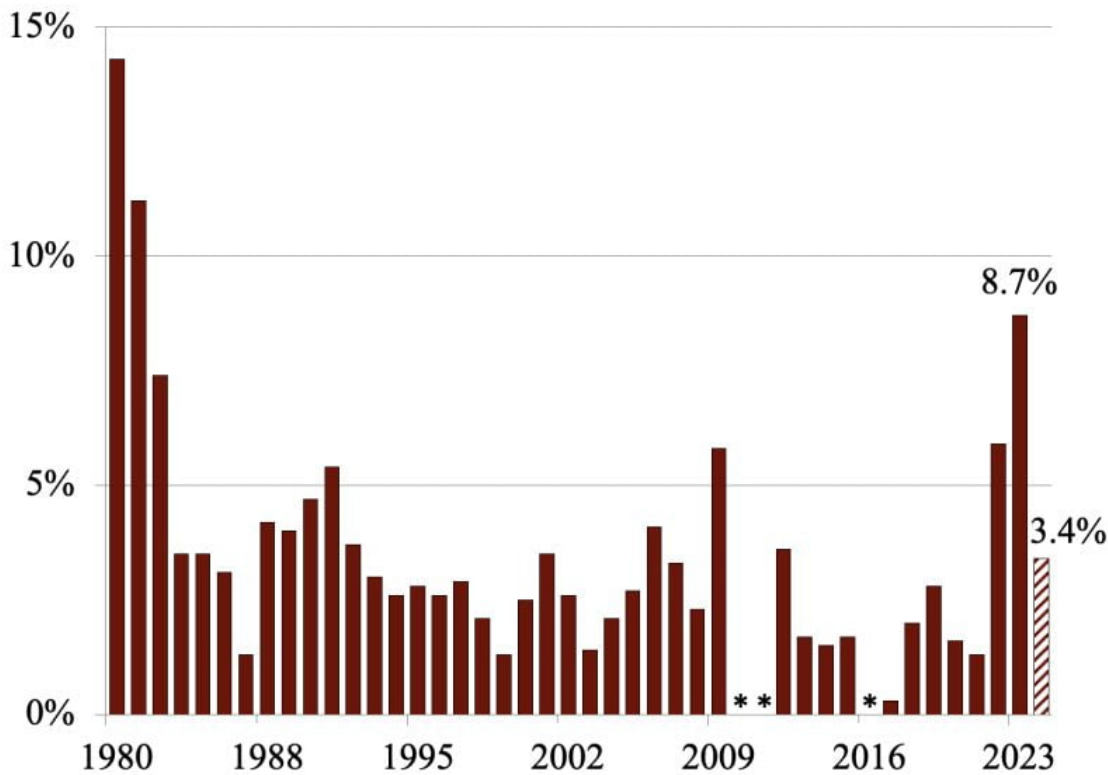


Figure 2. *Cost-of-Living Adjustment (COLA) for Social Security Benefits, 1980-2024*



Notes: Asterisks for 2010, 2011, and 2016 indicate no COLA. COLA value for 2024 is author’s estimate.
Sources: Social Security Administration. 2023. Cost of Living Adjustments; and author’s estimate.