

Fiscal and Distributional Impacts of “No Tax on Social Security Benefits”

John T.H. Wong

Agenda

1. The fundamental problem of retirement spending.
2. How social security is taxed.
3. The impact of not taxing social security benefits.
 - ▶ Fiscal.
 - ▶ Distributional.
4. A proposal to “tax payroll taxes” instead, explained.
5. The impact of taxing payroll taxes.
 - ▶ Fiscal.
 - ▶ Distributional.

Agenda

1. The fundamental problem of retirement spending.
2. How social security is taxed.
3. The impact of not taxing social security benefits.
 - ▶ Fiscal.
 - ▶ Distributional.
4. A proposal to “tax payroll taxes” instead, explained.
5. The impact of taxing payroll taxes.
 - ▶ Fiscal.
 - ▶ Distributional.

Takeaways

1. Not taxing social security is fiscally bad.
2. But paying for proposal 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 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 historically.
 - ▶ By 2040, it will be 2.4.
- ▶ Another way to see elderly population growth is to look at projected growth (not shares) of major federal budget items 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 historically.
 - ▶ By 2040, it will be 2.4.
- ▶ Another way to see elderly population growth is to look at projected growth (not shares) of major federal budget items over the next 30 years (CBO 2025).
 - ▶ Medicare: 5.4% per year.
 - ▶ Social security: 4.2% per year.
 - ▶ **Tax revenue: 4.1% per year.**
 - ▶ Medicaid: 3.9% per year.
 - ▶ Rest of expenditures: 3.7% per year.

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 historically.
 - ▶ By 2040, it will be 2.4.
- ▶ Another way to see elderly population growth is to look at projected growth (not shares) of major federal budget items over the next 30 years (CBO 2025).
 - ▶ Medicare: 5.4% per year.
 - ▶ Social security: 4.2% per year.
 - ▶ **Tax revenue: 4.1% per year.**
 - ▶ Medicaid: 3.9% per year.
 - ▶ Rest of expenditures: 3.7% per year.
- ▶ Any spending targeted at old age runs into the issue of runaway growth: this is the Fundamental Problem of Retirement Spending.

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 the deduction of 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 the deduction of income tax.
 - ▶ So when contributions become benefits at old age, 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 the deduction of income tax.
 - ▶ So when contributions become benefits at old age, 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 the deduction of income tax.
 - ▶ So when contributions become benefits at old age, 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 **additional 35%** of benefits, if total income is above \$25,000.
 - ▶ The additional revenue 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 the deduction of income tax.
 - ▶ So when contributions become benefits at old age, 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 **additional 35%** of benefits, if total income is above \$25,000.
 - ▶ The additional revenue goes to the Medicare trust fund.
- ▶ Understand that:
 1. The fiscal implication is that a tax on social security benefits is that it reduces the net amount of retirement spending.
 - ▶ Which alleviates the Fundamental Problem.

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 the deduction of income tax.
 - ▶ So when contributions become benefits at old age, 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 **additional 35%** of benefits, if total income is above \$25,000.
 - ▶ The additional revenue goes to the Medicare trust fund.
- ▶ Understand that:
 1. The fiscal implication is that a tax on social security benefits is that it reduces the net amount of retirement spending.
 - ▶ Which alleviates the Fundamental Problem.
 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 done with PolicyEngine, which:

- ▶ Applies federal and state tax and benefit rules to representative samples of the population.
- ▶ Calculates outcomes for each household based on their unique characteristics.
- ▶ Aggregates results to estimate population-wide impacts.

Not taxing social security: fiscal impact

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

- ▶ Applies federal and state tax and benefit rules to representative samples of the population.
- ▶ Calculates outcomes for each household based on their unique characteristics.
- ▶ Aggregates results to estimate population-wide impacts.

	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: fiscal impact

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

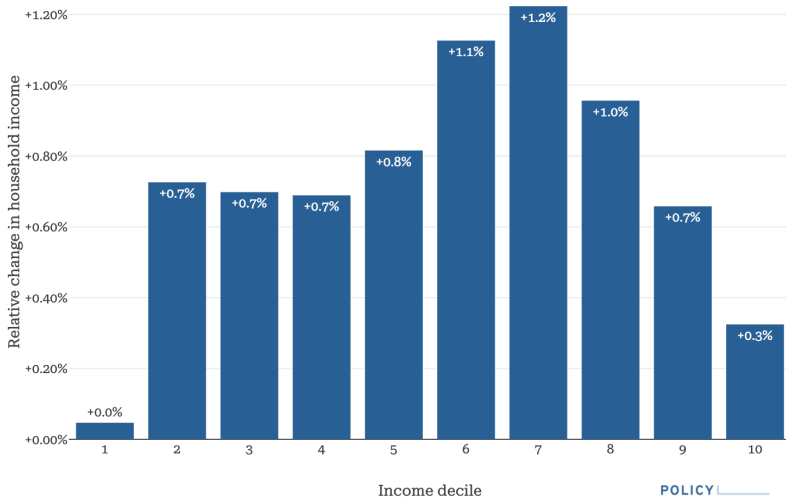
- ▶ Applies federal and state tax and benefit rules to representative samples of the population.
- ▶ Calculates outcomes for each household based on their unique characteristics.
- ▶ Aggregates results to estimate population-wide impacts.

	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.
 - ▶ Which will add 6 percent to the \$21 trillion of debt that the government is scheduled to borrow (over the coming decade).

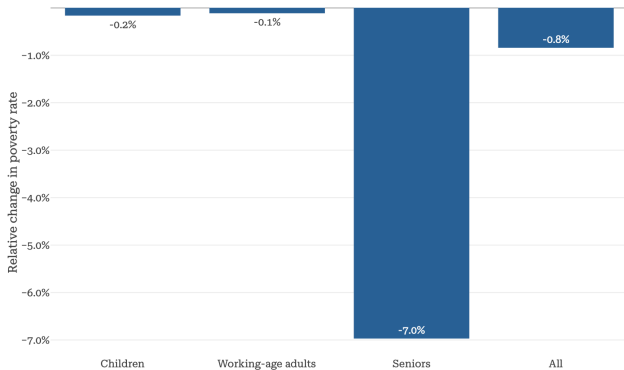
Not taxing social security: distributional impact by income

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

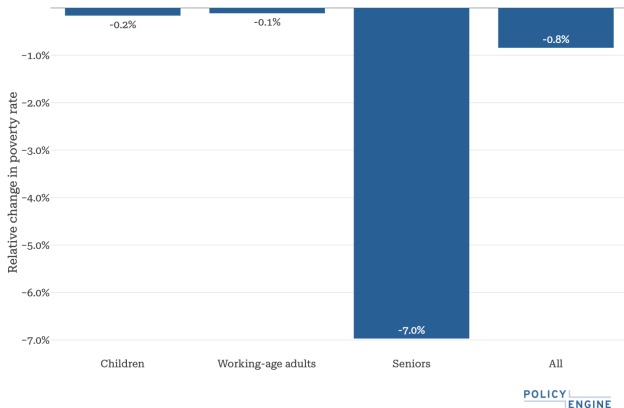
Not taxing social security benefits would decrease the poverty rate by 0.8% (0.2pp) in 2025



POLICY
ENGINE

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



► How would you pay for it?

Potential pay-for: taxing payroll taxes

- ▶ To pay for “no tax on social security benefits”, some have suggested taxing payroll taxes instead. What does that mean?

Potential pay-for: taxing payroll taxes

- ▶ To pay for “no tax on social security benefits”, some have suggested taxing payroll taxes instead. What does that mean?
- ▶ Recall that the law considers the payroll taxes you pay to be contributions.
- ▶ Half of contributions are paid for by employers.

Potential pay-for: taxing payroll taxes

- ▶ To pay for “no tax on social security benefits”, some have suggested taxing payroll taxes instead. What does that mean?
- ▶ 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 are funding your retirement and you're not getting taxed for this additional compensation.

Potential pay-for: taxing payroll taxes

- ▶ To pay for “no tax on social security benefits”, some have suggested taxing payroll taxes instead. What does that mean?
- ▶ 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 are funding your retirement and you're not getting taxed for this additional compensation.
 - ▶ So the idea is to add that amount to your amount of taxable income.

Potential pay-for: taxing payroll taxes

- ▶ To pay for “no tax on social security benefits”, some have suggested taxing payroll taxes instead. What does that mean?
- ▶ 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 are funding your retirement and you're not getting taxed for this additional compensation.
 - ▶ So the idea is to 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 pay-for: taxing payroll taxes

- ▶ To pay for “no tax on social security benefits”, some have suggested taxing payroll taxes instead. What does that mean?
- ▶ 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 are funding your retirement and you're not getting taxed for this additional compensation.
 - ▶ So the idea is to 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 pay-for: taxing payroll taxes

- ▶ To pay for “no tax on social security benefits”, some have suggested taxing payroll taxes instead. What does that mean?
- ▶ 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 are funding your retirement and you're not getting taxed for this additional compensation.
 - ▶ So the idea is to 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%, and that revenue goes to the Medicare fund).

Tax payroll not benefits: 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	

Tax payroll not benefits: 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 raise enough

	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

Tax payroll not benefits: 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

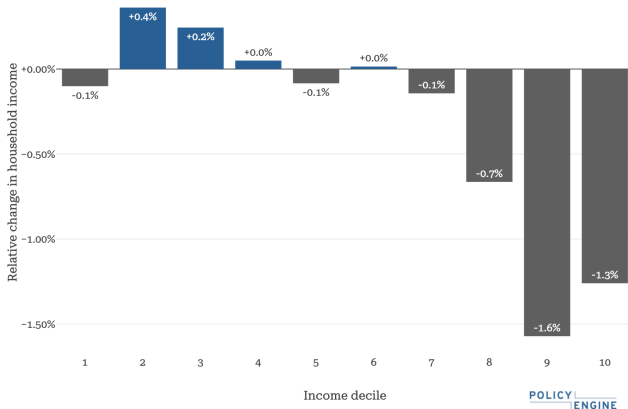
Option 2 does not raise enough

	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

► Let's focus on Option 1 to see what raising revenue looks like.

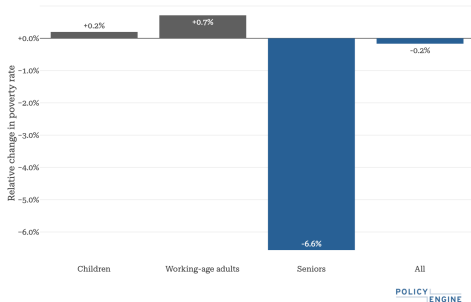
Tax payroll not benefits: distributional impact by income

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



Tax payroll not benefits: distributional impact by age

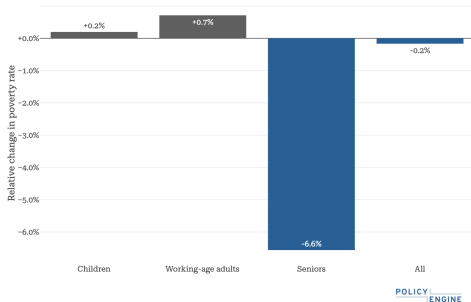
Taxing all payroll contributions in lieu of social security benefits would decrease the poverty rate by 0.2% (0pp) in 2025



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

Tax payroll not benefits: distributional impact 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 pattern isn't unique to taxing payroll contributions, which is akin to a generic progressive tax.¹

¹This is because (a) payroll contributions/income is roughly the same rate regardless of income, and (b) the proposal would tax this amount as income, which is taxed progressively.

Conclusion

- ▶ Increasing the net benefits received by retirees, while imposing an additional tax burden on workers, exacerbates the Fundamental Problem of Retirement Spending.

Conclusion

- ▶ Increasing the net benefits received by retirees, while imposing an additional tax burden on workers, exacerbates the Fundamental Problem of Retirement Spending.
- ▶ Increasing net benefits alone worsens the debt problem.

Conclusion

- ▶ Increasing the net benefits received by retirees, while imposing an additional tax burden on workers, exacerbates the Fundamental Problem of Retirement Spending.
- ▶ Increasing net benefits alone worsens the debt problem.
- ▶ The best policy is to reject “no tax on Social Security benefits” proposals and maintain current law.

Thank you

Appendix

Is taxing payroll “contributions” consistent with intuition?

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

Is taxing payroll “contributions” consistent with intuition?

- ▶ When your pre-tax income is reduced by payroll contributions, do you 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” consistent with intuition?

- ▶ When your pre-tax income is reduced by payroll contributions, do you 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” consistent with intuition?

- ▶ When your pre-tax income is reduced by payroll contributions, do you 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 the same way like a retirement fund.

Is taxing payroll “contributions” consistent with intuition?

- ▶ When your pre-tax income is reduced by payroll contributions, do you 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 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.