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Public Spend per head: A comparative perspective

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This Briefing Paper, commissioned by the Assembly's Committee for Finance, provides comparative research on public spend per person within the United Kingdom and the Republic of Ireland.

This information is provided to MLAs in support of their duties, and is not intended to address the specific circumstances of any particular individual. It should not be relied upon as professional legal advice, or as a substitute for it.

Introduction

The Northern Ireland Assembly's Committee for Finance commissioned the Research and Information Service (RaISe), to highlight how public spend per person in Northern Ireland compares with that in the other United Kingdom (UK) regions and the Republic of Ireland (RoI). 'Public spending' for purposes of this Paper refers to all spending by any part of the public sector, including central government, local government, and public corporations.

Section 1 of the Paper, using His Majesty's (HM) Treasury data, provides information on the level of public spending per person in Northern Ireland, England, Scotland and Wales, as well as the UK as a whole, for the financial year 2023-24. It further provides information and analysis on that spending broken down by spending type, and by function and sub-function. Section 2 then provides information on how public spend per person in the UK compares to public spend per head in RoI from 2013 until 2022, including how that spend is broken down by function, using data from the Organisation of Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). Thereafter, some key concluding remarks are provided.

1 Spending per person - UK

Below outlines key figures on the level of public spending in Northern Ireland, England, Scotland and Wales, along with those for the UK as a whole.

The data in this section comes from HM Treasury's [Country and Regional Analysis: 2024](#). The Country and Regional Analysis (CRA) data present statistical estimates for the allocation of identifiable expenditure between the regions and nations of the UK. The November 2024 dataset covers the outturn period 2019-20 to 2023-24.

It should be noted that CRA data focus on identifiable expenditure which has been incurred for the benefit of individuals, enterprises or communities within particular regions – those make up approximately 82% of public sector expenditure. Non-identifiable expenditure is deemed to be incurred on behalf of the UK as whole; examples include the majority of expenditure on defence, overseas representation, tax collection and debt interest. For further information on the classification of spending, see the explanatory notes accompanying HM Treasury's CRA 2024 publication.¹

1.1 Spending per person

Figure 1 below shows public spending per person for each region within the UK, as cited in the CRA 2024 publication. The Figure shows considerable variation between the different parts of the UK. For example, public spending per person in 2023-24 was £15,371 in Northern Ireland, when compared with £12,625 in England – a difference of around £2,700. Public spending per person in Northern Ireland is 19% higher than the UK average; and in Scotland it is 14% higher; and in Wales 11% higher.

¹ <https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/country-and-regional-analysis-2024/country-and-regional-analysis-2024-explanatory-notes-including-significant-methodological-updates-and-data-revisions>

Figure 1: Total public spending per person by region, 2023-24

Source: HM Treasury, Country and regional analysis: 2024, 20 November 2024, table A.1b

It is important to note that the figures are intended to give a broad overview, and cannot be regarded as a precise measure. That is because it is not always easy to decide who benefits from particular spending, and simplifying assumptions are made when compiling the data.

Comparisons are also difficult because the scope of the public sector varies between countries. For example, water supply is in the public sector in Northern Ireland and Scotland, but in the private sector in England and Wales. For these reasons, small differences in spending between regions should not be regarded as significant.

1.2 Current and capital spending

Public spending in the UK can be divided up into two main categories:

- ‘Current’ or ‘resource’ spending – is money spent on things that are used up, such as salaries;
- ‘Capital’ spending – is money spent on things that last, such as buildings, vehicles or financial assets.

In 2023-24, a large majority (89%) of identifiable public spending in the UK was current spending. Its breakdown between the UK nations is shown in Figure 2, below:

Figure 2: Current and capital spending per person by region, 2023-24

Source: HM Treasury, *Country and regional analysis: 2024*, 20 November 2024, table A.3b

As is the case for overall public spending, current spending per person was higher in Northern Ireland than any other part of the UK. Scotland had the highest capital spending out of the four nations, at £1,789 per person; while England had the lowest, at £1,394 per person.

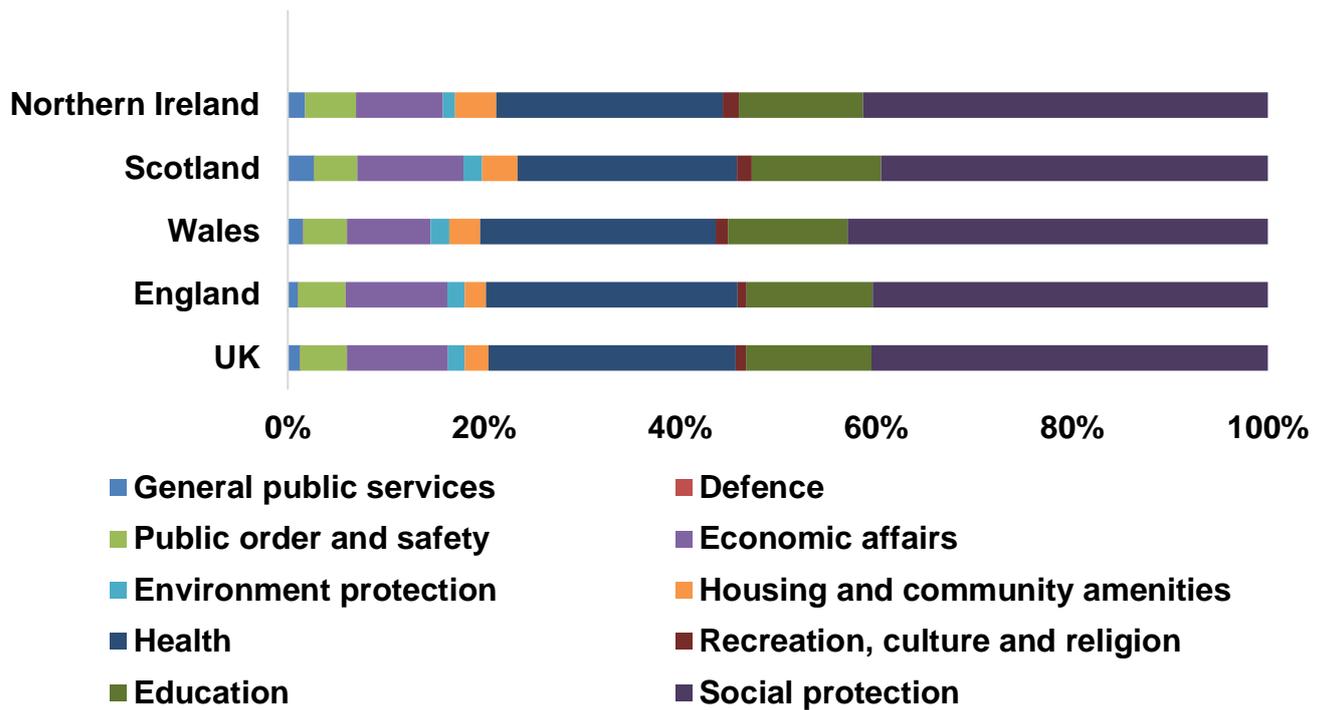
1.3 Spending by function

The CRA data published by HM Treasury also include a breakdown of spending by function – that is, what the money has been spent on.²

Figure 3, below, shows that spending is typically spent on largely the same kind of things in the different regions across the UK:

² For further information on the classification of spending, see the explanatory notes accompanying HM Treasury's *Country and Regional Analysis: 2024* publication: [Country and regional analysis 2024: explanatory notes, including significant methodological updates and data revisions - GOV.UK](#)

Figure 3: Spending by function by region, 2023-24 (%)



Source: HM Treasury, Country and regional analysis: 2024, 20 November 2024, table A.15

There are some key differences – for example:

- England spends a higher proportion of its overall spend on Health than the three other regions of the UK.
- Scotland spends a higher proportion of its overall spend on Education.
- However, the overall pattern is consistent – Social Protection makes up the largest proportion of spending in every nation; followed by Health, Education, and Economic Affairs.

The CRA data further include a breakdown of spending by sub-function. Figure 4, below, shows the spending per person but sub-function by region. It shows some specific areas of spending that are very different between different areas. For example, spending on police services in Northern Ireland in 2023-24 was £496 per person, far above the UK average of £375 per person. Moreover, the spending in Northern Ireland on agriculture, food and fisheries policy of £356 per person was also much higher than the UK average of £141 per person. It should be noted that this is in part due to Northern Ireland’s large agricultural sector and the continuation of farming support schemes originally set up by the European Union.

Under Social Protection, the spend per person in Northern Ireland was much higher than the UK average across a number of sub-categories, including: incapacity, disability and injury benefits; personal social services; family benefits, income support and tax credits; and, other unemployment benefits.

Other functions reflect different ways that the public sector is organised in different places. Spending on Water Supply was: £266 per person in Northern Ireland; £129 per person in Scotland (where the water supply is nationalised); and, pennies per person in England and Wales (where it is in the private sector).

The spending in Northern Ireland on housing and community amenities – not elsewhere classified - equated to £144 per person in 2023-24 – compared to very small spends elsewhere within the UK. That is mostly because a large proportion of Northern Ireland's local authority spending was classified under this heading.

The spending in Northern Ireland on Transport of £484 per person is much lower than the UK average of £627 per person:

Figure 4: Spending per person by sub-function by region, 2023-24

	England	Scotland	Wales	Northern Ireland
1. General public services				
1.1 Executive and legislative organs, financial and fiscal affairs, external affairs	49	336	150	155
1.2 Foreign economic aid	-	0	-	-
1.3 General services	32	13	11	110
1.4 Basic research	-	-	-	-
1.5 R&D general public services	0	2	-	0
1.6 General public services not elsewhere classified	53	42	65	9
Total general public services	134	394	226	273
2. Defence				
2.1 Military defence	-	-	-	-
2.2 Civil defence	1	1	1	-
2.3 Foreign military aid	-	-	-	-
2.4 R&D defence	-	-	-	-
2.5 Defence not elsewhere classified	-	-	-	-
Total defence	1	1	1	-
3. Public order and safety				
3.1 Police services	316	358	331	496
<i>of which: immigration and citizenship</i>	0	-	0	-
<i>of which: other police services</i>	315	358	331	496
3.2 Fire-protection services	50	83	65	66
3.3 Law courts	127	121	122	142

3.4 Prisons	101	87	116	87
3.5 R&D public order and safety	-	-	-	0
3.6 Public order and safety not elsewhere classified	16	4	10	1
Total public order and safety	610	654	644	792
4. Economic affairs				
4.1 General economic, commercial and labour affairs	268	329	229	270
4.2 Agriculture, forestry, fishing and hunting	86	152	200	363
<i>of which: market support</i>	50	86	81	1
<i>of which: other agriculture, food and fisheries policy</i>	33	57	118	356
<i>of which: forestry</i>	3	9	0	6
4.3 Fuel and energy	105	131	118	62
4.4 Mining, manufacturing and construction	7	0	5	1
4.5 Transport	693	763	566	484
<i>of which: national roads</i>	89	124	97	10
<i>of which: local roads</i>	93	157	111	190
<i>of which: local public transport</i>	66	71	36	80
<i>of which: railway</i>	432	300	307	165
<i>of which: other transport</i>	13	111	16	40
4.6 Communication	4	31	-19	26
4.7 Other industries	2	17	13	23
4.8 R&D economic affairs	136	149	100	131
4.9 Economic affairs not elsewhere classified	11	26	19	4
Total economic affairs	1,311	1,597	1,231	1,363
5. Environment protection				
5.1 Waste management	157	191	174	144
5.2 Waste water management	-	-	-	0
5.3 Pollution abatement	11	6	3	-
5.4 Protection of biodiversity and landscape	7	27	3	0
5.5 R&D environment protection	6	3	2	1
5.6 Environment protection not elsewhere classified	41	50	96	47
Total environment protection	221	277	278	193
6. Housing and community amenities				
6.1 Housing development	187	382	339	138
<i>of which: local authority housing</i>	151	281	339	-
<i>of which: other social housing</i>	35	101	-	138
6.2 Community development	64	19	91	76
6.3 Water supply	0	129	0	266
6.4 Street lighting	16	1	15	23
6.5 R&D housing and community amenities	-	1	-	0
6.6 Housing and community amenities not elsewhere classified	6	1	3	144
Total housing and community amenities	273	533	448	648
7. Health				
Medical services	3,159	3,259	3,292	3,202
Health research	27	2	16	8
Central and other health services	57	49	158	340
Total health	3,243	3,310	3,466	3,550

8. Recreation, culture and religion				
8.1 Recreational and sporting services	48	107	87	108
8.2 Cultural services	60	107	79	123
8.3 Broadcasting and publishing services	4	5	4	6
8.4 Religious and other community services	2	4	0	22
8.5 R&D recreation, culture and religion	1	1	0	0
8.6 Recreation, culture and religion not elsewhere classified	2	0	14	-
Total recreation, culture and religion	117	223	186	260
9. Education				
9.1 Pre-primary and primary education	506	824	763	701
<i>of which: under fives</i>	68	119	20	84
<i>of which: primary education</i>	437	705	743	617
9.2 Secondary education	823	683	814	927
9.3 Post-secondary non-tertiary education	15	-	-	-
9.4 Tertiary education	89	286	66	116
9.5 Education not definable by level	14	23	51	35
9.6 Subsidiary services to education	96	56	29	84
9.7 R&D education	48	0	-	0
9.8 Education not elsewhere classified	31	70	34	79
Total education	1,621	1,943	1,757	1,942
10. Social protection				
<i>of which: personal social services</i>	705	829	966	822
10.1 Sickness and disability	1,030	1,377	1,476	2,017
<i>of which: personal social services</i>	216	280	281	280
<i>of which: incapacity, disability and injury benefits</i>	814	1,097	1,195	1,737
10.2 Old age	2,142	2,464	2,521	2,600
<i>of which: personal social services</i>	202	354	305	393
<i>of which: pensions</i>	1,940	2,110	2,216	2,208
10.3 Survivors	16	42	22	43
10.4 Family and children	462	393	566	892
<i>of which: personal social services</i>	250	196	348	149
<i>of which: family benefits, income support and tax credits</i>	212	198	218	743
10.5 Unemployment	12	11	11	223
<i>of which: personal social services</i>	-	-	-	-
<i>of which: other unemployment benefits</i>	12	11	11	223
10.6 Housing	248	255	345	215
10.7 Social exclusion not elsewhere classified	1,003	893	1,004	190
<i>of which: personal social services</i>	37	-	32	-
<i>of which: family benefits, income support and tax credits</i>	966	893	972	190
10.8 R&D social protection	-	-	-	-
10.9 Social protection not elsewhere classified	181	392	241	167
Total social protection	5,093	5,828	6,187	6,349
Total Expenditure on Services	12,625	14,759	14,424	15,371

Source: HM Treasury, Country and regional analysis: 2024, 20 November 2024, tables B5-8

2 Spending per person – UK and RoI

The OECD publishes data on annual government expenditure for its member countries. Those data provide a breakdown of government expenditure according to the Classification of the Functions of Government (COFOG), which shows how much governments spend in areas such as health, education, environmental protection, defence and servicing public debt. Data are presented for each country in its national currency. It should be noted, that these data are not directly comparable to the data relied on in Section 1 of this Paper. However, this section allows for a general comparison of spending per person between the UK and RoI.

Figures 5 and 6, on the following pages, show annual government expenditure by function for UK and RoI, between 2013 and 2022, using the most up-to-date OECD published data. The figures show, for both countries, the five largest areas of public spending are: social protection; health; general public services; education; and, economic affairs. However, there was some variation between the proportion of spending on each - for example: RoI spent a higher proportion of its total government expenditure on social protection, health and education than the UK; whereas the UK spent a higher proportion of its total government expenditure on general public services and economic affairs.

The total spend per person in 2022 was found to be £19,381 in the UK, when compared with €21,093 in RoI. Using historical exchange rate data from April 2022, the €21,093 spend in RoI equates to approximately £17,636, meaning at that time, the spend per capita was higher in the UK than in RoI.

As noted earlier, the data used in this section is not directly comparable to the CRA data used in section 1 of the paper. Figure 7 in Appendix 1 of the paper includes OECD data from 2022 alongside CRA data from the same time period for comparison. It shows that spending per person on Public Debt and Defense varies quite considerably between the UK and RoI. These are not included within the CRA data. If these figures are removed from the UK and RoI OECD data, the UK and RoI have broadly similar spending per person in 2022 of £16,682 and £16,930 respectively.

Figure 5: United Kingdom - Annual government expenditure by function (COFOG), £ Millions

	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022
General public services	97,968	96,216	89,581	93,325	100,584	102,553	98,781	113,777	109,990	161,858
%	13%	12%	11%	11%	12%	12%	11%	10%	10%	14%
Defence	39,279	39,218	38,267	37,831	38,852	39,642	44,148	45,552	49,199	53,539
%	5%	5%	5%	5%	5%	5%	5%	4%	4%	5%
Public order and safety	36,417	35,762	35,939	35,974	37,641	38,776	39,921	43,298	47,487	52,902
%	5%	4%	4%	4%	4%	4%	4%	4%	4%	5%
Economic affairs	50,345	54,817	58,085	60,010	66,414	68,839	75,112	174,731	133,605	114,828
%	6%	7%	7%	7%	8%	8%	8%	16%	12%	10%
Environmental protection	13,804	14,961	14,882	14,910	14,936	14,424	14,497	15,296	16,545	17,807
%	2%	2%	2%	2%	2%	2%	2%	1%	1%	2%
Housing and community amenities	11,082	11,286	12,679	11,912	14,072	14,557	17,513	16,164	19,567	21,662
%	1%	1%	2%	1%	2%	2%	2%	1%	2%	2%
Health	130,823	139,135	144,527	150,723	154,363	161,889	170,759	209,195	224,460	224,496
%	17%	17%	18%	18%	18%	18%	19%	19%	20%	19%
Recreation, culture and religion	13,270	13,183	13,135	12,613	13,460	13,183	13,437	13,433	14,784	15,440
%	2%	2%	2%	2%	2%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%
Education	94,438	99,069	99,665	101,204	104,953	106,376	109,518	115,031	122,137	124,276
%	12%	12%	12%	12%	12%	12%	12%	10%	11%	11%
Social protection	293,376	299,696	306,223	310,292	311,735	320,314	329,562	355,273	367,081	380,788
%	38%	37%	38%	37%	36%	36%	36%	32%	33%	33%
Total	780,802	803,343	812,983	828,794	857,010	880,553	913,248	1,101,750	1,104,855	1,167,596
Population	56,989,744	57,444,107	57,881,415	58,366,199	58,700,914	59,008,368	59,317,788	59,430,444	59,660,524	60,245,218
Total Spending per Capita	£13,701	£13,985	£14,046	£14,200	£14,600	£14,923	£15,396	£18,538	£18,519	£19,381

Source: OECD Annual government expenditure by function (2022)

Figure 6: Republic of Ireland - Annual government expenditure by function (COFOG), € Millions

	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022
General public services	11,571	11,439	10,931	10,897	10,539	10,862	10,534	10,133	10,443	10,569
%	16%	16%	14%	14%	14%	13%	12%	10%	10%	10%
Defence	691	760	787	822	804	935	843	912	884	924
%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%
Public order and safety	2,644	2,659	2,793	2,916	3,051	3,259	3,130	3,298	3,381	3,783
%	4%	4%	4%	4%	4%	4%	4%	3%	3%	4%
Economic affairs	5,592	5,957	8,137	6,656	6,595	7,664	7,659	12,906	13,722	10,058
%	8%	8%	11%	9%	8%	9%	9%	13%	13%	9%
Environmental protection	1,041	1,130	1,196	1,220	1,223	1,294	1,189	1,204	1,295	1,452
%	1%	2%	2%	2%	2%	2%	1%	1%	1%	1%
Housing and community amenities	1,249	1,431	1,499	1,436	1,472	1,873	1,984	2,240	2,094	2,532
%	2%	2%	2%	2%	2%	2%	2%	2%	2%	2%
Health	13,132	13,149	13,662	14,108	14,823	15,823	16,997	20,648	22,684	24,838
%	18%	18%	18%	19%	19%	19%	20%	20%	21%	23%
Recreation, culture and religion	1,434	1,481	1,555	1,642	1,623	1,819	1,871	1,899	1,954	2,115
%	2%	2%	2%	2%	2%	2%	2%	2%	2%	2%
Education	8,657	8,913	9,129	9,344	9,853	10,385	11,407	11,984	12,474	13,479
%	12%	12%	12%	12%	13%	13%	13%	12%	12%	13%
Social protection	26,860	26,396	26,728	26,854	27,914	28,886	30,966	36,747	36,959	37,826
%	37%	36%	35%	35%	36%	35%	36%	36%	35%	35%
Total	72,870	73,315	76,417	75,894	77,896	82,802	86,581	101,970	105,889	107,576
Population	4,593,100	4,609,600	4,635,400	4,673,700	4,792,500	4,857,000	4,921,500	4,977,400	5,011,500	5,100,200
Total Spending per Capita	€ 15,865	€ 15,905	€ 16,485	€ 16,239	€ 16,254	€ 17,048	€ 17,592	€ 20,487	€ 21,129	€ 21,093

Source: OECD Annual government expenditure by function (2022)

3 Concluding Remarks

This Briefing Paper first provides a comparison between public spending per person within the UK, and shows that public spending per person in Northern Ireland was 19% higher than the UK average in 2023-24 - equating to £15,371.

As is the case for overall public spending, current spending per person was higher in Northern Ireland than any other part of the UK. Scotland had the highest capital spending out of the four nations, at £1,789 per person; while England had the lowest, at £1,394 per person.

When considering spending by function, the overall pattern is consistent across the UK: Social Protection makes up the largest proportion of spending in every nation; followed by Health, Education, and Economic Affairs. However, when drilling down to the sub-function level, there was some notable variations, including in relation to higher spending on police services in Northern Ireland, on agriculture, food and fisheries policy, and in relation to some benefits, however spending on Transport in Northern Ireland was much lower than the UK average.

The Paper then provides a comparison between public spending per person in the UK and RoI in 2022, and shows that public spending per person was much higher in the UK in at £19,381, when compared to RoI at approximately £17,636. This was largely attributable to variations in spending on Public Debt and Defence.

Appendix 1

Figure 7: Spending per person by sub-function by region, alongside Annual government expenditure by sub-function converted into spending per person in £, 2021-22

	England	Scotland	Wales	NI	UK	Rol
1. General public services						
1.1 Executive and legislative organs, financial and fiscal affairs, external affairs	51	273	147	138	439	791
1.2 Foreign economic aid	-	1	-	-	136	85
1.3 General services	32	15	12	167	267	240
1.4 Basic research	-	-	-	-	7	59
1.5 R&D general public services	0	6	-	0	4	0
1.6 General public services not elsewhere classified	58	53	145	12	23	2
1.7 Public debt transactions					1,810	556
Total general public services	141	349	304	318	2,687	1,733
2. Defence						
2.1 Military defence	-	-	-	-	786	128
2.2 Civil defence	2	1	1	-	2	6
2.3 Foreign military aid	-	-	-	-	28	10
2.4 R&D defence	-	-	-	-	69	-
2.5 Defence not elsewhere classified.	-	-	-	-	4	7
Total defence	1	1	1	-	889	151
3. Public order and safety						
3.1 Police services	281	342	295	479	513	350
<i>of which: immigration and citizenship</i>	0	-	0	-		
<i>of which: other police services</i>	281	342	295	479		
3.2 Fire-protection services	44	79	54	52	63	64
3.3 Law courts	119	107	111	127	173	132
3.4 Prisons	81	75	99	75	87	38
3.5 R&D public order and safety	-	-	-	0	2	0
3.6 Public order and safety not elsewhere classified.	12	5	7	0	40	35
Total public order and safety	537	607	566	734	878	620
4. Economic affairs						
4.1 General economic, commercial and labour affairs	581	665	434	577	251	359
4.2 Agriculture, forestry, fishing and hunting	75	165	180	352	108	178
<i>of which: market support</i>	34	87	79	6		
<i>of which: other agriculture, food and fisheries policy</i>	39	71	101	340		

<i>of which: forestry</i>	2	7	0	6		
4.3 Fuel and energy	31	58	45	26	406	55
4.4 Mining, manufacturing and construction	9	0	4	1	5	27
4.5 Transport	653	867	475	478	835	830
<i>of which: national roads</i>	76	140	101	20		
<i>of which: local roads</i>	87	143	106	202		
<i>of which: local public transport</i>	80	72	26	94		
<i>of which: railway</i>	388	398	223	128		
<i>of which: other transport</i>	22	115	19	34		
4.6 Communication	-	17	14	27	7	9
4.7 Other industries	2	24	17	35	4	65
4.8 R&D economic affairs	97	108	78	60	283	100
4.9 Economic affairs not elsewhere classified	9	17	18	0	7	26
Total economic affairs	1,456	1,922	1,265	1,555	1,906	1,649
5. Environment protection						
5.1 Waste management	145	205	157	117	226	11
5.2 Waste water management	-	-	-	0	-	135
5.3 Pollution abatement	8	4	1	-	8	54
5.4 Protection of biodiversity and landscape	5	25	3	0	9	18
5.5 R&D environment protection	3	2	1	0	17	4
5.6 Environment protection not elsewhere classified.	31	42	74	36	35	16
Total environment protection	191	277	236	153	296	238
6. Housing and community amenities						
6.1 Housing development	115	356	296	124	104	131
<i>of which: local authority housing</i>	95	246	296	-		
<i>of which: other social housing</i>	20	110	-	124		
6.2 Community development	52	13	69	80	165	82
6.3 Water supply	0	108	0	195	11	186
6.4 Street lighting	13	1	13	27	15	7
6.5 R&D housing and community amenities	-	0	-	1	0	-
6.6 Housing and community amenities not elsewhere classified.	5	0	3	153	65	8
Total housing and community amenities	185	479	380	580	360	415
7. Health						
Medical services	2,824	3,102	3,098	3,107		
Health research	27	27	16	8		
Central and other health services	341	362	344	324		
Total health	3,192	3,490	3,459	3,439	3,726	4,072
8. Recreation, culture and religion						

8.1 Recreational and sporting services	52	95	76	100	74	66
8.2 Cultural services	60	111	85	115	102	147
8.3 Broadcasting and publishing services	6	10	29	8	87	118
8.4 Religious and other community services	0	2	0	27	2	7
8.5 R&D recreation, culture and religion	1	1	0	0	2	1
8.6 Recreation, culture and religion not elsewhere classified.	2	0	13	0	- 11	8
Total recreation, culture and religion	121	220	203	251	256	347
9. Education						
9.1 Pre-primary and primary education	457	713	644	520	406	871
<i>of which: under fives</i>	62	111	22	35		
<i>of which: primary education</i>	395	602	622	486		
9.2 Secondary education	769	608	786	682	939	793
9.3 Post-secondary non-tertiary education	11	-	-	-	42	21
9.4 Tertiary education	43	301	89	190	252	403
9.5 Education not definable by level	11	21	43	47	200	35
9.6 Subsidiary services to education	73	56	89	223	19	59
9.7 R&D education	46	0	-	-	47	1
9.8 Education not elsewhere classified	28	59	28	97	158	28
Total education	1,439	1,758	1,680	1,761	2,063	2,210
10. Social protection						
<i>of which: personal social services</i>	578	705	830	707		
10.1 Sickness and disability	855	1,093	1,260	1,722	951	865
<i>of which: personal social services</i>	183	216	234	248		
<i>of which: incapacity, disability and injury benefits</i>	671	878	1,026	1,474		
10.2 Old age	1,801	2,053	2,144	2,109	3,446	2,552
<i>of which: personal social services</i>	172	308	291	330		
<i>of which: pensions</i>	1,629	1,745	1,853	1,779		
10.3 Survivors	14	36	22	47	22	316
10.4 Family and children	398	364	479	678	483	674
<i>of which: personal social services</i>	199	181	277	129		
<i>of which: family benefits, income support and tax credits</i>	198	183	202	548		
10.5 Unemployment	12	24	11	207	19	661
<i>of which: personal social services</i>	-	-	-	-		

<i>of which: other unemployment benefits</i>	12	24	11	207		
10.6 Housing	262	255	337	228	256	770
10.7 Social exclusion not elsewhere classified.	863	766	860	257	909	221
<i>of which: personal social services</i>	24	-	28	-		
<i>of which: family benefits, income support and tax credits</i>	840	766	833	257	0	3
10.8 R&D social protection	-	-	-	-		
10.9 Social protection not elsewhere classified	81	187	195	23	234	139
Total social protection	4,286	4,779	5,307	5,272	6,321	6,201
Total Expenditure on Services	11,549	13,881	13,401	14,062	19,381	17,637

Source: HM Treasury, Country and regional analysis: 2022, tables B5-8 and OECD Annual government expenditure by function (2022), RaiSe calculations