
The Effectiveness of the Social Security System in Poland

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Abstract:

Purpose: The article evaluates the effectiveness of the Polish social security system by analysing financing sources, administrative costs, and expenditure trends from 2014 to 2024.

Approach/Methodology/Design: The study is based on quantitative analysis of secondary statistical data from ZUS, the Ministry of Finance and OECD reports, supported by comparative and desk research methods.

Findings: Results show increasing revenues from contributions; however, administrative costs are rising disproportionately. The share of ZUS operational costs grew from 3.0% to 6.1%, indicating decreasing efficiency and growing pressure from demographic change.

Practical Implications: The findings may support reforms aimed at improving financial sustainability, cost efficiency, and long-term system resilience.

Originality/Value: This study provides up-to-date system performance data and highlights the growing importance of balancing public and private pension mechanisms in stabilising future economic conditions.

Keywords: Polish social security system, efficiency, administrative costs.

JEL codes: H55, H55, J26, J14, J26.

Paper type: Research article.

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1. Introduction

The social security system in Poland is one of the key pillars of the welfare state, providing citizens with financial support in the event of loss of ability to work, reaching retirement age, illness or accident. Its main objective is social protection through the payment of pension, disability, sickness and accident benefits, financed from mandatory contributions and budget subsidies. The central institution managing the social security system is the Social Insurance Institution (ZUS), responsible for m.in collecting contributions, handling benefits and administering the Social Insurance Fund (FUS).

The Social Insurance Fund acts as the financial backbone of the system – it is from its funds that pensions, annuities and various types of benefits are paid. The scale of ZUS and FUS activities makes them one of the largest public institutions in Poland in terms of budget, range of operation and social impact.

In the face of growing social needs, demographic changes and pressure on the state budget, the importance of analysing the effectiveness of the functioning of the social security system is growing. It is particularly important to examine the level of administrative costs and their relationship to the benefits paid – so that the system not only fulfils its social function, but also operates in a rational and economically justified manner.

The aim of this article is to assess the effectiveness of the social security system in Poland on the basis of the analysis of data on the generic costs of the Social Insurance Institution, the income of the Social Insurance Fund and expenditures on individual benefits: pensions, pensions, sickness and accident benefits. This assessment will answer the question of whether the system works efficiently and to what extent it can be further improved.

The article decided to verify the hypothesis: The social security system in Poland works effectively, and the costs of its administrative service (ZUS generic costs) remain at a stable level in relation to the benefits paid.

The main research method to verify the hypothesis is the analysis of statistical and financial data (quantitative method), supported by comparative and descriptive analysis, which allows for a comprehensive assessment of the functioning and effectiveness of the social security system in Poland.

2. Literature Review

2.1 The Theory of the Effectiveness of the Social Security System

The effectiveness of the social security system is one of the key issues in the field of public economy and social policy. In the literature on the subject, it is emphasized that

the social security system is considered efficient when it is able to cover its liabilities from insurance premiums, without the need for regular support from the state budget. Such self-sufficiency is an important criterion for assessing the effectiveness and stability of the system. This ensures its financial independence and minimizes the burden of financial support from the state.

According to Rawls, efficiency should be considered in the context of distributive justice. The social security system must ensure equal access to protection, minimising inequalities and promoting social justice. In this view, it is important that the system is not only effective, but also fair (Rawls, 1971).

Luhmann (1989) emphasizes that the social security system has a stabilizing and integrating function of society. Efficiency in this perspective means the ability of a system to maintain social functions such as solidarity and social trust, which is crucial for its long-term effectiveness (Luhmann, 1989).

Gøsta Esping-Andersen (1990) – In *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*, the author proposes a classification of welfare systems based on their structure and function. This analysis provides an understanding of how different models of social security systems affect inequality and socio-economic justice. The effectiveness of a system can be assessed by its ability to reduce inequalities and promote justice in different social contexts.

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In his views, Amartya Sen saw that the effectiveness of social systems should be evaluated through the prism of their ability to increase the freedom and life possibilities of individuals. His approach focuses on social capital, procedural fairness, and beneficiaries' capabilities, indicating that social security systems are effective when they contribute to the development of individuals and communities by eliminating barriers that limit their potential (Sen, 1999).

The effectiveness of a social security system refers to its ability to achieve social and economic goals with optimal use of resources (Kakwani, 2004). This means not only effectiveness in providing protection, but also cost-effectiveness and fairness in the distribution of funds (Barr, 2001).

The literature distinguishes different approaches to evaluating effectiveness, from cost-benefit analysis to the study of the impact on living standards and social inequalities.

In economic thought, there is also an approach to the effectiveness of social security systems based on cost-benefit analysis (Mishan, 1981). In this context, it is important that the scheme provides protection at minimal cost, while maximising the benefits for beneficiaries. The cost-benefit model allows you to assess whether expenditure on the system translates into improved quality of life and social stability.

Certainly, the effectiveness of the social security system can be considered in terms of its ability to self-finance, which means that contributions cover expenditure on benefits. If the system is supported by public funds, it undoubtedly loses its effectiveness. The allocation of these funds to the social system does not allow them to be allocated for development purposes.

In turn, according to the concept of public economy, social security systems should be designed to minimize the risk of deficit and ensure financial stability. T.S. Persson (2012) emphasizes that "the financial self-sufficiency of the social security system is crucial for its effectiveness, as it eliminates the need for continuous support from the budget, which in turn reduces the risk of excessive fiscal burden" (Persson, 2012).

Anthony B. Atkinson's research focused on social inequalities and their impact on the functioning of social security systems. His research presented the view that effective systems not only protect against risk, but also actively reduce inequalities and promote social justice. Efficiency in this perspective therefore means systems that contribute to a more equal distribution of resources and opportunities (Atkinson, 2015).

The Polish economic literature also draws attention to the need for proper management of reserves and forecasting of future liabilities – especially in the context of the pension system. The state organization, managing these funds, is to be the financial guarantor of the system (Orłowska-Bednarz and Bednarz, 2012).

An effective social security system should have stabilisation mechanisms, such as financial reserves to cover liabilities even in times of economic crisis. Such solutions could guarantee the financial stability of the system, especially in times of crisis.

At the turn of the 20th and 21st centuries, social security systems in many countries had to face challenges such as ageing populations, globalization or changes in the labour market (OECD, 2005). These factors have forced reforms aimed at increasing efficiency through, among m.in, reforming pension systems, introducing market elements or promoting active labour market policies.

2.2. Structure and Sources of Financing of the System in Poland

The social security system in Poland is based on the classic pay-as-you-go model (PAYG), in which the current contributions of economically active people are used to finance benefits for current pensioners, pensioners and people entitled to other forms of social support. The basic institution administering this system is the Social

Insurance Institution (ZUS), which is responsible, among m.in, for the collection of contributions, servicing the insured and payers, and paying benefits (ZUS, 2023).

ZUS also manages the Social Insurance Fund (FUS) – a state-owned special-purpose fund from which four main groups of benefits are financed: pension, disability, sickness and accident benefits (Mitrus, 2022).

The structure of the Social Insurance Fund's revenues is based primarily on mandatory social contributions, the total share of which in financing the fund's expenditures in recent years has oscillated around 82-84%, with the total share in 2024 exceeding 83% (ZUS, 2024).

The second important source is subsidies from the state budget, which are intended to cover the deficit of the pension and disability fund and ensure the payment of guaranteed benefits (e.g. minimum pensions) – in 2023, subsidies accounted for about 14% of FUS revenues (Ministry of Finance, 2023).

As the literature indicates, the increasing share of contributions in the financing of benefits can be assessed positively from the point of view of system stability, although it does not eliminate structural problems related to demography (Malarewicz-Jakubów, 2017). Foreign literature also shows that pay-as-you-go systems are becoming increasingly burdensome in the face of ageing populations – Barr and Diamond (2008) warn that failure to adjust systemic parameters (e.g. retirement age, contribution levels) can lead to long-term financial failure.

In turn, the OECD (2022) points out that the share of public transfers in the financing of pensions in Poland is lower than in some other Central and Eastern European countries, which may indicate a relatively greater self-sufficiency of the Polish system, but also the need to further monitor its effectiveness.

From the perspective of the International Monetary Fund (IMF, 2020), the long-term sustainability of social security systems requires not only increasing revenues, but above all structural reforms that ensure the right balance between generations. In the light of these analyses, the Polish system – although relatively stable – must constantly adapt to demographic and financial challenges, while maintaining the principle of universality and social solidarity.

3. Methodology

The research presented in this article is based on an analysis of secondary data from public institutional sources and scientific studies on the social security system in Poland. A quantitative analysis of statistical data was used, comparing the amount of contributions, expenditure and administrative costs of the Social Insurance Institution (ZUS) in the years 2014–2024. The figures were obtained primarily from ZUS reports, financial plan implementation reports, Social Insurance Statistical Yearbooks and

studies by the Ministry of Finance. This information made it possible to calculate the dynamics of changes and the ratios of administrative costs to contributions, which is a key tool for assessing the effectiveness of the system.

The empirical analysis was supplemented by a comparative method, in which the results obtained were compared with references found in the literature on the subject and in reports by the OECD, IMF and other international institutions monitoring the stability of social security systems. This made it possible to compare the Polish system with solutions used in other countries and to identify areas of compliance or deviation from standards considered effective.

The study also used desk research, including analysis of documents, scientific studies and legal acts regulating the social security system in Poland. This made it possible to combine quantitative results with the institutional and theoretical context. The methods used allowed for a comprehensive assessment of the functioning of the social security system and the formulation of conclusions regarding its effectiveness and possible directions for change.

4. Research Results

4.1 Analysis of Generic Costs of the Social Insurance Institution

The Social Insurance Institution plays a key role in the social security system in Poland, managing m.in the collection of contributions, the payment of benefits and the implementation of social policy.

The efficiency of this institution largely depends on its operating costs, which include a wide range of expenses, from salaries, through external services, to depreciation and consumption of materials. In this analysis, we will focus on a detailed breakdown of the generic costs of the Social Insurance Institution in the years 2014–2024, taking into account the dynamics of individual categories and their impact on the overall functioning of the institution.

The operating expenditures of the Social Insurance Institution in terms of type include primarily salaries and employee benefits, external services, depreciation, consumption of materials and energy, taxes and fees, as well as social security and other benefits.

The analysis of the data shows that the largest cost item is wages, which are systematically growing from PLN 2.11 billion in 2014 to almost PLN 4.9 billion forecast for 2024. This increase is very significant and reflects both the administrative development of the Social Insurance Institution and the increase in salaries in the public sector.

The costs of external services in the period under review remain at the level of approximately PLN 0.8–1.1 billion and show an upward trend, which may indicate an

increasing scope of external orders and outsourcing in the functioning of institutions. Depreciation and consumption of materials and energy are characterized by relatively stable nominal values, although in 2024 a sharp increase in material and energy consumption is forecast (to over PLN 459 million), which may result from infrastructure modernization or technological changes.

Taxes and fees are a relatively small expense, showing a downward trend, while social security and other employee benefits are increasing along with salaries, reflecting the increase in social benefits for ZUS employees.

The analysis of dynamics shows that the total generic costs of ZUS increased by about 18% compared to the previous year at the end of the period, and salaries increased by over 114% (compared to 2014), which is the highest dynamics among all cost categories.

External services and depreciation are also showing growth, albeit to a lesser extent. The consumption of materials and energy recorded the largest percentage increase in 2024 (+245% compared to 2014), which is a clear signal of changes in the structure of ZUS's operating costs.

It is worth noting that the share of generic costs in collected premiums has been systematically increasing in the years 2014–2024, from 3.0% in 2014 to the forecasted 6.1% in 2024. In particular, the share of wages (from 1.6% to 3.7%) and social security and other benefits related to employees (from 0.3% to 0.8%) is increasing.

This means that an increasing part of the funds from contributions is allocated to cover the costs of the functioning of the Social Insurance Institution, which may indicate challenges related to the efficiency of the institution's operations.

In the context of assessing the effectiveness of the social security system, the ratio of operating costs to the amount of benefits paid is an important indicator. Unfortunately, the growing share of costs in contributions may suggest that ZUS has to devote more and more funds to its administration, which in the long run may reduce the efficiency of the system and the public finance system.

Comparative analyses with foreign literature (e.g. OECD, IMF) indicate that the optimal level of operating costs of social security systems should oscillate around 3–5% of collected contributions (OECD, 2022), so an increase to over 6% may raise concerns and indicate the need for reforms.

The assessment of trends in the share of ZUS generic costs in collected contributions for the years 2014–2024 boils down to the conclusion that there is a clear, systematic increase in the share of ZUS generic costs in collected contributions in the period from 2014 to 2024. In particular, it can be noted that since 2014, this share has increased from 3.0% to a forecast 6.1% in 2024, which is almost a twofold increase.

The main factor causing the increase in this indicator is the gradual increase in the share of wages and social security. This situation mainly reflects rising labour costs and possible changes in the ZUS contribution system. Depreciation, consumption of materials and energy, external services, and taxes and fees show minimal changes, suggesting that the main increase in the share of ZUS is mainly due to costs related to salaries and insurance.

Potential reasons for the changes in the ratio of the share of generic costs of ZUS in collected ZUS contributions are m.in:

- increases in minimum and average wages, which affect higher social security contributions,
- an increase in employment or changes in the employment structure, leading to higher costs related to social security,
- legislative changes in the field of mandatory social and health contributions.

From the presented analysis, an increasing part of insurance premiums is allocated to its own functioning, mainly salaries. While some of the increases can be explained by inflation, organizational changes and digitalization, the current dynamics and cost structure require a redefinition of the management strategy in this area.

Changes in the ratio of the share of generic costs of the Social Insurance Institution in contributions have a significant impact on the labour market, the competitiveness of enterprises and the financial stability of the social security system, which consequently affects the condition of the entire economy.

It may be necessary to implement cost-saving programs, better staff management, and increase the automation of administrative processes. In the context of public finances, this is an important issue, because we should strive for the greatest possible efficiency in the functioning of this sector in the economy.

When an increasing amount of money is allocated to the maintenance of the pension and disability insurance authority (ZUS), and not to the benefits themselves. As a result, the system becomes less effective.

It is worth pointing out that spending more and more on one's own functioning, there may be no money to pay benefits, especially in difficult times, e.g. with an aging population. In such a situation, support from the state budget is necessary, which increases the deficit of public finances. This is where the problem of financing this deficit arises. This may mean the need to raise taxes, and this may certainly meet with resistance from taxpayers.

The growing administrative costs of the Social Insurance Institution may indicate that the system is not adapted to the changing economy and technology. If reforms are not

introduced, e.g. greater digitization or automation, the following may occur in the future:

- the solvency crisis of the pension system,
- increase in state debt,
- downgrading Polish's credit ratings, which increases debt service costs,
- less funds for investments and development,
- a higher risk of a public finance crisis.

4.2 Analysis of the Efficiency of the Social Security System in Poland

At the outset, it is worth pointing out that the social security system is considered efficient if it is able to cover all its liabilities from insurance premiums, without the need for regular support from the state budget.

The data presented in Tables 3 and 4 will make it possible to determine in the years 2014 – 2024 whether the Polish social security system was efficient. This means whether he had the ability to finance expenses from revenues.

The analyzed revenues of the social security system include insurance premiums, subsidies from the state budget and other income, such as revenues from OFE and FRD. An upward trend was recorded in the period under review. From 2014 to 2024, premiums increased from PLN 131.1 billion to about PLN 347 billion, which is more than a twofold increase.

It can be assumed that the reason for the increase lies in the increased number of insured persons, the increase in salaries, as well as changes in the premium system. The increase in collected contributions has a positive impact on the public finance system. It increases the funds available, improving its ability to cover expenses.

The inflow of funds to the social security system is complemented by subsidies from the state budget. Between 2014 and 2024, we observe an increase in subsidies from PLN 30.36 billion to about PLN 64.7 billion. It is worth pointing out that they are an important support, especially in periods when contributions do not cover full expenses, which is typical for systems with a large share of pension and disability benefits – including the Polish system.

The expenditure of the social security system includes pension, disability, sickness and accident funds. A very dynamic increase in revenues was recorded by the pension fund. It was PLN 121.3 billion in 2014 to over PLN 298.5 billion in 2024, which means an almost twofold increase. Probably the reason for the increase is the growing number of pensioners, the extension of the average period of receiving benefits and possible changes in the amount of benefits. This situation, of course, affects the system, contributing to the increase in pension spending. This requires increased revenues or reforms to reduce spending.

The situation related to the pension fund shows an increase from PLN 44.8 billion in 2014 to PLN 69 billion in 2024. It is worth noting that this growth is less dynamic than in the case of a pension fund, which may reflect a stable number of pensioners and their benefits.

The analysis of the sickness fund shows an increase - from PLN 16.8 million in 2014 to PLN 32.8 million in 2024. This increase may indicate a growing number of insured persons using sickness benefits or changes in the benefits policy.

The last of the analysed funds, the accident fund, shows an increase in expenditure: from PLN 5.2 billion in 2014 to PLN 5.9 billion in 2024, which suggests stability in terms of accident-related payments. The increase in expenses is not large related to compensation for accidents at work.

The examined period from 2014 to 2024 indicates that there is a tendency in the system to increase revenues, mainly due to an increase in contributions and subsidies. Expenses are growing faster than revenues, especially in the pension fund, which can lead to a financial deficit in the long run. Spending is projected to increase further in 2024, which would require increased revenues or reforms to reduce spending.

The state of the system that emerges from the analyses in connection with the aging society means an increase in the number of pensioners and renters, which will increase the burden on the system. There is a need for adapting the system to changing demographics, as well as existing crises in the economy. An economic slowdown or crises can significantly reduce premium revenues.

From 2014 to 2024, the social security system in Poland has shown a tendency to increase revenues, mainly due to an increase in contributions and subsidies. Expenses, especially for the pension fund, are growing faster than revenues, which can lead to financial challenges in the future.

The increase in expenditure is related to demographic changes, the growing number of beneficiaries and the extension of the period of receiving benefits. To ensure long-term stability, systemic reforms are needed to better align revenues with rising expenditures, as well as to increase the efficiency of fund management.

There is also a need to optimize expenditures and improve the efficiency of spending funds. The ratio of the share of generic costs in the collected premiums increased, especially in the final period under review, to almost 6%. This is much higher than the average rate in OECD countries mentioned earlier.

5. Conclusion

An analysis of the functioning of the social security system in Poland indicates that although its structure and objectives remain in line with the assumptions of the welfare

state, in the face of dynamic demographic and economic changes, further improvement measures are necessary. The system is currently in a state of relative stability, but the rising costs of its maintenance, especially in the area of pension payments, pose an increasing challenge to public finances.

In the long run, the inefficiency of the system may contribute to the deepening of the budget deficit, a decrease in the competitiveness of the labour market and a loss of citizens' trust in public institutions.

The hypothesis put forward at the beginning has been partially verified. The social security system in Poland works effectively in the operational sense – revenues are growing, and the Social Insurance Institution pays benefits on a larger and larger scale on time.

However, the second part of the hypothesis concerning administrative costs is not confirmed – generic costs of the Social Insurance Institution are growing significantly faster than contributions. In 2014, they amounted to 3.0% of contributions, and in 2024 it was 6.1%, which means that administrative costs are inconsistent in relation to the benefits paid.

Problems such as avoidance of paying contributions or the growth of the grey labour market further weaken the foundations of the system. Comprehensive reforms are therefore needed, which should aim both to increase the efficiency of the system and to ensure its long-term stability.

The most important directions of reforms include: a flexible approach to the retirement age, the development of a multi-pillar system (public, private and additional), professional activation of the elderly, support for pro-family and population policies, effective management of pension funds and the promotion of additional saving for retirement. Continuous monitoring of the socio-economic situation and appropriate adaptation of public policies are also necessary.

To sum up, the Polish social security system requires not only the maintenance of the current mechanisms, but above all their modification and strengthening in order to meet the challenges of the future. Only then will it be possible to maintain a balance between the social function and the economic rationality of the system, which is crucial for its further effectiveness.

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Table 1. Generic costs incurred by the Social Insurance Institution in the years 2014 – 2024 in PLN million

Generic costs	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022	2023	2024
Depreciation	394 314	380 827	344 356	299 156	238 307	246 905	272 566	308 494	381 655	359 325	459 562
Material and energy consumption	107 734	109 203	103 125	103 513	100 880	102 255	109 837	114 604	157 845	187 343	459 562
External services	836 190	853 449	844 114	833 478	837 891	832 942	841 005	932 391	986 656	1 033 365	1 159 901
Taxes and fees	55 709	53 392	49 886	40 859	36 073	34 689	27 194	23 988	19 920	18 231	18 212
Salary	2 111 787	2 118 220	2 258 238	2 471 242	2 470 663	2 834 720	3 099 833	3 301 529	3 705 256	4 288 559	4 897 788
Social Security and Other Benefits	451 414	453 952	475 274	516 754	518 803	587 703	640 706	690 271	773 875	897 946	1 032 001
Other costs by type	32 870	31 096	29 259	30 061	30 006	31 005	13 097	16 436	22 399	30 465	31 424
Together	3 990 018	4 000 139	4 104 252	4 295 063	4 232 623	4 670 219	5 004 238	5387 713	6 047 606	6 815 234	8 058 450

Source: Profit and Loss Account for 2014 – 2022, Report on the implementation of the financial plan for 2023, 2024.

Table 2. Dynamics of generic costs incurred by the Social Insurance Institution in the years 2014 – 2024 in PLN million

Generic costs dynamics	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022	2023	2024
Depreciation	100	96,6%	90,4%	86,9%	79,7%	103,6%	110,4%	113,2%	123,7%	94,1%	127,9%
Material and energy consumption	100	101,4%	94,4%	100,4%	97,5%	101,4%	107,4%	104,3%	137,7%	118,7%	245,3%
External services	100	102,1%	98,9%	98,7%	100,5%	99,4%	101,0%	110,9%	105,8%	104,7%	112,2%
Taxes and fees	100	95,8%	93,4%	81,9%	88,3%	96,2%	78,4%	88,2%	83,0%	91,5%	99,9%
Salary	100	100,3%	106,6%	109,4%	100,0%	114,7%	109,4%	106,5%	112,2%	115,7%	114,2%
Social Security and Other Benefits	100	100,6%	104,7%	108,7%	100,4%	113,3%	109,0%	107,7%	112,1%	116,0%	114,9%
Other costs by type	100	94,6%	94,1%	102,7%	99,8%	103,3%	42,2%	125,5%	136,3%	136,0%	103,1%
total generic costs	100	100,3%	102,6%	104,6%	98,5%	110,3%	107,2%	107,7%	112,2%	112,7%	118,2%

Source: Own calculation based on data from Table 1.

Table 3. ZUS revenues and expenditures in PLN million for the years 2014 - 2024 (selected data)

Specification	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022	2023	2024
insurance premiums in million	131 129 300	143 095 800	151 837 200	166 547 900	179 934 600	196 947 200	196 737 700	228 616 614	261 438 325	301 352 214,7	346 979 800,0
subsidy from the state budget in million	30 362 800	42 065 700	44 847 800	40 978 700	35 822 700	38 925 000	33 522 000	34 990 124	38 663 292	51 652 297,0	64 701 864,0
other income (m.in. revenues from OFE, income from FRD)	21 815 700	8 317 000	7 996 300	10 771 600	12 055 400	7 722 400	34 759 100	7 599 900	7 298 266	8 327 837,9	1 136 997,2
EXPENDITURE											
Pension fund	121257 600	126 344 500	131080 800	137458 100	153392 800	165311 400	178439 200	193151 334	213914 982	256 660 901	298 482 500
Pension fund	44 831 900	45 556 600	45 486 700	45 623 600	45 715 000	46 929 600	48 849 500	51 109 104	54 096 872	61 166 896	69 003 000
Sickness fund	16 816 600	18 805 800	19 988 100	20 993 100	21 726 300	22 798 700	28 257 700	27 039 362	26 965 836	28 818 046	32 793 400
Accident fund	5 184 000	5 144 700	5 054 600	5 005 600	4 959 800	4 988 300	4 920 900	4 905 594	4 989 747	5 437 831	5 914 500

Source: <https://www.zus.pl/baza-wiedzy/statystyka/rocznik-statystyczny-ubezpieczen-spoecznych-2014-2020>

https://www.zus.pl/documents/10182/167627/Biuletyn_WOJ_K4_2020.pdf/e3ca85e8-15e1-489f-8197-5613f3cefc4f?t=1620722301765
2021-2023

Table 4. Share of ZUS generic costs in collected contributions for the years 2014 - 2024

Generic costs	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022	2023	2024
Depreciation	0,3%	0,3%	0,3%	0,2%	0,2%	0,2%	0,2%	0,2%	0,3%	0,3%	0,4%
Material and energy consumption	0,1%	0,1%	0,1%	0,1%	0,1%	0,1%	0,1%	0,1%	0,1%	0,1%	0,4%
External services	0,6%	0,7%	0,6%	0,6%	0,6%	0,6%	0,6%	0,7%	0,8%	0,8%	0,9%
Taxes and fees	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%
Salary	1,6%	1,6%	1,7%	1,9%	1,9%	2,2%	2,4%	2,5%	2,8%	3,3%	3,7%
Social Security and Other Benefits	0,3%	0,3%	0,4%	0,4%	0,4%	0,4%	0,5%	0,5%	0,6%	0,7%	0,8%
Other costs by type	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%
Together	3,0%	3,1%	3,1%	3,3%	3,2%	3,6%	3,8%	4,1%	4,6%	5,2%	6,1%

Source: Own calculations based on Table 1 and 2 data.