



Exploratory study: filling in the knowledge gaps and identifying strengths and challenges in the effectiveness of the EU Member States' minimum income schemes

Country Fiche - Slovenia

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Country Fiche – Slovenia

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Summary

There are two main minimum income (MI) schemes available to the working-age population in Slovenia: cash social assistance (CSA) and income supplement (IS). Other important additional benefit is emergency financial social assistance. Those receiving CSA have a right to payment of contributions for mandatory health care insurance and a right to covering the difference to full value of health care services. While CSA is primarily intended to provide last-resort short-term income support (several months), IS provides longer term financial support to cover the costs of living for those who cannot be expected to improve their social situation through their own efforts (permanently unemployable persons, those permanently incapable of work, and women over 63 years/man over 65 years, except those in full-time institutional care). Both benefits are means-tested. All unemployed CSA recipients are required to register in the Unemployed Persons Register with the Employment Service of Slovenia (ESS), except those included in the Register of Temporarily Unemployable Unemployed Persons. CSA and IS are granted by social work centres (SWCs), which act as one-stop shops for the delivery of means-tested cash social benefits, subsidies and some other payments from public sources. The MI exceeds the national at-risk-of-poverty (AROP) threshold only in the case of a single-parent family with two or three children, and exceeds the extreme AROP threshold in all cases.¹ In Slovenia, the guaranteed pension and net minimum wage are also below AROP threshold. In 2021, the minimum income for a single-person household was lower than the net minimum wage by 45%. CSA together with IS for a single person was equivalent to 95% of the guaranteed pension in 2021. CSA can be granted several times in a row to CSA recipients without limit if circumstances do not change. The CSA is determined based on the basic amount of minimum income (BAMI) and the equivalence scale. The BAMI is indexed annually on 1 March by the consumer price index (CPI) for the previous calendar year.

In accordance with the Labor Market Regulation Act (2010), CSA beneficiaries are the priority group for inclusion in all active labour market policies (ALMPs). All long-term unemployed, including CSA recipients deemed fit for work, get an individualised in-depth multi-sectoral assessment of social needs (and subsequent labour market activation) within 12-15 months of their registration in the Unemployed Persons Register. That forms the basis for their individual 'job integration agreement – individual action plan' (no later than 18 months after registration). If the long-term unemployed person is found to be unemployable, they are moved from the Unemployed Persons Register to the Register of Temporarily Unemployable Persons and directed to the SWC. In the case of temporarily unemployable persons, the ESS (its local employment offices) and SWCs are legally obliged to cooperate.

If social activation is needed, the unemployed person concludes an individual 'agreement on the active addressing of social problems' with the SWC. The pilot programme project of social activation was introduced in 2017 as a pilot social welfare service. It has been aiming at assisting the long-term unemployed (LTU) and the CSA beneficiaries in their process of re-entering the labour market by providing them with empowerment and additional skills in the fields of IT literacy, functional and social competences, and practical work experiences. As long as the social activation services remain a pilot project, the agreement on the active addressing of social problems is not binding on the beneficiary, nor does it carry any consequences regarding their entitlement to CSA.

Monitoring and evaluation of CSA and IS schemes is coordinated by the Ministry of Labour, Family, Social Affairs and Equal Opportunities (MLFSAEO) and carried out by

¹ The 2021 BAMI is compared to the 2020 AROP based on the 2019 income.

an external provider (Social Protection Institute of Slovenia, IRRSV) on a monthly basis. The appropriateness of the basic amount of minimum income (BAMI) must be checked every six years, most recently in 2017 (Stropanik *et al.*, 2017). The ESS periodically (monthly, quarterly, semi-annually or annually, depending on the kind of data) reports to the MLFSAEO on the implementation of the following labour market measures: labour market services, active labour market policies, unemployment insurance, and ensuring rights from the compulsory and voluntary unemployment insurance.

No studies have examined the impact of MI schemes on the risk of poverty. Assessments of the impact of labour market activation services on employment prospects have not looked specifically at MI beneficiaries. Nevertheless, the reduction of poverty is a political priority in Slovenia and is evident in the key aims and performance indicators of national strategic documents.

The following sections, first, outline the features of the MI support in place; secondly, describe the eligibility criteria and coverage and consider the adequacy of the financial support provided and the links with other benefits; thirdly, examine the extent of integration with labour market measures to help those supported into employment; fourthly, consider the access provided for the people concerned to social services; fifthly, summarise the governance mechanisms in place; and, finally, review the evidence on the impact on reducing poverty and assisting beneficiaries to find work.

An annex outlines the underlying situation in terms of the relative number of people at risk of poverty or social exclusion and the changes that have occurred over recent years, as well as the characteristics of the people concerned – their gender, age, employment status, education level, country of birth and the structure of the households in which they live. As such, it provides the context in which MI support is operating and indicates the groups on which support needs to be targeted.

1 Description of national schemes providing minimum income support

There are two main minimum income (MI) schemes available to the working-age population in Slovenia: 1) social cash assistance (*denarna socialna pomoč*, CSA) based on the MI for various types of individuals, and 2) income supplement (*varstveni dodatek*, IS) that complements CSA. While CSA is primarily intended to provide last-resort short-term income support (several months), IS provides additional longer term financial support to cover the costs of living (e.g. maintenance of housing, replacement of durables, etc.). All working-age people have an entitlement to CSA, while IS is available only to those who cannot be expected to improve their social situation through their own efforts (permanently unemployable persons, those permanently incapable of work, and women older than 63 years/men over 65 years, except those in full-time institutional care) (Social Assistance Payments Act, 2010 and subsequent amendments). The expenditure on CSA increased from 0.45% of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in 2018 to 0.57% of GDP in 2020 (also reflecting a decrease in GDP caused by the COVID-19 pandemic), while the expenditure on IS increased from 0.7% of GDP in 2018 to 0.9% of GDP in 2020 (MLFSAEO, 2021a; SiStat, 2021a). Other important additional benefit is emergency financial social assistance. Those receiving CSA have a right to payment of contributions for mandatory health care insurance and a right to covering the difference to full value of health care services.

1.1 Eligibility

Eligibility for CSA

Those eligible for CSA are citizens with permanent residence in Slovenia, foreigners with a permanent residence permit and permanent residence in Slovenia, persons

granted international protection and their family members who have obtained a residence permit in Slovenia on the basis of the right to family reunification and have registered permanent or temporary residence in Slovenia, and persons who may claim this benefit on the basis of international acts binding on the Republic of Slovenia. A means test applies, and the income threshold depends on the number and type of household members (including number of working hours) and the status of a single-parent family (Social Assistance Payments Act, 2010). The level of MI is based on the Basic Amount of Minimum Income (*osnovni znesek minimalnega dohodka*, BAMI, which amounts to EUR 402.18 since 1 August 2019) and the equivalence scale (Social Assistance Payments Act, 2010 and subsequent amendments). The weights are defined for nine basic family member types, with additional weights for working 60-128 hours and 128+ hours per month, and for children maintained by only one parent (Social Assistance Payments Act, 2010 and subsequent amendments). For example, the income threshold for a two-parent family with one dependent child, where both parents work 128+ hours per month, is EUR 1 178.39 per month in 2021 (MLFSAEO, 2021b). Assets are taken into account by decreasing the income-based CSA by one-third of the value of the assets in question. As a rule, CSA is not granted if the household assets amount to or exceed 48 times the BAMI (i.e. EUR 19 304.64 in 2021) (Social Assistance Payments Act, 2010 and subsequent amendments).

Income thresholds for eligibility of single persons and families/households to CSA are adjusted in parallel with the adjustment of the BAMI. The competent ministry has to determine the minimum costs of living every six years using a comparable methodology that is based on the Orshansky methodology (1965; 1969). Its two main elements are: 1) a nutritionally adequate food basket at the minimum cost, and 2) the share of expenditure on food and non-alcoholic beverages in the total consumption expenditure of non-agricultural households (Stanovnik and Stropnik, 1997; 1998; Stropnik *et al.*, 2009; Stropnik *et al.*, 2017; Stropnik, 2020). The food basket and minimum costs of living are calculated for a man aged 19-65. The MI can be calculated for any household type, using an equivalence scale.

If the newly determined level of minimum costs of living is 15% (or more) higher than that underpinning the existing BAMI, a new BAMI must be set. In the meantime, the BAMI is indexed annually on 1 March by the consumer price index (CPI) for the previous calendar year. Current thresholds became applicable on 1 August 2019. The threshold for assets has not been changed since the adoption of the Social Assistance Payments Act in 2010.

Income is defined in net terms (i.e. after deducting taxes and social security contributions) per month, and is calculated over the three calendar months preceding the month of filing the application (Social Assistance Payments Act, 2010 and subsequent amendments). Exempt income includes subsidies paid from the State budget for specific purposes, subsidies for young families for acquiring their first housing, one-off cash assistance under legislation governing the protection against natural and other disasters, one-off solidarity assistance paid by a trade union to a member, reimbursement of damage caused in activities of public interest (defence, protection against natural and other disasters), income associated with agricultural and forestry activity intended to reimburse the costs associated with carrying out the activity, educational grants from public sources and foundations paid under specific regulation, supplements to the State educational grant (accommodation, educational achievement, students with special needs), reimbursement of tuition fees/student transport/housing, receipts intended for payment of education or training, reimbursement of travel expenses to and from work/expenses for meals during work, non-earmarked cash assistance from humanitarian and disability organisations and charities intended for subsistence (up to the amount of the MI for the particular person), paid alimonies, and 20% of the child allowance - only for the first child in the first income bracket (EUR 23.41 in 2021) (Exercise of Rights to Public Funds Act, 2010 and subsequent amendments). Income from casual and occasional work is exempt up

to the level of 0.5 BAMl per month (Social Assistance Payments Act, 2010 and subsequent amendments).

The assets taken into account are: immovable property; personal and other vehicles; watercraft; ownership shares in companies or cooperatives; securities; cash on a transaction or other account, savings and other cash on the statement of the individual; and other movable property. Exempt assets include: the housing where the person/family actually resides and has permanent residence up to a value of EUR 120 000²; each personal vehicle or single-track vehicle up to the value of 28 times the BAMl (EUR 11 261.04 in 2021), and a personal vehicle adapted for the transport of persons with severe physical impairments; property that is rented or leased; objects that are exempt from execution, except cash; premises, land and movable property used for economic activity that yields income (any agricultural and forest land in case of elderly, ill or disabled persons); funds paid for voluntary/supplementary pension insurance and accumulated on the personal account at the fund or insurance company; housing loans; cash/savings in the amount of three times the respective individual's/family's MI, up to EUR 2 500; in case of (families with) persons who are permanently unemployable, or permanently incapable of work, or non-employed and older than 63 years for women and 65 years for men, the exempt amount is EUR 2 500 for a single person and EUR 3 000 for a family (Exercise of Rights to Public Funds Act, 2010 and subsequent amendments).

All unemployed CSA recipients are required to register in the Unemployed Persons Register with the employment service (ESS) as unemployed. CSA eligibility is also conditional on signing an individual action plan or an agreement on the active addressing of social problems (integration plan), fulfilment of obligations and performance of activities set out in that agreement, active job search, inclusion in the active labour market policy (ALMP) measures and accepting any adequate/suitable job offered (Social Assistance Payments Act, 2010 and subsequent amendments). These conditions do not apply to unemployed persons included in the Register of Temporarily Unemployable Unemployed Persons.

CSA is granted by SWCs, which act as one-stop shops for the delivery of means-tested cash social benefits, subsidies and other payments from public sources (Exercise of Rights to Public Funds Act, 2010 and subsequent amendments). Applications can be submitted by mail or in person (e-UPRAVA, 2021a). CSAs collect the information on applicants directly from the claimant and *ex officio* from administrative databases. The application form requests information on family members, their income and assets, and specific relevant details. Proof of eligibility includes: evidence of a material situation not evident from official records (administrative sources); printout of transactions on all family bank accounts for the last three months; and bases for income and asset exemptions or specific circumstances. During the period of receipt of benefits, beneficiaries must notify the competent SWC of any changes likely to affect their receipt of the benefits (changes in relation to family members, income, type of periodic income, etc.) within eight days of the date they became aware of the change. The Ministry of Labour, Family, Social Affairs and Equal Opportunities (*Ministrstvo za delo, družino, socialne zadeve in enake možnosti*, MLFSAEO) is competent for appeals

² The housing where the person/family actually resides and has permanent residence, worth EUR 120 000 or over, does not count if the social work centre (*Center za socialno delo*, SWC) decides that they cannot temporarily secure a living with this apartment or residential house due to circumstances beyond their control (e.g. domestic violence, or the process of alienating and dismantling property (not lasting more than 24 months) in order to earn a living). If they have received CSA more than 18 times in the last 24 months, they can be entitled to CSA only if they allow the entry of the prohibition of alienation (sale, transcript, etc.) and encumbrance of all real estate they own in the land register in favour of the Republic of Slovenia. Other assets worth between EUR 19 304.64 and EUR 50 000 are not counted if the SWC decides that they cannot temporarily secure a living with these assets due to circumstances beyond their control (Social Assistance Payments Act, 2010 and subsequent amendments).

against the decisions of the SWCs (Social Assistance Payments Act, 2010 and subsequent amendments).

Eligibility for IS

Eligibility criteria for IS are the same as those for CSA. Persons who are permanently unemployable or permanently incapable of work or are women older than 63 or men older than 65, and are eligible for CSA or could be eligible for it or whose income (or income of the family) does not exceed their income threshold for eligibility for IS, and fulfil other conditions according to the Social Assistance Payments Act, are entitled to IS. There is no age restriction for persons who are permanently unemployable or permanently incapable of work. Non-active women are eligible if older than 63 years³. The income threshold for entitlement is the sum of the MI for a person/family and the relevant amount of IS. For instance, in 2021, the income threshold for entitlement was EUR 591.20 (1.47 times the BAMI) for a single person or the first adult in the family; EUR 921 (2.29 times the BAMI) for a family of two in which both members are eligible for IS; and EUR 732 (1.82 times the BAMI) for a family of two in which only one member qualifies for IS (e-UPRAVA, 2021b). If children are taken into account in determining the household MI, the threshold is increased by EUR 44.24 (0.11 times the BAMI). Income and assets are taken into account in the means test in the same way as for the CSA. Persons who are in full-time institutional care in a social welfare institution are not entitled to IS (Social Assistance Payments Act, 2010 and subsequent amendments).

For other information on eligibility, the same applies as for CSA. Additional information is provided by MLFSAEO (2021c) and e-UPRAVA (2021b).

1.2 Coverage

On 1 December 2021, there were 99 332 CSA beneficiaries (51 179 men and 46 568 women), of which 75 516 were aged 15-65. There were also 22 468 IS beneficiaries (12 895 women and 9 573 men), of which 9 460 (4 913 men and 4 543 women) were aged 15-65. In 2020, EUR 267 259 140 was spent on CSA and EUR 42 395 345 on IS (MLFSAEO, 2021c; MLFSAEO, 2021e).

The estimated take-up rate as a proportion of all those eligible is 90% for CSA and 85% for IS⁴.

The strengths of the provision of income support are:

- Both CSA and IS are granted from the first day of the month that follows the application date, no matter how long the approval procedure lasts (Social Assistance Payments Act, 2010 and subsequent amendments);
- In order to accelerate the first payment, CSA is paid from the State budget twice a month: between the 3rd and 5th day and between the 18th and 21st day⁵.

1.3 Adequacy

The BAMI is used to set benefit levels (Social Assistance Payments Act, 2010 and subsequent amendments). It is calculated on the basis of the minimum cost of living, but does not reach their level. The amount set in 2018 was the outcome of negotiations between the political and social partners. The method used to calculate minimum costs of living has no link to the concept of poverty used in the assessment of (the risk of) poverty. However, in all calculations (1997, 2009, 2017), this method resulted in the BAMI (for a single inactive person) that was close to the at-risk-of-poverty (AROP) threshold as defined by Eurostat (60% of the national equivalised

³ Men over 65 years of age are eligible.

⁴ Estimates obtained through consultation with Marjetka Kovšca, MLFSAEO, on 19 November 2021.

⁵ Information collected through consultation with the MLFSAEO on 23 October 2021.

household disposable median income) (Stanovnik and Stropnik, 1997; 1998; Stropnik *et al.*, 2009; Stropnik *et al.*, 2017; Stropnik, 2020).

The household is defined as including the claimant, their spouse or registered partner (including same sex partners), and their children and stepchildren (Exercise of Rights to Public Funds Act, 2010 and subsequent amendments). CSA is the difference between the (household) MI and the applicant's (household) income. The household MI is determined by attributing weights to the BAMIs that are based on the types of person in a household: 1 for the first adult or a single person or an adult in institutional care; 1.26 for the first adult working 60-128 hours per month; 1.51 for the first adult working 128+ hours per month; 0.7 for a single person aged 18-26 registered as unemployed, with a permanent residence at the same address as their parents (or actually residing with them) who have sufficient own means of subsistence; 0.76 for a single person who is permanently unemployable or permanently incapable of work or older than 63 (female) or 65 (male), and has registered permanent or temporary residence at the same address as persons who are not their family members and have sufficient means of subsistence, or actually resides with them; 0.57 for each further adult; 0.83 for each further adult working 128+ hours per month; 0.7 for each further adult working 60-128 hours per month; 0.59 for a child the beneficiary is obliged to maintain. The MI is increased by 0.18 BAMIs for each child living in a single-parent family when the other parent has died and the child is not receiving any related benefits, or the other parent is unknown, or when the child is not actually receiving maintenance benefits from the other parent (Social Assistance Payments Act, 2010 and subsequent amendments). For instance, the MI for a two-parent family with one dependent child, where both parents work 128+ hours per month, is EUR 1 178.39 per month.

The amounts of IS are: 0.47 BAMIs for a single person or the first adult in the family (EUR 189.02 in 2021); 0.25 BAMIs for every other adult in the family who is fulfilling the conditions (EUR 100.55 in 2021); and 0.55 BAMIs for a single person who is permanently unemployable or permanently incapable of work or non-employed and older than 63 years for women and 65 years for men, and who has permanent or temporary residence at the same address as persons who are not family members and have sufficient own means of subsistence, or actually resides with them (EUR 221.20 in 2021) (Social Assistance Payments Act, 2010 and subsequent amendments).

The amount of CSA is adjusted in parallel with the adjustment of the BAMIs. The competent ministry must determine the minimum costs of living every six years using a comparable methodology for the determination of minimum costs of living (Social Assistance Payments Act, 2010; Stropnik *et al.*, 2009; Stropnik *et al.*, 2017; Stropnik, 2020). If the newly determined level of minimum costs of living is 15% (or more) greater than that on which the existing BAMIs are based a new BAMIs must be set. In the meantime, BAMIs (and thus the CSA and SI) is indexed annually on 1 March by the inflation rate in the previous calendar year (Social Assistance Payments Act, 2010).

Table 1 presents the relationship between the MI amount for a single person, a couple and families with children. The MI exceeds the national AROP threshold only in the case of a single-parent family with two or three children. It exceeds the extreme AROP threshold (40% of national median household disposable income) in all cases. The MI for a single-person household is lower than the net minimum wage. All other selected household types with income equal to the net minimum wage fulfil the income condition for CSA.

Table 1. MI in absolute and relative terms, 2021

Minimum income

	EUR /month in 2021	% of national AROP threshold (60% of median; EUR 739 per month in 2020)	% of national extreme AROP threshold (40% of median; EUR 493 per month in 2020)	% of net minimum wage (EUR 736 per month in 2021)
Single-person household	607.29	82.2	123.2	82.5
Single person with 1 child	916.97	95.4	143.1	124.6
Single person with 2 children	1 226.65	103.7	155.5	166.7
Single person with 3 children	1 536.33	109.4	164.0	208.7
Couple	941.1	84.9	127.3	127.9
Couple with 1 child	1 178.39	88.6	132.8	160.1
Couple with 2 children	1 415.68	91.2	136.7	192.3
Couple with 3 children	1 652.97	93.2	139.7	224.6

Sources: MLFSAEO, 2021a; SiStat, 2021b; and D.K., 2021 (own calculations).

Note: A single earner (in all cases) is working 128+ hours per month.

1.4 Links with other benefits

Extraordinary Cash Social Assistance (*izredna denarna socialna pomoč*, ECSA) is a special form of CSA where it is established that the single person or family has found themselves in a situation of financial (material) deprivation due to circumstances beyond their control, or where they prove extraordinary subsistence-related expenses that they are unable to cover with their own income. ECSA is granted either as a one-off benefit or for the period of three to six months. The monthly amount must not exceed the MI level for the individual/family, and the annual amount must not exceed five times the MI level for the individual/family (of which the triple MI may only be awarded for extraordinary expenses that are due to natural disaster or force majeure). The application must detail the purpose for which ECSA is needed and indicate the amount of funds needed. The beneficiary must submit evidence of the use of the funds to the SWC (Social Assistance Payments Act, 2010 and subsequent amendments),

CSA beneficiaries and persons fulfilling the criteria for CSA (unless the applicant fulfils the conditions for IS) are **exempt from co-payments** (payment of the difference with the full cost of **health services** that is not paid through mandatory health insurance but through complementary health insurance; *pravica do kritja razlike do polne vrednosti zdravstvenih storitev*). These are covered from the central government budget (Exercise of Rights to Public Funds Act, 2010 and subsequent amendments). Slovenian citizens are eligible, as are foreigners holding a permanent residence permit, with permanent residence in Slovenia, and covered by compulsory health insurance (including their family members insured after them).

CSA beneficiaries and persons fulfilling the criteria for CSA also have **the right to the payment of contributions for compulsory health insurance from the central government budget** (*pravica do plačila prispevka za obvezno zdravstveno zavarovanje*; Exercise of Rights to Public Funds Act, 2010 and subsequent amendments). The amount paid is EUR 36.43 per person per month. Slovenian

citizens are eligible, as are foreigners holding a permanent residence permit, with permanent residence in Slovenia, who are not otherwise insured.

When a person exercises their right to CSA, the SWC decides on the right to both in-kind benefits (exemption from co-payments and payment of contributions for compulsory health insurance from the central government budget) *ex officio*, unless the person explicitly states in the application that they do not exercise this right. This is an example of good practice.

2 Links with labour market activation

At the end of December 2020, there were 38 148 unemployed CSA beneficiaries. Each was subject to activation requirements, as registration with the ESS is a condition of eligibility for CSA (see Section 1.1). They accounted for half (50.5%) of CSA beneficiaries aged 15-65⁶, and 43.7% of all registered unemployed (ESS, 2021a).

There are two kinds of individual action plans that an unemployed person signs at the ESS. The first is signed by all registered unemployed persons, while the second, a job integration agreement, is only signed by the long-term unemployed. The third kind of plan/agreement is an agreement on the active addressing of social problems, which is signed by temporarily unemployed persons at the SWC.

The first individual action plan must be prepared no later than 15 days from registration on the Unemployed Persons Register or the Jobseekers Register. It defines the appropriate employment for the person, the method of active job search, and other obligations. It also assesses whether an in-depth individual action plan should be drafted immediately, or no later than four months after the person's registration. It only includes services provided by the ESS and contractors of the MLFSAEO. Those receiving unemployment cash benefit, CSA or IS have priority participation in active labour market policies (ALMPs) (Labour Market Regulation Act, 2010).

All long-term unemployed, including CSA recipients deemed fit for work, get an individualised in-depth assessment within 12-15 months of registration and a subsequent individual job integration agreement – individual action plan (no later than 18 months after registration). This evaluation (a so-called in-depth assessment) of various aspects of the person's situation includes aspects linked to social inclusion beyond integration in the labour market and services needed to improve their situation, including services provided by other institutions (SWCs, health institutions, etc.) – in sum, it sets out a planned path towards work.

The job integration agreement is always based on the in-depth assessment. It is technically similar to an individual action plan, which is clearly defined in the labour market legislation and is a written contract, signed by the ESS counsellor and the unemployed person. The job integration agreement must include at least one activity aimed at finding a job, the job search area, and employment goals. It also includes steps that need to be taken by the unemployed person, programmes to which they will be referred, other agreed activities based on their particular needs, the time schedule, reporting, frequency of contact, etc. Mutual responsibilities and clear provisions are also defined. The job integration agreement combines relevant services provided by different organisations, covering a wider variety of more specific services, but not those social services whose provision is the responsibility of SWCs.

The job integration agreement is amended during each meeting with the employment counsellor, and its validity is limited to the period between two meetings with the counsellor. The counsellor and the unemployed person meet on average every three months. In-between, their contact is by email or telephone, as needed. The contact centre and e-Portal are also available.

⁶ Number of CSA beneficiaries as of 1 December 2020.

A CSA recipient failing to fulfil the obligations set out in the individual action plan is removed from the Unemployed Persons Register and denied the CSA.

The ESS may cease to keep the person in the Unemployed Persons Register if they:

- Deregister from the Unemployed Persons Register or the Register of Persons included in the ALMP programme;
- Refuse to join an ALMP or violates the obligations contained in the contract on inclusion in an ALMP;
- Refuse an adequate or suitable job, or do not make an effort to obtain a job interview;
- Work or are employed illegally;
- Are not an active jobseeker, unless they are exempted from this obligation by the individual action plan;
- Refuse to sign the individual action plan.

The ESS ceases to keep a person in the Jobseekers Register if they:

- Deregister from the Jobseekers Register;
- Do not report to the ESS even once within six months of registration (Labour Market Regulation Act, 2010).

If someone who is long-term unemployed is found to be temporarily unemployable, they are moved from the Unemployed Persons Register to the Register of Temporarily Unemployable Persons and directed to the SWC. Some of them have been voluntarily referred to social activation, which began as a pilot project in 2017. In the case of those temporarily unemployable, employment offices currently cooperate with SWCs on the pilot project of social activation (see Section 3). Their cooperation in the provision of labour market services and ALMPs is obligatory and regulated by the Social Assistance Payments Act, 2010 and subsequent amendments and the Labour Market Regulation Act, 2010.

Activation support offered by the ESS includes:

1. Individual in-depth career counselling;
2. Workshops on life-long career orientation - provided by the ESS at its career centres;
3. ALMP measures;
4. Employment rehabilitation services (for the disabled).

SWCs offer personal social services, such as emergency assistance, personal assistance, family help, institutional care, guidance, assistance and employment under special conditions, and assistance to workers employed in companies, institutions and with other employers. Social activation services are not listed among the personal social services because they remain a pilot project. Inclusion in a social activation programme is not obligatory and non-take-up does not have any consequences for CSA eligibility. A great majority of persons included in the social activation programmes receive CSA; only a few do not.

In accordance with the law, CSA beneficiaries are a priority group for inclusion in all ALMP programmes (Labour Market Regulation Act, 2010). For personalised services, they are treated in the same way as other (long-term) unemployed.

In 2020, 6 941 CSA beneficiaries were included in ALMP programmes, representing 33.3% of those included. Most CSA beneficiaries are involved in the job creation measure (in the public works programmes and the Learning Workshops programme), which target social inclusion. The share of CSA beneficiaries in public works was 58.1%, and 56.6% in the Learning Workshops programme.

The ESS collects data on CSA beneficiaries included in ALMPs. These data are not published on the ESS website but are available on request. The ESS does not keep data on the waiting times for taking up ALMPs.

The average caseload in Slovenia is 267 unemployed people per counsellor⁷. This number refers to all clients, irrespective of whether or not they are CSA beneficiaries, as there is no special category of counsellors solely supporting CSA beneficiaries. They are always mixed with other unemployed persons within a certain category, such as long-term unemployed, migrants, unemployed with disabilities, young people, etc.

The caseloads of different types of counsellors vary greatly (from 50-450 unemployed people per counsellor), depending on the type of counselling provided (case manager, basic counselling, in-depth counselling, rehabilitation counselling, counselling for migrants, young people, etc.).

The financial situation of the CSA beneficiaries changes when they start work. The means test for the CSA allows for partial exclusion of income from casual or occasional work (see Section 1.1). A possible decrease in unemployment benefit also has an impact, as the trigger point for unemployment benefit tapering is income from work exceeding EUR 200 per month (net of social contributions and taxes) (Labour Market Regulation Act, 2010). In the case of income from work exceeding EUR 200 per month (net of social contributions and taxes), the unemployment benefit is decreased by 50% of income from work in excess of EUR 200 (net) per month. If the person is supporting minor children, for each child, the unemployment benefit is increased by 10% of the full amount of benefit (i.e. if there were no income from work), but not more than the full amount of unemployment benefit. Unemployment benefit is not cut if it would be reduced by less than EUR 20 (per month).

An activity allowance of EUR 80 cent per hour and compensation for travel and postage may be provided to cover all or part of the costs incurred for job search and integration into the service. The activity allowance depends on the duration of the person's inclusion in the service and is counted as income for the purposes of the CSA.

There has been no assessment of activation services for CSA beneficiaries specifically, as ESS evaluations include all participants. For instance, of all persons included in the ALMP education and training programmes in 2018, 63% got a job. The highest labour market inclusion rates were for those included in work trials (88%), certification of national professional qualifications (75%), workplace training (73%), and informal education programmes (59%). The lowest inclusion rates (relative to their share of total unemployment) were for long-term unemployed, CSA beneficiaries, and persons older than 55 (ESS, 2019).

An evaluation of selected ALMPs found that on-the-job training was both efficient and effective (Burger *et al.*, 2017). Training and education of the employed was found to have a positive (short-term) impact, while training and education of the unemployed showed positive and statistically significant long-term effects (Kavkler, 2012). The 'Employ.me' programme proved effective, although relatively expensive (Burger *et al.*, 2017). Institutional training and public works were also evaluated as having a positive impact on the probability of getting a job.

3 Links to social services and integrated provision of targeted social services

Assessment of social needs by a social worker at the SWC may start as soon as the person is granted CSA (it is conditional on registration with the ESS). In practice, due to the lack of staff, social workers at SWCs assess social needs of selected CSA beneficiaries (people with complex and diverse barriers, difficult personal circumstances that hinder their integration into the labour market) at both individual

⁷ Information collected through consultation with Brigita Vončina, ESS, on 31 October 2021.

and household level. The beneficiary is invited to the SWC to discuss their problems with the coordinator, who then outlines the personal social services available (emergency assistance, personal assistance, family help, institutional care, guidance, assistance and employment under special conditions, and assistance to workers employed in companies, institutions and with other employers). The beneficiary may voluntarily choose the service(s). Their health status is not evaluated at that time, because the SWC is not competent in this area and because of data protection. Instead, the coordinator makes a written comment on possible health problems.

In the case of temporarily unemployable persons, SWCs and the ESS (and its local employment offices) are legally obliged to cooperate on the provision of labour market services and ALMPs (Social Assistance Payments Act, 2010, and subsequent amendments and the Labour Market Regulation Act, 2010). Employment offices and the SWCs are the single-entry points for social activation programmes.

A multi-sectoral assessment of social needs (and subsequent labour market activation) is carried out by interinstitutional committees (12-15 months after registration with the ESS) for long-term unemployed CSA beneficiaries found to be temporarily unemployable (see Section 2). The Labour Market Regulation Act (2010) and the Social Assistance Payments Act (2010 and subsequent amendments) set out the procedure for establishing the temporary unemployability of unemployed persons. An unemployed person who is presumed to have problems with addiction, mental health, major social problems or similar problems that might hinder their employment is referred to a special interinstitutional committee to resolve those circumstances. The proposal for such referral is submitted by an employment counsellor at the local employment office. The committee has at least three members: a career (employment) counsellor, a social worker and a rehabilitation counsellor, with other experts involved as needed. The committee assesses the reasons for temporary unemployment and, within 30 days, proposes possible measures and activities to improve employment opportunities, and notifies the SWC accordingly. If necessary, the committee may first obtain an opinion from an occupational health doctor. The SWC then concludes an agreement on the active addressing of social problems (integration into psychosocial rehabilitation, medical treatment, etc.) with the individual. The agreement sets out possible solutions to actively resolve their social problems (inclusion in psychosocial rehabilitation, specific treatments, etc.), and the activities they need to carry out.

The beneficiary may choose from among the following personal social services: emergency assistance, personal social assistance, family help, institutional care, guidance, assistance and employment under special conditions, assistance to workers employed in companies, institutions and with other employers, or public/non-governmental social programmes (for example addiction treatment) and social activation programmes. The most frequently used personal social services are emergency assistance and personal social assistance, but most CSA beneficiaries do not choose any service. Those who opt for inclusion in social activation or another social protection programme choose one of them. The choice also depends on the availability of services across municipalities.

Social activation services remain at pilot stage and are focused on the long-term unemployed and the CSA beneficiaries, but users also include inactive persons as well as women from other cultural backgrounds and Roma women (both with a permanent residence permit or permanent residence in Slovenia). They include counselling by social workers at the SWCs and programmes offered by external providers – non-profit organisations – to improve social, functional and working skills. There is also a possibility to arrange a work activity under the mentorship/supervision of an employer. A beneficiary may choose to participate in one of the programmes at the

nearest of the 52 locations. The contact person at the SWC has 10-12 clients⁸, while the social activation coordinator employed by the MLFSAEO has 20-25 clients⁹. Between autumn 2017 and autumn 2019, 1 921 people were included into social activation programmes, of which 677 concluded their social activation while 774 terminated the contract (Resolution on the national social assistance programme 2022-2030, 2022). More than a quarter of included people (28.6%) either got a job, or were included into training and education programmes or the ESS qualification programmes, or re-entered the Unemployed Persons Register.

While social activation remains a pilot project, the agreement does not impose obligations or consequences on the beneficiary in respect of their CSA. Sanctions only follow if the ESS refers the potentially unemployable person to a presentation meeting at the SWC and the person does not attend. However, a sanctioned person may not register on the Unemployed Persons Register for six months after they have been deregistered, and only registered persons are eligible for CSA.

After the period set out in the agreement, the SWC draws up an opinion on the social circumstances that impact the employability of the beneficiary, and notifies the beneficiary and the competent employment office accordingly. In the case of a positive opinion, the SWC informs the beneficiary of their right to re-register with the competent employment office.

The combined service package is not monitored because social activation remains a pilot project and has yet to be incorporated into the relevant acts. SWCs and the ESS monitor their own services. The MLFSAEO is responsible for this monitoring, but has no direct access to databases. The ESS reports to the MLFSAEO (Labour Market and Employment Directorate) periodically (monthly, quarterly, semi-annually or annually, depending on the kind of data) on the implementation of the following labour market measures: labour market services, ALMPs, unemployment insurance, and ensuring rights from the compulsory and voluntary unemployment insurance. The MLFSAEO has delegated the monitoring of social services to the Social Protection Institute of the Republic of Slovenia (IRRSV).

In the third social activation evaluation report (as part of the 'Development and Establishment of a Comprehensive Model of Social Activation'), Trbanc *et al.* (2019b) described users' experiences and assessments of programmes, with positive experiences prevailing. While higher educated users were less satisfied, users generally were very satisfied with the work and cooperation of social activation coordinators.

In the fourth evaluation report, Trbanc *et al.* (2019c) set out the experiences and views of programme providers, social activation coordinators and contact persons at SWCs and employment offices on social activation, following the completion of the programmes selected in the first four public tenders. These were short (three months), intermediate (six months) and long (11 months) social activation programmes. Participants in long and intermediate programmes stated that certain activities or involvement in work had restored their sense of usefulness and inclusion. The programme helped them to set their own goals, which led some of them to conscientiously attend social activation programmes. They noted the individual approach as an important example of best practice, given the heterogeneity of participants. Programme providers found practical training to be a key element. Some emphasised the importance of considering the individual's wishes and interests when selecting a suitable practice or place for later employment. They found that work

⁸ Information collected through consultation with Simona Strnad, Ljubljana SWC, Ljubljana Moste-Polje Office, on 19 October 2021.

⁹ Information collected through consultation with Mateja Prosen, MLFSAEO, on 29 October 2021.

boosted participants' self-esteem and motivated them, especially if they see the direct effects of their work and recognise their role. The final report (Trbanc *et al.*, 2019a) focused on various aspects of the establishment and operation of the social activation system and social activation programmes, and on participants' experiences.

4 Governance mechanisms

MI schemes are regulated and financed at national level by the MLFSAEO. Implementation is partly at national (ESS) and regional (SWC) level, but is primarily at local level¹⁰. In the case of temporarily unemployable persons, local units of SWCs and the ESS (local employment offices) are legally obliged to cooperate on the provision of labour market services and ALMPs (including social activation) (Social Assistance Payments Act, 2010 and subsequent amendments; Labour Market Regulation Act, 2010). Local units of SWCs act as one-stop shops for the delivery of means-tested cash social benefits, subsidies and other payments from public sources. Their activities include social activation. Employment offices are in charge of labour market activation and cooperation on social activation. ALMPs are also implemented by external contractors listed in the Register of External Contractors of ALMP Programme Activities (SBP, 2021; ESS, 2021b). There are public calls to register, and any legal or physical person may apply (MLFSAEO, 2021f). Social activation programmes may be provided by any legal person fulfilling the conditions. Public tenders are published as needed. Current providers are organisations that predominantly implement education, social protection or employment (e.g. ALMP) programmes, disability enterprises, and social enterprises (Trbanc *et al.*, 2019).

The MLFSAEO coordinates the monitoring of the CSA and IS schemes, with benefit indicators monitored by the IRRSV monthly. Key indicators include the number of recipients and beneficiaries, broken down by sex, age, activity status, month, and the amounts paid. The IRRSV is responsible for reviewing social benefits, personal social services and social activation programmes, as outlined in its annual work programmes defined together with the MLFSAEO. There is a legal obligation to check the appropriateness of the BAMI every six years, most recently in 2017, which set the short-term minimum costs of living for a man aged 19-65 at EUR 441.67 per month and the long-term minimum costs of living for a man aged 19-65 at EUR 613.41 per month (Stropanik *et al.*, 2017). This was the basis for the revised (higher)¹¹ amount of the BAMI (and thus higher amounts of cash social benefits).

The ESS is responsible for monthly monitoring of labour market activation, including the use of/participation in services/programmes by CSA beneficiaries. Key indicators of labour market integration include: 1) registered unemployed, by sex, age, education, duration of unemployment, month, CSA beneficiaries, disabled, unemployment benefit beneficiaries, inflow/exit, fulfilment of the active job search obligation, fulfilment of the obligation to accept the job, etc.; 2) individual ALMPs, by inflow/exit, sex, age, education, month, etc.; 3) number of persons deregistered for failing to fulfil their obligations, inflow into/exit from the Register of Temporarily Unemployable Unemployed Persons; 4) users of other services, their exit into employment, etc. The ESS, together with its local employment offices, uses the key indicators to monitor achievement of its goals. It assesses labour market activation and publishes regular reports (monthly, quarterly, semi-annually and annually).

The MLFSAEO is responsible for monitoring social activation, which is carried out by the IRRSV (see Section 3). All services are monitored. Key indicators of personal social protection services include: number of programmes, financial sources, staff and

¹⁰ There are 16 regional SWCs and 62 local offices, 12 regional ESS offices and 58 local employment offices (ESS, 2021c), 211 organisations implementing ALMPs (ESS, 2021b), and 27 external providers of social activation programmes (MLFSAEO, 2021e).

¹¹ BAMI (for a single adult) is based on the calculated minimum costs of living, although in recent years the BAMI fell short.

number of users (by category), all by kind of programme. Data on the number of social activation programmes, number of invited persons, number of included persons, number of exits (into education, ALMPs, etc.), number of positive exits (exits into employment), start and end of the project, and funds are also collected, all by duration of programme. Number of exits is the main indicator monitored, with a target of 25% exiting into employment, education or ALMPs. Internal evaluations of the social activation pilot project (particularly, cooperation with SWCs) are carried out by the ESS. These evaluations have shown that the best results were achieved in activation of young people and those with low education¹².

The evaluation of selected ALMPs is presented in Section 2.

The Social Assistance Payments Act (2010 and subsequent amendments) stipulates that a new amount of the BAMi is to be determined if the gap to the amount of the newly and latest established short-term minimum cost of living exceeds 15%. It is up to the MLFSAEO to decide whether and how the recommendations regarding social services are taken into account and implemented. There are no formal mechanisms in place to ensure that the evaluation recommendations on labour market activation are taken into account, but the executives/leadership of the ESS demand that the set objectives are achieved.

5 Impact of MI schemes

The only other study on the impact of MI schemes on the risk of poverty was the Court of Audit¹³ report on the effectiveness of public social spending in reducing poverty in the period 2017-2020 (Court of Audit, 2021).¹⁴ The report found that the government and the MLFSAEO were partly successful in reducing poverty between 2017 and 2020. The targets for reducing the number of people at risk of poverty and social exclusion (AROP) were achieved. Social transfers performed well in reducing the risk of child poverty, but the situation has not improved for single-parent families. The MLFSAEO did not monitor and analyse the use of funds earmarked for poverty reduction, nor did it identify and analyse the impact of social transfers paid from its funds on the AROP indicators.

Section 2 provided an overview of assessments of the impact of labour market activation services on employment prospects, but these do not distinguish the MI beneficiaries in particular. Reducing poverty is a political priority in Slovenia, which is evident from national strategic documents such as the Slovenian Development Strategy 2030 (GRS, 2017) where 'People at Risk of Social Exclusion' is one of six performance indicators, and the draft Resolution on the National Social Assistance Programme 2021-2030 (2021), which sets out a reduction in the risk of poverty and social exclusion as a key social policy aim in the coming decade.

¹² Information collected through consultation with Sanja Belec, ESS, on 21 October 2021.

¹³ The Court of Audit is the highest body for supervising State accounts, the State budget and all public spending.

¹⁴ Report on the implementation of the National Social Assistance Programme 2013-2020.

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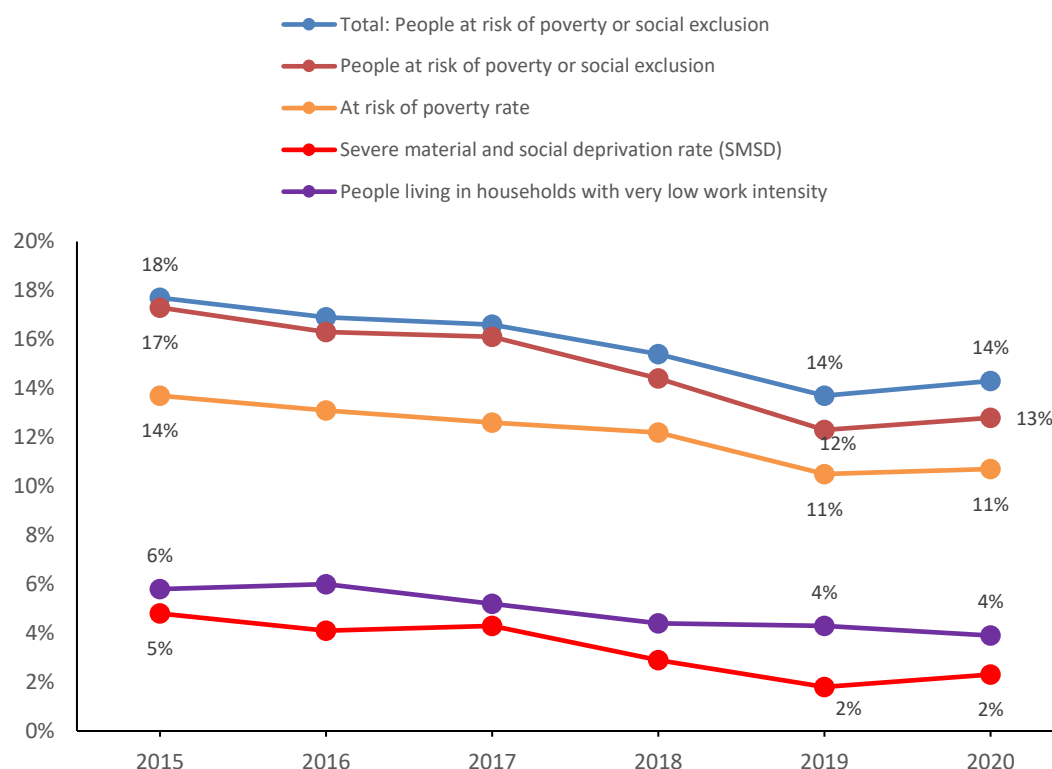
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7 Annex

Figure 1. AROPE indicator and components, Slovenia, 2015-2020 (%)

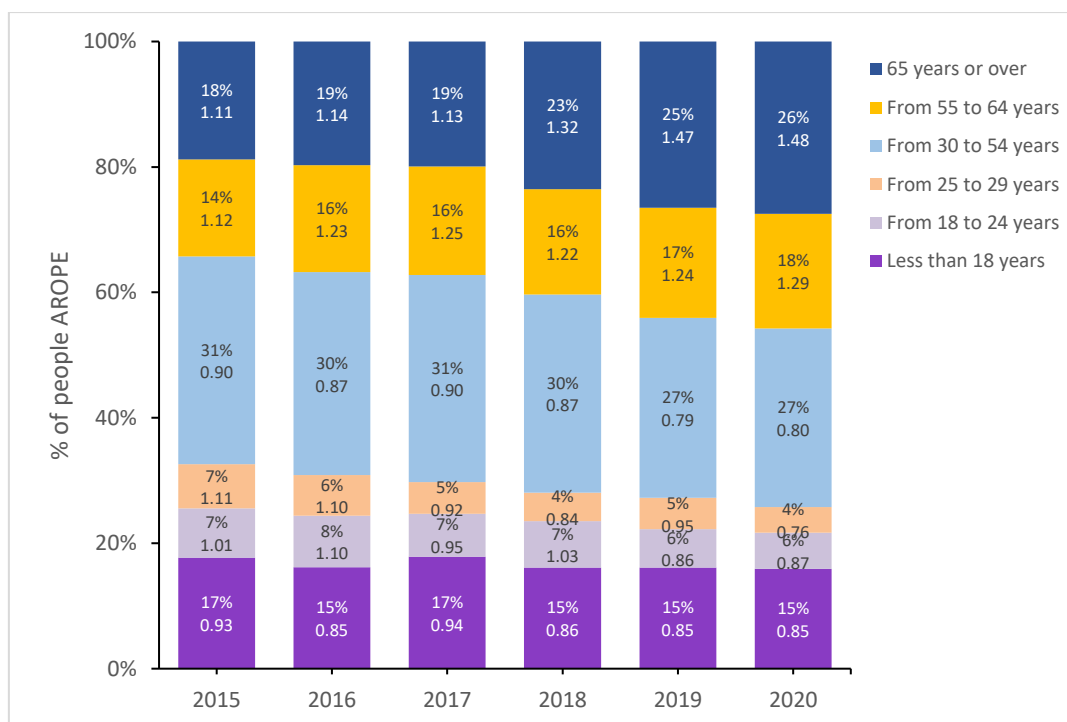


Note: The line for "Total: People at risk of poverty or social exclusion" indicates the trend for overall population, while the other lines show the figures for individuals aged 0-64.

Source: Eurostat EU-SILC indicators [ilc_peps01n], [ilc_li02], [ilc_mdsc11] and [ilc_lvhl11n]. Data downloaded on 14/02/2022.

- In 2020, the share of total population at risk of poverty or social exclusion (AROPE) in Slovenia stood at 14.3%, while that of those aged 0-64 was lower at 12.8%, reflecting the higher risk among those of 65 and over. Over the period 2015-2020, the share of those aged 0-64 at risk declined by 4.5 percentage points, while that of those of 65 and over increased.
- Most of the people at risk of poverty or social exclusion, 10.7 % of those aged 0-64 in 2020, had household disposable income of below 60% of the median (I.e. they were at risk of poverty), the proportion also declining over the 2015-2020 period though by less than the AROPE rate.
- Less than a third (30%) of those at risk of poverty or social exclusion lived in households with very low work intensity in 2020, just 3.9% of those aged 0-64, the latter proportion falling as well over the 2015-2020, but by less than the at-risk-of-poverty rate.
- Just 18% of those at risk of poverty or social exclusion were affected by severe material and social deprivation in 2020, only 2.3% of those aged 0-64, the latter proportion declining by much the same as the at-risk-of-poverty rate between 2015 and 2020.

Figure 2. Division of people aged 0-64 at risk of poverty or social exclusion by age group, Slovenia, 2015-2020 (%)

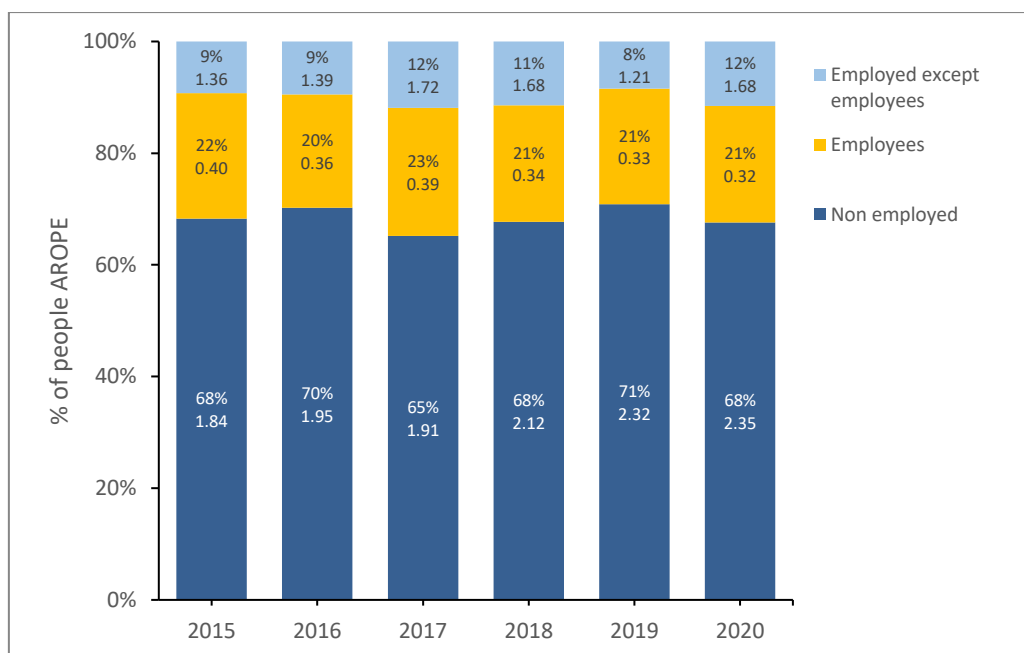


Note: Figures below the percentage figures in the bars show the ratios of the share at risk to the share of the age group in total population, which indicate the relative likelihood of the age group being at risk.

Source: Eurostat EU-SILC indicators [ilc_peps01n], own calculations. Data downloaded on 14/02/2022.

- More men than women aged 0-64 were at risk of poverty or social exclusion in 2020, 53% of the total at risk. There were also more men than women in the population of this age, though the difference was less, implying that men were more at risk than women. This is the reverse of the situation before 2018 when women were slightly more at risk than men.
- Older people aged 65 and over are much more likely to be at risk of poverty or social exclusion than those younger, the likelihood increasing over the period 2015-2020, reinforcing the growth in the number of people of this age. In 2020, they made up over a quarter (26%) of the total at risk.
- Those aged 55-64, nearing or already in retirement, are also more likely than those younger to be at risk, the likelihood again tending to rise over the 2015-2020 period, if only slightly, and these making up 18% of the total at risk in 2020.
- Children under 18, by contrast, are less likely than average to be at risk of poverty or social exclusion, making up only 15% of the total at risk in 2020, i.e. less than the 55-64 age group.

Figure 3. *Division of people aged 18-64 at risk of poverty or social exclusion by most frequent economic activity status, Slovenia, 2015-2020 (%)*

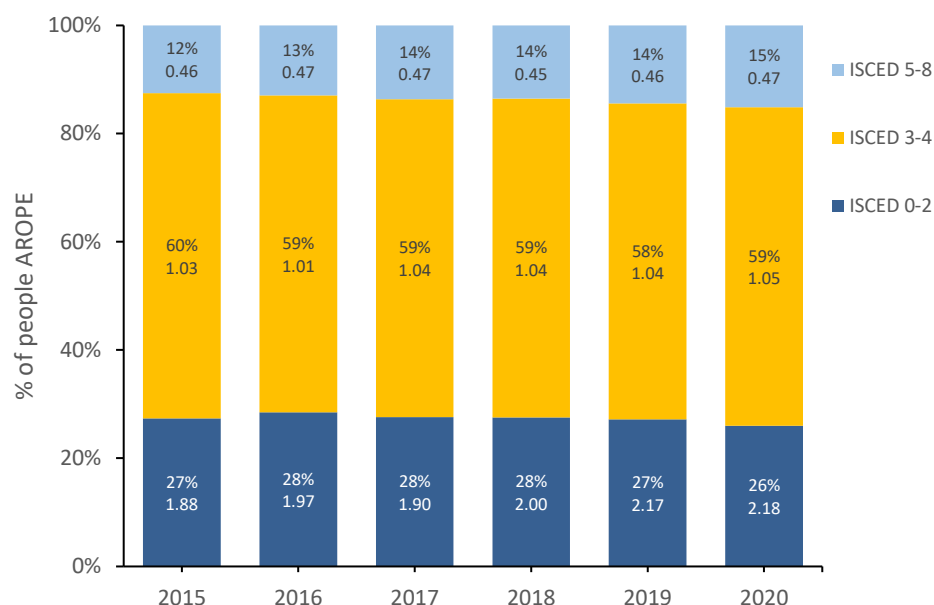


Note: Figures below the percentage figures in the bars show the ratios of the share at risk to the share of the age group in total population, which indicate the relative likelihood of the age group being at risk.

Source: Eurostat EU-SILC indicators [ilc_peps02n] and [ilc_lvhl02], own calculation. Data downloaded on 14/02/2022.

- People of working age (18-64) not in work are considerably more likely to be at risk of poverty or social exclusion than those in employment, the likelihood increasing markedly over the period 2015-2020 and offsetting a decline in their numbers. In 2020, they made up over two-thirds of the total in this age group at risk.
- Among those in employment, the self-employed together with family workers are many times more likely to be at risk of poverty or social exclusion than employees, but because of their small numbers, they made up only 12% of the total at risk in 2020.

Figure 4. *Division of people aged 18-64 at risk of poverty or social exclusion by education level, Slovenia, 2015-2020 (%)*

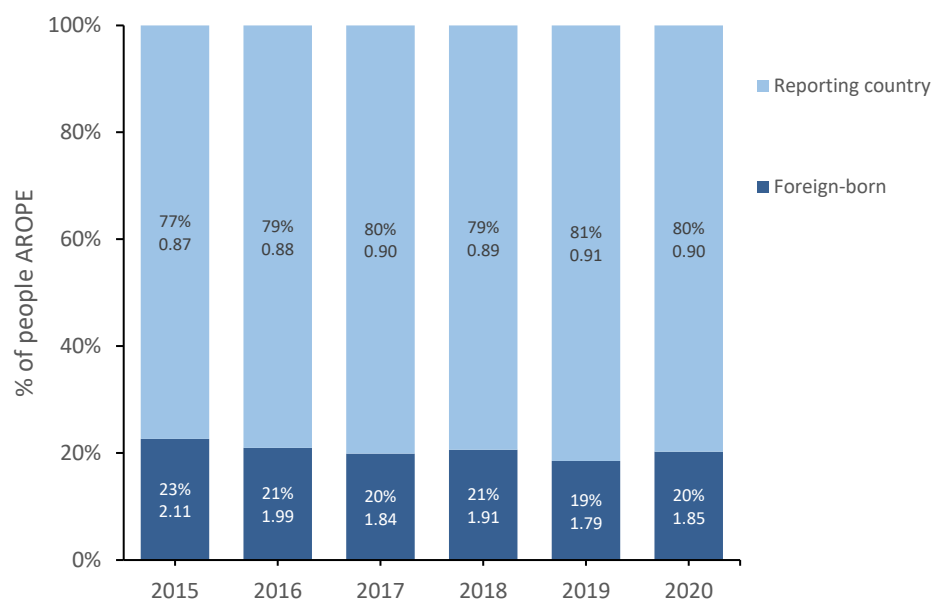


Note: Figures below the percentage figures in the bars show the ratios of the share at risk to the share of the age group in total population, which indicate the relative likelihood of the age group being at risk.

Source: Eurostat EU-SILC indicators [ilc_peps04n] and [ilc_lvps04], own calculation. Data downloaded on 14/02/2022.

- People aged 18-64 with only basic schooling (ISCED 0-2) are substantially more likely than those with higher education levels to be at risk of poverty or social exclusion, the likelihood tending to increase over the period 2015-2020, though their relatively small numbers mean that they made up only just over a quarter of those at risk in 2020.
- People in this age group with tertiary education (ISCED 5-8), by contrast, were much less likely to be at risk, making up 15% of the total at risk in 2020, implying that a large majority of those at risk had upper secondary education (ISCED 3 and 4).

Figure 5. *Division of people aged 18-64 at risk of poverty or social exclusion by country of birth, Slovenia, 2015-2020 (%)*



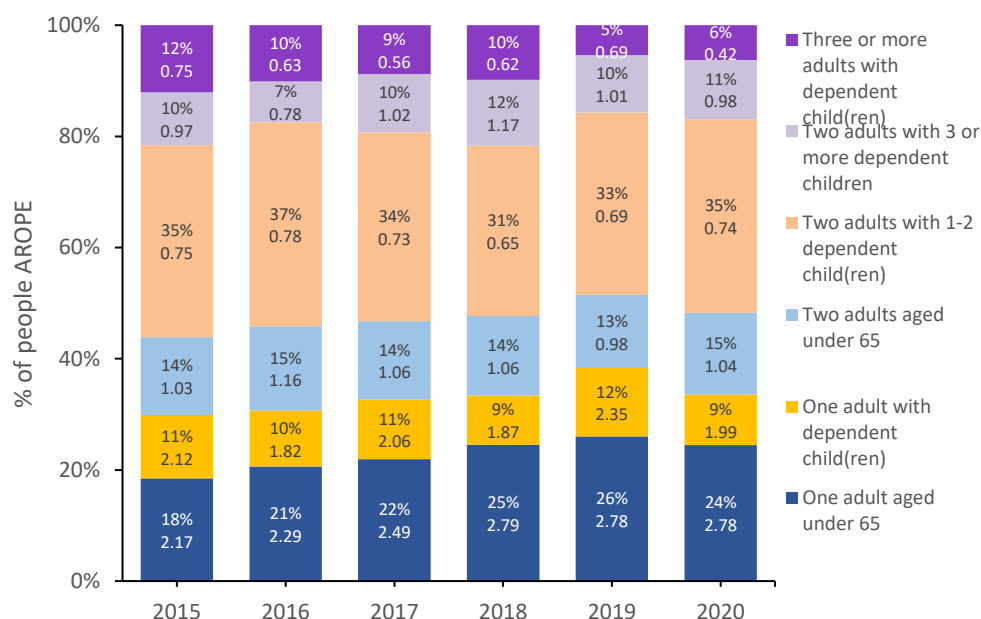
Note: Figures below the percentage figures in the bars show the ratios of the share at risk to the share of the age group in total population, which indicate the relative likelihood of the age group being at risk.

No detailed country of birth data.

Source: Eurostat EU-SILC indicators [ilc_peps06n] (Data downloaded on 14/02/2022) and EU-SILC microdata, own calculation.

- People aged 18-64 born outside the EU are far more likely to be at risk of poverty or social exclusion than those born in Slovenia, they making up 20% of the total at risk in 2020.

Figure 6. *Division of people at risk of poverty or social exclusion by household type, Slovenia, 2015-2020 (%)*



Note: Figures below the percentage figures in the bars show the ratios of the share at risk to the share of the age group in total population, which indicate the relative likelihood of the age group being at risk.

Note that the chart does not include all household types. In particular, it excludes those aged under 65 living in a household with three or more adults without children, who are difficult to distinguish in the published data.

Source: Eurostat EU-SILC indicators [ilc_peps03n] and [ilc_lvps02], own calculation. Data downloaded on 14/02/2022.

- People aged under 65 living alone are considerably more likely to be at risk of poverty or social exclusion than others, the likelihood increasing over the period 2015-2020 but remaining unchanged from 2018 on. Despite their relatively small numbers, these made up almost a quarter (24%) of the total at risk in 2020.
- People living alone with children also have a far higher risk of poverty or social exclusion than other household types, though (surprisingly) less than those living alone without children, these making up 9% of the total at risk in 2020.
- Couples under 65 without children were more likely to be at risk of poverty or social exclusion than those with children in 2020, though this was not invariably the case over the preceding 5 years.
- Couples with 1-2 children have the lowest risk of all households, but because of their numbers, still made up 35% of the total at risk in 2020.

Table 2. *At risk of poverty rate before and after social transfers, excluding old age benefits, for those aged 0-64, Slovenia, 2015-2020*

	Before social transfers, excl. old-age benefits (%)	After social transfers (%)	Effect of social transfers on arpop rate (%-point change)
2015	24.4	13.7	-10.7
2016	23.7	13.1	-10.6
2017	23.3	12.6	-10.7
2018	22.4	12.2	-10.2
2019	20.8	10.5	-10.3
2020	21.2	10.7	-10.5

Source: Eurostat EU-SILC indicators [ilc_li02] and [ilc_li10]. Data downloaded on 14/02/2022.

- Social transfers had the effect of reducing the at-risk-of-poverty (arpop) rate by only 10.5 percentage points in 2020, cutting the number at risk by half. This is much the same as in 2019 and slightly more than in each of the preceding 4 years, when the reduction was around 44-46%

Table 3. *At risk of poverty rate and persistent at risk of poverty rate for those aged 18-64, Slovenia, 2015-2020*

	At risk of poverty rate (%)	Persistent at risk of poverty rate (%)	Persistent rate as % of annual rate
2015	13.6	7.8	57.4
2016	13.4	7.6	56.7
2017	12.6	8.0	63.5
2018	12.3	7.0	56.9
2019	10.5	6.4	61.0
2020	10.8	5.5	50.9

Source: Eurostat EU-SILC indicators [ilc_li02] and [ilc_li21]. Data downloaded on 14/02/2022.

- Just over half (51%) of the people of working age (18-64) at risk of poverty in 2020 were at persistent risk, i.e. they were consistently at risk for a number of years rather than being at risk for only one year, or temporarily. This is smaller than the proportion in the preceding 5 years, when in three of them, it was 57% and in the other two (2017 and 2019), 61-63%.

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