

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. How does “taxing payroll taxes instead” work as a pay-for proposal
5. The issues of taxing payroll taxes:
 - ▶ Fiscal.
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 - ▶ Intuitiveness.

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Takeaways

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

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 - ▶ Medicare: 5.4% per year.
 - ▶ Social security: 4.2% per year.
 - ▶ **Tax revenue: 4.1% per year.**
 - ▶ Medicaid: 3.9% per year.
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- ▶ Any spending targeted at old age runs into the issue of runaway growth: this is the Fundamental Problem of Retirement Spending.

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 - ▶ Alleviates the Fundamental Problem of Retirement Spending.
 2. Not taxing social security is equivalent 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, which:

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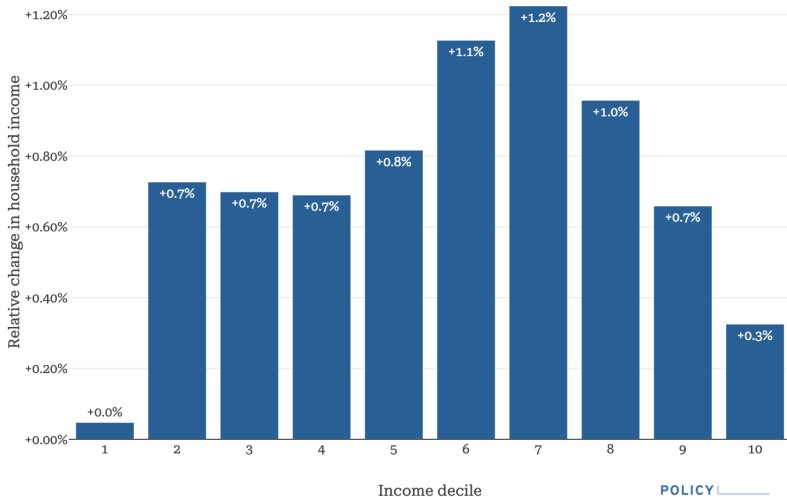
	2025	2026	2027	2028	2029
Savings (\$bn)	-88	-108	-114	-119	-127

	2030	2031	2032	2033	2034	Ten year
Savings (\$bn)	-130	-136	-142	-148	-155	-1267

The policy costs roughly \$1.3 trillion over ten years.

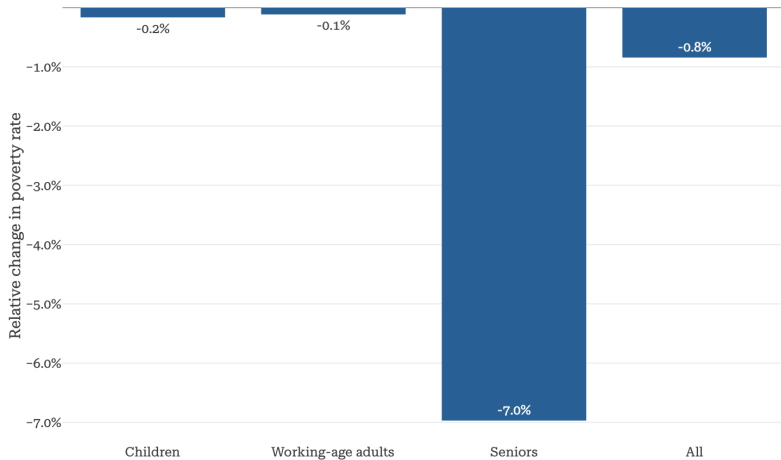
Not taxing social security: distributional impact by income

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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 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%, and that revenue goes to the 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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Savings (\$bn)	76	81	86	90	94	741

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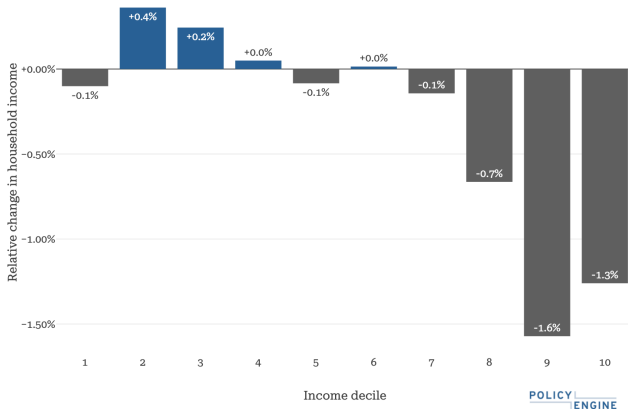
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Option 2 does not add up at all

	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

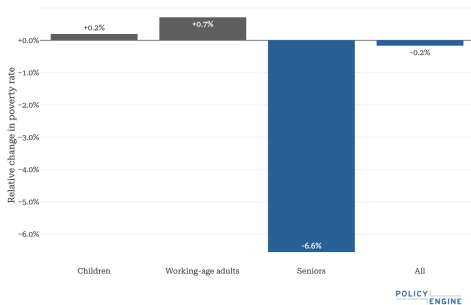
Distribtuional impact of option 1, by income

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



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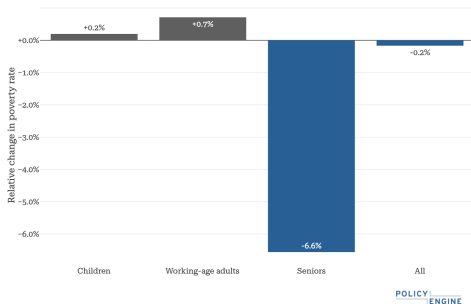
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- ▶ Redistribution accrues exclusively to the elderly, at the cost of poverty among workers and children.
- ▶ Note that taxing payroll contributions is identical to a flat tax, so this distributional pattern will be common to most revenue proposals.

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 - ▶ 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 the same way like a retirement fund.
- ▶ So I expect taxing payroll contributions will be very unintuitive to taxpayers, to say the least, if not very unpopular.

Thank you!