

What Vision of Retirement Income Security Will Guide Policy?

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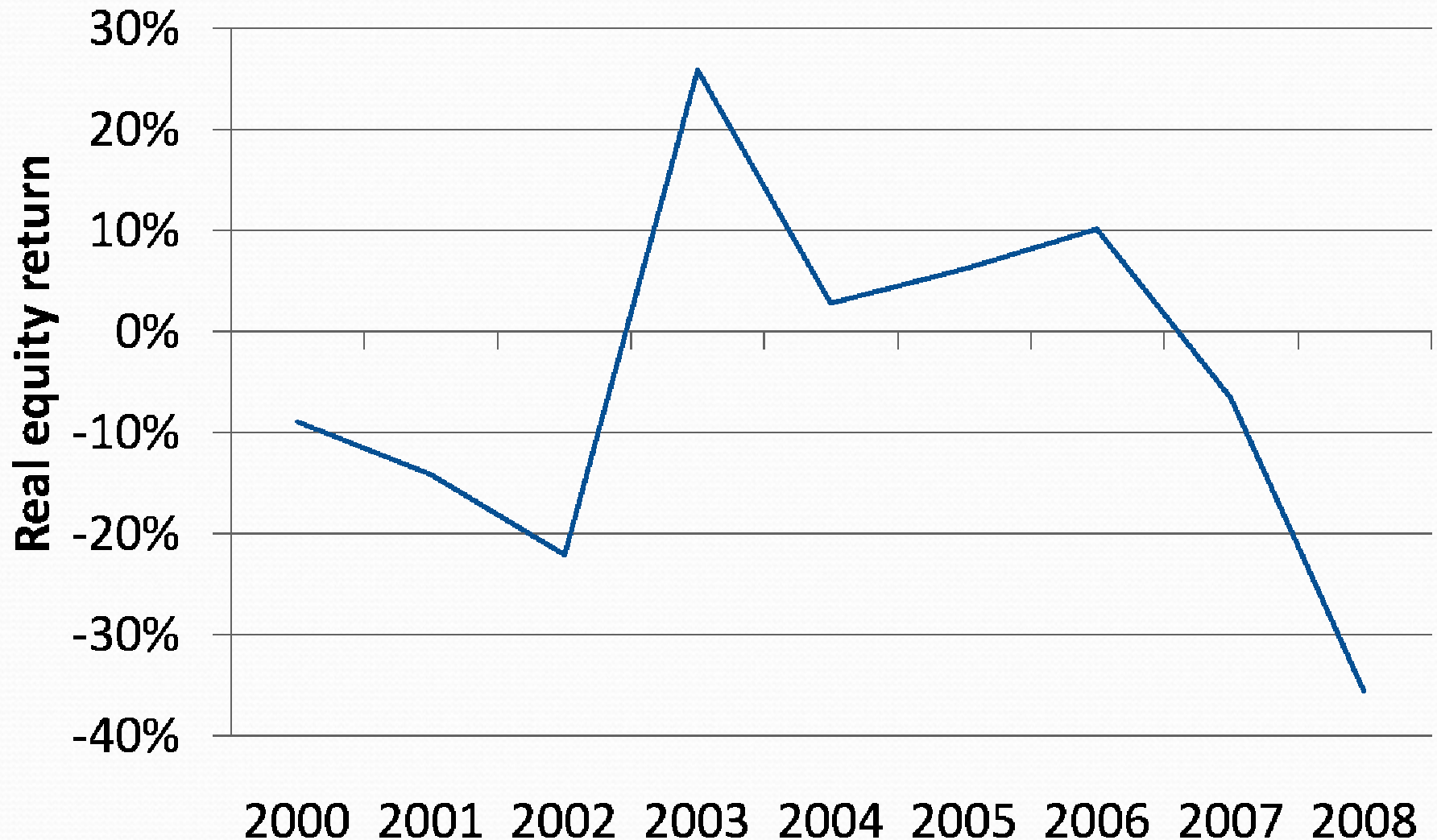
Remarks to NASI annual conference, January 29, 2009



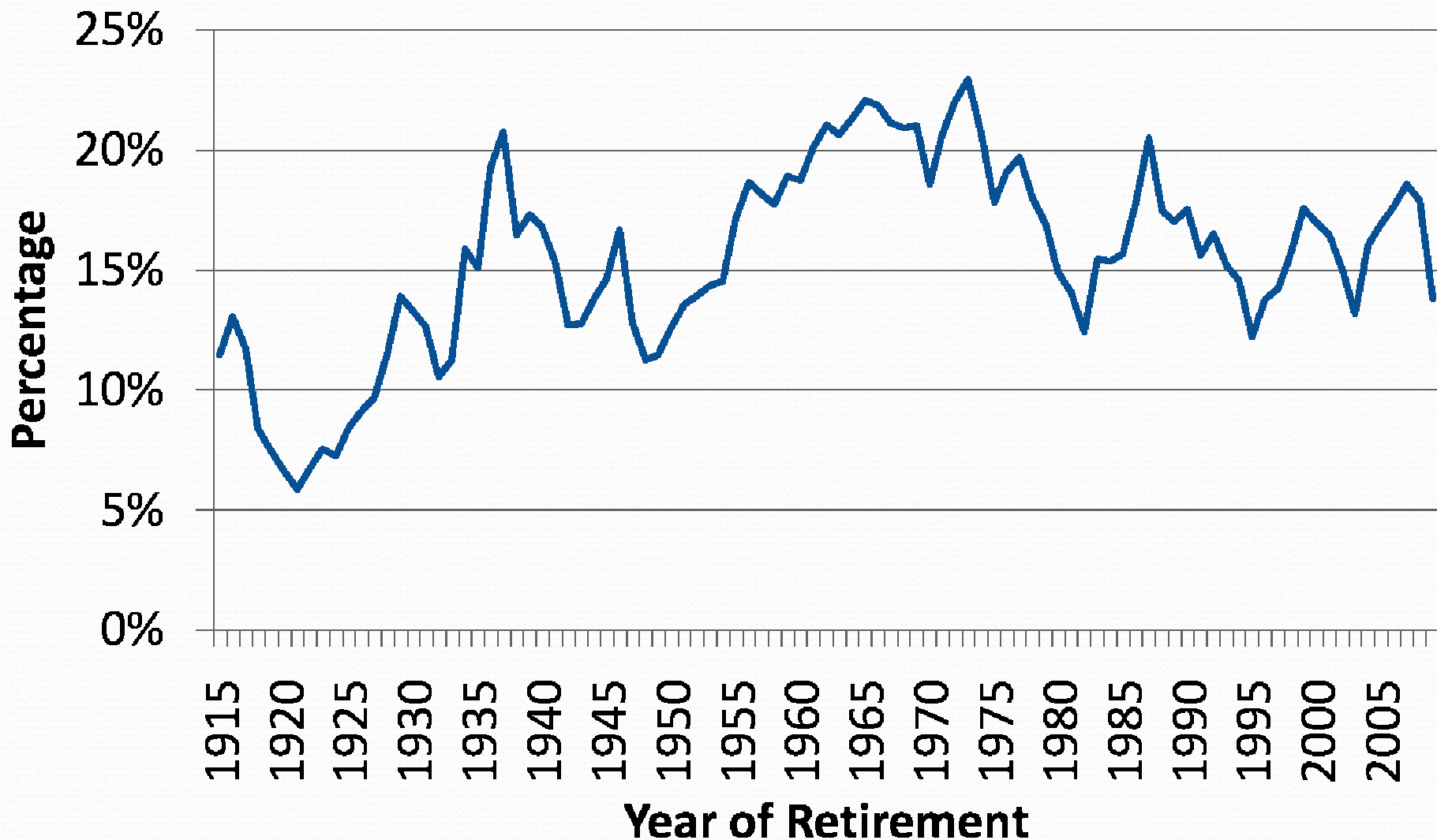
Outline

- What does the current market say about personal accounts?
- How well does Social Security spread risk?
 - Within cohorts
 - Between cohorts
- How should we think about the future of social insurance?

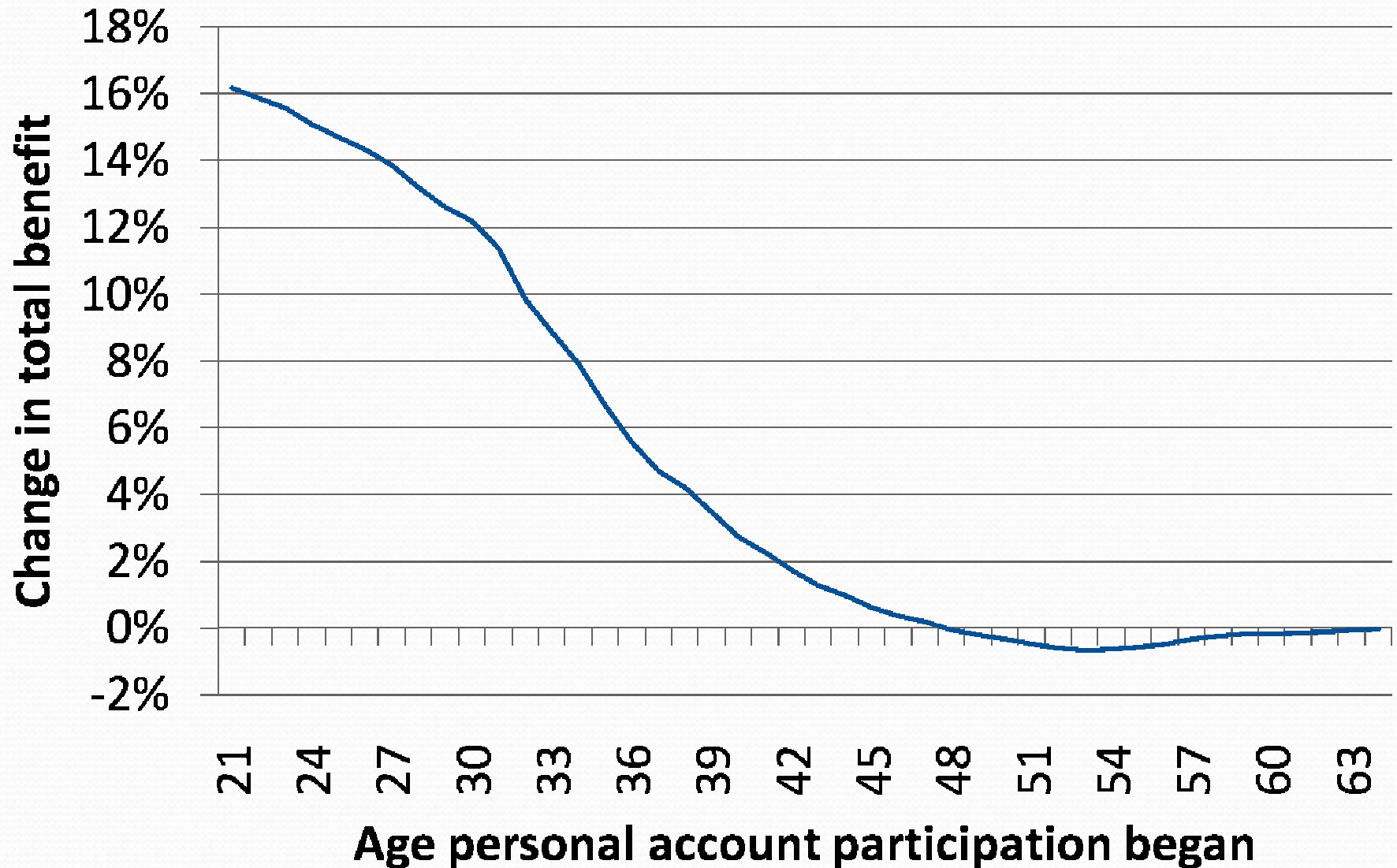
Should the stock market spell the end for personal accounts?



Average benefit change, account holders retiring 1915-2008



Average benefit change, 2008 retirees, by age accounts began



Social Security can spread risk...

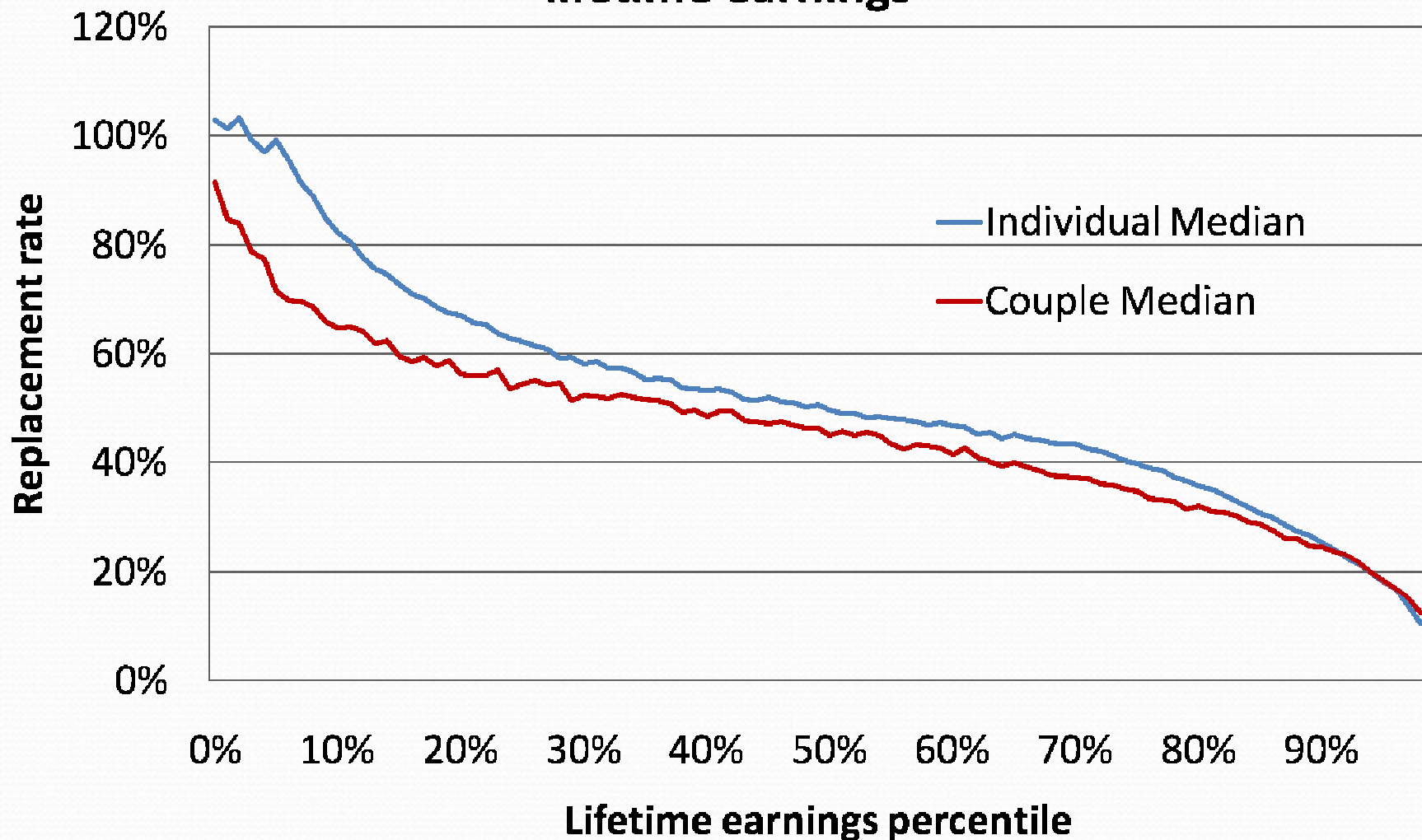
- ...within generations: from rich to poor within a given cohort
- ...between generations: from relatively rich to relatively poor cohorts
- Non-governmental structures not good at either
 - But how well does Social Security accomplish these goals?

Risk sharing *within* generations

- Redistribution can insure against low lifetime earnings
- Social Security is progressive *on average*
- But if not *consistently* progressive, then insurance value of progressivity is lost.

Average progressivity looks good...

Individual and couple median replacement rates by lifetime earnings



...but targeting is poor

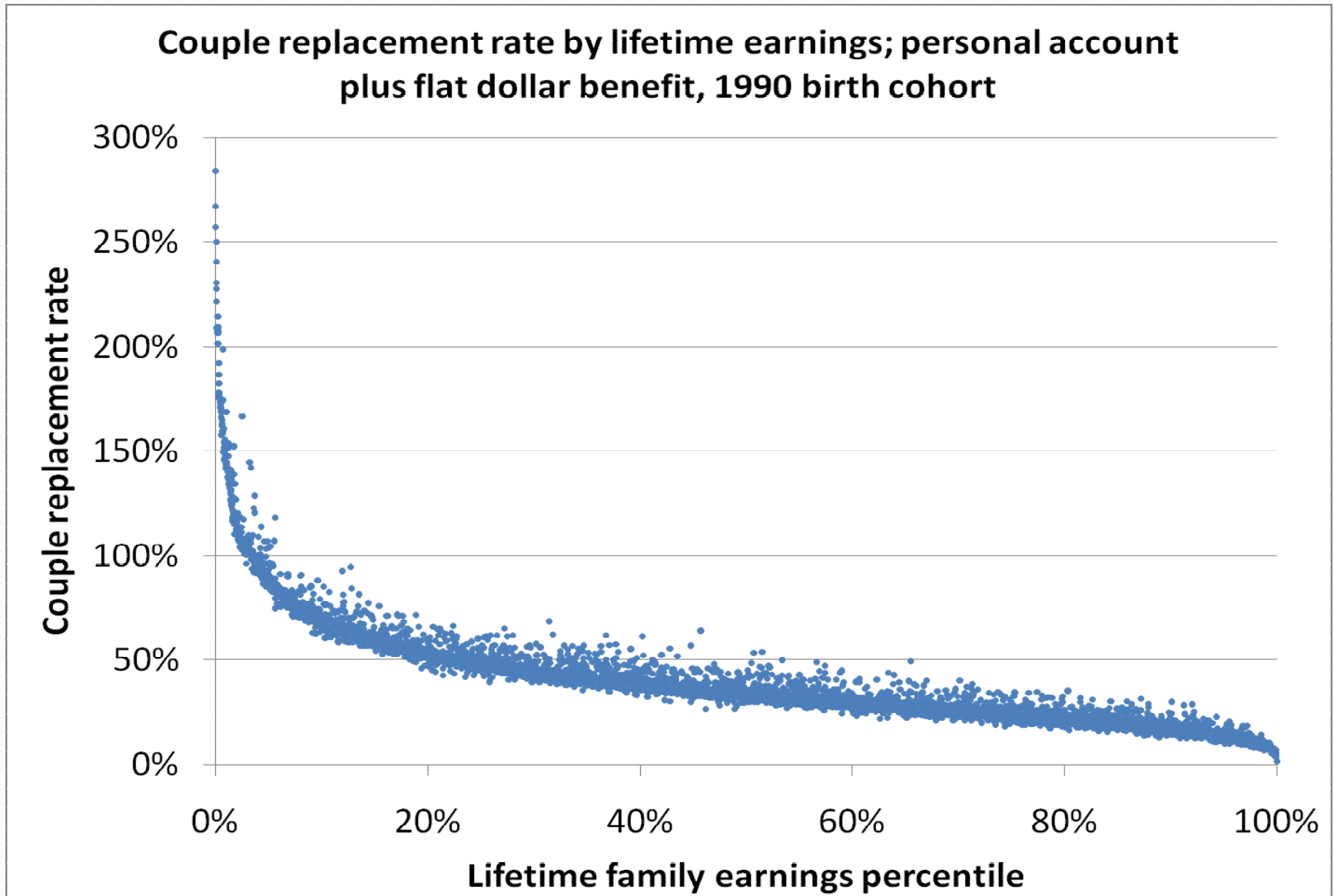
Couple replacement rates by lifetime earnings



Can a simple reform plan do better?

- Flat dollar benefit to all retirees equal to 20% of average wage *at the time*.
 - Similar to New Zealand plan, “universal pension”
- Individuals save 3 percent of earnings in personal account, invested in government bonds; annuitized at retirement
 - Could be ‘add on’, ‘carve out,’ auto-IRA, notional defined contribution, etc.

Better targeting of progressivity



Redistribution *between* generations

- “Compact between generations”; in pay-as-you-go program, relatively poor generation can be compensated by relative rich one that follows
- In practice, however, inter-cohort risk sharing is modest
 - A given generation’s retirement benefits are based upon wage growth during *their* working years; wage growth of following generation has little effect

Better inter-generational risk sharing

- Average retirement benefits could depend upon *future* average wages, not past wages
 - E.g., flat benefit equal to 20% of average wage *at the time*.
- If future generation richer than expected, benefits rise; if poorer, benefits decline
- Economic risk shared between generations

Financing issues

- Social Security current a mix of insurance and “saving”
- To control costs, individuals should be encouraged/required to save more on their own
 - Universal 401(k)s, IRAs, etc.
- Social Security benefits targeted where most needed: low earners
- Key points: 1. What would social insurance look like if everyone “did what they should”; 2. How do we encourage people to “do what they should”
 - Result: Social insurance should focus more on being *insurance*