

Overview of *Saving Social Security*

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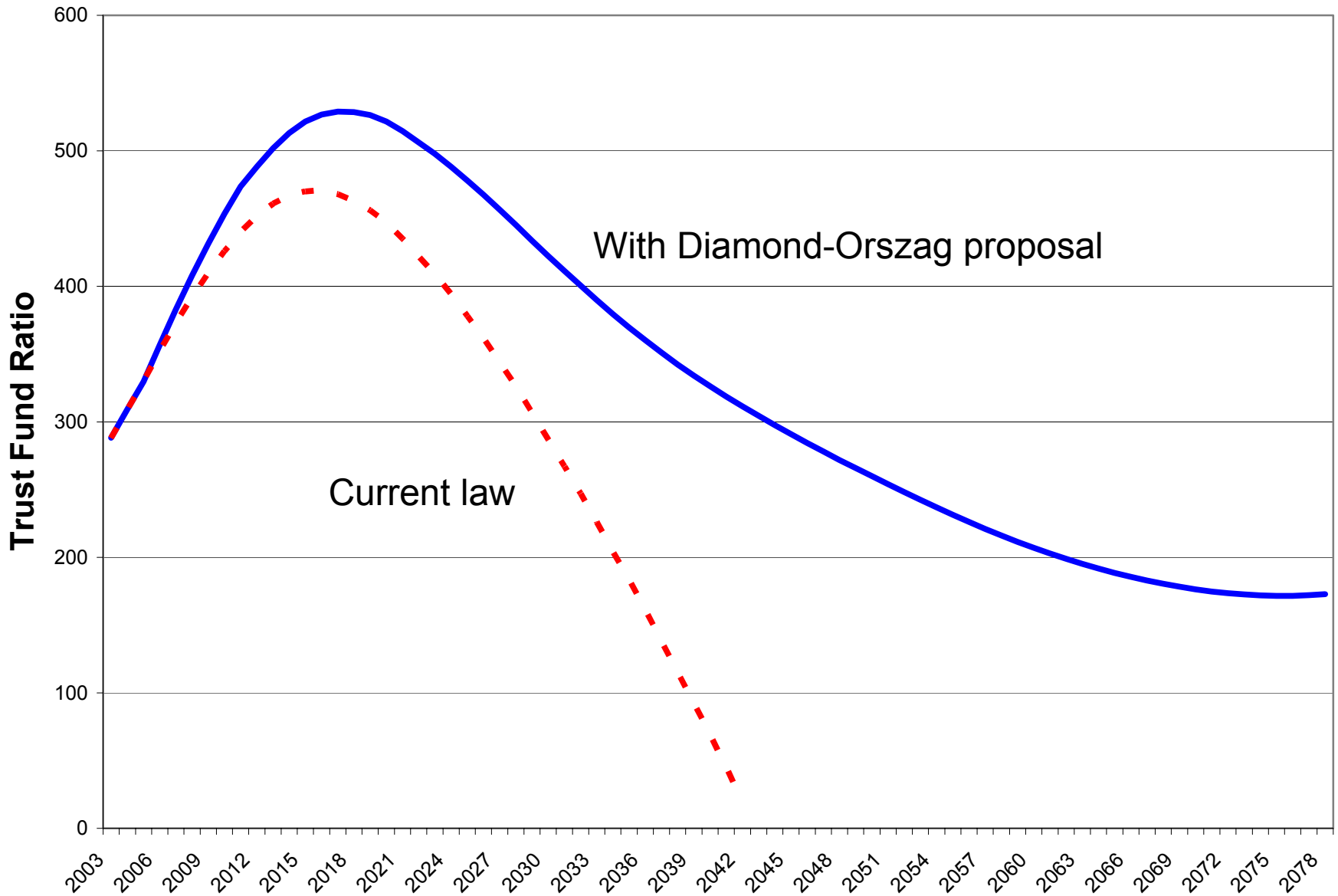
Saving Social Security

- Restore long-term sustainable solvency
- Do not destroy program in order to save it
- No accounting gimmicks or magic asterisks
 - No general revenue transfers, no ignoring risks of stocks
- Combine benefit reductions and revenue increases, rather than relying solely on either
 - Follow precedent of 1983 Greenspan reforms

A Progressive Reform

- Protect most vulnerable: disabled workers, young surviving children, lifetime low earners, widows
- Ask average earners to accept modest sacrifices
- Ask higher earners to play somewhat larger role in reaching long-term balance

Bottom line: Sustainable solvency



Bottom line: Benefits for medium earners

| Age in 2004 | Percentage change in benefits from those under current benefit formula | Inflation-adjusted benefit at full benefit age relative to 55-year-old in 2004 |
|-------------|--|--|
| 55 | 0.0% | 100% |
| 45 | -0.6% | 110% |
| 35 | -4.5% | 118% |
| 25 | -8.6% | 125% |

- Benefit reductions less substantial for lower earners and more substantial for higher earners.
- Benefit reduction for 25-year-olds smaller than under 1983 reforms.

Bottom line: Payroll tax rate

| | Employee rate | Combined employer-employee rate | Note: Combined rate needed to finance benefits under current benefit formula |
|------|---------------|---------------------------------|--|
| 2005 | 6.2% | 12.4% | 12.4% |
| 2015 | 6.2% | 12.5% | 12.4% |
| 2025 | 6.4% | 12.7% | 12.4% |
| 2035 | 6.6% | 13.2% | 12.4% |
| 2045 | 6.8% | 13.7% | 17.0% |
| 2055 | 7.1% | 14.2% | 17.7% |

- If 2045 increase implemented this year, \$35,000 earner would pay extra \$37 per month in combined employer-employee taxes
- For 25-year-old average earner, present value of additional combined ***lifetime*** tax is 0.3 percent of career wages

Structure of plan to restore solvency

Three-part plan linked to three causes of deficit:

- Life expectancy
- Income inequality
- “Legacy debt”

Part 1: Life expectancy

- Life expectancy at age 65 has risen by 4 years for men and 5 years for women since 1940
- It is expected to continue rising in the future
- Increasing life expectancy raises value of Social Security benefits to workers, because benefits last as long as recipient is alive
- By same token, however, improving life expectancy raises Social Security's cost, because beneficiaries collect benefits over a longer period

Part 1: Life expectancy adjustment

- Goal: Offset effect of increasing life expectancy on Social Security solvency
- Each year, calculate cost to Social Security from increased life expectancy of those approaching retirement
- Do not increase retirement age/full benefit age
- Instead:
- Offset **roughly half** the cost of increasing life expectancy through **gradual benefit reduction**
- Offset **roughly half** the cost through **gradual payroll tax increase**

Part 2: Income inequality

- Share of earnings above maximum taxable earnings base (\$87,000 in 2003) has increased from 10% in 1983 to 15% in 2002
- Life expectancy of people with higher earnings and more education has grown much more rapidly than that of those with lower earnings and less education

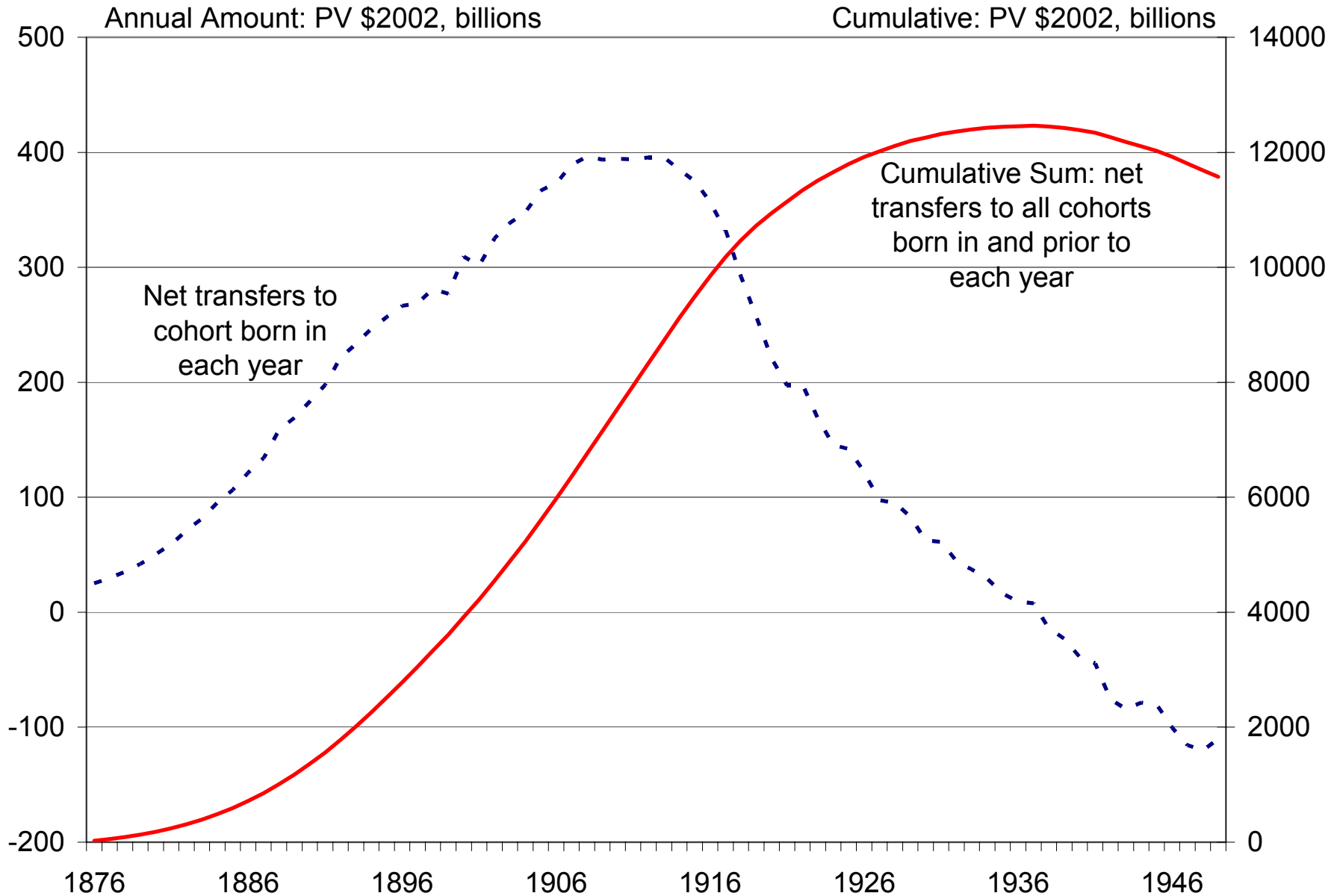
Part 2: Income inequality adjustments

- Goal: Limit effects of changes in earnings patterns and life expectancies on Social Security financing and lifetime progressivity
- Balance benefit and revenue changes
- Gradually **raise maximum taxable earnings base** until share of earnings above base is about half-way back to 1983 level (i.e., until it reaches 13 percent)
- **Reduce benefits in the top tier of benefit formula** (affects top 15 percent of beneficiaries)
 - Instead of providing 15 cents in benefits for each dollar of lifetime earnings in the top tier (above \$44,000 in lifetime earnings), gradually reduce benefit rate to 10 cents of benefits for each dollar in that tier.

Part 3: Legacy debt

- Early beneficiaries received benefits greater than contributions plus market interest rate
- Without these generous benefits, Social Security's assets would be much greater today. Those assets would earn interest, which could finance future benefits.
- “Legacy debt” reflects the absence of those assets
- Legacy debt does not mean that decision to provide generous benefits to early beneficiaries was unsound, nor does it imply that Social Security is a bad deal now

Part 3: Legacy debt



Part 3: Legacy debt, continued

- Cannot take back past benefits -- and policy-makers likely unwilling to reduce benefits for current retirees or near-retirees
- Size of legacy debt largely determined.
 - If benefits protected for 55+ in 2004, legacy debt amounts to more than \$11 trillion.
- Issue: how to finance legacy debt across different generations/different people within generations.
- Two extremes:
 - Push legacy debt onto far distant generations (fail to enact reform)
 - Force transition generations to pay off legacy debt (transition to fully funded program)

Part 3: Legacy debt adjustments

- Goal: Move towards stabilizing ratio of the legacy debt to taxable payroll and distributing the cost more fairly.
- **Mandatory Social Security coverage** for newly hired state and local workers, to ensure all workers bear portion of legacy cost
- **Legacy charges**
 - 3 % legacy tax on earnings above maximum taxable earnings base (to ensure very high earners pay part of legacy cost in proportion to full earnings).
 - Universal legacy charges: benefit reductions and modest increases in payroll tax and 3% legacy tax, which begin in 2023 right after last reduction legislated in 1983.

Plan to Improve Social Insurance

- **Low earners** with 35+ years of work receive benefit equal to poverty line in 2012. After 2012, benefits for low earners would gradually increase above poverty line.
- **Widows** typically suffer 30% drop in living standards when husband dies. Increase benefits to leave survivor with $\frac{3}{4}$ of what couple received. For those with low benefits, financed by broader program. For those with high benefits, alter timing of benefits on couple-by-couple basis.
- **Disabled workers** as a whole held harmless over next 75 years. Shift benefits toward workers who become disabled at younger ages and in earlier years.
- **Young survivors** of deceased workers as a whole are held harmless over next 75 years, with same adjustment as for disabled workers.
- Provide **protection against unexpectedly high inflation** in years when a worker is between ages 60 and 62. Repeat of 1980-81 inflation rates would reduce real benefits for a particular group by almost 25 percent.

Individual Accounts

- Individual accounts, such as 401(k)s and IRAs, provide useful supplements to Social Security and can be improved and coverage expanded.
- Individual accounts are inappropriate for **basic** tier of income during retirement, disability, and other times of need.
 - Social Security is *only* source of income for 20% of beneficiaries, provides 90+ percent of income for 1/3
- Individual account system may respond to political pressure for early withdrawals, no annuitization, inadequate protection of inexperienced investors, and other features that undermine retirement security
- Our plan does **not** include individual accounts within Social Security.

Conclusions

- Our plan represents most auspicious way of reforming the program because it:
 - combines benefit and revenue adjustments;
 - restores long-term balance and sustainable solvency to Social Security;
 - does not assume any transfers from general revenue;
 - does not rely on substantial reductions in disability and young survivor benefits to help restore long-term balance;
 - strengthens the program's protections for low earners and widows;
 - does not divert Social Security revenue into individual accounts; and
 - preserves Social Security's core social insurance role, providing a base income in time of need that is protected against financial market fluctuations and unexpected inflation.

Additional background: Similar provisions in other plans

Proposed reform

Plans including similar or related proposals

Adjustments for increasing life expectancy

Adjust benefits

President's Commission (Model 3), Pozen, Aaron-Reischauer, Kolbe-Stenholm, Breaux-Gregg, Personal Security Accounts, Gramlich

Adjust revenue

None

Adjustments for earnings inequality

Increase MTEB

Ball, Kolbe-Stenholm, some members of President's Commission

Reduce high benefits

President's Commission (Model 3), Pozen, Kolbe-Stenholm, Breaux-Gregg, Gramlich

Adjustments for legacy cost

Universal coverage

Personal Security Accounts, Maintain Benefits, Aaron-Reischauer, Breaux-Gregg, Ball, Gramlich

Legacy tax on high earnings

Pozen

Universal legacy charge

Maintain Benefits (included future payroll tax increase not explicitly linked to legacy cost)

Additional background: Disability reforms

- Workers who become disabled at younger ages currently “lock into” lower real benefit level than rest of their cohort
- Our reform would allow them to partially share in productivity gains over time

| Year disability benefits begin | Benefit change upon receipt of disability benefits | Benefit change when disabled worker reaches full benefit age | | |
|--------------------------------|--|--|--------------------|--------------------|
| | | Disabled at age 25 | Disabled at age 45 | Disabled at age 55 |
| 2015 | -0.5 | 43.7 | 20.1 | 9.8 |
| 2025 | -1.9 | 42.9 | 19.4 | 9.2 |
| 2035 | -6.2 | 36.7 | 14.2 | 4.5 |
| 2045 | -10.2 | 30.9 | 9.4 | 0.0 |
| 2055 | -13.9 | 25.4 | 4.9 | -4.1 |

Additional background: Low earners

| Age at end of 2004 | Change in benefits from scheduled benefit baseline | | Benefit for minimum wage worker as fraction of poverty threshold ^a |
|-----------------------|---|----------------------------|---|
| | For average earner | For minimum wage worker | |
| 55 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 89.4 |
| 45 | -0.6 | 11.2 | 107.3 |
| 35 | -4.5 | 6.8 | 109.0 |
| 25 | -8.6 | 2.2 | 116.2 |
| 15 | -12.4 | -2.1 | 124.1 |

Additional background: High earners

| Age at end of 2004 | Change in benefits from scheduled benefit baseline | | Total change in benefit for high-earning workers including interactions |
|-----------------------|---|---|---|
| | For average earner | Applying only to high- earning workers | |
| 55 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| 45 | -0.6 | -4.1 | -4.7 |
| 35 | -4.5 | -8.7 | -12.8 |
| 25 | -8.6 | -8.7 | -16.6 |
| 15 | -12.4 | -8.7 | -20.1 |

Additional background: Traditional benefit comparison

| Age at end of 2004 | Authors' plan | Model 2 ^b | Model 3 ^c | |
|-----------------------|---------------|----------------------|------------------------|-----------|
| | | | At full benefit age | At age 62 |
| 55 | 0.0 | -3.0 | -1.5 | -11.3 |
| 45 | -0.6 | -3.9 | -2.0 | -11.8 |
| 35 | -4.5 | -20.6 | -10.9 | -19.8 |
| 25 | -8.6 | -28.2 | -15.2 | -23.7 |
| 15 | -12.4 | -35.1 | -19.4 | -27.5 |
| 5 | -16.0 | -41.3 | -23.3 | -31.0 |
| 0 | -17.7 | -44.2 | -25.2 | -32.7 |

Additional background: Combined benefit comparison for average earner two-earner couple

| Year turning age 65 | Authors' plan | Traditional benefits | Model 2 | |
|------------------------|---------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| | | | Expected combined benefits | |
| | | | Not adjusted for risk | Adjusted for risk ^b |
| 2012 | -0.0 | -0.9 | 0.0 | -0.5 |
| 2022 | -0.6 | -9.9 | -6.1 | -8.5 |
| 2032 | -3.7 | -18.2 | -8.3 | -15.2 |
| 2042 | -7.8 | -25.7 | -5.9 | -20.5 |
| 2052 | -11.7 | -32.5 | -6.3 | -26.1 |
| 2075 | -19.7 | -45.9 | -20.5 | -39.6 |

Additional background: Combined benefit comparison for average earner one-earner couple

| Year turning age 65 | Authors' plan | Model 2 | | |
|------------------------|---------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| | | Traditional benefits | Expected combined benefits | |
| | | | Not adjusted for risk | Adjusted for risk ^b |
| 2012 | -0.0 | -0.9 | -0.3 | -0.6 |
| 2022 | -0.6 | -9.9 | -7.3 | -9.0 |
| 2032 | -3.7 | -18.2 | -11.5 | -16.2 |
| 2042 | -7.8 | -25.7 | -12.3 | -22.2 |
| 2052 | -11.7 | -32.5 | -14.8 | -28.1 |
| 2075 | -19.7 | -45.9 | -28.7 | -41.7 |

Table 1-1. Summary of Effects of Proposed Reforms

| Proposed reform | Effect on actuarial balance | |
|--|--------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| | As share of taxable payroll | As share of actuarial deficit |
| Adjustments for increasing life expectancy | | |
| Adjust benefits | 0.26 | 13 |
| Adjust revenue | 0.29 | 15 |
| Subtotal | 0.55 | 29 |
| Adjustments for increased earnings inequality | | |
| Increase taxable earnings base | 0.25 | 13 |
| Reduce benefits for higher earners | 0.18 | 9 |
| Subtotal | 0.43 | 22 |
| Adjustments for fairer sharing of legacy cost | | |
| Make Social Security coverage universal | 0.19 | 10 |
| Impose legacy tax on earnings over taxable maximum | 0.55 | 29 |
| Impose legacy charge on benefits and revenue | 0.97 | 51 |
| Subtotal | 1.71 | 89 |

Table 1-1. Summary of Effects of Proposed Reforms (Continued)

| | | |
|--|--------------|------------|
| Reforms to strengthen social insurance functions | | |
| Enhanced benefits for lifetime low earners | -0.14 | -7 |
| Increased benefits for widows | -0.08 | -4 |
| Hold-harmless provisions for disabled workers and young survivors | -0.21 | -11 |
| Completion of inflation protection of benefits | 0.0 | 0 |
| Subtotal | -0.43 | -22 |
| Interactions of above reforms | -0.26 | -14 |
| Total effect | 2.00 | 104 |
| Alternative: reform existing estate tax | 0.60 | 31 |

Increasing life expectancy differences

