

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. How is social security taxed.
3. The impact of not taxing social security:
 - ▶ Fiscal.
 - ▶ Distributional.
4. “Taxing payroll taxes” as a pay-for.
5. The issues of taxing payroll taxes:
 - ▶ Fiscal.
 - ▶ Distributional.
 - ▶ Intuitiveness.

Agenda

1. The fundamental problem of retirement spending.
2. How is social security taxed.
3. The impact of not taxing social security:
 - ▶ Fiscal.
 - ▶ Distributional.
4. “Taxing payroll taxes” as a pay-for.
5. The issues of taxing payroll taxes:
 - ▶ Fiscal.
 - ▶ Distributional.
 - ▶ Intuitiveness.

Takeaways

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

The fundamental problem of retirement spending

- ▶ The demographics makes the financing challenging.
- ▶ There are 2.7 working adults/elderly (SSA 2024).
 - ▶ Down from a 3.2-3.4 historically.

The fundamental problem of retirement spending

- ▶ The demographics makes the financing challenging.
- ▶ There are 2.7 working adults/elderly (SSA 2024).
 - ▶ Down from a 3.2-3.4 historically.
- ▶ Another 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).

The fundamental problem of retirement spending

- ▶ The demographics makes the financing challenging.
- ▶ There are 2.7 working adults/elderly (SSA 2024).
 - ▶ Down from a 3.2-3.4 historically.
- ▶ Another 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?

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

- ▶ We need to start with payroll “taxes” (for social security and Medicare), which are **not** taxes, but rather contributions.

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

- ▶ We need to start with payroll “taxes” (for social security and Medicare), which are **not** taxes, but rather contributions.
 - ▶ Technically, you contribute out of your paycheck pre-tax, i.e., before you are subject to income tax.

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

- ▶ We need to start with payroll “taxes” (for social security and Medicare), which are **not** taxes, but rather contributions.
 - ▶ Technically, you contribute out of your paycheck pre-tax, i.e., before you are subject to income tax.
 - ▶ So when you withdraw at old age as benefits, those get taxed.

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

- ▶ We need to start with payroll “taxes” (for social security and Medicare), which are **not** taxes, but rather contributions.
 - ▶ Technically, you contribute out of your paycheck pre-tax, i.e., before you are subject to income tax.
 - ▶ So when you withdraw at old age as benefits, those get taxed.
- ▶ Benefits are treated as income for taxation purposes, in the following manner:
 - ▶ Income tax is calculated on 50% of benefits, if total income is below \$25,000.
 - ▶ This revenue goes to the Social Security trust fund.

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

- ▶ We need to start with payroll “taxes” (for social security and Medicare), which are **not** taxes, but rather contributions.
 - ▶ Technically, you contribute out of your paycheck pre-tax, i.e., before you are subject to income tax.
 - ▶ So when you withdraw at old age as benefits, those get taxed.
- ▶ Benefits are treated as income for taxation purposes, in the following manner:
 - ▶ Income tax is calculated on 50% of benefits, if total income is below \$25,000.
 - ▶ This revenue goes to the Social Security trust fund.
 - ▶ Income tax is calculated on 85% of benefits, if total income is above \$25,000.
 - ▶ The revenue generated from the additional 35% of benefits considered goes to the Medicare trust fund.

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

- ▶ We need to start with payroll “taxes” (for social security and Medicare), which are **not** taxes, but rather contributions.
 - ▶ Technically, you contribute out of your paycheck pre-tax, i.e., before you are subject to income tax.
 - ▶ So when you withdraw at old age as benefits, those get taxed.
- ▶ Benefits are treated as income for taxation purposes, in the following manner:
 - ▶ Income tax is calculated on 50% of benefits, if total income is below \$25,000.
 - ▶ This revenue goes to the Social Security trust fund.
 - ▶ Income tax is calculated on 85% of benefits, if total income is above \$25,000.
 - ▶ The revenue generated from the additional 35% of benefits considered goes to the Medicare trust fund.
- ▶ The fiscal implication is that a tax on social security benefits is that it reduces the net amount of retirement spending.
 - ▶ And alleviates the fundamental problem of retirement spending.

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

- ▶ We need to start with payroll “taxes” (for social security and Medicare), which are **not** taxes, but rather contributions.
 - ▶ Technically, you contribute out of your paycheck pre-tax, i.e., before you are subject to income tax.
 - ▶ So when you withdraw at old age as benefits, those get taxed.
- ▶ Benefits are treated as income for taxation purposes, in the following manner:
 - ▶ Income tax is calculated on 50% of benefits, if total income is below \$25,000.
 - ▶ This revenue goes to the Social Security trust fund.
 - ▶ Income tax is calculated on 85% of benefits, if total income is above \$25,000.
 - ▶ The revenue generated from the additional 35% of benefits considered goes to the Medicare trust fund.
- ▶ The fiscal implication is that a tax on social security benefits is that it reduces the net amount of retirement spending.
 - ▶ And alleviates the fundamental problem of retirement spending.
- ▶ **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

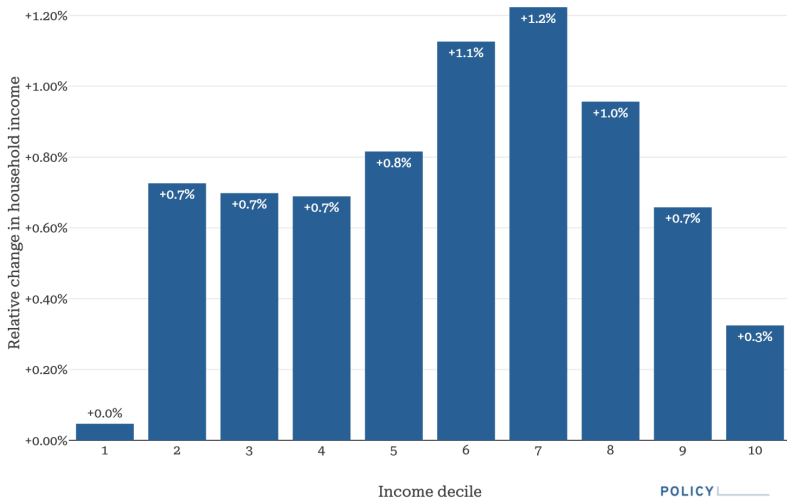
The following estimates from a simulation of the US economy with PolicyEngine:

	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.

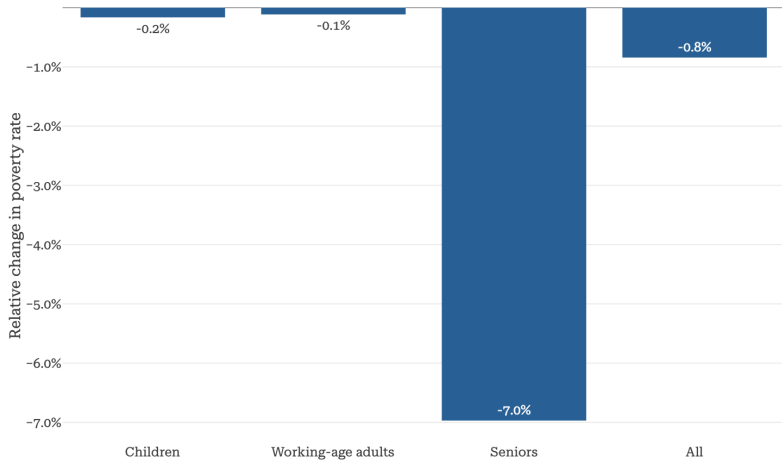
Not taxing social security: distributional impact by income

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



Potential solution: taxing payroll taxes

Potential solution: taxing payroll taxes

- ▶ Recall that the law considers the payroll taxes you pay to be contributions.
- ▶ Half of contributions are paid for by employers.

Potential solution: taxing payroll taxes

- ▶ Recall that the law considers the payroll taxes you pay to be contributions.
- ▶ Half of contributions are paid for by employers.
 - ▶ By that logic, employers' payroll taxes are actually extra income you're earning, that you immediately transfer into a retirement fund.

Potential solution: taxing payroll taxes

- ▶ Recall that the law considers the payroll taxes you pay to be contributions.
- ▶ Half of contributions are paid for by employers.
 - ▶ By that logic, employers' payroll taxes are actually extra income you're earning, that you immediately transfer into a retirement fund.
 - ▶ And that income is currently untaxed.

Potential solution: taxing payroll taxes

- ▶ Recall that the law considers the payroll taxes you pay to be contributions.
- ▶ Half of contributions are paid for by employers.
 - ▶ By that logic, employers' payroll taxes are actually extra income you're earning, that you immediately transfer into a retirement fund.
 - ▶ And that income is currently untaxed.
 - ▶ So we should add that amount to your amount of taxable income.

Potential solution: taxing payroll taxes

- ▶ Recall that the law considers the payroll taxes you pay to be contributions.
- ▶ Half of contributions are paid for by employers.
 - ▶ By that logic, employers' payroll taxes are actually extra income you're earning, that you immediately transfer into a retirement fund.
 - ▶ And that income is currently untaxed.
 - ▶ So we should add that amount to your amount of taxable income.
- ▶ There are two combinations of policies proposed:
 1. Tax all employer payroll contributions as employee's additional income; exempt all social security benefits from taxation.

Potential solution: taxing payroll taxes

- ▶ Recall that the law considers the payroll taxes you pay to be contributions.
- ▶ Half of contributions are paid for by employers.
 - ▶ By that logic, employers' payroll taxes are actually extra income you're earning, that you immediately transfer into a retirement fund.
 - ▶ And that income is currently untaxed.
 - ▶ So we should add that amount to your amount of taxable income.
- ▶ There are two combinations of policies proposed:
 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;

Potential solution: taxing payroll taxes

- ▶ Recall that the law considers the payroll taxes you pay to be contributions.
- ▶ Half of contributions are paid for by employers.
 - ▶ By that logic, employers' payroll taxes are actually extra income you're earning, that you immediately transfer into a retirement fund.
 - ▶ And that income is currently untaxed.
 - ▶ So we should add that amount to your amount of taxable income.
- ▶ There are two combinations of policies proposed:
 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	
	2030	2031	2032	2033	2034	Ten year
Savings (\$bn)	76	81	86	90	94	741

Fiscal impact

Option 1 does lead to a surplus

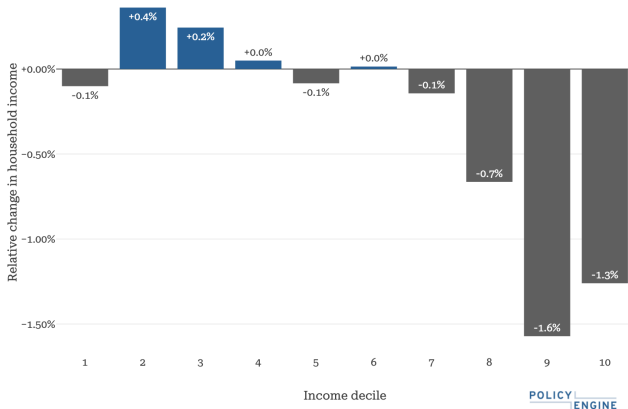
	2025	2026	2027	2028	2029	
Savings (\$bn)	52	60	63	68	72	
	2030	2031	2032	2033	2034	Ten year
Savings (\$bn)	76	81	86	90	94	741

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

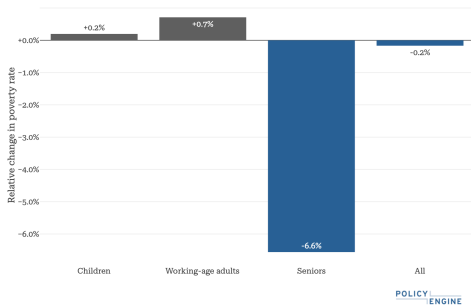
Distribtuional impact of option 1, by income

Taxing all payroll contributions in lieu of social security benefits would decrease the net income of households by 0.7% on average in 2025



Distribtuional impact of option 1, by age

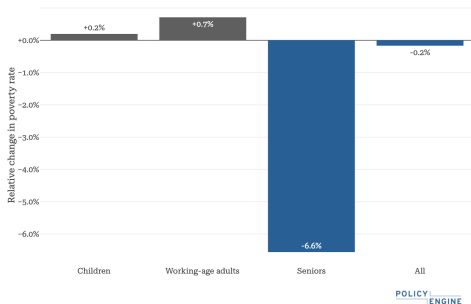
Taxing all payroll contributions in lieu of social security benefits would decrease the poverty rate by 0.2% (0pp) in 2025



- Redistribution accrues exclusively to the elderly, at the cost of poverty among workers and children.

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

Is taxing payroll “contributions” sensible?

- ▶ When your pre-tax income is reduced by payroll contributions, does *anyone* think of it as saved income rather than as a tax?

Is taxing payroll “contributions” sensible?

- ▶ When your pre-tax income is reduced by payroll contributions, does *anyone* think of it as saved income rather than as a tax?
- ▶ Intuition fits economic treatment:
 - ▶ In modeling, we treat any money going to the government as public revenue, not private savings.

Is taxing payroll “contributions” sensible?

- ▶ When your pre-tax income is reduced by payroll contributions, does *anyone* think of it as saved income rather than as a tax?
- ▶ Intuition fits economic treatment:
 - ▶ In modeling, we treat any money going to the government as public revenue, not private savings.
- ▶ Intuition fits reality:
 - ▶ The amount paid into social security and Medicare do not map one-to-one to how much you take out.

Is taxing payroll “contributions” sensible?

- ▶ When your pre-tax income is reduced by payroll contributions, does *anyone* think of it as saved income rather than as a tax?
- ▶ Intuition fits economic treatment:
 - ▶ In modeling, we treat any money going to the government as public revenue, not private savings.
- ▶ 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.

Is taxing payroll “contributions” sensible?

- ▶ When your pre-tax income is reduced by payroll contributions, does *anyone* think of it as saved income rather than as a tax?
- ▶ Intuition fits economic treatment:
 - ▶ In modeling, we treat any money going to the government as public revenue, not private savings.
- ▶ 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.

Is taxing social security benefits sensible in the first place?

- ▶ But is a social security benefits any less odd?

Is taxing social security benefits sensible in the first place?

- ▶ But is a social security benefits any less odd?
- ▶ 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.

Is taxing social security benefits sensible in the first place?

- ▶ But is a social security benefits any less odd?
- ▶ 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.
- ▶ 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.

Conclusion

- ▶ Just removing the tax and not reducing the gross benefit is worse than the current regime for fiscal reasons.

Conclusion

- ▶ Just removing the tax and not reducing the gross benefit is worse than the current regime for fiscal reasons.
- ▶ Removing the tax and taxing workers more is fiscally better but worse for age-distributional reasons.