Gender Retirement Gaps in the United States

Alice Henriques Volz Federal Reserve Board

November 28, 2024

UNSW Colloquium on Pensions and Retirement Research

The analysis and conclusions set forth are those of the authors and do not indicate concurrence by other members of the research staff or the Board of Governors.

Gender disparities partly reflect employment choices

- Increased labor force participation of women over the past several decades and the gender wage gap has narrowed, but stagnated recently
- Women still have
 - lower labor force attachment
 - lower wages
 - occupational segregation
- Results in women with less access and less generous pensions than men.
- Attachment to labor market is best way to maximize benefits of tax preferred retirement savings in United States

Gender disparities partly reflect employment choices

- Further challenge is women's longer life expectancy relative to men
- Have the labor force gains that have occurred spilled over in a meaningful way to retirement preparation?
- Goal: examine the progress of pensions for women, as compared to men, over the past 30 years

Avenues to Save for Retirement Institutional details for U.S.

- Individuals access through employer provided plans and individual retirement accounts (IRAs)
 - Latter requires individual action to set up
 - Individuals can be auto enrolled in the former
- Limits to contributions in tax preferred retirement savings
 - Tax benefits smaller for IRAs
- Defined benefit (DB) plans are less prominent but still significant resource for those in and approaching retirement
- Households can save outside of preferred accounts to fund their consumption in retirement
- Payroll taxes fund public pension program

Institutional details for U.S. Privately-owned assets

- Pensions are one of the few assets on a household's balance sheet that cannot be co-owned in the United States
- Employer-based plans:
 - Historically defined benefit plans (DB) were offered
 - About half of workers had one in 1980s, less than 20% now
 - Shift towards to defined contribution (DC) plans starting in 1980s and 1990s due to legislation

Social Security (public pension) Institutional details for U.S.

- DB structure with cost-of-living adjustment
- Based on highest 35 years of earnings (including zeros)
- Must have 40 quarters of contributions (i.e. payroll taxes)
- Progressive formula (much higher replacement rates for low earners)
- Dependent spouse benefit equal to half of primary earner amount
- Survival benefit equal to primary earner amount

(Some nuance to these statements but this is the general set-up)

Data

- Survey of Consumer Finances (SCF) sponsored by Federal Reserve Board, 1989-2022
- Cross-sectional, household survey in United States that occurs every 3 years
 - Oversamples wealthy households to ensure coverage of the entire wealth distribution
 - Direct measurement of a comprehensive, household-level balance sheet
- Focus on men and women between ages 45 and 64, split into two age groups
 - Important to not only examine who is currently working
- Call combination of DB and DC, "Private Retirement"

Two main estimations to supplement SCF survey data

- First: Defined benefit estimation
 - Estimate 'retirees' present discounted value (PDV) of benefits directly
 - Estimate accumulated assets of 'workers' as residual from aggregate household DB assets.
 - Use wage, years in plan, and discount factor to allocate residual
- Mortality estimates are based on cohort, sex and household income rank

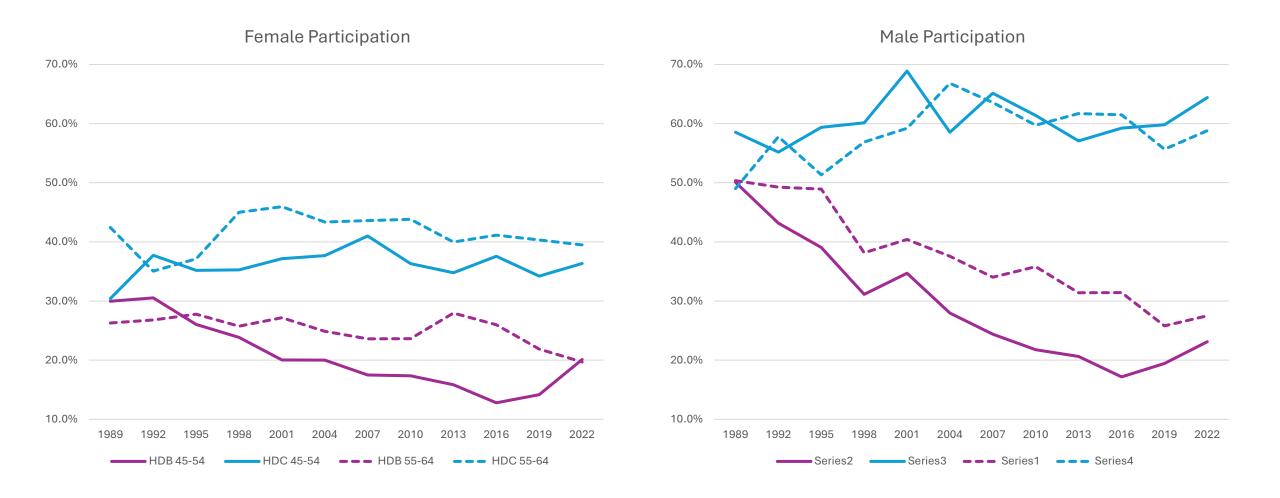
Two main estimations to supplement SCF survey data

- Second: Social Security wealth (SSW) estimation
 - Expected future benefits net expected contributions
 - Need earnings histories (updated methodology from Jacobs et al, 2021)
 - SSW is present value of expected future benefits net expected contributions

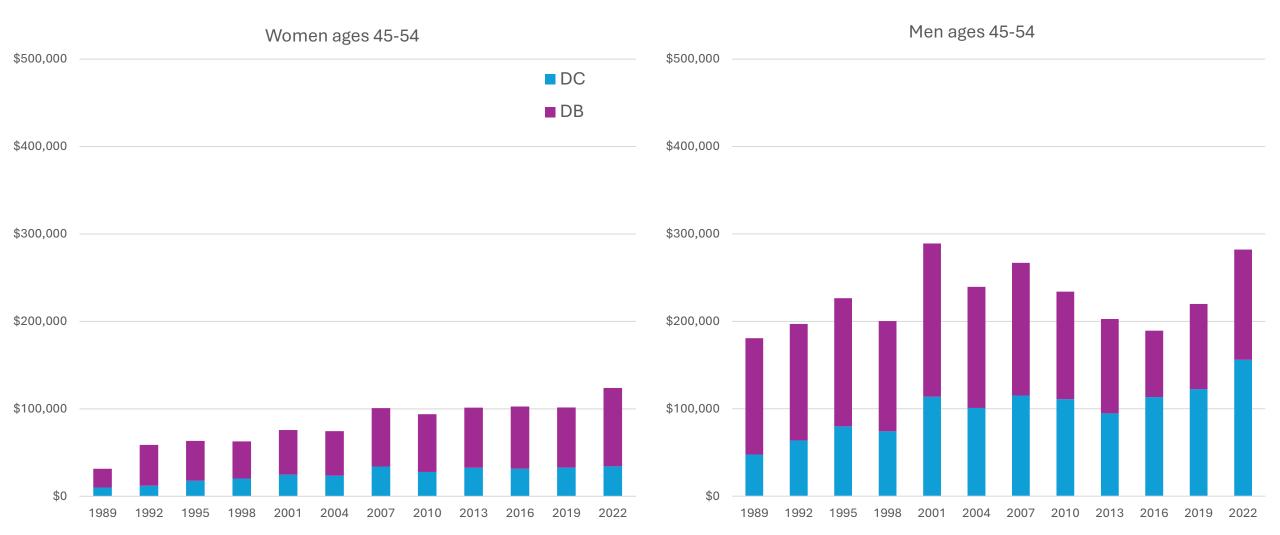
Aggregate trends

- Participation in defined benefit pension (DB) plans has declined slightly for both men and women
- Asset values for DB plans have continued to grow
 - Due to aging, the plans continue to increase asset holdings to pay out current promises.
- Participation in DC plans has grown only modestly for both men and women.
- Asset holdings in DC plans has grown tremendously

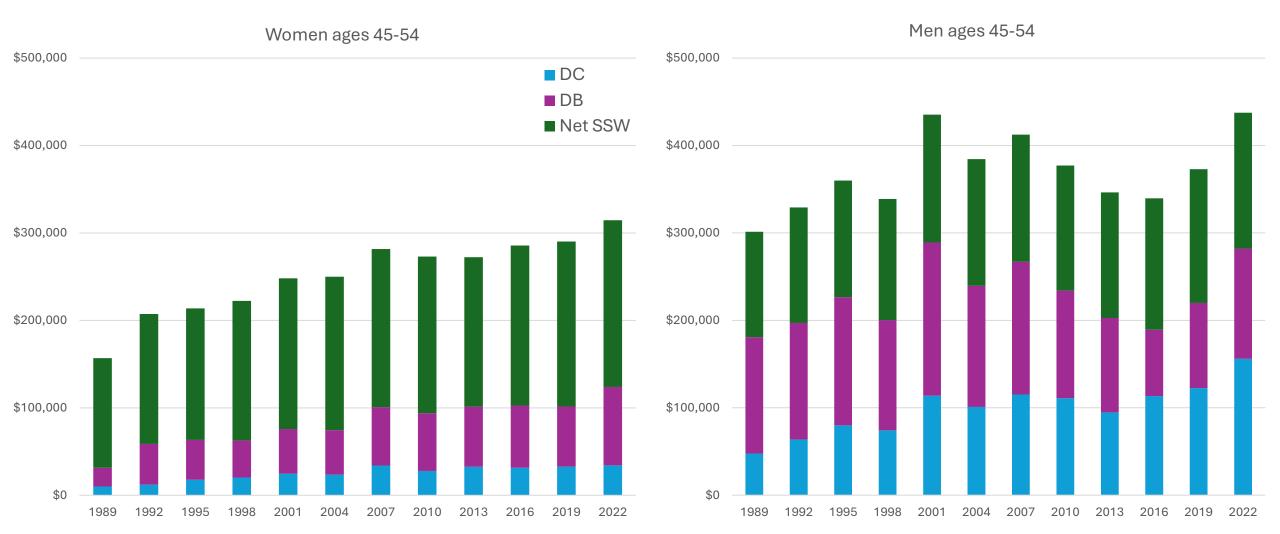
Finding 1: Steady DC participation Finding 2: Declining DB plans, particularly for men



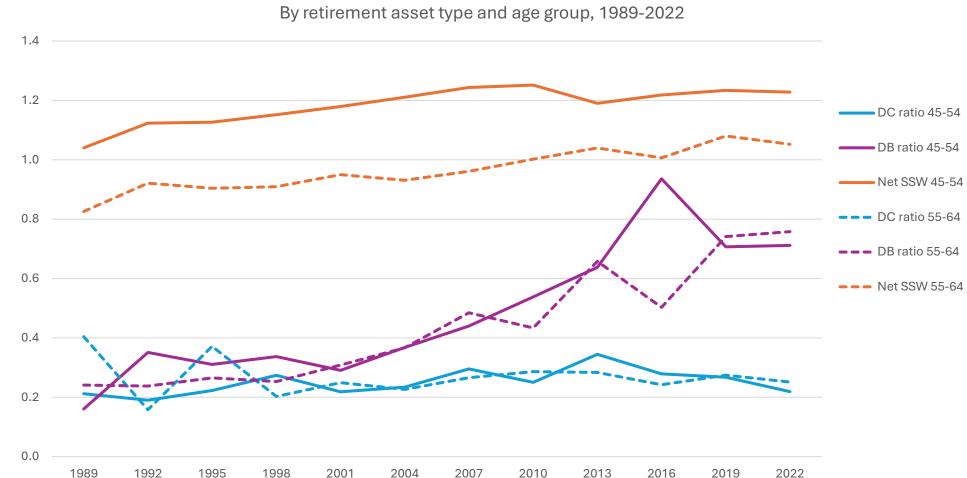
Finding 3: Women's private retirement wealth has increased, men's a bit more stagnant



Finding 4: Social Security dominates private retirement holdings for women (due to spouse/survivor benefits)

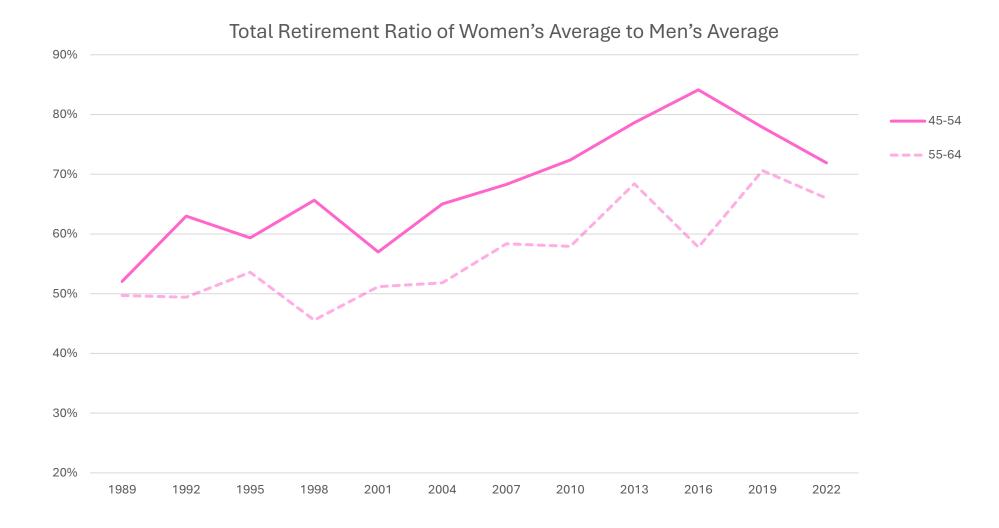


Finding 5: Steady DB wealth narrowing since 1989 Finding 6: Current SS advantage for women Finding 7: Little DC convergence



Ratio of Women's Average value to Men's Average Value By retirement asset type and age group, 1989-2022

Put the pieces together Finding 8: Gender gap narrowed significantly between 2001 and mid-2010s



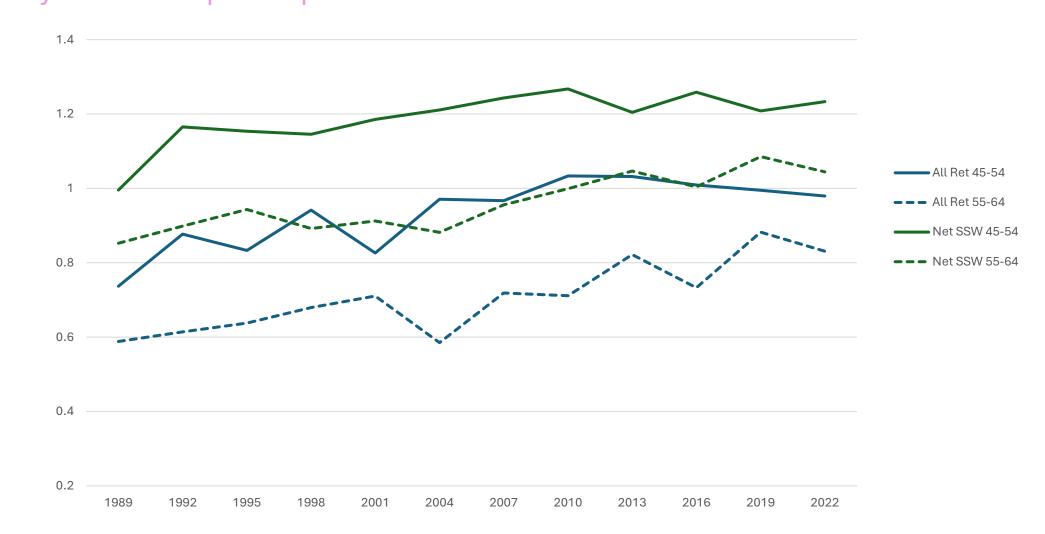
"Overview" not enough

• These are averages, good for trends but possibly not when we are thinking about retirement preparation. Depends on motivation

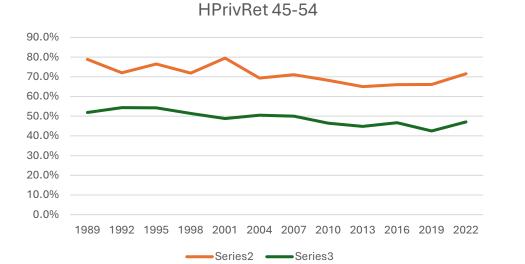
• Two extensions:

- (1) Ratio of medians (combine DB and DC)
 - Many have *no* private wealth.
- (2) Rank comparisons
 - Compare rank of female to rank of male
 - At given female rank, what is the gender gap?

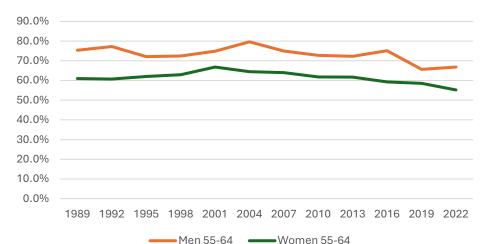
Ratio of Medians: similar result, but ratio level is higher Too many zeros to do private pension



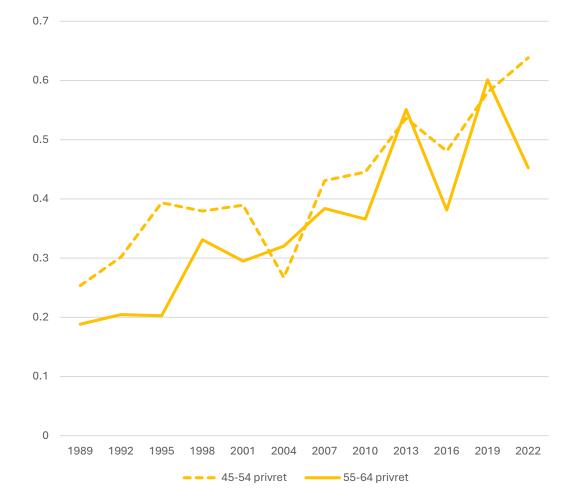
Using Ratio of Conditional medians Similar to conclusions using means







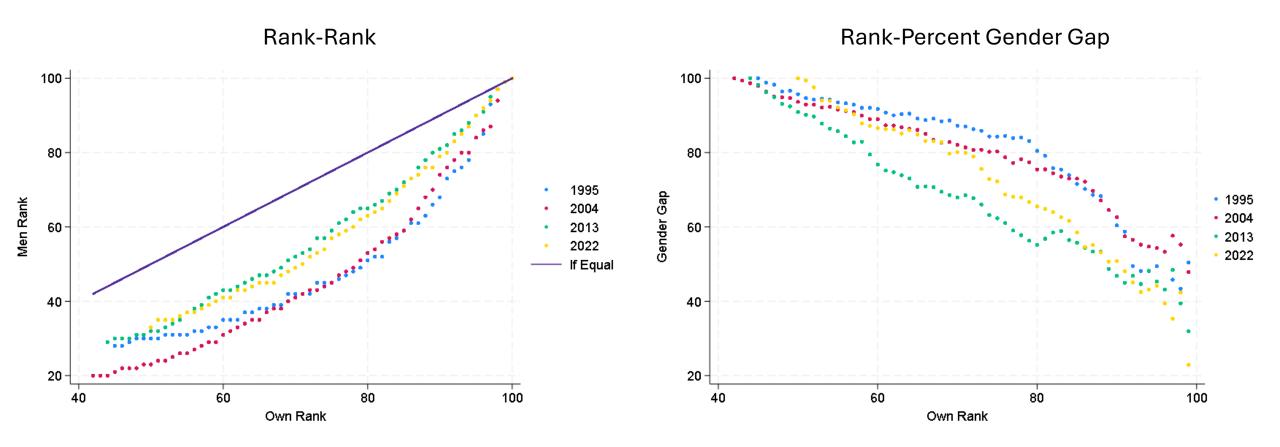
Ratio of Conditional Medians Private Retirement Assets



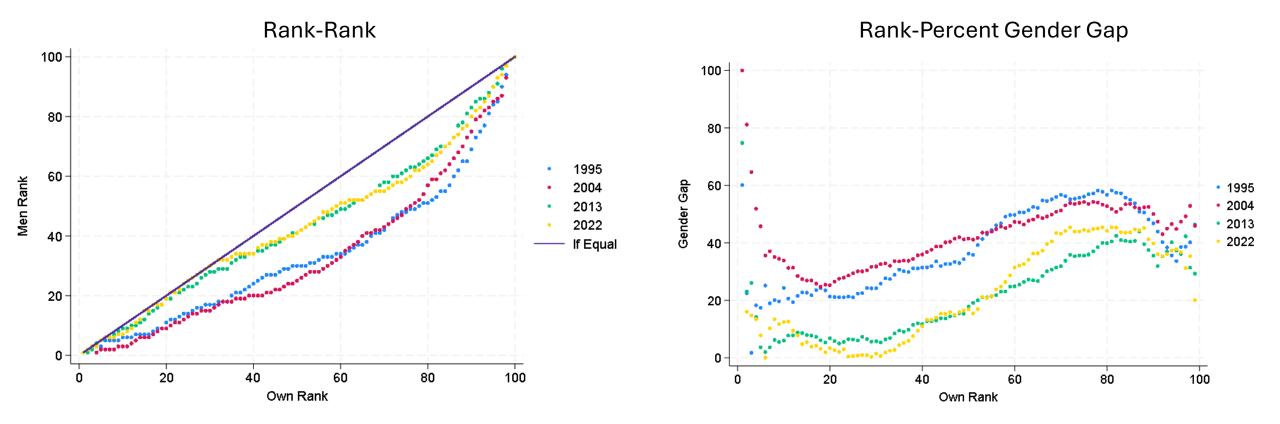
Rank comparisons

- Compare distributions across gender at given age over time
- First, compare rankings of people without regard for dollars, "rank-rank"
 - Q: Where would a woman at percentile *x* of their wealth distribution be in the distribution of men?
- Second, estimate the percent gender gap at a given percentile of female distribution, "rank-percent gender gap", with zero being no gender gap
 - Q: how big is the gender gap for a woman at percentile *x* of their wealth distribution compared to a man at percentile *x*?
- Rank-rank comparisons used by Bayer and Charles (2017) to look at the evolution of the male black-white wage gap and Sabelhaus and Volz (2022) to look at retirement preparation across cohorts

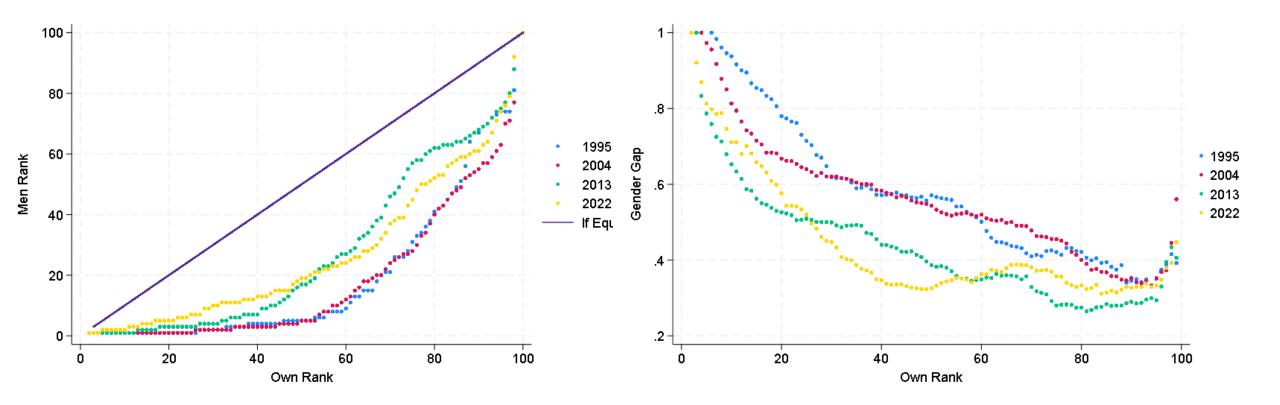
Finding 9: Gains across the distribution since mid-1990s, but private pension assets are not universal Private pension wealth: ages 55-64



Finding 10: More consistent gains by women over time in retirement resources. Stagnating? All retirement (includes Social Security): ages 55-64



Tie it back to [lifetime] wage gap Finding 11: Private pension gap larger, more progress on wages Finding 12: Wage progress has helped narrow overall retirement gap, thanks to Social Security



Rest of balance sheet

- Among unmarried women, some convergence in SSW and financial assets
- Among married women, % of assets in own name has risen more direct ownership over marital assets. Excluding Social Security, about three-quarters is shared with spouse, down from about 85% in the mid-1990s
- Among assets that can be assigned ownership, married women have made strides across all categories: retirement, financial accounts, SSW, and businesses (with businesses more volatile)

Thank you!

Questions/comments to: alice.h.volz@frb.gov