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POVERTY AND SOCIAL EXCLUSION IN EUROPEAN UNION DURING THE CRISIS

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Abstract

This paper analyzes poverty and social exclusion in the European Union (EU) and assesses the impact of the measures promoted by the Europe 2020 strategy. The main indicator for monitoring the poverty target of the Europe 2020 strategy is the AROPE rate (At risk of poverty or social exclusion), which is the percentage of the total population at risk of poverty or social exclusion. In order to assess poverty and social exclusion, the documents and data provided by the statistical services of both the European Union (Eurostat) and Spain (INE) are used as a basis. The data from 2005 to 2015 are analyzed in order to assess the dynamics of poverty and social exclusion during the crisis and thus to see to what extent the crisis has affected the different sectors of the population in countries of the EU.

Keywords: Poverty, social exclusion, European Union, Europe 2020, AROPE.

Resumen

En el presente trabajo se analiza la pobreza y la exclusión social en la Unión Europea (UE) y se evalúan los efectos de las medidas impulsadas por la estrategia Europa 2020. El indicador principal para supervisar el objetivo de pobreza de la Estrategia Europa 2020 es la tasa AROPE (At risk of poverty or social exclusion) que es el porcentaje de la población total que se encuentra en riesgo de pobreza o exclusión social. Para evaluar la pobreza y la exclusión social, se toman como base los documentos y datos ofrecidos por los servicios estadísticos tanto de la Unión Europea (Eurostat) como de España (INE). Se analizan los datos de, 2005 a 2015, para así evaluar la dinámica de la pobreza y la exclusión social durante la crisis y ver de este modo en qué medida ha afectado la crisis a los diferentes sectores de la población en países de la UE.

Palabras clave: Pobreza, exclusión social, Unión Europea, Europa 2020, AROPE.
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1. Introduction

Poverty and social exclusion are realities that are still pending analysis and priority attention by society in general. In recent times, the various institutions that shape the European Union\(^1\) (EU) have taken into account in their agendas the issue of poverty and social exclusion that is affecting more and more people. Despite the interest in combating poverty and exclusion on the part of the EU and other entities, the problem of poverty and social exclusion in the EU has not been alleviated or diminished. On the contrary, this situation not only persists but has also increased over time (Cruz Morato M., 2015).

When we speak of social exclusion we refer to a "process by which individuals or groups are totally or partially excluded from full participation in the society in which they live. It is a process conditioned by the socioeconomic and political structures of each country, since these determine the relations between the social groups of the place" (PÉREZ DE ARMIÑO, 2000). The concept of poverty can be defined as the lack of income, which prevents the fulfillment of vital minimum needs (Montagut, 2008).

Poverty and social exclusion are closely related since one of the consequences of social exclusion is the economic aspect, that is, the lack of economic resources of a person.

As we will see later, in section 2 of this paper, the concepts of poverty and social exclusion are defined, in order to see what factors influence those concepts and thus to analyze if the measures that have been adopted by the EU have helped to reduce or at least prevent the increase in the number of people at risk of poverty and social exclusion throughout the EU.

Section 3 analyses the "Europe 2020" strategy, which is the European Union's development plan launched in 2010, with the aim "coming out of the crisis stronger" and preparing the way for the economy of the European Union facing the next decade (Sanz Gil, 2012). The Europe 2020 strategy has set a target of reducing by 20 million the number of people at risk of poverty and social exclusion in the EU by 2020.

Section 4 focuses on explaining what the AROPE indicator is (At Risk of Poverty or Social Exclusion) and which people are included in it, ie what conditions must be met for a person to be at risk of poverty and / or social exclusion. It analyzes the three components of the AROPE indicator that are at risk of poverty, severe material deprivation and low work intensity households, as well as the intersections that can occur between these components.

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\(^1\) The European Union is a unique economic and political union between 28 European countries that together cover much of the continent. The EU was created in the aftermath of the Second World War. The first steps were to foster economic cooperation: the idea being that countries that trade with one another become economically interdependent and so more likely to avoid conflict. (www.europa.eu).
Section 5 is devoted to analyzing the evolution of poverty and social exclusion in Europe from the period 2005 until the last year for which data is available in 2015. In order to assess the situation of poverty and social exclusion, the documents and data offered by the statistical services of both the European Union (Eurostat\(^2\)) and Spain (INE\(^3\)) are used as statistical bases. Recent data is analyzed in order to evaluate the dynamics of poverty and social exclusion in the European Union during the crisis and to see to what extent the crisis has affected the different sectors of the population within the EU.

Finally, the conclusions section compiles what has been discussed in the previous sections in order to see which population groups and which countries have suffered and suffer from the greatest poverty and social exclusion in the EU.

2. Poverty and social exclusion

2.1 The concept of poverty

The concept of poverty refers to a situation of deprivation in which a person cannot lead a life in a dignified manner according to the standards of the society to which they belong.

Poverty has been defined in different ways depending on the socio-political context and the agencies responsible for its drafting. At first, the concept was fundamentally based on an economic concept, which has evolved and expanded its conception to include social criteria. In this way "it is not only the material deficiencies that impede the fulfillment of the basic biological needs, nor of a inferior availability of resources compared to the average of the society; But also the possibility of satisfying the social, psychological and cultural needs of the society of reference "(Economic Council, 1996, p.5).

Defining poverty is a complex task, as well as its measurement, with different conceptions and different ways of measuring it. We can make the following classification of poverty according to the data that is taken into account and the way of analyzing it:

- **Objective poverty.** Defined using information on objective household variables, such as the level of income or expenditure, or housing facilities.

- **Subjective poverty.** Defined from the perception of the inhabitants of the home of their situation and their needs.

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\(^2\) Eurostat is the statistical office of the European Union situated in Luxembourg. Its mission is to provide high quality statistics for Europe. ([ec.europa.eu](http://ec.europa.eu))

\(^3\) The National Institute of Statistics (INE) is an autonomous body in Spain responsible for the general coordination of statistical services of the General State Administration and the monitoring, control and supervision of technical procedures. Between the works that realize, they emphasize the statistics on the Spanish demography, economy, and society. Through the official website you can follow all the updates of the different fields of study.
• **Absolute poverty.** It refers to the lack of goods and services considered basic and essential for life, such as food, shelter or clothing, to meet basic survival needs.

• **Relative poverty.** It is defined by comparison with the standard in a given society, setting thresholds based on some representative measure (mean, median, percentiles) of the income distribution, or some more complex indicator of living conditions.

### 2.1.1 The factors of poverty

There are several factors that influence the study of poverty, which must be taken into consideration in order to take the necessary measures of a poverty reduction policy. Arroyo Bovea (2016, p.114), in his study of the factors that influence poverty highlights the following:

- **The size and composition of households,** "determine the income that is obtained, and among how many people it is distributed. In general, single-parent families, large families, and those with the majority of their members unemployed are the most likely to be at risk of poverty. Recent changes in family structures such as the reduction of the average household size and the increase in single-parent families are having a negative effect on the risk of poverty".

- **The age and sex of the main breadwinner.** Arroyo Bovea (2016, p.114) points out that the age and sex of the main breadwinner also determines income, which in turn indicates the risk of household poverty. The analysis by sex follows the same line in both cases, however the changes suffered are more pronounced in the case of men than in that of women. However, women have a higher risk of poverty and social exclusion than men during the whole of the period examined.

- **The educational level** of the people is a determining factor in the study of inequality and poverty. People who are illiterate and uneducated are more likely to be at risk of poverty, and conversely, more studies reduce the likelihood of poverty.

- **The health situation.** This factor can also influence poverty, in the sense that a disease can cause greater vulnerability to a person due to physical or psychological deterioration, which prevents productive activities (Plenary Session, 1996, p.21).

- **Employment** "is one of the main factors that conditions poverty. Having a job, the quality of work and working conditions determine the level of income and vulnerability to risk of poverty. The increase in low-wage jobs increases the precariousness of the poorest workers. The progressive incorporation of more and more women in the labor market, together with an earlier exit from working life and the later incorporation of young people, has brought many changes to the structures of employment that today, due to the economic crisis and job insecurity has led to an increase in poverty rates. Employment rates are closely linked to the risk"
of poverty and social exclusion because work is a source of income "(Economic and Social Council, 2001).

2.2 The concept of social exclusion

The concept of social exclusion "began to be used in France in the 1970s, although its use was not intensified in the language of public policies and social sciences until the 1980s and 1990s. Progressively, the term social exclusion has spread into different areas (public opinion, the academic world, political debates, etc.) until the European Union adopted it as a new instrument of social policy and at the same time to overcome the inadequacies of the concept of poverty" (Subirats, 2004, p.17).

When we speak of "exclusion" we refer to situations that go beyond economic difficulties, which include different types of discrimination (cultural, gender, national minorities and minority groups as a result of migration, disability, etc.). As Subirats (2004, p. 18) points out, "situations of social exclusion are the result of a chain of events either reinforced or driven by inequalities and structural determinations of the economic and social system. Therefore, the concept refers to a process of increasing vulnerability that increasingly affects larger sectors of society, and is materialized in a growing precariousness in the areas of work, housing, economics, etc."

2.2.1 Characteristics of social exclusion

Social exclusion has been described by several authors, who have highlighted different peculiarities that encompass the concept itself, and which help us to understand more precisely what characteristics the term social exclusion includes:

- Social exclusion has been described as a structural phenomenon, due to a large extent to the economic and social changes that generate it almost irremediably. This is mainly due to the changes in the labour market, within the family, in social relations and in the coverage levels of the welfare state (Subirats & Goma, 2003, p.19). Therefore, it is a phenomenon rooted in the economic structure, and is the result of a certain social, political, cultural and economic structure.

- Social exclusion as a dynamic and non-static process. It is therefore a set of processes rather than a stable situation. It affects different groups of the population in a changing way depending on the situation of vulnerability in which individuals find themselves.

  In short, as several authors like Subirats J, (2006) and Laparra (2007) point out, exclusion is a dynamic process that leads people to different stages, so there are different levels of exclusion (vulnerability, precarization and mild, moderate exclusion or severe). It is an itinerary that has a beginning and an end, in which you go through different phases, although not necessarily linear (beginning, recovery, deterioration, chronicification,…). The location in one phase or another will be determined
by the pace and intensity of the accumulation of social disadvantages, understood as a move away from integration situations.

- Social exclusion is considered multifactorial and multidimensional. In social exclusion, there are multiple interrelated factors, and this is why it cannot be explained in terms of a single cause, on the contrary, it is a set of interrelated circumstances (Subirats J., 2005; Tezanos, 1999).

   Social exclusion is multidimensional, in the sense that it affects people's different vital areas. Subirats (2004, p.20) highlights seven areas / dimensions in which social exclusion processes can be more easily triggered (economic, labour, training, social, housing, relational and Citizenship and participation). On the other hand, it is also necessary to incorporate, in addition to the seven areas, the four axes of social inequality (gender, age, race / ethnicity and social class), which will condition each person's situation in different areas.

- Social exclusion is a heterogeneous phenomenon. The changes produced in the economic, social and family spheres lead to social exclusion being considered as a very heterogeneous phenomenon.

   There are many groups that accumulate social disadvantages, which confirm the heterogeneity of exclusion, as well as the different classification and naming criteria of the people who experience it (Hernández Pedreño, 2010).

- Social exclusion can be dealt with public policies. As Subirats and Goma (2003, p.30) point out, social exclusion can be tackled with collective measures and from institutional practice.

   "Social exclusion, when considered a structural phenomenon, can be addressed in a strategic way, through effective policies that promote inclusion practices, since in many cases social exclusion is a consequence of ineffective policies. The quantity and intensity of vulnerability can be reduced by integral action that affects different areas (labour, education, economic or social) and multiple groups, Social exclusion, therefore, should not be understood as a fatalistic and irremediable reality "(Hernández Pedreño, 2010, p.32).

- As Hernández Pedreño (2010, p.33) points out, social exclusion has a subjective / individual / personal factor. Social exclusion is a personal process and, therefore, the incidence of some individual factors related to subjectivity and attribution of meaning to the situation of precariousness, vulnerability or exclusion cannot be ignored.

   In situations of risk, precarization or vulnerability, the subject acts according to personal resources (social position, studies, housing, marital status, ...) so that there will not be two identical exclusion trajectories. Exclusion is a personal and unique process.
With all this, we see that the term social exclusion seeks to describe a specific situation, the result of an increasing process of vulnerability, affecting different segments of the population and making it more difficult for them to access the opportunities and resources that society has.

Therefore, when talking about social exclusion, attempts are made to describe in a different way the perennial problems, since the term above tries to conceptualize the new forms of inequality and social imbalance that divert from the parameters or conventional definitions.

2.2.2 The areas and factors of social exclusion

The factors that cause social exclusion are mainly the result of structural changes in economies and societies. As already mentioned, Subirats (2004, p.20) proposes seven areas in which processes of social exclusion can be more easily triggered. These are the areas: the economic area, labour, education, health, housing, relational and the area of citizenship and participation.

Each of these areas present a set of factors, which can be given alone or in combination with others, of the same type or distinct.

• **Economic area**: Four degrees of exclusion from lesser to greater: poverty, financial difficulties, dependence on social benefits and social protection.

• **Employment area**: Employment is the basic source of income and a means of subsistence, also highlighting the social relationships that are created. Therefore the lack of access to the labour market, labour precariousness, temporality, etc. has effects on social exclusion.

• **Formative area**: Lack of access to the educational system and training capital. Training empowers or incapacitates people in terms of socio-labour insertion.

• **Socio-sanitary area**: The lack of access to the health system and its basic resources causes social exclusion.

• **Residential area**: In this area we refer to the problems of accessibility to housing and problems of habitable conditions.

• **Relational area**: The scarcity of family ties and social networks can lead to forms of social exclusion.

• **Area of citizenship and participation**: Lack of rights linked to the condition of citizenship and lack of participatory habits in the community.

In addition to the seven areas mentioned, it is important to take into account the three important axes within social inequalities: age, sex and origin and / or ethnicity. "These axes of inequality intersect with the most diverse exclusion factors giving rise to a multiplicity of possible situations or concrete combinations. In this sense, women, young people, older people, immigrants or people from poor countries, with a regularized administrative situation - or not -
are the social sectors most susceptible to vulnerability and social exclusion” (Subirats, 2004, p.21).

2.3 Differences between poverty and social exclusion

As we have said before, when we talk about social exclusion we refer to a process of increasing vulnerability through which a person or a group of people feel outside the society to which they belong, which may be due to the lack of economic resources, precarious work, residential problems... etc. Therefore, when we talk about social exclusion, it is very common to find a lack of economic resources, although it is not this lack that necessarily has generated the situation of social exclusion. However, it is true that “every person who suffers a situation of poverty is more likely to fall into a spiral of disconnections and deficits of citizenship than a person whose economic situation is comfortable” (Subirats, 2004, p.138)

Therefore, as point out by Gómez Criado (2014, p.17), "poverty must be considered to some extent as a necessary but not sufficient condition for a person to be considered socially excluded. All this relates poverty and social exclusion very closely because one of the consequences of social exclusion is the economic aspect, namely the income threshold of a person”.

Societies have been changing over time, becoming more complex, less orderly and socially structured. So it is somehow easier for some segments of the working class to climb the social pyramid or change the lack of economic resources that had existed for generations in a short time. On the other hand, however, the opposite may happen, that is, certain groups that have traditionally enjoyed good living conditions (whether by education, jobs, relationships, etc.) are now in situations of vulnerability or are in a situation of short-term or structural situations of exclusion and lack of resources to survive with dignity (Subirats, 2004, p. 139).

Thus, with the concept of social exclusion, we want to cover and pick up aspects of inequality typical of the economic sphere, but also of many others that may be as or more important in the processes of exclusion observed.

Figure 1 shows the main differences between poverty and social exclusion, Tezanos (1999). The main thing that can be observed from this figure is that the characteristics of the concept of social exclusion are not unique, that is, it does not apply to a single cause, to a single factor, to a single responsibility, etc., but there are many factors and aspects that make a person considered socially excluded. On the other hand, if we look at the characteristics given for the concept of poverty, the opposite is true: it is a static and one-dimensional concept.
3. The Europe 2020 strategy

The European Union implemented the so-called Lisbon strategy whose time horizon was from 2000 to 2010. Its objective was to achieve a knowledge-based economy, a more competitive and dynamic economy, capable of sustainable economic growth with more and better jobs and with greater social cohesion. However, by the end of the decade, many analysts and economic indicators show us that the Lisbon strategy has failed to achieve its objectives (Sanz Gil, 2012).

In 2010, the "Europe 2020" strategy, the successor to the Lisbon strategy, was launched with the economic crisis in full swing. "The main objective of Europe 2020 is to come out of the crisis stronger. This new strategy aims to combine economic success with social inclusion and environmental responsibility to stimulate growth, employment and competitiveness, as it faces such major challenges as climate change or demographic change. This strategy has evaluated and implemented many of the lessons learned from the Lisbon strategy, so that the EU 2020 strategy is rather an adaptation based on the criticism of its predecessor, than a radical reformulation" (Sanz Gil, 2012).
3.1 Europe 2020

In March 2010, the European Commission launched the Europe 2020 strategy to be able to emerge from the crisis and prepare the EU economy for the next decade. The new action plan to end the crisis states the main objective of making the EU "a smart, sustainable and inclusive economy to enjoy high levels of employment, productivity and social cohesion" (Santesmases Fernández, 2010).

The European Commission has identified in the 2020 strategy three key drivers of growth, to be implemented through concrete actions both at the national level and within the European Union (European Commission, 2010):

- **Smart growth**: development of an economy based on knowledge and innovation.

- **Sustainable growth**: promoting an economy that makes more efficient use of resources, is greener and more competitive.

- **Inclusive growth**: Fostering an economy with a high level of employment that has social and territorial cohesion.

Progress towards these ends will be measured against five main objectives which Member States should translate into national targets. The Commission proposes the following main objectives (European Commission, 2010):

1. The employment level of the population between the ages of 20 and 64 should increase from the current 69% to at least 75%, through greater participation of women and older workers and better integration of immigrants into the active population, in addition to other things.

2. Raise spending on research and development (R & D), from the current 2% to 3% of EU’s GDP.

3. Reduce greenhouse gas emissions by at least 20% compared to 1990 levels, or by 30% if conditions are met; Increase the percentage of renewable energy sources in our final energy consumption up to 20% and 20% energy efficiency.

4. The percentage of early school drop outs should be below 10% (from the current 15%) and the percentage of the younger generation who finish higher education should increase from 31% to at least 40% by 2020;

5. Reduce the risk of poverty by 25%, which could mean 20 million people less in that situation.

The targets are interrelated and critical to our overall success. To ensure that each Member State tailors the Europe 2020 strategy to its particular situation, the Commission proposes that EU goals are translated into national targets and trajectories (European Commission, 2010).
Targets are representative of the three priorities for smart, sustainable and inclusive growth, that is, smart growth emphasizes knowledge and innovation, sustainable growth and inclusive growth highlights the importance of a high level of employment together with social and territorial cohesion (European Commission, 2010, page 7). But on the other hand, the targets are not exhaustive since a wide range of action will be necessary at a community, national and international level to support them. The Commission (2010) proposes seven flagship initiatives to catalyze progress on each priority theme:

- "Innovation Union" to improve framework conditions and access to finance for research and innovation so as to ensure that innovative ideas can be turned into products and services that create growth and jobs.

- "Youth on the move" to enhance the performance of education systems and to facilitate the entry of young people to the labour market.

- "A digital agenda for Europe" to speed up the roll-out of high-speed internet and reap the benefits of a digital single market for households and firms.

- "Resource efficient Europe" to help decouple economic growth from the use of resources, support the shift towards a low carbon economy, increase the use of renewable energy sources, modernise our transport sector and promote energy efficiency.

- "An industrial policy for the globalisation era" to improve the business environment, notably for SMEs, and to support the development of a strong and sustainable industrial base able to compete globally.

- "An agenda for new skills and jobs" to modernise labour markets and empower people by developing their skills throughout their lifecycle with a view to increasing labour participation and creating a better match between labour supply and demand, including labour mobility.

- "European platform against poverty" to ensure social and territorial cohesion so that the benefits of growth and jobs are widely shared and people experiencing poverty and social exclusion are enabled to live in dignity and take an active part in society.

These seven flagship initiatives will commit both the EU and the Member States. EU-level instruments, notably the single market, financial levers and external policy tools, will be fully mobilised to tackle bottlenecks and deliver the Europe 2020 goals.
4. People at risk of poverty or social exclusion

4.1 AROPE Indicator

At risk of poverty or social exclusion, abbreviated to AROPE, refers to the situation of people at risk of poverty, or being severely materially deprived or living in a household with a very low work intensity. The AROPE rate, the share of the total population which is at risk of poverty or social exclusion, is the headline indicator to monitor the EU 2020 Strategy poverty target\(^4\).

This concept arises from the multidimensional conception of social exclusion and from the need to establish a single indicator that includes situations of vulnerability in which poverty, although important, is only one of the relevant aspects. In this sense, poverty and exclusion are intertwined and, in addition to poor and excluded people, it is possible to find excluded people who are not poor, and also the opposite situation, that is, poor subjects who are not immersed in processes of exclusion.

Therefore, the AROPE indicator corresponds to the sum of people who are at risk of poverty or of being severely materially deprived or living in a household with a low work intensity. People are counted once, even if they are included in several sub-indicators.

As mentioned above, Europe 2020 is the EU’s growth strategy for the next decade adopted by the European Council in 2010 (Sanz Gil, 2012). Through the Europe 2020 strategy, the EU has set five targets to be met by 2020 for employment, innovation, education, social integration and climate / energy. For the purposes of this paper, the analysis will focus on inclusive growth and measures taken in terms of social exclusion and poverty.

"The Europe 2020 strategy has set a target of reducing by 20 million the number of people at risk of poverty and social exclusion in the EU by 2020."

According to the Europe 2020 strategy, people who are in any of the three situations defined below are considered to be at risk of poverty and / or social exclusion\(^5\):

- **At risk of poverty rate.** People are considered at risk of monetary poverty when their equivalent disposable income\(^6\) (after social transfers) is below the poverty risk threshold, which is set at 60% of the national median\(^7\) equivalised disposable income after social transfers.

- **Severe material deprivation:** Refers to a state of durable economic strain, which is defined as enforced inability (rather than an active choice) to pay for at least four of the following: unexpected expenses; afford an annual one-week holiday away from home; a meal involving

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\(^4\) [http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat](http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat)


\(^6\) Equivalent disposable income is the total household income, after taxes and other deductions, that is available to spend or save, divided by the number of household members.

\(^7\) The median is the income value that divides the population into two groups of the same size. That is, half of the Spanish population has incomes above the median and the other half has incomes below it.
meat, chicken or fish every second day; adequate heating of a dwelling during the cold months; durable goods such as a washing machine, television, telephone or car, being confronted with payment arrears (mortgage or rent, utility bills, hire purchase instalments or other loan payments).

- **Low work intensity**: The indicator of people living in households with very low work intensity is defined as the number of people living in households in which the working-age members did less than 20% of their total work potential in the year prior to the interview (reference period of income).

  The work intensity of a household is the ratio of the total number of months that all working-age household members have worked during the reference year and the total number of months the same family members could theoretically have worked in the same period. The ratio is calculated and determined if it is less than 20%. A person of working age is a person aged 18-59 years old, with the exclusion of students in the age group between 18 and 24 years old (National Institute of Statistics, 2016).

  As an example of this indicator, in a home with two adults in which only one full-time adult works, the work intensity would be 50%; If they work full-time the intensity would be 100%; If one of the adults works half-time and the other full-time, the work intensity would be 75%.

  To calculate the main indicator, AROPE, people are counted only once, even if their current living conditions can be described by more than one indicator of risk of poverty or social exclusion of those mentioned above. We can find people who meet a single criterion, two of them or all three, as shown in Figure 2. It can be deduced that poverty and exclusion will be more severe if all three criteria are met. This indicator does not apply to people who are 60 years of age or older.

**Figure 2**: Venn diagram (AROPE Indicator)

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8 A working-age person is a person aged 18-59 years, with the exclusion of students in the age group between 18 and 24 years. Households composed only of children, of students aged less then 25 and/or people aged 60 or more are completely excluded from the indicator calculation.
On the other hand, it should be noted that the AROPE and the Poverty Rate are different indicators, since they measure different things; The AROPE measures poverty and exclusion as a whole and the second only poverty. This definition implies that people living in poverty are also counted in the AROPE indicator, but it is possible that people included in the latter are not poor (Llano Ortiz, 2016).

Most of the data presented below has been obtained from the Eurostat and INE website. In particular, statistics on income and living conditions of the database published by this agency have been used, as well as some reports on poverty and social exclusion.

4.1.1 At risk of poverty threshold

Before analysing the components of the AROPE indicator, we will see what poverty risk threshold the EU has set.

The poverty risk threshold is the level of income below which a person is considered under low-income conditions and, therefore, at risk of poverty. The EU has set this threshold at 60% of the national median equivalised disposable income after social transfers.

Table 1: At risk of poverty thresholds (60% of national median equivalised income). Spain. Euros. 2009-2016.

|----------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|

Source: Made by me with Eurostat data.

Table 1 shows the poverty thresholds for the years 2009 to 2016, in Spain, measured in euros. We see that to meet the needs of a household that consists of 2 adults and 2 children it is not necessary to have an income four times greater than if only one adult lived in that household. This is due to the scale of equivalence, economies of scale related to coexistence and the lower cost of meeting the needs of children. To meet the needs of the second and remaining adult members, only half of the income is required if that adult lives alone. And to meet the needs of the remaining members under the age of 14, only about a third of the income of the first adult is needed.

It can be seen in Table 1 that the thresholds have been decreasing, that is, there has been an overall decrease in income levels during the years since the onset of the crisis, which may be due to this. However, in the last few years the thresholds have been increasing, which will imply an improvement in the levels of poverty.

9 For example, the case of persons belonging to households with low work intensity who are receiving unemployment benefits that keep household income above the poverty line.
4.1.2 At risk of poverty

People with a disposable income (after social transfers) below the poverty risk threshold, which is at 60% of the national median disposable income after social transfers, are considered at risk of poverty.

This indicator does not measure wealth or poverty, it measures low incomes compared to other residents in that country, which does not necessarily imply a low standard of living.

It can be seen in Chart 1, that the percentage of people at risk of poverty after social transfers has gone from 16.5% in 2005 to 17.3% in 2015, that is, throughout the year in the period analysed, this sub-indicator has been increasing in the EU. Therefore, in 2015, there are more people living in households that face income poverty than in 2005. This percentage indicates that in the year 2015 there are a total of 86.5 million people at risk of monetary poverty compared to 79.5 million in 2005 (see annex table 2).

**Chart 1: People at risk of poverty after social transfers in the EU.**

*Percentage of total population (%). 2005-2015.*

Source: Made by me with Eurostat.

4.1.3 Severe material deprivation (SMP)

Current income has important limitations to define poverty, due to the imperfect relationship between income and standard of living, owing to the general exclusion of the non-monetary components of living standards, the omission of wealth, the difficulties of addressing household differences in terms of needs and the low coverage of resources. (Esteban Yago, 2015)

For all of the above, in order to identify the population groups suffering from poverty, it is necessary to develop indicators that directly represent the standard of living, without taking into account the amount of resources enjoyed.
The indicator of severe material deprivation represents the percentage of people with some type of material lack. Specifically, this indicator represents the people or percentage of people living in households that cannot afford four or more consumer items, out of nine considered basic at European level. These items are detailed in the section dedicated to the definition of AROPE.

The following Chart shows the evolution of severe material deprivation in the EU. It can be seen that during the whole period analyzed, SMP reached its highest point in 2005, affecting 10.8% of the population and, since then, there has been an almost uninterrupted decline, with a percentage in the year 2016 of 7.8% of the total population. This percentage indicates that in the year 2016 there are a total of 38.9 million people in a situation of severe material deprivation, that is, around 1.3 million people less than the previous year (see Annex table 3).

Chart 2: Severely materially deprived people in the EU.
Percentage of total population (%). 2005-2016

This reduction of severe material deprivation, although with many nuances, may be considered good news. Severe material deprivation is an indicator of very serious vulnerability and each of its items are indispensable for participation in European society.

4.1.4 Households with low work intensity

With regard to the last sub-indicator of AROPE, low work intensity, which refers to persons or the percentage of people, aged 0-59, who live in households in which the adult members of working age (18-59 Years) did less than 20% of their total work potential during the year prior to the interview (income reference period). The number of months in which household members have been working during the reference year is calculated on the one hand and, on the other hand, the total number of months in which the same members could theoretically have worked, the ratio is calculated and it decides if it is less than 20%.
As is well known, the crisis has affected employment in most EU countries, and this is reflected in low work intensity per household, sub-indicator of the AROPE rate. Chart 3, shows that between the years 2009 and 2014, this indicator has increased, that is, the number of people aged 0-59 years old living in households with very little employment has been increasing. However, in the year 2015, there is a decrease compared to the previous year, 2014, as low work intensity went from 11.2% of people living in households with low employment intensity (41.95 million people) in the year 2014 to 10.6% in the year 2015 (39.62 million people), which indicates a decrease of 2.33 million people (See Annex Table 4).

**Chart 3:** People living in households with very low work intensity in the UE.  
*Percentage of total population aged less than 60 (%). 2005-2015.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>% Total population aged less than 60</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>9.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>11.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>10.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** Made by me with Eurostat data.

### 4.1.5 Evolution of the components of AROPE

Chart 4, reflects the impact of the combination of the three indicators of AROPE, the risk of poverty rate, severe material deprivation and low work intensity. The graph shows clearly that the component with the greatest increase between 2005 and 2015 is the poverty risk rate, explaining most of the increase observed in the AROPE rate.

It can be observed that the poverty rate has followed a path of growth throughout the analyzed period. For 2005, the poverty rate was 16.5% of the total population, which meant that almost 80 million people were at risk of poverty in the EU (See Annex Table 5), compared to 17.3% of the total population (86.59 million people) in 2015, an increase of 0.8 percentage points (pp) between these years. Therefore, in the EU as a whole, the poverty rate has increased compared to 2005.
Secondly, with higher percentages, households with low work intensity have increased between 2009 and 2014. This indicator reached its highest value in 2014, with a value of 11.2% (41.94 million of people living in households with low work intensity) and the lowest value in 2008. Low work intensity has decreased by 0.6 pp in the last year, standing at 10.6%.

The SMP, by the year 2016 was 7.8% of the total population (40.32 million people), the lowest percentage during the years analyzed. On the contrary, the highest percentage was in 2005 with a total of 52.25 million people suffering from severe material deprivation (10.8% of the total population). This means that the SMP was decreasing during the years 2005 and 2016, since in this last year the value of the SMP was the lowest.

Chart 4: Evolution of the components of AROPE in the EU. 
*Percentage of total population (%). 2005-2015*

Source: Made by me with Eurostat data.

4.1.6 Intersections between the components of the AROPE rate

AROPE is not the sum of its components, since intersections between two or more components can occur. In addition, the low work intensity component is calculated as a percentage of the population under 60 years old while the poverty risk rate and the SMP are percentages of the total population.

The following figure illustrates the intersections that represent the groups that share two or three components of AROPE, as well as those that suffer a single factor, with the data of 2015. The data can be interpreted as follows:
Firstly, the poverty rate as a whole reaches 17.3% of the population in 2015 and this amount represents a total of about 86,592,000 people. It can be divided as follows:

- People who are poor and do not suffer from severe material deprivation and do not live in households with low work intensity (poor people with employment), which are slightly more than half of the group and represent 10.2% of the population (in the year 2014 was 9.8%).

- People who are in a situation of poverty so severe that they suffer severe material deprivation, but are not a household with low work intensity, mainly because they belong to households where several of their members are not of working age, represent 2.4% of the total population (in the year 2014 was 2.6%).

- People living in poverty and living in households with low employment but not suffering from severe material deprivation reached 2.8% of the total population (in 2014 were 2.9%).

- The group in the most serious situation, that is, the group of people who are poor, suffer severe material deprivation and live in households with low work intensity, reaches 1.8% of the total population (in 2014 it was 2%).

- Secondly, we find the group of people suffering severe material deprivation, which reaches 8.1% of the total population in 2015. Of these, 3.2% suffer only severe material deprivation, that is, they are not living in poverty or living in households with low work intensity. The rest are divided between those with low work intensity, which represent 0.6% of the total population, and the two groups that intersect with poverty, that is, SMP + Poverty and SMP + Poverty + LWI, 2.4% and 1.8% respectively.

- Finally, people living in households with low work intensity, which reaches 7.9% of the total population (in 2014 it was 11.2%). Of this total, 2.7% suffer only LWI, do not share other indicators, that is, do not suffer from poverty or SMP. The rest corresponds to the groups which it shares with SMP or Poverty and in which the three situations are shared at the same time, to which reference has already been made.
According to the data that has just been explained, it can be concluded that the affirmation that lack of work produces poverty is correct, but not its inverse. In other words, if you do not work you fall into poverty, but if you work, you do not always get out of poverty. This is shown by the figure above, which shows that there is a high percentage of people in the low work intensity group who are poor and that 12.6% of the population is poor but do not live in a low-intensity household.

5. Poverty and social exclusion in Europe

In general, poverty has always been an issue that has been linked to economic inequalities and the low income population. However, in recent times, with the changes that have been taking place in our societies, new mechanisms of marginalization have emerged in which factors other than the strictly economic ones are triggers of processes of social exclusion (Subirats, 2004).

Reducing the level of poverty and social exclusion in Europe has been one of the objectives of the institutions of the European Union. However, the economic crisis and uncertainty about the future of the EU has made the number of people at risk of poverty rise in recent years. As we will see later, with data from the Eurostat website, the number of people at risk of poverty and social exclusion is higher in some EU countries than in others, as is the case of Poland, Latvia, Greece and Romania.

For all this, the EU has developed a series of strategies to try to reduce the number of poor people. The current strategy is Europe 2020, with a time horizon in 2020. As mentioned above, one of the objectives of the Europe 2020 strategy is to reduce by at least 20 million the number of people at risk of poverty and social exclusion by 2020. In addition, the Europe 2020 strategy has followed multidimensional criteria of the concept of poverty, that is, other factors
are taken into account in addition to income, thus, an aggregate indicator has been developed, AROPE, which refers to people at risk of poverty and social exclusion.

Regarding the evolution of the AROPE rate, Chart 5, shows the evolution of this indicator from 2005 to 2015, which is the last year for which information is available. By 2015, about 118.8 million people, or 23.7% of the population in the EU-28\textsuperscript{10} were at risk of poverty or social exclusion (see Annex Table 6), compared to 24.4% % (121.9 million people) in 2014.

**Chart 5:** People at risk of poverty or social exclusion in the EU. Thousand persons. 2005-2015.

Source: Made by me with Eurostat data.

On the other hand, the number of people at risk of poverty or social exclusion in the EU was about 124.66 million people in 2005, this number of people is the highest during the whole period analyzed. If we analyze, since 2009, we see that the number of people at risk of poverty and social exclusion was increasing steadily until 2012, reaching about 123.6 million people at risk in the EU-28. Between 2012 and 2015 this number fell to 118.7 million people in the EU-28.

Despite the poverty reduction between 2012 and 2015 - with almost 119 million people - 23.7% of the EU population were still at risk of poverty or social exclusion by 2015. This means that almost one in four people in the EU experienced at least one of the three forms of poverty or social exclusion.

We can conclude that poverty in the whole of the EU continued to grow from 2009 until 2012, coinciding with the beginning or development of the crisis and, as of that year, 2012, the number of people at risk of poverty and social exclusion has declined without reaching even the poverty levels of 2009. Thus,

\textsuperscript{10} UE -28: The 28 member countries are currently incorporated into the European Union. The last country to join the EU was Croatia on 1 July 2013..
Poverty is higher than in 2015. Therefore, we can say that despite the measures adopted by the EU it has not managed to reduce the number of people at risk of poverty and exclusion, on the contrary, poverty has increased compared to 2009.

5.1 Poverty and social exclusion by country

Chart 6 shows the rate of poverty and social exclusion in Europe by country, where we can see that in 2005 more than a third of the population was at risk of poverty or social exclusion in three EU member states: Latvia (46.3%), Poland (45.3%) and Lithuania (41%). At the other end of the scale, the lowest percentages of people at risk of poverty or social exclusion were Sweden (14.4%), Norway (16.2%), the Netherlands (16.7%) and Denmark (17.2%).

Overall, the poverty risk rate declined slightly in the EU 28 between 2005 and 2015 by 2.1 pp (see Annex Table 7). The rate rose 6.3 pp in Greece and 4.3 pp in Spain, decreasing by 21.9 pp in Poland, 15.4 pp in Latvia and 11.7 pp in Lithuania.

Chart 6: People at risk of poverty or social exclusion by EU countries. Percentage of total population (%). 2005 and 2015.

Source: Made by me with Eurostat data.

We can say from the most recent Eurostat data that the EU poverty and exclusion rate by country has declined in most countries and the EU as a whole (from 25.8% to 23.7%). Thus, there is an improvement in the number of people at risk of poverty and exclusion in most EU countries in 2015 compared to 2005.
5.2 Poverty and social exclusion by age and sex

When comparing poverty and social exclusion by sex and age in the EU, one can observe that certain groups of the population are at greater risk of poverty or social exclusion than others.

If we look at how poverty and social exclusion affect different age groups, we can see that children and people of working age are at greater risk of poverty or social exclusion than the elderly. If we look at sex, women are more likely to live in poverty and social exclusion than men.

To illustrate all this, we analyzed a series of graphs in which we could see with greater clarity the extent to which poverty affects these groups of the population.

5.2.1 Poverty and social exclusion by age

If we distinguish according to age, in Chart 7, we see how children, under 18, were in a situation of greater risk of poverty or social exclusion than the rest of the population of the EU, both in the 2005 and 2015.

In 2005, 28.1% of the under-18s were at risk of poverty and social exclusion compared to 25.1% and 25.5% of those aged 18-64 and over 65, respectively. This data reflects how children under 18 were at greater risk of poverty than other groups in the population.

The main factors affecting child poverty are the status of the parents in the labour market, which is related to their level of education, the composition of the household in which children live and the effectiveness of government intervention through income support and the provision of support services. There are also more vulnerable groups of children, such as those with immigrant parents, who deserve special attention.

Chart 7: People at risk of poverty or social exclusion by age (EU). Percentage of total population (%). 2005 and 2015

Source: Made by me with Eurostat data.
In general, it can be seen that between 2005 and 2015, the situation of people at risk of poverty experienced a decrease in the three age groups that we have analyzed. Although it should be noted that the reduction was greater among people over 65 and less among young people or people of working age, between 18 and 64 years.

The AROPE rate for the group of people over 65 years old moved from 25.5% in 2005 to 17.4% in 2015, the largest improvement among the groups analyzed. This situation of poverty risk and social exclusion of people over 65 depends on a number of factors, including the characteristics of pension systems and the structure by age and sex of the elderly population.

On the opposite side are people between 18 and 64 years old, with 25.1% in 2005 and 24.7% in 2015. This lower reduction in the rate of poverty and social exclusion may be due, among other things, to the labour market situation.

In conclusion, it can be said that children under the age of 18 years old are the group of people at a higher risk of poverty than the other age groups in the EU. As mentioned earlier, this may be due to a number of factors, such as the labour market situation of the parents, the composition of the household, etc.

Chart 8 shows the rate of poverty and social exclusion of people under 18 by EU countries for the years 2005 and 2015. In this graph, we can highlight the high poverty rate for those under 18 in Countries such as Poland, Romania, Bulgaria, Greece and Hungary. It is important to note the case of Poland and Latvia, countries that present an AROPE rate for 2005 of almost 50% of the total population, which is quite dramatic. Despite these high rates, in the EU as a whole the poverty rate for those under 18 declined compared to 2005.

**Chart 8**: Rate of people at risk of poverty and social exclusion under 18 by country. *Percentage of total population (%). 2005 and 2015.*

Source: Made by me with Eurostat data.
Chart 9 shows the AROPE rate for people between 18 and 64 years old by country for the years 2005 and 2015. As we again observe, countries such as Poland, Latvia and Greece have the highest values of poverty rate, with percentages of around 40% by the year 2005.

**Graph 9:** Rate of people at risk of poverty and exclusion for people aged 18-64, by country EU. Percentage of total population (%). 2005 and 2015.

![Graph showing AROPE rates for people aged 18-64 by country EU, 2005 and 2015](image)

**Source:** Made by me with Eurostat data.

If we analyze the poverty rate for people over 65 by country (see Chart 10), Latvia and Cyprus in 2005 had a poverty rate of around 55%, the highest rates, then we found Lithuania with 46.1% and Greece and Poland with a rate of almost 40%. On the contrary, the lowest rates are in the Netherlands, Luxembourg and Denmark.
Therefore, when analyzing the poverty rate of the different age groups across the EU and by country, it is observed that there are large differences in poverty or social exclusion, both by age and by country. This can be due, among other things, to the composition of the countries, to the policies carried out by the different countries... etc. When analyzing poverty and social exclusion by age group we saw that children under 18 years of age are the group with the highest poverty rate compared to the other age groups. It is also noted that the countries with the highest AROPE rate, regardless of age group, are Poland, Latvia, Greece and Romania and with lower rates Luxembourg, Denmark, the Netherlands and Sweden.

### 5.2.2 Poverty and social exclusion by sex

When comparing the AROPE rate among men and women across the EU-28, women were at a higher risk of poverty or social exclusion than men (see Chart 11). If we look at the data from the analyzed period, for both men and women, it is seen that throughout this period, poverty and exclusion declined until 2009, with values of 24.5% women and 22% men, for later to increase again. However, in the year 2015 the AROPE rate for men was 23% and for women 24.4%, these percentages are lower than in 2005. It can be seen from the Chart that women are at greater risk of poverty and exclusion than men during the whole period analyzed. In 2012, the male rate stood at 23.7% compared to 25.7% for women (See Annex Table 8). This put the gender gap across the EU by 2 pp.
Chart 11: People at risk of poverty and social exclusion by sex EU.  

*Source:* Made by me with Eurostat data.

When analyzing the AROPE rate by sex in EU countries (see Chart 12), we first observed that, women were in a worse situation of poverty and social exclusion in all EU countries, except in Spain and Poland where men are at greater risk of poverty or social exclusion than women, and in Finland, where the risk is the same for men and women.

In 2015, gender gaps were highest in Latvia, Estonia and Bulgaria (5.5 percentage points in Latvia, 3.8 percentage points in Estonia and 3.5 percentage points in Bulgaria). Finland was the most egalitarian country in terms of poverty rates, with no gender difference, followed by Slovakia, with a gender gap of 0.5 percentage points.

Secondly, we see that the countries with the highest AROPE rates for men and women were in Bulgaria, Romania and Greece. By contrast, the countries with the lowest rates of AROPE by sex were the Czech Republic, Finland and the Netherlands. Therefore, we can say from the Chart that countries with higher AROPE rates are on the left side of the EU (28) AROPE rate and countries with lower AROPE rates on the right side.
Given that the structure of the survey assumes that households with more than one member share their resources equally, the main factors behind the gender gap are the higher poverty rates among female households, especially those with dependent children.

The main causes of female poverty, according to the Directorate General for Internal Policies of the EU, pointed out that one reason for this persistent gender gap is that single parents are much more likely to have a very low labour intensity compared to other households with children. These single-parent households are most often headed by women (almost 10% of all European households in 2011) than men (1.8%).

A comparison of the actions of the Member States in the European thematic semester Ficha, shows two political measures that could alleviate this problem: support services for children and families, as well as access to quality childcare services at affordable prices.

Therefore, when comparing poverty and social exclusion in the EU by age and sex, some groups of the population have a higher AROPE rate than others. On the one hand, children and persons of working age are at greater risk of poverty or social exclusion than older people, that is, people over 65 years of age suffered a lower risk of poverty or social exclusion than the total population both at EU-28 level and in many EU Member States. When comparing by sex, women are more likely to live in poverty and social exclusion than men in the EU as a whole and in EU countries.
6. Conclusions

Increased social inequality and economic impoverishment have given rise to new forms of poverty and social exclusion, affecting people and families, and more intensively those groups that were previously in situations of exclusion (Gómez Criado Juana, 2014).

On the other hand, the persistence and resurgence of poverty and exclusion in time has become one of the major dramas facing the European Union, not only because of the social urgency it has acquired as a result of the crisis but also because it implies placing the serious deficiencies of the welfare state and the results of the austerity policies carried out by the various EU governments in the forefront (Foundation 1 May 2014 report).

Throughout the present work an analysis has been carried out at the level of the European Union of the differences between territories in terms of population at risk of poverty and social exclusion, and has evaluated certain policies that have been carried out to reduce this problematic situation.

The "Europe 2020" strategy, which aims to reduce the rate of poverty and social exclusion, has not progressed but, on the contrary, has retracted increasing the number of people at risk of poverty in the European Union since 2010. Some of the reasons why the goal of poverty reduction may not have been achieved may be the lack of commitment on the part of national and local authorities to include this Strategy in their programs and to take action. One could also speak of its approach in that it does not specify how to carry out measures by not taking into account the particular characteristics of each territory of the Union, but rather it is general (Arroyo Bovea, 2016).

Our analysis shows that poverty in the EU as a whole since 2009 continued to grow until 2012, coinciding with the beginning or development of the crisis, and since 2012 the number of people at risk of poverty has decreased without reaching even the poverty levels of 2009, that is to say, poverty is greater than 2015. When analyzing poverty by countries of the EU great differences between the Member States are observed, which is a challenge, both for the scientific community and for the political arena.

With regard to the AROPE rate by age groups in the EU and by EU member states, we have seen that there are large differences in the risk of poverty and social exclusion by age and country, since on the one hand, the age group with the highest AROPE rate are those under 18 years of age, both at European level and by country and the countries with the highest risk of poverty are Poland, Latvia, Greece and Romania and the lowest rates are Luxembourg, Denmark, the Netherlands and Sweden.
On the other hand, considering the AROPE rate by sex, we have seen that women are worse off than men both in the EU as a whole and in countries, except in Spain and Poland where men are at greater risk of poverty or Social exclusion than women, and in Finland, where the risk is the same for men and women. Gender gaps were highest in Latvia, Estonia and Bulgaria. On the contrary, as we have said, Finland was the most egalitarian country in terms of poverty rates, with no gender difference, followed by Slovakia, with a gender gap of 0.5 percentage points.

The highest AROPE rates for men and women were in Bulgaria, Romania and Greece. By contrast, the countries with the lowest rates of AROPE by sex were the Czech Republic, Finland and the Netherlands.

As the final conclusion of this piece of work, the problem of the persistence of poverty and social exclusion in the context of the European Union is highlighted, and despite the measures adopted by the EU, it has not been possible to reduce the number of people at the risk of poverty and exclusion, on the contrary, poverty has increased compared to 2009. In addition, there seem to be certain common patterns of behavior that affect the different European regions, so that we find, in general, worse figures in countries such as Poland, Latvia, Romania, Greece and Bulgaria. By contrast, the Scandinavian and central European countries enjoy a much more favourable situation.
7. References


Web pages used:

• Eurostat: http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/data/database

• Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas (INE): http://www.ine.es/

• La European Anti Poverty Network – EAPN (Red Europea de Lucha contra la Pobreza y la Exclusión Social) http://www.eapn.es/index.php

• Comission European : https://ec.europa.eu/commission/index_es
8. Annex

- **Table 2: At Risk of poverty**  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TIME/GEO</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
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<tr>
<td>2006</td>
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<td>80.989</td>
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<td>2009</td>
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**Source:** Made by me with Eurostat data.

- **Table 3: Severely materially deprived people**  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TIME/GEO</th>
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<td>38.96</td>
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**Source:** Made by me with Eurostat data.
### Table 4: People living in households with very low work intensity

*Thousand persons. 2005-2015*

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<th>TIME/GEO</th>
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**Source:** Made by me with Eurostat data.

### Table 5: The components off AROPE

*Thousand persons. 2005-2015*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TIME/COMP</th>
<th>RISK POVERTY</th>
<th>SMD</th>
<th>LOW WORK INTENSITY</th>
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<td>34.549</td>
</tr>
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<td>86.592</td>
<td>40.320</td>
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**Source:** Made by me with Eurostat data.
Table 6: People at risk of poverty or social exclusion in the EU. Percentage of total population (%). 2005-2015

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<td>2015</td>
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Source: Made by me with Eurostat data.

Table 7: People at risk of poverty or social exclusion by EU countries. Percentage of total population (%). 2005 and 2015.

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<th>2005</th>
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<tr>
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<td>20</td>
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<td>17,7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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Source: Made by me with Eurostat data.

- Table 8: People at risk of poverty and social exclusion by sex EU.  
  Percentage of total population (%). 2005 and 2015

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<td>23,0</td>
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</table>

Source: Made by me with Eurostat data.