# Rising Earnings Inequality and Optimal Income Tax And Social Security Policies

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January 7, 2023

#### Motivation

 Recent literature studied implications of rising inequality on the optimal income tax-and-transfer system

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Corbae, D'Erasmo, Kuruscu (2009), Lockwood and Weinzierl (2016), Wu (2021), Chang, Chang, Kim (2018), Heathcote, Storesletten, Violante (2020)
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- Redistributive role of Social Security has been largely ignored
- Both programs redistribute incomes across and within generations

How did the US government preferences over income redistribution change since the 1980s?

#### What I do

- OLG model with Ramsey government choosing income tax schedule and public pension system
- Pareto weights depend on agent's age and education

- Decompose total change in actual policies since the 1980s into:
  - 1 Effect of economic forces (inequality, aging, technology, etc.)
  - Residual change is attributed to the shift in Pareto weights (government preferences)

## **Findings**

- US government has become less willing to redistribute incomes from educated to uneducated people and ...
- ... more willing to redistribute incomes from workers to retirees
- These findings are conditional on population aging and rising college attendance
- Preferences over income redistribution within/between generations are interconnected and must be studied jointly

## Model

## **Demographics & Production**

- Extend general equilibrium model à la Huggett (1996) by:
  - Endogenous human capital accumulation and retirement
  - Optimal joint income taxation and Social Security
- Agents enter as workers with education level  $z \in \{H, L\}$
- Survival rates  $\psi_{z,j}$  are age- and education-specific
- Agents save into risk-free asset at after-tax return  $(1-\tau_a)r_t$
- Firms produce final good according to  $Y_t = K_t^{\varpi} N_t^{1-\varpi}$
- Total effective labor supply:  $N_t = \left(N_{t,L}^{
  ho} + N_{t,H}^{
  ho}
  ight)^{rac{1}{
  ho}}$

## Worker's Labor Productivity

• Worker with education level z enters labor market with initial skill  $h_{1,z}$  and learning ability  $\theta_z$ 

Law of motion for skills:

$$h_{j+1,z} = (1 - \delta^h) \cdot h_{j,z} + \theta_z \cdot (h_{j,z} \cdot s)^{\gamma^h}$$

s - hours spent on learning,  $\delta^h$  - skill depreciation

• Worker's pre-tax earnings:  $e=w_{t,z}\times h_{j,z}\times v_z\times y_{j,z}\times l$   $v_z$  – fixed effect,  $y_{j,z}$  – idiosyncratic shock, l – work hours

## **Government: Social Security**

- Workers pay tax  $au_{SS,t}$  on taxable earnings  $ilde{e}_{SS} = \min(e, cap_{SS})$
- Normal pension  $\bar{b}$  is determined by replacement rate schedule
- Empirical replacement rate schedule is approximated using:

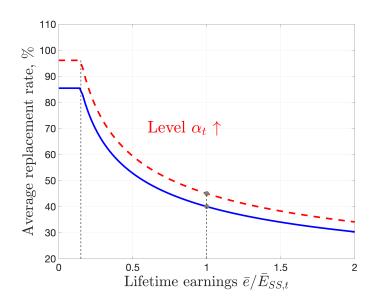
$$R_t(\bar{e}; \frac{\alpha_t}{\alpha_t}) = egin{cases} \frac{\alpha_t \times \left(\bar{e}/\bar{E}_{SS,t}
ight)^{\bar{lpha}}}{\alpha_t \times \left(\bar{e}_{\min}/\bar{E}_{SS,t}
ight)^{\bar{lpha}}} & ext{otherwise} \end{cases}$$

 $lpha_t$  – level of the replacement rate schedule (policy instrument)

 $ar{E}_{SS,t}$  – mean taxable earnings

• Given  $\alpha_t$ , Social Security tax  $\tau_{SS,t}$  adjusts each period to balance pay-as-you-go budget

#### **Government: Social Security**



#### **Government: Income Taxation**

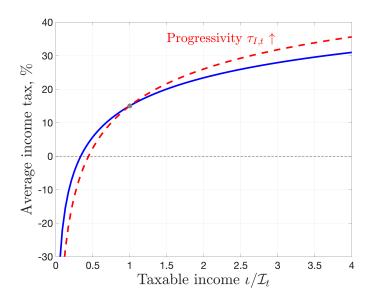
- Taxable income  $\iota = e 0.5 \tau_{SS,t} \tilde{e}_{SS} 0.5 \tau_{M} \tilde{e}_{M}$
- Income is taxed according to:

$$\Lambda_t(\iota) = \iota/\mathcal{I}_t - (1 - \bar{\tau}_{I,t}) \times (\iota/\mathcal{I}_t)^{1 - \tau_{I,t}}$$

 $\mathcal{I}_t$  – mean taxable income

- $\tau_{I,t}$  controls income tax progressivity (policy variable)
- ullet Capital income  $r_t k$  is taxed separately at fixed rate  $au_k$
- Given  $au_{I,t}$ , the income tax level  $ar{ au}_{I,t}$  balances consolidated government budget

#### **Government: Income Taxation**



## **Quantitative Experiment**

#### Set-up

- Economy is in steady state at  $t = \{1980, 2010\}$
- Social welfare function:

$$SWF_t = \sum_{j} \int \underbrace{\omega(\cdot; \boldsymbol{\kappa_t})}_{\text{Pareto weights}} \underbrace{V_t(\boldsymbol{x}; \boldsymbol{\Psi}_t, \boldsymbol{\Upsilon}_t, \boldsymbol{\Upsilon}_t^0)}_{\text{Value function}} \underbrace{dF_{t,j}}_{\text{Distribut}}$$

 $\Upsilon_t = (\tau_{I,t}, \alpha_t)$  – chosen policy,  $\Upsilon_t^0$  – initial policy,  $\Psi_t$  – model parameters x=(age,education,average earnings,assets,skills,shocks,retirement status)

- Pareto weights:  $\omega(j,z; \kappa_t) = \exp(-\kappa_{1,t} \cdot j + \kappa_{2,t} \cdot \mathbb{1}_{z=H})$   $\kappa_{1,t}$  age bias,  $\kappa_{2,t}$  educational bias
- At time t, government chooses constant future policy  $\Upsilon^\star_t$  given by:

$$\boldsymbol{\Upsilon}_t^{\star}(\boldsymbol{\Psi}_t, \boldsymbol{\kappa}_t; \boldsymbol{\Upsilon}_t^0) = \arg\max_{\boldsymbol{\Upsilon}_t} SWF_t$$

Set-up

|                                       | 1980  | 2010  | Δ       |
|---------------------------------------|-------|-------|---------|
| Progressivity $	au_{I,t}^{\star}$     | 0.187 | 0.137 | -0.05   |
| Replacement rate $\alpha_t^\star$ , % | 35.9  | 39.4  | +3.5 pp |

Table: Income tax and Social Security policies in the data  $(\Upsilon_t^{\mathsf{data}})$ 

- Over time, income tax progressivity ↓ and replacement rates ↑
- The change in  $\Upsilon^{\rm data}_{2010} \Upsilon^{\rm data}_{1980}$  is driven by:
  - 1 Effect of economic forces (aging, inequality, etc.)
  - 2 Shift in government preferences
- Next I show how to isolate 2) from 1)

## Quantitative Experiment: Roadmap

1 Identify Pareto weight parameter  $\kappa_{1980}$  that solves:

$$oldsymbol{\Upsilon}_{1980}^{\mathsf{data}} = oldsymbol{\Upsilon}_{1980}^{\star}(oldsymbol{\Psi}_{1980}, oldsymbol{\kappa}_{1980}; oldsymbol{\Upsilon}_{1980}^{\mathsf{data}})$$

2 Compute optimal policy under new parameters and old weights:

$$oldsymbol{\Upsilon}_{int}^{\star} = oldsymbol{\Upsilon}_{int}^{\star}(oldsymbol{\Psi}_{2010}, oldsymbol{\kappa}_{1980}; oldsymbol{\Upsilon}_{1980}^{\mathsf{data}})$$

 $\Upsilon_{int}^{\star} - \Upsilon_{1980}^{\text{data}}$  quantifies the impact of economic forces

3 Identify Pareto weight parameter  $\kappa_{2010}$  that solves:

$$oldsymbol{\Upsilon}^{\mathsf{data}}_{2010} = oldsymbol{\Upsilon}^{\star}_{int}(oldsymbol{\Psi}_{2010}, oldsymbol{\kappa}_{2010}; oldsymbol{\Upsilon}^{\star}_{int})$$

Shift in government preferences is given by  $\kappa_{2010} - \kappa_{1980}$ 

## **Findings**

#### **Quantitative Experiment**

1 Identify Pareto weight parameter  $\kappa_{1980}$  that solves:

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$$oldsymbol{\Upsilon}^{\mathsf{data}}_{2010} = oldsymbol{\Upsilon}^{\star}_{int}(oldsymbol{\Psi}_{2010}, oldsymbol{\kappa}_{2010}; oldsymbol{\Upsilon}^{\star}_{int})$$

#### Utilitarian vs. Actual Policies

|                                                                                         | Equal Pare | Data      |               |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|-----------|---------------|
|                                                                                         | Newborns   | All alive | (1980)        |
| Optimal policy: Progressivity $\tau_I^\star$ Replacement rate $\alpha^\star$ , %        |            |           | 0.187<br>35.9 |
| Equilibrium variables: Income tax level $\bar{\tau}_I$ , % Soc.Sec. tax $\tau_{SS}$ , % |            |           | 9.30<br>8.90  |

#### Utilitarian vs. Actual Policies

|                                       | Equal Pare | Data      |        |
|---------------------------------------|------------|-----------|--------|
|                                       | Newborns   | All alive | (1980) |
| Optimal policy:                       |            |           |        |
| Progressivity $\tau_I^{\star}$        | 0.141      |           | 0.187  |
| Replacement rate $\alpha^{\star}$ , % | 0.0        |           | 35.9   |
| Equilibrium variables:                |            |           |        |
| Income tax level $\bar{	au}_I$ , %    | 11.42      |           | 9.30   |
| Soc.Sec. tax $	au_{SS}$ , %           | 0.0        |           | 8.90   |

- Government prefers to shut down Social Security
- This holds for any distribution of education-specific Pareto weights

This approach fails to explain why income tax and Social Security programs coexist in the data

#### Utilitarian vs. Actual Policies

|                                    | Equal Pare | Data      |        |
|------------------------------------|------------|-----------|--------|
| -                                  | Newborns   | All alive | (1980) |
| Optimal policy:                    |            |           |        |
| Progressivity $\tau_I^{\star}$ , % | 0.141      | 0.048     | 0.187  |
| Replacement rate $\alpha^*$ , %    | 0.0        | 70.0      | 35.9   |
| Equilibrium variables:             |            |           |        |
| Income tax level $\bar{	au}_I$ , % | 11.42      | 11.76     | 9.30   |
| Soc.Sec. tax $	au_{SS}$ , %        | 0.0        | 19.53     | 8.90   |

Government chooses positive but too large Social Security

To match both policies, augment this model with education- and age-specific Pareto weights

#### Estimated Pareto Weights in the 1980s

|                                                           | Baseline<br>(1980s) |
|-----------------------------------------------------------|---------------------|
| Age bias, $\kappa_{1,t}$ Weight on age 25 / age 64        | 0.069<br>15.80      |
| Educational bias, $\kappa_{2,t}$ Weight on col./ non-col. | -0.731<br>0.48      |

To match  $\Upsilon^{\rm data}_{1980}$ , Pareto weight distribution must be skewed towards younger and less educated workers

## Quantitative Experiment: Roadmap

1 Identify Pareto weight parameter  $\kappa_{1980}$  that solves:

$$oldsymbol{\Upsilon}_{1980}^{\mathsf{data}} = oldsymbol{\Upsilon}_{1980}^{\star}(oldsymbol{\Psi}_{1980}, oldsymbol{\kappa}_{1980}; oldsymbol{\Upsilon}_{1980}^{\mathsf{data}})$$

2 Compute optimal policy under new parameters and old weights:

$$oldsymbol{\Upsilon}_{int}^{\star} = oldsymbol{\Upsilon}_{int}^{\star}(oldsymbol{\Psi}_{2010}, oldsymbol{\kappa}_{1980}; oldsymbol{\Upsilon}_{1980}^{\mathsf{data}})$$

3 Identify Pareto weight parameter  $\kappa_{2010}$  that solves:

$$oldsymbol{\Upsilon}^{\mathsf{data}}_{2010} = oldsymbol{\Upsilon}^{\star}_{int}(oldsymbol{\Psi}_{2010}, oldsymbol{\kappa}_{2010}; oldsymbol{\Upsilon}^{\star}_{int})$$

## Optimal Policy in the 2010s: Decomposition

| Experiment                               | Parameters                                                | Optimal             | policies           | Equilib.             | variables         |
|------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------|---------------------|--------------------|----------------------|-------------------|
| F                                        | updated                                                   | $	au_{I,t}^{\star}$ | $\alpha_t^{\star}$ | $ar{	au}_{I,\infty}$ | $	au_{SS,\infty}$ |
| 1. Aging                                 | $(\psi_{z,j},n)$                                          | -0.010              | +9.83              | +0.46                | +5.34             |
| 2. Production                            | $(\varpi,\delta)$                                         | -0.005              | -6.55              | -2.60                | -1.70             |
| 3. Social Security                       | $(J^R, \bar{\alpha}, \bar{e}_{\min}, \delta^p, cap_{SS})$ | -0.060              | -0.26              | +1.02                | -1.31             |
| 4. Medicare                              | $(m_j, \eta, 	au_M, cap_M)$                               | -0.050              | -1.62              | +1.79                | -0.31             |
| <ol><li>Other policies</li></ol>         | $(\tau_c, \tau_a, gy, dy)$                                | -0.048              | -9.24              | +0.82                | -2.41             |
| 6. Inequality:                           |                                                           |                     |                    |                      |                   |
| <ul> <li>Supply of col. grad.</li> </ul> | $\Pi_z$                                                   | -0.046              | -4.10              | +1.10                | -0.71             |
| <ul> <li>Human capital</li> </ul>        | $(\theta_z, h_{1,z}, \delta^h)$                           | +0.063              | +9.67              | -5.72                | +2.81             |
| <ul><li>Fixed effects</li></ul>          | $\sigma_{v,z}^2$                                          | +0.064              | +4.41              | -4.26                | +1.03             |
| <ul> <li>Skill complement.</li> </ul>    | $(\rho, Z)$                                               | +0.014              | +9.20              | -2.96                | +3.45             |
| <ul> <li>Idiosyncratic risk</li> </ul>   | $( ho_z,\sigma^2_{\epsilon,z})$                           | -0.030              | -2.24              | +0.69                | -0.59             |
| 7. Total impact                          | All listed above                                          | +0.042              | +1.15              | -4.82                | +1.04             |

- Due to economic and demographic forces, optimal income tax progressivity ↑ (recall: in the data it ↓ during 1980–2010)
- Optimal replacement rate level ↑ (in the data it ↑ too but less)

## Quantitative Experiment: Roadmap

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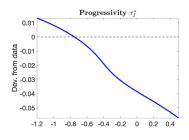
#### **Estimated Trend in Pareto Weights**

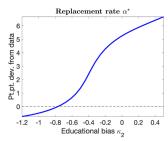
|                                                           | Baseline<br>(1980s) | Baseline<br>(2010s) |
|-----------------------------------------------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| Age bias, $\kappa_{1,t}$ Weight on age 25 / age 64        | 0.069<br>15.80      | 0.060<br>11.02      |
| Educational bias, $\kappa_{2,t}$ Weight on col./ non-col. | -0.731<br>0.48      | 1.260<br>3.53       |

- To rationalize current policy, Pareto weights must have shifted towards older and more educated households during 1980–2010
- Findings are conditional on aging and rising college attendance!
- In the paper, I provide supporting empirical evidence by studying the relative change in voter turnout in Congressional elections

Next I show that government preferences over income redistribution within/between generations interact...

## Rising Weight On College Graduates $(\kappa_2 \uparrow)$

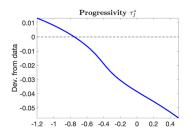


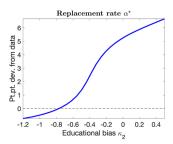


#### Two channels:

 $\begin{array}{c} \textbf{1} \quad \kappa_2 \uparrow \Rightarrow \tau_I^{\star} \downarrow \text{(standard)} \\ \text{intra-generational redistribution} \downarrow \\ \text{Heathcote, Storesletten \& Violante ('17)} \\ \text{Heathcote \& Tsujiyama ('21), Wu ('21)} \\ \end{array}$ 

## Rising Weight On College Graduates ( $\kappa_2 \uparrow$ )





#### Two channels:

1  $\kappa_2 \uparrow \Rightarrow \tau_I^\star \downarrow \text{(standard)}$ intra-generational redistribution  $\downarrow$ Heathcote, Storesletten & Violante ('17) Heathcote & Tsujiyama ('21), Wu ('21)

2  $\kappa_2 \uparrow \Rightarrow \alpha^* \uparrow \Rightarrow \tau_{SS,t} \uparrow \text{ (new)}$ education-specific mortality inter-generational redistribution  $\uparrow$ 

#### **Education-Specific Mortality**

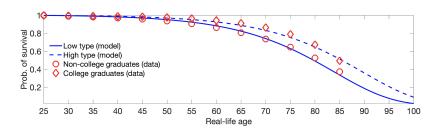
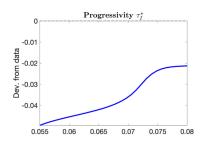
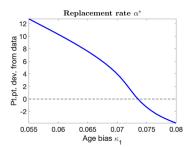


Figure: Survival probability rates for a 25-year-old individual in the model and data (2010)

- The empirical moments are taken from Bound et al. (2014)
- Life expectancy gap between college graduates and high school graduates at age 25 is 6 years (2010)

## Rising Weight On Elderly $(\kappa_1 \downarrow)$



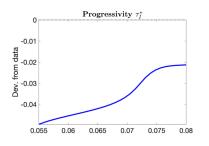


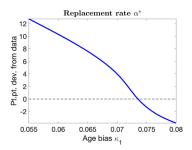
#### Two channels:

inter-generational redistribution  $\uparrow$ 

Brendler ('20)

## Rising Weight On Elderly $(\kappa_1 \downarrow)$





#### Two channels:

inter-generational redistribution ↑
Brendler ('20)

 $2 \kappa_1 \downarrow \Rightarrow \tau_I^{\star} \downarrow \text{(new)}$  intra-generational redistribution  $\downarrow$ 

#### **Government Preferences Interact**

- To account for the drop in  $au_{I,t}^{\rm data}$ , Pareto weights must shift toward college graduates
- Heathcote et al. ('17) attribute the entire drop to  $\kappa_{2,t}$
- This paper: As Pareto weights also shift toward older agents, the government optimally chooses to reduce  $au_{I,2010}^\star$
- This exerts an offsetting effect on  $\kappa_{2,t}$

#### **Conclusions**

- How did the US government preferences over income redistribution change since the 1980s?
- Rich OLG model with Ramsey government who chooses income tax and Social Security policies
- During 1980–2010, US government has become less willing to redistribute incomes from educated to uneducated people and ...
- ... more willing to redistribute incomes from workers to retirees
- Government preferences over income redistribution within/between generations interact and must be studied jointly