

# Not Taxing Social Security: Implications and Lack of Good Pay-For's

John T.H. Wong

# Agenda

1. The fundamental problem of retirement spending.
2. The impact of not taxing social security:
  - ▶ Fiscal.
  - ▶ Distributional.
  - ▶ Complexity.
3. “Taxing payroll taxes” as a pay-for.
4. The issues of taxing payroll taxes:
  - ▶ Insufficient.
  - ▶ Distributionally worse.
  - ▶ Unintuitive.

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## Takeaways

1. Not taxing social security is fiscally bad.
2. Paying for it is distributionally bad.

# The fundamental problem of retirement spending

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  - ▶ Down from a 3.2-3.4 historically.
  - ▶ This is driven by both mediocre growth in the nominator and high growth in the denominator.
- ▶ One way to see elderly population growth is to look at the fastest growing (not shares) of the federal expenditures over the next 30 years (CBO 2025).
  - ▶ Medicare: 385%
  - ▶ Social security: 241%.
  - ▶ Medicaid: 219%.
  - ▶ Rest of expenditures: 197%.

## Not taxing social security (benefits): what does it mean?

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- ▶ **Not taxing social security means setting both of those rates to zero.**

## Not taxing social security: fiscal impact

The following estimates from a simulation of the US economy with PolicyEngine:

## Not taxing social security: fiscal impact

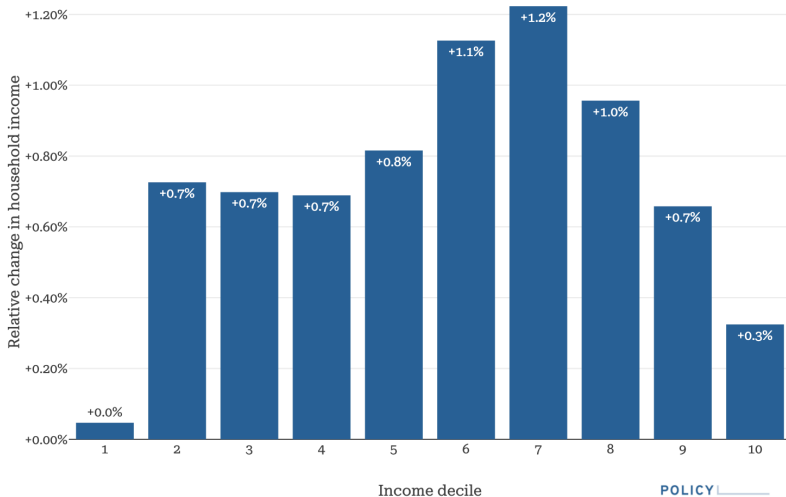
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	2025	2026	2027	2028	2029	
Savings (\$bn)	-88	-108	-114	-119	-127	
	2030	2031	2032	2033	2034	Ten year
Savings (\$bn)	-130	-136	-142	-148	-155	-1267

The policy costs \$1.3 trillion over ten years.

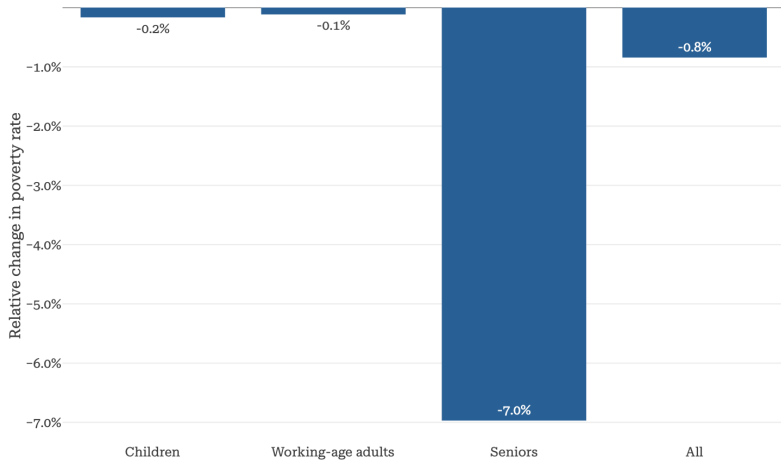
# Not taxing social security: distributional impact by income

Not taxing social security benefits would increase the net income of households by 0.7% on average in 2025



# Not taxing social security: distributional impact by age

Not taxing social security benefits would decrease the poverty rate by 0.8% (0.2pp) in 2025





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- ▶ Thus, any reduction of the elderly's tax burden must come from a separate credit that is calculated based the tax you are about to pay.
  - ▶ This design has been confirmed by House Ways and Means Committee Chairman, Jason Smith.
- ▶ In practice, this means when you do your taxes,
  - ▶ You have to first calculate how much taxes you owe on your social security benefits.
  - ▶ And then calculate how much credit you get based on the tax you owe.

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  1. Tax all employer payroll contributions as employee's additional income; exempt all social security benefits from taxation.
  2. Tax only employer's *Medicare* payroll contributions as employee's additional income; set only the additional share of benefits subject to tax, to 0% (recall that it's currently at 35%; revenue goes to Medicare fund).

## Fiscal impact

### Option 1 does lead to a surplus

	2025	2026	2027	2028	2029	
Savings (\$bn)	52	60	63	68	72	
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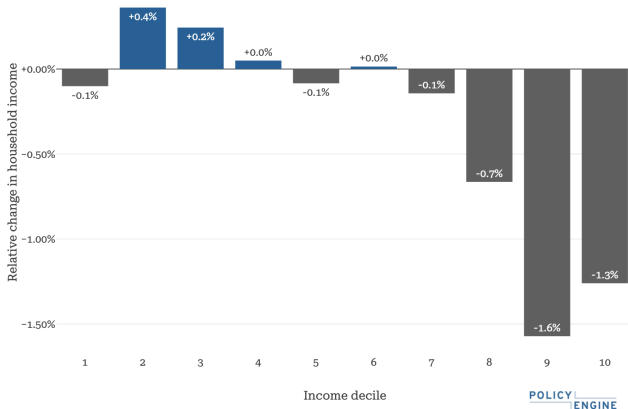
### Option 2 does not add up at all

	2025	2026	2027	2028	2029	
Savings (\$bn)	-4	-8	-8	-8	-8	
	2030	2031	2032	2033	2034	Ten year
Savings (\$bn)	-8	-8	-8	-9	-9	-77



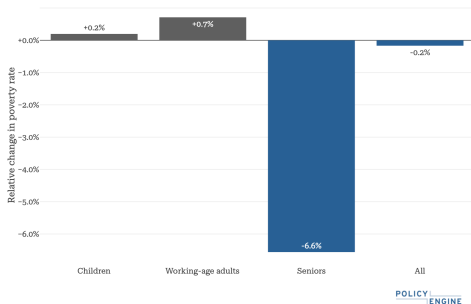
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# Distributional impact of option 1, by age

Taxing all payroll contributions in lieu of social security benefits would decrease the poverty rate by 0.2% (0pp) in 2025



- ▶ Redistribution accrues exclusively to the elderly, at the cost of poverty among workers and children.
- ▶ Note that taxing payroll contributions is identical to a flat tax, so this distributional pattern is something that most revenue proposals will entail

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- ▶ Intuition fits reality:
  - ▶ The amount paid into social security and Medicare do not map one-to-one to how much you take out.
  - ▶ In fact, the government has taken money out of the trust funds to finance general expenditures before, so the payroll contributions aren't really stored in a separate pot of money.
- ▶ So taxing payroll contributions will be very unintuitive to taxpayers, to say the least.

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- ▶ Intuitively and economically, government payments are part of the tax-and-transfer system, and therefore *post-tax*.
  - ▶ But the law treats this class of payment as pre-tax, which clashes with intuition and output accounting.
- ▶ Instead of paying people a benefit and then taking it away, I think it's simpler and more honest to just reduce the benefit paid upfront.

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  - ▶ Refunding people after they pay the tax, after you pay them the benefit, is even worse, for fiscal and complexity reasons!
- ▶ Removing the tax and taxing workers more is fiscally better but worse for age-distributional and complexity reasons.