

THE PUBLIC FINANCE DEBATES:

“It’s **not** time...New Zealand adopted
a social insurance approach to
welfare”

John Gibson



Why don't we just self-insure?

- Miss the advantages from pooling risk
 - Spatially
 - Inter-temporally
 - Inter-generationally
- Costly at individual level due to lack of scale and lack of diversifiable options
- In rich countries the short-sighted who under-insure are likely to get bailed out anyway

Contributory social insurance

- E.g. Bismark - statutory health insurance in 1883
 - Insured are gainfully engaged
 - Financed by contributions, usually with payroll tax
- Benefits depend (partially) on contributions
 - Such entitlements are difficult to reform
 - E.g U.S. Social Security Numbers and “individual accounts”



Otto von Bismark

Universal entitlement systems

- Eg. 1942 Beveridge report
- Includes the entire population
- Financed from general taxation
- Benefits are unrelated to individual productivity
 - Redistributes unlike a pure Bismark system
 - Generational social contract rather than an individual entitlement
 - These are also difficult to reform!



Lord Beveridge



Two problems for any insurance

- Covariate risk
 - Idiosyncratic shocks can be insured against locally but not covariate shocks
 - Generational shocks also matter, and can be insured against with PAYG entitlement systems if economic growth is sufficient
- Asymmetric information
 - Adverse selection
 - Moral hazard

Adverse Selection (1)

- “If you like your current [insurance] plan, you will be able to keep it. Let me repeat that: If you like your plan, you'll be able to keep it.”



Remarks made in the
Rose Garden,
White House,
July 21, 2009



Adverse selection (2)

- To get everyone into the risk pooling group requires some compulsion
- Without compulsion, if only the bad risks buy insurance the market eventually fails
- Work-related contributory schemes face the same problem
 - If payroll tax is high enough it distorts choices of where to work (covered versus uncovered), or to work at all
 - general taxation already deals well with compulsion

Moral hazard

- Offsetting behaviour
 - (Partially) insulate people from risk and they take on inappropriate levels of risk
 - E.g. drive more recklessly when wearing a seatbelt
- Contributors should face consequences and make more efficient decisions as a result
 - Yet likely to get bailed out if don't
 - ➔ If losses have to be socialized, why not go all the way and get scale advantages



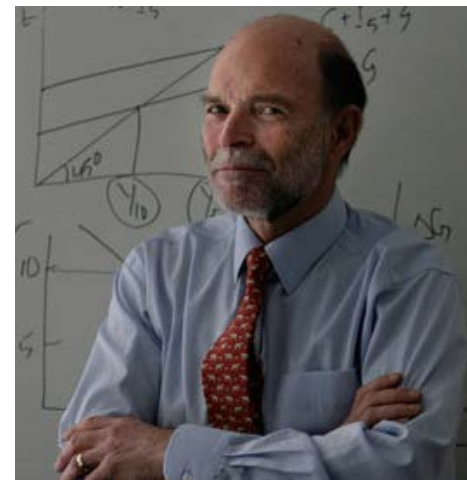
The “Tullock Spike”
courtesy of Offsetting
Behaviour Blog

Contributions and the Earmark

- Earmarked tax revenue has to be allocated for particular fiscal outlays
 - Reduces flexibility compared with general fund financing and is generally not favoured
 - Demand for the public service may be moderated and tax morale increases because of clear link between payment and outcome
 - As soon as free-riding is possible from large group size this can break down
- Managing demand for social welfare is a political issue

Funded, or Pay-as-you-go?

- Pension relies on exchanging current production when younger for a claim on future production when older
- Unless funding raises future production, funded vs PAYG debate is a diversion
- Promises have to be exchanged for a call on future labour (taxes)
- Financial assets have to be exchanged for goods
 - Terms of the exchange depend on the productivity of the next generation of workers



Nicholas Barr,
London School of
Economics

Rent-seeking

- Who controls the pool of contributions to the social insurance scheme?
- Large pools of money attract rent-seekers
 - ‘ethical’ investment by the NZ Superannuation Fund
 - Push to invest locally but logically should invest almost all overseas
- Competing for recurrent taxes may be more contestable

“Three groups spend other people’s money: children, thieves, politicians. All three need supervision”

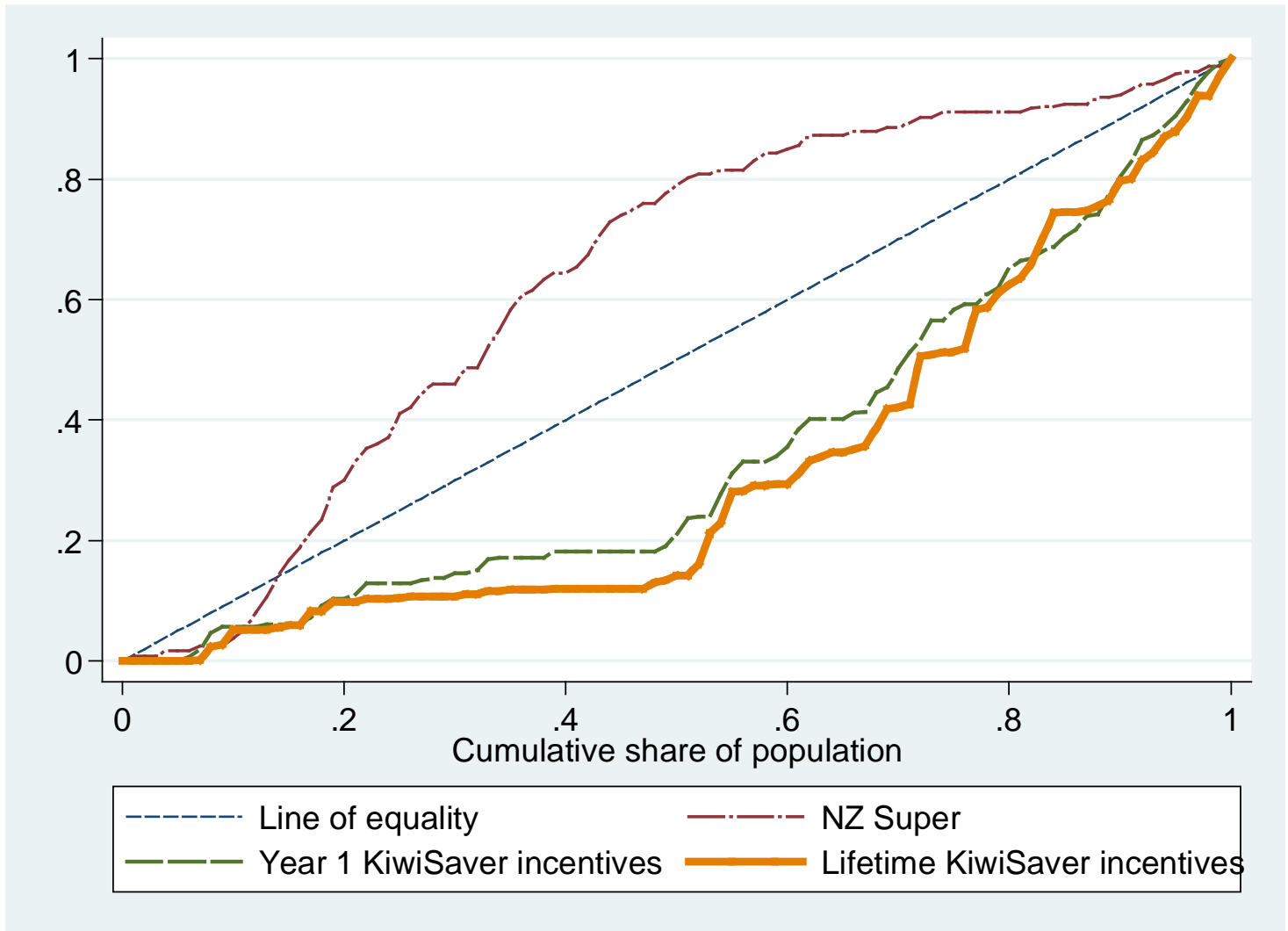


Dick Armey,
former House
Majority Leader

Inequality

- **Contributory social insurance increases lifetime inequality**
 - Shocks in the earnings phase ripple into the decumulation phase
 - Gender biases exacerbated
 - Contrasts with NZ Super and other social citizenship benefits which reduce lifetime inequality and gender bias
 - Gender-equal payments despite unequal lifetime earnings
- **Attention biases and other behavioural quirks**
 - Individual accounts are rarely optimally weighted for risk and reward

Inequality-reducing & inequality-raising welfare



Conclusions

- Contributory social insurance reduces flexibility
 - Reduces the pooling of risk
 - Limits possibility desirable redistribution
 - 2nd best (or worse) solution to excess demand for welfare → economic solution to political problem
- increases lifetime inequality
 - Shocks in the earnings phase ripple into the decumulation phase
 - Gender biases get exacerbated