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The QWEST for Measuring the Universality of the Post-Socialist Countries

An Overview and Comparative Analysis (1995-2019)

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Abstract

Beyond partially justifying the existence of a distinct welfare state model, the collective analysis of 10 Central and Eastern European countries demonstrates a low level of development of the welfare states in this region. Through a detailed study of seven variables, this work enables us to evaluate the features of the Post-Socialist Welfare States, and in which areas they converge from OCDE countries. Thus, using the index developed by Luciano Amaral and Kleoniki Alexopoulos, it is possible to assess the levels of universality in the chosen countries, comparing them with Esping-Anderson's worlds of welfare capitalism, plus the Southern European model.

Keywords: Welfare State, Universalism, Social Benefits, Eastern Europe

[1] The Present *Work Project* represents the culmination of a four and a half years academic journey, forged in the face of countless friendships, experiences, and learning. In a year and a half particularly marked by several doubts and difficulties, it was only with the support of those who have been with me since my previous university that I was able to endure until the end of the present master's program. Only with their support, I was able to end the most difficult task of my journey so far, not only academically, but also mentally. Finally, the most special gratitude goes to my parents and siblings, who were always present in every moment of the journey, from the first day of school in Lousã to the end of the academic journey that is concluding at this very moment.

1 Introduction

This master's *Work Project* studies the universality of social models within various Central and Eastern European countries from 1995 to 2019, covering a series of metrics that assess each system's components. This thesis thus replicates the unpublished work of my supervisor, Luciano Amaral and Kleoniki Alexopoulou (Amaral and Alexopoulou, 2022). Their study proposes a new metric for the universality of a welfare state, in the form of a composite index, called QWEST, an acronym for "Quality of Welfare State". Here, it is vital to emphasize that the term "quality" does not refer to a better or worse provision by the welfare state, but rather to the greater or lesser universality of the system in each country under analysis. Consequently, it is through the study of the seven variables included in the index that Esping-Anderson's "three worlds of welfare capitalism" (the Social-Democratic, the Corporativist, and the Liberal models), plus the so-called "southern model" (made up of Greece, Italy, Spain, and Portugal) are assessed and compared.

My thesis aims to extend the previous analysis to a possible "post-socialist model", which includes the countries of Bulgaria, Czechia, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Slovakia and Slovenia. In addition to analyzing each country variable by variable, the question "Is there a distinct social welfare model between the countries of Central and Eastern Europe?" will be answered. If I can identify it, I will discuss what characterizes it, what potential subgroups it has, and how it compares with the other four welfare capitalism worlds.

As well as extending the professor's work geographically, it has also been extended in time, with data from 2010 to 2019 acquired with the collaboration of my colleague Vittorio Soverini (49152@novasbe.pt). Finally, completing the triangle of students with a thesis based on the work on the extension of the QWEST model, Raquel Lopes (38959@novasbe.pt) also helped me during the preparation of this master's thesis.

2 Defining and measuring Universalism in the QWEST

The construction of the initial QWEST index is based on the three welfare state models proposed by Esping-Anderson, supplemented by the Southern model, proposed by several scholars. Key to the Danish author's analysis is Universalism, which serves as a cornerstone in classifying each country in its respective welfare state model, produced through a "decommodification index" in the "Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism". Here, the author establishes the level of decommodification, centered on the notion of services being rendered as a right, enabling individuals to sustain a livelihood without depending on the market (Esping-Anderson, 1990), as the differentiating characteristic.

By the premise of this dissertation, universalism is understood as the principle through which social protection and services are offered to all citizens as a matter of social right, rather than through means-testing or systems that are segmented by, for example, occupation or income levels. (Blomqvist and Palme, 2019). Therefore, a model is deemed more universal the fewer restrictions or conditions it has on access, fostering similarity across different sections of the populations (pertinent in the context of pensions), or, in essence, the “polar opposite of targeting" (Jacques and Noël, 2018).

Achieving a more universal model aligns with the Nordic model defined by Esping Anderson. This model, characterized by including a larger proportion of the population under the same conditions for social benefits and greater financing through public vehicles, results in more homogeneity across the population in terms of benefits, coverage, and eligibility (Bradie and Bostic, 2015), all variables directly tested by the index. Although, as discussed ahead, in terms of the QWEST, this model of the welfare state is more difficult to identify today than it was at the time Esping-Anderson designed it. In conclusion, my research aims to contribute by placing post-socialist countries within the Universality matrix and conducting a comparative analysis of its development from 1995 to 2019.

3 Literature Review – The Post-Soviet Group

This *Work Project* aims to study the development of the welfare state in the former socialist countries of Central and Eastern Europe. The distinguishing features of the analyzed countries, namely Bulgaria, Czechia, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia, and Romania, share the commonality of socialist experiences during the second half of the 20th century, following the Second World War. Notably, countries either from the former Yugoslavia or situated on the eastern side of the historical *Iron Curtain*, have been excluded from the model, namely due to the added difficulty of finding data, as well as the possible excessiveness of the number of countries within the model. It was particularly due to this historical context that the data analysis only began in 1995, allowing for some margin between the fall of the Berlin Wall and the transition period leading to the establishment of new institutions in these countries.

Although not as developed in the welfare state research as other ideas, this endeavor to categorize the countries of Central and Eastern Europe in a novel welfare state model is not exactly a new idea. In Fenger's work (2007), the author also tries to empirically assess whether the post-communist welfare states of Central and Eastern Europe can be slotted into any of Esping Andersen's well-known welfare types, or if they constitute a distinct group in their own. Here, Fenger argues that the Eastern European welfare states *can be clearly distinguished from the traditional European welfare states*, as the differences between the group of post-communists and the traditional Western welfare states are more pronounced than the differences between the countries within each of those groups.

Among the analyzed countries in this Work Project, Fenger identifies three distinct subgroups: the *former-USSR type* countries - Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania (along with Belarus, Russia, and Ukraine) - the *post-communist European type* - Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, and Slovakia (in addition to Croatia) - and the *Developing welfare state type* - Romania (plus Georgia and Moldova). Moreover, the author points out that while the three Western

subtypes represent diverse perspectives on the welfare state and the government's role within it, the post-communist subtypes blend elements of the conservative-corporatist and, to a lesser extent, the social-democratic type.

Furthermore, Deacon (1993) also highlights significant differences between the post-communist welfare states and the ones identified by Esping Andersen. By distinguishing the distinctive features of the post-communist type and its variations from the other European types, it is possible to achieve a measure of discrimination between the types of welfare regimes under review. In essence, there seem to be discernable differences in the social models of these countries in comparison with the remainder of Europe. Deacon suggests that there seem to exist good reasons to consider that the post-communist countries have social models that are distinct from Western Europe.

On a different note, Orenstein and Haas (2012) contend that the impacts of Europeanisation vary significantly among the post-Communist welfare states. This globalization thus differs greatly, considering the country's position in the international economy and its geopolitical relations. Ultimately, the countries closest to the European Union have utilized social programs to compensate citizens for the trauma of the transition between systems and economic openness, while the ex-Soviet states have witnessed a partial collapse in their welfare states.

Concluding this section, beyond the scope of this group of countries, other models were proposed in the welfare state literature as a reaction to Esping Anderson's work. These include the famous *southern model* (Bonoli 1997; Ferrera 1996), the "East-Asia model"[2] (Jones 1993; Kwon 1997), and the "radical" or "Antipodean" type to distinguish Australia and New Zealand from other liberal regimes (Castles 1998; Castles and Mitchell 1991).

[2] As I study the post-socialist countries and their possible distinct Welfare States, Raquel Lopes (38959@novasbe.pt) is conducting a similar exercise for some East-Asia countries in her Work Project.

4 The "Quality of Welfare State" Composite Index

For this *work project*, I will use the index produced in the unpublished work by Professor Luciano Amaral and Kleoniki Alexopoulos to determine the level of Universality, its evolution, and comparison, between 1995 and 2010 for the 10 countries already identified. The research question will be: ***Is there a 5th model of welfare capitalism, made up of countries with socialist experiences in the second decade of the 20th century?*** Also, if an argument in that direction is made, I will access the similarities and differences between the various countries in this group, eventually identifying some sub-groups within it, taking what happened in the other famous models qualitatively and quantitatively as a comparative source.

The "Quality of Welfare" composite index measures Universalism on the welfare states by assembling seven dimensions. In this approach, universalism is assessed by measuring the degree of conditionality tied to each social benefit. So, a higher number of conditions or restrictions indicates a less universal system, contrasting with the aim of a more inclusive model, where benefits are made available to the widest share of the population. Quality should be understood here in the sense of "nature" rather than in that of the provision of better or worse services. In this sense, the quality or nature of a certain system would be that of being more or less universal than another, meaning that each would be qualitatively different (have a different quality or nature) from the other.

This composite index includes more variables and arguably gives more meaningful results compared to other attempts at measuring Universalism, such as those proposed by Jacques and Noël (2018), Scruggs (2014), or Korpi and Palme (1998). The Index's seven variables are based on the theoretical framework provided by the literature on welfare capitalism. They are measured based on the direction of conditionality for access to social benefits, and have been obtained from a a wide range of sources:

Dimensions 1) *The Size of Social Spending*, 2) *Proportion of Benefits subject to means testing*, 3) *Proportion of Social Benefits financed by taxes rather than social contributions*, 5) *Proportion of Public spending in overall Health spending* and 6) *Proportion of private pensions spending in overall pensions spending* were mainly built with data from (footnothe para a saída pois não é SOCX) the Social Expenditure (SOCX) database of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). (fazer footnotes para as outras bases de dados – AMECO E WORLD BANK).

Then, Dimensions 4) *Rules of Entitlements for Social Benefits* and 7) *Coverage* were built using the Comparative Welfare Entitlements Database (CWED), provided by Scruggs *et all.* 2013. In detail, the Rules of Entitlement matrix comprises an average derived from the scores of Unemployment Benefits, Sickness Benefits, and Pensions. For unemployment and sickness, CWED assesses replacement rates of the benefit, qualification periods, waiting days, and duration of the period. For Pensions, the evaluation includes the replacement rates for both average and minimum social pensions, qualification periods, funding ratios, and average years of earnings. Therefore, the coverage dimension is a display of a three-party average between the take-up rates of Unemployment benefits, Sickness benefits, and Pensions. In these dimensions, due to a large lack of data for the chosen countries, multiple databases were used to supplement the information, including international and national sources.

It was crucial to highlight the need to develop a common methodology to extrapolate values in the table, due to the lack of data for multiple variables. Therefore, the missing values were recorded considering the average of the four rates of change for the last five available years. Whenever possible, it was possible to cross-reference information on the same variable across two databases. In such cases, the rates of change from the new database were utilized to extrapolate data from the predominant database (mainly OCDE).

5 Methodology

Focusing on the methodology related to the Index construction, as QWEST aggregates variables that are not expressed in the same units, we needed to normalize the data. In this context, Amaral and Alexopoulou, 2022 opted to do it through the Min-Max method:

$$V_{ic}^{t} = \frac{x_{ic}^{t} - \min(x_i)}{\max(x_i) - \min(x_i)},$$

where V_{ic}^{t} is the normalised value of indicator *i* for country *c* at time *t*, x_{ic}^{t} is the original value of indicator *i* for country *c* at time *t*, $\min(x_i)$ is the minimum value of indicator *i* in the sample, and $\max(x_i)$ is the maximum value of indicator *i* in the sample. Each of the variables, once normalized, is expressed in a range between 0 and 1, with 0 being the lowest value and 1 the highest.

The model will be constructed through an average with equal weights, meaning that all dimensions are considered with the same importance.

$$QWEST = Spending\ X\ 0.14 + NMeans\ X\ 0.14 + Tax\ X\ 0.14 + Eligibility\ X\ 0.14 +$$

$$PublicH\ X\ 0.14 + PublicP\ X\ 0.14 + Coverage\ X\ 0.14,$$

This calculation amounts, in the end, to an arithmetic average. $Spending$ is the size of social spending as measured by the ratio of public social spending by GDP (in five-year averages), $NMeans$ is the ratio of social benefits provided without means-testing in overall social benefits, Tax is the ratio of taxes in overall social receipts, $Eligibility$ is a sub-index of the degree of restrictiveness of access to Unemployment benefits (UB), Sickness compensation (SK), and full Pensions, $PublicH$ is the inverse of the proportion of private spending in overall spending on healthcare, $PublicP$ is the inverse of the proportion of private spending in overall spending on pensions, and $Coverage$ is the average between the population covered by the existing systems on UB, SK and Pensions. The aggregated results are presented in the [0,1] interval.

6 The Four Famous Welfare Capitalism models through QWEST

The main conclusion of Amaral and Alexopoulou's work is that although Esping-Anderson's (1990) famous three models of welfare capitalism plus the Southern model were identifiable in 1990, they became less so in time. The authors add that, according to the "Quality of Welfare State" calculation, by 2010 countries like Ireland and Portugal had already shifted from their original models to align more closely with the corporatist model, and that the southern model had overtaken the liberal model by being more universal - a trend that persisted in the post-2010 analysis until 2018. In this context, an in-depth examination of the data beyond 2010, conducted by my colleague Vittorio Soverini, certainly discusses and explains interesting results, such as the continuing growth of the corporative group, or the potential convergence between the four welfare models.

Briefly examining each of the models between 1990 and 2010, we see that the Nordic model (also referred to as the social democratic model), although less vigorously, remains the most universal of all. In the case of the corporatist model, which is less homogeneous than the previous one, at the end of the period in question, there is already the possibility that some countries could belong to the social democratic model. This is due to the fall of the social democratic countries, as well as the growth of France and Belgium, always in terms of universalism. The liberal model, marked by the presence of an important outlier, the United States, has had the lowest level of universalism of the groups studied since the turn of the century. Then, also in the southern group, doubts were raised about the potential maintenance of some countries in this classification, mainly Italy, which throughout the period registered values close to the corporatist model, and Portugal, which converged towards the same model. Following these results, I will now delve into a comparative analysis between the post-socialist countries and these models, aiming to uncover notable insights on their differences or similarities.

7 Presentation of Results

7.1. The Size of Social Spending

The first variable of the index (Table 1)[3] focuses on assessing the welfare state dimension and is measured by the share of total general government expenditure allocated to social spending. This variable should capture the growth in social spending through the years while remaining less sensitive to significant cyclical fluctuations. Therefore, Amaral and Alexopoulou opted to transform the data into five-year averages, particularly to smoothen the impact of the business cycle. The main data source for this dimension is the Social Expenditure (SOCX) database of OECD. However, due to some lack on data, Eurostat and AMECO databases were also used.

Illustrated in Graph 1 (see Appendix), the behavior of the five models exhibits some degree of similarity, delineating three periods: an initial period spanning from 1995 to 2008, when social spending remained relatively constant; a subsequent period of pronounced growth in 2009 and 2010, attributed to the international economic crisis and linked to the fall in the GDP; and a post-crisis period, where a marginal divergence between the welfare models becomes apparent.

Taking the average of each model over the analyzed period, the Nordic model emerges as the winner in terms of social spending (27.61%), followed by the Corporatist model (26.73%). Then, there are the southern (22.75 percent) and liberal (18.70 percent) models. Ultimately, the post-Soviet model registers the lowest average, with just 17.73% of the share of total general government expenditure allocated to social spending. Furthermore, as well as being the model with the worst results in all the years under review (with the brief exception of 1999), the post-socialist model is also the one that grew the least between 2010-2019 compared to 1995-2010. Thus, no convergence is observed with the other welfare models, with the mean difference

[3] As in the case of the other variables, the tables in the appendices are not the ones inputted into the QWEST calculation, as they correspond to values extracted directly or indirectly from the databases. In the same sense, the data referred in the each sub-analysis is not the normalized one.

between the post-soviet model and the global mean remaining notably consistent, recording a average of negative 4.2 percentage points through the period.

In addition to the liberal, the post-socialist model has not been able to maintain the levels of social spending achieved during the reaction to the 2008 crisis. This decline is evident from the difference between its peak in 2009 to the recorded value in 2019, around 18 percentage points.

Among the ten post-socialist countries, only Slovenia, Hungary and Poland surpass the global average, although no more than 1.1 percent. The remaining countries are at least 2 percentage points short, with Romania, Bulgaria, and Latvia notably contributing to the decline of the model as the least robust one in comparative terms.

Concerning the potential homogeneity among the post-socialist countries, these differ from each other on average by 9 percentage points between the maximum and minimum values, a figure only surpassed by the liberal model, but with the slight justification of the substantially lower value displayed by the United States. However, when we consider that we have 10 countries under analysis, and with them holding the lowest values of the indicator, the behavior within the model seems to be relatively similar, and it could be argued that it is relatively homogeneous within the circumstances regarded.

Notably, the post-socialists perform very poorly in social spending, with only Slovenia (16th), Hungary (17th), and Poland (18th) being near to achieving the first half of the table, with averages of 21.4%, 21.1%, and 20.9% respectively. Here, one can argue that by these values these countries could at least be competing with the southern model on the indicator. Aside from these three, it was a staggering failure, with the remaining countries occupying positions from 20th to 30th, only intercepted by Australia (22nd) and the US (25th). In conclusion, one can identify a tendency towards a small social model within the socialist countries, with most of them demonstrating a pronounced deficit in social spending.

7.2. Social benefits not subject to means-testing (% of total benefits)

Dimension 2 of the Index measures the ratio of social benefits provided without means-testing in overall social benefits. The link to the conditionality approach is clear in this context, as the more conditions or restrictions the social benefit has, the less universal the system will be, thus diminishing the universality of the model. This measure is also famous in the literature, as is only one of the two variables that Jacques and Noël (2018) use in their analysis.

The post-socialist countries' average is always above the global average, with the difference between the two constantly expanding over the analyzed period (Graph and Table 2). On average, the socialist countries are approximately 5 percentage points above the global average, with the biggest difference occurring in 2016. These countries are the only ones to record a higher medium in the period between 2010 and 2019, which demonstrates the growing trend on the less meant-tested benefits of this model.

In terms of the variable's behavior, the Esping Anderson models, together with the southern model, show a slight downward trend over the period, in contrast to the steady rise of the socialist model. It is worth mentioning that the post-socialist countries register an average close to that of the Nordic model, but only until 2006, when the latter register a sharp decline.

In aggregate terms, the average remains relatively constant between 1995 and 2019, only registering values between 89.14 (1995) and 90.92 percent (2019). Looking at the five models, the clear winner is the socialist model (average of 94.54 percent), followed by the corporatist model (91.32 percent) and the Nordic model (90.92 percent). Then, one can notice some convergence between the various models at nearly 90 percent, except for the liberal model, which has much lower values, in the order of 65 percent.

When looking at the individual socialist countries, they all register overall averages that are higher than the average for all the studied countries. However, the ones that register the lowest

proportion of social benefits subject to means-testing (and therefore register the highest value in this variable) are the Baltic countries Latvia (98.16 percent), Estonia (96.46 percent) and Lithuania 96.22 percent).

Lastly, the post-socialist countries behave relatively homogeneous, with only Slovenia, Slovakia, and Bulgaria performing poorly (global rankings of 20th, 18th, and 16th, but still well ahead of other countries). Therefore, this variable contributes to the assessment of a distinct model, particularly different, at least, from the liberal model, where the best-ranked globally, New Zealand, is only in 25th place overall.

7.3. Social Spending financed by Taxes

Upon initial examination of the comprehensive behavioral patterns (Graph and Table 3), it becomes evident that the five welfare models exhibit distinct characteristics and demonstrate subtle changes over the entire period. Notably, one can see that the model with the highest proportion of taxes as the main instrument for financing social programs is the liberal model, followed by the Nordic, Southern, corporatist, and, finally, the post-socialist.

Within this last group, they share the worst average during the period under analysis, except for 2003 and the period between 2009 and 2011, when they outperform the corporatist model. As the other welfare state models, the post-2010 average slightly increases compared to the previous period, from 31.5% between 1995-2009 to 33.8% between 2010-2019, an increase of 2.29 percentage points (slightly less than the 3.07 percentage points of the global average).

When it comes to measuring the similarity between the post-socialist countries, all of them have a general behavior below the global average, with only four instances of values above this average. Bulgaria notably stands out, exhibiting higher values between 2008 and 2016. Hungary, Latvia (both in 2009 and 2010), and Lithuania also surpassed the global average.

However, when we analyze the socialist model, we notice that the average difference between the maximum and minimum values is 25.8 percentage points, with Bulgaria and Lithuania recording the highest values in most years and Romania and Estonia alternating in recording the lowest values. Interestingly, the liberal model surpasses this difference with an average of 43.4 percentage points, primarily attributed to the substantial gap between Australia and the United Kingdom, averaging 56.8 percentage points through the analyzed years. Further, the Nordic model has a significant difference between the maximum and minimum values for each year, with an average of 25.8 percentage points, mirroring the socialist model.

A detailed analysis for the possible socialist model ranks Bulgaria first (average of 39.4 percent and 14th in the global ranking (thus being the only one in the top half of the table)) followed by Latvia (average of 37.8 percent and 16th in the global ranking) and Hungary (average of 37.1 percent and 17th in the global ranking). As for the countries with the worst qualifications in the global ranking, we have Estonia in 30th (average of 20.7%), Czechia in 29th (average of 25.3%), and Romania (average of 25.6%).

Analyzing the periods between 1995-2009 and 2010-2019, we can also highlight some interesting phenomena: Although Bulgaria is the country in the group with the best position on the indicator, there are five countries with a higher proportion of taxes vs. social contributions as the main instrument for financing social programs in the period between 1995 and 2009: Lithuania (39.1), Hungary (37.2%), Poland (35.5%), Latvia (35.2%) and Slovakia (34.3%).This phenomenon in partly attributed to Bulgaria's notable increase in the weight of taxes in social benefits, averaging 48.2% between 2010 and 2019.

Overall, the post-socialist model countries grew by 2.3 percentage points between the two periods, with three countries - Lithuania (8.4 percentage points), Hungary (0.3 percentage points), and Slovakia (0.1 percentage points) – experiencing a decrease in this indicator. Estonia

consistently ranks lowest on this indicator, with a smaller-than-average improvement between the two periods, ranging from 20.2 percent in 1995-2009 to 21.5 in 2010-2019.

In conclusion, one can argue that the results of this variable allow us to give some reliability to the argument that there is indeed a socialist model, because there is relative homogeneity in the behavior and value of the weight of taxes compared to contributions as a source of social benefits, with the 10 countries under analysis being among the last 16 values for all 30 countries for which the QWEST was constructed.

7.4. Rules of Entitlement to Social Benefits

Dimension 4 of the QWEST captures another element of the level of universality of the different welfare state models, namely the strictness with which the entitlement rules of social benefits condition the access to them. Here, the score is averaged between the results obtained in the 3 major social insurance programs: unemployment, sick pay, and pensions, being in accordance with the decommodification index proposed by Esping Anderson (Scruggs and Allan, 2006).

For this dimension, the Comparative Welfare Entitlements Database (CWED), provided by Scruggs et al. (2013), is being used. Here, the entitlement rules include, for Unemployment Benefits and Sickness Benefits, replacement rates[4], qualification periods[5], duration of benefit entitlement[6], and waiting days[7]. Here, it was necessary to make changes to the "waiting days" and "qualification period" variables, since an increase in them goes in the opposite direction of a more universal welfare state. Therefore, in both cases, the inverse of these values was used. For pensions, a slightly different set of rules of entitlement was used, namely the replacement

[4] The Replacement Rates, i.e. the percentage of pre-retirement earnings, being calculated in the CWED are the "Single (100%)" and the "Couple (100-0%), 1 earner, 2 children".
[5] Qualification Period is the number of weeks of insurance needed to qualify for the benefit (40/20)
[6] Duration of the Benefit is the weeks of benefit entitlement (40/20)
[7] Waiting Days refers to the number of days one must wait to start receiving benefits after becoming unemployed/ sick.

rates for the average and minimum pensions, the Funding Ratio[8], the Years of Earnings[9], and the Qualification Period. This social insurance program also required some changes to some, particularly in "Qualification Period" and "Years of Earnings", where the inverse of these variables was also used.

In this regard, since there was a lack of information for all the Central and Eastern European countries but Czechia, other databases were used, while always trying to cross-reference them to CWED[10]. First, for the replacement rates of Unemployment Benefits, OECD data was used. Then, for the Sickness Benefits, the extrapolated values for the Qualification Period, Duration, and Waiting Days were confirmed by MISSOC and ILOSTAT. Still on Health, the Replacement Rates were extrapolated using the data from Spasova and Vanhercke (2016), who display this value for 2015. Lastly, on pensions, the replacement rates were extrapolated using references from IOPS and OECD. The other variables, Qualification Period, Funding Ratio, and Years of Earnings were confirmed by a combination of data from national legislations, International Social Security Association, Pensions Fund Online, and the European Policy Committee (see references).

Before examining the data in Table 4, notice that a better Rules of Entitlement score will correspond to greater decommodification, so the higher a country's score, the more universal its welfare state will be. In this dimension, since we have an average of several variables that together give an overall Rules of Entitlement score, and also because most of them are linked to legislation, the countries perform relatively similarly to each other, while having constant displays over time. In fact, among the models, the difference between the maximum and minimum value in each year is lower than 10 percentage points.

[8] The Funding Ratio accounts for the worker pension contributions/ employer plus worker pension contributions.
[9] Years of Earnings accounts for the number of years of earnings used in the pensionable wage calculation.

Plus, since we are looking at an average of several variables that together give the Rules of Entitlement an overall score, the countries perform relatively similarly to each other. Here, for any of the models, it becomes difficult to notice any of the welfare state models we have in hand since within each one we have distinct behaviors. Nevertheless, the Nordic countries once again prevail in this dimension, followed by the corporatist model with only 2 percentage points less on average. Then, we have the countries in the southern and post-socialist groups with very similar results, with a slight advantage for the first model. Finally, as one might have expected, we have the liberal model with the worst performance in this indicator.

Focusing on the countries of the possible post-Soviet model, they don't seem to register any different behavior from the nations in the other groups. Here, too, we have countries ranked well about the general average, namely Bulgaria (4th), Slovakia (6th) (the best in terms of pensions), and Romania (10th), with the latter only lagging behind Sweden in terms of Sickness Benefits. The worst performers in this dimension for this group are then Estonia (26th), Lithuania (25th) and Poland (24th), although relatively far from the worst performers globally.

7.5. Proportion of Private Spending in overall Health Spending

As opposed to the previous variables, this Dimension will now be analyzed from a perspective opposed to Universalism. Therefore, the analyzed data (Graph and Table 5) will relate to the proportion of private spending (out-of-pocket payments) in total health spending. To obtain the data to impute into QWEST, it was necessary to calculate the inverse of each value for a given period, since, from the conditionality perspective, the more persons rely on the market for the provision of healthcare, the lower the degree of de-commodification. For this dimension, the data is once again from the OECD, albeit from a different database[11].

[11] OECD Health Statistics (2023). Available at https://www.oecd.org/health/health-data.htm

When considering the mean performance of the five groups of countries between 1995 and 2019, it is the Nordic countries that have the lowest proportion of out-of-pocket payments in health, followed by the corporatist, liberal, socialist, and, finally, southern european countries. In this variable, we can easily see the greater fragility of the health systems in the countries of Eastern and Southern Europe, which are even the only group to worsen between the pre-and post-2010 periods. Here, the average among the post-socialist countries increases by more than 2 percentage points, driven by sharp increases in countries such as Slovakia (6.3 percentage points) or Romania (5.6 percentage points).

However, this variable will not be extensively analyzed in terms of the post-socialist model, as there is no supporting evidence for the existence of a distinctive model between the ten countries. Notice that there is an average difference between the maximum and minimum values for each year of around 34 percentage points, relatively high values when compared with what happened in the other variables In this dimension, the results of these countries are very diverse, with the group having both the best country in the aggregate ranking - Czechia - and two of the three worst countries globally - Bulgaria and Latvia. Apart from these, we have a mix of varied results between these countries, which shows that their performance is not homogeneous at all.

7.6. Proportion of Private Spending in overall Pension Spending

As was the case in the previous analysis, this variable will also be studied from the opposite perspective to the one used in QWEST. Once again, to compute the index, it was necessary to calculate the inverse of the values in Table 6, before normalizing the values according to the formula indicated in the methodology section. Here, according to the conditionality perspective, the higher the private spending on pensions, the lower the level of universalism of the welfare state in this variable.

Looking at the general behaviour of the four sets of nations, we can see two pairs of groups and an outlier. On the one hand, we have two groups that dominate the indicator, with an extremely low level of private spending on pensions, namely the post-Soviet and southern models. Here, it is the Soviet group that is best in terms of universalism of the variable until 2015, when it was overtaken by the group made up of Greece, Italy, Portugal, and Spain. On the other hand, there are two intermediate groups, where the Nordic model performs slightly better than the corporatist model over the whole period. Finally, with figures around 20 percentage points higher than the average, we have the liberal model, with the highest proportion of private spending on pensions by a large margin.

The behaviour of the post-socialist countries is relatively similar, with all of them registering figures far outside the liberal model, and even the aggregate average. Of the 10 countries in the group, only Slovenia is not in the top 15 countries in terms of universalism in this dimension of the index, although it continues to have below-average private spending on pensions. In addition, the six best countries in terms of averages for the period between 1995 and 2019 are Bulgaria, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, and Poland. In this variable, in all models, there are no significant variations over the analyzed period, with all models registering very similar values before and after 2010.

Thus, the performance of these countries in this 6th dimension gives us another argument in support of the existence of a distinct welfare state model, once again with a record relatively similar to that of the southern European countries, adding to the other hypothesis that this group could be revealed as a similar but weaker version of the welfare state comprised by the 4 Mediterranean countries states before.

7.7. Take-up Rates on Public Unemployment, Health, and Pensions Programs

Finally, the purpose of the seventh and remaining dimension of QWEST is to study the average proportion of the population covered by the existing public unemployment, sickness benefits, and pension programs. In this regard, a listed below large mixture of data sources was used.

Turning initially to Unemployment Coverage, the data mainly comes from CWED, as was the case in the fourth dimension. However, due to the considerable lack of data, it was necessary to extrapolate the values to before and after the first and last CWED values, respectively. In addition, for countries with no data in this database, namely Czechia and Romania, the values were both computed from International Labour Organization reports (ILO).

As for the take-up rate for sickness benefits, the data also comes from CWED and once again it is required to extrapolate before and after the first and last CWED values, respectively. However, the forward extrapolations were made by cross-referencing the value for 2019 from the ILO database, for the variable "Employed covered in the event of work injury", similar to the CWED definition of "Percentage of the labour force insured for sick pay".

Concerning pension coverage, the data comes from Eurostat, ILOSTAT, and various national statistical institutes. Here, the variable was constructed by myself, through the calculation of the fraction between pension beneficiaries (information from either national institutes or the OECD, depending on which database included the most data) and the population over retirement age. However, by "over working age population", this information could only be found for Latvia, while for the other countries, the number of people over 65 was used, with this data coming from either national institutes or Eurostat, according to the same criteria mentioned above (see references).

Shifting the focus to the quantitative analysis of the data in this dimension, we can plainly see that the corporatist and, surprisingly, the liberal model have the highest average take-up rates among these three major social insurance programs. Next, are the socialist and the Nordic

models, with average take-up rates in the 80.5 percent range. Finally, there is the poor performance of the southern model, at more than 15 percentage points below the aggregate average. This latter result is partly attributable to the large proportion of the population not having a permanent job or developing a large part of its economic activity in the informal sector.

*

Looking at the post-socialist data, one can argue that it seem to exist two markedly distinct groups within the post-socialist group. On the one hand, a high-achieving group, made up of Slovenia, Latvia, and Estonia, belongs to the 7 countries with the best averages out of all the analyzed countries. However, we should note that at the end of the period, we should add to this group the countries of Poland (which, as of 2018, is the only nation to reach 100 percent is terms of coverage, after a remarkable growth since entering the new century), Czechia and Bulgaria, the three countries that grew the most in the period between 2010 and 2019 compared to the preceding period. Neither Latvia nor Estonia seems to belong to this group of high achievers at the end of the period, having been overtaken by more than half of the post-socialist countries by 2019. Here, one can argue that the countries of Bulgaria, Czechia, Poland, and Slovenia even end up with a remarkable value, being levels above the Nordic model and only slightly below the corporatist average in 2019.

The countries in the model seem to converge slightly over the period in hand but with several exceptions. Bulgaria remains a long stride behind the remaining countries, always with take-up rates slightly below seventy percent. In contrast to the upward trend of the other nations, we have Estonia, Latvia, and Slovakia with decreases of more than 10 percentage points between the two periods already mentioned, with Slovakia in 2019 even registering values below Bulgaria, after 2019 having the fourth-best value within this subgroup.

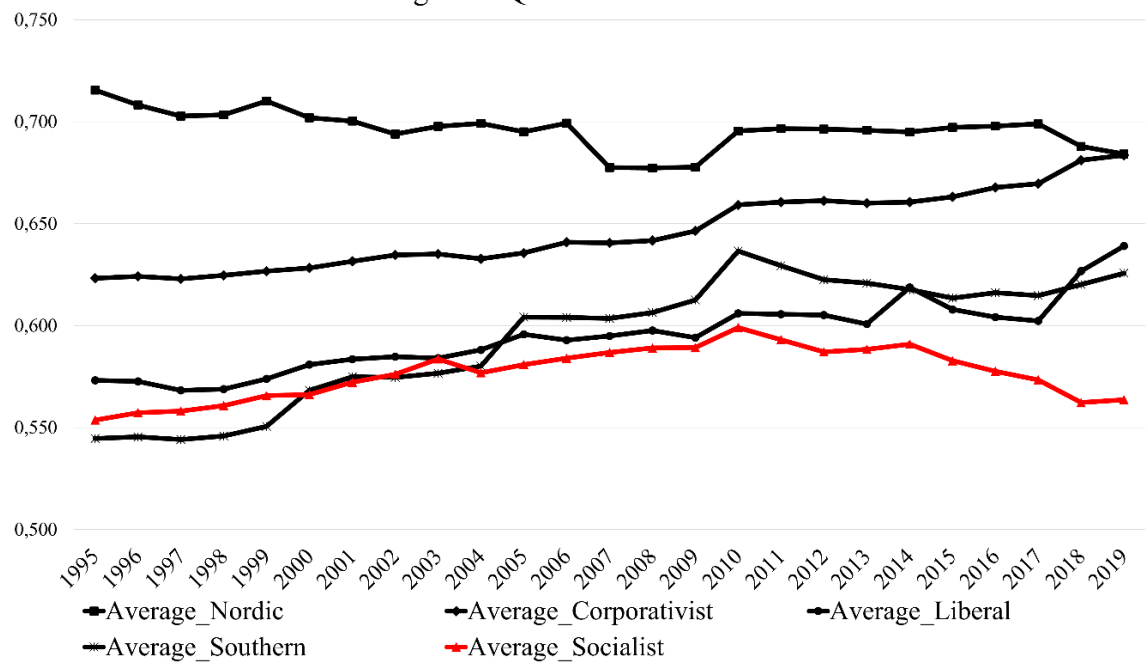
Also due to these exceptions, when we look at the average difference between the maximum and minimum values in each of these subgroups (in the order of 30 percentage points), the

values are well above those recorded in the famous welfare state models. Finally, to achieve a relatively homogeneous performance among these countries, we would have to remove the weak values of Bulgaria (and Slovakia in 2019), together with the very high levels of Latvia (which recorded 100 percent coverage between 2005 and 2007) and Poland at the end of the period under review.

7.8. The Post-Soviet Group through QWEST

Table 8 in the appendix shows the results for QWEST. The interpretation of results is made easier with Figure 1, where the data is organized by the already mentioned worlds of welfare capitalism suggested in the literature, plus the newly proposed post-socialist one. Thus, the table below shows the aggregate results of the index, i.e. the unweighted average of the seven dimensions previously analyzed in this chapter.

Figure 1. QWEST 1995-2019



As Amaral and Alexopoulou have argued, the 4 famous models of welfare capitalism are clearly visible in figure 1, but not so much in the end of the period. Thus, the Nordic model appeared as the most universal model throughout the period, followed by the corporatist one, which has

grown remarkably. Then there are the southern and liberal models and finally, having the lowest QWEST score for most of the period - except the 1995-2000 window, when the southern model was the worst - we have the suggested model for post-socialist countries.

By analyzing its performance in more detail, the post-socialist countries registered an increase of one percentage point between its value in 1995 and 2019, but this change was not entirely constant at all. In fact, one can easily identify two distinct periods for QWEST concerning this model. Firstly, a period of moderate growth, where, despite recording the worst value among the various models from 2004 onwards, it manages to fairly keep up with the liberal model. Then, from 2010 onwards, there was a decline period in the level of universality and the corresponding divergence from the Southern and Liberal models. Here, although these two models also experienced some difficulties after the crisis, QWEST grew again, up to values close to (in the case of the southern model) and even higher (in the case of the liberals) than the figure recorded in 2010. Thus, the post-Soviet model ends 2019 with a QWEST of 0.564, more than 6 percentage points behind the liberal model.

Unlike the famous welfare capitalism models, not all post-socialist countries became more universal in the period analyzed, which justifies this model's fall in average levels after 2010. The only other countries that also recorded a lower figure in 2019 compared to 1995 were Sweden and Denmark, which also contributed to the fall of their respective models.

As one can see in Graphs 8 and 9 the declines in universalism in Estonia, Hungary, Romania, and Slovakia are readily apparent. Notably, Estonia, initially recorded the highest value in the group in 1995 (higher than the corporatist's average), ultimately experienced an extraordinary decline, particularly after 2008. A similar case is Slovakia, also starting with a presumable value for the corporatist model but ended up with one of the worst values in 2019.

In the other direction is Poland. With a QWEST value of around 0.585 in 1995, already above the model average, the country finished the period with a value of 0.678, above the corporatist average, and with the 7th highest overall QWEST value when compared to the thirty countries analyzed, an amazing result for a country within this model. Meanwhile, Czechia, with moderate and then intense growth from 2008 onwards, despite the drop after 2014, also shows values at the end of the period that are comparable with other models. Here, this nation registers a value of 0.630 in 2019, above the southern countries' average of 0.626 and only 0.9 percentage points away from the continental model. Hence, of performance of these two countries (see Graph 7) may resembles the priviously discussed researh of Orenstein and Haas (2012), where the nations closest to the EU have employed social programs that led their welfare states to converge more with the rest of Europe.

Moreover, apart from these 5 countries with large discrepancies at the end of the period, Slovenia, Bulgaria, Lithuania, Hungary, and Latvia are only separated by just over 5 percentage points, around the average of 0.564 recorded by the model as a whole, being the core members of the Post-Socialist Welfare State in the end of the analyzed period.

Finally, one could also mention Bulgaria's very prominent growth which, starting at the lowest level in 1995, 14 percentage points off the post-socialist average, reached the fourth-best value in 2019 within the model, 3 percentage points more than the model's mean. So, analyzing the QWEST also allows us to conclude that the levels of universalism recorded at the end of the period can be substantially different than in 1995. A good example is Bulgaria and Romania, which at the beginning of the period looked like a low-performing sub-group of the post-socialist model. However, while Bulgaria managed to converge with the model average, Romania did not and remained with the lowest values of all the countries analyzed, continuing to be on the *Developing Welfare State* label by Fenger (2007), apart from the other ten countries from the Central and Eastern Europe under discussion.

8 Conclusion

Giving a clear verdict on the research question of this *Work Project* is not an easy job. However, by analyzing the QWEST results, we can argue that there is some room to believe in the existence of a distinct welfare state model, made up of Central and Southern European countries with socialist experiences in the second half of the 20th century. First, rather than containing distinctive characteristics, it is a set of countries that show an overall pattern indicative of a social state not very robust and is still developing. One could argue that the drop in universality is partly due to the small size of the social models which, when exposed to the financial crisis at the turn of the 2010s, caused the results to fall more than in the other studied models. In sum, one may argue that we have a weaker and less homogenous version of the Southern model.

Also, as one of the seven variables where we saw a distinct behavior by these countries, we saw the low level of social spending as a percentage of GDP, compared to the other OECD countries.

In terms of possible subgroups within the model, Slovenia, Slovakia, and Romania, although with very different characteristics and behaviors, appear to belong to a low-achieving subgroup within the socialist countries in 2019. In the opposite direction, we have Poland and Czechia, which in the end of the period may be considered as part of other welfare models.

In conclusion, there is still much work to be accomplished within the developed framework established of this thesis This index only provides an overview of the degree of universality, yet it falls short in determining whether increased universality is genuinely linked to reduced inequality and more favorable social outcomes. Consequently, one can argue that QWEST may be employed to access whether more universality has any impact on poverty or inequality.

Regarding the post-socialist countries, it would be interesting to study the sub-groups identified separately, trying to identify the reasons why they have similar results, as well as trying to access some of the countries that had such drastic variations between the analyzed period.

9 Appendix – Tables and Graphs

Table 1

Social Spending % GDP, 1995-2019

	AUS	AUT	BEL	BGR	CAN	CZE	DK	EST	FIN	FR	GER	GRC	HUN	IRL	IT	LVA	LTU	NET	NZ	NOR	PL	PT	ROU	SK	SLO	SP	SWE	SWI	UK	US
1995	16,9	28,0	25,6	13,9	18,3	16,0	30,5	15,2	29,8	28,2	26,5	18,5	21,0	17,4	22,2	14,2	12,6	26,7	17,8	25,4	21,8	18,2	12,6	18,3	5,7	20,3	31,5	19,8	22,5	14,9
1996	17,0	28,1	26,1	13,9	17,5	16,0	29,8	15,2	29,6	28,3	27,7	18,8	20,9	16,5	22,4	14,2	13,1	25,6	17,8	24,7	22,0	17,4	12,6	17,9	21,9	20,3	30,9	20,5	22,3	14,7
1997	16,8	27,5	25,1	13,9	16,9	16,7	28,8	15,1	27,5	28,2	27,3	19,0	20,8	15,4	23,1	14,3	13,8	24,7	18,7	24,1	21,5	17,2	12,7	17,6	22,3	19,7	29,9	21,3	22,2	14,3
1998	17,6	27,2	24,9	14,1	17,0	17,1	28,7	15,1	25,4	27,8	27,2	19,8	20,8	14,2	22,7	15,0	15,0	23,7	19,3	25,8	20,8	17,5	12,7	17,7	22,3	19,1	28,7	21,2	22,0	14,4
1999	17,2	27,6	24,6	14,2	16,0	17,7	28,3	15,2	24,7	27,7	27,6	20,8	20,9	13,6	23,0	16,4	16,2	23,1	18,6	25,8	21,1	17,9	12,8	18,2	22,3	18,7	28,4	21,3	21,8	14,1
2000	18,2	27,1	24,0	14,2	15,7	17,9	27,4	13,9	23,6	27,2	27,8	17,5	20,1	14,4	22,7	15,3	15,4	22,7	18,4	23,5	20,2	18,5	12,7	17,5	22,1	19,0	27,4	20,8	22,4	14,1
2001	17,5	27,1	24,4	14,2	16,1	17,8	27,6	13,1	23,4	27,5	27,7	17,9	19,8	15,1	22,8	14,3	14,6	22,4	17,8	24,5	21,7	19,0	12,6	17,2	22,0	18,7	27,7	21,3	22,9	14,7
2002	17,3	27,4	25,2	14,2	16,2	18,5	28,1	12,8	24,1	28,1	28,4	18,0	20,8	15,8	23,3	13,8	14,4	23,4	18,2	24,3	21,8	20,6	13,3	17,4	22,3	19,0	28,6	22,4	22,3	15,5
2003	17,5	27,8	25,9	14,2	16,2	18,7	29,2	12,9	24,7	28,7	28,8	18,0	21,8	16,1	23,6	12,9	14,3	24,3	17,7	25,5	22,0	21,2	13,1	16,6	21,9	19,3	29,5	23,3	24,7	15,8
2004	17,2	27,5	25,9	14,2	16,2	17,8	29,0	13,3	24,8	28,8	28,1	18,3	21,1	16,7	23,9	13,0	13,2	24,1	17,4	24,2	21,3	21,8	12,7	15,9	21,6	19,4	28,9	23,5	25,0	15,7
2005	16,7	27,1	25,7	18,6	16,1	17,9	28,6	12,8	24,7	28,9	27,9	19,9	21,8	16,5	24,1	12,2	13,7	23,8	18,0	22,4	20,9	22,3	13,3	15,4	21,5	19,7	28,6	23,3	25,7	15,5
2006	15,7	26,7	25,4	13,4	16,3	17,6	27,6	12,4	24,5	28,6	26,7	20,1	22,1	16,7	24,4	12,1	13,8	24,6	18,7	21,1	20,6	22,3	12,6	15,1	21,1	19,6	27,8	22,4	25,6	15,5
2007	15,9	26,2	25,0	13,0	16,3	17,4	29,4	12,4	23,6	28,4	25,9	20,8	22,4	17,3	24,3	11,0	14,8	24,2	18,5	21,1	19,5	21,8	12,9	14,9	19,8	19,9	26,7	21,7	23,8	15,7
2008	17,1	26,7	26,3	14,3	16,3	17,7	29,4	15,1	24,3	28,7	26,2	22,4	22,6	20,2	25,2	12,9	16,6	24,4	19,8	20,7	20,2	22,3	13,5	14,9	19,9	21,1	27,6	21,2	24,7	16,3
2009	16,9	28,7	28,7	15,6	18,1	19,9	33,1	19,4	28,1	31,0	29,4	24,4	23,2	24,0	27,2	17,9	21,8	26,9	20,9	24,2	21,3	24,5	16,1	17,8	22,4	24,2	27,6	23,1	27,5	18,4
2010	16,6	28,8	28,1	16,5	17,6	19,5	32,9	18,1	28,4	31,0	28,7	25,6	22,8	24,3	27,3	19,1	19,4	27,4	20,6	24,0	20,7	24,4	17,3	17,4	23,4	24,3	27,8	22,7	27,8	19,1
2011	17,0	28,0	28,6	15,9	17,1	19,6	32,5	16,2	27,9	30,9	27,5	27,3	22,2	23,6	27,0	16,9	17,4	27,8	20,2	23,7	19,6	24,3	16,4	17,1	23,4	25,0	27,4	22,7	28,2	18,8
2012	17,3	28,4	28,4	16,0	17,2	19,9	32,4	15,8	29,2	31,5	27,6	27,9	22,5	23,3	27,7	15,3	16,3	28,5	20,4	23,5	19,9	25,0	15,3	17,3	23,5	25,2	28,4	23,2	28,3	18,5
2013	17,2	28,8	28,8	17,0	17,0	20,7	33,0	15,7	30,2	31,9	28,0	25,9	22,2	22,2	28,3	15,5	15,3	28,8	19,7	24,0	20,6	26,0	14,6	17,7	23,8	25,5	29,3	23,8	27,7	18,5
2014	17,8	29,0	28,7	17,8	16,9	20,1	33,0	16,0	30,9	32,1	27,8	25,7	21,3	20,4	28,5	15,4	15,5	28,6	19,7	24,9	20,3	25,5	14,4	17,7	23,1	25,1	28,8	23,8	27,0	18,5
2015	18,1	29,1	28,6	17,1	17,9	19,3	32,3	17,3	31,2	31,9	28,1	25,8	20,3	15,4	28,6	15,7	15,8	28,1	19,4	26,7	20,2	24,7	14,3	17,2	22,7	24,3	28,4	24,4	27,1	18,5
2016	17,4	29,0	27,7	16,9	18,3	18,9	31,1	17,5	31,1	32,0	28,4	26,1	20,2	15,3	28,1	16,0	15,6	28,0	19,0	28,0	21,2	24,0	14,4	17,6	22,2	23,4	28,8	24,8	25,7	18,6
2017	16,7	28,6	27,3	16,4	18,0	18,9	30,7	17,0	30,0	31,7	28,3	25,4	19,4	14,4	27,8	15,8	15,3	27,6	18,6	27,3	20,8	23,6	14,5	17,5	21,5	23,0	28,2	25,2	26,1	18,4
2018	18,0	28,4	27,3	16,4	18,0	19,1	30,5	17,5	29,6	31,4	28,4	25,0	18,6	13,7	27,9	16,1	16,4	27,1	19,4	26,2	20,5	23,1	14,7	17,2	21,3	23,2	27,7	24,6	25,5	18,2
2019	18,0	28,6	27,4	16,0	18,0	19,5	30,3	17,9	29,6	31,2	28,9	24,8	17,6	13,0	28,2	16,5	17,0	26,9	20,0	27,4	21,2	23,1	15,0	17,5	21,5	23,7	27,1	25,1	25,0	18,7

Sources: Eurostat, OECD.Stats and AMECO

Table 2

Social -Benefits not subject to means-testing (% total benefits), 1995-2019

	AUS	AUT	BEL	BGR	CAN	CZE	DK	EST	FIN	FR	GER	GRC	HUN	IRL	IT	LVA	LTU	NET	NZ	NOR	PL	PT	ROU	SK	SLO	SP	SWE	SWI	UK	US
1995	74,4	94,7	96,1	82,0	94,7	91,1	97,2	96,4	87,9	88,2	89,0	98,5	90,5	68,2	94,5	97,8	95,6	91,6	85,8	95,2	95,4	93,6	90,0	84,7	91,4	86,3	93,4	92,8	81,9	55,2
1996	75,0	94,8	96,1	83,7	94,7	92,1	97,2	96,6	84,7	88,5	89,4	98,2	91,2	68,0	94,5	97,8	95,6	91,6	85,0	95,4	95,3	93,4	90,2	86,8	91,3	86,1	93,5	93,5	82,3	54,7
1997	74,4	93,1	96,7	85,2	94,6	92,7	97,2	96,9	85,3	88,3	89,6	97,5	91,8	69,4	94,4	97,9	94,9	89,4	83,4	95,7	95,2	93,4	90,4	88,7	91,3	86,4	94,0	93,4	83,4	54,1
1998	72,3	93,1	96,7	86,6	94,6	92,8	97,1	97,1	85,4	88,2	89,6	97,6	92,4	70,5	94,5	98,1	96,1	89,1	83,5	95,8	95,2	92,8	90,5	87,9	91,5	86,4	94,4	93,1	83,8	55,8
1999	72,5	93,3	96,8	87,9	94,6	92,3	97,1	97,3	93,2	88,2	89,9	97,5	92,9	71,0	94,2	98,4	96,4	90,0	83,6	96,1	95,1	92,3	90,7	87,1	91,1	86,7	94,8	92,7	83,7	55,5
2000	73,9	92,8	95,8	89,1	94,7	92,2	97,1	97,5	93,7	88,2	90,0	97,6	93,2	76,1	94,2	98,3	95,4	90,1	84,4	96,2	95,0	92,4	90,8	87,2	90,6	87,3	95,3	92,9	85,3	55,5
2001	73,1	93,2	95,7	90,1	95,2	92,7	97,1	97,4	94,1	87,9	90,2	97,4	93,8	77,3	94,2	98,2	95,5	90,5	84,9	96,5	95,3	92,1	94,3	87,0	90,9	87,4	95,6	93,7	85,5	54,5
2002	73,1	93,0	95,4	91,1	95,3	92,9	97,0	97,6	94,0	88,4	90,0	97,6	94,3	76,1	94,1	98,2	95,2	90,7	85,6	93,0	96,3	90,9	93,6	89,2	90,9	87,2	96,0	93,8	84,7	54,4
2003	73,3	93,0	95,2	91,9	95,4	93,3	97,0	97,9	94,3	89,0	89,5	97,5	94,7	75,9	94,3	98,5	95,5	91,2	85,6	93,1	95,6	91,0	93,3	92,9	90,2	87,4	97,0	93,6	80,0	53,4
2004	74,0	92,5	95,4	92,7	95,5	93,2	96,9	98,7	94,6	89,1	89,0	96,6	95,0	76,8	94,4	98,5	96,6	90,6	85,6	93,7	94,9	89,2	92,4	94,9	90,2	87,5	97,0	93,4	79,7	52,3
2005	74,6	92,4	95,3	93,4	95,8	94,7	96,9	99,0	94,9	89,1	87,8	96,7	94,7	76,8	94,5	98,6	97,9	90,6	84,7	94,3	93,7	89,1	93,0	94,5	90,3	86,6	97,1	93,4	80,9	51,7
2006	73,7	92,2	95,2	93,9	96,0	95,0	97,0	99,2	95,2	88,8	87,5	96,6	95,7	76,3	94,5	98,5	98,2	89,5	83,2	94,5	94,9	90,8	93,6	93,5	90,9	86,3	97,2	93,3	80,8	50,9
2007	74,3	92,2	95,1	95,1	96,4	96,8	66,7	99,4	95,5	88,9	87,8	96,0	93,6	75,7	94,2	98,3	98,5	87,8	83,3	94,8	95,0	90,7	93,6	93,6	91,4	86,6	97,2	93,4	79,4	50,9
2008	75,0	92,1	94,9	95,3	96,3	98,0	66,5	99,6	95,8	89,0	88,1	96,4	94,6	74,8	94,3	98,1	98,3	87,4	85,9	94,9	95,9	90,1	95,0	94,9	91,5	86,6	97,3	93,3	79,2	50,7
2009	73,6	92,0	94,9	95,6	96,4	98,3	67,5	99,5	95,7	88,8	88,2	96,6	94,6	73,3	93,8	98,5	97,6	87,0	86,1	95,0	96,5	89,9	94,3	94,9	91,5	86,0	97,3	93,4	78,6	52,3
2010	73,3	91,8	94,9	95,5	96,4	98,1	66,1	99,1	95,6	89,0	88,1	96,5	94,9	70,8	94,3	97,1	94,5	87,0	86,5	95,1	96,4	90,0	92,8	94,6	91,7	85,3	97,2	93,2	78,7	52,3
2011	73,4	91,7	95,0	95,8	96,7	98,2	65,0	99,0	95,4	89,1	88,2	96,5	95,3	69,3	94,6	96,5	93,9	86,8	87,0	95,3	96,6	91,2	95,2	94,7	91,7	83,8	97,3	92,9	79,2	51,6
2012	73,7	91,7	94,7	95,8	96,8	97,9	64,7	99,2	95,0	89,1	88,2	96,0	95,9	69,1	94,6	97,7	94,0	86,9	87,5	95,5	96,1	91,1	95,9	94,8	92,3	85,1	97,3	92,8	79,8	51,1
2013	72,8	91,6	94,8	95,9	96,9	97,3	64,6	99,3	94,7	89,0	88,0	95,3	95,8	68,6	94,5	98,5	94,7	86,6	85,1	95,7	96,0	91,6	95,7	94,9	92,4	85,6	97,4	92,8	80,6	50,9
2014	73,0	91,3	95,1	95,8	97,0	97,1	64,6	99,3	94,4	89,0	87,9	94,0	96,4	69,2	93,1	98,8	95,9	87,0	85,9	95,9	96,2	91,8	95,9	95,2	92,2	85,8	97,4	92,6	81,4	50,0
2015	73,5	90,9	95,2	96,2	97,1	97,3	63,9	99,5	93,9	89,1	87,7	94,5	96,2	70,2	92,4	99,0	96,8	85,5	86,5	96,3	96,4	92,0	95,7	95,6	92,2	86,6	97,4	92,6	82,3	49,4
2016	73,8	90,2	94,8	96,6	90,5	97,5	63,2	99,1	93,5	89,0	87,1	94,9	96,1	71,0	92,2	99,1	97,3	85,3	86,9	96,5	95,4	91,9	96,2	96,0	92,1	87,0	97,6	92,5	82,4	49,6
2017	73,8	90,6	94,7	97,2	90,4	97,9	63,7	99,2	93,2	88,9	87,4	93,2	95,1	72,6	92,0	99,1	97,3	85,2	87,6	96,6	95,1	92,1	96,2	96,0	91,5	87,4	97,6	92,5	83,3	49,5
2018	100,0	95,7	94,6	97,2	90,9	96,7	64,1	73,5	97,6	95,3	99,3	100,0	91,0	92,3	85,3	97,7	97,0	90,9	87,2	92,5	91,9	96,5	91,1	93,0	96,6	89,0	79,0	84,2	91,1	49,5
2019	100,0	97,8	94,4	97,4	100,0	96,8	63,8	74,3	97,6	95,0	99,4	100,0	91,5	94,2	87,1	97,1	96,8	91,1	100,0	92,6	91,9	96,6	91,0	93,3	96,6	88,6	78,6	84,0	90,4	49,5

Source: EUROSTAT, except Australia, Canada, New Zealand and USA

Table 3
Social Spending financed by taxes (%), 1990-2010

	AUS	AUT	BEL	BGR	CAN	CZE	DK	EST	FIN	FR	GER	GRC	HUN	IRL	IT	LVA	LTU	NET	NZ	NOR	PL	PT	ROU	SK	SLO	SP	SWE	SWI	UK	US
1995	100,0	35,9	28,9	20,9	86,1	21,9	76,0	19,7	52,7	25,1	31,2	39,0	32,2	63,4	32,3	30,6	41,5	30,7	94,6	63,1	27,8	46,4	13,3	37,4	28,0	33,0	57,6	35,9	50,7	74,1
1996	100,0	35,2	30,1	22,3	86,9	21,9	74,3	19,8	51,6	26,2	33,2	37,9	32,8	63,6	32,1	31,3	41,2	31,6	94,9	62,2	28,9	51,7	14,5	35,9	29,1	31,5	54,3	35,2	49,6	74,8
1997	100,0	34,5	31,1	23,8	87,2	22,9	73,2	19,9	51,3	28,5	33,0	39,1	33,4	63,1	32,4	32,0	39,7	31,2	95,2	61,8	30,1	47,0	15,9	33,3	33,9	31,1	52,9	36,3	48,8	75,3
1998	100,0	34,5	30,0	25,3	87,2	24,8	72,7	20,0	50,7	35,1	33,7	38,3	34,0	62,0	40,8	31,0	40,7	30,4	94,6	61,4	31,3	47,2	17,4	32,7	33,3	31,3	51,2	35,9	46,5	75,5
1999	100,0	34,8	31,9	26,9	87,5	27,0	71,5	20,1	50,4	34,9	34,6	39,1	34,7	60,7	42,5	35,6	41,5	29,0	96,0	61,2	32,5	47,1	19,1	34,3	33,1	31,7	52,5	38,4	47,3	75,6
2000	100,0	34,5	32,4	28,7	87,4	26,2	70,6	20,8	50,1	35,1	34,1	37,6	33,6	59,9	43,8	35,2	40,0	27,4	97,1	61,6	33,8	47,0	20,9	33,2	33,7	32,6	48,9	36,8	46,8	75,9
2001	100,0	34,9	32,4	30,5	86,5	25,4	69,6	22,9	49,6	35,9	34,4	37,1	35,2	61,2	43,8	35,5	40,2	27,0	96,8	62,3	36,6	45,6	25,1	34,9	34,1	32,0	47,5	34,9	49,6	74,8
2002	100,0	36,1	33,8	32,5	85,6	25,0	68,4	22,4	49,5	35,9	35,5	36,6	38,3	62,9	43,8	33,6	40,5	28,5	96,7	55,2	37,8	47,1	23,1	35,3	33,6	34,7	48,0	34,4	51,8	72,8
2003	100,0	36,7	33,6	34,6	85,5	24,5	69,7	20,2	50,0	35,2	36,1	38,6	37,1	63,5	42,4	35,8	39,9	27,9	97,0	56,5	38,0	49,7	47,7	31,8	33,3	34,9	50,2	35,3	53,8	72,5
2004	100,0	36,4	34,7	36,9	86,0	21,0	70,2	21,3	50,2	35,5	36,5	39,7	36,9	62,9	44,7	35,3	38,6	28,5	97,1	56,5	39,5	54,0	46,9	31,2	33,2	35,4	50,0	35,7	55,0	72,9
2005	100,0	36,2	34,8	39,3	86,1	21,4	71,2	20,5	50,3	36,0	36,7	40,9	38,6	61,4	44,4	38,1	38,8	30,7	97,2	55,6	38,1	54,4	20,5	31,8	32,9	36,5	49,8	35,7	53,8	74,6
2006	100,0	36,1	35,3	42,0	86,3	21,8	69,2	19,6	50,0	36,5	36,5	40,4	44,9	61,5	45,9	38,2	37,1	30,9	96,9	54,2	39,5	54,7	19,7	36,1	32,1	36,7	50,8	35,2	54,5	75,4
2007	100,0	35,8	34,9	42,0	86,2	23,4	79,6	18,5	50,8	37,0	36,5	40,2	42,3	62,0	45,4	35,6	36,7	32,8	96,7	54,4	37,6	53,6	21,7	35,0	31,5	36,9	49,2	35,3	63,0	75,5
2008	100,0	35,8	35,9	46,0	85,9	23,3	79,4	19,2	51,5	38,5	36,1	42,6	37,2	63,2	44,5	35,6	35,7	31,0	96,7	52,9	39,5	53,9	22,5	32,7	31,0	38,0	51,2	34,4	63,2	74,4
2009	100,0	37,5	36,3	50,4	85,4	27,5	80,3	18,3	51,7	38,0	36,3	44,9	47,0	65,1	46,2	44,5	34,0	33,4	96,0	55,3	41,1	55,3	28,4	38,2	34,8	44,2	52,8	34,6	64,2	71,5
2010	100,0	38,0	38,2	53,0	85,6	29,1	80,4	19,9	52,2	37,8	37,4	42,5	45,7	69,9	47,8	50,7	34,6	34,3	95,7	56,0	41,6	55,5	32,7	41,7	34,4	44,8	51,4	34,6	59,8	72,6
2011	100,0	37,6	38,0	52,7	85,7	28,9	80,1	21,5	52,7	38,3	35,8	44,4	42,1	67,8	47,5	42,2	33,2	34,2	95,8	55,9	39,4	55,0	33,5	39,2	35,7	45,3	52,9	35,4	63,0	75,8
2012	100,0	38,1	40,1	52,9	85,4	29,3	81,0	19,3	52,8	38,8	35,3	43,9	39,6	68,5	48,7	37,9	31,5	34,2	96,4	54,8	40,0	57,8	29,6	40,4	35,0	45,3	52,2	36,0	62,2	76,1
2013	100,0	37,7	40,0	50,8	85,2	29,7	81,2	18,9	53,0	38,8	34,9	45,1	40,4	67,6	49,8	38,3	28,5	32,7	96,5	55,4	36,4	56,4	27,7	35,1	36,3	47,4	52,5	34,6	62,1	74,8
2014	100,0	38,0	40,6	50,8	85,5	30,0	81,8	18,3	52,3	38,8	34,8	44,6	38,1	65,4	51,0	40,6	29,1	34,3	96,9	54,3	36,6	54,7	29,9	35,8	35,2	46,7	52,9	34,2	63,4	75,1
2015	100,0	37,8	39,6	49,2	85,6	28,3	82,6	20,6	52,8	39,2	35,0	44,1	34,3	63,9	50,7	42,1	28,4	37,7	97,4	55,4	34,9	54,9	34,5	32,1	33,6	45,7	53,3	34,0	64,9	75,2
2016	100,0	38,0	40,8	48,1	85,7	26,0	83,5	21,1	52,8	39,8	35,1	45,2	30,9	63,0	50,6	42,8	24,5	37,1	97,7	56,1	32,6	54,7	30,5	31,8	31,8	42,8	53,0	34,1	61,8	74,9
2017	100,0	36,7	41,1	43,8	86,4	25,2	81,5	23,0	54,3	39,8	34,8	43,9	34,0	62,8	49,8	41,0	24,5	38,9	97,9	56,4	31,3	53,4	27,0	29,2	30,5	41,8	52,9	34,7	62,7	75,6
2018	100,0	37,2	40,6	41,9	86,5	24,5	81,5	25,4	55,2	42,0	34,4	45,7	33,1	63,0	48,8	40,8	26,8	38,2	97,9	55,8	29,4	52,4	19,7	29,5	28,8	41,1	52,2	33,4	61,2	74,0
2019	100,0	37,0	42,1	39,1	86,3	24,4	80,0	27,4	55,0	45,5	34,4	52,8	30,7	61,2	48,5	39,6	45,2	39,8	97,9	55,7	38,0	51,8	19,2	26,6	28,3	41,7	52,2	33,4	60,8	74,0

Source: EUROSTAT

Table 4
Rules of Entitlement for Social Benefits, 1995-2019

	AUS	AUT	BEL	BGR	CAN	CZE	DK	EST	FIN	FR	GER	GRC	HUN	IRL	IT	LVA	LTU	NET	NZ	NOR	PL	PT	ROU	SK	SLO	SP	SWE	SWI	UK	US
1995	0,59	0,52	0,66	0,46	0,61	0,52	0,54	0,56	0,47	0,42	0,45	0,60	0,53	0,63	0,58	0,58	0,68	0,57	0,43	0,54	0,67	0,54	0,45	0,59	0,62	0,45	0,54	0,56	0,62	0,57
1996	0,60	0,52	0,66	0,47	0,61	0,51	0,54	0,57	0,48	0,49	0,49	0,61	0,52	0,63	0,58	0,58	0,66	0,56	0,42	0,53	0,63	0,54	0,46	0,58	0,61	0,45	0,53	0,56	0,62	0,57
1997	0,60	0,52	0,66	0,47	0,60	0,50	0,53	0,57	0,48	0,49	0,48	0,61	0,52	0,63	0,58	0,58	0,66	0,55	0,42	0,53	0,63	0,54	0,46	0,57	0,56	0,45	0,51	0,58	0,61	0,57
1998	0,59	0,52	0,66	0,47	0,59	0,50	0,53	0,56	0,48	0,48	0,48	0,61	0,51	0,64	0,59	0,58	0,66	0,56	0,42	0,54	0,64	0,53	0,47	0,58	0,57	0,44	0,51	0,58	0,62	0,56
1999	0,59	0,52	0,66	0,48	0,59	0,49	0,53	0,56	0,48	0,48	0,49	0,61	0,56	0,65	0,58	0,57	0,68	0,55	0,42	0,53	0,61	0,54	0,48	0,57	0,58	0,44	0,52	0,59	0,67	0,56
2000	0,58	0,52	0,66	0,47	0,59	0,49	0,53	0,56	0,48	0,48	0,52	0,61	0,56	0,65	0,59	0,57	0,66	0,55	0,42	0,53	0,64	0,55	0,46	0,58	0,58	0,45	0,51	0,58	0,68	0,55
2001	0,58	0,55	0,66	0,47	0,59	0,48	0,53	0,56	0,48	0,49	0,51	0,62	0,56	0,65	0,60	0,57	0,66	0,55	0,42	0,53	0,67	0,54	0,43	0,57	0,58	0,45	0,52	0,57	0,67	0,55
2002	0,58	0,56	0,66	0,48	0,58	0,49	0,53	0,56	0,48	0,50	0,54	0,62	0,56	0,65	0,59	0,57	0,67	0,55	0,42	0,53	0,67	0,55	0,43	0,58	0,58	0,44	0,52	0,61	0,65	0,55
2003	0,57	0,56	0,66	0,48	0,58	0,49	0,53	0,56	0,48	0,50	0,53	0,63	0,55	0,65	0,62	0,57	0,68	0,55	0,42	0,53	0,67	0,55	0,50	0,58	0,58	0,44	0,53	0,59	0,64	0,55
2004	0,57	0,56	0,66	0,48	0,58	0,48	0,53	0,56	0,49	0,49	0,54	0,63	0,56	0,65	0,63	0,57	0,68	0,55	0,43	0,53	0,69	0,54	0,50	0,58	0,58	0,43	0,53	0,58	0,60	0,55
2005	0,57	0,55	0,66	0,48	0,58	0,49	0,53	0,56	0,49	0,49	0,53	0,63	0,56	0,65	0,63	0,57	0,67	0,55	0,43	0,53	0,75	0,55	0,50	0,57	0,56	0,50	0,52	0,57	0,60	0,53
2006	0,57	0,55	0,66	0,48	0,57	0,52	0,54	0,56	0,49	0,51	0,54	0,63	0,57	0,66	0,63	0,57	0,67	0,55	0,43	0,53	0,57	0,54	0,50	0,58	0,56	0,51	0,52	0,57	0,60	0,53
2007	0,56	0,55	0,66	0,47	0,57	0,52	0,54	0,56	0,46	0,53	0,54	0,63	0,54	0,65	0,63	0,56	0,65	0,55	0,42	0,53	0,60	0,52	0,50	0,60	0,54	0,50	0,50	0,60	0,60	0,53
2008	0,55	0,55	0,66	0,47	0,56	0,51	0,54	0,56	0,48	0,53	0,55	0,62	0,54	0,66	0,63	0,56	0,65	0,55	0,43	0,53	0,55	0,51	0,50	0,59	0,51	0,50	0,50	0,61	0,58	0,53
2009	0,55	0,55	0,67	0,48	0,55	0,51	0,54	0,56	0,48	0,54	0,54	0,63	0,54	0,66	0,63	0,56	0,64	0,55	0,43	0,54	0,60	0,49	0,51	0,59	0,51	0,53	0,50	0,64	0,58	0,53
2010	0,56	0,55	0,68	0,47	0,57	0,52	0,54	0,56	0,47	0,48	0,54	0,63	0,53	0,67	0,63	0,56	0,63	0,56	0,50	0,53	0,60	0,49	0,50	0,57	0,52	0,50	0,50	0,62	0,59	0,54
2011	0,55	0,56	0,68	0,47	0,56	0,52	0,54	0,56	0,48	0,48	0,51	0,62	0,54	0,67	0,64	0,56	0,63	0,56	0,50	0,53	0,60	0,52	0,49	0,51	0,51	0,49	0,50	0,56	0,61	0,52
2012	0,55	0,55	0,67	0,48	0,56	0,53	0,54	0,56	0,46	0,48	0,51	0,62	0,54	0,67	0,64	0,57	0,63	0,56	0,51	0,53	0,61	0,52	0,49	0,51	0,51	0,49	0,49	0,56	0,62	0,53
2013	0,55	0,56	0,68	0,48	0,56	0,54	0,54	0,56	0,47	0,48	0,51	0,61	0,53	0,67	0,64	0,57	0,62	0,56	0,51	0,53	0,61	0,52	0,49	0,50	0,51	0,49	0,49	0,55	0,62	0,53
2014	0,55	0,55	0,69	0,47	0,56	0,55	0,54	0,56	0,47	0,46	0,52	0,61	0,53	0,67	0,65	0,58	0,62	0,56	0,50	0,52	0,61	0,52	0,48	0,50	0,50	0,49	0,49	0,55	0,62	0,53
2015	0,56	0,58	0,68	0,47	0,56	0,55	0,54	0,56	0,47	0,46	0,53	0,61	0,53	0,67	0,66	0,58	0,62	0,56	0,49	0,52	0,62	0,52	0,48	0,50	0,50	0,50	0,48	0,54	0,61	0,52
2016	0,56	0,57	0,68	0,47	0,56	0,54	0,54	0,56	0,45	0,45	0,54	0,61	0,54	0,68	0,65	0,58	0,64	0,56	0,48	0,56	0,62	0,51	0,48	0,50	0,51	0,49	0,48	0,54	0,61	0,52
2017	0,56	0,57	0,68	0,50	0,56	0,53	0,54	0,56	0,46	0,44	0,53	0,61	0,54	0,68	0,64	0,58	0,63	0,56	0,47	0,56	0,61	0,51	0,48	0,50	0,51	0,54	0,47	0,53	0,61	0,52
2018	0,56	0,57	0,69	0,49	0,55	0,53	0,53	0,56	0,46	0,44	0,53	0,61	0,53	0,68	0,64	0,58	0,63	0,56	0,47	0,55	0,63	0,52	0,48	0,50	0,51	0,54	0,47	0,53	0,61	0,52
2019	0,55	0,56	0,69	0,49	0,55	0,53	0,54	0,56	0,37	0,43	0,53	0,61	0,53	0,67	0,64	0,58	0,63	0,56	0,47	0,55	0,65	0,52	0,49	0,50	0,51	0,53	0,47	0,53	0,61	0,52

Sources: See text and references

Table 5
Share of Public Spending in overall Heath Spending, 1995-2019

	AUS	AUT	BEL	BGR	CAN	CZE	DK	EST	FIN	FR	GER	GRC	HUN	IRL	IT	LVA	LTU	NET	NZ	NOR	PL	PT	ROU	SK	SLO	SP	SWE	SWI	UK	US
1995	66,4	75,3	76,8	62,5	70,9	89,7	82,0	84,4	71,2	79,1	80,2	52,9	82,9	74,1	71,3	43,0	72,9	75,4	77,2	83,9	73,5	61,5	92,2	92,8	72,4	72,0	86,6	55,4	84,1	46,3
1996	65,8	75,0	78,2	62,2	70,6	89,7	81,9	83,5	71,1	79,0	80,8	54,1	80,7	73,5	71,3	44,6	72,1	69,9	76,7	83,7	73,8	64,1	91,0	92,3	72,5	72,2	87,2	56,5	84,1	46,3
1997	67,3	75,5	75,4	61,9	69,8	89,4	81,7	82,6	71,4	79,1	79,5	53,9	80,1	74,6	71,3	46,2	71,2	71,2	77,3	80,6	69,1	64,4	89,7	91,7	72,6	72,2	85,9	57,1	75,7	46,1
1998	67,8	75,4	74,8	61,6	70,3	89,5	81,0	81,6	72,0	79,0	78,9	53,3	73,9	75,1	70,6	47,8	70,4	69,2	77,0	81,3	68,8	66,0	88,1	91,6	72,7	71,9	85,8	57,3	75,7	44,9
1999	69,7	75,6	74,6	61,3	69,8	90,0	83,2	80,6	71,2	78,9	78,7	54,8	71,2	75,5	71,0	49,3	69,4	68,6	77,5	81,6	70,1	66,5	86,3	89,4	72,8	71,8	85,9	57,9	76,5	44,5
2000	68,4	75,5	74,6	61,0	70,0	89,8	83,1	77,0	74,1	78,9	78,1	61,6	69,6	77,5	72,6	50,8	68,5	69,0	78,0	81,7	68,9	69,8	84,3	89,2	72,9	71,4	85,5	58,1	76,6	44,4
2001	67,8	75,0	75,4	60,9	69,7	89,4	83,4	78,4	74,6	78,9	78,1	63,2	68,2	78,4	74,6	48,7	71,6	69,6	76,4	82,8	71,0	70,2	84,3	89,1	71,5	71,0	82,2	59,4	77,9	45,3
2002	68,6	74,8	73,8	61,0	69,3	90,0	83,8	76,6	75,1	79,2	77,6	60,5	69,6	79,0	75,0	49,6	73,9	70,0	77,9	82,9	70,4	72,0	84,3	89,0	73,4	71,0	82,6	61,0	79,7	45,2
2003	68,1	74,5	74,2	61,0	69,9	89,4	83,9	76,2	75,5	78,8	77,1	59,9	70,5	78,8	75,3	49,8	75,4	70,2	78,3	83,2	69,2	70,6	84,5	87,8	72,8	71,1	83,1	61,6	78,4	45,0
2004	68,3	73,4	75,0	59,7	69,9	88,8	83,5	74,4	76,0	78,8	75,6	58,6	70,4	78,9	76,2	56,6	66,6	68,6	79,6	83,0	67,7	70,6	74,9	77,6	73,4	71,4	82,7	61,6	80,2	45,4
2005	68,4	74,0	74,9	59,9	69,9	86,8	83,7	74,5	76,2	78,7	75,3	60,8	70,7	78,9	77,5	56,0	66,7	68,4	79,7	83,1	68,7	70,9	80,8	75,3	73,5	71,6	82,3	63,1	81,2	45,5
2006	68,3	74,4	74,6	56,1	69,4	86,3	83,9	75,3	77,3	77,2	74,9	61,6	70,7	77,8	77,8	61,5	67,6	83,7	80,1	83,3	69,2	63,5	79,6	70,0	73,1	72,1	82,4	62,5	81,3	46,1
2007	69,3	74,4	74,2	56,1	69,6	84,7	83,7	75,6	77,2	77,0	74,9	63,3	68,9	79,2	77,5	60,9	71,1	84,1	82,4	83,7	70,1	62,8	81,9	69,3	71,5	72,3	82,5	62,4	81,5	46,2
2008	69,0	75,0	75,8	56,2	69,8	82,1	84,0	76,4	77,4	76,5	75,1	65,3	68,9	79,3	77,7	60,4	71,2	82,7	80,9	84,2	71,7	62,5	81,5	75,4	73,6	73,3	82,5	63,6	81,2	47,3
2009	69,3	75,1	76,3	54,3	70,2	83,3	84,5	77,0	77,5	76,5	83,3	68,3	68,3	77,1	78,3	60,1	72,5	83,2	81,1	84,5	71,7	63,9	78,8	73,5	73,1	75,1	82,5	64,1	80,8	48,3
2010	68,6	74,6	76,3	55,4	69,9	84,9	84,2	75,4	77,1	76,3	83,2	68,9	67,1	76,2	78,5	60,2	71,8	83,4	81,2	84,7	71,7	66,6	80,0	71,9	73,4	74,4	82,5	64,2	80,7	48,7
2011	69,2	74,6	76,2	54,3	70,2	84,6	83,9	75,8	77,6	76,0	83,1	65,9	66,5	72,1	77,0	63,5	71,1	82,7	80,9	84,4	70,9	64,6	75,3	73,8	73,4	73,5	84,5	64,8	80,6	48,8
2012	67,5	74,7	76,5	51,0	70,5	84,6	84,3	75,7	78,2	76,1	83,0	66,3	65,5	71,9	75,9	60,3	67,4	82,1	80,5	84,8	70,0	61,3	76,9	72,2	72,0	72,1	84,2	66,1	80,3	48,7
2013	65,0	74,0	76,0	56,8	70,9	84,5	84,4	74,7	78,0	76,2	83,8	62,9	66,6	70,8	75,8	60,0	66,3	81,1	80,1	85,0	70,7	62,3	79,3	74,2	71,4	71,0	84,0	66,3	80,1	49,4
2014	67,6	74,0	76,2	58,5	70,7	84,1	84,4	74,9	78,0	76,4	84,2	58,9	67,1	71,2	75,4	59,7	67,6	81,1	79,6	85,3	70,7	61,8	79,0	80,2	71,1	70,3	84,0	66,9	80,2	82,6
2015	68,6	74,1	76,4	56,1	70,8	84,3	84,2	74,7	76,9	76,6	84,2	60,0	68,2	71,8	74,4	58,7	67,2	81,4	79,0	85,5	69,7	61,7	78,0	79,7	71,8	71,3	84,0	67,2	80,2	82,9
2016	68,8	74,0	76,8	55,4	69,8	84,3	84,2	74,6	76,2	83,0	84,4	61,6	68,1	72,5	74,4	55,9	66,6	81,2	78,7	85,4	69,3	61,7	78,3	80,4	72,7	71,6	84,3	67,9	80,6	82,8
2017	69,0	74,0	76,8	56,3	69,6	84,4	84,0	73,6	76,4	83,1	84,4	60,7	68,9	73,0	73,7	57,3	66,2	81,7	78,6	85,1	69,3	61,2	78,7	79,9	72,2	70,5	84,7	68,0	80,0	82,9
2018	69,5	74,7	76,6	59,1	69,7	84,9	83,8	73,7	77,0	83,4	84,1	59,3	69,6	74,0	73,9	59,9	67,2	82,1	79,2	85,7	71,5	61,2	79,7	80,1	72,8	70,2	84,8	67,8	79,3	82,9
2019	71,9	75,1	75,3	60,6	69,5	85,0	83,7	74,4	77,9	83,6	84,0	61,6	68,7	74,2	73,7	60,1	66,4	82,8	79,6	85,7	71,8	60,8	80,4	79,8	72,8	70,5	85,1	67,4	79,3	82,7

Sources: OECD.stat

Table 6

Share of Public Spending in overall Pensions Spending, 1995-2019

	AUS	AUT	BEL	BGR	CAN	CZE	DK	EST	FIN	FR	GER	GRC	HUN	IRL	IT	LVA	LTU	NET	NZ	NOR	PL	PT	ROU	SK	SLO	SP	SWE	SWI	UK	US
1995	0,71	0,96	0,84	1,00	0,55	1,00	0,81	1,00	0,97	0,99	0,93	0,96	1,00	0,89	0,89	1,00	1,00	0,65	0,91	0,92	0,99	0,97	0,97	0,95	1,00	0,96	0,83	0,69	0,54	0,63
1996	0,70	0,96	0,83	1,00	0,54	1,00	0,79	1,00	0,97	0,99	0,93	0,96	1,00	0,91	0,91	1,00	1,00	0,66	0,91	0,91	0,99	0,97	0,97	0,96	1,00	0,96	0,83	0,68	0,53	0,60
1997	0,66	0,96	0,83	1,00	0,53	0,99	0,78	1,00	0,97	0,99	0,94	0,96	1,00	0,90	0,90	1,00	1,00	0,66	0,90	0,92	0,99	0,97	0,97	0,95	1,00	0,96	0,82	0,67	0,52	0,59
1998	0,69	0,96	0,84	1,00	0,50	0,98	0,78	1,00	0,97	0,99	0,94	0,96	1,00	0,91	0,91	1,00	1,00	0,66	0,90	0,92	0,99	0,96	0,96	0,95	1,00	0,96	0,83	0,66	0,53	0,59
1999	0,63	0,95	0,84	1,00	0,50	0,97	0,77	1,00	0,97	0,99	0,94	0,96	1,00	0,91	0,91	1,00	1,00	0,65	0,90	0,92	0,99	0,97	0,97	0,94	1,00	0,96	0,84	0,65	0,52	0,58
2000	0,66	0,95	0,86	1,00	0,49	0,97	0,77	1,00	0,97	0,99	0,94	1,00	1,00	0,91	0,91	1,00	1,00	0,62	0,89	0,92	0,99	0,97	0,97	0,94	1,00	0,96	0,84	0,63	0,49	0,57
2001	0,62	0,95	0,84	1,00	0,49	0,98	0,77	1,00	0,97	0,99	0,93	0,99	1,00	0,91	0,91	1,00	1,00	0,64	0,90	0,92	0,99	0,97	0,97	0,94	1,00	0,96	0,84	0,63	0,52	0,58
2002	0,62	0,96	0,83	1,00	0,48	0,98	0,76	1,00	0,97	0,99	0,94	0,99	1,00	0,91	0,91	1,00	1,00	0,62	0,90	0,92	0,99	0,97	0,97	0,94	1,00	0,96	0,83	0,63	0,56	0,58
2003	0,66	0,96	0,84	1,00	0,48	0,97	0,75	1,00	0,97	0,99	0,94	0,99	1,00	0,90	0,90	1,00	1,00	0,61	0,89	0,91	0,99	0,98	0,98	0,93	1,00	0,96	0,84	0,63	0,56	0,59
2004	0,74	0,96	0,83	1,00	0,47	0,97	0,75	1,00	0,98	0,99	0,93	0,99	1,00	0,91	0,91	1,00	1,00	0,61	0,90	0,92	0,99	0,98	0,98	0,93	1,00	0,96	0,84	0,61	0,57	0,59
2005	0,71	0,96	0,84	1,00	0,47	0,97	0,77	1,00	0,98	0,98	0,93	0,99	1,00	0,92	0,92	1,00	1,00	0,62	0,89	0,92	0,99	0,97	0,97	0,92	1,00	0,96	0,83	0,61	0,56	0,58
2006	0,68	0,95	0,85	1,00	0,47	0,96	0,79	1,00	0,98	0,97	0,93	0,99	1,00	0,91	0,91	1,00	1,00	0,60	0,89	0,92	0,99	0,97	0,97	0,92	1,00	0,96	0,83	0,59	0,55	0,56
2007	0,51	0,95	0,87	1,00	0,48	0,96	0,74	1,00	0,98	0,98	0,93	0,99	1,00	0,92	0,92	1,00	1,00	0,58	0,89	0,92	0,99	0,98	0,98	0,91	1,00	0,96	0,82	0,59	0,59	0,55
2008	0,56	0,94	0,87	1,00	0,52	0,96	0,76	1,00	0,98	0,98	0,92	0,99	1,00	0,92	0,92	1,00	1,00	0,58	0,88	0,92	0,99	0,98	0,98	0,91	1,00	0,96	0,79	0,59	0,59	0,57
2009	0,56	0,95	0,86	1,00	0,54	0,95	0,75	1,00	0,98	0,98	0,92	0,99	1,00	0,92	0,92	1,00	1,00	0,58	0,89	0,92	0,99	0,99	0,99	0,95	0,97	0,96	0,79	0,60	0,58	0,61
2010	0,56	0,95	0,89	1,00	0,51	0,95	0,77	1,00	0,98	0,98	0,92	0,99	1,00	0,92	0,92	1,00	1,00	0,58	0,87	0,92	0,99	0,98	0,98	0,94	0,93	0,96	0,78	0,60	0,58	0,57
2011	0,56	0,95	0,88	1,00	0,52	0,94	0,79	1,00	0,98	0,98	0,92	0,99	1,00	0,92	0,92	1,00	1,00	0,57	0,87	0,92	0,99	0,98	0,98	0,94	0,90	0,96	0,75	0,60	0,58	0,57
2012	0,55	0,95	0,89	1,00	0,51	0,93	0,80	1,00	0,98	0,98	0,92	0,99	1,00	0,92	0,92	1,00	1,00	0,57	0,86	0,92	0,99	0,98	0,98	0,94	0,87	0,96	0,76	0,60	0,58	0,56
2013	0,55	0,95	0,89	1,00	0,50	0,97	0,76	1,00	0,98	0,98	0,92	0,99	1,00	0,93	0,93	1,00	0,99	0,57	0,86	0,91	0,99	0,98	0,98	0,94	0,84	0,96	0,76	0,60	0,57	0,56
2014	0,53	0,95	0,90	1,00	0,50	0,96	0,76	1,00	0,98	0,98	0,92	0,99	1,00	0,93	0,93	1,00	1,00	0,57	0,85	0,90	0,99	0,97	0,97	0,95	0,81	0,96	0,75	0,59	0,57	0,55
2015	0,53	0,94	0,90	1,00	0,49	0,96	0,78	1,00	0,99	0,98	0,92	0,99	1,00	0,93	0,93	1,00	0,99	0,56	0,85	0,90	0,99	0,95	0,95	0,94	0,78	0,96	0,75	0,59	0,57	0,55
2016	0,51	0,94	0,90	1,00	0,50	0,96	0,81	1,00	0,99	0,98	0,92	0,99	1,00	0,93	0,93	1,00	0,99	0,56	0,84	0,90	0,99	0,97	0,97	0,95	0,74	0,96	0,75	0,59	0,57	0,56
2017	0,52	0,94	0,90	1,00	0,45	0,95	0,81	1,00	0,99	0,98	0,92	0,99	1,00	0,93	0,93	1,00	0,99	0,56	0,84	0,90	0,99	0,95	0,95	0,95	0,71	0,97	0,75	0,58	0,53	0,55
2018	0,53	0,94	0,90	1,00	0,45	0,96	0,83	1,00	0,99	0,98	0,92	0,99	1,00	0,93	0,93	1,00	0,99	0,56	0,83	0,90	0,99	0,97	0,97	0,95	0,68	0,97	0,75	0,58	0,53	0,54
2019	0,59	0,94	0,92	1,00	0,46	0,96	0,83	1,00	0,99	0,98	0,93	0,99	1,00	0,93	0,93	1,00	0,98	0,57	0,83	0,90	0,99	0,97	0,97	0,95	0,65	0,97	0,76	0,57	0,50	0,54

Sources: See text and references

Table 7

Coverage Rate for Unemployment, Health, and Pension Benefits, 1995-2019

	AUS	AUT	BEL	BGR	CAN	CZE	DK	EST	FIN	FR	GER	GRC	HUN	IRL	IT	LVA	LTU	NET	NZ	NOR	PL	PT	ROU	SK	SLO	SP	SWE	SWI	UK	US
1995	0,74	0,59	0,80	0,26	0,62	0,45	0,61	0,85	0,58	0,64	0,66	0,05	0,47	0,51	0,40	0,76	0,05	0,69	0,72	0,72	0,32	0,57	0,15	0,57	0,61	0,53	0,68	0,66	0,61	0,78
1996	0,74	0,60	0,74	0,32	0,61	0,46	0,59	0,86	0,58	0,64	0,70	0,05	0,46	0,61	0,39	0,78	0,13	0,64	0,72	0,71	0,34	0,49	0,15	0,60	0,62	0,53	0,67	0,66	0,61	0,78
1997	0,75	0,61	0,68	0,36	0,60	0,47	0,58	0,88	0,58	0,64	0,69	0,05	0,43	0,66	0,39	0,80	0,21	0,64	0,71	0,71	0,32	0,49	0,15	0,62	0,64	0,55	0,67	0,74	0,62	0,79
1998	0,73	0,61	0,72	0,40	0,61	0,48	0,59	0,90	0,58	0,65	0,68	0,06	0,44	0,65	0,39	0,82	0,28	0,70	0,72	0,71	0,32	0,43	0,15	0,63	0,66	0,58	0,68	0,75	0,63	0,81
1999	0,73	0,61	0,70	0,47	0,62	0,49	0,57	0,90	0,58	0,67	0,71	0,04	0,41	0,76	0,40	0,84	0,36	0,70	0,72	0,72	0,40	0,45	0,15	0,64	0,68	0,61	0,68	0,76	0,67	0,82
2000	0,67	0,61	0,76	0,51	0,64	0,50	0,61	0,91	0,59	0,70	0,70	0,09	0,41	0,78	0,41	0,86	0,42	0,71	0,77	0,74	0,37	0,50	0,13	0,66	0,70	0,63	0,69	0,78	0,69	0,83
2001	0,68	0,62	0,80	0,55	0,66	0,51	0,61	0,92	0,59	0,70	0,70	0,14	0,43	0,79	0,41	0,86	0,48	0,72	0,81	0,75	0,37	0,56	0,11	0,67	0,72	0,66	0,67	0,77	0,71	0,83
2002	0,67	0,64	0,80	0,52	0,66	0,52	0,60	0,91	0,59	0,70	0,69	0,17	0,43	0,80	0,41	0,82	0,57	0,71	0,80	0,72	0,38	0,55	0,11	0,67	0,73	0,64	0,67	0,79	0,70	0,80
2003	0,77	0,64	0,85	0,54	0,66	0,53	0,60	0,86	0,59	0,70	0,67	0,20	0,43	0,81	0,41	0,88	0,60	0,71	0,79	0,71	0,42	0,54	0,11	0,69	0,75	0,63	0,66	0,79	0,68	0,78
2004	0,76	0,67	0,83	0,56	0,66	0,54	0,59	0,89	0,60	0,70	0,66	0,23	0,43	0,82	0,40	0,93	0,67	0,71	0,80	0,71	0,44	0,55	0,10	0,50	0,77	0,64	0,67	0,80	0,69	0,79
2005	0,76	0,66	0,82	0,58	0,66	0,55	0,51	0,91	0,60	0,70	0,64	0,23	0,42	0,82	0,42	1,00	0,73	0,72	0,81	0,71	0,47	0,56	0,09	0,57	0,78	0,65	0,65	0,81	0,69	0,79
2006	0,75	0,65	0,83	0,60	0,67	0,56	0,56	0,90	0,60	0,71	0,63	0,26	0,43	0,82	0,42	1,00	0,81	0,73	0,81	0,74	0,53	0,59	0,12	0,60	0,78	0,66	0,64	0,81	0,69	0,79
2007	0,75	0,62	0,82	0,61	0,67	0,57	0,57	0,96	0,59	0,72	0,63	0,24	0,43	0,82	0,43	1,00	0,85	0,72	0,81	0,75	0,60	0,60	0,11	0,63	0,82	0,67	0,58	0,81	0,69	0,85
2008	0,76	0,62	0,84	0,64	0,67	0,57	0,57	0,93	0,59	0,71	0,64	0,29	0,43	0,82	0,44	0,96	0,84	0,71	0,82	0,75	0,69	0,62	0,13	0,58	0,85	0,61	0,54	0,81	0,69	0,83
2009	0,76	0,60	0,86	0,65	0,64	0,59	0,55	0,84	0,58	0,69	0,62	0,26	0,43	0,79	0,42	0,85	0,64	0,69	0,80	0,72	0,71	0,60	0,15	0,45	0,86	0,57	0,52	0,79	0,66	0,78
2010	0,75	0,61	0,82	0,67	0,65	0,60	0,56	0,76	0,59	0,69	0,65	0,20	0,46	0,79	0,43	0,80	0,62	0,69	0,81	0,73	0,77	0,60	0,13	0,44	0,86	0,57	0,53	0,77	0,66	0,78
2011	0,75	0,75	0,84	0,68	0,64	0,60	0,57	0,68	0,58	0,69	0,66	0,12	0,46	0,80	0,43	0,75	0,60	0,69	0,81	0,74	0,85	0,61	0,14	0,41	0,83	0,56	0,52	0,77	0,66	0,79
2012	0,74	0,75	0,83	0,71	0,64	0,64	0,57	0,63	0,58	0,68	0,69	0,02	0,46	0,80	0,45	0,72	0,58	0,70	0,82	0,74	0,89	0,59	0,14	0,37	0,84	0,52	0,53	0,78	0,66	0,80
2013	0,74	0,78	0,82	0,74	0,64	0,67	0,57	0,59	0,58	0,68	0,68	0,00	0,48	0,78	0,45	0,69	0,56	0,70	0,82	0,74	0,93	0,59	0,15	0,35	0,85	0,53	0,53	0,77	0,66	0,82
2014	0,73	0,75	0,82	0,77	0,64	0,69	0,58	0,56	0,59	0,67	0,69	0,06	0,50	0,80	0,46	0,65	0,54	0,70	0,82	0,75	0,96	0,58	0,15	0,33	0,85	0,55	0,53	0,78	0,68	0,84
2015	0,73	0,79	0,81	0,79	0,63	0,69	0,57	0,53	0,58	0,66	0,69	0,09	0,49	0,81	0,45	0,61	0,52	0,70	0,81	0,71	0,96	0,58	0,15	0,29	0,87	0,56	0,52	0,77	0,68	0,83
2016	0,72	0,79	0,90	0,81	0,63	0,69	0,57	0,50	0,57	0,67	0,69	0,12	0,48	0,81	0,45	0,57	0,50	0,71	0,81	0,72	0,97	0,59	0,15	0,25	0,87	0,59	0,53	0,77	0,68	0,83
2017	0,70	0,83	0,89	0,82	0,64	0,69	0,57	0,46	0,56	0,68	0,70	0,15	0,47	0,75	0,46	0,52	0,48	0,71	0,82	0,73	0,98	0,59	0,15	0,21	0,87	0,62	0,53	0,78	0,69	0,84
2018	0,67	0,87	0,89	0,83	0,64	0,69	0,60	0,43	0,56	0,69	0,71	0,18	0,47	0,75	0,46	0,48	0,46	0,70	0,82	0,74	0,99	0,61	0,15	0,17	0,85	0,62	0,53	0,78	0,70	0,83
2019	0,67	0,87	0,89	0,84	0,64	0,69	0,57	0,40	0,56	0,69	0,71	0,18	0,46	0,76	0,46	0,44	0,43	0,71	0,83	0,74	1,00	0,61	0,15	0,13	0,83	0,63	0,53	0,78	0,70	0,82

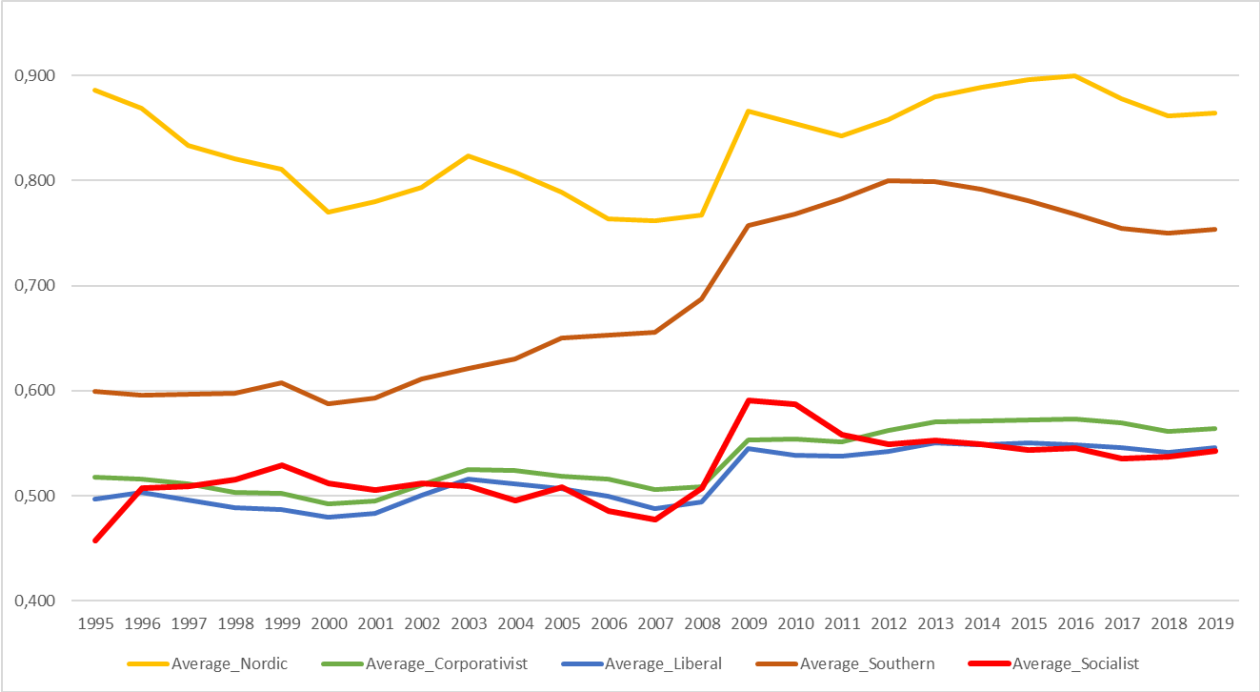
Sources: See text and references

Table 8
QWEST, 1995-2019

	AUS	AUT	BEL	BGR	CAN	CZE	DK	EST	FIN	FR	GER	GRC	HUN	IRL	IT	LVA	LTU	NET	NZ	NOR	PL	PT	ROU	SK	SLO	SP	SWE	SWI	UK	US
1995	0,60	0,66	0,67	0,42	0,61	0,58	0,75	0,62	0,65	0,63	0,64	0,49	0,61	0,53	0,58	0,52	0,52	0,60	0,67	0,73	0,59	0,57	0,48	0,62	0,59	0,55	0,74	0,53	0,59	0,42
1996	0,60	0,66	0,67	0,43	0,61	0,58	0,74	0,63	0,64	0,65	0,66	0,49	0,60	0,55	0,58	0,52	0,53	0,58	0,67	0,72	0,59	0,57	0,48	0,63	0,59	0,54	0,73	0,53	0,59	0,42
1997	0,60	0,66	0,66	0,44	0,60	0,58	0,73	0,63	0,64	0,65	0,66	0,49	0,60	0,56	0,58	0,53	0,53	0,58	0,66	0,72	0,57	0,56	0,48	0,63	0,60	0,55	0,72	0,54	0,57	0,42
1998	0,60	0,66	0,66	0,45	0,60	0,58	0,73	0,63	0,64	0,66	0,65	0,49	0,58	0,57	0,59	0,54	0,54	0,57	0,66	0,72	0,57	0,55	0,48	0,63	0,60	0,55	0,72	0,54	0,57	0,42
1999	0,59	0,66	0,66	0,47	0,60	0,59	0,73	0,62	0,66	0,66	0,66	0,49	0,58	0,58	0,60	0,55	0,56	0,57	0,66	0,72	0,59	0,56	0,48	0,62	0,60	0,55	0,73	0,55	0,58	0,42
2000	0,59	0,65	0,67	0,48	0,60	0,60	0,73	0,60	0,65	0,67	0,67	0,51	0,57	0,61	0,61	0,55	0,56	0,56	0,67	0,72	0,59	0,60	0,47	0,61	0,63	0,56	0,71	0,56	0,59	0,42
2001	0,58	0,66	0,67	0,49	0,60	0,60	0,73	0,61	0,65	0,67	0,67	0,52	0,57	0,62	0,62	0,55	0,57	0,56	0,67	0,73	0,60	0,60	0,48	0,62	0,63	0,56	0,70	0,56	0,61	0,42
2002	0,59	0,66	0,67	0,50	0,59	0,60	0,72	0,60	0,65	0,67	0,67	0,52	0,58	0,62	0,62	0,54	0,60	0,56	0,68	0,70	0,61	0,61	0,48	0,62	0,63	0,56	0,70	0,57	0,62	0,41
2003	0,60	0,67	0,68	0,51	0,60	0,60	0,72	0,59	0,65	0,67	0,66	0,52	0,59	0,62	0,62	0,55	0,60	0,56	0,68	0,70	0,61	0,61	0,53	0,63	0,63	0,56	0,71	0,57	0,60	0,41
2004	0,62	0,66	0,68	0,51	0,60	0,59	0,72	0,60	0,66	0,67	0,66	0,52	0,59	0,62	0,63	0,58	0,59	0,56	0,69	0,70	0,61	0,61	0,50	0,57	0,64	0,56	0,71	0,57	0,60	0,41
2005	0,61	0,66	0,68	0,53	0,60	0,59	0,73	0,61	0,67	0,68	0,64	0,56	0,60	0,65	0,65	0,59	0,61	0,57	0,69	0,69	0,61	0,63	0,47	0,57	0,63	0,58	0,70	0,57	0,62	0,41
2006	0,60	0,66	0,69	0,52	0,60	0,60	0,73	0,61	0,67	0,68	0,64	0,56	0,62	0,64	0,65	0,60	0,63	0,61	0,69	0,69	0,60	0,61	0,47	0,56	0,63	0,59	0,70	0,57	0,62	0,41
2007	0,57	0,65	0,69	0,53	0,60	0,60	0,66	0,62	0,67	0,68	0,64	0,56	0,60	0,65	0,65	0,60	0,64	0,61	0,69	0,69	0,62	0,61	0,48	0,56	0,63	0,59	0,69	0,57	0,64	0,42
2008	0,58	0,65	0,69	0,54	0,61	0,60	0,66	0,62	0,67	0,68	0,64	0,58	0,59	0,65	0,65	0,59	0,64	0,60	0,70	0,69	0,63	0,61	0,49	0,57	0,63	0,59	0,68	0,57	0,63	0,42
2009	0,58	0,65	0,70	0,54	0,60	0,61	0,66	0,60	0,67	0,68	0,67	0,59	0,61	0,63	0,65	0,59	0,60	0,60	0,70	0,69	0,65	0,61	0,50	0,56	0,63	0,60	0,68	0,58	0,63	0,42
2010	0,58	0,67	0,72	0,56	0,61	0,63	0,69	0,60	0,70	0,69	0,68	0,61	0,60	0,66	0,68	0,61	0,60	0,63	0,71	0,71	0,65	0,64	0,51	0,57	0,65	0,62	0,68	0,58	0,64	0,43
2011	0,58	0,68	0,72	0,56	0,61	0,63	0,69	0,59	0,70	0,69	0,67	0,60	0,60	0,64	0,67	0,60	0,59	0,63	0,72	0,71	0,66	0,64	0,50	0,56	0,64	0,61	0,68	0,57	0,65	0,44
2012	0,58	0,69	0,72	0,56	0,61	0,63	0,69	0,58	0,70	0,69	0,67	0,58	0,59	0,64	0,67	0,58	0,57	0,62	0,72	0,71	0,66	0,63	0,51	0,55	0,63	0,61	0,68	0,58	0,65	0,44
2013	0,57	0,69	0,72	0,58	0,61	0,64	0,69	0,57	0,70	0,69	0,67	0,57	0,60	0,64	0,68	0,58	0,56	0,62	0,71	0,71	0,66	0,63	0,51	0,55	0,63	0,61	0,68	0,57	0,65	0,44
2014	0,57	0,68	0,72	0,59	0,61	0,65	0,69	0,57	0,70	0,69	0,67	0,56	0,60	0,64	0,68	0,58	0,57	0,62	0,71	0,71	0,67	0,63	0,51	0,56	0,62	0,61	0,68	0,57	0,65	0,53
2015	0,58	0,69	0,72	0,58	0,61	0,64	0,67	0,58	0,70	0,69	0,68	0,56	0,57	0,58	0,67	0,57	0,56	0,62	0,70	0,73	0,67	0,61	0,51	0,55	0,61	0,61	0,68	0,58	0,64	0,53
2016	0,58	0,69	0,73	0,58	0,59	0,63	0,68	0,57	0,70	0,70	0,68	0,57	0,57	0,59	0,67	0,56	0,55	0,62	0,70	0,74	0,66	0,62	0,50	0,55	0,61	0,61	0,68	0,58	0,64	0,53
2017	0,58	0,69	0,73	0,58	0,59	0,63	0,68	0,57	0,70	0,71	0,68	0,57	0,57	0,58	0,67	0,55	0,54	0,62	0,70	0,74	0,66	0,61	0,50	0,53	0,59	0,61	0,68	0,59	0,64	0,53
2018	0,65	0,72	0,73	0,59	0,59	0,63	0,68	0,49	0,71	0,73	0,72	0,59	0,56	0,64	0,65	0,55	0,55	0,64	0,70	0,73	0,66	0,63	0,48	0,52	0,60	0,62	0,63	0,56	0,66	0,53
2019	0,66	0,72	0,73	0,59	0,61	0,63	0,67	0,50	0,70	0,73	0,72	0,61	0,55	0,64	0,65	0,54	0,57	0,64	0,74	0,73	0,68	0,63	0,48	0,51	0,59	0,62	0,63	0,56	0,65	0,52

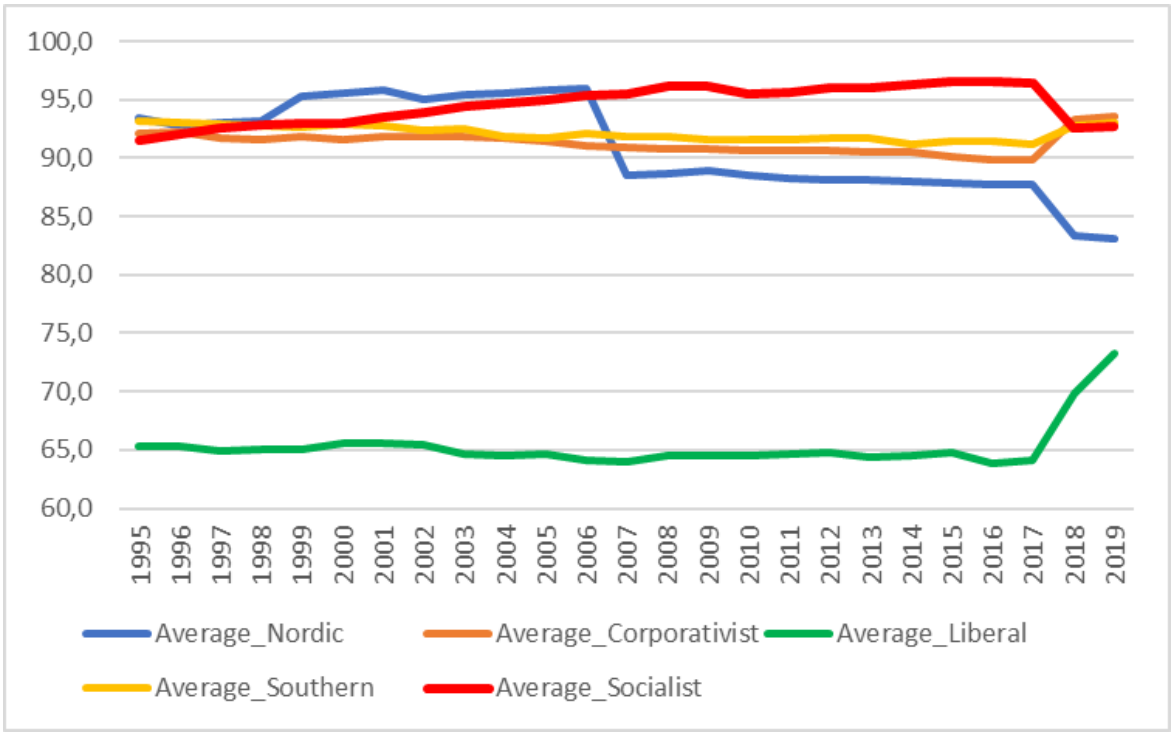
Graph 1

Social Spending % GDP, 1995-2019

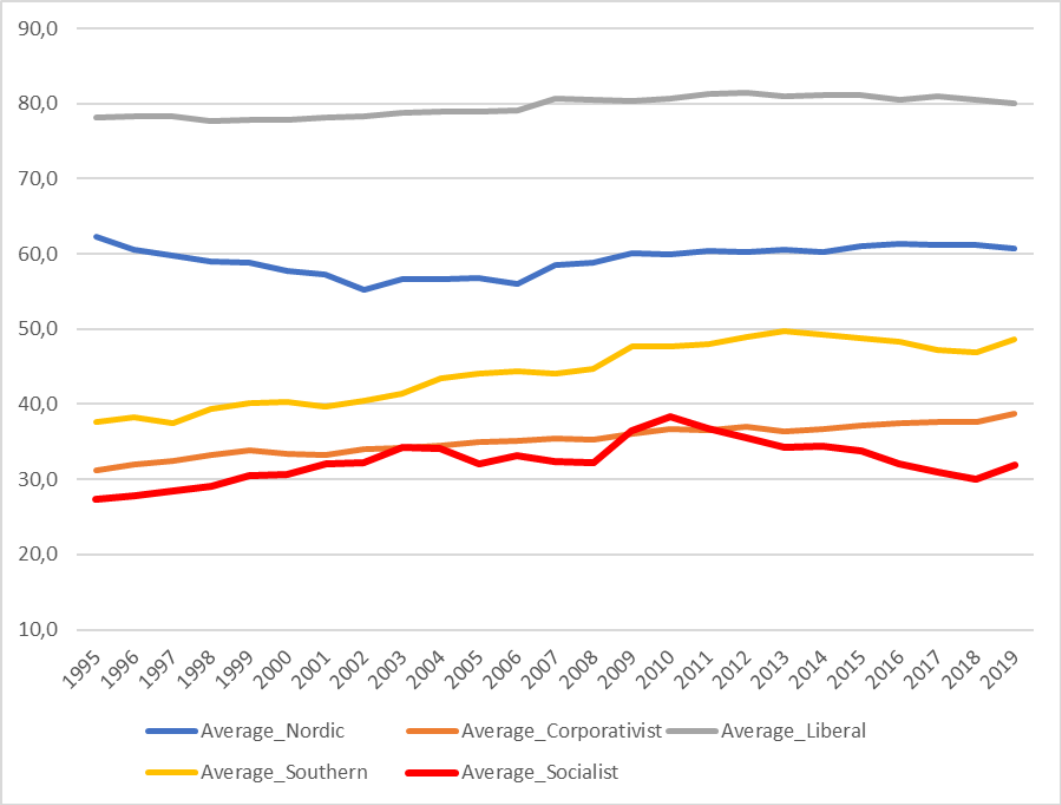


Graph 2

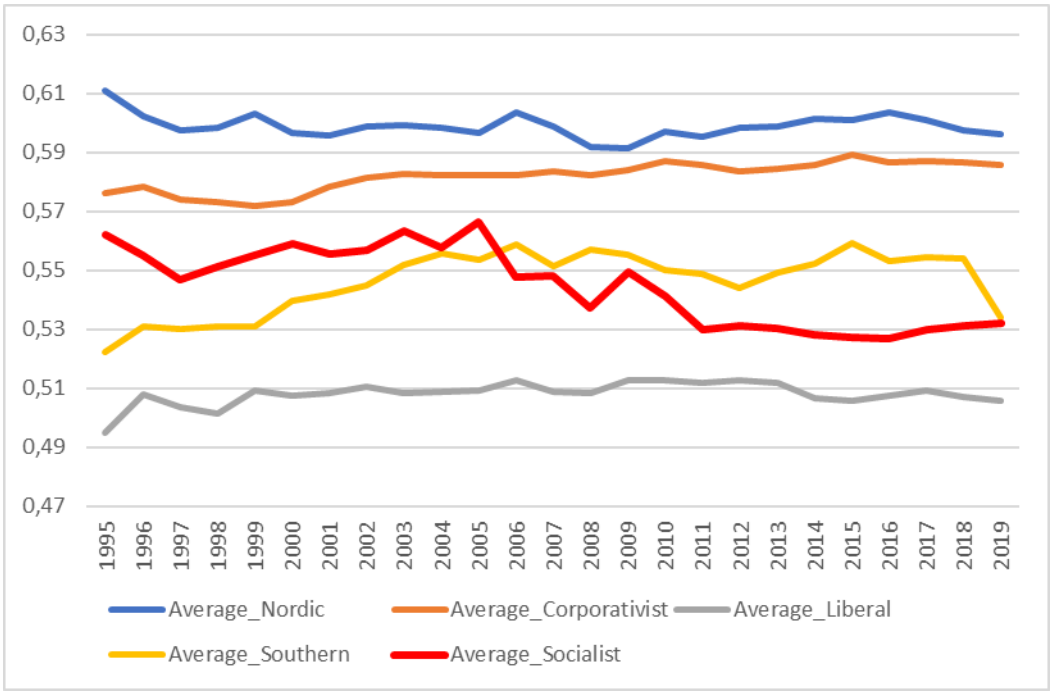
Social -Benefits not subject to means-testing (% total benefits), 1995-2019



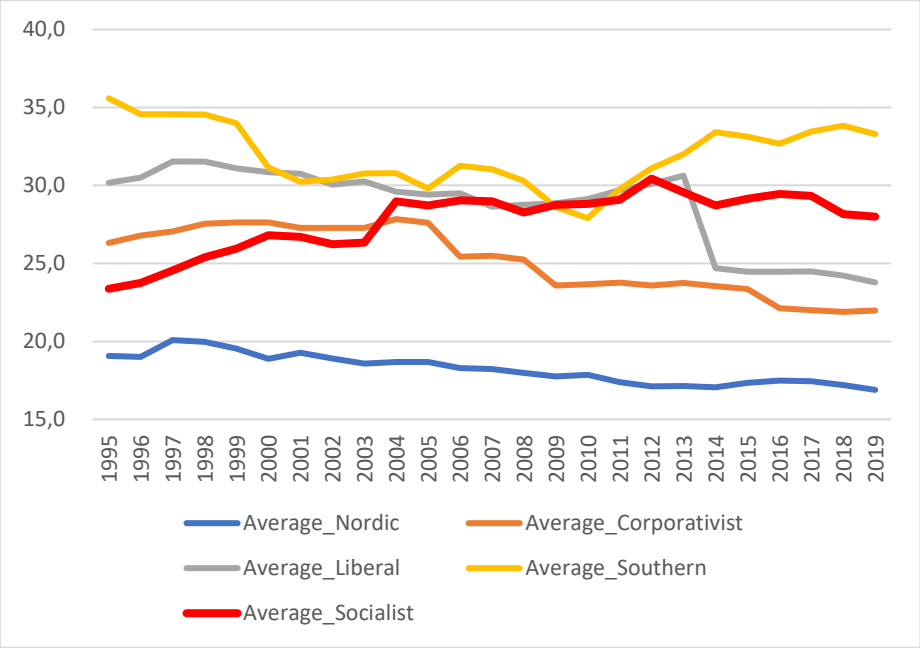
Graph 3
Social Spending financed by taxes (%), 1990-2010



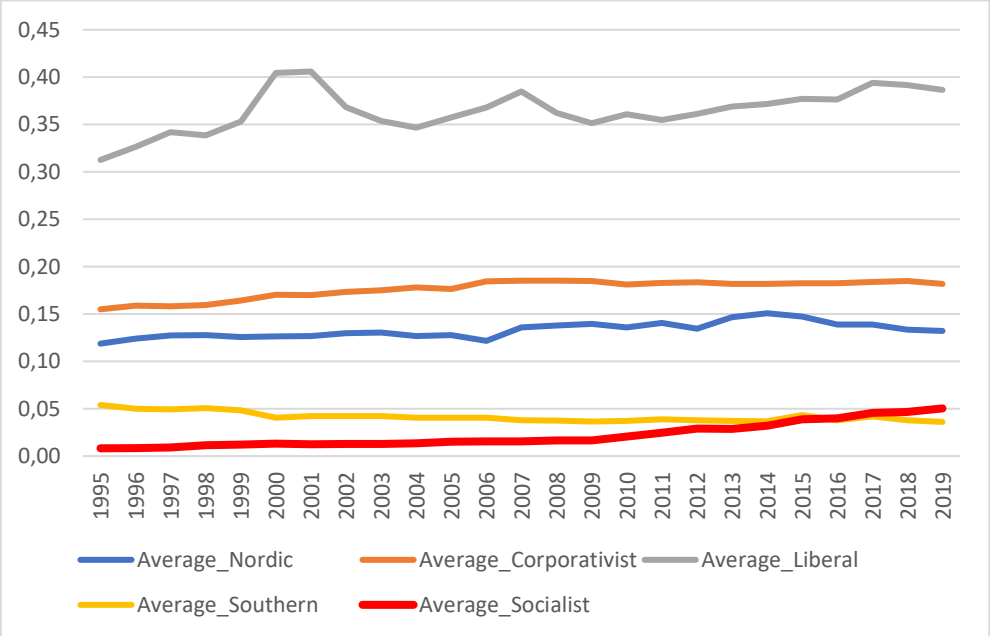
Graph 4
Rules of Entitlement for Social Benefits, 1995-2019



Graph 5
Share of Public Spending in Overall Heath Spending, 1995-2019

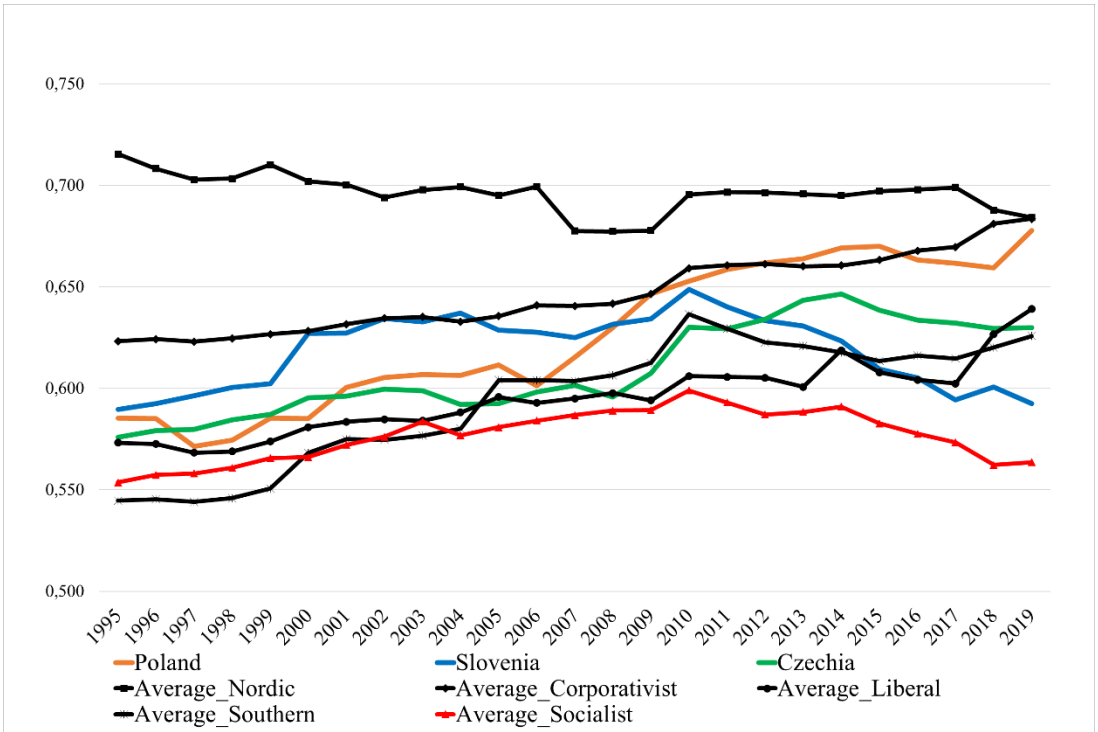


Graph 6
Share of Public Spending in Overall Pensions Spending, 1995-2019



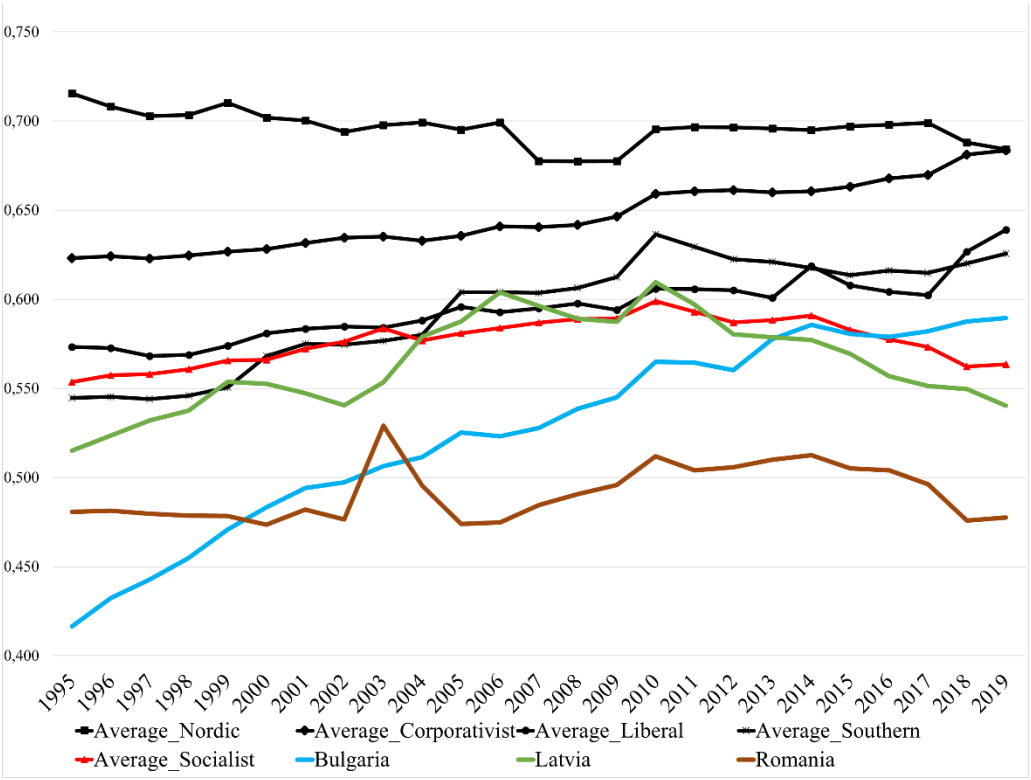
Graph 7

The QWEST for high-performing Post-Socialist Countries, 1995-2019



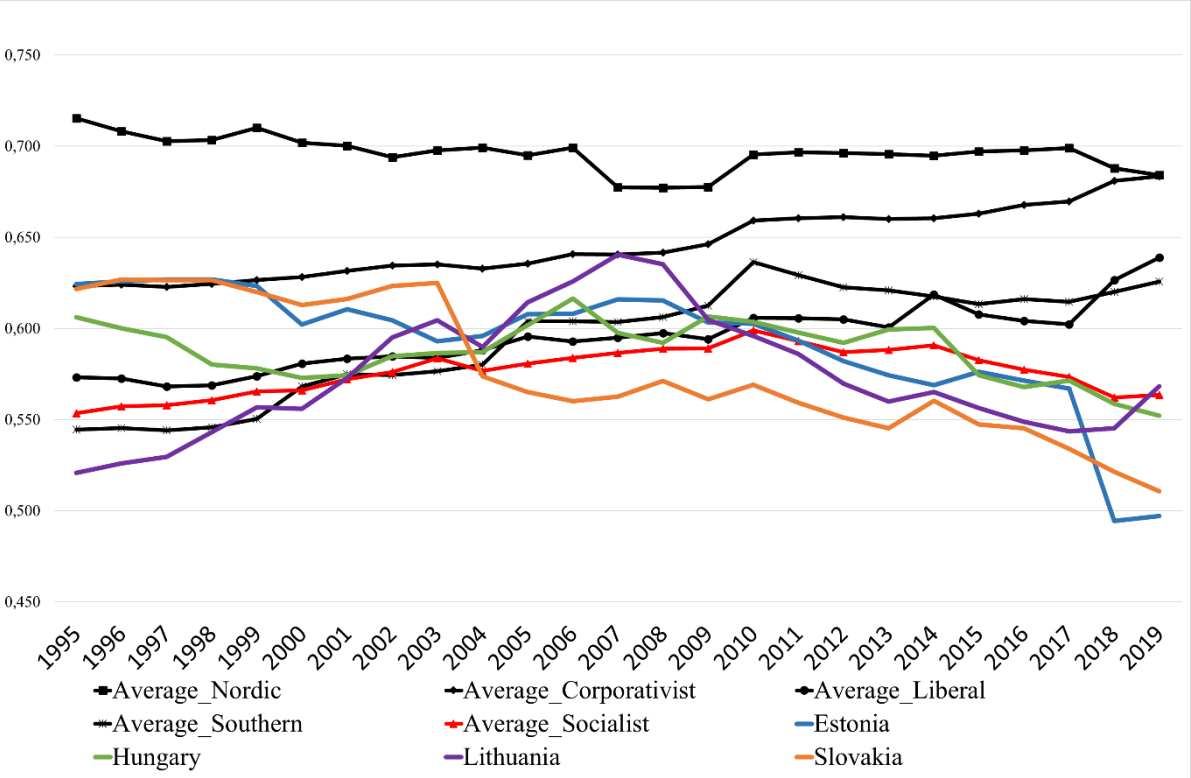
Graph 8

The QWEST for low-performing Post-Socialist Countries, 1995-2019



Graph 9

The QWEST and average-performing Post-Socialist Countries[12]



[12] Here, the selection for high/ low/ average performing Post-Socialist countries was made on the basis on the aggregate average during the period from 1995 to 2019 between the countries:
First: Poland (0,626): 11º globally (Graph 7)
Second: Slovenia (0,619): 13º globally (Graph 7)
Third: Czechia (0,609): 15º globally (Graph 7)
Fourth: Estonia (0,593): 20º globally (Graph 8)
Fifth: Hungary (0,588): 21º globally (Graph 8)
Sixth: Slovakia (0,578): 23º globally (Graph 8)
Seventh: Lithuania (0,574): 24º globally (Graph 8)
Eight: Latvia (0,564): 26º globally (Graph 9)
Ninth: Bulgaria (0,526): 28º globally (Graph 9)
Tenth: Romania (0,491): 29º globally (Graph 9)

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