

**WOMEN
AND
RETIREMENT SECURITY**

**PREPARED BY THE NATIONAL ECONOMIC COUNCIL
INTERAGENCY WORKING GROUP ON SOCIAL SECURITY**

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	3-4
I. Basic Facts on Women and Retirement	5-6
II. Social Security and Women	7-11
III. Challenges for the Current System	12-14
IV. Women and Pensions	15-16
V. Conclusion	17
Endnotes	18-19

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

- **Women Have Lower Income in Retirement than Men -- And Thus Higher Poverty.** In 1997, median income for elderly unmarried women (widowed, divorced, separated, and never married) was \$11,161, compared with \$14,769 for elderly unmarried men and \$29,278 for elderly married couples. Thus, the poverty rate for elderly women was higher than that of men: in 1997, the poverty rate of elderly women was 13.1 percent, compared to 7.0 percent among men. Among unmarried elderly women, the poverty rate was significantly higher -- about 19 percent.
- **Social Security Is Particularly Important to Women.** Elderly unmarried women -- including widows -- get 51 percent of their total income from Social Security. Unmarried elderly men get 39 percent, while elderly married couples get 36 percent of their income from Social Security. For 25 percent of unmarried women, Social Security is their only source of income, compared to 9 percent of married couples and 20 percent of unmarried men. Without Social Security benefits, the elderly poverty rate among women would have been 52.2 percent and among widows would have been 60.6 percent.
- **Women Face Greater Economic Challenges in Retirement.** First, women tend to live longer: a woman who is 65 years old today can expect to live to 85, while a 65 year old man can expect to live to 81. Second, women have lower *lifetime* earnings than men do. And third, women reach retirement with smaller pensions and other assets than men do.
- **The Current Social Security System Has a Number of Features That Help Women Meet These Challenges.**
 1. Social Security provides an inflation-protected benefit that lasts as long as you live. Since women tend to live longer than men, they are in greater danger of outliving their other sources of retirement income; but it is impossible to outlive one's Social Security benefit.
 2. The progressive benefit formula provides a higher replacement rate for workers with lower earnings. For the median female retiree, Social Security replaces 54 percent of average lifetime earnings, compared with 41 percent for the median male.
 3. Social Security provides extra benefits to spouses with low lifetime earnings. The Social Security spousal benefit helps many women, even if they did not work at all outside the home.
 4. Social Security provides benefits to elderly widows; 74 percent of elderly widows receive benefits based on the earnings of their deceased spouse.
 5. Social Security provides benefits to spouses of any age who care for children under 16 if the worker (other spouse) is retired, becomes disabled, or dies; women represent 98 percent of recipients receiving benefits as spouses with a child in their care.
- **Social Security Will Continue to Be Important for Women in the Future.** As the

labor force participation rates of women continue to rise, women in the future will reach retirement with much more substantial earnings histories than in the past. Therefore, the percentage of women receiving benefits based solely on their own earnings history is expected to rise from 37 percent today to 60 percent in 2060. However, this means that 40 percent of women will continue to receive benefits based on their husband's earnings.

- **Poverty Rates Among Unmarried Elderly Women -- Especially Widows Who Make up 45 Percent of All Elderly Women -- Are High.** Divorced women are a growing share of the elderly population, and their poverty rate is higher than the overall elderly poverty rate. And finally, poverty rates among elderly minority groups are unacceptably high.
- **Among Current Retirees, Women Have Much Less Pension Coverage Than Men.** Only 30 percent of all women aged 65 or older were receiving a pension in 1994 (either worker or survivor benefits), compared to 48 percent of men.
- **Pensions Received by Women Are Worth Less than Those Received by Men.** Among new private sector pension annuity recipients in 1993-94, the median annual benefit for women was \$4,800, or only half of the median benefit of \$9,600 received by men. And among women approaching retirement, pension wealth is much smaller: for example, single women had average pension wealth that was 34 percent of the single men's average.
- **Among Workers, Women's Pension Coverage Depends on Work Status.** Overall, fewer women workers have pensions through work, 40 percent of women compared to 44 percent of men. However, women in full-time jobs are equally likely to have pension coverage as men; in 1997, 50 percent of women in full-time jobs had pensions compared to 49 percent of men. It is important to note, though, that women are much more likely to work part-time or be out of the labor force than men.

WOMEN AND RETIREMENT SECURITY

Over the course of this year, the Administration, Congress, and other interested parties have engaged Americans in a national debate about ways to strengthen Social Security for the 21st Century. President Clinton and Vice President Gore attended three bipartisan Social Security forums convened by the AARP and the Concord Coalition, and the President and Vice President hosted a conference on private retirement savings in July. One issue that has arisen repeatedly throughout this process is the relationship between Social Security and women's retirement security. The purpose of this report is to inform the national debate by presenting some of the key facts and issues about women and their Social Security benefits and pensions.

I. BASIC FACTS ON WOMEN AND RETIREMENT

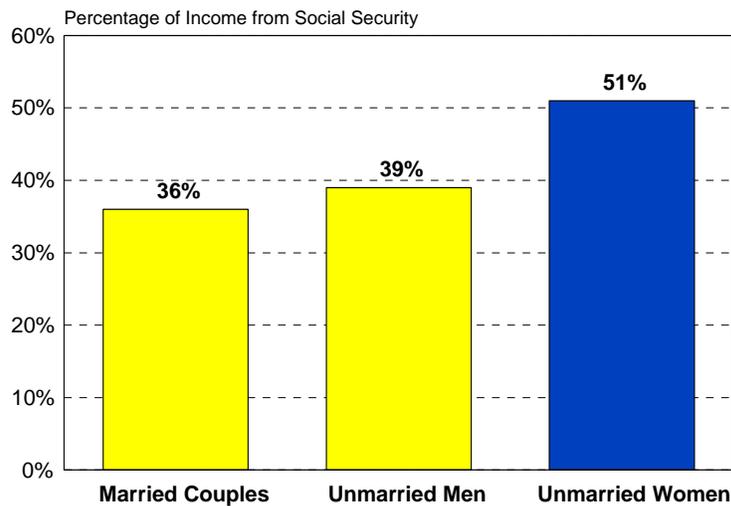
- **Women Have Lower Income in Retirement than Men Do.** In 1997, median income for elderly unmarried women (widowed, divorced, separated, or never married) was \$11,161, compared with \$14,769 for elderly unmarried men and \$29,278 for elderly married couples.¹
- **Poverty Rates Among Elderly Women Are Higher Than Rates Among Men.** The poverty rate among Americans age 65 and over has fallen from 35.2 percent in 1959 to 10.5 percent today. The poverty rate for all elderly women was 13.1 percent in 1997, compared to a 7.0 percent rate for all elderly men.² And for unmarried elderly women, the poverty rate is even higher -- around 19 percent.

POVERTY RATES OF THE FEMALE POPULATION 65 AND OVER BY MARITAL STATUS, 1997 ³				
All Elderly Women	Married	Divorced	Widowed	Never Married
13.1%	4.6%	22.2%	18.0%	20.0%

- **Nearly 60 Percent of Elderly Women Are Unmarried.** The poverty rate among unmarried women is particularly important because 59 percent of elderly women are either widowed (45 percent), divorced (7 percent), separated (2 percent), or never married (5 percent). In contrast, only 27 percent of elderly men are unmarried.⁴
- **Social Security Is Particularly Important to Women.** Elderly unmarried women -- including widows -- get 51 percent of their total income from Social Security. Unmarried elderly men get 39 percent, while elderly married couples get 36 percent of their income from Social Security.⁵

SOURCES OF INCOME FOR PERSONS 65 AND OVER, 1996 (PERCENT OF TOTAL INCOME)					
	Social Security	Pensions	Income from Assets	Earnings	Other
Unmarried women	51%	15%	20%	10%	4%
Unmarried men	39	22	16	19	4
Married couples	36	20	18	25	1
All elderly	40	18	18	20	4

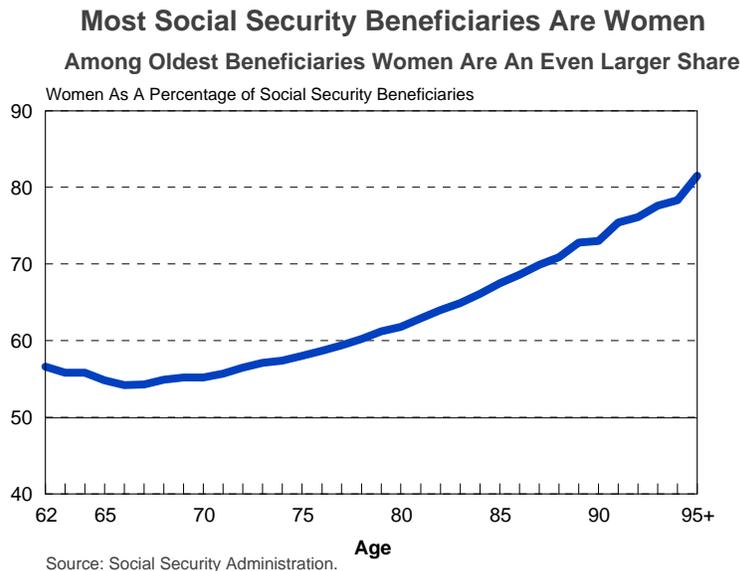
Social Security Is Particularly Important For Elderly Women



Source: Social Security Administration

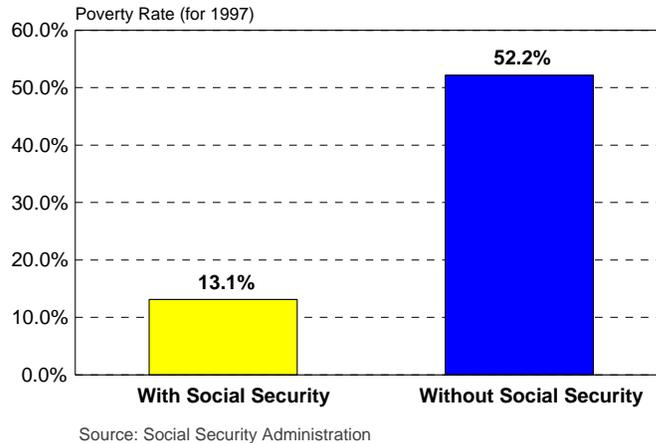
II. SOCIAL SECURITY AND WOMEN

- **Most Social Security Recipients Are Women.** Women represent 60 percent of all elderly Social Security recipients (women are 18.9 million of the 31.7 million aged beneficiaries).
- **Women Make Up Nearly Three Quarters -- 72 Percent -- of the Increasing Number of Americans Over 85 Years Old.** Because women live longer, on average, than men, women make up 72 percent of all beneficiaries age 85 and above.⁶



- **For Many Elderly Women, Social Security Is Their Only Source of Income.** For 25 percent of unmarried women (widowed, divorced, separated, never married), Social Security is their only source of income. Social Security is the only source of income for 9 percent of married couples and 20 percent of unmarried men.⁷
- **Excluding Social Security Benefits, the Poverty Rate among Elderly Women Would Be More Than 50 Percent.** In 1997, the poverty rate among elderly women was 13.1 percent. Without Social Security benefits it would have been 52.2 percent. For elderly widows the poverty rate was 18.0 percent; without Social Security benefits it would have been 60.6 percent. (For elderly men the rate is 7.0 percent, without Social Security it would be 40.7 percent.)⁸

Without Social Security, More than Half of Elderly Women Would Be in Poverty



Why Women Face Greater Economic Challenges in Retirement

- **Women Live Longer than Men.** A woman who is 65 years old today can expect to live to 85, while a 65 year old man can expect to live to 81.⁹ This gap is expected to persist into the future. Because women live longer, they depend on Social Security for more years, and become increasingly dependent on Social Security with age. Unmarried women between 65 and 74 years old get 43 percent of their income from Social Security, while unmarried women 75 and older get 55 percent of their income from Social Security.

EXPECTED TOTAL LIFETIME FOR PERSONS AGE 65		
Year Turning Age 65	Male	Female
1940	77.0	78.7
1998	81.2	84.8
2030	82.7	86.1

- **Women Have Lower Lifetime Earnings than Men.** Women have lower *lifetime* earnings than men do for three reasons:
 - **Women Who Work Are More Likely to Work Part-time.** In the third quarter of 1998, 25.8 percent of female workers worked part-time, compared with 10.6 percent of male workers. Women represented 67.5% of all part-time workers.¹⁰
 - **Full-time Female Workers Earn Less than Full-time Male Workers.** The median earnings of full-time year-round women workers in 1997 was \$24,973, compared to \$33,674 for men -- that means that the median woman earns 74 percent of the median man's earnings.¹¹
 - **Women Take More Years Out of the Labor Force than Men Do.** Women are more likely to take time out of the labor force for child raising or other care giving

responsibilities. Of workers retiring in 1996, the median woman had worked 27 years over her lifetime, while the median man had worked 39 years.¹²

- **Women Reach Retirement with Smaller Pensions and Other Assets than Men Do.** Only 30 percent of women aged 65 or older were receiving their own pensions in 1994 (either as a retired worker or a survivor), compared with 48 percent of men. Section IV describes issues related to women and pensions in more detail.

How the Current Social Security System Helps Women Meet Retirement Challenges

The current Social Security system has a number of features that are particularly important to women.

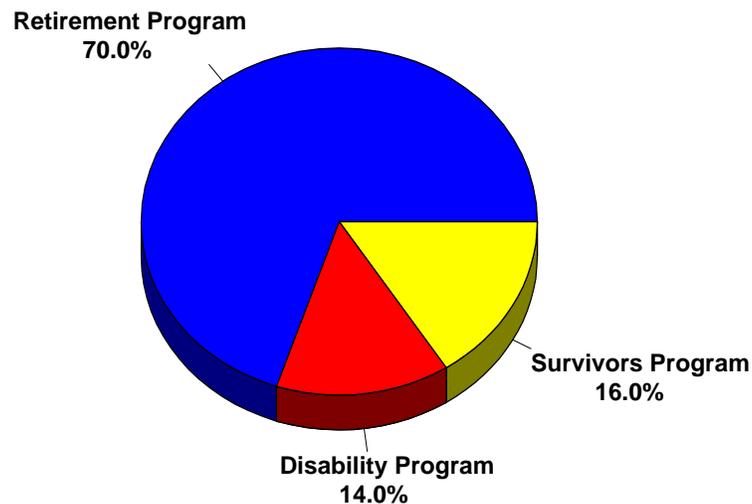
- **Social Security Provides an Inflation-Protected Benefit That Lasts as Long as You Live.** Although women receive lower average Social Security benefits than men do, women tend to live longer than men and to receive benefits for more years. In addition, because women live longer, they are in greater danger of outliving their other sources of retirement income; but it is impossible to outlive one's Social Security benefit. Furthermore, the cost of living protection in Social Security is more valuable the longer a person lives; therefore, this feature of the program is particularly valuable to women.
- **The Progressive Benefit Formula Provides a Higher Replacement Rate for Workers with Lower Earnings.** Since women tend to have lower earnings than men, they receive worker benefits that are a higher fraction of their lifetime earnings. For the median female retiree, Social Security replaces 54 percent of average lifetime earnings, compared with 41 percent for the median male.¹³
- **Social Security Provides Extra Benefits to Spouses with Low Lifetime Earnings.** Women are more likely than men to take time out of the labor force for child rearing, and, on average, have lower earnings when they work than men do. This means that the Social Security benefit they are entitled to -- based on their own earnings history -- can be small. But Social Security provides a spousal benefit that helps many women, even if they did not work at all outside the home. A spouse receives a benefit equal to the larger of the benefit she is entitled to based on her own earnings or one-half of the benefit received by her husband. Currently, 63 percent of female Social Security beneficiaries age 65 and over receive benefits based on their husband's earnings record. (Only 1.2 percent of male Social Security beneficiaries receive benefits based on their wife's earnings record). The result is women receive more than they would based only on their own earnings histories. While the average full benefit a woman is entitled to based on her own earnings record is only 62 percent of that of men, the average benefit received by women is 75 percent of that of men.¹⁴
- **Social Security Provides Benefits for Widows.** Social Security pays an elderly widow a benefit equal to either the benefit she receives as a worker or the benefit of her deceased

spouse, whichever is higher. Nearly three quarters -- 74 percent -- of elderly widows receive benefits based on the earnings of their deceased spouse.

- **Social Security Provides Benefits to Spouses with Young Children.** Social Security provides benefits to spouses of any age who care for children under 16 if the worker (other spouse) is retired, becomes disabled, or dies; women represent 98 percent of recipients receiving benefits as spouses with a child in their care.
 - **Nearly One-Third of Social Security Beneficiaries Are Either Disabled or Survivors (or Their Dependents).** Nearly one-third of Social Security's 44 million beneficiaries are either disabled or survivors (or their dependents). This includes 3.8 million children who receive benefits, with 1.9 million as survivors of deceased parents, 1.4 million as children of disabled workers, and 0.4 million as children of retired workers. Disability insurance (in case an individual becomes disabled and can't work) and survivors' insurance are each separately equivalent, for the average young family with two children, to an insurance policy of about \$300,000.

Social Security Is More Than A Retirement Program

Percentage of Social Security Beneficiaries By Program



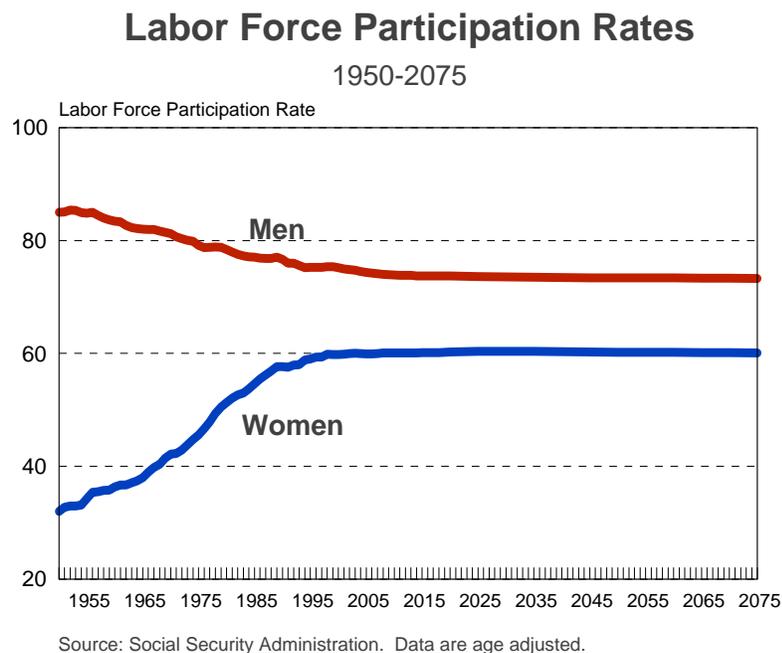
*Will Social
Continue to Be*

*Security
as*

Important for Women in the Future?

As younger cohorts of women reach retirement, more and more female beneficiaries will receive benefits based upon their own earnings records. Nonetheless, the average benefit received by women is expected to remain below that of men, and a significant share of women will continue to receive benefits based on their spouse's earnings record.

- **Labor Force Participation Rates among Women Have Risen Dramatically.** In the future, women will reach retirement with much more substantial earnings histories than in the past. (Male labor force participation has been falling due largely to earlier retirement).



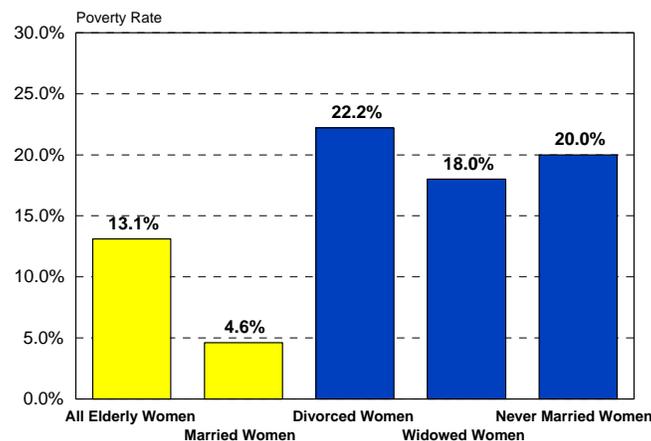
- **More Women Will Receive Benefits Based Solely On Their Own Earnings History.** The percentage of women receiving benefits based solely on their own earnings history is expected to rise from 37 percent today to 60 percent in 2060. However, this means that 40 percent of women will continue to receive benefits based on their husband's earnings.¹⁵
- **Average Benefits Based On Own Earnings Record Will Rise Relative to Men.** The average full monthly benefit for retired female workers based on their own earnings record, which is currently 62 percent of the average for men, will rise to 67 percent in 2050.¹⁶
- **Projections Indicate That Women Will Continue to Live Longer than Men.** The difference in life expectancy at age 65 between men and women will fall only slightly under Social Security Administration projections from a gap of 3.6 years today to 3.4 years in 2030. Thus, in the future, women will continue to depend on Social Security for more years than men will.¹⁷

III. CHALLENGES FOR THE CURRENT SYSTEM

Poverty Rates Remain High Among Elderly Women

- **Poverty Rates Among the Elderly Have Fallen Dramatically, Due Largely to Social Security.** The poverty rate among Americans age 65 and over has fallen from 35.2 percent in 1959 to 15.2 percent in 1979 and 10.5 percent today. This compares with an overall poverty rate of 13.3 percent.
- **Poverty Rates among Widowed, Divorced, and Never Married Women Remain High.** The poverty rate for all elderly women was 13.1 percent in 1997, compared to a 7.0 percent rate for all elderly men. For both divorced and widowed women, poverty rates are significantly higher than men: the poverty rate is 22.2 percent for divorced women and 15.0 percent for divorced men and the poverty rate is 18.0 percent for widowed women and 11.4 percent for widowed men. Married couples had a poverty rate of only 4.6 percent.

Poverty Rates Are High Among Unmarried Elderly Women 1997

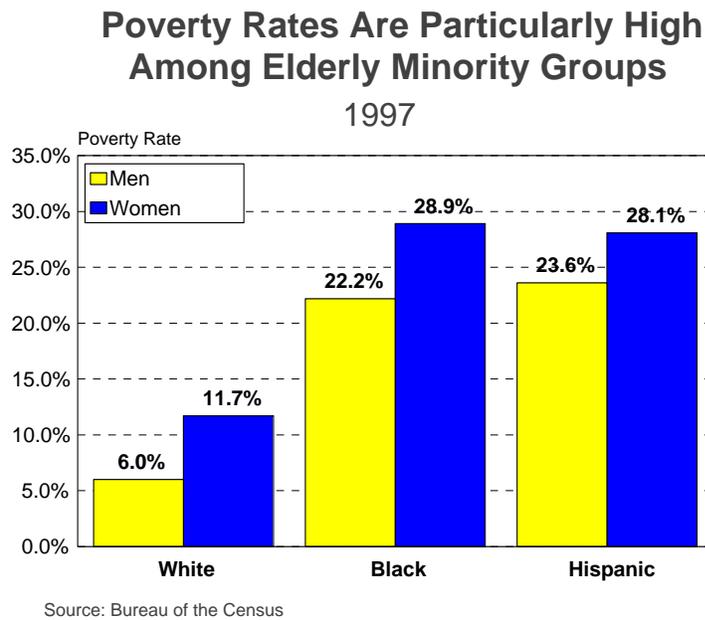


Source: Social Security Administration, Based on Data from the Census Bureau.

- **Widows Make Up A Large Fraction of Elderly Women.** Of women 65 and over, 45 percent of women are widowed, 43 percent are married, 7 percent are divorced, and 5 percent are never married. This means that the high poverty rate among widows and other unmarried women affects a large share of elderly women.
- **There Are Also a Substantial Number of Relatively Young Widows, Though the Number Is Falling.** Of 60-year old women, 13 percent are widows. This percentage rises to more than one-quarter of women aged 65 to 67. Because husbands in low-income families tend to die at younger ages than husbands in higher-income families, these early widows are often poor.
- **Divorced Women Are a Growing Share of the Elderly Population.** In 1997, 7.1

percent of elderly women were divorced -- this compares with only 2.2 percent in 1969. Among women approaching retirement (55-64 years old), 14.4 percent were divorced in 1997. Since divorced women have higher poverty rates than other women, this trend could lead to higher poverty rates for women in the future.

- **Poverty Rates Are Higher among Elderly Blacks and Hispanics.** The poverty rate for black women aged 65 or above is 28.9 percent, compared with 28.1 percent for Hispanic women, and 11.7 percent for white women. The poverty rate for black men aged 65 or above is 22.2 percent, compared with 23.6 percent for Hispanic men, and 6.0 percent for white men.



Reasons Why Poverty Rates Are Higher Among Widows than Among Married Women¹⁸

- **Declines in Social Security Benefits at Widowhood.** Widow benefits vary from 50 to 67 percent of benefits for a married couple. The official poverty thresholds imply that a widow needs 79 percent of a couple's income to maintain her pre-widowhood consumption level. Thus, women who are in couples just above the poverty line, can fall below the line when they become widowed. Empirical studies suggest that this factor can explain as much as half of the excess in poverty among widows.
- **Pre-Widowhood Differences in Economic Status.** Poorer husbands typically do not live as long as richer husbands. Therefore, at a given age, women who are widowed are more likely to have been poor throughout their lives than are the women whose husbands have not yet died. Empirical studies conclude that this fact explains around one third of the difference in poverty rates between married women and widows.¹⁹
- **Declines in Pension Income at Widowhood.** Research using data from the 1970s implies that roughly 15 percent of the gap in poverty between widows and married women can be explained by the loss of the husband's pension income. However, these data predate the Retirement Equity Act of 1984 which was designed to encourage the choice of a pension with survivorship rights.
- **Declines in Income from Other Assets at Widowhood.** Some assets may be bequeathed to people other than the widow or used for medical or other expenses when the widow's spouse dies. Empirical evidence suggests that the decline in other asset income is responsible for about 10 percent of the difference in poverty rates between widowed and married women.

Issues Concerning Benefits for Spouses who Work in the Home and Benefits Based on Paid Employment

- **Spousal Benefit Ensures Adequate Retirement Income.** A woman is eligible to receive a Social Security benefit that is 50 percent of her husband's benefit while her husband is alive, and a benefit that is 100 percent of her husband's benefit after he dies. These benefits reward women for work done in the home and ensure that all Americans have an adequate retirement income, even those with little paid employment. However, some people argue that spouse benefits are unfair because women with many years of paid employment can end up with benefits that are no larger than stay-at-home moms, and others point out that two families with identical total earnings can end up with different Social Security benefits depending on the division of the earnings between the two spouses.

IV. WOMEN AND PENSIONS

Social Security provides a key foundation for retirement security. Pensions and individual savings provide important resources as well. For elderly married couples, these other sources of income account for 64 percent of total income. For elderly unmarried females, these other sources account for 49 percent of total income.

Among Current Retirees, Women Have Much Less Pension Coverage Than Men

- **Women Are Less Likely To Have A Pension.** Only 30 percent of all women aged 65 or older were receiving a pension in 1994 (either worker or survivor benefits), compared to 48 percent of men.²⁰
- **Lower Pension Coverage Among Private-Sector Workers.** Only 31 percent of women aged 65 or older (and 55 percent of men) who had worked in the private sector reported pension benefits, compared to 66 percent (and 75 percent of men) of public sector retirees.²¹
- **Pensions Received by Women Are Worth Less than Those Received by Men.** Among new private sector pension annuity recipients in 1993-94, the median annual benefit for women was \$4,800, or only half of the median benefit of \$9,600 received by men. The median pre-retirement wage replacement rate of annuity benefits was 20 percent for women, compared to 30 percent for men. Among lump sum pension recipients in 1993-94 who were age 40 and over, the median lump sum distribution was \$5,000 for women and \$14,475 for men.²²
- **Among Women Approaching Retirement, Pension Wealth Is Much Smaller.** Single women had average pension wealth that was 34 percent of the single men's average. Among married people, the gender gap was even larger, with the women's average being only 25 percent of men's. These estimates include both private and public sector workers with and without pensions.²³

401(k) Plan Take-up Rates

- **Women Are Less Likely To Take Up 401(k) Option When Offered.** Among private wage and salary workers offered a 401(k) plan in 1993, the overall participation rate was 62 percent for women and 70 percent for men.²⁴
- **Lower Take Up Is Largely Explained By Lower Earnings.** The take-up rate is highly correlated with earnings. For example, while only 39 percent of workers earning less than \$15,000 per year participate in a 401(k) plan when offered, 90 percent of workers earning \$75,000 or more do so. Because men, on average, earn more than women, their overall take-up rates in 401(k) plans are higher. However, when wages are held constant the take-up rate for women is generally equal to or greater than that of men. Among workers earning less than \$15,000 in 1993 the take-up rate was 41 percent for women compared to 35 percent for men. For workers earning from \$30,000 to \$40,000 the take-up rate was 75 percent for women and 72 percent for men.²⁵

Among Workers, Women's Pension Coverage Depends on Work Status²⁶

- **Overall, Fewer Women Have Pensions Through Work.** For all female workers -- both full time and part time -- 27 million (40 percent) had a pension plan through work in 1997. For all male workers, 34 million (44 percent) had an employment based pension.
- **In Full-time Jobs, Women Are Equally Likely To Have Pension Coverage.** Twenty five years ago, pension coverage for women in full-time jobs was only 70 percent of the rate for men. Today, the coverage rates are nearly identical. In 1997, 50 percent of women in full-time jobs had pension coverage, compared with 49 percent of men.
- **Coverage Is Significantly Lower for Part-time Workers.** Coverage is significantly lower for women who work part time. In 1997, 15 percent of women working part time were covered by pensions versus 50 percent working full time.
- **Women Are More Likely to Work Part-time or Be Out of the Labor Force than Men.** In 1997, 75 percent of men were in the labor force, versus 60 percent of women. In addition, over one fourth of working women were part-time, compared with one tenth of men.
- **Women Who Work Part time Are Less Likely To Work For Firms With Pension Plans.** In 1997, of the 48 million women workers employed full time, 30 million (63 percent) worked for a firm with a plan. Among the 20 million women employed part time in 1997, only 7 million (36 percent) worked for a firm sponsoring a pension plan.
- **Women Who Work Part time Are Less Likely to Participate in Pension Plans.** Among women employed by firms sponsoring pension plans, those employed on a part-time basis are far less likely to participate in the plan, primarily because plans often exclude employees working less than 1,000 hours per year. Of the 30 million full-time women workers in 1997 employed with firms with plans, 24 million (80 percent) participated in the plan. Of the 7 million part-time women workers employed by firms with plans, only 3 million (41 percent) participated in the plan.
- **Vesting Rate is Higher for Women Who Work Full time.** For women participating in a pension plan the vesting rate is higher for those who work full time, particularly for those with less than five years of service. In 1993, 64 percent of women with less than five years of service who were employed full time in private sector jobs reported that they were vested, compared to 56 percent of women employed part time. A total of 325,000 women with less than five-years of pension service in a part-time job reported that they were not vested.²⁷

Women Have Smaller Non-Pension Wealth as Well.

- **Median Net Worth Is Lower for Women.** In 1993, the median female householder aged 65 or older had \$9,560 in financial net worth (not including equity in own home). In comparison, the median male householder had \$12,927, and the median married couple had \$44,410.²⁸

V. CONCLUSION

As discussions of Social Security reform continue, it will be important to study the impacts of comprehensive reform proposals on women. The design of reforms must take into account, not only the current characteristics of elderly women, but also the changes in their needs that are likely to come about in the 21st century as more women with long work histories reach retirement. In addition, reforms should consider the entire range of sources of retirement income available to women and how Social Security can best fit into the overall retirement security package.

ENDNOTES

1. Social Security Administration, Office of Policy, October 1998.
2. Bureau of the Census, *Poverty in the United States: 1997*, September 1998.
3. Social Security Administration, Office of Policy, October 1998.
4. Social Security Administration, Office of Policy, October 1998.
5. Social Security Administration, Office of Policy, October 1998.
6. Social Security Administration, Office of the Chief Actuary, October 1998.
7. Social Security Administration, Office of Policy, October 1998.
8. These calculations make the assumption that other income would not change if Social Security were not available.
9. Social Security Administration, Office of the Chief Actuary.
10. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Current Population Survey, October 1998.
11. Social Security Administration, Office of Policy, October 1998.
12. Social Security Administration, Office of the Chief Actuary, October 1998.
13. Social Security Administration, Office of the Chief Actuary.
14. The average benefit based on women's own earnings is the average for only those women claiming benefits as retired workers. Thus, it does not include the 37.5 percent of aged female beneficiaries who receive benefits as wives or widows only. Including these additional beneficiaries with full "worker" benefits of zero in the average would reduce the average full benefit for women as a share of the average full benefit for men to 39 percent.
15. Social Security Administration, Office of the Actuary.
16. The average benefit for retired female workers based on their own earnings records is calculated using only those women claiming benefits as retired workers. In the future, increased labor market experience will be divided between increased years of work for women who already have been receiving retired worker benefits, and additional women becoming eligible for worker benefits. As more women claim benefits as retired workers, many of the additional women will have earnings below the average for women already claiming as retired workers. This expansion of the population used in calculating the average explains in part why the average is forecast to rise only from 62 to 67 percent of the average for men even as cohorts of women retire with much greater labor market experience.
17. Social Security Administration, Office of the Actuary.

18. The subsequent estimates are based on integrating evidence from a number of studies, including the following: Hurd, Michael D. (1990). "Research on the Elderly: Economic Status, Retirement, and Consumption Savings," *Journal of Economic Literature*, XXVIII(2): 565-637. Holden, Karen (forthcoming). "Insuring Against the Consequences of Widowhood in a Reformed Social Security System," In National Academy of Social Insurance, *Framing the Social Security Debate: Values, Politics, and Economics*, Brookings Institute. Holden, Karen C., Richard V. Burkhauser, and Daniel A. Myers (1986). "Income Transitions at Older Stages of Life: The Dynamics of Poverty," *The Gerontologist*, 26(3): 292-297.
19. Holden, Karen (forthcoming). "Insuring Against the Consequences of Widowhood in a Reformed Social Security System," In National Academy of Social Insurance, *Framing the Social Security Debate: Values, Politics, and Economics*, Brookings Institution. Holden, Karen C., Richard V. Burkhauser, and Daniel A. Myers (1986). "Income Transitions at Older Stages of Life: The Dynamics of Poverty," *The Gerontologist*, 26(3): 292-297.
20. Department of Labor, Current Population Survey, September 1994.
21. Department of Labor, Current Population Survey, September 1994.
22. Department of Labor, Current Population Survey, September 1994.
23. Gustman, Alan, Olivia Mitchell, Andrew Samwick, and Tom Steinmeier. Forthcoming. "Pension and Social Security Wealth in the Health and Retirement Study." *Wealth, Work, and Health: Innovations in Measurement in the Social Sciences*, editors, James P. Smith and Robert Willis. Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press.
24. Department of Labor, Current Population Survey, April 1993.
25. Department of Labor, Current Population Survey, April 1993.
26. Unless otherwise noted, data in this section are from the Department of Labor, Current Population Survey, March 1998.
27. Department of Labor, Current Population Survey, April 1993.
28. Bureau of the Census, *Asset Ownership of Households: 1993*, August 1995.