

33/2020 - 27 February 2020

General government expenditure in the EU in 2018

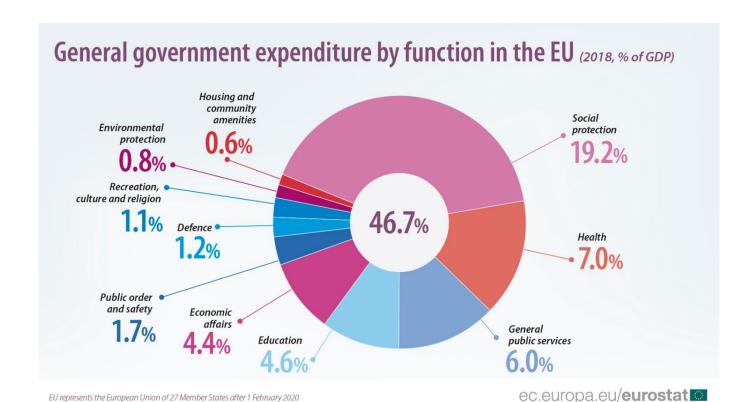
# Highest proportion of government expenditure goes to social protection and health

Total government expenditure continued to decrease

In 2018, total government expenditure in the **European Union** (EU) amounted to 46.7% of gross domestic product (GDP). This share has steadily decreased since 2012, when it stood at 49.7% of GDP.

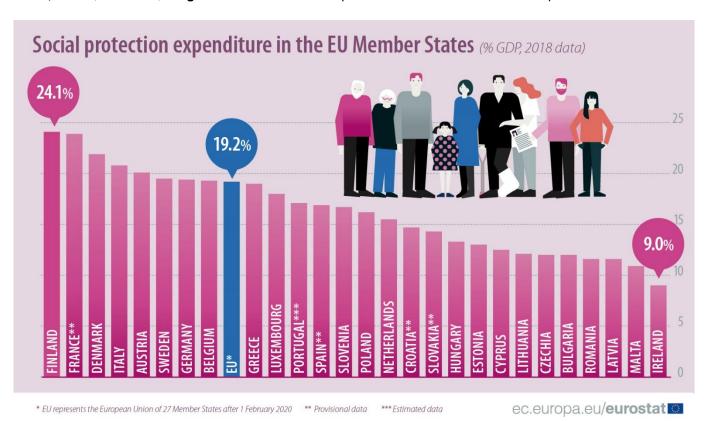
Among the main functions of general government expenditure in the **EU**, 'social protection' is by far the most important, equivalent to 19.2% of GDP in 2018. The next most important areas are 'health' (7.0%), 'general public services' (6.0%) such as external affairs and public debt transactions, 'education' (4.6%) and 'economic affairs' (4.4%). The functions 'public order and safety' (1.7%), 'defence' (1.2%), 'recreation, culture and religion' (1.1%), 'environmental protection' (0.8%) and 'housing and community amenities' (0.6%) have more limited weights.

This information on general government total expenditure by function comes from an online <u>publication</u> issued by **Eurostat, the statistical office of the European Union**.



### Share of social protection expenditure related to old age highest in Greece and Finland and lowest in Ireland

Social protection represented the most important area of general government expenditure in 2018 in all EU Member States. The ratio of government social protection expenditure to GDP varied across EU Member States from less than 10% in **Ireland** (9.0%) to nearly a quarter in **Finland** (24.1%) and **France** (23.9%). Five EU Member States – **Finland**, **France**, **Denmark**, **Italy** and **Austria** - devoted at least 20% of GDP to social protection, while **Ireland**, **Malta**, **Latvia**, **Romania**, **Bulgaria** and **Czechia** each spent 12% of GDP or less on social protection.



Social protection expenditure can be further broken down into a number of detailed groups. The group 'old age', which includes pensions, accounted for 10.4% of GDP in the **EU** in 2018. It made up the largest part of social protection expenditure in all EU Member States, with the highest shares being registered in **Finland** (13.6%), followed by **France** and **Italy** (both 13.3%), **Greece** (13.2%) as well as **Austria** (12.4%). In contrast, **Ireland** (3.2%) recorded the lowest share, followed by **Cyprus** (6.1%), **Lithuania** (6.2%) and the **Netherlands** (6.4%).

#### Government expenditure on health highest in Denmark, on education highest in Sweden

With shares of at least 8% of GDP in 2018, **Denmark** (8.3%), **Austria** (8.2%) and **France** (8.1%) recorded the highest ratios to GDP devoted to health among EU Member States. The highest ratios to GDP of government expenditure on general public services were observed in **Greece** and **Hungary** (both 8.3%), **Finland** (8.0%) and **Italy** (7.9%). For education, the highest shares were registered in **Sweden** (6.9%), **Denmark** (6.4%) as well as **Belgium** and **Estonia** (both 6.2%).

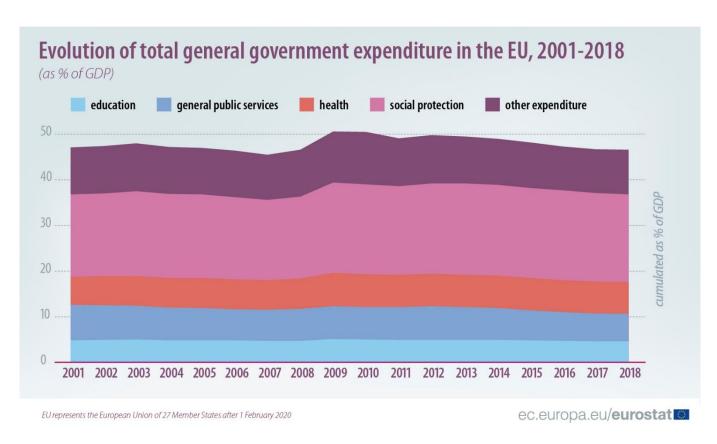
The highest share of government expenditure on economic affairs in 2018 was recorded in **Cyprus** (9.9% of GDP), ahead of **Hungary** (7.7%), **Bulgaria** and **Croatia** (both 6.7%) as well as **Belgium** (6.6%). For public order & safety, shares were highest in **Bulgaria** (2.5%), **Croatia** (2.4%) and **Hungary** (2.3%).

In 2018, at least 2% of GDP was spent on defence in **Latvia** (2.1%), **Estonia** and **Greece** (both 2.0%). The highest shares of government expenditure on recreation, culture & religion were recorded in **Hungary** (3.2%) and **Estonia** (2.0%), on environmental protection in the **Netherlands** (1.4%), **Belgium** and **Greece** (both 1.3%), and on housing & community amenities in **Croatia** (1.7%) and **Cyprus** (1.5%).

#### Evolution of general government total expenditure

During the first three years of the economic and financial crisis (2007-2009), government expenditure as a percentage of GDP grew in the **EU**. It increased from 45.6% of GDP in 2007 to 50.6% in 2009, which was partially due to a lower GDP. Apart from an increase between the years 2011 and 2012 (from 49.1% of GDP to 49.7%), it has steadily decreased ever since, and remained stable at 46.7% of GDP between 2017 and 2018. This gradual decrease was partly the result of the fiscal consolidation measures, renewed economic growth and counter-cyclical reactions of government expenditure. In recent years, one-off expenditure to support financial institutions has been decreasing.

Not all the functions of government expenditure evolved the same between 2007 and 2018. Some of the functions have a natural tendency to be counter-cyclical, even without a change in policy. For example, government expenditure on unemployment benefits (part of social protection) is more prone to have a natural counter-cyclical evolution than other functions, such as government expenditure on education. During an economic crisis, more people become unemployed, whereas the number of pupils and students is more affected by demographic changes. Between 2007 and 2009, expenditure on unemployment in the **EU** increased from 1.5% of GDP to 1.9%, gradually decreasing to stand at 1.3% in 2018. Social protection expenditure as a whole increased from 17.6% of GDP (2007) to 19.8% (2009), standing at 19.2% of GDP in 2018. In the same period, government expenditure on education in the **EU** rose from 4.7% of GDP (2007) to 5.1% (2009), and then gradually decreased to 4.6% (2018).



# Social protection and health expenditure increased in comparison to other general government expenditure

'Social protection' and 'health' are the only two functions whose shares in total government expenditure increased during the period from 2007 to 2018. In the EU, social protection expenditure increased its share in total expenditure from 38.7% to 41.2%, while expenditure on health increased from 14.3% to 15.0% of total expenditure. In contrast, government expenditure on 'public services', for example, fell from 15.0% of total expenditure in 2007 to 12.9% in 2018.

Over this period, government expenditure on 'public order and safety' and 'environmental protection' remained unchanged.

#### **Geographical information**

The **European Union** (EU27) includes Belgium, Bulgaria, Czechia, Denmark, Germany, Estonia, Ireland, Greece, Spain, France, Croatia, Italy, Cyprus, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Hungary, Malta, the Netherlands, Austria, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovenia, Slovakia, Finland and Sweden.

The **euro area** consists of Belgium, Germany, Estonia, Ireland, Greece, Spain, France, Italy, Cyprus, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, the Netherlands, Austria, Portugal, Slovenia, Slovakia and Finland.

The United Kingdom left the European Union on 31 January 2020. Information on dissemination of European statistics from 1 February 2020 is published on the <u>Eurostat website</u>.

#### Methods and definitions

<u>The Classification of the Functions of Government (COFOG)</u> classifies government expenditure into ten main divisions (known as the 'COFOG I level' breakdown): general public services; defence; public order and safety; economic affairs; environmental protection; housing and community affairs; health; recreation, culture and religion; education; social protection. These divisions are further broken down into 69 groups (COFOG II level).

#### For more information

Eurostat database on government finance

Eurostat metadata on general government expenditure by function

Eurostat set of Statistics Explained articles on government expenditure by function

Eurostat news article on government expenditure on environment protection

Eurostat interactive infographic on government expenditure by function

European Statistics Code of Practice

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## General government total expenditure by function, 2018 (as % of GDP)

		General		Public		Environ-	Housing &	10 70 01 0	Recreation				So	cial protec	tion, of wh	ich:	
	Total	public services	Defence	order & safety	Economic affairs	mental protection	community amenities	Health	culture & religion	Education	Social protection	Sickness & disability	Old age	Survivors	Family & children	Unemploy- ment	Others
EU27*	46.7	6.0	1.2	1.7	4.4	0.8	0.6	7.0	1.1	4.6	19.2	2.7	10.4	1.5	1.7	1.3	1.5
EU28	45.8	5.8	1.3	1.7	4.2	0.8	0.6	7.1	1.1	4.7	18.6	2.7	10.1	1.3	1.7	1.2	1.7
Euro area	47.0	6.1	1.2	1.7	4.3	0.8	0.6	7.1	1.1	4.5	19.6	2.7	10.7	1.7	1.6	1.4	1.5
Belgium	52.1	7.1	0.8	1.7	6.6	1.3	0.3	7.6	1.3	6.2	19.3	3.3	9.2	1.6	2.2	1.5	1.4
Bulgaria	36.5	3.3	1.1	2.5	6.7	0.7	1.1	5.0	0.8	3.5	12.0	0.3	8.9	:	2.3	0.1	0.5
Czechia	40.7	4.5	0.9	1.9	6.0	0.9	0.8	7.6	1.5	4.6	12.0	2.2	7.4	0.5	1.1	0.1	0.8
Denmark	50.9	6.6	1.2	0.9	3.3	0.4	0.2	8.3	1.6	6.4	21.9	4.4	8.2	0.0	4.3	2.0	3.0
Germany	44.6	5.7	1.1	1.6	3.4	0.6	0.4	7.2	1.1	4.2	19.4	3.2	9.5	1.9	1.7	1.5	1.7
Estonia	39.1	3.8	2.0	1.9	4.0	0.7	0.3	5.1	2.0	6.2	13.0	2.1	6.7	0.1	2.7	1.2	0.3
Ireland	25.4	3.1	0.3	1.0	2.3	0.4	0.5	5.0	0.5	3.2	9.0	1.8	3.2	0.6	1.3	0.9	1.3
Greece	47.0	8.3	2.0	2.1	4.4	1.3	0.2	5.0	0.8	3.9	19.0	1.5	13.2	2.0	0.8	0.5	1.0
Spain**	41.7	5.6	0.9	1.8	4.1	0.9	0.5	6.0	1.1	4.0	16.9	2.4	9.4	2.2	0.8	1.6	0.5
France**	56.0	6.2	1.8	1.7	5.8	1.0	1.1	8.1	1.4	5.1	23.9	2.9	13.3	1.5	2.2	1.9	2.2
Croatia**	46.0	5.4	1.1	2.4	6.7	0.7	1.7	6.6	1.5	5.3	14.7	2.3	8.0	1.3	1.9	0.5	0.7
Italy	48.4	7.9	1.3	1.8	3.8	8.0	0.5	6.8	0.8	4.0	20.8	1.8	13.3	2.6	1.0	1.1	1.0
Cyprus	43.6	7.0	1.9	1.7	9.9	0.3	1.5	2.7	0.8	5.2	12.5	0.5	6.1	1.4	2.8	0.5	1.2
Latvia	38.5	4.0	2.1	2.2	5.4	0.6	1.1	4.0	1.6	5.8	11.6	2.2	6.8	0.2	1.3	0.5	0.8
Lithuania	34.0	3.5	1.7	1.4	3.0	0.3	0.5	5.9	1.1	4.6	12.1	3.0	6.2	0.3	1.5	0.6	0.5
Luxembourg	41.9	5.1	0.5	1.1	5.2	0.9	0.6	4.7	1.3	4.6	18.0	3.0	9.5	0.0	3.6	1.0	0.9
Hungary	46.7	8.3	0.9	2.3	7.7	0.4	0.7	4.7	3.2	5.1	13.3	2.8	6.7	0.9	1.7	0.3	1.0
Malta	36.6	5.2	0.5	1.2	5.5	1.2	0.4	5.3	1.0	5.2	10.9	0.9	6.7	1.3	0.9	0.2	0.9
Netherlands	42.1	4.2	1.2	1.8	3.8	1.4	0.3	7.6	1.2	5.1	15.5	4.1	6.4	0.1	1.4	1.4	2.1
Austria	48.6	5.9	0.6	1.3	5.9	0.4	0.3	8.2	1.2	4.8	20.1	1.8	12.4	1.3	2.1	1.2	1.3
Poland	41.6	4.4	1.6	2.1	5.0	0.5	0.6	4.8	1.3	5.0	16.2	2.2	9.2	1.6	2.6	0.2	<b>†</b>
Portugal***	43.5	7.4	0.8	1.6	3.8	0.6	0.5	6.3	0.8	4.5	17.1	1.4	11.5	1.7	1.0	0.7	0.8
Romania	34.9	4.6	1.7	2.2	4.2	0.8	0.9	4.7	1.0	3.2	11.6	1.1	8.6	0.1	1.2	0.1	0.6
Slovenia	43.5	5.3	1.0	1.5	4.7	0.5	0.4	6.6	1.4	5.4	16.7	2.1	9.9	1.3	1.8	0.4	
Slovakia**	41.8	5.0	1.0	2.2	5.5	0.8	0.5	7.3	1.1	4.0	14.3	3.1	7.7	0.8	1.0	0.2	1.5
Finland	53.1	8.0	1.2	1.1	4.2	0.2	0.3	7.0	1.5	5.5	24.1	3.1	13.6	0.7	3.0	1.9	<b>†</b>
Sweden	49.8	7.1	1.2	1.3	4.3	0.5	0.7	7.0	1.3	6.9	19.5	3.7	10.5	0.2	2.5	1.2	
United Kingdom	40.9	4.7	1.9	1.8	3.2	0.7	0.8	7.5	0.6	4.8	14.9	2.4	8.3	0.1	1.3		2.8
Iceland	42.0	5.9	0.0	1.4	5.3	0.7	0.6	7.8	3.1	7.3	9.9	3.2	3.1	0.0	2.1	0.5	
Norway	49.2	4.5	1.7	1.2	5.6	0.9	0.8	8.2	1.7	5.4	19.1	6.6	7.1	0.2	3.4	0.4	
Switzerland	33.7	4.6	0.8	1.7	4.0	0.6	0.2	2.2	0.8	5.6	13.3	2.9	6.7	0.3	0.5		1.8

: Data not available

Source dataset: gov 10a exp

Figures may not add up due to rounding.

EU27 represents the European Union of 27 Member States after 1 February 2020 Provisional data

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> Estimated data

## General government expenditure by function, 2018 (as % of total government expenditure)

	General	FCONOMIC SOCIAL								tion, of whic	of which:					
	public services	Defence	order & safety	affairs	mental protection	community amenities	Health	culture & religion	Education	protection	Sickness & disability	Old age	Survivors	Family & children	Unemploy- ment	Others
EU27*	12.9	2.6	3.6	9.4	1.7	1.2	15.0	2.5	9.9	41.2	5.9	22.3	3.3	3.7	2.9	3.1
EU28	12.7	2.9	3.7	9.2	1.7	1.3	15.5	2.3	10.2	40.6	5.9	22.0	2.9	3.6	2.5	3.7
Euro area	13.0	2.5	3.5	9.1	1.7	1.2	15.2	2.3	9.6	41.8	5.8	22.7	3.6	3.4	3.1	3.2
Belgium	13.6	1.5	3.3	12.6	2.4	0.6	14.6	2.4	11.9	37.0	6.4	17.7	3.2	4.1	2.8	2.8
Bulgaria	8.9	3.1	6.8	18.2	1.9	2.9	13.6	2.1	9.7	32.8	0.7	24.2	:	6.3	0.2	1.4
Czechia	11.0	2.2	4.6	14.8	2.1	1.9	18.7	3.7	11.4	29.5	5.3	18.1	1.3	2.7	0.4	1.9
Denmark	13.0	2.3	1.8	6.5	0.8	0.5	16.3	3.2	12.6	43.1	8.5	16.2	0.0	8.5	4.0	5.8
Germany	12.7	2.4	3.5	7.6	1.3	0.9	16.2	2.4	9.4	43.6	7.1	21.2	4.2	3.8	3.4	3.8
Estonia	9.8	5.2	4.7	10.2	1.9	0.8	13.1	5.0	15.8	33.3	5.4	17.0	0.2	6.9	3.1	0.8
Ireland	12.2	1.2	4.0	9.2	1.5	2.0	19.8	2.1	12.6	35.4	7.2	12.5	2.4	5.0	3.4	5.0
Greece	17.7	4.3	4.4	9.3	2.8	0.4	10.6	1.7	8.3	40.5	3.2	28.1	4.3	1.8	1.1	2.1
Spain**	13.5	2.1	4.4	9.8	2.1	1.1	14.4	2.7	9.6	40.5	5.8	22.4	5.3	2.0	3.7	1.2
France**	11.0	3.1	3.0	10.3	1.8	2.0	14.5	2.5	9.1	42.6	5.2	23.7	2.7	3.9	3.4	3.9
Croatia**	11.7	2.5	5.2	14.6	1.5	3.6	14.3	3.2	11.5	31.9	5.0	17.5	2.9	4.1	1.0	1.5
Italy	16.2	2.6	3.8	7.9	1.7	1.0	14.1	1.6	8.2	42.9	3.6	27.5	5.4	2.1	2.3	2.1
Cyprus	16.0	4.3	3.9	22.8	0.6	3.5	6.2	1.9	12.0	28.7	1.1	14.0	3.2	6.4	1.1	2.8
Latvia	10.4	5.5	5.7	14.1	1.5	2.9	10.4	4.2	15.1	30.2	5.6	17.7	0.5	3.3	1.2	2.0
Lithuania	10.3	5.1	4.0	8.8	0.9	1.5	17.4	3.3	13.4	35.4	8.7	18.1	0.9	4.3	1.8	1.6
Luxembourg	12.1	1.1	2.6	12.5	2.1	1.4	11.3	3.0	11.0	42.9	7.1	22.7	0.0	8.5	2.4	2.2
Hungary	17.9	2.0	4.8	16.4	0.9	1.5	10.1	6.8	11.0	28.5	6.0	14.3	1.9	3.6	0.5	2.2
Malta	14.1	1.4	3.4	15.0	3.4	1.2	14.6	2.9	14.2	29.8	2.5	18.3	3.4	2.5	0.7	2.4
Netherlands	10.1	2.8	4.4	9.0	3.3	0.8	18.0	2.8	12.1	36.8	9.8	15.3	0.2	3.2	3.4	4.9
Austria	12.2	1.2	2.8	12.0	0.8	0.7	16.8	2.4	9.8	41.4	3.6	25.5	2.8	4.3	2.5	2.7
Poland	10.5	3.9	5.1	12.1	1.2	1.4	11.6	3.2	12.0	39.0	5.4	22.1	3.9	6.1	0.6	0.9
Portugal***	16.9	1.9	3.8	8.7	1.5	1.1	14.5	1.9	10.5	39.3	3.2	26.4	3.9	2.4	1.6	1.9
Romania	13.2	4.8	6.2	12.0	2.4	2.7	13.3	2.9	9.1	33.3	3.1	24.7	0.3	3.4	0.2	1.7
Slovenia	12.3	2.2	3.5	10.7	1.2	1.0	15.1	3.2	12.4	38.3	4.8	22.8	2.9	4.1	1.0	2.6
Slovakia**	12.0	2.5	5.3	13.2	1.9	1.3	17.5	2.5	9.5	34.3	7.4	18.4	1.9	2.5	0.5	3.6
Finland	15.0	2.2	2.1	8.0	0.4	0.6	13.2	2.8	10.4	45.5	5.8	25.6	1.2	5.6	3.5	3.7
Sweden	14.2	2.4	2.6	8.6	1.0	1.4	14.0	2.6	13.8	39.2	7.4	21.0	0.5	5.0	2.4	2.9
United Kingdom	11.4	4.6	4.4	7.9	1.7	2.0	18.3	1.5	11.8	36.5	5.9	20.2	0.1	3.1	0.2	6.9
Iceland	14.1	0.0	3.4	12.6	1.6	1.3	18.5	7.5	17.4	23.6	7.5	7.3	0.0	4.9	1.3	2.5
Norway	9.1	3.5	2.4	11.4	1.8	1.6	16.8	3.5	11.0	38.9	13.5	14.5	0.4	6.8	0.8	3.0
Switzerland	13.7	2.4	5.0	11.7	1.8	0.5	6.4	2.4	16.5	39.4	8.5	20.0	0.9	1.4	3.2	5.5
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Source dataset: gov 10a exp

Figures may not add up due to rounding.

EU27 represents the European Union of 27 Member States after 1 February 2020 Provisional data

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> Estimated data

### General government expenditure by function in the EU27\*, 2001 - 2018

(as % of GDP)

									,									
	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018
Total	47.1	47.4	47.8	47.1	47.0	46.4	45.6	46.7	50.6	50.5	49.1	49.7	49.5	49.0	48.1	47.3	46.7	46.7
General public services	7.8	7.6	7.4	7.2	7.1	6.8	6.8	7.0	7.2	7.1	7.2	7.4	7.2	7.0	6.6	6.3	6.1	6.0
Defence	1.4	1.4	1.4	1.3	1.3	1.3	1.3	1.3	1.4	1.3	1.3	1.3	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.2
Public order & safety	1.6	1.7	1.7	1.7	1.7	1.6	1.6	1.7	1.8	1.8	1.7	1.7	1.7	1.7	1.7	1.7	1.6	1.7
Economic affairs	4.6	4.6	4.5	4.5	4.5	4.5	4.3	4.6	5.0	5.5	4.8	4.9	4.6	4.6	4.6	4.3	4.3	4.4
Environmental protection	0.7	8.0	0.8	0.7	0.8	0.8	0.8	0.8	0.8	0.8	8.0	0.8	8.0	0.8	0.8	0.8	8.0	0.8
Housing & community	0.9	0.9	0.9	0.9	8.0	0.8	0.8	0.8	0.9	0.8	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.5	0.6
Health	6.2	6.4	6.5	6.5	6.6	6.6	6.5	6.7	7.3	7.2	7.1	7.1	7.1	7.1	7.1	7.0	7.0	7.0
Recreation, culture & religion	1.1	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.3	1.3	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.1
Education	4.8	4.9	5.0	4.8	4.8	4.8	4.7	4.7	5.1	5.0	4.9	4.9	4.9	4.9	4.8	4.7	4.6	4.6
Social protection	18.0	18.1	18.6	18.4	18.3	18.0	17.6	17.9	19.8	19.7	19.4	19.8	20.0	19.9	19.7	19.7	19.4	19.2
Sickness & disability	2.5	2.6	2.7	2.6	2.6	2.5	2.5	2.6	2.8	2.8	2.7	2.8	2.8	2.8	2.8	2.8	2.7	2.7
Old age	9.1	9.1	9.4	9.4	9.4	9.3	9.2	9.5	10.3	10.3	10.3	10.5	10.7	10.7	10.6	10.5	10.4	10.4
Survivors	1.7	1.7	1.7	1.7	1.6	1.6	1.5	1.5	1.7	1.6	1.6	1.7	1.7	1.6	1.6	1.6	1.6	1.5
Family & children	1.6	1.6	1.6	1.6	1.6	1.6	1.6	1.6	1.8	1.8	1.7	1.8	1.8	1.7	1.7	1.8	1.7	1.7
Unemployment	1.6	1.7	1.8	1.8	1.8	1.7	1.5	1.5	1.9	1.9	1.7	1.7	1.8	1.7	1.6	1.5	1.4	1.3
Others	1.4	1.4	1.4	1.2	1.3	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.4	1.3	1.3	1.3	1.3	1.4	1.4	1.5	1.5	1.5

<sup>\*</sup> EU27 represents the European Union of 27 Member States after 1 February 2020

Figures may not add up due to rounding.

Source dataset (including data for individual Member States): gov 10a exp

### General government expenditure by function in the EU27\*, 2001 - 2018

(as % of total government expenditure)

	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018
General public services	16.6	16.0	15.4	15.2	15.1	14.8	15.0	15.0	14.3	14.0	14.7	14.8	14.6	14.3	13.7	13.3	13.0	12.9
Defence	2.9	2.9	2.9	2.8	2.8	2.8	2.7	2.7	2.7	2.6	2.6	2.5	2.5	2.4	2.4	2.6	2.6	2.6
Public order & safety	3.4	3.5	3.5	3.5	3.5	3.5	3.6	3.6	3.5	3.5	3.5	3.4	3.5	3.5	3.5	3.5	3.5	3.6
Economic affairs	9.7	9.6	9.5	9.6	9.6	9.7	9.5	9.8	10.0	10.8	9.7	9.8	9.3	9.3	9.5	9.0	9.3	9.4
Environmental protection	1.6	1.6	1.6	1.6	1.6	1.7	1.7	1.7	1.7	1.7	1.7	1.7	1.7	1.7	1.7	1.6	1.6	1.7
Housing & community	1.8	1.9	1.9	1.8	1.8	1.7	1.8	1.8	1.8	1.6	1.5	1.4	1.3	1.3	1.3	1.2	1.2	1.2
Health	13.2	13.4	13.6	13.7	14.0	14.2	14.3	14.3	14.3	14.2	14.4	14.2	14.4	14.6	14.7	14.8	14.9	15.0
Recreation, culture & religion	2.4	2.5	2.4	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.6	2.6	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.4	2.4	2.4	2.3	2.4	2.4	2.5
Education	10.3	10.4	10.4	10.3	10.3	10.3	10.3	10.2	10.0	10.0	10.0	9.8	9.9	9.9	9.9	10.0	9.9	9.9
Social protection	38.1	38.2	38.8	38.9	38.9	38.8	38.7	38.4	39.2	39.1	39.5	39.8	40.4	40.7	40.9	41.7	41.5	41.2
Sickness & disability	5.4	5.5	5.6	5.6	5.6	5.5	5.5	5.5	5.5	5.5	5.5	5.6	5.7	5.7	5.7	5.8	5.9	5.9
Old age	19.3	19.2	19.6	19.8	19.9	20.1	20.3	20.3	20.3	20.4	21.0	21.2	21.6	21.8	22.0	22.3	22.3	22.3
Survivors	3.7	3.6	3.6	3.6	3.5	3.4	3.4	3.3	3.3	3.3	3.3	3.3	3.4	3.4	3.4	3.4	3.3	3.3
Family & children	3.4	3.4	3.4	3.4	3.4	3.4	3.5	3.5	3.6	3.5	3.5	3.5	3.5	3.6	3.6	3.7	3.7	3.7
Unemployment	3.5	3.6	3.8	3.8	3.9	3.7	3.3	3.1	3.8	3.7	3.5	3.5	3.6	3.4	3.3	3.2	3.1	2.9
Others	2.9	2.9	2.9	2.7	2.7	2.7	2.7	2.7	2.7	2.6	2.7	2.6	2.7	2.8	3.0	3.3	3.2	3.1

<sup>\*</sup> EU27 represents the European Union of 27 Member States after 1 February 2020 Source dataset (including data for individual Member States): gov\_10a\_exp

Figures may not add up due to rounding.