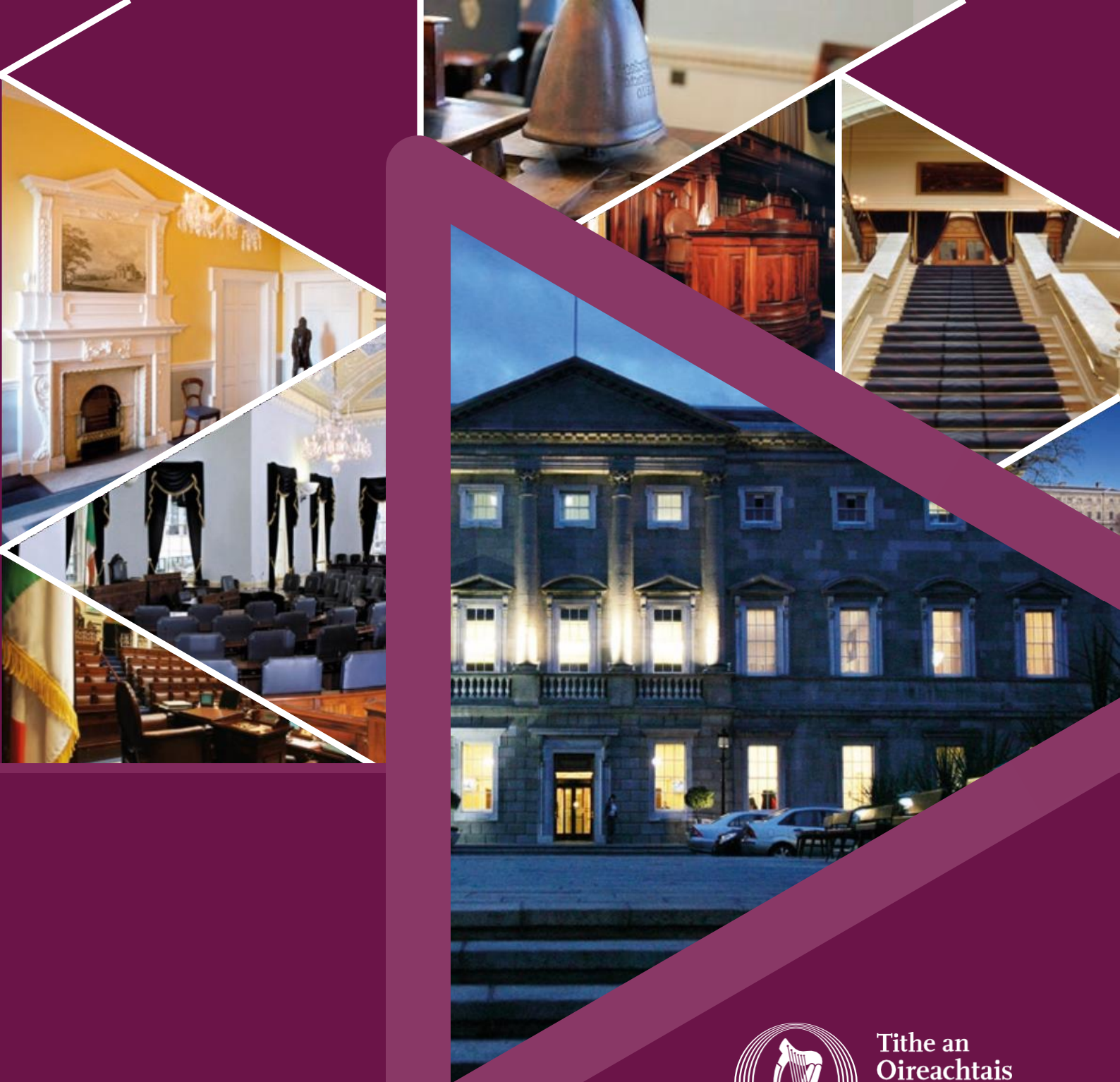




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An Oifig Buiséid Pharlaiminteach Parliamentary Budget Office Social Housing - Ongoing Need 2023

Publication 28 of 2024

Séanadh

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* This paper was originally published on 16 August 2024. It was republished 13 November 2024 to include a previously omitted appendix (Appendix 1) setting out how the PBO estimated the minimum number of individuals per household type. These edits and corrections are for clarification and do not materially affect the substance of the paper.

Key Messages

- 'Ongoing Need' is a term introduced by the Parliamentary Budget Office (PBO) to capture the cohort of households eligible for, but not yet in receipt of, social housing. It quantifies the number of households on the **social housing waiting lists** plus households in receipt of the **Housing Assistance Payment (HAP)**.
- The PBO estimates that there were **115,425 households with an 'ongoing need'** for permanent, state-supported housing at end-2023 comprising of 58,824 eligible households on the main social housing waiting list, plus, 56,601 active HAP tenancies. This was down from 116,886 households at end-2022 (-1.25%).
- The PBO estimates a cost of **€34.95 billion** to build new, appropriate, permanent social housing for everyone with an ongoing need. This is an estimated **decrease of €57 million** from 2022, the net result of higher year on-year construction costs being partially offset by a reduction in households with an ongoing need.
- The PBO estimates that at end-2023 there was a minimum of **235,659 people** (4.4% of the total population) making up the households with an ongoing need including an estimated **92,116 dependent children** (under the age of 18). This is equivalent to 6.6% of all children aged 18 or under in Ireland.
- 11.8% of all households in the **Galway City Council area** had an ongoing need, the highest percentage share in Ireland. Dublin City Council is next at 10.4%.
- 27.4% of applicants for social housing and HAP recipients, combined, are **over the age of 50**. 12.2% (6,882 households) of total HAP recipients in Ireland are single and over the age of 50.
- With this cohort more likely to continue to require state support for housing in future, the costs of providing appropriate housing will only increase in line with the recipient's age, as more specialist housing and adaptations may be required.
- There is a significant disparity between average HAP and new private monthly rents being paid across all counties, demonstrating the difficulties that exist for HAP tenants to source suitable and affordable accommodation.
- On a national level, the PBO estimates that **the state would need to increase its existing social housing stock by 56%** to accommodate all households with an ongoing need. The required increase in Fingal is 105% – the highest in the country.
- The PBO notes that, presently, there is no published report which sets out the total number of active local authority tenancies in a given year. To aid transparency, the PBO recommends that detailed statistics relating to all forms of social housing – new and existing - are published annually.

Introduction

When developing a delivery plan for the type and location for social housing support, local authorities, and the Department of Housing look to the net ‘unmet need’ for social housing as a guide. This unmet need is based on a point-in-time assessment of the total number of households qualifying for social housing support whose social housing need is **not being met** i.e., all eligible households currently on the main local authority social housing waiting lists.

While this classification correctly omits households that are already tenants of a local authority (regardless of whether the property is local authority owned or rented, or owned by an AHB), it excludes households whose rent is funded via the Housing Assistance Payment (HAP), as their housing needs are deemed ‘met.’ It is the PBO’s belief that, as HAP tenancies are private rental agreements without the additional security of tenure afforded local authority tenants, these households have an ongoing need for social housing and should also be tracked and considered when planning for social housing delivery.

This note is an update for 2023 on PBO research into the total social housing need at [end-2022](#), and builds on an in depth [analysis of social housing spending and delivery between 2001 and 2020](#). Using The Housing Agency’s Data Hub, results in the Housing Agency’s annual Summary of Social Housing Assessments (SSHA) and HAP tenancy data collected by the HAP Shared Services Centre the note sets out:

- What ongoing need means, what cohort of people it captures, and why a new descriptor for this cohort of people is necessary.
- How the rates of ongoing need have changed since 2022, by the number of households, the types of households and the number of individuals.
- Across the local authorities in Ireland, where the ongoing need is highest relative to the population of each local authority and the reasons why, including average HAP rents and private rents, and the composition of each rate of ongoing need between households on HAP and on social housing waiting lists.
- The age breakdown of people with an ongoing need and in which local authorities they live.
- The availability of housing to the local authorities to be able to house people classed as having an ongoing need.
- The estimated cost of building a new, secure, and appropriate home for everyone with an ongoing need.

What is ‘Ongoing Need’?

In 2022, the PBO introduced the term ‘Ongoing Need’ in reference to social housing provision as a way of highlighting the gap which exists between the official measurement of the unmet need and the actual number of households who may require long term social housing.¹ The term quantifies the number of households that are on the **main social housing waiting list** plus those households in receipt of the **Housing Assistance Payment (HAP)**.

Ongoing need expands the official ‘unmet need’ categorisation in order to recognise households whose needs are deemed to be met under the official classification (i.e., their tenancy is supported through local authority funding) but do not have an **ongoing or continuous right** to have their housing need met should their tenancy cease. Specifically, the households in receipt of Housing Assistance Payment support.

Unlike other forms of housing support, HAP tenants are not considered tenants of a local authority and therefore do not have a continuous right to accommodation if their private lease agreement were to end.² In addition, once they enter the HAP scheme, the applicant is removed from the main social housing waiting list.³

The PBO believes that the use of the ongoing need descriptor is justified due to:

1. The potentially precarious nature of private rental agreements,
2. The difficulty in sourcing private rental accommodation which meets the criteria for HAP support; and
3. The fact that many HAP recipients continue to meet the eligibility criteria to avail of social housing.

¹ Parliamentary Budget Office, *Housing Ireland: Trends in Spending and Outputs of Social and State Supported Housing*, 2022.

² Households in receipt of Rent Supplement are not considered local authority tenants though can remain on social housing waiting lists and are therefore captured under the unmet need categorisation.

³ HAP tenants are entitled to join the supplementary waiting lists, though these lists are not accounted for in the unmet need estimates.

Measuring Homelessness in the Ongoing Need

When joining the social housing waiting list, a main need for housing is listed as part of an application. This main need is then used by the local authority to prioritise those households that present with an immediate need, those at higher risk, or those with additional requirements. The categories of needs include:

- Unsuitable accommodation – household circumstances,
- Requires rent supplement to provide for accommodation need,
- Requirement for separate accommodation,
- Homeless, institution, emergency accommodation or hostel,
- Overcrowded accommodation,
- Unfit accommodation,
- Disability – intellectual, mental health, physical, sensory, other,⁴
- Unsustainable mortgage; and
- Exceptional medical needs or compassionate grounds.

In the SSHA, the Housing Agency take an account of the recorded main housing need, when conducting the point-in-time assessment each November to estimate the unmet need. This includes determining the number of households recorded as homeless, living in an institution, emergency accommodation or hostel. While the SSHA, therefore, accounts for households that are experiencing homelessness, the total number of households listed as being homeless within the unmet need will not fully align with figures for homelessness collected elsewhere. This is due to the methods of categorising the need and collecting the data differing from other counts of homelessness.⁵ These differences include:

- The SSHA is an annual report based on a single point in time while the Department of Housing, Local Government and Heritage (DHLGH) publishes monthly homeless figures based on weekly counts.
- The SSHA does not include individuals living in homelessness that have not engaged with a local authority in relation to social housing support.
- The SSHA counts households rather than single adults.
- A household living in emergency accommodation may be classified under a different housing need e.g., having a disability.

In 2023, the SSHA recorded 7,946 households as having a main housing need linked to being homeless, living in an institution, emergency accommodation or hostel.⁶ This compared with 8,110 households being listed as homeless in the Department of Housing's November 2023 monthly homelessness report.⁷ Despite the differences in data collection and recording, the SSHA appears to account for the majority of households who are living in homelessness.

⁴ In the local authority lists each form of disability is a unique main need category.

⁵ The Housing Agency, [Summary of Social Housing Assessment 2023](#), 2024.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Department of Housing, Local Government and Heritage, [Homeless Report - November 2023](#), 2024.
Note: 8,110 households is the sum of 6,110 single adults and 2,000 families listed as homeless in the report.

Changes in the Ongoing Need

Using the results of the SSHA 2023 and the number of active HAP tenancies at end-2023,⁸ the PBO estimates that there were 115,425 households with an 'ongoing need' for permanent, appropriate, state-supported housing at end-2023. This figure is comprised of 58,824 eligible households on the main social housing waiting list, plus, 56,601 active HAP tenancies. This was down from 116,886 households at end-2022 (-1.25%).

Over the period, the number of eligible applicants on the social housing waiting lists increased by 982 (+1.7%) while the number of HAP tenancies reduced by 2,443 (-4.14%).

Table 1: Change in 'Ongoing Need' by Household 2020-2023

	2022	2023	Change 2022/2023	
			No.	%
Local Authority Social Housing Waiting Lists	57,842	58,824	982	1.70%
Housing Assistance Payment	59,044	56,601	-2,443	-4.14%
Ongoing Need By number of households	116,886	115,425	-1,461	-1.25%

Source: PBO based on Summary of Social Housing Assessment [2022](#), and [2023](#) and correspondence with HAP Shared Services Centre (April 2024).

Both the social housing waiting lists and HAP tenancy reports are presented in terms of households where only the main applicant is counted. For the purposes of social housing policy and delivery, it is the total number of households, and their make-up that are taken into account.

Change in Ongoing Need by Household Make-Up

An important element of developing housing policy and delivering appropriate accommodation is understanding the makeup of eligible households. Table 2 shows the changes in the ongoing need by household composition.

⁸ Report provided by HAP Shared Services Centre.

Table 2: Changes in Unmet Need and HAP Tenancies from 2022 to 2023

	2023	2022	No.	%
	No. of	Households	Change	2022/2023
Social Housing Waiting Lists				
1 Adult	33,746	32,383	1,363	4.21%
1 Adult, 1-2 children	12,103	12,027	76	0.63%
1 Adult, 3 or more children	1,579	1,552	27	1.74%
Couple	2,126	2,332	-206	-8.83%
Couple, 1-2 children	3,632	3,761	-129	-3.43%
Couple, 3 or more children	1,474	1,589	-115	-7.24%
Couple, 1 or more other Adults	475	486	-11	-2.26%
Couple, 1 or more other adults, 1 or more children	617	631	-14	-2.22%
Couple, 1 Adult, 3 or more children	243	268	-25	-9.33%
2 Adults*	1,232	1,205	27	2.24%
2 Adults*, with child/children	1,019	996	23	2.31%
3+ Adults*	313	350	-37	-10.57%
3+ Adults*, with child/children	265	262	3	1.15%
Overall	58,824	57,842	982	1.70%
HAP Tenancies				
Single	12,490	14,385	-1,895	-13.17%
Single 1 Child	13,873	14,731	-858	-5.82%
Single 2 Children	7,690	8,004	-314	-3.92%
Single 3+ Children	3,385	3,527	-142	-4.03%
Single Sharing	2,826	2,812	14	0.5%
Couple	2,173	2,294	-121	-5.27%
Couple 1 Child	3,782	4,014	-232	-5.78%
Couple 2 Children	4,734	5,030	-296	-5.88%
Couple 3+ Children	3,978	4,114	-136	-3.31%
Couple Sharing	142	133	9	6.77%
Overall	56,601	59,044	-2,443	-4.14%
Total Ongoing Need	115,425	116,886	-1,461	-1.27%

Source: PBO based on correspondence with HAP Shared Services and [Summary of Social Housing Assessments 2023](#).

Note: Total households under the Single and Single Sharing classifications HAP households include the additional household types 'Single Uplift' and 'Single Sharing Uplift.'

Note: Adults* indicate that they are not a couple living together e.g., parent and non-dependent, adult child.

From 2022 to 2023 the number of households with an ongoing need decreased by 1.27%, equating to 1,461 fewer households. Almost all waiting list and HAP household categories have seen either a reduction or only slight increases in absolute numbers. The reduction in HAP tenancies were most significant, with the largest reductions in 'single adult' and 'single adult with children' households. These groups are typically considered the most 'at risk' in housing terms due to the pronounced difficulty in sourcing appropriate accommodation and the burden of rental payments (usually) falling to a single individual.

While it would be hoped that these households were able to source alternative and permanent, state or non-state supported accommodation, it is unclear from the available data as to the reasons for the exits from HAP. It is possible that household income within these tenancies increased sufficiently for tenants to find non-HAP funded accommodation. Alternatively, these households may have been offered local authority tenancies via the supplementary social housing waiting lists (which HAP tenants are permitted to join, but for which no consolidated record exists). It is also possible that some of these HAP tenants ended their private rental agreements and rejoined the main housing waiting lists, given these same categories of households on the waiting list saw increases in the same period.

Historically, direct builds by local authorities have more commonly focussed on delivering 3-bedroom houses intended for use by families, with Approved Housing Bodies (AHBs) supplying a much larger proportion of apartments (typically 1 bedroom) that are aimed at single individuals - the cohort with the largest ongoing need (see table 2).⁹ By focussing on delivering 'typical' properties, larger and smaller household sizes have may not have been as well catered for due to the lack of suitable accommodation within the housing stock of local authorities.

The lack of a detailed report on the reasons for exiting HAP hampers proper analysis and potentially limits the effective planning and delivery of social housing.

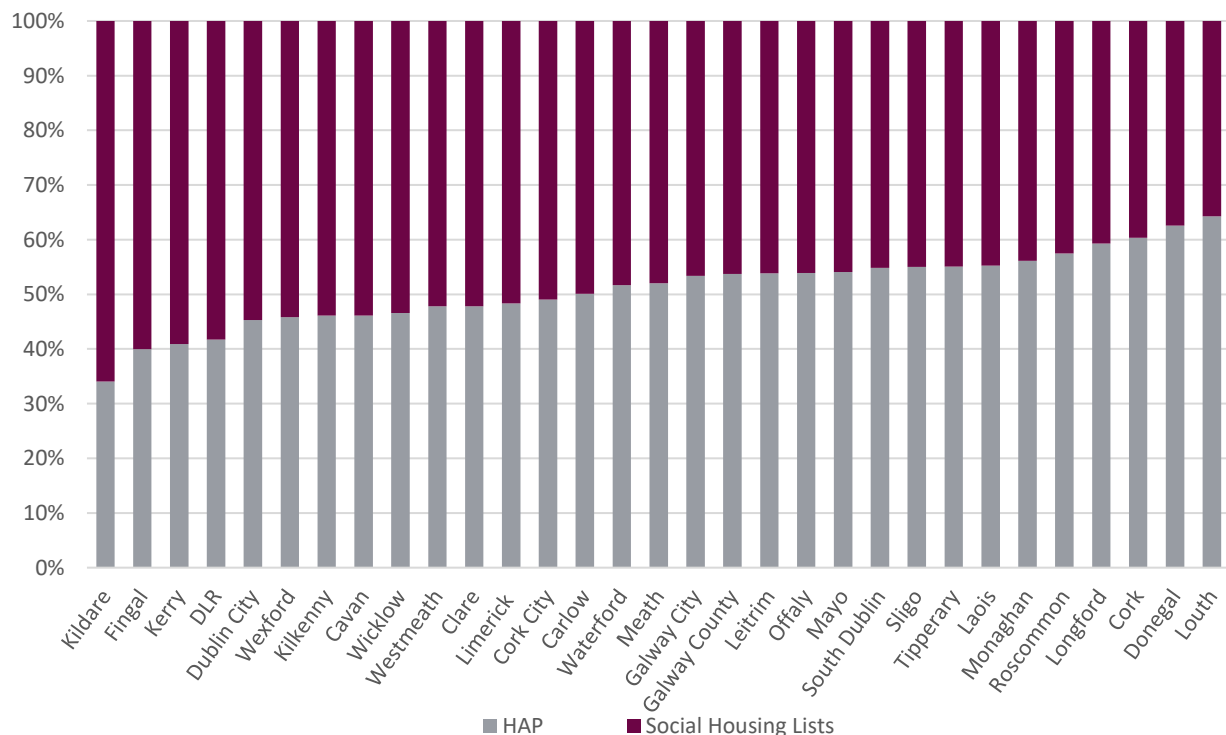
⁹ Irish Government Economic and Evaluation Service (IGEES), [*Spending Review 2020: Analysis of Social Housing Build Programme*](#), 2021.

Where is the Ongoing Need?

Understanding the ongoing need at the national level is instructive, as it demonstrates the totality of the housing need, but quantifying that need at a local level allows us to see where intervention is required most. Figure 1 shows the percentage split of the ongoing need in each local authority area at end-2023, between households on the social housing waiting list and those in receipt of HAP.

- Kildare has highest share of households on the main social housing lists, at 66% of their total ongoing need.
- Louth has 64% of households with an ongoing need in receipt of HAP, the highest in the country.
- Of all the local authorities in Dublin, South Dublin County Council has the highest percentage share of active HAP tenancies, accounting for 55% of their total ongoing need.
- Fingal County Council has the lowest share of HAP tenancies at 40%, and the highest percentage of households in Dublin on the social housing waiting lists, at 60%.

Figure 1: Percentage Make Up of the Ongoing Need, by Local Authority

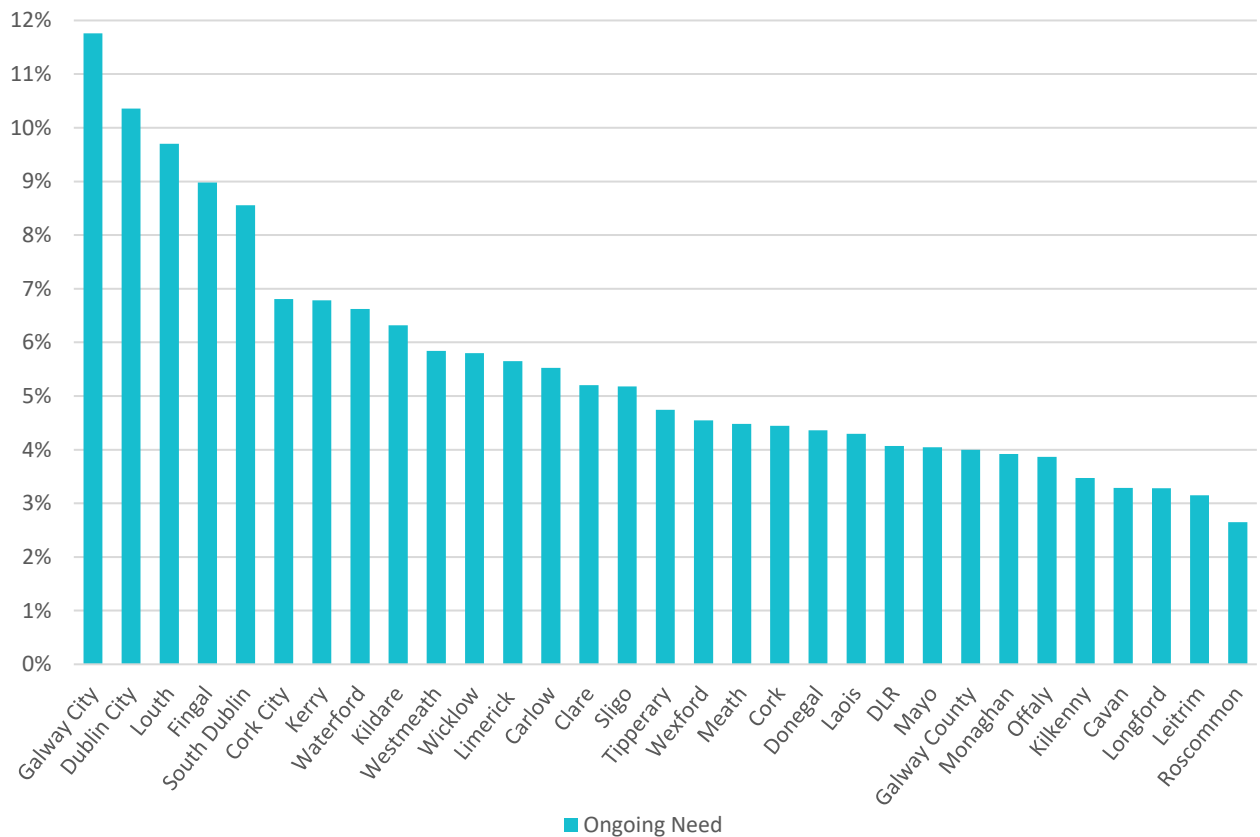


Source: PBO based on [Summary of Social Housing Assessments 2023](#) and correspondence with HAP Shared Services Centre.

Figure 1 shows that HAP is proportionately utilised more in rural areas than it is in urban areas, particularly Dublin. There could be an abundance of reasons for this, but it is likely that the lack of appropriate rental properties, and the cost of renting in Dublin, are the main contributing factors. Even with HAP supports, it is expensive for lower income families to rent in Dublin.

Figure 2 sets out the percentage of total households that have an ongoing need, in each local authority.

Figure 2: Ongoing Need Households as a Percentage of Total Households



Source: PBO based on [Summary of Social Housing Assessments 2023](#) and correspondence with HAP Shared Services Centre.

Proportionately, Galway City Council has the highest percentage of households with an ongoing need in Ireland, currently at 11.8% of its total number of households. Roscommon, at the other end of the scale, has the lowest percentage of its total households with an ongoing need, at just 2.7%.

As shown in figure 2, as a share of total households, the ongoing need is generally greater in more urbanised areas than in the midlands and rural areas. These differences may be the result of increased migration to urban centres limiting the availability of housing and driving up costs, as well as greater affordability of residential property in rural and regional areas of the country.

However, Dún Laoghaire Rathdown (DLR) represents an outlier in this urban/rural divide with just 4% of all households having an ongoing need. With the highest standardised average rent for new private rental tenancies in Q4 2023 across the country (at €2,388 per month),¹⁰ it may be that fewer HAP eligible properties are available and that, even with HAP supports, the area is beyond the means for many lower income households to live there.

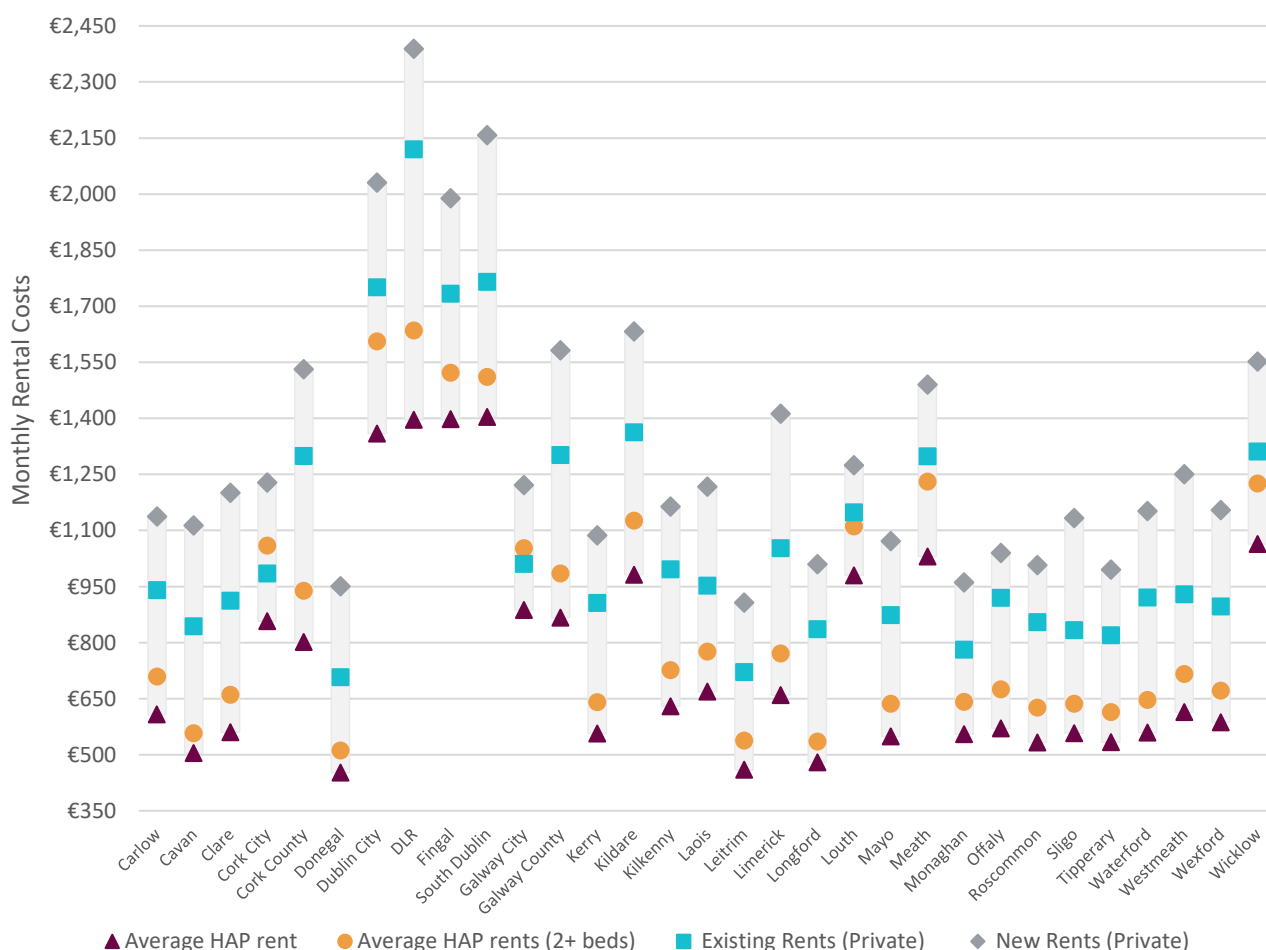
¹⁰ Residential Tenancies Board, [Rent Index Report Q4 2023](#). May 2024.

HAP and the Rental Market

The potential precarious nature of HAP tenancies in the private rental sector is a key factor in the PBO considering HAP households' needs as not met or ongoing. While data provided to the PBO shows that - at a national level - the average duration of HAP tenancies across all household types is a relatively stable 1,188 days or 3.25 years,¹¹ it is the cost and scarcity of suitable rental properties (for HAP tenants that wish to move or new HAP tenancies) which may be of most concern.

When RTB rental data for new and existing private rental tenancies in Q4 2023 is compared to the average HAP rents paid in the same period, it is evident that a significant disparity exists. Figure 3 sets these average rents out by local authority area. It should be noted that the average HAP rents used include any discretionary uplifts applied by the relevant local authority.¹²

Figure 3: Average HAP Rents and Private Rents at end-2023



Source: PBO based on correspondence with HAP Shared Services Centre, and [Rent Index Report Q4 2023](#).

¹¹ Data provided by HAP Shared Services Centre.

¹² Standard HAP tenancies are eligible for rent uplifts up to 35% above maximum HAP limits, while Dublin Regional Homeless Executive households are eligible for up to 50% uplift.

In Q4 of 2023, the average cost for monthly rent for a new tenancy in Dublin ranged from €1,988 in Fingal up to €2,388 in Dún Laoghaire – Rathdown. Across the county, 47.5% of new tenancies are paying rent exceeding €2,000, though 31.7% of existing tenancies were already paying over €2,000 per month.¹³ In contrast, the average monthly rent for all HAP tenancy types in Dublin ranged from €1,358 (Dublin City) to €1,403 (South Dublin) – though the average rental paid for larger households (2+ bedrooms) ranged from €1,510 (South Dublin) to €1,635 (Dún Laoghaire-Rathdown).

Across almost all areas of the country, there exists a significant gap between average HAP and private market rents – particularly when compared to new tenancy rents, which new HAP households would be faced with.^{14,15}

Dún Laoghaire-Rathdown has the widest disparity between HAP and private rents with a €992 difference between average HAP and new non-HAP tenancy rents. This is reduced slightly to €753 when the average rent for HAP 2+ bed tenancies and new private tenancies are compared. South Dublin has the next highest disparity at €753 and €646, respectively. Somewhat surprisingly, South Dublin is closely followed by Limerick where the differences in rents are €752 and €641, respectively. This is, in part, driven by Limerick City experiencing the largest annual change in standardised average rents for new tenancies of any area, reaching €1,412 in Q4 2023 - an increase of 22.1 per cent when compared to Q4 2022.¹⁶

Based on the same comparison, rent disparity in Louth is the most 'favourable' at €295 and €163, respectively, with Galway City next at €333/€168, followed by Cork City at €370/€168. However, across every other local authority area, the disparity exceeds €400 and €300, respectively, ranging from €406/€319 in Monaghan to €730/€593 in Cork County.

If the cost of a rental property is greater than the HAP allocation given to a household, the applicant can choose to pay the difference (directly to the landlord). This is agreed with the local authority prior to starting the tenancy, to ensure that the tenancy itself is suitable and that the applicant can afford the rental payments. What levels of surplus income HAP recipient households may have to pay these additional contributions is unclear.

¹³ Residential Tenancies Board, [Rent Index Report Q4 2023](#), 2024.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Data provided by HAP Shared Services Centre.

¹⁶ Residential Tenancies Board, [Rent Index Report Q4 2023](#), 2024.

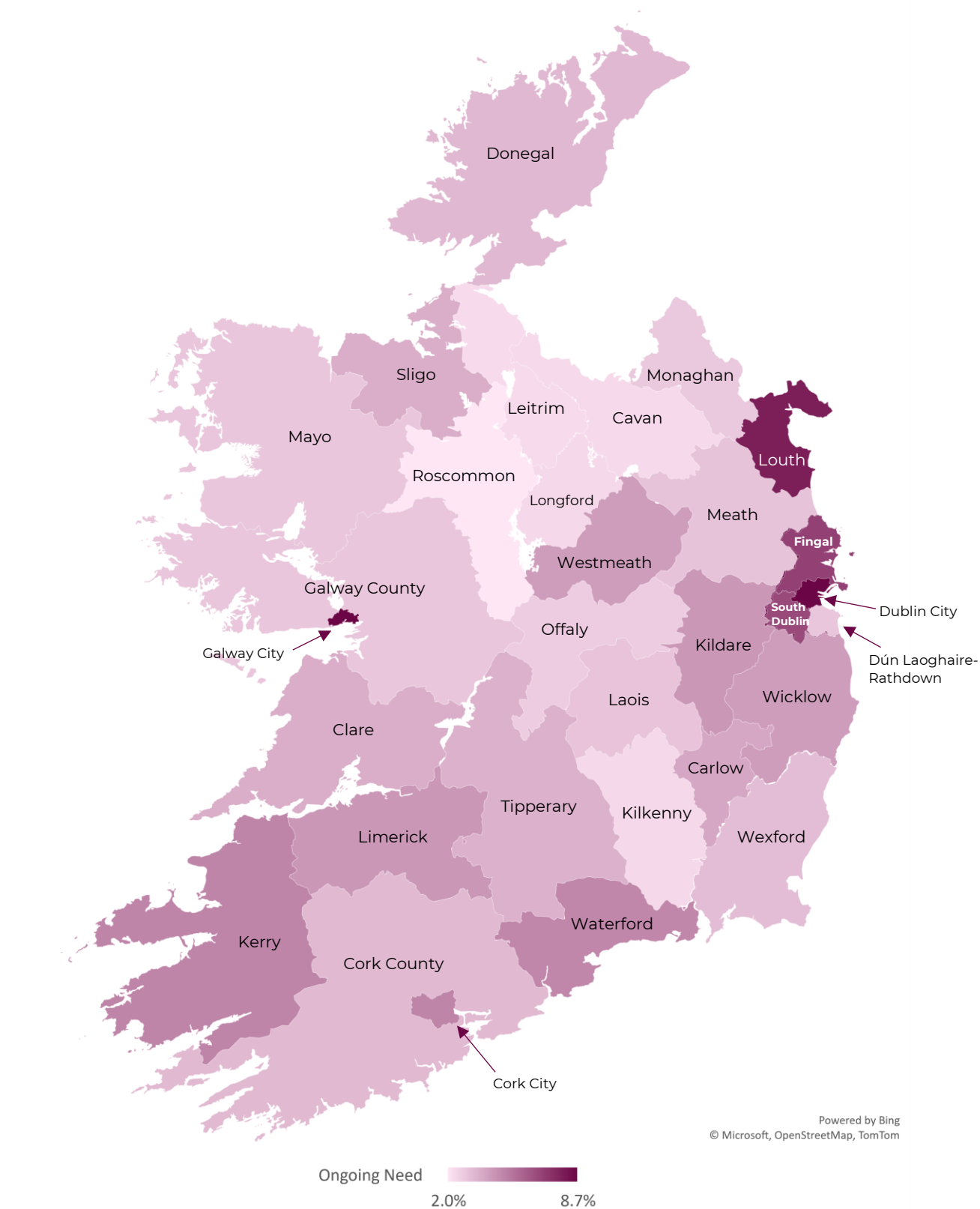
Who Has an Ongoing Need?

Up to this point, the need for social housing support has been presented in terms of household numbers, both in total numbers and by household composition. This is required for policy makers and local authorities to better plan and execute social housing delivery by identifying both the volume and types of housing required to meet the needs of the public.

However, as households are made up of people, the PBO believes that it is helpful to provide an estimate for the number of individuals, both children and adults, that have a need for secure, long term, social housing. To do this, the PBO calculates the lower bound (minimum) number of **people per household** with an ongoing need in each local authority. These lower bound estimates are calculated using the household sizes shown in Table 2 and estimating the minimum number of people in that household e.g., a household of a couple with 2+ children, have a lower bound estimate of 4 people – 2 adults and a minimum of 2 children. Appendix 1 sets out the estimated minimum number of individuals per household type used in these calculations.

Using this method, figure 4 shows percentage of people that are estimated to have an ongoing need for social housing in each local authority across Ireland. As a way of identifying the geographic spread of the ongoing need, this data is presented as a heat map of Ireland with darker colours signifying a higher percentage of ongoing need within the population in that region. The ongoing need as a share of the total population across the local authorities ranges from 2% in Roscommon up to 8.7% in Galway City. This data is set out in tabular form in appendix 2 at the end of this document.

Figure 4: Percentage of the Local Authority Population with an Ongoing Need



Source: Source: PBO's own calculations based on CSO statistics, correspondence with HAP Shared Services and [Summary of Social Housing Assessments 2023](#).

Note: This data is an estimate of individuals with an ongoing need, rather than households.

The PBO estimates that at end-2023 there was a minimum of **235,659 people** making up the households with an ongoing need, this equates 4.4% of the total population (as per Census 2022).¹⁷ This figure is made up of at least 99,657 individuals in households on the social housing waiting list and at least 136,002 individuals living in households in receipt of HAP. Within these households there are an estimated 92,116 dependent children (under the age of 18), equivalent to 6.6% of all children aged 18 or under in Ireland.¹⁸ **Within the ongoing need, children account for 39% of individuals living in either HAP funded accommodation or in households on a social housing waiting list.**

- In Dublin, there are an estimated 93,618 people with an ongoing need, including at least 37,006 children.
- Dublin's ongoing need is made up of 41,273 people on the main social housing waiting lists (of which at least 11,730 are children).
- Plus, 52,345 people in HAP funded accommodation (of which at least 25,880 are children).
- Within this total, 5,590 people – including 3,116 children – were homeless and living in emergency accommodation at the time the SSHA was conducted.¹⁹
- Dublin City Council has the largest number of people with an ongoing need across the country, estimated at 44,195, including 14,603 children. **This accounts for 47% of ongoing need in Dublin overall.**
- Dun Laoghaire Rathdown accounts for only 7.3% of total ongoing need in Dublin, estimated to be 6,801 people with an ongoing need (HAP 3,514 people and social housing lists 3,287 people).

Within Dublin City Council - which has the largest absolute number of people with an ongoing need - the proportion of the population with an ongoing need is 7.2% of the overall population of that local authority. **Galway City Council has the largest proportion share of people with an ongoing need at 8.7%.**

¹⁷ Central Statistics Office, [Population Statistics](#), 2024.

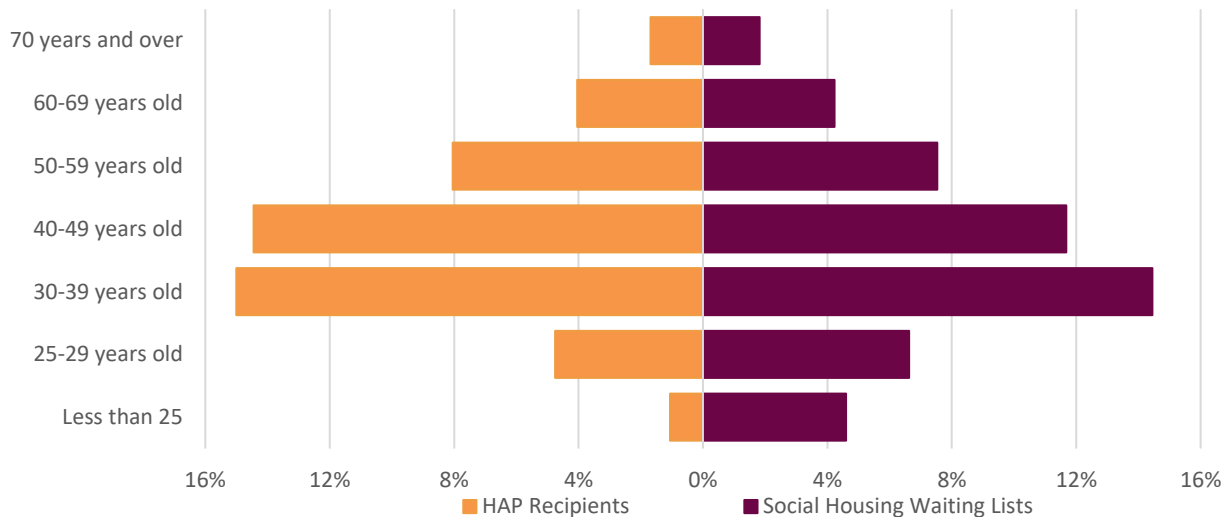
¹⁸ There is a total of 1,235,352 under 18-year-olds in Ireland as per Census 2022.

¹⁹ Department of Housing, Local Government and Heritage, [Homeless Report - November 2023](#), 2024.

Age Profiles of the Ongoing Need

Figure 5 shows the breakdown of the ages of the main applicants in a household either in receipt of HAP (orange) or on a social housing waiting list (purple).

Figure 5: Age Distribution of Ongoing Need in 2023 (by Age of Main Applicant)



Source: PBO based on [Housing Agency Data Hub](#) and correspondence with HAP Shared Services.

The 30-39 and 40-49-year-old cohorts, combined, account for over half of the ongoing need across Ireland with 30-39-year-olds alone accounting for 29.5% of the total. The proportion of people under the age of 29 with an ongoing need is much lower. Where this cohort does have an ongoing need, it would appear their 'preference' is to opt to join the waiting lists, over HAP supports.

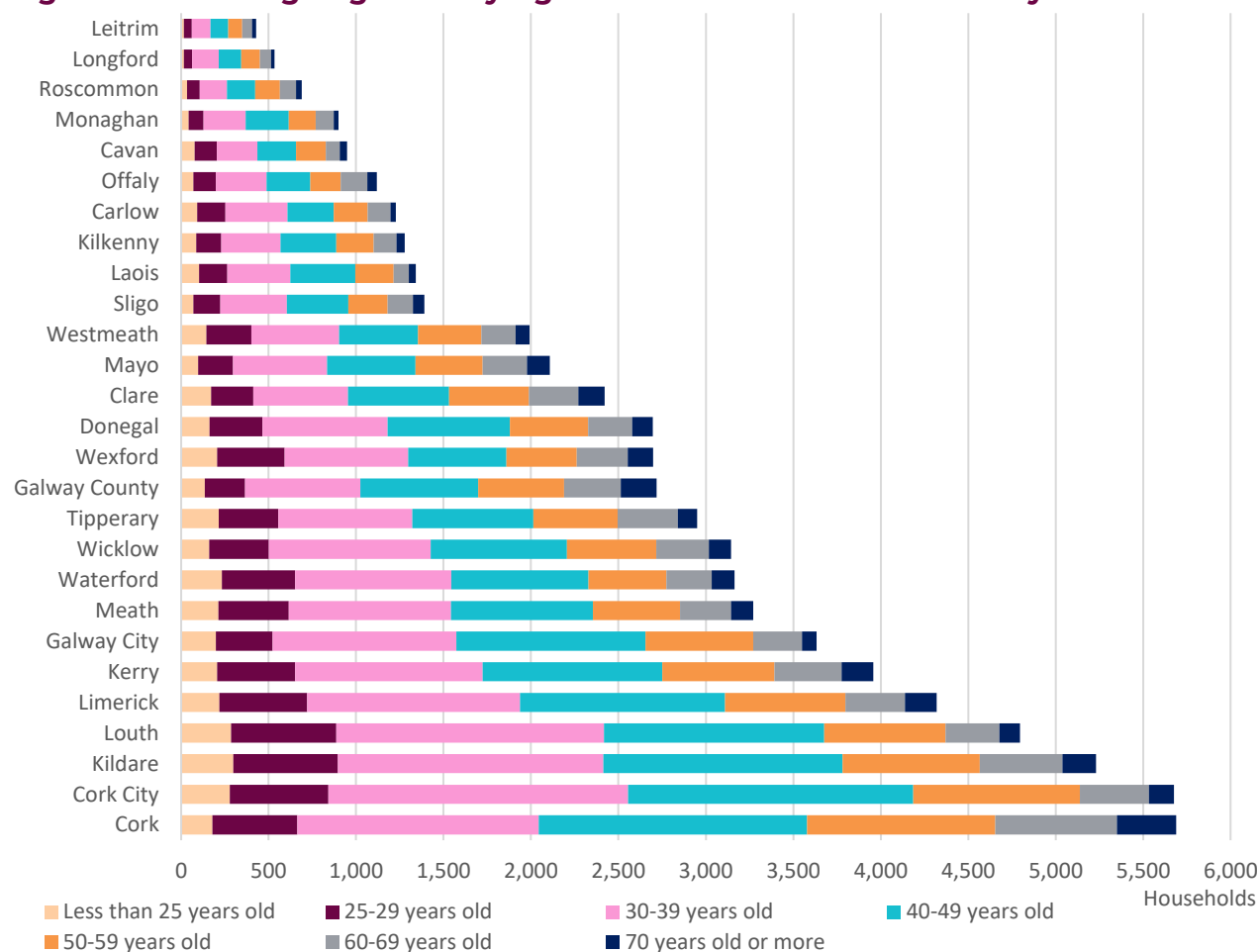
It's possible that HAP lacks this younger cohort of people due to a higher proportion of young adults remaining in the family home for longer, with 33% of 25-29-year-olds doing so in 2022.²⁰ This may be due to the difficulty in sourcing HAP-appropriate accommodation, and the high costs of renting in Ireland (particularly in Dublin) even with HAP support.

Of particular concern to policymakers should be the number of households with an ongoing need whose main applicant is aged 50 or over. **27.4% of the total ongoing need are over the age of 50, equating to 31,597 households**, with almost half listed as single and, presumably, living alone. Within HAP, this over 50s single occupancy cohort makes up over 12% of total HAP households nationally. The difficulty in securing affordable mortgage finance and the unsustainability of renting into older age increases the likelihood this cohort will require state support for their housing needs in both the immediate and long term. The costs of providing appropriate housing will only increase in line with the recipient's age, as more specialist housing types and adaptations become necessary.

²⁰ Central Statistics Office, [Estimated Population](#), 2024.

Figures 6 and 7 outline the age breakdown of the ongoing need in Ireland, by local authority area. Due to the distorting effect of Dublin's larger population, the four Dublin local authorities are presented together in figure 7.

Figure 6: Total Ongoing Need by Age Cohort in each Local Authority



Source: PBO based on correspondence with HAP Shared Services and [Summary of Social Housing Assessments 2023](#).

Excluding Dublin, Cork County has the highest number of houses with an ongoing need. However, the ongoing need represents just 4.5% of total households in the area, well below the average rate of ongoing need for the entire country of 6.3%.

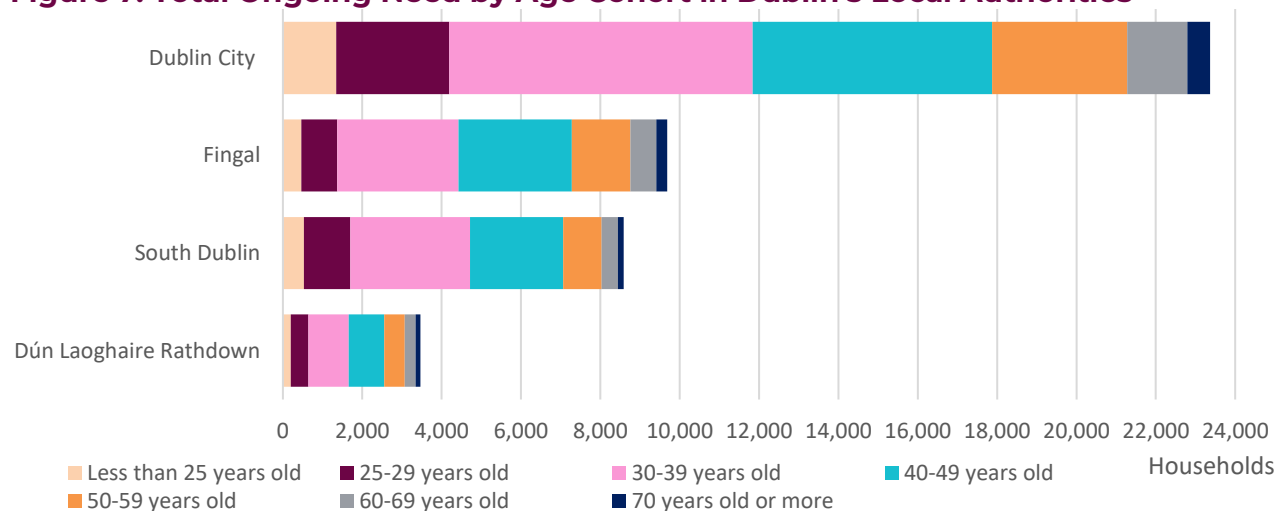
Within the area, there is a sizeable number of over 50s with an ongoing need. 18.9% of the total number are in the 50–59-year-olds age cohort, which is the third largest share in the country, behind Roscommon (20.6%) and Longford (20.1%). The share of 25–29-year-olds is notably low at just 8.54% and is the second lowest share of this age category behind Galway County at 8.46%.

Proportionately, the under 25 age cohort's ongoing need appears to be higher in rural areas than in urban areas. Cavan is the highest with 8.12% of their total ongoing need being under 25. Waterford, Tipperary, Wexford, Clare, and Carlow also have between 7% and 7.7% of their ongoing need being people under 25.

Whereas in Dublin City they account for just 5.8% and in Fingal, only 4.8%. The majority of under 25s with an ongoing need are registered on the social housing waiting lists, rather than in receipt of HAP (see figure 5).

Figure 7 below depicts the ongoing need of the four local authorities in Dublin. As the local Authority with the largest number of households and population across the State, Dublin City Council has the highest absolute number of households with an ongoing need (23,372 households). The second largest is Fingal County Council, with 9,682 households.

Figure 7: Total Ongoing Need by Age Cohort in Dublin's Local Authorities



Source: PBO based on Housing Agency [Summary of Social Housing Assessments 2023](#).

In Census 2022, the 30-39 and 40-49-year-old age groups made up just over 29% of the total population, rising slightly to 31.5% of the total population of Dublin.²¹ Reflecting a similar pattern in other areas of the country, the majority of the ongoing need across the county of Dublin is concentrated in these same age groups, where they are overrepresented as a comparative share of the population at almost 60% of the ongoing need within the capital.

In 2021, the median age of single people purchasing properties in Dublin ranged from 38-to-44-years-old, and from 36-to-39-years-old for joint purchases (typically couples).²² However, as noted previously by the PBO, a combination of factors including reduced housing supply, constrained affordability of the housing stock, and competition in the market from non-household buyers may be inhibiting many from entering the housing market.^{23,24} This, along with other factors, are likely driving the need of so many within these age groups to require state support for housing.

²¹ Central Statistics Office, [Population Changes Census of Population 2022](#), 2023.

²² Central Statistics Office, [Characteristics of Residential Property Purchasers](#), 2021.

²³ PBO, [Housing Affordability for Private Household Buyers in Ireland](#), October 2023.

²⁴ Non-Household Buyers are a mix of public and private companies, charitable organisations, Approved Housing Bodies (AHB), Local Authorities (LA) and Housing Associations. In Dublin, NHBs accounted for 58% of new build purchases in 2022.

Housing Availability

So far, this note has looked at the unmet and ongoing need for social housing, analysing the scale of the shortfall, the cohorts most affected, and this specific requirement for housing delivery around the country. This section sets out the existing level of social housing provision across the local authorities and compares this to the total number of households in these areas. This is useful to help readers visualise the scale (in number of households) of social housing development that is required in each local authority area to address the unmet and ongoing needs of the population.

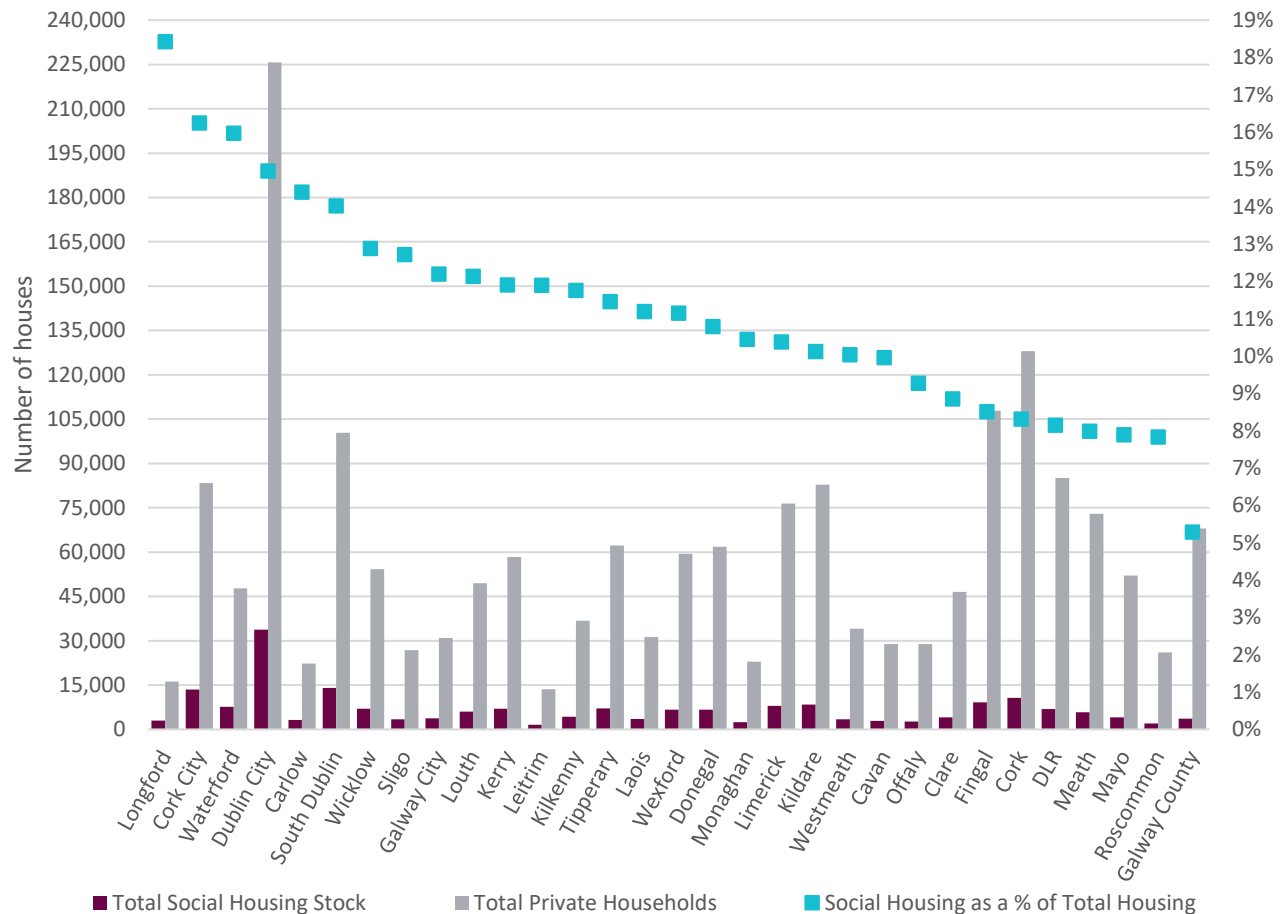
The PBO notes that, presently, there is no published report which sets out the total number of local authority tenancies in a particular year. To aid transparency, the PBO recommends that detailed statistics relating to all forms of social housing – new and existing - are published, including the total active social housing tenancies in each local authority area.

In lieu of such a report, the PBO has estimated the number of local authority tenancies at end-2023 through the compilation of data from several sources. Taking the net number of local authority owned dwellings (as presented in the National Oversight and Audit Commission's (NOAC) [*Performance Indicator Report 2022*](#)) as our base, we uplifted this figure to include all local authority new builds and acquisitions delivered in 2023. The total active current funded housing – where the household are direct local authority tenants – at end-2023 were then incorporated. This includes housing delivered under the social housing current expenditure programme (SHCEP) and rental accommodation scheme (RAS). A breakdown of these figures can be found in appendix 3.

Figure 8 sets out:

- the total number of social housing units against the total of all households in each local authority area (LHA), and
- the % share of total households in a local authority area that are classed as social housing units (RHS).

Figure 8: Local Authority Owned Houses as a Percentage of Total Houses



Source: PBO based on CSO Statistics and [National Oversight and Audit Commission](#).

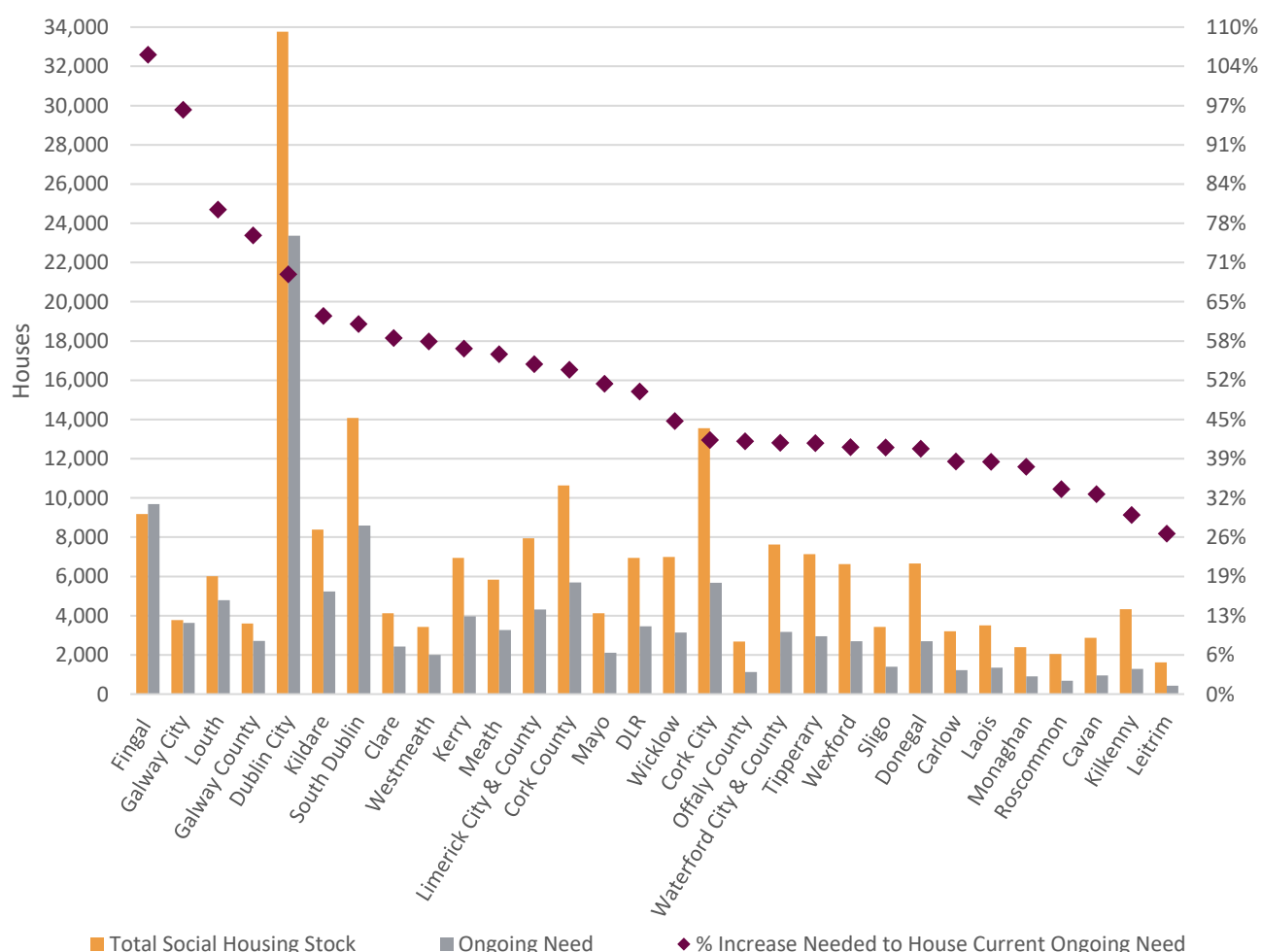
In Longford, 18.4% of private households are social housing i.e., they are considered tenants of a local authority, which is the highest percentage in the country – though the county has the second lowest absolute number of households in Ireland, just behind Leitrim.

In Dublin, 12.3% of all households are social housing. Of this 12.3%, over half (6.5%) are in Dublin City, 2.7% are in South Dublin, 1.8% are in Fingal and the smallest share is in Dún Laoghaire Rathdown at 1.3%.

Dublin City has the highest number of private households in Ireland, 15% of which are social housing tenancies - the 4th highest nationally. Galway County on the other hand, has the lowest percentage of social housing, with only 5.3% of households being social housing. Clare, Fingal, Cork, Dún Laoghaire Rathdown, Meath, Mayo and Roscommon, all have close to 8% social housing.

Figure 9 sets out the total number of social housing units against the ongoing need in each local authority area (LHA), and the percentage increase needed in social housing stock in a local authority area to house all with an ongoing need (RHS). Based on these estimates, Ireland would need to increase its existing social housing stock by 55.9% to accommodate everyone with an ongoing need.

Figure 9: Percentage Increase of Local Authority Owned Dwellings Needed, to House Everyone with an Ongoing Need



Source: PBO based on CSO Statistics and [National Oversight and Audit Commission](#).

Fingal County Council is the only local authority where the number of people with an ongoing need for housing is **greater** than the number of people already in social housing. This means that Fingal would have to more than double the existing social housing stock (a 105.5% increase) to accommodate these households. That is equivalent to 9,682 additional housing units. Leitrim on the other hand, would need to increase the stock by just 26.7% (429 units).

Galway City Council and Galway County Council combined, would need to increase the social housing stock by 86.3% to house everyone with an ongoing need. Dublin, as a whole, would need to increase the social housing stock by 70.5% to accommodate everyone with an ongoing need.

Estimating the Cost of Building Homes for the Ongoing Need

To help quantify what the scale of investment required to deliver the need for housing addressed in this note, the PBO has prepared an estimate of costs for newly built, appropriate, and permanent accommodation for every household in Ireland with an ongoing need. This estimate uses a national average price for various accommodation types and does not account for varying land values or build costs in different parts of the country. In addition, the accommodation preference of each local authority is also not taken into consideration, as housing density requirements for local authorities will differ, with some opting for apartments over low density housing, or vice versa. The method of calculation for the build costs is set out in Box 1.

This cost estimate has been calculated to highlight the volume of demand for social housing in Ireland and the potential associated cost. It is not intended to offer a definitive cost of supplying the required level of housing and is likely to represent an underestimate of the true cost.

Box 1: Cost Estimate of New Builds for the Entire Ongoing Need Population.

In response to a Parliamentary Question in July 2021, the Minister for Housing, Local Government and Heritage set out the average costs and range of costs of construction for local authority social housing consisting of one to four bed houses and one to three bed apartments for 2019 and 2020.²⁵

The figures are based on the delivery of housing funded under the Social Housing Investment Programme (SHIP) and construction costs are inclusive of VAT. The costs provided in the Minister's response were not "all-in" and therefore assumptions have been made around the additional costs of design/technical fees,²⁶ land, utilities etc.

For these calculations, the national average build cost for each property type was used to take account of the distributional imbalance of building costs in Dublin and other major urban centres versus other regions. To adjust for 2023 prices, the average costs for 2020 were adjusted for construction inflation in 2021, 2022, and 2023 (13.5%²⁷, 11.5%²⁸ and 3.9%²⁹ respectively).

Table 3: Estimated Build Costs

Property type	Cost excl. abnormal costs (Avg)	Abnormal Costs (Avg)*	Design**	Utilities	2020	2021	2022	2023
					Base	13.50%	11.50%	3.90%
1 bed house	€160,065	€25,181	€16,007	€7,000	€208,253	€236,367	€263,549	€273,827
2 bed house	€170,277	€25,115	€17,028	€7,000	€219,420	€249,041	€277,681	€288,511
3 bed house	€188,955	€25,121	€18,896	€7,000	€239,972	€272,368	€303,690	€315,534
4 bed house	€221,677	€41,527	€22,168	€7,000	€292,372	€331,842	€370,004	€384,434
1 bed apt	€164,168	€32,919	€16,417	€7,000	€220,504	€250,272	€279,053	€289,936
2 bed apt	€213,418	€16,882	€21,342	€7,000	€258,642	€293,558	€327,318	€340,083
3 bed apt	€296,028	€27,379	€29,603	€7,000	€360,010	€408,611	€455,601	€473,370

Source: PBO's own calculations based on [Parliamentary Question 40455/21](#) construction cost estimates adjusted for SCSi estimated construction inflation.

*Abnormal costs refer to the non-standard requirements of each scheme such as issues with existing site conditions, demolitions, service diversions and site access requirements.

**In the Minister's response, design fees were estimated to range between 7.5% and 12.5% of construction costs. For this estimate, a median point of 10% was applied.

²⁵ Parliamentary Question [40455/21](#), Dáil Éireann 27 July 2021.

²⁶ Under the 4 stage approval process for social housing there is a [standardised design template](#) local authorities can follow for constructing social housing to expedite delivery and reduce the number of checks required throughout the project lifecycle, which may reduce associated costs.

²⁷ RTÉ, [SCSi: Rate of construction price inflation jumps to 13%](#), 2022.

²⁸ SCSi, [Tender Price Index report](#), 2023.

²⁹ Irish Times, [Construction inflation eases but shortage of workers now the main challenge](#), 2023.

An appropriate build-type is assigned based on the household composition and general methodologies used by local authorities, i.e., a single adult would get a one-bedroom apartment, and a couple with 2 children would get a three-bedroom house, and so forth. Attempts have been made to assign the most appropriate housing type for each household composition. A full breakdown of the presumed accommodation assigned to each household type can be found in appendix 4. Using the cost estimates from box 1, the assigned accommodation type in appendix 4, and the total number of each household type at end-2023 set out in table 2, the PBO estimates:

- It would cost the State €17.55 billion to build new, appropriate, permanent social housing for every household currently on the Social Housing waiting lists.
- It would cost a further €17.40 billion to build the same for every household in receipt of HAP.
- The total build cost for all households with an ongoing need is estimated to be €34.95 billion.

Drilling further down to local authority level, table 5 shows an estimated cost for the construction of a new build, appropriate, and permanent social housing for every household with an ongoing need based on the cost of construction set out in box 1 and the breakdown in household make-up within each local authority in appendix 5.

The cost of housing delivery within each local authority area, based on these estimates, is significant and require multiples of the investment currently proposed. In the region comprising the four Dublin authorities, it could cost at least €13.67 billion to build accommodation for all households with an ongoing need, though this figure is likely to be higher in actual terms due to elevated land costs.

Outside of the capital the costs are still significant with seven areas having estimated build costs exceeding €1 billion:

- Cork County (€1.727 billion)
- Cork City (€1.701 billion)
- Kildare (€1.578 billion)
- Louth (€1.476 billion)
- Limerick (€1.318 billion)
- Kerry (€1.194 billion)
- Galway City (€1.096 billion)

Table 4: Estimated Costs of Building Accommodation for the Ongoing Need

Local Authority	Social Housing	HAP	Overall
Carlow County Council	€182,291,001	€186,269,735	€368,560,736
Cavan County Council	€153,455,869	€134,121,583	€287,577,452
Clare County Council	€377,840,350	€354,333,030	€732,173,380
Cork City Council	€856,659,203	€844,628,504	€1,701,287,707
Cork County Council	€675,120,292	€1,051,933,883	€1,727,054,175
Donegal County Council	€300,064,839	€522,160,178	€822,225,017
Dublin City Council	€3,781,267,593	€3,232,604,699	€7,013,872,292
Dún Laoghaire Rathdown County Council	€600,848,957	€443,268,815	€1,044,117,772
Fingal County Council	€1,769,997,991	€1,215,284,297	€2,985,282,288
Galway City Council	€501,654,576	€594,450,085	€1,096,104,661
Galway County Council	€376,293,517	€453,206,456	€829,499,973
Kerry County Council	€699,265,200	€494,826,727	€1,194,091,927
Kildare County Council	€1,032,276,583	€546,520,463	€1,578,797,046
Kilkenny County Council	€205,628,392	€178,460,513	€384,088,905
Laois County Council	€177,679,262	€226,480,259	€404,159,521
Leitrim County Council	€59,494,876	€70,013,146	€129,508,022
Limerick City & County Council	€668,285,198	€650,695,821	€1,318,981,019
Longford County Council	€64,615,179	€97,501,700	€162,116,879
Louth County Council	€512,502,301	€964,027,231	€1,476,529,532
Mayo County Council	€289,720,016	€347,584,997	€637,305,013
Meath County Council	€463,440,925	€519,186,530	€982,627,455
Monaghan County Council	€117,718,724	€155,902,163	€273,620,887
Offaly County Council	€155,331,240	€183,029,322	€338,360,562
Roscommon County Council	€87,454,975	€122,175,660	€209,630,635
Sligo County Council	€185,370,105	€231,811,916	€417,182,021
South Dublin County Council	€1,160,781,788	€1,465,768,103	€2,626,549,891
Tipperary County Council	€397,816,827	€497,536,177	€895,353,004
Waterford City & County Council	€455,339,793	€498,910,409	€954,250,202
Westmeath County Council	€309,063,678	€291,460,531	€600,524,209
Wexford County Council	€435,672,167	€375,686,359	€811,358,526
Wicklow County Council	€501,222,949	€449,488,195	€950,711,144
Total Cost	€17,554,174,366	€17,399,327,487	€34,953,501,853

Source: PBO based on correspondence with HAP Shared Services, [Summary of Social Housing Assessments 2023](#) and [Parliamentary Question 40455/21](#) construction cost estimates adjusted for construction inflation.

Note: Build cost estimated based on national average costs (see box 1) does not account for regional cost variances or local authority build type preference (apartments v houses). The presumed accommodation type assigned to each household type and the total numbers of each household type by local authority area are set out in appendices 3 and 4, respectively.

Summary

The PBO uses the ongoing need to highlight what the true need for secure state supported accommodation looks like across Ireland. In the context of the overall housing crisis, there is additional vulnerability within the households with a need for social housing. This is compounded by demand overwhelmingly exceeding supply. The PBO estimates that 4.4% of the entire Irish population has an ongoing need, amounting to at least 235,659 people of which 92,116 (or 39%) are children.

The cost of correcting this issue is high, with building new appropriate accommodation coming at a significant expense. However, failure to address the problem sufficiently will lead to the future cost of action increasing further, and the 'locking in' of key age cohorts (i.e., 30-49-year-olds, and the over 50s) to a continued need for expensive and precarious state supported housing as their potential access to the private housing market diminishes.

The increasing cost of property purchase prices, the rising costs of new rental tenancies, and the scarcity of affordable rental properties will only serve to further compound these issues for those with an ongoing need. Even those households who are outside the income thresholds for state support struggle to access the private housing market – due to a limited supply of affordable housing - and contend with historically high rents in almost all parts of the country.

Overall, the present state of social housing in Ireland suggests supply targets may need to be revisited, and revised upwards, to meet demand and tackle affordability challenges.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Lower bound (min.) estimate of individuals with Ongoing Need

Household composition	Number of households	Minimum number of individuals per household type	Minimum number of individuals per household type (total)
Social Housing Waiting List			
1 adult	33746	1	33746
1 adult, 1-2 children	12103	2	24206
Couple, 1-2 children	3632	3	10896
Couple	2126	2	4252
1 adult, 3 or more children	1579	4	6316
Couple, 3 or more children	1474	5	7370
2 adults*	1232	2	2464
2 adults*, with child/children	1019	3	3057
Couple, 1 or more other adults, 1-2 children	617	4	2468
Couple, 1 or more other adults	475	3	1425
3 or more adults	313	3	939
3 or more adults, with child/children	265	4	1060
Couple, 1 or more other adults, 3 or more children	243	6	1458
Total	58824		99657
HAP			
1 adult	14018	1	14018
1 adult, 1 child	13873	2	27746
1 adult, 2 children	7690	3	23070
1 adult, 3 or more children	3385	4	13540
Couple	2173	2	4346
Couple, 1 child	3782	3	11346
Couple, 2 children	4734	4	18936
Couple, 3 or more children	3978	5	19890
Single sharing	2826	1	2826
Couple sharing	142	2	284
Total	56601		136002

Source: PBO's own calculations based correspondence with HAP Shared Services and [Summary of Social Housing Assessments 2023](#).

Appendix 2: Percentage of Local Authority Populations with an Ongoing Need

Local Authority	Population	Ongoing Need	% Population with an Ongoing Need
Galway City Council	84,414	7,308	8.66%
Louth County Council	139,703	11,062	7.92%
Dublin City Council	592,713	44,195	7.46%
Fingal County Council	330,506	22,738	6.88%
South Dublin County Council	301,075	19,884	6.60%
Cork City Council	224,004	10,862	4.85%
Kerry County Council	156,458	7,599	4.86%
Waterford City & County	127,363	6,087	4.78%
Kildare County Council	247,774	10,680	4.31%
Limerick City & County	209,536	9,060	4.32%
Westmeath County Council	96,221	3,977	4.13%
Wicklow County Council	155,851	6,446	4.14%
Carlow County Council	61,968	2,370	3.82%
Clare County Council	127,938	4,646	3.63%
Sligo County Council	70,198	2,549	3.63%
Tipperary County Council	167,895	5,916	3.52%
Donegal County Council	167,084	5,583	3.34%
Cork County Council	360,152	11,787	3.27%
Wexford County Council	163,919	5,229	3.19%
Meath County Council	220,826	6,627	3.00%
Laois County Council	91,877	2,745	2.99%
Dún Laoghaire Rathdown	233,860	6,801	2.91%
Mayo County Council	137,970	4,018	2.91%
Galway County Council	193,323	5,651	2.92%
Monaghan County Council	65,288	1,867	2.86%
Offaly County Council	83,150	2,278	2.74%
Kilkenny County Council	104,160	2,484	2.38%
Cavan County Council	81,704	1,918	2.35%
Longford County Council	46,751	1,115	2.38%
Leitrim County Council	35,199	800	2.27%
Roscommon County Council	70,259	1,377	1.96%
Total	5,149,439	235,659	4.58%

Source: PBO's own calculations based on CSO statistics, correspondence with HAP Shared Services and [Summary of Social Housing Assessments 2023](#).

Appendix 3: Total Social Housing Stock Estimate

Local Authority	New Builds	Acquisition	SCHEP	RLS	LA Owned Dwellings	RAS	Total Social Housing Stock
Carlow	91	62	667	14	1,932	436	3,202
Cavan	37	16	217	0	2,141	462	2,873
Clare	151	24	719	12	2,860	356	4,122
Cork City	540	109	1,684	13	10,418	785	13,549
Cork Co	366	74	1,510	7	8,004	676	10,637
Donegal	656	13	383	0	5,047	567	6,666
Dublin City	81	0	4,675	10	26,837	2156	33,759
DLR	386	234	1,169	2	4,665	483	6,939
Fingal	181	46	2,820	28	5,682	424	9,181
Galway City	226	17	708	1	2,437	380	3,769
Galway Co	241	17	340	5	2,646	345	3,594
Kerry	603	114	1,027	8	4,491	700	6,943
Kildare	182	24	2,581	3	5,181	413	8,384
Kilkenny	286	30	467	2	2,651	891	4,327
Laois	28	14	926	1	2,322	207	3,498
Leitrim	346	75	44	0	1,059	98	1,622
Limerick	74	17	895	31	5,675	1245	7,937
Longford	365	88	158	6	2,205	168	2,990
Louth	61	28	1,631	6	4,119	157	6,002
Mayo	454	26	494	24	2,325	792	4,115
Meath	76	19	1,593	1	3,814	329	5,832
Monaghan	108	33	289	6	1,761	203	2,400
Offaly	67	17	448	7	2,010	134	2,683
Roscommon	104	17	181	4	1,404	329	2,039
Sligo	650	53	104	1	2,188	422	3,418
South Dublin	759	398	2,362	0	9,753	803	14,075
Tipperary	161	77	598	20	5,328	949	7,133
Waterford	122	65	989	312	5,479	664	7,631
Westmeath	127	56	624	1	2,165	449	3,422
Wexford	169	24	1,190	0	4,791	452	6,626
Wicklow	412	43	1,270	29	5,048	182	6,984
Total	8,110	1,830	32,763	554	146,438	16,657	206,352

Source: PBO calculations based on Dept. of Housing, Local Government and Heritage: [Overall social and affordable housing provision](#) and NOAC: [Performance Indicator Report 2022](#).

Appendix 4: Presumed Accommodation Assigned to Each Housing Type.

Household make up	Min. Bedrooms required	Assigned accommodation type
Social Housing Waiting Lists		
1 adult	1	1 bed apartment
1 adult, 1-2 children	2	2 bed house
1 adult, 3 or more children	4	4 bed house
Couple	1	1 bed apartment
Couple 1-2 children	2	2 bed house
Couple, 3 or more children	4	4 bed house
2 adults*	2	2 Bed Apt
2 adults*, with child/children	3	3 bed house
Couple, 1 or more other adults, 1-2 children	3	3 bed house
Couple, 1 or more other adults	2	2 bed apartment
3 or more adults*	3	3 bed apartment
3 or more adults*, with child/children	4	4 bed house
Couple, 1 or more other adults, 3 or more children	5	4 bed house
HAP		
1 adult	1	1 bed apartment
1 adult, 1 child	2	2 bed house
1 adult, 2 children	3	3 bed house
1 adult, 3 or more children	4	4 bed house
Couple	1	1 bed apartment
Couple, 1 child	2	2 bed house
Couple, 2 children	3	3 bed house
Couple, 3 or more children	4	4 bed house
Single Sharing	1	1 bed apartment
Couple Sharing	1	1 bed apartment

Source: A PBO estimate.

Appendix 5: Household Composition by Local Authority Area

A - 1 Adult.	B - 1 Adult, 1-2 children.	C - Couple, 1-2 children.	D - Couple.
E - 1 Adult, 3 or more children.	F - Couple, 3 or more children.	G - 2 Adults.	H - 2 Adults, with child/children.
I - Couple, 1 or more other adults, 1-2 children.	J - Couple, 1 or more other adults.	K - 3 or more adults.	L - 3 or more adults, with child/children;
M - Couple, 1 or more other adults, 3 or more children			

SOCIAL HOUSING WAITING LISTS

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M
Carlow	300	175	48	19	16	13	20	13	2	2	2	2	1
Cavan	243	130	35	26	21	15	16	8	7	4	2	1	3
Clare	723	254	71	50	38	23	32	27	10	13	12	6	4
Cork City	1,776	563	184	105	41	78	51	34	25	13	9	6	8
Cork Co	1,180	536	141	85	76	52	63	51	20	26	13	7	6
Donegal	578	216	55	48	39	19	21	18	8	1	1	3	2
Dublin City	8,806	1,942	537	399	212	233	177	151	95	81	52	47	47
DLR	1,238	403	96	51	64	43	29	48	16	13	7	5	6
Fingal	2,532	1,280	560	237	198	247	168	150	147	93	66	80	54
Galway City	1,170	205	113	66	28	51	17	15	9	5	4	3	8
Galway Co	760	206	77	47	33	48	31	18	14	11	6	4	2
Kerry	1,376	423	145	95	56	46	74	40	20	22	22	9	11
Kildare	1,766	760	312	149	84	82	85	57	51	44	33	13	14
Kilkenny	362	168	48	28	22	10	18	10	4	8	5	2	4
Laois	328	138	53	28	11	14	11	7	2	4	3		1
Leitrim	120	32	11	7	8	6	4	2	2	3	1	2	
Limerick	1,234	532	99	63	104	47	57	40	19	16	7	7	7
Longford	122	46	9	14	6	8	5	5	1	1			
Louth	924	407	107	60	68	34	34	32	14	7	14	6	6
Mayo	595	157	41	38	29	26	23	26	13	3	7	3	6
Meath	885	382	95	69	22	30	30	19	13	10	6	5	2
Monaghan	217	96	17	11	11	12	11	14	3	2		1	
Offaly	232	152	29	26	16	26	12	9	4	3	3	3	1
Roscommon	181	40	21	14	6	10	5	7	1	5	1	2	
Sligo	414	105	27	27	20	10	7	7	1	4	1	2	1
South Dublin	1,924	1,050	244	123	126	118	69	87	48	31	14	18	26
Tipperary	700	318	81	40	55	39	30	24	11	10	5	8	5
Waterford	892	346	83	43	47	31	32	13	8	16	7	4	7
Westmeath	565	236	73	37	22	28	26	22	15	5	1	6	3
Wexford	699	449	90	45	46	41	28	34	13	10	2	1	5
Wicklow	904	356	130	76	54	34	46	31	21	9	7	9	3

N – 1 adult.	O - 1 adult, 1 child.	P - 1 adult, 2 children.	Q - 1 adult, 3 or more children.	R - Couple.
S – Couple, 1 child.	T - Couple, 2 children.	U - Couple, 3 or more children.	V - Single sharing.	W - Couple sharing

HAP										
	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W
Carlow	203	153	78	33	22	30	29	25	38	4
Cavan	153	84	55	29	20	23	23	30	18	2
Clare	449	231	139	71	48	47	71	73	29	
Cork City	846	570	288	103	124	230	234	167	211	10
Cork Co	1129	712	456	229	186	207	233	197	77	7
Donegal	610	333	236	134	61	61	102	130	20	0
Dublin City	2313	2999	1418	492	362	722	912	640	714	21
DLR	270	392	232	76	35	115	111	96	115	3
Fingal	357	1065	572	266	142	334	479	457	180	18
Galway City	391	449	238	84	64	150	203	147	202	11
Galway Co	384	336	226	138	54	86	83	98	55	1
Kerry	495	367	169	93	80	110	131	105	67	1
Kildare	339	430	234	78	84	159	227	125	99	6
Kilkenny	174	156	64	37	34	43	37	20	24	0
Laois	218	158	102	34	33	59	62	48	27	0
Leitrim	99	51	28	13	7	7	9	10	7	0
Limerick	558	400	295	157	70	131	183	201	88	5
Longford	95	58	42	30	24	20	26	15	6	0
Louth	602	700	470	261	135	205	298	287	120	5
Mayo	450	246	115	84	46	55	55	55	33	1
Meath	386	409	198	76	94	153	166	106	103	11
Monaghan	151	110	61	32	22	29	33	45	19	3
Offaly	216	125	71	32	31	41	37	28	18	4
Roscommon	161	72	37	25	16	18	23	38	6	0
Sligo	285	182	112	44	23	34	29	27	26	3
South Dublin	421	1545	786	316	84	362	520	419	242	15
Tipperary	572	392	218	125	55	61	74	82	42	4
Waterford	592	314	200	82	54	93	100	106	90	4
Westmeath	286	191	128	54	47	66	65	61	52	2
Wexford	434	289	182	72	57	40	48	54	59	1
Wicklow	379	354	240	85	59	91	131	86	39	0

Source: PBO based on [National Oversight and Audit Commission](#).

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