmed.

The combat of child poverty across Europe – A comparison of the effect of family-related benefits on child poverty across 17 European countries and in the period from 1987/88 to 2005

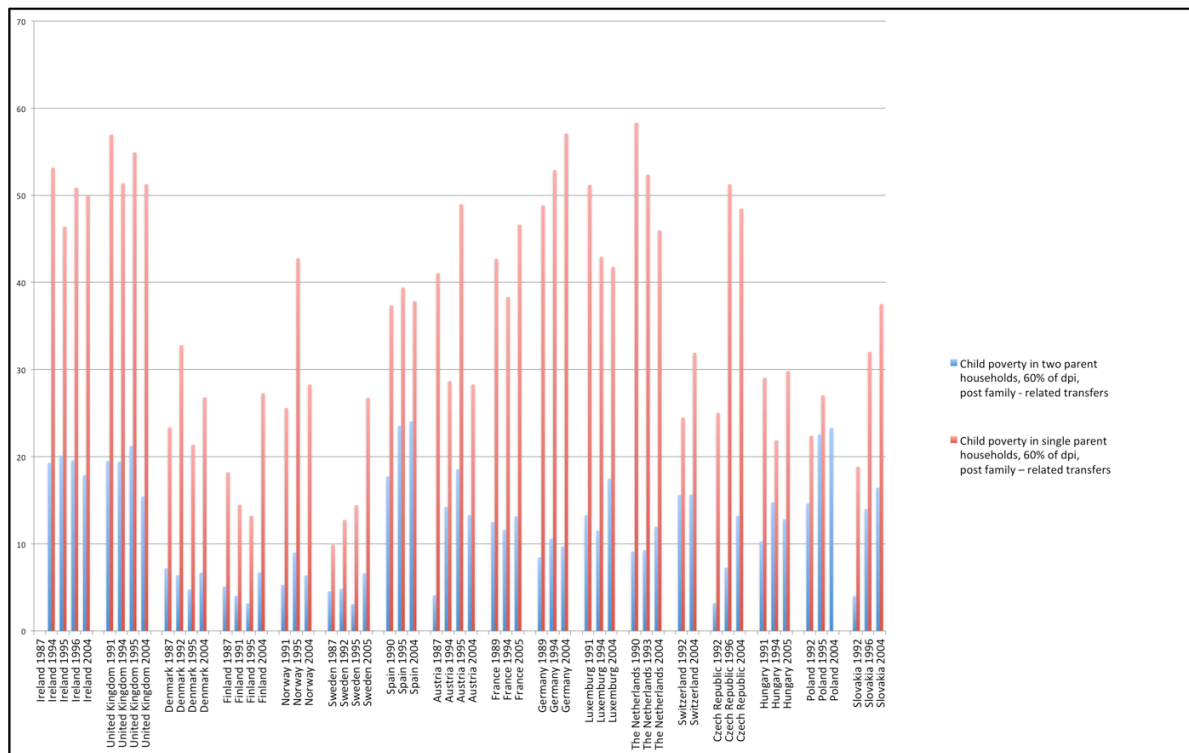


Figure 4-6 Child poverty rates of two parent and single parent households in European countries in the period from 1987/1988 to 2004/2005

More specifically, the countries of the Nordic/Scandinavian countries as welfare state grouping display the lowest at-risk-of poverty for two parent households. The opposite is the case for Spain and the Anglo-Saxon countries. With respect to single parent households, they have the lowest risk to be poor in the Nordic/Scandinavian countries, whereas in Anglo-Saxon countries and some of the Bismarckian countries the situation is contrary. Over time in Sweden, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Switzerland, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia the rates are increasing contrary to the other countries. only the Anglo-Saxon countries show the same (positive) trend.

No limitations of generalisation and of evaluation of a development over time exist in figure 4-7. All in all, it is obvious that the child poverty rates of unemployed headed households are higher than of the two parent households, except for the Anglo-Saxon countries in which the reverse is the case. Therefore, the hypothesis that ‘children living in households with heads being unemployed are more likely to be at risk of poverty than children living in households with heads being employed’, established in the theoretical chapter, can only be partly confirmed.

The combat of child poverty across Europe – A comparison of the effect of family-related benefits on child poverty across 17 European countries and in the period from 1987/88 to 2005

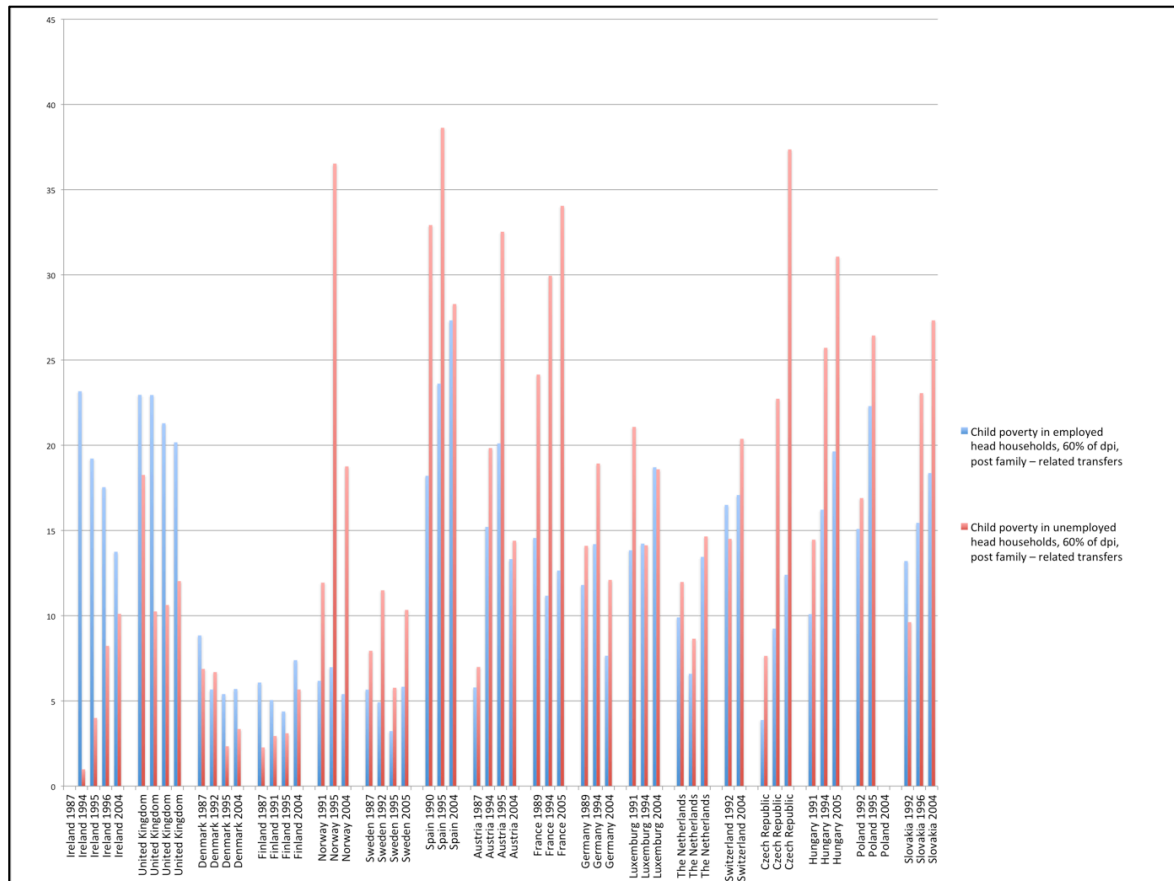


Figure 4-7 Child poverty rates of employed and unemployed headed households in European countries in the period from 1987/1988 to 2004/2005

Studied in detail, the highest poverty rates of employed headed households can be found in Spain and the Anglo-Saxon countries. The lowest rates are visible in the Nordic/Scandinavian countries. The risk to be poor as a child living in an unemployed headed household is on average the highest in Bismarckian and Central Eastern European countries and the lowest in the Nordic/Scandinavian countries, but in Norway the rate is much higher than in the other three countries. The development of the rates is decreasing in Norway, Spain, Austria and Germany, and increasing in the other countries, except for the Anglo-Saxon countries, in which the rates develop antithetically. Unfortunately, the MISSOC does not add more information since only stating for the UK and Ireland that unemployed persons receive “normal family benefits”. In both countries, only persons working on so-called and self-defined “low pay” get extra conditions for allowing a credit from the state’s side.

4.4 Family-related policies’ effectiveness

Finally, I look at the family types again, but this time the policies effectiveness on the at-risk-of child poverty is reviewed. The effectiveness rate reveals the true effect of family policies. This is important because a country can have a high poverty rate plus high poverty reduction effectiveness whereas a country with a low poverty rate can show low poverty reduction effectiveness. Therefore, only by studying the poverty reduction effectiveness rates indicate the actual impact of family-related benefits resulting from family policies. As in the previous section there are three figures because of comparing

The combat of child poverty across Europe – A comparison of the effect of family-related benefits on child poverty across 17 European countries and in the period from 1987/88 to 2005

the same family types again. However, this time the family types are compared to each other regarding the poverty reduction effects of the family policies relevant to them.

Figure 4-8 is affected by the same limitations that figure 4-5. It shows the child poverty reduction effectiveness rates regarding migrant and native headed households children living in.

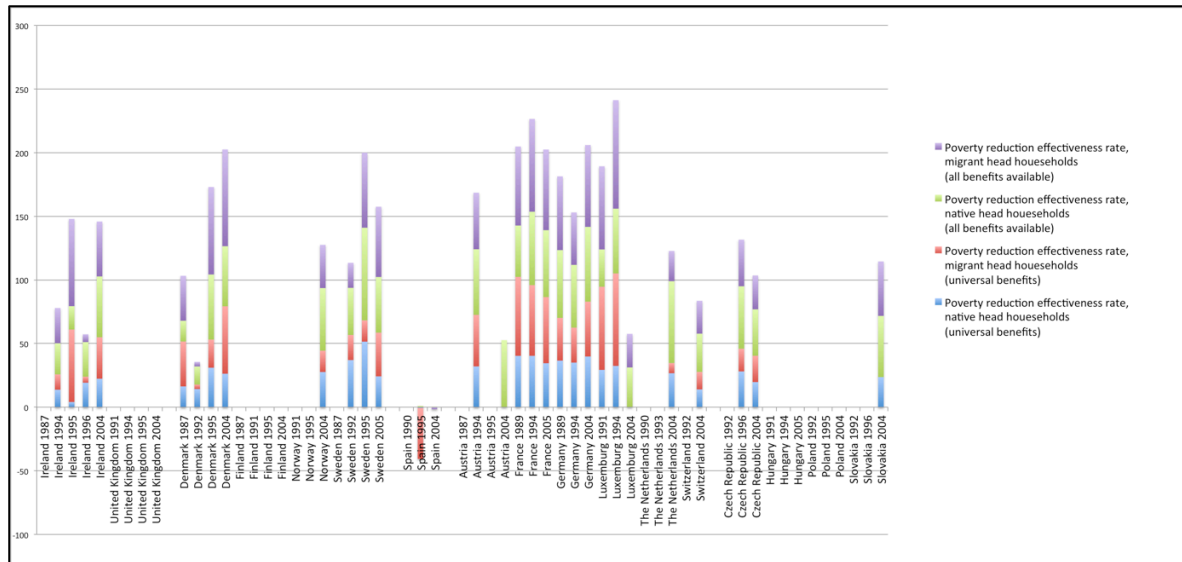


Figure 4-8 Poverty reduction effectiveness rates of child poverty rates in native and migrant headed households in European countries in the period from 1987/1988 to 2004/2005

Overall, it is visible that child poverty in migrant and native headed households is reduced by family-related benefits with one exemption. This exemption is Spain, for which the existent poverty reduction effectiveness rates are negative. That means a lower risk of being poor for children living in migrant and native headed households without receiving family-related transfers. A potential explanation for this is the very low amount of cash benefits, which has been subject to taxation until 2005. In addition, the comparison identifies a big variation of the poverty reduction effect regarding the family types across countries. The only thing that applies mostly is that all available benefits are more effective than the universal benefits, which leads to the assumption that the monetary amount of all available benefits is bigger than of the universal benefits.

With respect to single parent and two parent households the comparison of family-related benefits and their effect is made in figure 4-9. This figure and figure 4-10 are not affected by the limitations of generalizability.

To start with, the exemptions within figure 4-9 are discussed, which are Spain and United Kingdom. In Spain, the child poverty reduction effect is almost not visible and in 2004 in the United Kingdom the poverty alleviation effect of all benefits available for two parent households is negative. Regarding Spain's case the remark on the taxation model of benefits and the low amount of cash benefits has to be made again. Studying the information available from the MISSOC in relation to United Kingdom in 2004 no reason for this negative rate can be found. The only thing possibly being an advantage for single parents is receiving child benefits for a longer time than the 16th birthday of the child because of only one person working contrastingly to two parent households.

However, this cannot be validated. Furthermore, generally seen two parent households are in an advantaged position compared to single parent households in the Anglo-Saxon countries because of a stronger effect. However, across countries the Anglo-Saxon countries are the looser because of showing the lowest child poverty reduction effectiveness rates. The clear winners are the Nordic/Scandinavian countries due to alleviating poverty most effectively. The Bismarckian and Central Eastern European countries share moderate values again. Then I want to refer to the status of the family types also in the different welfare state regime types next to the Anglo-Saxon countries. In Bismarckian countries as well as in the Central Eastern European countries the traditional families with two parents are better of in the alleviation of child poverty. In Nordic/Scandinavian countries it varies, Denmark, Norway and Sweden develop from a beneficial status of two parent families to an equal standing of both household models and Finland is rather effective in supporting two parent households.

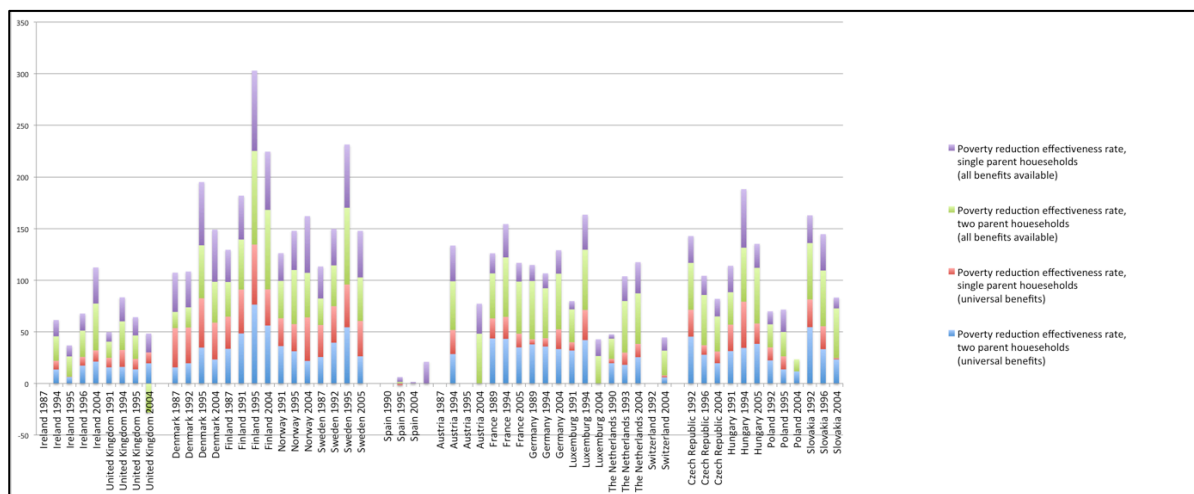


Figure 4-9 Poverty reduction effectiveness rates of child poverty rates in two parent and single parent households in European countries in the period from 1987/1988 to 2004/2005

At last, figure 4-10 is investigated. It contrasts the poverty effectiveness rates for children in unemployed and employed headed households. Again Spain shows almost no effect due to the reasons already mentioned. Three other countries have peculiar values but only for certain years. This differs from Spain, which has generally very low values. These countries are Sweden in the year 1987, Slovakia in the year 1992 and the Czech Republic in the year 2004. In addition, it has to be noted that not all rates are negative. In Sweden, the rates of the unemployed headed households are negative; in Slovakia the rates of the employed headed households and in the Czech Republic the rate of all available benefits of unemployed headed households. With respect to these countries no MISSOC information explains the results. Therefore, I assume that harmonisation guidelines of the LIS and the surveys done in the countries conflict. Next, the family types' child poverty alleviation effectiveness in the different welfare state regime types is examined.

In Anglo-Saxon countries the unemployed headed households' at-risk-of child poverty is fought more successfully, the same applies generally for the Bismarckian countries except for a few years. Within the Central Eastern European countries the effectiveness varies strongly across countries.

The combat of child poverty across Europe – A comparison of the effect of family-related benefits on child poverty across 17 European countries and in the period from 1987/88 to 2005

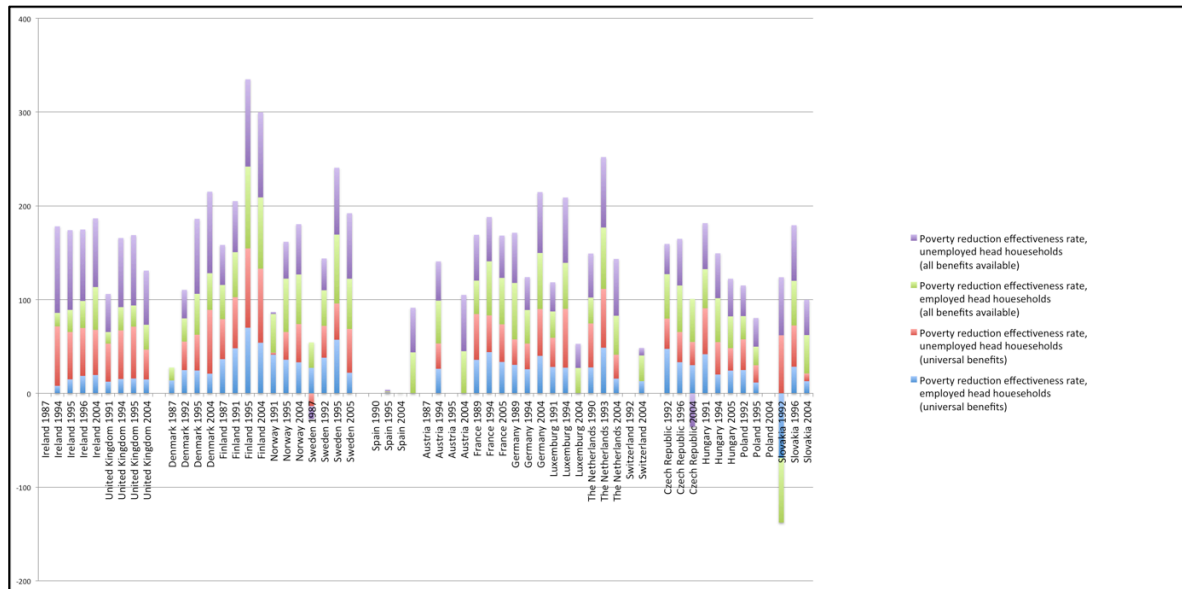


Figure 4-10 Poverty reduction effectiveness rates of child poverty rates in employed and unemployed headed households in European countries in the period from 1987/1988 to 2004/2005

To conclude the chapter, overall the effect of family-related benefits is positive in the sense that it reduces the poverty risk of children. Only Spain shows very constantly negative or non-effects. An example is Spain's universal benefits having a poverty reduction effectiveness rate of -5.52 in 2004 in figure 4-x1b. In addition, by looking at all benefits available for Spain a rather non-effect appears to be present with poverty reduction effectiveness rates of 1.55 in 1995 and 0.32 in 2004 in figure 4-x2b. Using data of MISSOC two potential reasons for these results can be identified. First of all, the universal child cash benefits amount €24.25, which is rather low compared to the other European countries. Secondly, in Spain family-related benefits were subject to taxation until 2005. Furthermore, it is observable that for most of the countries the poverty reduction effectiveness rates increased until the mid of the 90s and then they declined again until 2004/2005. The rather general decline of the family-related benefits' effectiveness of the Central and Eastern European Countries can be linked with their past. Until the beginning of the 1990s their system was communist. That means that poverty was barely present and social benefits were generous and common. After the dissolution of the Eastern bloc the communist system collapsed and the economic reforms to become competitive led to shortages in benefits and the emergence of higher poverty rates. Overall, the general trend in declining poverty reduction effectiveness from the mid of the 90s on can be explained by a general trend in shortening the welfare systems. The inexplicable negative findings in figures 4-8 to 4-10 are seen as resulting from the clash of the LIS' harmonisation guidelines and the national survey methods. Furthermore, it has to be said once again that the MISSOC does not provide data on any country and that it is difficult to find data of the earlier years that is written in English. Thus, it can be that there would be even another explication next to the harmonisation guidelines, which is only not available due to language difficulties.

In the next chapter, the thesis and the approach will be reviewed, the findings will be summarised and discussed in detail by linking them with the theoretical framework and the research question will be answered. In addition, policy recommendations will be made and potential future research will be suggested.

Chapter 5: Conclusion and Discussion

Within this thesis the topic of child poverty and the combat by different countries through family-related benefits is discussed and assessed. The topic is seen as relevant since children are commonly viewed as the future of a country. The experience is that children living presently in poverty are in danger of living deprived and disadvantaged in the future, too. Consequently that means that these children will not and cannot contribute positively to the future of a country when they are grown-ups. On the contrary, these children can be seen as the future burden of a country since they will likely be dependent on the social protection of a country their whole life. Therefore an effective solution or rather strategy has to be established to fight child poverty. One of the possible strategies is related to family benefits and their poverty reducing effect. In order to find out more about this effectiveness this thesis asked what the effect of family-related benefits on child poverty across European countries in the period from 1987/88 to 2005 is. Hence, different welfare state regimes and their approaches of support through family-related benefits in the period from 1987/88 to 2005 were studied and compared. First of all, the existing literature was reviewed about the determinants of child poverty. It is found that the state and its welfare system, family demographics and the labour market participation mainly influence the risk of poverty. All in all, five hypotheses regarding these determinants are established. Then, by using the data of the LIS of different points in time, of 17 different countries and of different household types the effect of family-related benefits on child poverty is studied. First of all, the actual overall child poverty and the trend of it over time are looked at. Thereafter, more detailed, the welfare state regime types' effect is studied as well as the family types' risk of being poor is compared.

With regards to the established hypotheses, which are in line with the findings the authors of the used literature, it can be said that very generally the assumptions can be confirmed. That means more precisely that Scandinavian/Nordic countries reduce the at-risk-of poverty most effectively and children experience the lowest risk of being poor. That is not only valid by looking at the overall child poverty rates, but also for the different family types that have been studied. Secondly, very generally, the results of all family types are in line with the statements made in the reviewed literature. One can see that in figures 4-5 to 4-6. Concrete numbers are difficult to give since the figures comprise results of 17 countries in a period from 1987/88 to 2005, but the bar charts illustrate the trend and relation. Only the Anglo-Saxon countries are an exception in the case of unemployed and employed headed households. The expectation was to see that children living in employed headed households have a lower risk of being poor than children living in unemployed headed households, but the contrary is the case for Anglo-Saxon countries. Thus, the results verify the literature that children of the single parent households are more at risk of poverty than children of two parent households as well as that usually children living in employed headed households are less at risk to be poor than children living in unemployed headed households. The statements regarding migrant headed households' children being more at risk of being poor than native headed households' ones can neither be confirmed nor refused. The lack of generalizability causes this issues, but the results that are present rather tend to accept the statements made in literature. Furthermore, it has been hypothesized that countries with a higher level of benefits have lower poverty rates of children than countries with a lower level of benefits. According to Brady and Burroway (2012) means-tested

benefits are less effective than universal ones. Bradburry and Jäntti (2001) confirm this by stating that Anglo-Saxon countries have a similar level of social benefits like Scandinavian/Nordic countries while still having a higher level of child poverty. MISSOC confirms the similar level of child benefits when looking at the monetary child benefits for the first child: Denmark – 148 Euros for a 0-3 years-old-child, 134 Euros for a 3-7 years-old-child, 105 Euros for a 7-18 years-old-child; Finland – 100 Euros for the first child; Ireland – 117,60 Euros for the first child; Norway – 118 Euros for the first child; Sweden – 104 Euros for the first child; and the United Kingdom – 106 Euros for the first/oldest child. The results of the data analysis verify that Anglo-Saxon countries are less effective in reducing child poverty than Scandinavian/Nordic countries since the Anglo-Saxon have much higher poverty rates, e.g. 25.42% overall child poverty, than Scandinavian/Nordic countries, e.g. 8.65% overall child poverty.

Then, there has to be given an answer to the main research question since the element of time has not been referred to yet. The main research question is: “What is the effect of family-related benefits on child poverty across European countries and in the period from 1987/88 to 2005?” Overall, the results show that family-related benefits reduce the at-risk-of poverty of children. Besides only some exceptions, this is valid for all different family types, child poverty is most effectively reduced in Scandinavian/Nordic countries. The Bismarckian and Central and Eastern European countries are both moderately effective in reducing child poverty. The Anglo-Saxon countries occupy the last place since they do a much worse job in reducing child poverty compared to the latter two, excluding Spain due to reasons of non-generalizability. With respect to the trend over time of the effect of family-related benefits on child poverty across Europe, it can be said that mainly the trend has been a rise until the mid of the 1990s and afterwards a decline in effectiveness and a rise in the poverty rate. An explanation could be the cutting of social benefits as general trend in the Western countries due to demography problems, which will be discussed later on in the final paragraph.

The first policy recommendation resulting from the findings is that European countries should rather implement universal family benefit schemes than mean-tested ones. This recommendation is based, as already mentioned, on the outcome that Anglo-Saxon countries, representing mean-tested benefit systems, often lag behind the other welfare state regime types in reducing the at-risk-poverty, whereas Scandinavian/Nordic countries as providers of universal benefits are most successful in poverty reduction. In addition, the Scandinavian/Nordic countries outperform in support of new family/household structures due to reducing poverty of single parent households most effectively. However, in general single parent households experience a much higher risk of being poor than two parent households. That means that policies should focus and support more strongly the modern - not traditional - family types, especially when having in mind that new family types increase in today's European societies due to women having become more emancipated during the last decades and almost every second marriage ending in a divorce. In terms of the Eastern European countries' policy reform, I recommend to look at the strategies of the best performing countries in child poverty reduction as it is usual in the open method of coordination (OMC) the EU uses in achieving social policy relevant aims. Lastly, although Spain and the results have to be looked at carefully, as a country it shows that taxation of social benefits, especially when these benefits are not very high, can lead to the opposite, meaning the increase of poverty. Therefore, the recommendation from my point of view is that taxation of state

benefits should only be done if proper calculations have been done before to prevent a mismatching of measures and purpose.

Lastly it has to be added that this research has enlarged and deepened the knowledge of the influence of family-related benefits on child poverty, but is only a part of what could be done to assess it completely. As already stated in the methodology chapter, this study is not a longitudinal panel study since not the same households are included in each wave of the LIS. Therefore, it would be very interesting to study the influence of family-related benefits on the same households for a period of several years. That way, the influence of the family-related benefits at different points in time of a child's life would be visible, which could help to adapt the benefits' monetary amount or non-monetary support according to the needs. Secondly, in this study the focus is laid on monetary benefits, another study could investigate the influence of non-monetary benefits to see which benefits are more effective in reducing the at-risk-of poverty and in increasing the quality of life. Furthermore, because of a few strange results, e.g. Anglo-Saxon countries results for unemployed and employed headed households, or limitations, e.g. non-generalizability of Spain's results, in this study follow up studies are needed. First of all, the Anglo-Saxon countries should be studied again in terms of employed and unemployed headed households' risk of being poor. If using for example the raw data, which means the not according to LIS rules harmonised data, and results oppose the expectations again, the reason has to be investigated and will probably be found in the policies, when looking more closely. Secondly, since this time only Spain has been available as a Southern country due to data availability, the investigation of Southern countries' effectiveness in reducing child poverty is very interesting for a follow-up study. In my opinion, this is very important since the Southern countries experience the financial crisis these days very hard, many people, especially young people are getting unemployed and thus, the level of poverty rises. Therefore, effective strategies are needed. Finally, there exist generalizability issues with respect to the results of native and migrant headed households due to data leakage. This data leakage could be explained by an attrition bias. Attrition is in the literature defined as the dropping out of people of a study/survey due to several reasons (Rubin, & Babbie, 2009). In this thesis the assumption is that language problems in answering the national questionnaires could lead to attrition of the participants. Furthermore, the harmonisation rules of the LIS could also lead to the exclusion of available data. However, based on this generalisation issues a (follow-up) study could investigate native and migrant headed households again, collecting new data, perhaps even by using interviews and including interpreters of the particular mother tongues of migrants questioned. Looking at native and migrant headed households is of importance, too since the European societies want to integrate people successfully and that is only the case if all people have the same chances. It would be even interesting to look which migrants, meaning from which countries, are most in danger of being poor. In the European Union every citizen of a member state has the right to move to and work in another member, but it is expected from the citizen to learn the language of the new state himself/herself. That creates problems like for example at the moment with migrants from South East Europe. They try to improve their lives by moving to Western European countries, like the United Kingdom or Germany, but are not able to speak the languages, or to finance the language courses needed, which consequently leads to the problem that they cannot find a job. Thus, a study could contribute to the visibility of a problem that might exist and should be solved. Lastly, regarding the finding of the trend that there has been a

rise until the mid of the 1990s and afterwards a decline in effectiveness of poverty reduction and a rise in the poverty rate, one could think of a study researching the changes in family-related benefits' policies in relation to changes in the welfare state systems due to demography changes across Europe.

In conclusion of this thesis, it can be summed up that in general families really benefit from the transfers they get from the government because of having children since they reduce the risk of child poverty. In addition, it is visible that the Scandinavian/Nordic countries have been and still are the pioneers of fighting child poverty. That the Scandinavian/Nordic countries approach offers successful strategies could even be supported by the fact that the Central Eastern European countries performed a lot better in reducing poverty or rather producing no poverty when they have lived up to the almost ideal version of Social Democracy during their communist past. Nowadays the focus in these countries is more on market competitiveness and therefore, social benefits have and had to be adapted since overall the money has been a scarce resource after the communist fall. However, this adaption trend or rather cutting of social benefits is also visible in the Scandinavian/Nordic countries since in these countries and in most of the other countries poverty is rising and effectiveness is decreasing. An explanation of this cutting is the European demography problem as well as the more market-oriented approach that is followed in Europe. Therefore, overviewing the results of this study, automatically leads to recommendation to use similar strategies the Scandinavian/Nordic countries use. It is obvious that family-related benefits are needed in order to reduce child poverty and the trend of cutting down or reducing them shows that even more since the child poverty rate increases again.

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The combat of child poverty across Europe – A comparison of the effect of family-related benefits on child poverty across 17 European countries and in the period from 1987/88 to 2005

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7. Appendix

General tables

Name of the data set 'wave'	Income reference periods
'Historical Wave'	Before 1978
'Wave I'	1979 – 1982
'Wave II'	1983 – 1987
'Wave III'	1988 – 1992
'Wave IV'	1993 – 1997
'Wave V'	1998 – 2002
'Wave VI'	2003 – 2005
'Wave VII'	2006 – 2008

Table 3-1 Data set LIS' Waves and their assigned income reference periods; Source: LIS

Family-related benefits variable definitions by LIS (2011)

- Family/child universal benefits (itsufa) = “Cash payments for child or family allowances not relating to maternity/paternity/child care leave from employment.”
- Child allowances (itsufaca) = “Standard child or family allowance; periodical payments to a member of a household with dependent children to help with the cost of raising children.”
- Advance maintenance (itsufaam) = “Cash payments from advance maintenance schemes (advance maintenance paid by social security to compensate for unpaid alimony payments).”
- Non-work related child care benefits (itsufacc) = “These are leave schemes that do not require an employment history, but are conditioned on parents being at home, in order to take care of a child. In some cases, they are conditioned on parents’ having refused a public child care slot. They are sometimes designed to be taken up after a period of parental leave is finished. Some schemes allow parents to work part-time while receiving the benefit.”
- Family/children transfers (iatfam) = “Monetary and non-monetary transfers from public scheme that provide financial support to households for giving birth to children and raising them.”

The combat of child poverty across Europe – A comparison of the effect of family-related benefits on child poverty across 17 European countries and in the period from 1987/88 to 2005

Tables used for the analysis

	Overall child poverty, 60% of dpi, post family - related transfers (universal benefits)	Overall child poverty, 60% of dpi, pre family - related transfers (universal benefits)	Poverty reduction effectiveness rate
Anglophone Countries	25.42	29.12	12.51
Ireland 1987	25.06	27.57	9.10
Ireland 1994	23.41	26.57	11.89
Ireland 1995	23.67	24.80	4.56
Ireland 1996	23.65	27.19	13.02
Ireland 2004	24.94	30.04	16.98
United Kingdom 1991	26.89	30.97	13.17
United Kingdom 1994	26.72	32.03	16.58
United Kingdom 1995	30.17	34.37	12.22
United Kingdom 2004	24.23	28.53	15.07
Nordic Countries	8.65	13.80	36.95
Denmark 1987	9.54	12.75	25.18
Denmark 1992	10.94	15.22	28.12
Denmark 1995	7.80	13.44	41.96
Denmark 2004	10.49	14.95	29.83
Finland 1987	7.18	10.43	31.16
Finland 1991	6.06	10.26	40.94
Finland 1995	4.63	15.97	71.01
Finland 2004	9.89	19.41	49.05
Norway 1991	10.11	14.64	30.94
Norway 1995	14.74	20.71	28.83
Norway 2004	10.30	15.45	33.33
Sweden 1987	5.35	7.36	27.31
Sweden 1992	6.22	10.06	38.17
Sweden 1995	5.50	10.57	47.97
Sweden 2005	10.97	15.78	30.48
Southern Countries	22.95		
Spain 1990	18.81	/	/
Spain 1995	24.85	23.55	-5.52
Spain 2004	25.20	/	/
Bismarkian Countries	15.71	21.02	26.02
Austria 1987	9.77	/	/
Austria 1994	16.71	22.96	27.22
Austria 1995	22.31	/	/
Austria 2004	15.36	/	/
France 1989	15.47	25.17	38.54
France 1994	14.30	23.27	38.55
France 2005	17.92	24.99	28.29
Germany 1989	12.37	17.27	28.37
Germany 1994	15.04	20.81	27.73
Germany 2004	17.89	24.15	25.92
Luxemburg 1991	16.07	22.18	27.55
Luxemburg 1994	14.01	23.06	39.25
Luxemburg 2004	19.52	/	/
The Netherlands 1990	13.89	16.06	13.51
The Netherlands 1993	12.89	15.35	16.03
The Netherlands 2004	15.48	19.86	22.05
Switzerland 1992	16.57	/	/
Switzerland 2004	17.24	18.19	5.22
Central and Eastern European Countries	15.16	20.24	26.96
Czech Republic 1992	5.44	8.74	37.76
Czech Republic 1996	12.19	15.26	20.12
Czech Republic 2004	17.93	21.55	16.80
Hungary 1991	13.05	18.47	29.34
Hungary 1994	15.59	24.54	36.47
Hungary 2005	15.22	23.10	34.11
Poland 1992	15.32	19.46	21.27
Poland 1995	23.04	26.63	13.48
Poland 2004	24.32	28.53	14.76
Slovakia 1992	5.26	10.23	48.58
Slovakia 1996	16.09	23.33	31.03
Slovakia 2004	18.45	22.99	19.75

Table 4-1a Overall Child Poverty (Universal Benefits)

The combat of child poverty across Europe – A comparison of the effect of family-related benefits on child poverty across 17 European countries and in the period from 1987/88 to 2005

	Overall child poverty , 60% of dpi, post family - related transfers (all for a country available)	Overall child poverty. 60% of dpi, pre family - related transfers (all for a country available)	Poverty reduction effectiveness rate
Anglophone Countries	25.42	33.00	21.99
Ireland 1987	25.06	27.57	9.10
Ireland 1994	23.41	29.96	21.86
Ireland 1995	23.67	28.78	17.76
Ireland 1996	23.65	30.09	21.40
Ireland 2004	24.94	42.42	41.21
United Kingdom 1991	26.89	30.97	13.17
United Kingdom 1994	26.72	36.21	26.21
United Kingdom 1995	30.17	38.11	20.83
United Kingdom 2004	24.23	32.91	26.37
Nordic Countries	8.65	16.92	44.95
Denmark 1987	9.54	12.75	25.18
Denmark 1992	10.94	15.22	28.12
Denmark 1995	7.80	18.05	56.79
Denmark 2004	10.49	19.22	45.42
Finland 1987	7.18	10.43	31.16
Finland 1991	6.06	10.26	40.94
Finland 1995	4.63	26.49	82.52
Finland 2004	9.89	24.72	59.99
Norway 1991	10.11	14.64	30.94
Norway 1995	14.74	27.39	46.18
Norway 2004	10.30	20.41	49.53
Sweden 1987	5.35	7.36	27.31
Sweden 1992	6.22	10.06	38.17
Sweden 1995	5.50	17.40	68.39
Sweden 2005	10.97	19.45	43.60
Southern Countries	22.95	25.26	0.94
Spain 1990	18.81	No benefits available	/
Spain 1995	24.85	25.24	1.55
Spain 2004	25.20	25.28	0.32
Bismarkian Countries	15.71	25.97	38.58
Austria 1987	9.77	No benefits available	/
Austria 1994	16.71	29.91	44.13
Austria 1995	22.31	No benefits available	/
Austria 2004	15.36	27.64	44.43
France 1989	15.47	25.17	38.54
France 1994	14.30	30.30	52.81
France 2005	17.92	30.88	41.97
Germany 1989	12.37	23.13	46.52
Germany 1994	15.04	24.86	39.50
Germany 2004	17.89	30.14	40.64
Luxemburg 1991	16.07	22.18	27.55
Luxemburg 1994	14.01	30.59	54.20
Luxemburg 2004	19.52	26.01	24.95
The Netherlands 1990	13.89	16.06	13.51
The Netherlands 1993	12.89	22.74	43.32
The Netherlands 2004	15.48	27.85	44.42
Switzerland 1992	16.57	No benefits available	/
Switzerland 2004	17.24	22.15	22.17
Central and Eastern European Countries	15.16	24.01	36.41
Czech Republic 1992	5.44	8.74	37.76
Czech Republic 1996	12.19	19.63	37.90
Czech Republic 2004	17.93	25.14	28.68
Hungary 1991	13.05	18.47	29.34
Hungary 1994	15.59	33.26	53.13
Hungary 2005	15.22	29.38	48.20
Poland 1992	15.32	19.46	21.27
Poland 1995	23.04	30.07	23.38
Poland 2004	24.32	28.53	14.76
Slovakia 1992	5.26	10.23	48.58
Slovakia 1996	16.09	32.57	50.60
Slovakia 2004	18.45	32.58	43.37

Table 4-2a Overall Child Poverty (All Benefits Available)

The combat of child poverty across Europe – A comparison of the effect of family-related benefits on child poverty across 17 European countries and in the period from 1987/88 to 2005

	Child poverty in native head households, 60% of dpi, post family - related transfers (universal benefits)	Child poverty in native head households, 60% of dpi, pre family - related transfers (universal benefits)	Poverty reduction effectiveness rate
Anglophone Countries	18.53	21.79	14.84
Ireland 1987	/	/	/
Ireland 1994	19.30	22.37	13.72
Ireland 1995	19.94	20.78	4.04
Ireland 1996	18.77	23.24	19.23
Ireland 2004	16.11	20.75	22.36
United Kingdom 1991	/	/	/
United Kingdom 1994	/	/	/
United Kingdom 1995	/	/	/
United Kingdom 2004	/	/	/
Nordic Countries	4.29	5.97	28.52
Denmark 1987	6.82	8.15	16.32
Denmark 1992	5.00	5.83	14.24
Denmark 1995	3.40	4.93	31.03
Denmark 2004	3.65	4.95	26.26
Finland 1987	/	/	/
Finland 1991	/	/	/
Finland 1995	/	/	/
Finland 2004	/	/	/
Norway 1991	/	/	/
Norway 1995	/	/	/
Norway 2004	4.46	6.16	27.60
Sweden 1987	/	/	/
Sweden 1992	3.91	6.21	37.04
Sweden 1995	2.95	6.08	51.48
Sweden 2005	4.10	5.41	24.21
Southern Countries	23.33		
Spain 1990	/	/	/
Spain 1995	23.53	23.40	-0.56
Spain 2004	23.13	/	/
Bismarkian Countries	11.46	16.79	32.83
Austria 1987	3.82	/	/
Austria 1994	12.94	19.04	32.04
Austria 1995	18.61	/	/
Austria 2004	11.32	/	/
France 1989	11.83	19.83	40.34
France 1994	10.24	17.17	40.36
France 2005	11.51	17.58	34.53
Germany 1989	8.37	13.20	36.59
Germany 1994	9.90	15.24	35.04
Germany 2004	7.39	12.28	39.82
Luxemburg 1991	13.47	19.05	29.29
Luxemburg 1994	12.95	19.17	32.45
Luxemburg 2004	7.62	/	/
The Netherlands 1990	/	/	/
The Netherlands 1993	/	/	/
The Netherlands 2004	11.02	15.03	26.68
Switzerland 1992	17.60	/	/
Switzerland 2004	14.71	17.10	13.98
Central and Eastern European Countries	12.03	15.68	23.83
Czech Republic 1992	/	/	/
Czech Republic 1996	7.14	9.93	28.10
Czech Republic 2004	12.53	15.61	19.73
Hungary 1991	/	/	/
Hungary 1994	/	/	/
Hungary 2005	/	/	/
Poland 1992	/	/	/
Poland 1995	/	/	/
Poland 2004	/	/	/
Slovakia 1992	/	/	/
Slovakia 1996	/	/	/
Slovakia 2004	16.42	21.50	23.63

Table 4-3a Child Poverty in Households headed by a Native Parent (Universal Benefits)

The combat of child poverty across Europe – A comparison of the effect of family-related benefits on child poverty across 17 European countries and in the period from 1987/88 to 2005

	Child poverty in migrant head households, 60% of dpi, post family - related transfers (universal benefits)	Child poverty in migrant head households, 60% of dpi, pre family - related transfers (universal benefits)	Poverty reduction effectiveness rate
Anglophone Countries	20.66	28.52	26.58
Ireland 1987	/	/	/
Ireland 1994	15.16	17.24	12.06
Ireland 1995	12.03	27.96	56.97
Ireland 1996	30.82	32.34	4.70
Ireland 2004	24.63	36.54	32.59
United Kingdom 1991	/	/	/
United Kingdom 1994	/	/	/
United Kingdom 1995	/	/	/
United Kingdom 2004	/	/	/
Nordic Countries	8.56	11.80	25.19
Denmark 1987	10.23	15.81	35.29
Denmark 1992	10.89	11.29	3.54
Denmark 1995	5.01	6.43	22.08
Denmark 2004	6.53	13.89	52.99
Finland 1987	/	/	/
Finland 1991	/	/	/
Finland 1995	/	/	/
Finland 2004	/	/	/
Norway 1991	/	/	/
Norway 1995	/	/	/
Norway 2004	13.62	16.37	16.80
Sweden 1987	/	/	/
Sweden 1992	7.02	8.74	19.68
Sweden 1995	4.07	4.89	16.77
Sweden 2005	11.12	16.94	34.36
Southern Countries	28.17		
Spain 1990	/	/	/
Spain 1995	24.90	17.77	-40.12
Spain 2004	31.43	/	/
Bismarkian Countries	12.25	20.03	43.09
Austria 1987	6.14	/	/
Austria 1994	15.73	26.44	40.51
Austria 1995	17.20	/	/
Austria 2004	13.30	/	/
France 1989	9.20	24.25	62.06
France 1994	11.51	25.91	55.58
France 2005	13.30	27.70	51.99
Germany 1989	8.24	12.40	33.55
Germany 1994	16.35	22.55	27.49
Germany 2004	9.98	17.53	43.07
Luxemburg 1991	3.85	11.11	65.35
Luxemburg 1994	3.10	11.33	72.64
Luxemburg 2004	20.44	/	/
The Netherlands 1990	/	/	/
The Netherlands 1993	/	/	/
The Netherlands 2004	21.54	23.42	8.03
Switzerland 1992	10.83	/	/
Switzerland 2004	15.30	17.74	13.75
Central and Eastern European Countries	20.95	24.58	12.85
Czech Republic 1992	/	/	/
Czech Republic 1996	20.29	24.70	17.85
Czech Republic 2004	24.84	31.32	20.69
Hungary 1991	/	/	/
Hungary 1994	/	/	/
Hungary 2005	/	/	/
Poland 1992	/	/	/
Poland 1995	/	/	/
Poland 2004	/	/	/
Slovakia 1992	/	/	/
Slovakia 1996	/	/	/
Slovakia 2004	17.71	17.71	0.00

Table 4-4a Child Poverty in Households headed by a Migrant Parent (Universal Benefits)

The combat of child poverty across Europe – A comparison of the effect of family-related benefits on child poverty across 17 European countries and in the period from 1987/88 to 2005

	Child poverty in native head households, 60% of dpi, post family - related transfers (all for a country available)	Child poverty in native head households, 60% of dpi, pre family - related transfers (all for a country available)	Poverty reduction effectiveness rate
Anglophone Countries	18.54	26.66	29.48
Ireland 1987	/	/	/
Ireland 1994	19.30	25.56	24.49
Ireland 1995	19.94	24.43	18.38
Ireland 1996	18.77	25.79	27.22
Ireland 2004	16.11	30.87	47.81
United Kingdom 1991	/	/	/
United Kingdom 1994	/	/	/
United Kingdom 1995	/	/	/
United Kingdom 2004	/	/	/
Nordic Countries	4.29	7.62	41.47
Denmark 1987	6.82	8.15	16.32
Denmark 1992	5.00	5.83	14.24
Denmark 1995	3.40	6.96	51.15
Denmark 2004	3.65	6.92	47.25
Finland 1987	/	/	/
Finland 1991	/	/	/
Finland 1995	/	/	/
Finland 2004	/	/	/
Norway 1991	/	/	/
Norway 1995	/	/	/
Norway 2004	4.46	8.78	49.20
Sweden 1987	/	/	/
Sweden 1992	3.91	6.21	37.04
Sweden 1995	2.95	10.83	72.76
Sweden 2005	4.10	7.29	43.76
Southern Countries	23.33	23.47	0.57
Spain 1990	/	No benefits available	/
Spain 1995	23.53	23.77	1.01
Spain 2004	23.13	23.16	0.13
Bismarkian Countries	11.46	21.74	47.83
Austria 1987	3.82	No benefits available	/
Austria 1994	12.94	26.68	51.50
Austria 1995	18.61	No benefits available	/
Austria 2004	11.32	23.91	52.66
France 1989	11.83	19.83	40.34
France 1994	10.24	24.18	57.65
France 2005	11.51	24.28	52.59
Germany 1989	8.37	17.91	53.27
Germany 1994	9.90	19.52	49.28
Germany 2004	7.39	17.93	58.78
Luxemburg 1991	13.47	19.05	29.29
Luxemburg 1994	12.95	26.37	50.89
Luxemburg 2004	7.62	11.08	31.23
The Netherlands 1990	/	/	/
The Netherlands 1993	/	/	/
The Netherlands 2004	11.02	30.87	64.30
Switzerland 1992	17.60	No benefits available	/
Switzerland 2004	14.71	21.02	30.02
Central and Eastern European Countries	12.03	21.79	44.54
Czech Republic 1992	/	/	/
Czech Republic 1996	7.14	14.02	49.07
Czech Republic 2004	12.53	19.72	36.46
Hungary 1991	/	/	/
Hungary 1994	/	/	/
Hungary 2005	/	/	/
Poland 1992	/	/	/
Poland 1995	/	/	/
Poland 2004	/	/	/
Slovakia 1992	/	/	/
Slovakia 1996	/	/	/
Slovakia 2004	16.42	31.64	48.10

Table 4-5a Child Poverty in Households headed by a Native Parent (All Benefits Available)

The combat of child poverty across Europe – A comparison of the effect of family-related benefits on child poverty across 17 European countries and in the period from 1987/88 to 2005

	Child poverty in migrant head households, 60% of dpi, post family - related transfers (all for a country available)	Child poverty in migrant head households, 60% of dpi, pre family - related transfers (all for a country available)	Poverty reduction effectiveness rate
Anglophone Countries	20.66	33.82	36.34
Ireland 1987	/	/	/
Ireland 1994	15.16	20.95	27.64
Ireland 1995	12.03	38.22	68.52
Ireland 1996	30.82	32.83	6.12
Ireland 2004	24.63	43.27	43.08
United Kingdom 1991	/	/	/
United Kingdom 1994	/	/	/
United Kingdom 1995	/	/	/
United Kingdom 2004	/	/	/
Nordic Countries	8.56	16.80	43.91
Denmark 1987	10.23	15.81	35.29
Denmark 1992	10.89	11.29	3.54
Denmark 1995	5.01	16.03	68.75
Denmark 2004	6.53	27.20	75.99
Finland 1987	/	/	/
Finland 1991	/	/	/
Finland 1995	/	/	/
Finland 2004	/	/	/
Norway 1991	/	/	/
Norway 1995	/	/	/
Norway 2004	13.62	20.61	33.92
Sweden 1987	/	/	/
Sweden 1992	7.02	8.74	19.68
Sweden 1995	4.07	9.91	58.93
Sweden 2005	11.12	24.82	55.20
Southern Countries	28.17	27.92	-0.81
Spain 1990	/	/	/
Spain 1995	24.90	24.90	0.00
Spain 2004	31.43	30.93	-1.62
Bismarkian Countries	12.25	26.30	52.74
Austria 1987	6.14	No benefits available	/
Austria 1994	15.73	28.33	44.48
Austria 1995	17.20	No benefits available	/
Austria 2004	13.30		
France 1989	9.20	24.25	62.06
France 1994	11.51	42.52	72.93
France 2005	13.30	36.30	63.36
Germany 1989	8.24	19.60	57.96
Germany 1994	16.35	27.82	41.23
Germany 2004	9.98	27.95	64.29
Luxemburg 1991	3.85	11.11	65.35
Luxemburg 1994	3.10	21.02	85.25
Luxemburg 2004	20.44	27.76	26.37
The Netherlands 1990	/	/	/
The Netherlands 1993	/	/	/
The Netherlands 2004	21.54	28.25	23.75
Switzerland 1992	10.83	No benefits available	/
Switzerland 2004	15.30	20.63	25.84
Central and Eastern European Countries	20.95	32.26	35.32
Czech Republic 1992	/	/	/
Czech Republic 1996	20.29	32.00	36.59
Czech Republic 2004	24.84	33.84	26.60
Hungary 1991	/	/	/
Hungary 1994	/	/	/
Hungary 2005	/	/	/
Poland 1992	/	/	/
Poland 1995	/	/	/
Poland 2004	/	/	/
Slovakia 1992	/	/	/
Slovakia 1996	/	/	/
Slovakia 2004	17.71	30.94	42.76

Table 4-6a Child Poverty in Households headed by a Migrant Parent (All Benefits Available)

The combat of child poverty across Europe – A comparison of the effect of family-related benefits on child poverty across 17 European countries and in the period from 1987/88 to 2005

	Child poverty in two parent households, 60% of dpi, post family - related transfers (universal benefits)	Child poverty in two parent households, 60% of dpi pre family - related transfers (universal benefits)	Poverty reduction effectiveness rate
Anglophone Countries	19.05	22.52	15.42
Ireland 1987	/	/	/
Ireland 1994	19.29	22.31	13.54
Ireland 1995	20.13	21.49	6.33
Ireland 1996	19.58	23.68	17.31
Ireland 2004	17.89	22.71	21.22
United Kingdom 1991	19.49	23.11	15.66
United Kingdom 1994	19.44	23.16	16.06
United Kingdom 1995	21.21	24.57	13.68
United Kingdom 2004	15.39	19.13	19.55
Nordic Countries	5.58	9.06	36.20
Denmark 1987	7.18	8.51	15.63
Denmark 1992	6.41	7.97	19.57
Denmark 1995	4.76	7.30	34.79
Denmark 2004	6.67	8.69	23.25
Finland 1987	5.10	7.68	33.59
Finland 1991	4.03	7.82	48.47
Finland 1995	3.15	13.34	76.39
Finland 2004	6.71	15.30	56.14
Norway 1991	5.28	8.28	36.23
Norway 1995	8.97	13.04	31.21
Norway 2004	6.38	8.16	21.81
Sweden 1987	4.55	6.12	25.65
Sweden 1992	4.82	7.97	39.52
Sweden 1995	3.08	6.76	54.44
Sweden 2005	6.61	8.97	26.31
Southern Countries	21.77		
Spain 1990	17.74	/	/
Spain 1995	23.52	23.55	0.13
Spain 2004	24.05	/	/
Bismarkian Countries	12.22	17.08	30.81
Austria 1987	4.07	/	/
Austria 1994	14.23	19.90	28.49
Austria 1995	18.53	/	/
Austria 2004	13.30	/	/
France 1989	12.47	22.11	43.60
France 1994	11.60	20.43	43.22
France 2005	13.15	20.22	34.97
Germany 1989	8.45	13.60	37.87
Germany 1994	10.58	16.49	35.84
Germany 2004	9.68	14.52	33.33
Luxemburg 1991	13.31	19.55	31.92
Luxemburg 1994	11.52	19.88	42.05
Luxemburg 2004	17.46	/	/
The Netherlands 1990	9.12	11.35	19.65
The Netherlands 1993	9.25	11.29	18.07
The Netherlands 2004	11.97	16.07	25.51
Switzerland 1992	15.61	/	/
Switzerland 2004	15.65	16.64	5.95
Central and Eastern European Countries	13.03	17.76	29.66
Czech Republic 1992	3.20	5.86	45.39
Czech Republic 1996	7.27	10.07	27.81
Czech Republic 2004	13.19	16.41	19.62
Hungary 1991	10.25	14.94	31.39
Hungary 1994	14.74	22.49	34.46
Hungary 2005	12.82	20.80	38.37
Poland 1992	14.65	18.87	22.36
Poland 1995	22.55	26.12	13.67
Poland 2004	23.29	26.38	11.71
Slovakia 1992	3.99	8.78	54.56
Slovakia 1996	13.99	20.96	33.25
Slovakia 2004	16.43	21.42	23.30

Table 4-7a Child Poverty in Two Parent Households (Universal Benefits)

The combat of child poverty across Europe – A comparison of the effect of family-related benefits on child poverty across 17 European countries and in the period from 1987/88 to 2005

	Child poverty in single parent households, 60% of dpi, post family – related transfers (universal benefits)	Child poverty in single parent households, 60% of dpi, pre family – related transfers (universal benefits)	Poverty reduction effectiveness rate
Anglophone Countries	51.87	57.36	9.30
Ireland 1987	/	/	/
Ireland 1994	53.19	58.12	8.48
Ireland 1995	46.38	46.54	0.34
Ireland 1996	50.87	55.56	8.44
Ireland 2004	49.96	56.06	10.88
United Kingdom 1991	56.97	62.74	9.20
United Kingdom 1994	51.37	61.44	16.39
United Kingdom 1995	54.92	61.06	10.06
United Kingdom 2004	51.28	57.34	10.57
Nordic Countries	22.52	35.79	37.37
Denmark 1987	23.34	37.68	38.06
Denmark 1992	32.78	50.16	34.65
Denmark 1995	21.35	40.87	47.76
Denmark 2004	26.79	41.66	35.69
Finland 1987	18.20	26.44	31.16
Finland 1991	14.47	25.17	42.51
Finland 1995	13.21	31.61	58.21
Finland 2004	27.27	41.97	35.03
Norway 1991	25.58	34.99	26.89
Norway 1995	42.76	58.01	26.29
Norway 2004	28.26	48.95	42.27
Sweden 1987	9.90	14.35	31.01
Sweden 1992	12.74	19.71	35.36
Sweden 1995	14.42	24.60	41.38
Sweden 2005	26.75	40.68	34.24
Southern Countries	38.19		
Spain 1990	37.33	/	/
Spain 1995	39.40	38.76	-1.65
Spain 2004	37.84	/	/
Bismarkian Countries	43.47	53.40	13.66
Austria 1987	41.06	/	/
Austria 1994	28.67	37.41	23.36
Austria 1995	48.97	/	/
Austria 2004	28.27	/	/
France 1989	42.72	53.04	19.46
France 1994	38.32	48.70	21.31
France 2005	46.62	53.76	13.28
Germany 1989	48.83	51.38	4.96
Germany 1994	52.89	57.50	8.02
Germany 2004	57.09	70.62	19.16
Luxemburg 1991	51.20	55.65	8.00
Luxemburg 1994	42.93	60.66	29.23
Luxemburg 2004	41.78	/	/
The Netherlands 1990	58.33	60.86	4.16
The Netherlands 1993	52.36	59.42	11.88
The Netherlands 2004	45.97	52.72	12.80
Switzerland 1992	24.48	/	/
Switzerland 2004	31.91	32.54	1.94
Central and Eastern European Countries	31.21	38.39	19.33
Czech Republic 1992	25.03	33.84	26.03
Czech Republic 1996	51.27	56.49	9.24
Czech Republic 2004	48.47	54.70	11.39
Hungary 1991	29.05	39.05	25.61
Hungary 1994	21.86	39.57	44.76
Hungary 2005	29.81	37.14	19.74
Poland 1992	22.39	25.62	12.61
Poland 1995	27.03	30.94	12.64
Poland 2004	/	/	/
Slovakia 1992	18.83	25.75	26.87
Slovakia 1996	32.02	41.18	22.24
Slovakia 2004	37.51	38.06	1.45

Table 4-8a Child Poverty in Single Parent Households (Universal Benefits)

The combat of child poverty across Europe – A comparison of the effect of family-related benefits on child poverty across 17 European countries and in the period from 1987/88 to 2005

	Child poverty in two parent households, 60% of dpi, post family - related transfers (all for a country available)	Child poverty in two parent households, 60% of dpi, pre family - related transfers (all for a country available)	Poverty reduction effectiveness rate
Anglophone Countries	19.05	24.86	19.06
Ireland 1987	/	/	/
Ireland 1994	19.29	25.29	23.72
Ireland 1995	20.13	25.03	19.58
Ireland 1996	19.58	26.29	25.52
Ireland 2004	17.89	32.72	45.32
United Kingdom 1991	19.49	23.11	15.66
United Kingdom 1994	19.44	26.91	27.76
United Kingdom 1995	21.21	27.48	22.82
United Kingdom 2004	15.39	12.03	-27.93
Nordic Countries	5.58	12.77	45.95
Denmark 1987	7.18	8.51	15.63
Denmark 1992	6.41	7.97	19.57
Denmark 1995	4.76	9.77	51.28
Denmark 2004	6.67	11.04	39.58
Finland 1987	5.10	7.68	33.59
Finland 1991	4.03	7.82	48.47
Finland 1995	3.15	33.67	90.64
Finland 2004	6.71	29.16	76.99
Norway 1991	5.28	8.28	36.23
Norway 1995	8.97	18.87	52.46
Norway 2004	6.38	11.21	43.09
Sweden 1987	4.55	6.12	25.65
Sweden 1992	4.82	7.97	39.52
Sweden 1995	3.08	12.03	74.40
Sweden 2005	6.61	11.44	42.22
Southern Countries	21.77	23.99	0.84
Spain 1990	17.74	No benefits available	/
Spain 1995	23.52	23.88	1.51
Spain 2004	24.05	24.09	0.17
Bismarkian Countries	12.22	22.29	44.35
Austria 1987	4.07	No benefits available	/
Austria 1994	14.23	26.94	47.18
Austria 1995	18.53	No benefits available	/
Austria 2004	13.30	25.70	48.25
France 1989	12.47	22.11	43.60
France 1994	11.60	27.35	57.59
France 2005	13.15	26.55	50.47
Germany 1989	8.45	19.40	56.44
Germany 1994	10.58	20.51	48.42
Germany 2004	9.68	20.99	53.88
Luxemburg 1991	13.31	19.55	31.92
Luxemburg 1994	11.52	27.62	58.29
Luxemburg 2004	17.46	23.80	26.64
The Netherlands 1990	9.12	11.35	19.65
The Netherlands 1993	9.25	18.48	49.95
The Netherlands 2004	11.97	23.48	49.02
Switzerland 1992	15.61	No benefits available	/
Switzerland 2004	15.65	20.58	23.96
Central and Eastern European Countries	13.03	21.60	39.99
Czech Republic 1992	3.20	5.86	45.39
Czech Republic 1996	7.27	14.18	48.73
Czech Republic 2004	13.19	19.98	33.98
Hungary 1991	10.25	14.94	31.39
Hungary 1994	14.74	30.90	52.30
Hungary 2005	12.82	27.83	53.93
Poland 1992	14.65	18.87	22.36
Poland 1995	22.55	29.53	23.64
Poland 2004	23.29	26.38	11.71
Slovakia 1992	3.99	8.78	54.56
Slovakia 1996	13.99	30.37	53.93
Slovakia 2004	16.43	31.60	48.01

Table 4-9a Child Poverty in Two Parent Households (All Benefits Available)

The combat of child poverty across Europe – A comparison of the effect of family-related benefits on child poverty across 17 European countries and in the period from 1987/88 to 2005

	Child poverty in single parent households, 60% of dpi, post family – related transfers (all for a country available)	Child poverty in single parent households, 60% of dpi, pre family –related transfers (all for a country available)	Poverty reduction effectiveness rate
Anglophone Countries	51.87	63.98	18.28
Ireland 1987	/	/	/
Ireland 1994	53.19	63.14	15.76
Ireland 1995	46.38	51.91	10.65
Ireland 1996	50.87	60.92	16.50
Ireland 2004	49.96	76.81	34.96
United Kingdom 1991	56.97	62.74	9.20
United Kingdom 1994	51.37	66.91	23.23
United Kingdom 1995	54.92	66.70	17.66
United Kingdom 2004	51.28	62.74	18.27
Nordic Countries	22.52	43.83	45.66
Denmark 1987	23.34	37.68	38.06
Denmark 1992	32.78	50.16	34.65
Denmark 1995	21.35	55.14	61.28
Denmark 2004	26.79	54.17	50.54
Finland 1987	18.20	26.44	31.16
Finland 1991	14.47	25.17	42.51
Finland 1995	13.21	59.52	77.81
Finland 2004	27.27	62.55	56.40
Norway 1991	25.58	34.99	26.89
Norway 1995	42.76	68.86	37.90
Norway 2004	28.26	62.73	54.95
Sweden 1987	9.90	14.35	31.01
Sweden 1992	12.74	19.71	35.36
Sweden 1995	14.42	37.22	61.26
Sweden 2005	26.75	48.69	45.06
Southern Countries	38.19	39.83	2.98
Spain 1990	37.33	No benefits available	/
Spain 1995	39.40	41.30	4.60
Spain 2004	37.84	38.36	1.36
Bismarkian Countries	43.47	56.42	21.02
Austria 1987	41.06	No benefits available	/
Austria 1994	28.67	43.81	34.56
Austria 1995	48.97	No benefits available	/
Austria 2004	28.27	39.82	29.01
France 1989	42.72	53.04	19.46
France 1994	38.32	56.60	32.30
France 2005	46.62	56.97	18.17
Germany 1989	48.83	57.82	15.55
Germany 1994	52.89	61.80	14.42
Germany 2004	57.09	73.86	22.71
Luxemburg 1991	51.20	55.65	8.00
Luxemburg 1994	42.93	64.96	33.91
Luxemburg 2004	41.78	49.82	16.14
The Netherlands 1990	58.33	60.86	4.16
The Netherlands 1993	52.36	68.86	23.96
The Netherlands 2004	45.97	65.80	30.14
Switzerland 1992	24.48	No benefits available	/
Switzerland 2004	31.91	36.60	12.81
Central and Eastern European Countries	31.21	41.89	24.90
Czech Republic 1992	25.03	33.84	26.03
Czech Republic 1996	51.27	62.98	18.59
Czech Republic 2004	48.47	58.40	17.00
Hungary 1991	29.05	39.05	25.61
Hungary 1994	21.86	50.46	56.68
Hungary 2005	29.81	38.82	23.21
Poland 1992	22.39	25.62	12.61
Poland 1995	27.03	34.51	21.67
Poland 2004	/	/	/
Slovakia 1992	18.83	25.75	26.87
Slovakia 1996	32.02	49.41	35.20
Slovakia 2004	37.51	41.90	10.48

Table 4-10a Child Poverty in Single Parent Households (All Benefits Available)

The combat of child poverty across Europe – A comparison of the effect of family-related benefits on child poverty across 17 European countries and in the period from 1987/88 to 2005

	Child poverty in employed head households, 60% of dpi, post family – related transfers (universal benefits)	Child poverty in employed head households, 60% of dpi, pre family –related transfers (universal benefits)	Poverty reduction effectiveness rate
Anglophone Countries	20.13	23.58	14.92
Ireland 1987	/	/	/
Ireland 1994	23.17	25.17	7.95
Ireland 1995	19.22	22.59	14.92
Ireland 1996	17.54	21.55	18.61
Ireland 2004	13.75	17.09	19.54
United Kingdom 1991	22.96	26.21	12.40
United Kingdom 1994	22.95	27.09	15.28
United Kingdom 1995	21.29	25.30	15.85
United Kingdom 2004	20.17	23.67	14.79
Nordic Countries	5.78	9.49	36.46
Denmark 1987	8.84	10.25	13.76
Denmark 1992	5.67	7.54	24.80
Denmark 1995	5.40	7.14	24.37
Denmark 2004	5.70	7.21	20.94
Finland 1987	6.08	9.57	36.47
Finland 1991	5.05	9.72	48.05
Finland 1995	4.38	14.60	70.00
Finland 2004	7.39	16.06	53.99
Norway 1991	6.18	10.52	41.25
Norway 1995	6.98	10.88	35.85
Norway 2004	5.40	8.07	33.09
Sweden 1987	5.66	7.77	27.16
Sweden 1992	4.92	7.94	38.04
Sweden 1995	3.23	7.54	57.16
Sweden 2005	5.83	7.47	21.95
Southern Countries	23.05		
Spain 1990	18.21	/	/
Spain 1995	23.62	23.84	0.92
Spain 2004	27.33	/	/
Bismarkian Countries	13.15	17.84	30.44
Austria 1987	5.79	/	/
Austria 1994	15.21	20.60	26.17
Austria 1995	20.11	/	/
Austria 2004	13.32	/	/
France 1989	14.56	22.65	35.72
France 1994	11.17	19.92	43.93
France 2005	12.65	19.01	33.46
Germany 1989	11.80	16.95	30.38
Germany 1994	14.20	19.11	25.69
Germany 2004	7.65	12.74	39.95
Luxemburg 1991	13.84	19.26	28.14
Luxemburg 1994	14.23	19.59	27.36
Luxemburg 2004	18.71	/	/
The Netherlands 1990	9.90	13.68	27.63
The Netherlands 1993	6.59	12.84	48.68
The Netherlands 2004	13.45	15.95	15.67
Switzerland 1992	16.50	/	/
Switzerland 2004	17.08	19.63	12.99
Central and Eastern European Countries	14.17	18.02	18.68
Czech Republic 1992	3.88	7.38	47.43
Czech Republic 1996	9.24	13.83	33.19
Czech Republic 2004	12.40	17.73	30.06
Hungary 1991	10.09	17.31	41.71
Hungary 1994	16.22	20.29	20.06
Hungary 2005	19.64	25.92	24.23
Poland 1992	15.09	20.08	24.85
Poland 1995	22.30	25.20	11.51
Poland 2004	/	/	/
Slovakia 1992	13.21	7.82	-68.93
Slovakia 1996	15.45	21.57	28.37
Slovakia 2004	18.37	21.11	12.98

Table 4-11a Child Poverty in Households headed by an Employed Parent (Universal Benefits)

The combat of child poverty across Europe – A comparison of the effect of family-related benefits on child poverty across 17 European countries and in the period from 1987/88 to 2005

	Child poverty in unemployed head households, 60% of dpi, post family - related transfers (universal benefits)	Child poverty in unemployed head households, 60% of dpi. pre family - related transfers (universal benefits)	Poverty reduction effectiveness rate
Anglophone Countries	9.31	17.57	49.10
Ireland 1987	/	/	/
Ireland 1994	0.99	2.71	63.47
Ireland 1995	4.00	8.08	50.50
Ireland 1996	8.23	16.82	51.07
Ireland 2004	10.11	19.51	48.18
United Kingdom 1991	18.26	30.74	40.60
United Kingdom 1994	10.25	21.30	51.88
United Kingdom 1995	10.63	23.77	55.28
United Kingdom 2004	12.03	17.65	31.84
Nordic Countries	9.07	15.81	38.37
Denmark 1987	6.88	6.88	0.00
Denmark 1992	6.69	9.61	30.39
Denmark 1995	2.34	3.78	38.10
Denmark 2004	3.35	10.50	68.10
Finland 1987	2.27	3.96	42.68
Finland 1991	2.94	6.46	54.49
Finland 1995	3.10	20.11	84.58
Finland 2004	5.67	26.97	78.98
Norway 1991	11.94	12.20	2.13
Norway 1995	36.53	51.85	29.55
Norway 2004	18.76	31.69	40.80
Sweden 1987	7.94	6.99	-13.59
Sweden 1992	11.49	17.38	33.89
Sweden 1995	5.77	9.41	38.68
Sweden 2005	10.34	19.42	46.76
Southern Countries	33.28		
Spain 1990	32.92	/	/
Spain 1995	38.63	38.73	0.26
Spain 2004	28.29	/	/
Bismarkian Countries	18.39	31.12	37.59
Austria 1987	6.99	/	/
Austria 1994	19.84	27.17	26.98
Austria 1995	32.53	/	/
Austria 2004	14.40	/	/
France 1989	24.15	47.20	48.83
France 1994	29.95	49.25	39.19
France 2005	34.05	56.91	40.17
Germany 1989	14.10	19.35	27.13
Germany 1994	18.93	26.07	27.39
Germany 2004	12.10	24.20	50.00
Luxembourg 1991	21.08	30.59	31.09
Luxembourg 1994	14.13	37.94	62.76
Luxembourg 2004	18.59	/	/
The Netherlands 1990	11.98	22.58	46.94
The Netherlands 1993	8.65	23.21	62.73
The Netherlands 2004	14.65	19.67	25.52
Switzerland 1992	14.51	/	/
Switzerland 2004	20.38	20.38	0.00
Central and Eastern European Countries	22.03	32.43	32.92
Czech Republic 1992	7.64	11.28	32.27
Czech Republic 1996	22.73	33.53	32.21
Czech Republic 2004	37.36	49.66	24.77
Hungary 1991	14.46	28.39	49.07
Hungary 1994	25.72	39.30	34.55
Hungary 2005	31.07	40.86	23.96
Poland 1992	16.90	25.11	32.70
Poland 1995	26.44	32.42	18.45
Poland 2004	/	/	/
Slovakia 1992	9.62	25.27	61.93
Slovakia 1996	23.06	41.18	44.00
Slovakia 2004	27.33	29.77	8.20

Table 4-12a Child Poverty in Households headed by an Unemployed Parent (Universal Benefits)

The combat of child poverty across Europe – A comparison of the effect of family-related benefits on child poverty across 17 European countries and in the period from 1987/88 to 2005

	Child poverty in employed head households, 60% of dpi, post family - related transfers (all for a country available)	Child poverty in employed head households, 60% of dpi, pre family - related transfers (all for a country available)	Poverty reduction effectiveness rate
Anglophone Countries	20.13	26.73	24.86
Ireland 1987	/	/	/
Ireland 1994	23.17	27.07	14.41
Ireland 1995	19.22	25.16	23.61
Ireland 1996	17.54	24.67	28.90
Ireland 2004	13.75	25.30	45.65
United Kingdom 1991	22.96	26.21	12.40
United Kingdom 1994	22.95	30.52	24.80
United Kingdom 1995	21.29	27.49	22.55
United Kingdom 2004	20.17	27.45	26.52
Nordic Countries	5.78	13.34	47.51
Denmark 1987	8.84	10.25	13.76
Denmark 1992	5.67	7.54	24.80
Denmark 1995	5.40	9.59	43.69
Denmark 2004	5.70	9.36	39.10
Finland 1987	6.08	9.57	36.47
Finland 1991	5.05	9.72	48.05
Finland 1995	4.38	34.54	87.32
Finland 2004	7.39	30.85	76.05
Norway 1991	6.18	10.52	41.25
Norway 1995	6.98	16.22	56.97
Norway 2004	5.40	11.47	52.92
Sweden 1987	5.66	7.77	27.16
Sweden 1992	4.92	7.94	38.04
Sweden 1995	3.23	12.18	73.48
Sweden 2005	5.83	12.56	53.58
Southern Countries	23.05	25.60	0.50
Spain 1990	18.21	No benefits available	/
Spain 1995	23.62	23.84	0.92
Spain 2004	27.33	27.35	0.07
Bismarkian Countries	13.15	23.30	43.74
Austria 1987	5.79	No benefits available	/
Austria 1994	15.21	28.03	45.74
Austria 1995	20.11	No benefits available	/
Austria 2004	13.32	24.21	44.98
France 1989	14.56	22.65	35.72
France 1994	11.17	26.42	57.72
France 2005	12.65	25.07	49.54
Germany 1989	11.80	29.70	60.27
Germany 1994	14.20	22.13	35.83
Germany 2004	7.65	19.03	59.80
Luxemburg 1991	13.84	19.26	28.14
Luxemburg 1994	14.23	27.94	49.07
Luxemburg 2004	18.71	25.66	27.08
The Netherlands 1990	9.90	13.68	27.63
The Netherlands 1993	6.59	19.10	65.50
The Netherlands 2004	13.45	23.03	41.60
Switzerland 1992	16.50	No benefits available	/
Switzerland 2004	17.08	23.54	27.44
Central and Eastern European Countries	14.17	22.05	29.99
Czech Republic 1992	3.88	7.38	47.43
Czech Republic 1996	9.24	18.34	49.62
Czech Republic 2004	12.40	22.94	45.95
Hungary 1991	10.09	17.31	41.71
Hungary 1994	16.22	30.54	46.89
Hungary 2005	19.64	29.73	33.94
Poland 1992	15.09	20.08	24.85
Poland 1995	22.30	27.81	19.81
Poland 2004	/	/	/
Slovakia 1992	13.21	7.82	-68.93
Slovakia 1996	15.45	29.51	47.64
Slovakia 2004	18.37	31.13	40.99

Table 4-13a Child Poverty in Households headed by an Employed Parent (All Benefits Available)

The combat of child poverty across Europe – A comparison of the effect of family-related benefits on child poverty across 17 European countries and in the period from 1987/88 to 2005

	Child poverty in unemployed head households, 60% of dpi, post family – related transfers (all for a country available)	Child poverty in unemployed head households, 60% of dpi, pre family –related transfers (all for a country available)	Poverty reduction effectiveness rate
Anglophone Countries	9.31	31.64	71.76
Ireland 1987	/	/	/
Ireland 1994	0.99	12.88	92.31
Ireland 1995	4.00	26.81	85.08
Ireland 1996	8.23	34.57	76.19
Ireland 2004	10.11	37.87	73.30
United Kingdom 1991	18.26	30.74	40.60
United Kingdom 1994	10.25	39.03	73.74
United Kingdom 1995	10.63	42.71	75.11
United Kingdom 2004	12.03	28.48	57.76
Nordic Countries	9.07	24.15	49.00
Denmark 1987	6.88	6.88	0.00
Denmark 1992	6.69	9.61	30.39
Denmark 1995	2.34	11.70	80.00
Denmark 2004	3.35	25.69	86.96
Finland 1987	2.27	3.96	42.68
Finland 1991	2.94	6.46	54.49
Finland 1995	3.10	44.92	93.10
Finland 2004	5.67	61.41	90.77
Norway 1991	11.94	12.20	2.13
Norway 1995	36.53	60.15	39.27
Norway 2004	18.76	40.49	53.67
Sweden 1987	7.94	6.99	-13.59
Sweden 1992	11.49	17.38	33.89
Sweden 1995	5.77	20.11	71.31
Sweden 2005	10.34	34.31	69.86
Southern Countries	33.28	33.83	0.93
Spain 1990	32.92	No benefits available	/
Spain 1995	38.63	39.36	1.85
Spain 2004	28.29	28.29	0.00
Bismarkian Countries	18.39	36.60	47.59
Austria 1987	6.99	No benefits available	/
Austria 1994	19.84	34.12	41.85
Austria 1995	32.53	No benefits available	/
Austria 2004	14.40	36.03	60.03
France 1989	24.15	47.20	48.83
France 1994	29.95	56.75	47.22
France 2005	34.05	62.03	45.11
Germany 1989	14.10	30.33	53.51
Germany 1994	18.93	29.17	35.10
Germany 2004	12.10	34.47	64.90
Luxemburg 1991	21.08	30.59	31.09
Luxemburg 1994	14.13	46.64	69.70
Luxemburg 2004	18.59	25.05	25.79
The Netherlands 1990	11.98	22.58	46.94
The Netherlands 1993	8.65	34.78	75.13
The Netherlands 2004	14.65	37.16	60.58
Switzerland 1992	14.51	No benefits available	/
Switzerland 2004	20.38	22.16	8.03
Central and Eastern European Countries	22.03	36.61	36.87
Czech Republic 1992	7.64	11.28	32.27
Czech Republic 1996	22.73	45.26	49.78
Czech Republic 2004	37.36	27.53	-35.71
Hungary 1991	14.46	28.39	49.07
Hungary 1994	25.72	49.33	47.86
Hungary 2005	31.07	51.90	40.13
Poland 1992	16.90	25.11	32.70
Poland 1995	26.44	38.09	30.59
Poland 2004	/	/	/
Slovakia 1992	9.62	25.27	61.93
Slovakia 1996	23.06	56.71	59.34
Slovakia 2004	27.33	43.79	37.59

Table 4-14a Child Poverty in Households headed by an Unemployed Parent (All Benefits Available)