# Supporting Work – A Proposal to Modernize the Social Security Disability Insurance System

David H. Autor

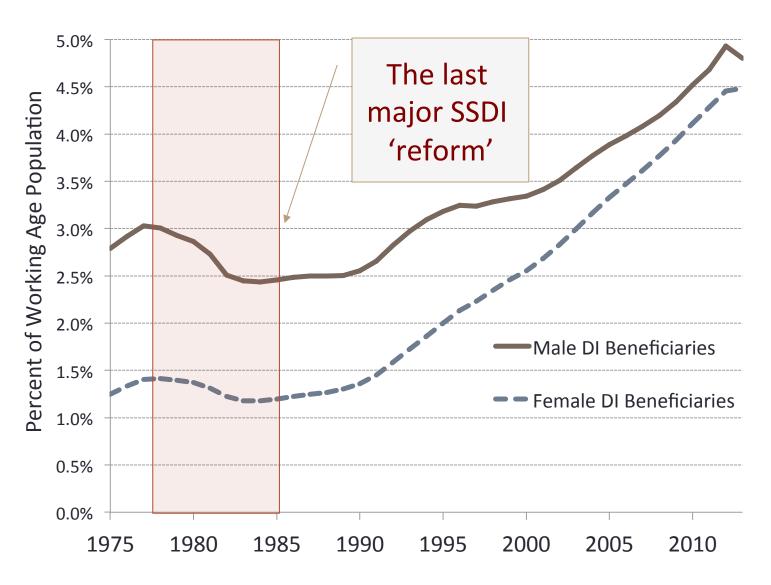
Professor and Associate Head MIT Department of Economics

SSDI Early Intervention Projects Meeting February 12, 2015

# Three difficulties at core of SSDI program

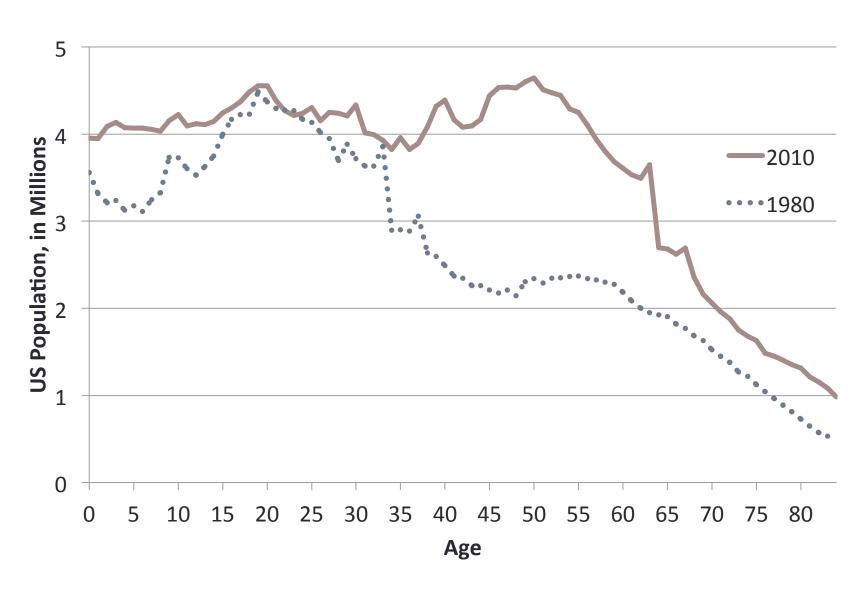
- SSDI defines disability and employability as opposites: Mutually exclusive states
- 2. SSDI does not help disabled workers to remain employed or self-sufficient; it rewards labor force exit
- SSDI provides no incentive to employers to accommodate disabled workers

# Fraction of Working Age Adults Ages 20 – 64 Receiving SSDI 1975 – 2012: Approaching 5%



Source: SSA OACT; Annual Statistical Supplement (2013, Table 7.A9); 2013 Economic Report of the President; Liebman (2015).

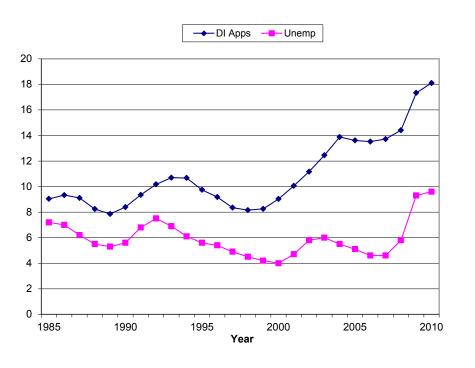
# U.S. Population by Age, 1980 and 2010



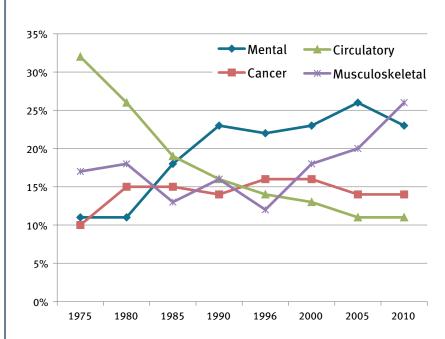
Source: US Census Intercensal Population Estimates and Liebman (2015)

# Apps and Awards are Strongly Counter-Cyclical, with A Growing Share of Non-Verifiable Disorders

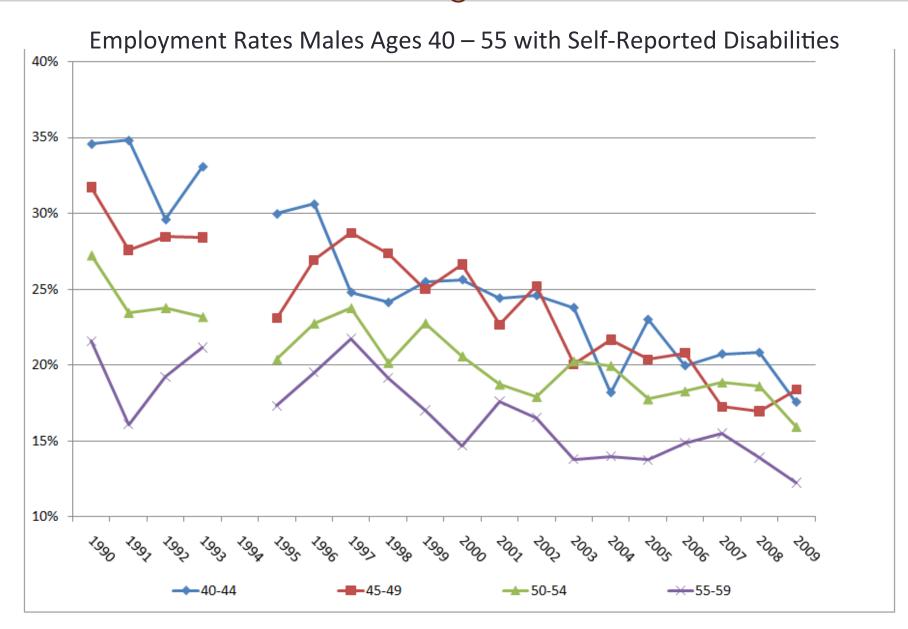
# SSDI Apps per 1,000 Insured Highly Responsive to Unemployment Rate



# Initial SSDI Awards by Major Cause of Disability, 1975 - 2010



# Employment to Population Rate of Males with Work-Limiting Disabilities Falling for Since 1990s



# What a Modern Disability System Should Do

# 1. Support ongoing employment

Front-load assistance, back-load screening

# 2. Give incentives to employers

Accommodate workers with disabilities

#### 3. Give incentive to workers

Remain employed if feasible

# A New Direction for U.S. Disability Insurance: Supporting Work

# 1. Support workers before they lose jobs

- Benefits kick in within 90 days of disability onset
  - a) Vocational rehabilitation
  - b) Workplace accommodations (as required by ADA)
  - c) Partial income replacement while work-limited
- Up to 24 months of benefits—before applying for SSDI

# 2. Cause employers to recognize costs of disability

- Private Disability Insurance carried by employers (PDI)
- Support workers with disabilities to keep working—
   Reasonable Accommodations required by ADA, paid by PDI
- Employers keep policy costs low by preventing work limitations from becoming career-ending disabilities

# How Can this be Accomplished?

- Harness existing capacity: Using private sector
  - 1/3rd of U.S. workers already covered by PDI policies
- Modeled on existing U.S. institutions
  - Unemployment Insurance (UI): All employers, experience rated
  - Workers Compensation (WC): All employers, experience rated
  - Temporary Disability Insurance (TDI): Six U.S. states mandate

# Successful precedents

- Netherlands implemented similar reforms in 2000s:
   Dramatically slowed inflows onto public disability system
- b. U.S. Workers Compensation system—No real cost increase in last two decades, even as SSDI claims have grown rapidly.

# Incentives to Employers

- U.S. employers have no 'skin in the game'
  - Face zero cost when worker makes SSDI claim → No incentive to reduce utilization
  - Only sensible if employers have no influence on claims unrealistic!
- Experience rating under PDI → Employer incentives
  - Employers will therefore recognize the cost of disability
- But no need to penalize employers for bad luck
  - No more than 24 months of partial wage replacement
  - Health care not covered via PDI
  - 'Compassionate Allowance' SSDI cases: No employer cost

# Oh No! Another Expensive Employer Mandate?

#### Modest cost

- Less than \$400 per worker-year, even in 'risky' industries
- Only ~5% 7% of cost of Health Insurance

# Employers face limited and temporary exposure

- PDI would not pay health benefits
- Severe, career-ending disabilities go immediately onto SSDI
- Temporary wage replacement: 60% of salary, ≤ \$2,500 month

# Slowing system-wide costs will reduce employer burden

	1989	2013	Increase (%)
DI Payroll Tax (still 30% underfunded!)	1.1 %	1.8 %	70 %
SSDI Payments	\$41 bil	\$132 bil	222 %
SSDI Share of Soc Security	10 %	19 %	80 %

# Despite Uncertainties, Key Virtues

# 1. Supports work

A universally acknowledged 'good'

# 2. Builds on existing capacity

PDI is widely subscribed, commercially successful

#### 3. Preserves component of SSDI that work wells

Long term support to those unlikely to work soon

# 4. May reduce inflows into long-term SSDI system

Will slow SSDI growth by reducing claims

#### 5. Consistent with our national values

 "The Nation's proper goals regarding individuals with disabilities are to assure equality of opportunity, full participation, independent living, and economic selfsufficiency..." (ADA 1990)

# Who Would Not Benefit from Supporting Work?

#### 1. Applicants lacking a meritorious claim

- SSDI serves as both a non-employability and disability program
- PDI only helps those with work-limiting impairments

# 2. Workers who are non-employable but not disabled

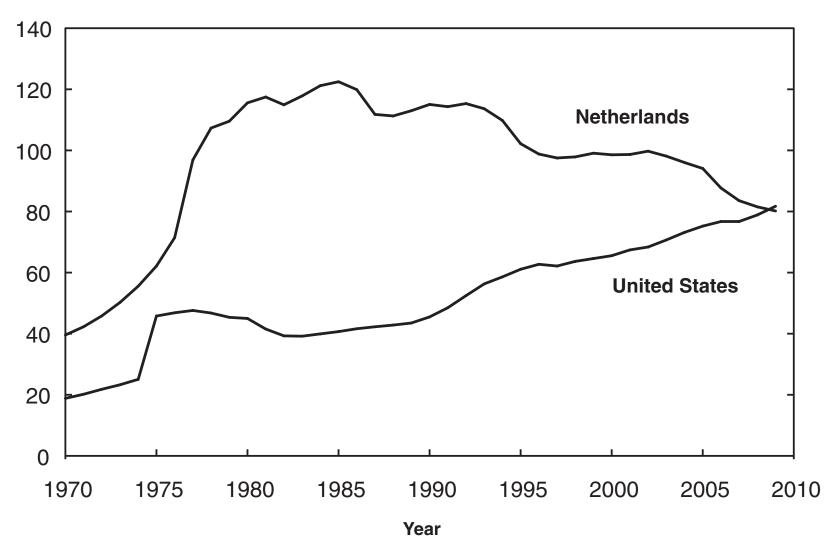
- PDI does not assist those with low skills who cannot find work
- Adds 21 month wait period until SSDI application
- No impairment → No PDI benefits in the interim

# SSDI not intended to serve non-employable, non-disabled

- Other policies needed
- EITC for older workers w/o dependents?

#### Disability Receipt in U.S. and Netherlands, 1970 – 2009

# **Beneficiaries per Thousand Workers**



Source: Burkhauser and Daly 2011

# "Never let a good crisis go to waste."

- Winston S. Churchill