### Universal Basic Income, Targeted Cash Transfers, and Progressive Taxation: Reducing Income Inequality in South Africa\*

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#### **Abstract**

South Africa has one of the world's most progressive tax systems, yet income inequality remains a significant challenge for the country. Several fiscal policy initiatives have been implemented since the end of apartheid to reduce the high levels of inequality and poverty. Despite this, there has been no significant reduction in inequality in post-apartheid South Africa. Universal basic income (UBI) and better progressive taxation can be a new way to address the limited strength of fiscal policies in South Africa. In developing countries, however, data on income is limited for most of the population working in the informal sector. Additionally, inclusion in the formal tax system is low. This paper compares the magnitude by which UBI versus targeted cash transfer (TCT) funded by progressive taxation can reduce income inequality in South Africa. Empirically, I conduct a policy simulation exercise to analyze how additional revenue generated from tax progressivity can be used to finance UBI and TCT and to what extent this can reduce income inequality. Results show that UBI and TCT reduce income inequality by more than 30% when these policies are accompanied and financed through progressive taxation; however, TCT reduces inequality more than UBI.

**Keywords:** Universal basic income, targeted cash transfers, progressive taxation, income inequality, Theil entropy measures of inequality, South Africa.

**JEL Classification:** E62, H21, H24, H53, O55.

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#### 1 Introduction

South Africa has one of the highest recorded levels of inequality globally (see World Bank (2014)). The country inherited a very high level of inequality during the apartheid period, and this high inequality has risen in the first two decades of the post-apartheid era. In those decades, South Africa has implemented a wide range of initiatives to address the issues of inequality and poverty, including the use of redistributional fiscal policies (see World Bank Group (2018b)).

Despite this, there has been no significant reduction in inequality in post-apartheid South Africa. This paper considers the impact of adopting and implementing new and robust approaches in addition to or in place of the methods adopted thus far. The IMF's October 2017 Fiscal Monitor on "Tackling Inequality" states that fiscal policy can be a powerful redistributional tool for addressing rising inequality, with the caveat that both tax and transfers should be simultaneously considered in designing redistributive fiscal policies. These fiscal policies include progressive taxation, universal basic income (UBI), and public spending on education and health (see Gonzales et al. (2017)). UBI is an unconditional lump sum payment given to everyone in a country irrespective of their socio-economic status.

South Africa has one of the world's most progressive tax systems, yet the country still has the most unequal distributions of income and wealth globally (see Ehrenfreund (2017)). UBI is appealing because it avoids the problems of targeting, 1 yet there is limited evidence on the effects of UBI in developing countries. With existing progressive taxation, UBI can be a new approach to address the limited strength of fiscal and other policies in reducing income inequality in South Africa. This is because they can produce substantial redistribution to the poor. But in developing countries, there is no direct observation of income for most of the population working in the informal sector, 2 mostly the poor, and their inclusion in the formal tax system is minimal. Perhaps, this can lead to poor redistribution through the tax system, which can make targeted cash transfer (TCT) and progressive tax framework more complex in a developing country setting (see Hanna and Olken (2018)). Most governments in developing countries target poor and vulnerable people to receive cash transfers using various targeting

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Such as inclusion and exclusion errors, direct administrative costs, and other inefficiencies.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Informal labor is about 86% in Africa. (see Bonnet et al. (2019))

methods (see Del Ninno and Mills (2015)).

In this paper, I explore the potential of a UBI to reduce income inequality in South Africa, comparing it to a targeted cash transfer (TCT), using additional revenue generated from progressive taxation as the source of funding. More specifically, the paper compares the magnitude by which UBI versus TCT, funded by progressive tax, can reduce income inequality. The TCT is implemented using a proxy means test (PMT), which uses observable household characteristics such as assets (consumer durable goods), demographic variables, and household head attributes to predict households' income or consumption when other income data are inaccessible or questionable. However, a PMT generally leads to imperfect targeting, resulting in errors of inclusion (delivering transfers to non-poor households) and exclusion (failure to provide transfers to poor households). If TCT were perfectly targeted, with neither type of error, it could reduce inequality (and poverty) more effectively than UBI. But since both errors exist, it is possible that UBI could be more effective, although it is costly. That is the contrasting view for both programs, UBI and TCT.

There is relatively little research on income inequality in South Africa (see Leibbrandt et al. (2010); Alvaredo and Atkinson (1903); Inchauste et al. (2017); Van der Berg et al. (2009); Woolard et al. (2015)), and very little research has examined the extent and dynamics of wealth<sup>3</sup> inequality in South Africa (see Orthofer (2016)). The top 10 percent of South Africa's population receives 56 to 58 percent of total income and owns almost 95 percent of all wealth (see Orthofer (2016)). Other studies (see e.g. Inchauste et al. (2017); Woolard et al. (2015)) that have evaluated the redistribution of major fiscal policy tools – how government spending and progressive taxation redistribute income to groups at different income levels – show that these policies significantly reduce income inequality, yet it remains persistently high. This suggests that the country needs increased fiscal redistribution to tackle the issue of stubbornly high-income inequality. These studies evaluate how redistribution can reduce inequality using tax progressivity and other social programs. However, none of these studies has examined redistribution through the lens of a UBI or a TCT<sup>4</sup> to reduce income inequality, which is the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>Looks at the distribution of assets (wealth).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>Duflo (2003) examined the impact of a cash transfer program in South Africa, not on income inequality but on nutritional status and gender.

focus of this study.

This paper contributes to the literature by addressing income inequality using a UBI or a TCT coupled with progressive taxation. It focuses on income inequality at the household level – the inequality between households. Global income inequality has declined over the past decade due to reduced between-country inequality, yet this reduction has been counteracted by rising inequality within many countries, including South Africa (see Qureshi (2018)).

Empirically, the analysis is in two main parts. First, I use household survey data to calculate income inequality as measured by the Theil entropy measure without considering a UBI or TCT. The Theil index is very useful for understanding the nature of inequality. It can be used to divide the population into subgroups, including race,<sup>5</sup> geographical type,<sup>6</sup> province,<sup>7</sup> and household head education. Second, I conduct a policy simulation by applying an additional progressive tax increase to finance UBI or TCT to examine the extent to which these programs can reduce income inequality. I implemented two scenarios to estimate the second part, the impact of UBI and TCT on income inequality. The first scenario considers a UBI that requires a 80 percent increase in marginal tax rates to finance its total budget fully; then distributes the same total funding in a TCT that provides higher transfers only to those targeted by the TCT. Next, the second second considers a smaller total budget for TCT that needs a 13 percent increase in the marginal tax rate to finance those targeted by TCT fully; after, a more minor transfer is given to all South Africans to fund UBI, set such that the total budget for UBI equals the TCT total budget.

The findings show that a UBI or a TCT implemented simultaneously with progressive taxation reduces income inequality more than a progressive tax policy without a UBI or a TCT. With progressive taxation only, income inequality continues to be very large in all the subgroups, but inequality is reduced more when a UBI or a TCT is combined with progressive taxation. The size of this significant decrease in income inequality is more than 50% for the UBI or TCT financed at the higher total budget (80% tax increase) and more than 38% for UBI or TCT financed at the TCT total budget. In all the group decompositions, the within-group

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup>Race consists of African, Colored, Asian/Indian, and White.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>Geographical type is divided into rural and urban.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>There are nine provinces including Western Cape, Eastern Cape, Northern Cape, Free State, KwaZulu-Natal, North-West, Gauteng, Mpumalanga, and Limpopo.

inequality contributes more than 72% to the overall income inequality, while between-group inequality contributes less than 27%. Overall, TCT reduces inequality more than UBI.

The rest of this paper is organized as follows. Section 2 describes the policy background of UBI and progressive taxation and briefly introduces inequality. In section 3, I describe the data, the measures of UBI and TCT, progressive taxation, and descriptive statistics. In section 4, I explain the empirical methodology. In section 5, I present and discuss the results. Finally, I conclude in section 6.

#### 2 Motivation: Policy Background and Inequality in South Africa

This section provides background information on inequality in South Africa, describes the progressive nature of the South African tax system, and explains universal basic income (UB1) and targeted cash transfer (TCT) policies.

#### 2.1 Inequality in South Africa

South Africa is an upper-middle-income developing country with a set of labor markets and welfare institutions that mimic those of advanced capitalist countries (e.g., the United States of America) in many respects (see Seekings and Nattrass (2005)). The country inherited very high inequality from the apartheid period, which has stubbornly risen despite policies to reduce inequality for over two decades. Over the past decades, South Africa has relied on redistributive fiscal policy tools to reduce inequality and poverty. Several programs have been implemented since the end of apartheid in 1994 to help reduce high levels of inequality and poverty. These include the 1994 Reconstruction and Development Program, the 1996 Growth, Employment, and Redistribution, the 2006 Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative, and the 2012 National Development Plan for South Africa.

Various initiatives were undertaken under these programs, including the use of different fiscal policies to achieve effective redistribution, such as government investments in education, health and social development, social assistance to vulnerable households and individuals, contributory social security, and investments in public transport, housing, and local amenities. These policies account for almost 60 percent of government spending and have significantly reduced inequality and poverty (see World Bank Group (2018b)). Yet, there has been no meaningful reduction in income inequality in South Africa. The levels of inequality in South Africa are even more significant than those of Brazil, another highly unequal country. The wealthiest 20 percent of South Africans account for 61.3 percent of aggregate consumption expenditure, compared to 55.7 percent in Brazil (StatsSA (2014); SEDLAC (2014)).

Table 1 shows a substantial reduction in income inequality in South Africa via highly progressive social spending and taxation systems, as revealed by comparing the decile shares of market income with the shares for disposable income. It is evident from the table that the wealthiest deciles of the population bear much of the tax burden. The government then

rechannels these funds from the rich to the poorest to increase disposable incomes. Despite this progress, inequality of disposable income continues to be persistently high.

This suggests that the country needs more fiscal redistribution to further reduce South Africa's severe income inequality. As presented in Figure 2, from 1996 to 2018, the top marginal tax rates have remained at 40 to 45 percent. This raises the question of whether to increase marginal tax rates for all taxpayers or only for the rich (the wealthiest 10% of the population) since the top wealthy people in South Africa receive more than 50 percent of overall income (see Orthofer (2016)). Increasing marginal tax rates for all taxpayers or just for the rich will impose a higher tax burden on wealthy people than on poor people. However, the rich (the wealthiest 10% of the population) own approximately 95 percent of all assets in South Africa (see Orthofer (2016)). Therefore, the rich may bear an additional burden without great difficulty.

**Table 1:** Distribution of Market Income, Personal Income Tax PIT, and Disposable Income

Decile	Share of market income (%)	Share of personal income tax (%)	Share of disposable income (%)
1	0.10	0.00	0.50
2	0.20	0.00	1.00
3	0.50	0.00	1.40
4	0.80	0.00	1.90
5	1.50	0.00	2.50
6	2.70	0.10	3.60
7	4.50	0.40	5.50
8	8.30	2.00	9.10
9	17.70	10.60	17.90
10	63.70	86.90	56.70

Source: Inchauste et al. (2017). This table reports the share of total market income, PIT, and disposable income received by each 10% of the population from the poorest 10% (decile 1) to the wealthiest 10% (decile 10).

#### 2.2 Tax Progressivity in South Africa

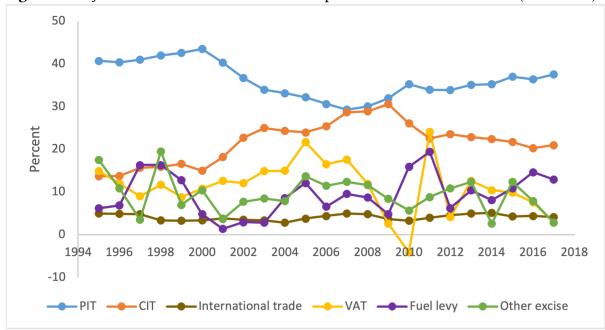
Tax progressivity is a valuable fiscal policy tool that can produce a more equitable income distribution, higher revenues, and possibly improve economic performance and growth (see Weller (2007)). South Africa has one of the most progressive tax systems in the world, yet it continues to be an unequal country in terms of net (post-tax) income (see Lawson and Martin (2017)). More than 90 percent of the country's tax revenue is generated from direct and indirect

taxes (see Stats SA (Statistics South Africa) (012a); National Treasury (2013)). The direct taxes that create the most revenue are the personal income tax (PIT), the corporate income tax (CIT), and the skills development levy<sup>8</sup> tax. The indirect taxes that generate the most revenue are the value-added tax (VAT), specific excise duties, the general fuel levy, and international trade taxes.

Inchauste et al. (2017) find that direct taxes in South Africa are progressive, while indirect taxes are slightly regressive for the population at the bottom half of the income distribution. This is because the personal income tax in South Africa is more progressive than indirect or consumption taxes. South Africa generates more revenue from the personal income tax than indirect or consumption taxes. The primary goal of progressivity in the PIT is to create tax revenue equitably.

As shown in Figure 1, the PIT generates the largest share of South Africa's tax revenue, followed by the corporate income tax (CIT). The graph provides a valuable perspective on the structure of the primary sources of tax revenue and how they varied between 1995 and 2017. There was a steady decline in the PIT as a percentage of total tax revenue from 2001 to 2007, after which there was a slow increase in the share of the PIT. In contrast, the CIT exhibits the opposite pattern, increasing from 1995 to 2009 and falling gradually in 2017.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup>It is a levy imposed to promote the learning and development of employees in South Africa and is driven by an employer's salary bill.



**Figure 1:** Major Sources of Tax Revenue as a Proportion of Total Tax Revenue (1995 -2017)

Source: South Africa Reserve Bank (South African Reserve Bank (2013)).

The personal income tax structure has been revised in many aspects since 1994 (Manuel (2002)), by the recommendations made by the Katz Commission. These include a reduction in the number of tax brackets from ten to six, scrapping the child rebate, assigning the individual as the unit of taxation, and increasing the rebate annually to compensate for inflation and to maintain progressivity.

This study measures progressive taxation using the personal income tax (PIT) structure for two main reasons. First, the PIT contributes the most significant share to revenues of all the taxes in South Africa, and second, data are easily accessible for the PIT. Various approaches have been adopted to measure progressivity, and there is no straightforward answer as to which measure of tax progressivity is the best; it often depends on the context.

A few studies (Nyamongo and Schoeman (2007); Van der Berg et al. (2009); Van Heerden et al. (2010); Steenekamp (012a); Inchauste et al. (2017)) have examined the progressivity of taxes and transfers in South Africa using different measures. Nyamongo and Schoeman (2007) presented empirical evidence for South Africa using the Musgrave and Thin (1948) and Kakwani (1977) estimates of progressivity. The Musgrave and Thin method indicates that progressivity

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup>It is officially known as the Commission of Inquiry into Certain Aspects of South African Tax Structure.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup>Tax rebate is a refund or a payment to the taxpayer when the taxpayer pays more tax than they owe.

declined between 1994 and 2004, whiles the Kakwani index shows that progressivity increased between 1989 and 2000. It then decreased between 2000 and 2004 in response to tax reforms.

Inchauste et al. (2017) measure the progressivity of the personal income tax and the payroll tax by comparing South Africa to Brazil and Mexico. They find that the Kakwani index for South Africa (0.13) is much smaller than those for Brazil (0.27) and Mexico (0.30). This significant difference is due to South Africa's higher income inequality combined with lower tax progressivity at the bottom end of the income distribution. Steenekamp (012b) used three measures to examine how the adjustment to the PIT rate and tax threshold affects progressivity – findings show that the PIT system is progressive. However, there is a declining trend in tax progressivity between 1994 and 2009.

The personal income tax rates in South Africa have occasionally decreased despite the general progressive nature of the country's tax structure. The top marginal tax rate of the personal income tax was reduced from 45% to 42% in 2001 and 40% in 2003. It remained at 40% until 2016 when it increased to 41% and 45% in 2018. This is displayed in Figure 2. The tax threshold - the level of income or money earned above which people or companies must pay tax - increased steadily from 1996 to 2018. This implies that the rich - those at the upper end of the income distribution – bear much more tax burden than the poor.

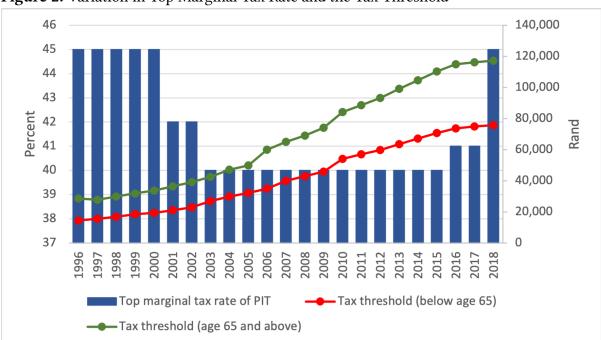


Figure 2: Variation in Top Marginal Tax Rate and the Tax Threshold

Source: The National Treasury of South Africa: Budget review report from 1996 to 2018.

#### 2.3 Universal Basic Income and Targeted Cash Transfers

The idea of a universal basic income is attracting greater attention and has become widely discussed in public economic policy debates. It has generated discussions among many economists, politicians, entrepreneurs, and financiers. Some governments – Canada, India, Finland, Kenya, Netherlands, and California - are evaluating its use and are embarking on pilot studies. Businesses are collaborating with non-profit organizations to carry out research that appraises its costs and benefits.

Proponents of the idea include distinguished intellectuals from radical thinkers, liberals, and utopian socialists in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, including Thomas Paine, Thomas Spence, Charles Fourier, Joseph Charlier, John Stuart Mill, and John Kenneth Galbraith (see Van Parijs and Vanderborght (2020)). Currently, the IMF has joined the campaign, and its latest Fiscal Monitor says that UBI could reduce income inequality (Gonzales et al. (2017)). Universal basic income is an income redistribution scheme that is defined by three main features: 1) it is a cash transfer scheme, as opposed to an in-kind transfer such as food or fuel; 2) It is unconditional, which means it is not contingent on the recipient to satisfy any compliance criteria to receive the grant; 3) It is universal, which suggests that it is not targeted to any specific group of people based on their socio-economic or demographic status.

Surprisingly, UBI is being debated in both developed and developing countries, considering the different economic environments. The leading economic argument behind a UBI adoption in the context of developed countries is the imminent threat of unemployment due to globalization and automation. In contrast, it is recommended as an effective policy measure to combat poverty in developing countries. UBI is also an effective policy to address rising inequality and wage stagnation in both developed and developing countries. This study focuses on a developing country, South Africa.

Skeptics and opponents of UBI frequently raise two significant criticisms. First, a UBI can reduce incentives to work and thus reduce the labor supply. Second, the tax rates needed to generate revenue to fund UBI can be extremely high. Other concerns are that it may crowd out funding for other existing social grant programs that generally target the poor or the vulnerable – widows, low-income parents, the elderly, and so on. On the other hand, UBI is

attractive since it avoids the problems of targeting, which complicate targeted cash transfers (TCT); those problems consist of inclusion and exclusion errors, direct administrative costs, and inefficiencies of various types. It may also avoid ineffectiveness and inequity in the current social safety net programs – programs that benefit individuals and households.

There is limited evidence on the effects of UBI in developing countries, and only three developing countries had had a UBI, only for a short time frame. These include a basic income grant in two villages in Namibia and nationwide cash transfer programs in Iran and Mongolia (Salehi-Isfahani and Mostafavi-Dehzooei (2018); Gentilini et al. (2019)). However, none of these pilot studies has been experimentally examined. Many studies have experimentally evaluated existing TCT schemes in developing countries that differ from UBI. Evidence from such studies shows that, on average, cash transfers to the targeted poor do not lead to either disincentive to work or spending wastefully on inessential consumption (Banerjee et al. (2017); Bagstagli et al. (2016); Evans and Popova (2017)). Other findings from experimental evaluations of targeted cash transfer programs include an increase in total expenditure, test scores, school attendance, cognitive development, use of health facilities, dietary diversity, labor force participation, women's empowerment, marriage, fertility, and use of contraceptives; and decrease in child labor migration, borrowing, and domestic violence (Banerjee et al. (2019)). Hanna and Olken (2018) examine how transfers are targeted in developing countries and present empirical evidence on the tradeoff between UBI and TCT in Indonesia and Peru.

Various alternatives for funding UBI and TCT include raising revenue from incremental taxes via progressive taxation, cutting government expenditure or canceling existing social grants programs, running larger budget deficits, and other non-tax revenue – largely the revenue expenditure of the government. Yet, there is no straightforward answer on the actual cost of a UBI and TCT policy, nor on the method for funding it. This paper explores the potential outcomes of implementing a UBI in the context of South Africa, its feasibility, and how it affects income inequality, using revenue generated from an increase in progressive taxation. UBI is then compared to a TCT program, which is the mechanism used for most of the existing cash transfer programs in South Africa.

In its outcome, UBI is like a Negative Income Tax (NIT), but they move on different paths

to get to that point. The NIT, promoted by Milton Friedman (Friedman (1962)), is an extension of a progressive tax system. In the same manner as the wealthy pay increasingly higher taxes on their income (progressive tax), those below the poverty threshold pay increasingly negative tax rates on their income or receive benefits (the latter of which can be seen as an NIT). In contrast, UBI transfers a lump sum amount unconditionally to all but then deducts it for the wealthy, and NIT transfers money only to the poor, not the rich (Tondani (2009)). So, due to the taxes to fund UBI, the wealthy end up with less income than before the program, even though they get a lump sum transfer. NIT proposals have been examined in the United States in previous decades (Brown (1988); Moffitt (2003))

In summary, comparing UBI to TCT, both can be funded by an increase in marginal tax rates through progressive taxation, which could help construct a new approach to reducing income inequality in South Africa. I use data from South Africa to compare UBI and TCT empirically. In theory, TCT could reduce income inequality more efficiently and equitably than UBI, except that the imperfect targeting may make it less effective. Therefore, it is unclear which of these two policies is most effective for reducing income inequality. Figure 10 show a visualization of a progressive tax schedule with or without UBI and TCT.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup>A negative tax provides positive income transfers to the poor.

#### 3 Data, Measures, and Descriptive Statistics

This section describes the data and then explains the detailed approach used to measure inequality, progressive taxation, universal basic income (UBI), and a targeted cash transfer (TCT). The last sub-section provides descriptive statistics to present a detailed picture of all the variables used in this study.

#### 3.1 Data

The data used are from the National Income Dynamics Study (NIDS), the first national household panel data study in South Africa. The mode of the interview is face-to-face with individual household members. The Southern Africa Labor and Development Research Unit (SALDRU), located in the School of Economics at the University of Cape Town, conducts the NIDS project. NIDS collects data on the livelihoods of individuals and households over time. It collects detailed data on positive and negative income shocks, changes in poverty and wellbeing, household composition and structure, fertility and mortality, migration, employment, labor market participation and economic activity, health and education, and vulnerability and social capital.

Five waves of nationally represented panel data were collected in 2008, 2010/2011, 2012, 2014/2015, and 2017. The study started with Wave 1, a nationally representative sample of over 28,000 individuals in 7,300 households across the country in 2008. Waves 2 through 5 were collected from the same households and household members every two years. The initial (Wave 1) household members are called Continuing Sample Members (CSMs). Any additional members to the households added in later waves are interviewed but are not tracked in the subsequent waves; these members are called Temporary Sample Members (TSMs). This study uses wave 5 (2017) data collected from February 2017 to December 2017. It focuses on the income and expenditure data. The total number of individuals and households planned to be interviewed were 30,110 and 13,719. About 20% households refused to respond to the survey, which reduced the intended sample size.

Eligible individuals interviewed for the NIDS survey were adults aged 15 and older, including those not in the labor force due to being in school, having a disability, being retired, or doing housework. After merging, creating new variables, and other data management of

the raw survey data, a total sample of 27,463 individuals and 10,842 households were utilized for the analysis of this study. As presented in Table 2, of the 27,463 household members, 8,947 were working for labor income in either the formal sector or the informal sector. Of those working for labor income, 6,969 were working on formal jobs. The sample for analysis is restricted to all households that responded to the survey. There is a significant discrepancy in the sample size of the raw data and the analysis data due to the 20% of households that refuse to respond to the survey.

**Table 2:** NIDS (Wave 5) Interview and Observations at the Household and Individual Level

	Number of Households	Number of Individuals
Total number plan to interview	13,719	30,110
Total number successfully interviewed	10,842	27,463
Households/Individuals working (labor)	6,709	8,947
Households/Individual with formal work	5,463	6,969

The NIDS data do not provide information on annual gross taxable income and tax liability; they provide only net income from all sources. To calculate gross taxable income, the 2018 tax code from the yearly budget review report (National Treasury, 2018) is applied to the NIDS data on net income, and then gross taxable income is used to calculate the tax liability variable. I consider only income sources currently taxed through the personal income tax system, which applies only to labor income and is by far the largest direct tax paid by individual households. After applying the tax codes to the labor income, I added the non-labor and capital income components from the NIDS data for all individuals to get the total income of each individual. I included capital income because it creates more income which can consequently widen the income inequality gap further (Chi, 2012).

This labor income consists of all employment earnings, profit shares, and bonuses in the NIDS data. To apply the tax codes to each individual<sup>13</sup>, I calculated each individuals' aggregate net labor income, which is the sum of the various components of labor income that were collected from each working individual. These components include income from main

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup>The formal sector refers to where individuals work for a wage or salary, whereas the informal sector is where they work as self-employed, casual, and other informal jobs.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup>Tax filing in South Africa is on an individual basis. But married couples can file jointly or separately depending on whether the pair married in a community of property or not. Marriage in a Community of property refers to a marriage contract where couples marry without an antenuptial contract.

and second job, casual wages, self-employment income, 13th cheque, bonus payment, profit share, "help friend"<sup>14</sup> income, and extra piece-rate income. I applied the PIT tax rates to the aggregate net labor income to calculate gross taxable income.

**Table 3:** Personal Income Tax Rates and Brackets Adjustments

	2017/2018
Taxable income (R)	Rates of Tax
R0 - R189 880	18% of each R1
R189 881 - R296 540	R34 178 + 26% of the amount above R189 880
R296 541 - R410 460	R61 910 + 31% of the amount above R296 540
R410 461 - R555 600	R97 225 + 36% of the amount above R410 460
R555 601 - R708 310	R149 475 + 39% of the amount above R555 600
R708 311 - R1 500 000	R209 032 + 41% of the amount above R708 310
R1 500 001 and above	R533 625 + 45% of the amount above R1 500 000
Rebates	
Primary (below age 65)	R13 635
Seconday (age 65 and over)	R7 479
Tertiary (age 75 and over)	R2 493
Tax Threshold	
Below age 65	R75 750
Age 65 and over	R117 300
Age 75 and over	R131 150
Medical Tax Credit	
Taxpayer and first dependent	R303/month
Each additional dependents	R204/month

From Table 3, the monthly medical tax credit for the 2018 tax year is R303 for the taxpayer, and the first dependent, and R204 for additional dependents. The medical tax credit is a rebate that applies to the fees paid by a taxpayer to a registered medical scheme on behalf of the taxpayer and the taxpayer's dependents. Due to a lack of data, medical aid contributions, deductions, exemptions (pension fund contributions), and government transfers are not used to calculate the individuals' gross taxable income. These deductions, exemptions, transfers, etc., are already accounted for in the data's net income.

Given the tax schedule in Table 3, equations (1) and (2) show how gross taxable income can be calculated from the net taxable income, the tax rebate, the fixed amount, and other

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup>Money offered by friends or family.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup>I used the South African medical tax credit scheme to back out each gross taxable income to ensure that the gross taxable income corresponds to the gross income from which tax liability is calculated. This medical tax credit is for all households who pay taxes.

details of the income tax (South African Reserve Bank, 2015; Rasmussen, 2017):

$$y^{n} = y^{g} - (y^{g} - L_{i})t_{i} - F_{i} + r \tag{1}$$

$$y^{n} = y^{g}(1 - t_{i}) + t_{i}L_{i} - F_{i} + r$$
(2)

$$y^{g} = \frac{y^{n} - r + F_{i} - t_{i}L_{i}}{1 - t_{i}} \tag{3}$$

where,  $y^g$  is the gross taxable income and  $y^n$  is the net taxable income from the NIDS data; r is the tax rebate, which is dependent on age group as shown in the tax codes;  $F_i$  is the fixed tax amount that varies by tax bracket for individual i (shown in Table 3, for example R34,178);  $t_i$  is the marginal tax rate for each bracket (shown in Table 3, for example 26%);  $L_i$  is the lower bound tax base for each tax bracket (shown in Table 3, for example R189,881). The gross taxable income is the base income variable to which different hypothetical tax codes can be applied.

Given an individuals' gross taxable income, the next step is to calculate his or her tax liability. The 2018 personal income tax rates for South Africa are reported in Table 3, showing the seven structured tax brackets and their respective tax rates and fixed amounts. Tax liability is calculated in two steps. First, the seven structured tax brackets are used to calculate an individuals' "pre-rebate" tax liability. Second, that tax liability is reduced by deducting the "rebates" and "medical tax credits" shown in the bottom half of Table 3. If these deductions lead to a negative number for tax liability, then the individual pays no taxes. This is explained further in equation 4.

$$TL_i = \max \left[ y^g - (y^g - (y^g - L_i)t_i - F_i + r), 0 \right],$$
 so, if  $y^g - (y^g - L_i)t_i - F_i + r \ge 0$ , use equation 3, else, if  $y^g - (y^g - L_i)t_i - F_i + r \le 0$ , then  $y^n = y^g$ .

This implies that  $y^n < \frac{-F_i + r}{t_i} + L_i$ .

where, TL is the tax liability for each tax bracket. The first tax bracket reported in Table 3 has a zero fixed amount ( $F_i = 0$ ), and  $L_i = 0$  for this bracket. If the gross taxable income is below

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup>These tax codes are applied to individuals.

the tax threshold as presented in Table 3, then  $y^n = y^g$ , that is, there is no tax. Tax rebates only apply to individuals who pay taxes, so if you are below the threshold and do not pay taxes, you also do not get a tax rebate. The marginal tax rate is nonlinear, spanning from 18 percent (lowest tax bracket; R0 – R189,880) to 45 percent (highest tax bracket; R1,500,001 and above) for 2018. Table 3 is also graphically displayed in Figure 3, explaining the distribution of tax paid per tax bracket.

Distribution of Tax Paid per Bracket 1400000 R1,208,625 1200000 1000000 Fax liability 800000 R499,439 600000 R366,159 400000 R244,991 R153.837 R83.547 200000 R34.178 0 RO-R189 R189 881-R296 541-R410 461-R555 601-R708 311- R1 500 001 880 R296 540 R410 460 R555 600 R708 310 R1 500 000 and above Gross taxable income ■ 2017/2018 PIT

Figure 3: Distribution of Tax Liability for Each Tax Bracket.

Source: Source: National Treasury of South Africa, 2016 & 2018 (National Treasury, 2018), from March 1st, 2017, to February 28th, 2016 & 2018.

#### 3.2 Measurement of Inequality

The income distribution can be defined in terms of households, giving each household equal weight, or in terms of individuals, giving each person equal weight. Since giving each household equal weight gives smaller weights to individuals in large households, it is best to give each person equal weight and assume that income is shared equally among individuals in each household. While it is not clear that income is shared equally within households, there are no data on this, so there is little choice but to assume that such sharing takes place, which is standard in the income distribution literature. Therefore, in this study, the individual is chosen as the central unit of analysis, and household income is assumed to be distributed equally

among household members. There are many possible inequality measures, but any measure should satisfy five fundamental axioms: mean independence, population size independence, symmetry, Pigou-Dalton transfer sensitivity, and group decomposability (Foster, 1983).

The mean independence condition holds if a change in all incomes by a given proportion k does not change the measure of inequality. Population size independence holds if the inequality measure remains unchanged in the presence of an equal increase or decrease in the population size at all income levels. Pigou-Dalton transfer sensitivity holds when an income transfer from a wealthier individual to a poorer individual that does not make the latter richer than the former brings about a decrease in the inequality measure. Symmetry is satisfied when two individuals switch their incomes: the measurement of inequality should remain unchanged. There are two types of decomposability: group decomposability and income source decomposability; this paper focuses on group decomposability.

The Theil T and Theil L are the most commonly used inequality measures (World Bank, 2005), and they satisfy all five axioms given above. Therefore, the two inequality measures chosen for this study are the first Theil entropy measure (T) and the second Theil entropy measure (L).<sup>17</sup> These inequality measures are defined as:

$$T = T_{\alpha=1} = \frac{1}{N_i} \sum_{i=1}^{N} (\frac{y_i^n}{\mu}) \ln(\frac{y_i^n}{\mu}) = \sum_{g=1}^{G} (\frac{y_g^n}{Y}) T_g + \sum_{g=1}^{G} (\frac{y_g^n}{Y}) \ln(\frac{y_g^n}{Y})$$
(5)

$$L = T_{\alpha=0} = \frac{1}{N_i} \sum_{i=1}^{N} \ln(\frac{\mu}{y_i^n}) = \sum_{g=1}^{G} (\frac{N_g}{N}) L_g + \sum_{g=1}^{G} (\frac{N_g}{N}) \ln(\frac{N_g}{\frac{y_g}{N}})$$
 (6)

Where  $\mu = \frac{\sum_{g=1}^N y_g^n}{N} = Y/N$  is the mean income for the whole population; Y is the total income of the population;  $y_g^n$  is total income of group g;  $N_g$  is the population in group g; N is the total population;  $T_g$  and  $L_g$  are the respective inequality coefficient for group g; and  $\alpha$  is the parameter of the generalized entropy family that regulates the weight given to distances between cases in different parts of a distribution that captures the distributional sensitivity. 18

The first term to the right of the second equal sign of the Theil measures in equations

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup>Also referred to as the mean log deviation measure.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup>As  $\alpha$  decreases, the  $T_{\alpha}$  index becomes more and more sensitive to inequality at the lower end of the distribution.

(5) and (6) measures within-group inequality, and the second term measures between-group inequality. The difference between T and L is that T is more sensitive to the differences at the upper end of the income distribution whereas L is more sensitive to the differences at the lower end of the distribution.

#### 3.3 Universal Basic Income Measure for South Africa

Over two decades after the first democratic elections in 1994, persistent poverty, inequality, and a lack of wage employment remain major problems in South Africa. This may threaten the country's political stability and commitment to social justice (Barchiesi, 2007). Reducing inequality and poverty will require a massive intervention by the South African government, possibly with support from the private sector, labor organizations, and civil society (BIG Finance Reference Group, 2004). A universal basic income (UBI) is one intervention that should be considered in this regard, although it will not be a cure-all for South Africa's economic and social challenges. UBI could also be an alternative for strengthening some shortcomings in South Africa's current social protection system. This is because the current means-tested programs have limited coverage, and most poor households do not receive social assistance (BIG Finance Reference Group, 2004).

The White Paper for Social Welfare – the basic framework proposed to increase social welfare in South Africa - adopted in 1997, proposed a social protection system for South Africa, and a universal basic income was a piece of its vision. This led to the formal proposal by the South African Basic Income Grant (BIG) Coalition, which has led to heated debate among stakeholders and policymakers for nearly two decades. The BIG Coalition, Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), and the Democratic Alliance are proponents of this grant in one way or another. In contrast, the African National Congress (ANC) and the current South African government oppose it, and the government has declined to implement it because it claims that UBI is very costly (BIG Finance Reference Group, 2004; Lombard, 2008). However, the BIG coalition is still advocating for a universal, non-means-tested grant of at least R100 per month, which could help reduce poverty, encourage local consumption, and establish sustainable livelihoods. Possibly, this is because the current means-tested programs have failed the poor. Also, the coalition has conducted non-experimental studies, claiming that BIG is

the most efficient policy option for alleviating extreme poverty and inequality. Despite this dialogue, there is no pilot study or empirical evidence on UBI in South Africa.

The World Bank report "Taking on Inequality" shows that poverty reduction generally leads to inequality reduction. For example, substantial poverty declines in Brazil, Cambodia, and Peru led to meaningful inequality reduction (Prosperity, Shared, 2016). To provide empirical evidence on the likely effect of implementing UBI in South Africa, this paper uses the 2017 South African national poverty lines to set two possible levels of funding for a UBI or for a TCT scheme, one based on the food poverty line and the other based on the general poverty line (Statistics South Africa, 2018). The general poverty line includes both food and non-food components of minimal levels of household consumption expenditure. The food poverty line – the amount an individual requires to afford the necessary daily minimum energy intake - is R531 (2017) per individual per month. It is also called the extreme poverty line.

The general poverty line is defined as the food poverty line plus the average amount spent on non-food items by households whose food expenditure is equal to the food poverty line. This poverty line is R1,138 (2017) per individual per month (Statistics South Africa, 2018). These food and general poverty lines are reported in Table 4. These poverty lines are applied to the sample of 27,463 household members and then multiplied by the sampling weight to expand the sample size to South Africa's population.

Table 4: Inflation-adjusted Poverty Lines and Total Budget Required to Fund UBI and TCT

	Food PL (Rand)	General PL (Rand)
2017		
Poverty line (Rand/person/month)	531	1,138
Poverty line (Rand/person/year)	6,372	13,656
Total budget required		
Scenario 1: Fund both programs at UBI Budget	258.4 billion	553.8 billion
Scenario 2: Fund both programs at TCT budget	41.08 billion	233 billion
Scenario 3: Fund both programs at Fixed UBI budget	82.16 billion	466 billion

Scenario 1, the total budget required to fund UBI is used as the total budget at which TCT is funded. Scenario 2, the total budget needed to fund those targeted by the TCT program is used as the total budget at which UBI is funded. Scenario 3 is a fixed UBI budget not based on FPL or GPL. Instead, it is double the TCT Budget used to fund UBI and those targeted by the TCT program. All values are weighted. PL is Poverty Line.

I use three scenarios to generate the total budget required. For Scenario 1, I calculate

how much total budget is needed to fund a UBI that transfers to all South Africans an amount equal to the food poverty line, and then I do the same for the general poverty line. For Scenario 2, I calculate the total budget required to fund a TCT that transfers an amount equal to the food poverty line only to individuals whose predicted per-capita consumption is below the food poverty line, and then I do the same for the general poverty line. These total derived budgets equal the total revenues the government needs to finance the different amounts of UBI (for all households) and TCT (for targeted households only). I restrict the analysis of this study to total budgets calculated at the food poverty lines for both UBI and TCT. This is because the results at the food poverty line will produce similar results for the general poverty line.

The total cost of a UBI that provides an amount equal to the food poverty line (R6,372) to all South Africans is 258.4 billion. The cost of a TCT that provides the same amount (R6,372) but only to people whose predicted consumption expenditure is below the food poverty line is 41.08 billion. I included a third scenario, which is a fixed UBI budget that is distributed to all households. To do this, I doubled the TCT budget and used it to fund UBI and TCT. So, in total, 27,463 household members received the transfer per year for the UBI program. For the TCT program, the sum of those targeted further explained in section 3.4.1, receives the transfer per year. For instance, for UBI, 27,463\*6,372=175 million, but 258.4 billion is presented in the table because these total budgets are weighted to expand the sample size to South Africa's population. Hence the discrepancies in the total budget amount for all the scenarios.

#### 3.4 Targeted Cash Transfer: Methods and Measures of Targeting

Unlike developed countries, where income is readily observable for most of the population, developing countries have a large fraction of the labor force working in the informal sector, whose incomes are not easily observed and cannot be taxed. This could make the implementation of a TCT more complicated in a developing country (Hanna and Olken, 2018). Most governments in developing countries target poor and vulnerable people to receive social grants through various targeting methods, including proxy means-testing, community-based targeting, geographic targeting, and self-targeting (Del Ninno and Mills, 2015). An alternative to UBI is a targeted cash transfer, but how can these transfers be targeted if households' incomes are not observed?

This paper uses proxy-means tests (PMT) to target poor households to receive a targeted

cash transfer. The PMT method is used in many developing countries, such as Indonesia, Pakistan, Nigeria, Mexico, the Philippines, Burkina Faso, Ecuador, and Jamaica (Fiszbein and Schady, 2009). A PMT is used to predict per capita income or per capita consumption expenditure using observable household characteristics, such as ownership of consumer durables or assets, demographic variables, and attributes of the household head. The predicted income or per capita consumption is then used for means-testing to determine whether a household or an individual is eligible for benefits. If the per capita predicted income or expenditure is below a certain chosen threshold, then a household or an individual is considered eligible for benefits. If the predicted income or expenditure is above the selected threshold, then the household or individual is ineligible for benefits.

#### 3.4.1 Income Prediction with Proxy Measures

This paper employs a regression-based PMT to identify poor households that should be eligible to receive a lump-sum transfer, using ordinary least squares (OLS) regression to predict households' poverty status. This regression is applied to the NIDS survey data and then is used to make out-of-sample predictions for the relevant population. To perform the out-of-sample tests, the initial sample is randomly split into equally sized calibration (training or estimating) and validation (test) samples. The calibration sample is to regress monthly household per-capita consumption on 56 indicator variables. The indicator variables chosen for this estimation are based on their verifiability and correlation with household per-capita consumption. Monthly per-capita consumption is then predicted for each household in the validation sample using the coefficients from the calibration regression to check the model's fit.

Afterward, these coefficients are used to estimate proxy-mean test (PMT) scores for each household in the full-data sample for targeting purposes. The actual per-capita consumption used in the regression is logged, so the exponential of the log predicted per-capita consumption is taken to create the PMT score for a household. The OLS model has an R-squared of 0.77, implying that the regression has strong explanatory power. Predictions of income and consumption using regression-based PMT inevitably lead to imperfect targeting and thus to inclusion (type II) and exclusion (type I) errors. Inclusion errors wrongly include households predicted to have a per-capita consumption below the poverty line, whereas their actual

per-capita consumption is above the poverty line. Exclusion errors exclude households in the target population whose actual per-capita consumption is below the poverty line but is predicted to be above the poverty line. In modeling the TCT program for this study, households are targeted using the food and general poverty lines as thresholds. Households below the food poverty line are considered extremely poor, and those below the general poverty line are considered poor (which includes those who are extremely poor).

The analysis based on the food poverty line classifies as poor all households whose predicted per-capita consumption is less than the poverty line, giving all such households a transfer equal to the food poverty line. This is explained further below. In contrast, the analysis based on the general poverty line classifies as poor any household whose predicted per-capita consumption is less than that poverty line. The general poverty line is only used as a threshold and not as a transfer amount in this study, because the results from the food poverty line can give inference on what to expect when the general poverty line is used.

Consumption is used for the PMT regressions instead of income for three main reasons:

1) difficulties in ascertaining income in a survey; 2) Consumption is smoother than income (likely to fluctuate over time less than income). The regression-based PMT models is specified below.

$$y_{it} = \alpha_t + \beta_t \boldsymbol{X_{it}} \tag{7}$$

$$\hat{y}_{it} = \hat{\alpha}_t + \hat{\beta}_t \boldsymbol{X}_{it} \tag{8}$$

Where  $i=1,\ldots,N,$   $y_{it}$  is log consumption expenditure per capita of household i in year t,  $\boldsymbol{X}_{it}$  is a vector of covariates (assets and others), N is the survey sample size, and  $\hat{\alpha}_t$  and  $\hat{\beta}_t$  are estimated coefficients from an OLS regression of equation 6. The PMT regression results are reported in Appendix Table 14.

Figure 4 shows the distribution of households' actual and predicted log incomes, as well as the food poverty line (in forest green), and the general poverty line (in orange-red). These lines depict the households targeted (below the bars) against the non-targeted households

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup>In targeting households, I use both poverty lines as the threshold for scenario 1. But, in estimating the total budget for the first two Scenarios in Table 4, I use the food poverty line as a transfer for this study, though I also estimated that for the general poverty line.

(above the lines). Of 25,625 household members sample used for targeting,  $^{20}$  14,838 (57.9%) were targeted at the general poverty line, and 6,637 (25.9%) were targeted at the food poverty line.

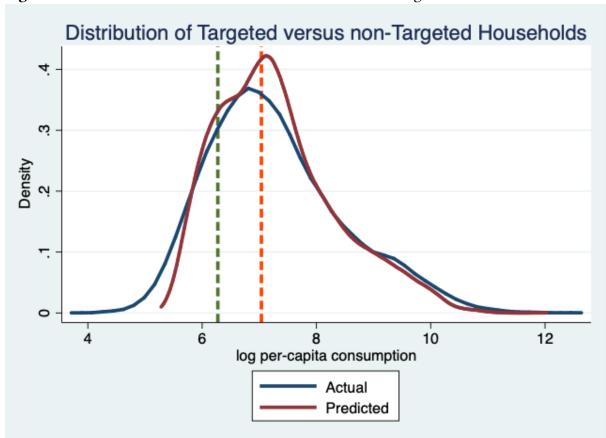


Figure 4: Distribution of Households' Actual and Predicted Log Incomes

Source: The forest green line is for the food poverty line (2017), and the orange-red line is for the general poverty line. The households with predicted consumption below the poverty line are targeted to receive transfers under the TCT policy.

The coverage rate for those targeted at the food poverty cutoff is 92.2%, that is the predicted per-capita expenditure correctly identifies 92.2% of households whose per capita expenditure is below the food poverty line. For the general poverty line, the coverage rate is 93.8%. The coverage rate is simply one minus exclusion error rate, in which households identified as poor are correctly targeted. The inclusion and exclusion error rates for targeting at the food poverty line threshold are 4.8% and 7.8%, and those targeted at the general poverty line are 5.8% and 6.2%. <sup>21</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup>The number of the household members (25,625) used for targeting is less than the total sample of people (27,463) because of missing consumption expenditure for 1,838 household members.

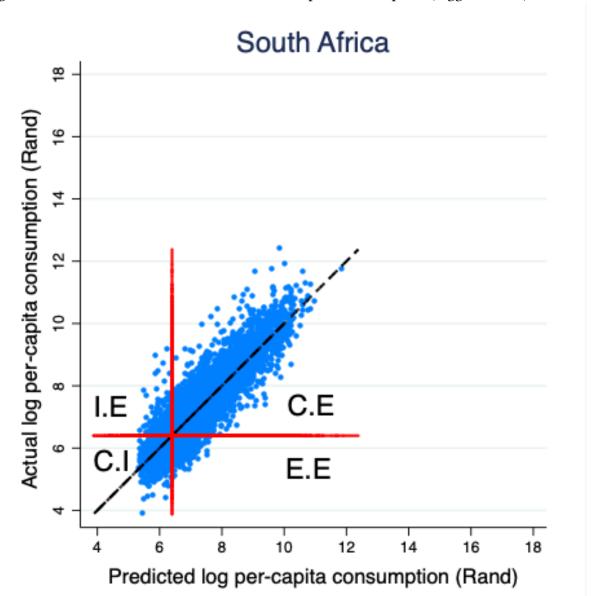
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup>Inclusion error rate is the proportion of those identified as poor who are not poor, and the exclusion error rate is the proportion of the poor who are not identified as poor.

#### 3.4.2 Tradeoffs between Inclusion and Exclusion Error

The accuracy of the PMT for targeting purposes is displayed graphically in Figure 5, which plots actual per-capita consumption against predicted per-capita consumption. Four quadrants are shown in the figure, correct inclusion (CI), correct exclusion (CE), inclusion error (IE), and exclusion error (EE). This graph explores the tradeoffs in the errors of inclusion and exclusion. The targeting problem a government may face is that by setting different cutoffs a for program eligibility, the government must strike a balance between the inclusion and exclusion errors it makes. This figure plots the results with one cutoff a, at 35 percent of the log predicted values to provide a visualization of the targeting mechanism and the four components (quadrants) of targeted transfers. So clearly, shifting the red vertical line to the left or the right would change the balance of the inclusion and exclusion error.<sup>22</sup>

For instance, if the government aims to assist those who are poor, then not giving the assistance to anyone (setting the cutoff to zero, a=0) means no transfers, leading to an extremely high exclusion error since everyone below the poverty line is excluded. However, this may also result in no inclusion error because people with higher-income status who should not be receiving the program are not getting it. On the other hand, a UBI (setting the cutoff to infinity,  $a=\infty$ ) leads to no exclusion error because all poor people will get the transfer. Yet, this leads to a very high inclusion error since everyone with high-income status will also receive the transfer. So, varying the cutoff value between the two extremes (a=0 and  $a=\infty$ ) allows one to trace the tradeoffs between inclusion and exclusion errors that the government may encounter. Still, given a limited budget, a higher cutoff point for transfer eligibility means a small transfer will be given to each eligible household.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup>The horizontal line in Figure 5 is fixed because inclusion and exclusion errors are established with respect to a household's true poverty status, where actual per-capita consumption is either above or below the poverty line; and not with respect to the PMT design that shows the vertical line with eligibility cutoff choice a.



**Figure 5:** Actual and Predicted Household Per Capita Consumption (logged values)

Source: This is from the regression using basic PMT variables. The red lines represent the country's poverty line, approximately at the 35th percentile in logged values. Points in the top left quadrant are incorrectly predicted as poor (inclusion errors). Points in the bottom right quadrant are incorrectly predicted as non-poor (exclusion errors). Points in the bottom left and top right quadrants are correctly predicted as poor and non-poor, respectively. The dashed line is a 45 degrees line. For readability, the points plotted depict a random sample of 50 percent of the full data for this study (out-of-sample test).

#### 3.5 Descriptive Statistics

Table 5 provides summary statistics for income, expenditure types, net worth, and household size at the individual level of the data. The means of gross and net taxable income are R134,432 and R120,941, respectively. The net aggregate income is explained in section 3.1, and the net

taxable income is the income variable derived from applying the tax codes to this net aggregate income to create gross taxable income and then tax liability. Total expenditure is the sum of food, nonfood, and rent expenditure. The coefficient of variation of households' net worth (7.98) is far larger than the coefficient of variation of the income variables. This suggests substantial heterogeneity in the household wealth distribution, which is consistent with the evidence that wealth is much more unequally distributed than income (Orthofer, 2016). Tax liability is the tax revenue the government generates from the tax paid by individuals.<sup>23</sup>

Descriptive statistics by race, province, geographical type, and household head education are provided in Table 6. The geographical type variable has three categories - traditional, urban, and farms - but this study uses only two categories, urban and rural, by combining traditional and farm observations as rural. The majority of the household sample population for this study are Africans (79.3%), followed by Colored and white (9%), and Asian/Indian (2.7%). The geographical type variable classifies about two-thirds (67.2%) of households living in urban settings and slightly less than one-third (32.8%) in rural areas. South Africa has nine provinces: Western Cape, Eastern Cape, Northern Cape, Free State, KwaZulu-Natal, North West, Gauteng, Mpumalanga, and Limpopo. The highest proportion of households are in Gauteng (27.7%), KwaZulu-Natal (19.2%), and Western Cape (12.3%). The education level of the household head is categorized into primary, lower secondary, upper secondary, tertiary (non-university and university), and those with no education. Most household heads have upper secondary (30.2%), tertiary (university) (19.1%), and lower secondary education (18.9%).

Figure 6 shows the graphical representation of the log of the gross and net taxable income distribution, which are slightly similar. This income distribution is displayed by decile group decomposition in Table 7, with the wealthiest 10 percent of individuals (decile 10) having the highest gross (49.1%) and net (42.8%) income share. The mean of the first six deciles (1-6) are the same because more than half of the population does not pay taxes. This is because their income is below the tax threshold, meaning their net income is the same as their gross income as explained in section 3.1.

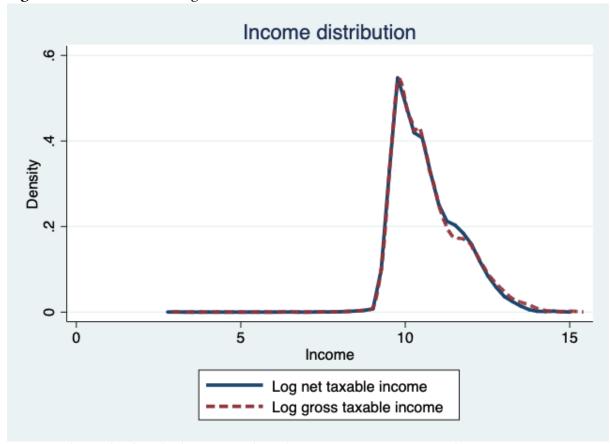
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup>Practically, this tax liability is equal to a government's tax revenue only if tax compliance is perfect.

 Table 5: Summary Statistics of Variables (yearly and weighted)

Variable	Mean (Rand)	SD (Rand)	CV
Variables from data:			
Aggregate net income (labor)	121,785	298,368	2.45
Total income	162,152	338,951	2.09
Food expenditure	21,244	33,387	1.57
Nonfood expenditure	65,931	151,307	2.29
Rent expenditure	24,495	39,014	1.59
Total expenditure	116,929	201,997	1.73
Net worth	9,542,006	76,100,000	7.98
Labor income	129,250	185,972	1.44
Non-labor income	42,798	116,970	2.73
Household size	4.39	3.07	0.70
Created variables:			
Gross taxable income (labor)	134,432	332,423	2.47
Net taxable income (labor)	120,941	297,819	2.46
Tax liability	15,928	70,836	4.45

Statistics is done at the individual level. Number of observations: 27,463. CV is coefficient of variation, ratio of SD to mean, all values are weighted.

Figure 6: Distribution of Log Gross and Net Taxable Income



Source: The author's calculations are based on wave 5 NIDS survey data.

**Table 6:** Distribution of Population by Race, Province, Geography, and Household Head Education

Variable	Frequency	Percent	
Race			
African	29,095,736	79.28	
Coloured	3,289,572	8.96	
Asain/Indian	1,004,609	2.74	
White	3,311,602	9.02	
Province			
Western Cape	4,986,930	12.3	
Eastern Cape	4,343,541	10.71	
Northern Cape	1,002,479	2.47	
Free State	2,078,000	5.12	
KwaZulu-Natal	7,769,296	19.16	
North West	2,111,040	5.21	
Gauteng	11,233,248	27.7	
Mpumalanga	3,378,993	8.33	
Limpopo	3,650,883	9.0	
Geographical type			
Rural	13,316,866	32.84	
Urban	27,237,543	67.16	
Household head education			
primary	7,633,209	13.74	
lower secondary	10,504,666	18.91	
upper secondary	16,776,148	30.2	
tertiary (non-university)	4,822,948	8.68	
tertiary (university)	10,585,965	19.05	
no education	5,232,738	9.42	

All values are weighted.

**Table 7:** Distribution of Taxable Income (Decile group)

Decile	Mean gross income levels (Rand)	Gross taxable income (%)	Mean net income levels (Rand)	Net taxable income (%)
1	13,740	1.362	13,740	1.608
2	18,431	2.097	18,431	2.476
3	22,499	1.752	22,499	2.069
4	30,059	3.438	30,059	4.059
5	37,425	2.832	37,425	3.344
6	47,809	4.583	47,809	5.411
7	67,716	7.309	67,485	8.576
8	105,455	9.054	99,687	9.954
9	181,649	18.433	161,273	19.671
10	551,447	49.14	408,087	42.832

Table describes the share of gross and net taxable income from decile 1 (poorest 10% of individuals) to decile 10 (richest 10% of individuals).

#### 4 Empirical Methodology

This section explains the main concepts and the methodology used to evaluate the degree to which UBI and TCT, funded by a progressive income tax, can reduce income inequality in South Africa. This is done using Wave 5 of the National Income Dynamics Study (NIDS) data. This section consists of two parts. First, it estimates income inequality using the two Theil inequality measures for the current income distribution, that is, without adjusting for UBI or TCT. Second, it presents a policy simulation that uses the increase in progressive income tax rates to finance either UBI or TCT to examine how the extra revenue generated from a more progressive tax schedule can be used to finance UBI or TCT, and the degree to which this can reduce income inequality.

#### 4.1 Estimation of Income Inequality under Tax Progressivity without UBI or TCT

This subsection uses the net taxable income variable and equations (5) and (6) to estimate the two Theil inequality measures, applying the group decomposition property of those measures to different groups in the population. The sample is divided into subgroups by race, geographical type, province, and household head education. The two Theil measures, T and L, are estimated using the net (post-tax) income<sup>24</sup> distribution under the existing progressive South African tax structure, without considering UBI or TCT.

The two Theil measures of income inequality can be used to decompose overall inequality into the sum of the (weighted average of) inequality within each group and the disparity in the mean incomes between the groups, which can be written as:

$$I_{Total} = I_{Within} + I_{Between} \tag{9}$$

The term  $I_{Within}$  is the contribution of income inequality within each group to overall income inequality. The between-group component,  $I_{Between}$  calculates the contribution to the overall inequality from the variation in mean income across the different groups.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup>Same as net taxable income

#### 4.2 Policy Simulation of Marginal Tax Rate: Progressive Taxation

I conducted policy simulations to examine how the distribution of net taxable income would change under three different tax schedule scenarios. In the first scenario, I simulate a 80% increase in the marginal tax rate for all tax brackets in the South African tax codes, which generates revenue needed for a UBI program. For the second scenario, I simulated a 13% increase in the marginal tax rate, which generates revenue needed for a TCT program that provides a transfer equal to the food poverty line only to those individuals whose predicted per capita expenditure is below the food poverty line. I also used the revenue generated by each scenario to fund both a UBI program and a TCT program under the same total budget.

The downside of comparing 80% and 13% rises in the marginal tax rate to two different programs is that it is not reasonable and politically feasible. Regardless, to fund all households at the food poverty line, an 80% increment in the marginal tax rate is required to raise money to fund the total budget of UBI. But in practice, this may take much work to implement and follow suit. Therefore, an additional scenario is included, which is scenario 3. This third scenario assumes a fixed budget for the UBI program, distributed equally to all households. To do this, I doubled the total budget of the TCT program and the 13% increase in the marginal tax rate required to generate revenue to fund this total budget. So, the rise in the marginal tax rate for scenario three is fixed at 26% to raise the total budget required. Similarly, this revenue generated in scenario three is used to fund a UBI or TCT program under the same total budget. Scenario 1: Simulating the Impact of UBI and TCT on Inequality Using a Budget that

These simulations compare UBI and TCT both financed by increase in tax revenue sufficient to fund UBI transfers equal to the food poverty line (R6,372 per year) for all individuals in all households in South Africa. The total budget for this amounts to R258.4 billion which requires a 80% increase in tax rates. The total budget is the same as the additional tax revenue of R258.4 billion generated at an 80% increase in tax rates. For simplicity, I assume that there is no change in the work hours of household members, which means that their pre-transfer gross taxable income remains unchanged after the tax increase and the receipt of the transfer. Also,

Fully Funds UBI:

estimating the impact of the transfers on hours worked is beyond the scope of this study.<sup>25</sup> However, their net taxable income will change according to the change in the marginal tax rate. Using equation (2), I increase the marginal tax rate from t to  $t_k$ , assuming that  $y^g$  remains the same since work hours are constant, and increase in the fixed tax amount from F to  $F_k$ . The new net (after-tax) income due to the increase in the marginal tax rate is then calculated as follows:

$$y_k^n = y^g (1 - t_k) + t_k L - F_k + r (10)$$

where the subscript k refers to the percent by which the old tax rate increases (80 percent).

To calculate the total revenue generated, for each household I use the difference between the gross taxable income  $y^g$  and the initial net taxable income  $y^n$  to obtain the initial tax revenue  $(R_{old})$  for that household. I then calculate the difference between the old gross taxable income  $y^g$  and the new net taxable income  $y^n_k$  to obtain the new tax revenue  $(R_{new})$ . Lastly, I calculate the difference between the new tax revenue  $(R_{new})$  and the old tax revenue  $(R_{old})$  to obtain the additional increase in revenue  $(R_{add})$  from this household. To examine the impact of UBI funded by a k percent increase in taxes on the distribution of income, I add  $y^n_k$  and UBI to get  $Y^n_{UBI}$ , using the equation:

$$y_{UBI}^n = y_k^n + UBI; \quad \text{where } y_k^n = y^n - R_{add}$$
 (11)

Finally, this new distribution of net income is used to calculate new estimates of the Theil inequality, T and L, using equations (5) and (6), except that  $y^n$  is replaced by  $y_{UBI}^n$ .

Next, under the same budget of R258.4 billion for UBI,<sup>26</sup> the additional revenue generated from this tax increase is also used separately to fund the TCT program. Simply put, the TCT transfer amount is set so that the total budget of the TCT will equal the total budget for UBI. This additional revenue distributes a transfer amount (larger than the UBI transfer) to only those targeted by the TCT.<sup>27</sup> The transfer amount for the TCT program is estimated as the total budget for UBI divided by the number of those whose predicted per capita consumption

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup>Other studies have shown that cash transfers have very little effect on labor supply (Banerjee et al., 2017)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup>From the 80% increase in the marginal tax rates

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup>The transfer amount for each individual targeted at the food poverty line is R26,367 (> R6,372) per year and for general poverty line is R11,794 (< R13,656) per year.

is below either food poverty line or below the general poverty line. Separate transfer amounts are calculated for the two poverty lines. After that, the new income distribution with the added TCT transfer amount for those targeted is used to calculate new estimates of the Theil inequality measures, T and L, using equations (5) and (6). Finally, the new income distributions under UBI and TCT are compared.

# Scenario 2: Simulating the Impact of UBI and TCT on Inequality Using a Budget that Fully Funds TCT:

Here, the simulation compares UBI and TCT using the R41.98 billion in tax revenue that is sufficient to provide a transfer equal to the food poverty line to those households targeted by the TCT, which is those households whose predicted per capita consumption is below the food poverty threshold. The required total budget needed to fund TCT at the food poverty line is R41.08 billion, which requires a 13% increase in all marginal tax rates. The amount at the food poverty line is the same as the TCT transfer amount, which is R6,372 per year given to those targeted at the food cutoff point. The same approach as in Scenario 1 is followed to simulate a percent increase in the marginal tax rate and to calculate the new total and additional revenue for the simulation based on the TCT budget at the food poverty line. To estimate the overall impact of this TCT, financed by a 13% increase in the marginal tax rate, on the income distribution, the TCT transfer amount at the food poverty line is added to the new income  $y_k^n$  for those households whose predicted per capita consumption is below the food poverty line using the equation:

$$y_{TCT}^n = y_k^n + TCT (12)$$

Finally, I consider a UBI for all South Africans that gives a smaller transfer amount of R1,540 per year (less than the TCT transfer of R6,372) to all individuals in a household. This is set so that the total budget of this UBI is equal to this TCT's total budget of R41.08 billion. Lastly, this new distribution of net income with the added UBI transfer amounts for all households is used to calculate new estimates of the Theil inequality, T and L, using equations (5) and (6). Then, the change in the distribution of income under UBI and TCT is compared for this method.

# Scenario 3: Simulating the Impact of UBI and TCT on Inequality Using a Fixed UBI Budget:

The approach here is like the first scenario, but the total budget is not determined based on the food poverty line transfer distributed to all households. Instead, double the TCT budget in the second scenario is used as the fixed UBI budget. Therefore, the total budget amounts to 82.16 billion, which requires a 26% increase in tax rates, double the 13% tax rates in scenario two. The tax revenue generated at 26% that is adequate to provide a UBI transfer equal to R3,079<sup>28</sup> to all individuals in all South African households is R83.97 billion. Using this additional tax revenue of R83.97 billion, I compare UBI and TCT to simulate this scenario. The simulation approach is the same as the first scenario, using equations (10) and (11) to estimate the new distribution of net income. This is then used to calculate new estimates of the Theil inequality measures using equations (5) and (6).

Following, under the same fixed UBI budget of R82.16 billion, I use the additional revenue generated from the 26% tax increase to finance the TCT program separately. Similarly, the transfer amount for TCT is set so that the total budget of the TCT will equal the fixed UBI budget. A transfer amount is distributed to only those targeted by the TCT program. The transfer amount for each individual targeted at the food poverty line is R12,744 (> R6,372) per year and for the general poverty line is R5,700 (< R13,656) per year. This TCT transfer amount is estimated as the total fixed UBI budget divided by the number of those whose predicted per capita consumption is below either the food poverty line or the general poverty line. After, new income distributions are estimated with the added TCT transfer amount, and new theil estimates are obtained using equations (5) and (6). I then compare the new income distributions for UBI and TCT.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup>The UBI transfer amount here is calculated as the total UBI fixed budget divided by the entire population sample.

#### 5 Results and Discussion

This section discusses the results. First, it discusses the effect of progressive taxation on inequality, assuming no UBI or TCT exists. Second, it discusses how inequality is affected by increasing taxes to finance UBI or TCT.

### 5.1 Effect of Tax Progressivity on Inequality and its Decomposition (without UBI or TCT)

Figure 7 depicts the effect of progressive taxation on overall income inequality by comparing the Lorenz curves for gross and net taxable income across individuals in a household. The Lorenz curve provides more information than the Gini coefficient, which expresses income inequality as a single number. This graph shows that income inequality is somewhat reduced by progressive taxation because the Lorenz curve for net taxable income (Gini: 0.54) is slightly above the Lorenz curve for gross taxable income (Gini: 0.56). This is consistent with the literature that redistributing taxes and transfers in South Africa reduces income inequality moderately (Inchauste et al., 2017; Woolard et al., 2015).

Tax Progressivity without UBI/TCT Cumulative Share of Income œί ø. 4 Ŋ .2 1 0 .4 .6 .8 Cumulative Share of Population Net taxable income Gross taxable income Perfect equality line

Figure 7: Reduction in Income Inequality under Progressive Taxation without a UBI or TCT

Source: The author's calculations are based on wave 5 NIDS survey data.

Tables 8, 9, 10, and 11 present estimates of the Theil indices T and L, that describe the group decompositions of income inequality by race, geographical type, province, and household head education. The income distributions used in estimating these indices are gross income, net income at the current SA tax structure, and three net incomes with 80%, 13%, and 26% increases in tax rates without transfer, respectively. The appropriate comparison is among the different groups for a particular inequality measure (either T or L); since little or nothing can be learned from comparing the two different measures for the same group. For example, we can say that both measures indicate that urban inequality is higher than rural inequality, but we cannot say that the T measure indicates more inequality than the T measure.

Table 8 presents the inequality decomposition by race for gross income, net income at the current tax structure, and three net incomes at 80%, 13%, and 26% tax increase without transfer. Both Theil indices show that using the net income at the current tax structure, inequality among the African group (0.41; 0.47)<sup>29</sup> and the Colored (0.44; 0.43) group are very high, followed by those of the White and the Asian/Indian groups, respectively. However, inequality at the national (country) level (0.51; 0.59) is more pronounced than the subgroup's inequality. In addition, the White (0.41; 0.43) and the Asian/Indian groups (0.34; 0.37) have the lowest levels of inequality, yet they remain high. This gives a clear picture of the very high inequality in South Africa, which remains one of the most racially unequal countries in the world (Seekings and Nattrass, 2008; World Bank Group, 2018a). One of the main reasons for using these decompositions is to show that the share of the total income inequality due to differences in mean incomes of different racial groups, that is, the between-group component, is relatively small (19%; 22%) compared to the share of inequality within the racial groups, the within-group part.

Therefore, there is substantial inequity within all four races, and the contribution of between-race disparities to overall income inequality is not as large as some might expect. This is consistent with the World Bank (2005) report, which states that within-group inequality contributes at least three-quarters to overall income inequality in South Africa, and the between-group component contributes at most one-quarter. But, if there is a random measurement error

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup>The first percent value is for L and the second is for T; the same is for all parentheses with two numbers.

in incomes, which is quite likely, then the within-group component, but not the between-group component, will be overestimated, which implies that the contribution of the between-group component to overall inequality will be underestimated.

Comparing inequality across the five income distributions as reported in table 8 clearly shows that inequality at the gross income has the highest levels, followed by that of the net income at the exiting tax structure. However, a higher rise in tax rates without UBI or TCT transfers reduces inequality more. So, inequality in net incomes with tax increases of 80%, 13%, and 26% reduces inequality better than the net income at the current tax structure. This is seen in columns 6 to 11 of table 8. The higher the rise in the tax rate, the more inequality is reduced. So, the net income inequality at 80% tax increase without transfers is more reduced than at 13%, and 26%.

The inequality decomposition by geographical type is reported in Table 9. The two measures for the net income at the current tax system indicate that rural inequality (0.36; 0.39) is much lower than urban inequality (0.55; 0.63), which is larger than the country-level inequality (0.52; 0.61). Income inequality is exceptionally high in rural settings and at the country level. Relative to the inequality by race decomposition, the between-group disparity, in this case, contributes very little to overall inequality, less than 10 percent of the total inequality in both measures. This means that differences between mean incomes in urban and rural areas contribute only a small share of overall inequality; instead, there is a substantial disparity within each of these sectors that accounts for more than 90 percent of overall inequality. Like race subgroups, gross income has the highest inequality indices, followed by the net income at the existing tax system, and then the net incomes with 80%, 13%, and 26% increase in the tax rate. Likewise, the higher the increase in tax rates, the more inequality is reduced. So, inequality at the net income of 80%, 13%, and 26% without transfers lowers inequality better than the two other income distributions.

Table 10 shows that inequality is very high in all nine provinces, particularly in Western Cape, Eastern Cape, Mpumalanga, Gauteng, Northern Cape, and Limpopo. KwaZulu-Natal, Free-State, and North-West provinces have the lowest inequality among the nine provinces. In the same manner as race and geographical type, between-group inequality contributes a very

small proportion to overall inequality, with within-group inequality contributing more than 95 percent. This reflects the considerable inequity within each of the nine provinces. Inequality reduction in the five income distributions as reported in Table 10 produces the pattern of the same results as in race and geographical type. The net income with increased tax rates reduces inequality better, followed by the net income at the current tax system.

Finally, the decomposition by the household head's education in Table 11 shows that households headed by someone with upper secondary education and tertiary university education have higher inequality, (0.53; 0.65) and (0.59; 0.62) respectively than households whose heads have no or at least some other form of education. Households with a head who has no education have the lowest levels of inequality (0.30; 0.31) compared to all the other education levels. Unlike the decompositions by race, geographical type, and province, the between-group component (24%; 23%) contributes substantially to overall inequality, yet the within-group part remains higher than the between-group component. The inequality indices presented in Table 11 follow the same pattern and explanation of results as in a race, geographical type, and province. Table 14 in the appendix reports the mean incomes of all the group decompositions using the net income at the existing tax system.

 Table 8: Income Inequality Decomposition by Race (tax progressivity without UBI/TCT)

,			Theil Mea	Theil Measures for G	ross and Net	Incomes With a	nd Without	Gross and Net Incomes With and Without New Tax Imposition	ion	
•	Gross Inc	Gross Income (YG)	Net Income (Yn)	me (Yn)	Net Income	Net Income with 80% (Y80)	Net Income	Net Income with 13% (Y13)		Net Income with 26% (Y26)
Subgroups	GE(0) = L	GE(0) = L $GE(1) = T$	GE(0) = L $GE(1) = T$	GE(1) = T	GE(0) = L	GE(1) = T	GE(0) = L	GE(1) = T	GE(0) = L	GE(1) = T
African	0.452	0.532	0.412	0.474	0.338	0.384	0.364	0.408	0.354	0.398
Coloured	0.484	0.497	0.437	0.434	0.344	0.342	0.367	0.367	0.359	0.360
Asian/Indian	0.389	0.461	0.338	0.370	0.293	0.304	0.315	0.345	0.315	0.341
White	0.454	0.459	0.409	0.427	0.377	0.426	0.390	0.420	0.388	0.420
National	0.563	0.661	0.511	0.591	0.417	0.489	0.445	0.512	0.435	0.502
Within	0.453	0.509	0.412	0.456	0.339	0.385	0.364	0.404	0.356	0.396
Between	0.110	0.152	0.099	0.135	0.078	0.104	0.081	0.109	0.079	0.106
% of Between	19.56	23.03	19.33	22.85	18.65	21.33	18.16	21.21	18.16	21.13

 Table 9: Income Inequality Decomposition by Geographical Type (tax progressivity without UBI/TCT)

			Theil Mea	sures for G	ross and Net	Theil Measures for Gross and Net Incomes With and Without New Tax Imposition	nd Without N	lew Tax Imposit	ion	
	Gross Inc	Gross Income (YG)	Net Income (Yn)	me (Yn)	Net Income	Net Income with 80% (Y80)	Net Income	Net Income with 13% (Y13)	Net Income	Net Income with 26% (Y26)
Subgroups	GE(0) = L	GE(0) = L $GE(1) = T$	GE(0) = L $GE(1) =$	GE(1) = T	GE(0) = L	GE(1) = T	GE(0) = L	GE(1) = T	GE(0) = L	GE(1) = T
Rural	0.391	0.444	0.358	0.393	0.308	0.319	0.335	0.348	0.327	0.338
Urban	0.605	0.692	0.552	0.630	0.452	0.545	0.473	0.556	0.465	0.550
National	0.567	0.672	0.516	909.0	0.425	0.509	0.450	0.528	0.441	0.519
Within	0.519	0.628	0.474	0.567	0.394	0.480	0.417	0.497	0.409	0.489
Between	0.047	0.044	0.042	0.040	0.031	0.029	0.033	0.031	0.031	0.030
% of Between	8.37	92.9	8.23	6.54	7.20	5.69	7.32	5.90	7.10	5.71

 Table 10: Income Inequality Decomposition by Province (tax progressivity without UBI/TCT)

			Theil Mea	Theil Measures for G	ross and Net	Gross and Net Incomes With and Without New Tax Imposition	nd Without N	Vew Tax Imposit	tion	
	Gross Inc	Gross Income (YG)	Net Income (Yn)	me (Yn)	Net Income	Net Income with 80% (Y80)	Net Income	Net Income with 13% (Y13)	Net Income	Net Income with 26% (Y26)
Subgroups	GE(0) = L	GE(1) = T	GE(0) = L $GE(1) = T$	GE(1) = T	GE(0) = L	GE(1) = T	GE(0) = L	GE(1) = T	GE(0) = L	GE(1) = T
W. Cape	0.578	0.712	0.535	0.663	0.446	0.577	0.459	0.577	0.453	0.575
E. Cape	0.613	0.954	0.573	0.923	0.497	0.836	0.520	0.825	0.510	0.816
N. Cape	0.687	1.439	699.0	1.452	0.599	1.384	0.597	1.320	0.591	1.319
Free-State	0.442	0.490	0.407	0.440	0.325	0.362	0.343	0.378	0.334	0.370
KwaZulu-Natal	0.397	0.406	0.375	0.377	0.321	0.317	0.333	0.326	0.327	0.320
North-West	0.439	0.477	0.394	0.414	0.307	0.308	0.337	0.342	0.327	0.329
Gauteng	0.610	0.625	0.546	0.549	0.439	0.454	0.467	0.480	0.458	0.472
Mpumalanga	0.664	0.745	0.581	0.611	0.458	0.460	0.508	0.527	0.492	0.509
Limpopo	0.537	0.598	0.491	0.546	0.411	0.459	0.441	0.482	0.431	0.470
National	0.567	0.672	0.516	909.0	0.425	0.509	0.450	0.528	0.441	0.519
Within	0.540	0.645	0.495	0.585	0.409	0.494	0.433	0.511	0.424	0.502
Between	0.027	0.027	0.022	0.022	0.015	0.015	0.018	0.018	0.017	0.017
% of Between	4.69	3.95	4.24	3.60	3.57	2.95	3.94	3.34	3.79	3.20

 Table 11: Income Inequality Decomposition by Household Head Education (tax progressivity without UBI/TCT)

,			Theil Mea	Theil Measures for G	ross and Net	Incomes With a	and Without !	Gross and Net Incomes With and Without New Tax Imposition	ion	
	Gross Inc	Gross Income (YG)	Net Income (Yn)	me (Yn)	Net Income	Net Income with 80% (Y80)	Net Income	Net Income with 13% (Y13)	Net Income	Net Income with 26% (Y26)
Subgroups	GE(0) = L	GE(0) = L $GE(1) = T$	GE(0) = L $GE(1) = T$	GE(1) = T	GE(0) = L	GE(1) = T	GE(0) = L	GE(1) = T	GE(0) = L	GE(1) = T
Primary	0.346	0.381	0.334	0.364	0.287	0.306	0.300	0.314	0.294	0.307
Secondary (L)	0.387	0.388	0.369	0.363	0.312	0.301	0.329	0.316	0.320	0.308
Secondary (Up)	0.565	969.0	0.530	0.650	0.448	0.567	0.461	0.568	0.454	0.563
Tertiary (NU)	0.519	0.538	0.491	0.506	0.413	0.440	0.422	0.442	0.416	0.438
Tertiary (U)	0.648	0.654	0.586	0.622	0.516	0.612	0.538	0.600	0.534	0.601
No education	0.312	0.337	0.295	0.309	0.271	0.267	0.293	0.291	0.288	0.283
National	0.661	0.784	0.602	0.715	0.496	0.614	0.525	0.632	0.514	0.623
Within	0.489	0.591	0.458	0.554	0.394	0.500	0.409	0.502	0.403	0.498
Between	0.172	0.192	0.144	0.161	0.102	0.114	0.115	0.130	0.111	0.125
% of Between	25.97	24.55	23.92	22.53	20.60	18.61	22.02	20.53	21.60	20.03

#### 5.2 UBI versus TCT Funded with Tax Progressivity, and its Effect on Inequality

The results of the policy simulation that evaluates how UBI and TCT are financed with progressive taxation are presented in Tables 12 and 13. Table 12 provides information on the total and marginal tax revenue (relative to the initial revenue) generated from increases in the marginal tax rate, separately for these different total budgets. The extra tax revenue generated from a 13% and 80% increment in taxes is sufficient to fund UBI at the level of the food poverty line or even a TCT that provides a transfer equal to the food poverty line to households whose predicted income is below the food poverty line.

The total expenditure required by the South African government to fully fund a UBI program that transfers an amount equal to the food poverty line would require a 80% increase in the marginal tax rate, generating additional revenue of R258.4 billion (total budget: 258.4 billion). The amount required to fully fund the TCT program described in the previous paragraph is R41.98 billion (total budget: R41.08 billion), which implies a 13% increase in the marginal tax rate. The analysis of this study is restricted to these total budgets, the former of which are sufficient to transfer amounts equal to the food poverty line for everybody in South Africa (UBI) and the latter of which is sufficient to provide the same transfer to everyone whose predicted consumption is below the food poverty line (TCT).

**Table 12:** Total and Additional Tax Revenue from Simulating % Increase in MTR (weighted)

	Total tax revenue (Rand)	Additional tax revenue (Rand)
Initial value	255.5 billion	0
13% increase in MTR	297.4 billion	41.98 billion
80% increase in MTR	513.8 billion	258.4 billion

Additional revenue is used in funding UBI and TCT at equal total budget for both program in each approach. All values are weighted.

## 5.2.1 Scenario 1: Funding UBI and TCT under the UBI Budget

The additional revenue generated from the 80% increase in the tax rate is sufficient to fund a UBI program that provides everyone in South Africa a cash transfer equal to the food poverty line (R6,372 per year). Using this same total budget, a transfer amount of R26,367 can be distributed to only those targeted at the food poverty line, or R11,794 can be given to those

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup>R258.4 billion is the extra revenue generated from 80% increase in taxes to fund UBI (equal to total budget).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup>R41.98 billion is the extra revenue generated from 13% increment in taxes, which is sufficient to fund the TCT program.

whose predicted consumption is below the general poverty line, by a TCT program.<sup>32</sup> The transfer amount for those targeted at the food poverty line (R26,367) is more than the food poverty line amount and the general poverty line (R13,656), and the amount for those targeted at the general poverty line is less than the general poverty line. This is because more people are targeted at the general poverty line than at the food poverty line, hence the lower transfer amount.

At the UBI total budget, Figure 8 gives a graphical representation of how much overall income inequality is reduced by UBI and TCT funded via tax progressivity. These graphs compare the Lorenz curve of the initial net taxable income, without either UBI and TCT, to the Lorenz curves of the new net taxable incomes with UBI and TCT. In the case of UBI, Figure 8 reveals a decline in overall income inequality for the net taxable incomes with UBI compared to the net taxable income without a UBI. Figure 8 indicates that giving transfers to households targeted at both the food poverty line and the general poverty line reduces income inequality more than without a TCT. The decrease in overall income inequality, using the total budget of R258.4 billion is little more for the TCT scheme than for the UBI.

 $<sup>^{32}</sup>$ About 58% (14,838) households are targeted at the food poverty line, and 26% (6,637) are targeted at the general poverty line.

Figure 8: Reduction in Income Inequality through UBI and TCT at UBI Total Budget

Source: The author's calculations are based on wave 5 NIDS survey data.

The estimates of the Theil index T and L on how much overall income inequality and its decomposition is reduced under UBI financed with tax progressivity show similar patterns of reduction in income inequality in all groups. For simplicity, I only show results at the national level for both UBI and TCT scheme. This is presented in Table 13. Table 13 shows a significant decrease in income inequality at the national level. The results for a 80% increase in tax to fund TCT (targeted at food and general poverty line) at same total budget for UBI show that TCT reduces inequality less than UBI scheme where it is targeted only to those below the food poverty line but, but by more than UBI when targeted to those under the general poverty line. Overall, under the larger total budgets, TCT when targeted to those whose predicted expenditure is below the general poverty line reduces income inequality more than the UBI scheme.

**Table 13:** Income Inequality Changes from Scenarios 1 and 2 (UBI and TCT Financed)

	National Lev	el Theil Measure
Scenarios	GE (0) = L	GE (1) = T
Initial value (before UBI or TCT)	0.498	0.565
Scenario 1 (UBI Budget)		
UBI with 258.4 billion	0.318	0.382
TCT with 258.4 billion (food PL)	0.384	0.395
TCT with 258.4 billion (General PL)	0.306	0.349
Scenario 2 (TCT Budget)		
UBI with 41.08 billion	0.444	0.516
TCT with 41.08 billion	0.429	0.490

### 5.2.2 Scenario 2: Funding UBI and TCT under TCT Budget

For this scenario, I consider a TCT that provides a transfer amount equal to the food poverty line R6,372, but only to those targeted by the TCT (using a PMT that identifies people whose predicted income is below the food poverty line as poor). To fully fund this program, the additional revenue required is generated from a 13% increase in the marginal tax rate, after which a lumpsum amount of R6,372 is distributed to all those whose predicted consumption is below the food poverty line. Next, I consider a UBI for all South Africans that gives a smaller transfer, set so that the total budget of the UBI is equal to this TCT budget. At the same TCT budget, an approximate lumpsum amount of R1,540 (less than the food poverty line) is distributed to all South Africans.

Figure 9 provide a graphical representation of how much overall income inequality is reduced by TCT and by UBI funded via tax progressivity at the TCT budget. These graphs compare the Lorenz curve of the initial net taxable income without UBI and TCT to the Lorenz curves of the new net taxable incomes with UBI and TCT. In the case of TCT, Figure 9 reveals that the decline in overall income inequality is reduced to some extent for the net incomes with transfer compared to the net taxable income without a TCT scheme. Then for UBI, Figure 9 indicates that giving transfers to all South Africans reduces income inequality more than the income distribution without a UBI. However, under this TCT total budget, the reduction in overall income inequality is a little higher for the TCT than for the UBI.

Figure 9: Reduction in Income inequality through UBI and TCT at TCT Total Budget

Source: The author's calculations are based on wave 5 NIDS survey data. Yellow lorenz curve is for TCT and the maroon is for UBI.

The estimates of the Theil index T and L on how much overall income inequality is reduced under both UBI and TCT financed by a 13% increase in taxes are presented in Table 13. It is the same with the estimates of the magnitude by which income inequality is reduced under TCT funded by the progressive tax. UBI has slightly higher income inequality indices than TCT under this scenario, which shows that using this total budget to fund the UBI program reduces income inequality less than financing the TCT program. Like UIBI, It is the same with the estimates of the magnitude by which income inequality is reduced under TCT funded by the progressive tax.

#### 5.3 Comparing UBI to TCT

Given the strong interest in a UBI scheme in South Africa, further discussion comparing a UBI to a TCT is warranted. It is evident in Table 13 that the first scenario, where a 80% increase in tax rate is used to fund a UBI or a TCT, reduces income inequality more than the second scenario, with a much smaller 13% increase in the tax rate is used to finance a UBI or a TCT. The

TCT that uses the larger budget to fund only those targeted at the food poverty line slightly reduces income inequality more than the TCT that finances its total budget in scenario two.

In summary, both a UBI and a TCT reduce income inequality. As one would expect, the decline in income inequality under the larger total budget (80% tax increase) is much larger than the income inequality under the smaller total budget (13% percent increase in tax). Comparing UBI to TCT, in two out of three cases TCT reduces inequality more than UBI. The one exception occurs when the TCT under the larger budget is used to fund only those targeted at the food poverty line. Thus the relative impacts of a UBI or a TCT program, depend on the details of how th TCT is implemented. Also, there are two main trade-offs between UBI and TCT: costs of the program and the accuracy of targeting of households. Depending on which program a government may implement, these trade-offs must be considered in terms of their cost-effectiveness and benefits.

### 5.4 Effects of High Marginal Tax Rate and Tax Efficiency Effects

High increases in marginal tax rates can encourage taxpayers to change their behavior in different ways that affect taxable income, tax revenue base, and tax efficiency. These behavioral changes include changes in labor supply and higher non-compliance in the form of tax evasion and tax avoidance. Tax evasion (failure to pay taxes) is illegal. In contrast, tax avoidance (minimizing taxes) is where individuals think of ways to move their money around legally to avoid high taxes. Tax efficiency is measured as the deadweight loss due to high tax rates resulting from behavioral changes of taxpayers. This implies that if the marginal tax rate is increased to raise revenue, the level of deadweight loss of taxes will also increase.

Due to data limitations, this study does not estimate the parameters that explain the effect of a high tax rate on the elasticity of taxable income, revenue base, and tax efficiency. Moreover, this study focuses on raising the marginal tax rate to finance UBI and TCT, thereby reducing income inequality and not on finding the effect of high tax rates on revenue and tax efficiency. A high tax rate unavoidably affects the revenue base and tax efficiency since tax obligations are functions of individual behavior. Therefore, I use other parameter estimates in the literature to explain a possible case for South Africa on how higher tax rates affect economic efficiency.

Van Heerden et al. (2010) find that tax efficiency decreases with increased taxable income due to high marginal taxes in South Africa. This loss in efficiency is most evident for the case of the wealthiest income group, with a 54.5 percent increase in a deadweight loss at the then-current marginal tax rate of 40 percent. Increasing this rate from 40 to 45 percent raises revenue from R132.8 billion to R153.7 billion (16% rise) but with a higher increase in deadweight loss from R37.5 billion to R56.2 billion (by 50 percent increase). Overall, the increase in deadweight loss ranges from 2.75 to 54.5 percent for the income groups, and the pattern of expansion is the same for all income groups, but they are affected differently. The wide gap is because the top wealthiest people in South Africa receive more than 50 percent of overall income (Orthofer (2016)), justifying the depth of high-income inequality in South Africa. Thomas (2007) estimates that the elasticity of taxable income due to taxes is 0.52 with a deadweight loss of 15 percent of the revenue, but this is at a flatter tax rate system for New Zealand. The United States, with a more progressive tax schedule like South Africa, shows a deadweight loss ranging from 18 to 37 percent (Robson (2007)).

This study increases the marginal tax rate by 13 and 80 percent to generate adequate revenue that fully funds UBI or TCT, as shown in Appendix Table 15. So, it does not comply with the standard of 10-20 percent for the low marginal tax rate and 30 to 50 percent for the top tax rate. Finally, the high-income gap in South Africa suggests that even at a 13 percent increase in the marginal tax rate, there may be a disincentive to work, tax evasion, tax avoidance, and higher deadweight loss, which will lead to a loss in economic efficiency. Therefore, besides the two main tradeoffs (cost of program and poor targeting methods) between UBI and the TCT, both programs will require high revenue. Still, it comes at a loss in economic efficiency. This may be due to high deadweight loss because of behavioral changes of the taxpayers.

#### 6 Conclusion

In this paper, I investigated the impact of a universal basic income (UBI) versus a targeted cash transfer (TCT) funded through progressive taxation on household-level income inequality. I analyze the case of South Africa, which has one of the world's most progressive tax systems, yet the world's highest income inequality bedevils it. The results show that UBI or TCT implemented simultaneously with progressive taxation reduce income inequality more than progressive taxation without UBI or TCT.

I made three significant contributions to the literature. First, I estimate the impact of progressive taxation on overall income inequality and analyzed the nature of inequality in South Africa. Second, I conducted a policy simulation to examine how a UBI or a TCT can be financed by additional revenue generated from a 13 and an 80 percent increase in tax rates that affect overall income inequality. More specifically, I implemented two scenarios to evaluate the effects of UBI and TCT on income inequality. I first considered a UBI whose total budget provides a transfer equal to the food poverty line. Then, I use the same total budget to fund a TCT scheme that provides larger transfers, but only to those "targeted" by the TCT (using a PMT that identifies people below the food and general poverty line). Secondly, I considered a much smaller total budget that is sufficient to fund a TCT that provides a transfer equal to the food poverty line to those where predicted per capita is below the food poverty line, and then distributes smaller transfers to all South Africans via a UBI, that has a total budget equal to this TCT budget.

I find that the overall inequality at the national level is reduced by progressive taxation policy, but only to some extent; inequality remains high. The simulation results show that both a UBI or TCT, funded by the additional revenue generated from the different tax increases (13%, 80%), greatly reduces income inequality. In two out of three cases, given the same total budget, the TCT reduced income inequality by more than the UBI.

The relative impacts of UBI and TCT programs depend on the type of TCT implemented, and more generally on the concept. A TCT with very imperfect targeting may be less effective than a UBI. For this analysis, targeting of households was very effective with an R-squared of 0.776. Overall, TCT perform better than UBI in all scenarios.

The evidence from this study, combined with similar effects in the literature, suggests that UBI or TCT implemented in synchrony with progressive taxation can reduce income inequality efficiently and equitably. Future extension of this work should investigate how non-fiscal plus fiscal policy solution tools, together or separately implemented, could reduce inequality. Also, future research may look at deadweight loss of taxation and FGT (Foster-Greer-Thorbecke) poverty measures.

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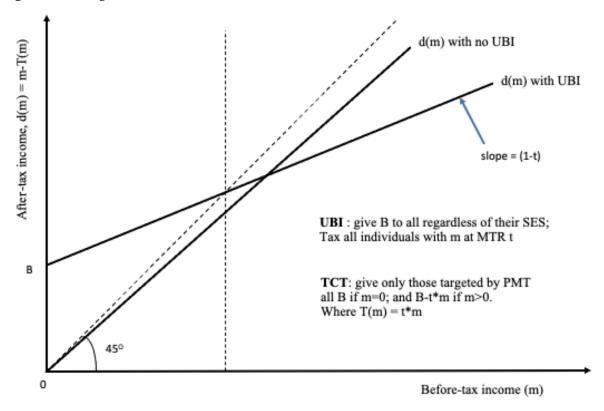
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# **Appendix A: Figures**

Figure 10: Progressive Tax Schedule with or without UBI and TCT



# Appendix B: Tables

 Table 14: Mean Net Income of the Subgroups in Group Decomposition

R	Race	Geograp	Geographical Type	Prov	Province	Honsehold Ho	Household Head Education
Subgroups	subgroups Mean Income Subgroups Mean Income	Subgroups	Mean Income	Subgroups	Mean Income	Subgroups	Subgroups Mean Income
African	118,360	Rural	100,568	W. Cape	170,713	Primary	83,145
Coloured	161,741	Urban	185,170	E. Cape	121,221	Secondary (L)	91,052
Asian/Indian	242,375			N. Cape	164,334	Secondary (Up)	120,844
White	516,893			Free-State	125,374	Tertiary (NU)	131,617
				KwaZulu-Natal	123,229	Tertiary (U)	333,939
				North-West	104,299	No education	79,109
				Gauteng	195,083		
				Mpumalanga	172,927		
				Limpopo	134,211		

 Table 15: Proxy-means Test Prediction of Income using OLS

Dwelling rating:         0.024           Need structural repairs         0.050           Structurally sound, but needs maintenance         0.042           (0.049)         0.014**           (0.049)         0.014**           (0.049)         0.004           Good condition, recent maintenance/renovation         0.121**           Good condition, recent maintenance/renovation         0.121**           Roof type:         ***           Bricks/Mixture of mud and cement/Mud         0.147*           (0.058)         0.031           (0.058)         0.031           (0.058)         0.031           (0.058)         0.031           (0.058)         0.031           (0.058)         0.031           (0.058)         0.031           (0.058)         0.031           (0.058)         0.031           (0.058)         0.031           (0.058)         0.031           (0.058)         0.032           Wall type:         0.032*           Floor type:         0.032*           Carpet         0.055*           Concrete         0.055*           Concrete         0.036           (0.030)      <	Variables	OLS (Log per-capita consumption)
Structurally sound, but needs maintenance       0.042         (0.049)       (0.049)         Structurally sound       0.104**         Good condition, recent maintenance/renovation       0.121**         (0.054)       (0.054)         Roof type:       "0.080         Bricks/Mixture of mud and cement/Mud       0.147*         (0.080)       (0.080)         Cement block/concrete/Stone and rock       0.031         (0.058)       (0.058)         Tile       0.233***         Asbestos/cement roof sheeting       0.022**         Mixture of mud and cement       -0.065*         Mixture of mud and cement       -0.065*         Concrete       0.037         Carpet       0.036         Carpet       0.036         Tiles       0.174***         Mood       0.338***         Wood       0.338***         Linoleum/Vinyl       0.099**         House status:       0.004)         House owned       0.025         House owned       0.072***         Water source & Electricity       0.023         Borehole       0.015         Household has electricity       0.015	Dwelling rating:	
Structurally sound, but needs maintenance       0.042         (0.049)       (0.049)         Structurally sound       0.104**         Good condition, recent maintenance/renovation       0.121**         (0.054)       (0.054)         Roof type:       "0.080         Bricks/Mixture of mud and cement/Mud       0.147*         (0.080)       (0.080)         Cement block/concrete/Stone and rock       0.031         (0.058)       (0.058)         Tile       0.233***         Asbestos/cement roof sheeting       0.022**         Mixture of mud and cement       -0.065*         Mixture of mud and cement       -0.065*         Concrete       0.037         Carpet       0.036         Carpet       0.036         Tiles       0.174***         Mood       0.338***         Wood       0.338***         Linoleum/Vinyl       0.099**         House status:       0.004)         House owned       0.025         House owned       0.072***         Water source & Electricity       0.023         Borehole       0.015         Household has electricity       0.015	Need structural repairs	0.024
Structurally sound       0.049*         Good condition, recent maintenance/renovation       0.121**         Roof type:       (0.054)         Bricks/Mixture of mud and cement/Mud       0.147*         6 (0.080)       (0.080)         Cement block/concrete/Stone and rock       0.031         6 (0.058)       (0.026)         Asbestos/cement roof sheeting       0.022**         6 (0.032)       (0.032)         Wall type:       (0.032)         Mixture of mud and cement       -0.065*         6 (0.037)       (0.032)         Floor type:       (0.07)         Carpet       0.036         1 (0.032)       (0.034)         Tiles       0.174***         6 (0.037)       (0.043)         Wood       0.338***         6 (0.044)       (0.044)         Linoleum/Vinyl       0.099**         6 (0.043)       (0.043)         House status:       (0.025)         House owned       0.072***         6 (0.025)       (0.023)         House owned       0.072***         7 (0.023)       (0.023)         Borehole       0.015*         6 (0.056)       (0.056)         7 (0	•	(0.050)
Structurally sound         0.049**           Good condition, recent maintenance/renovation         0.121***           Roof type:         (0.054)           Bricks/Mixture of mud and cement/Mud         0.147**           (0.080)         (0.080)           Cement block/concrete/Stone and rock         0.031           (0.026)         (0.026)           Asbestos/cement roof sheeting         0.022**           (0.032)         (0.032)           Wall type:         Wixture of mud and cement         -0.065*           (0.037)         (0.037)           Floor type:         (0.032)           Carpet         0.055*           (0.032)         (0.032)           Carpet         0.036           Tiles         0.174***           (0.036)         (0.036)           Tiles         0.174***           (0.037)         (0.037)           Wood         0.338***           (0.044)         (0.040)           Linoleum/Vinyl         0.099**           (0.025)         (0.025)           House erented         0.152***           (0.025)         (0.025)           House owned         0.072***           Water source & Electricity	Structurally sound, but needs maintenance	0.042
Good condition, recent maintenance/renovation   0.121**   0.105*		(0.049)
Good condition, recent maintenance/renovation         0.121**	Structurally sound	0.104**
Roof type:           Bricks/Mixture of mud and cement/Mud         0.147*		(0.049)
Roof type:         0.147*           Bricks/Mixture of mud and cement/Mud         0.147*           Cement block/concrete/Stone and rock         0.031           Cement block/concrete/Stone and rock         0.031           Go.058         (0.026)           Asbestos/cement roof sheeting         0.022**           Mixture of mud and cement         -0.065*           Wixture of mud and cement         -0.065*           Concrete         0.055*           Concrete         0.032)           Carpet         0.036           Go.030         0.036           Tiles         0.174****           (0.037)         0.039           Wood         0.338***           (0.04)         0.09**           Linoleum/Vinyl         0.099**           House status:         V           House owned         0.152***           House owned         0.072***           Water source & Electricity         0.006***           Private tap water         0.066***           0.0023         0.005*           Household has electricity         0.015*	Good condition, recent maintenance/renovation	0.121**
Bricks/Mixture of mud and cement/Mud         0.147*		(0.054)
Cement block/concrete/Stone and rock       0.031         Cille       0.033****         (0.026)       (0.026)         Asbestos/cement roof sheeting       0.022**         (0.032)       (0.032)         Wall type:       ************************************	Roof type:	
Cement block/concrete/Stone and rock       0.031         (0.058)       (0.058)         Tile       0.233***         (0.026)       (0.022*         Asbestos/cement roof sheeting       0.022*         (0.032)       (0.032)         Wall type:         Mixture of mud and cement       -0.065*         (0.037)       (0.032)         Carpet       0.055*         (0.032)       (0.032)         Carpet       0.036         11les       0.174***         (0.037)       (0.037)         Wood       0.338****         (0.064)       (0.043)         House status:       House status:         House owned       0.072***         (0.025)       (0.025)         House owned       0.072***         (0.023)       (0.023)         Water source & Electricity       0.015         (0.056)       (0.056)         Household has electricity       0.012	Bricks/Mixture of mud and cement/Mud	0.147*
Tile 0.233*** (0.026) Asbestos/cement roof sheeting 0.022** (0.032)  Wall type:  Mixture of mud and cement -0.065* (0.037)  Floor type:  Concrete 0.055* (0.032)  Carpet 0.036 Tiles 0.036 Tiles 0.174*** (0.037)  Wood 0.338*** (0.037)  Wood 0.338***		(0.080)
Tile       0.233***         (0.026)       Asbestos/cement roof sheeting       0.022**         0.032)       (0.032)         Wall type:         Mixture of mud and cement       -0.065*         (0.037)       (0.037)         Floor type:         Carpet       0.055*         (0.032)       (0.036)         Tiles       0.174***         (0.037)       (0.037)         Wood       0.338****         (0.064)       (0.064)         Linoleum/Vinyl       0.099**         (0.043)       (0.043)         House status:         House owned       0.152***         (0.025)       (0.025)         House owned       0.072***         (0.023)       Water source & Electricity         Private tap water       0.066***         (0.023)       O.015         (0.056)       (0.056)         Household has electricity       0.012	Cement block/concrete/Stone and rock	0.031
Asbestos/cement roof sheeting 0.022**		(0.058)
Asbestos/cement roof sheeting       0.022**	Tile	0.233***
Wall type:         Mixture of mud and cement       -0.065*		(0.026)
Wall type:       -0.065*         Mixture of mud and cement       -0.065*         Floor type:       -0.055*         Concrete       0.035*         Carpet       0.036         Tiles       0.174***         Wood       0.338***         Underwick       0.064)         Linoleum/Vinyl       0.099**         House status:       (0.043)         House rented       0.152***         House owned       0.072***         Water source & Electricity       Vater source & Electricity         Private tap water       0.066***         (0.023)       Borehole       0.015         Household has electricity       0.015         Household has electricity       0.012	Asbestos/cement roof sheeting	0.022**
Mixture of mud and cement       -0.065*		(0.032)
Floor type:         Concrete       0.055*         (0.032)       (0.036)         Carpet       0.036         (0.036)       (0.036)         Tiles       0.174***         (0.037)       (0.037)         Wood       0.338***         (0.064)       (0.064)         Linoleum/Vinyl       0.099**         (0.043)       (0.043)         House status:         House rented       0.152***         (0.025)       (0.025)         House owned       0.072***         (0.023)       (0.023)         Water source & Electricity         Private tap water       0.066***         (0.023)       (0.023)         Borehole       0.015         (0.056)       (0.056)	Wall type:	
Floor type:         Concrete       0.055*         (0.032)       (0.036)         Carpet       0.036         (0.036)       (0.036)         Tiles       0.174***         (0.037)       (0.037)         Wood       0.338***         (0.064)       (0.064)         Linoleum/Vinyl       0.099**         (0.043)       (0.043)         House status:         House rented       0.152***         (0.025)       (0.025)         House owned       0.072***         (0.023)       (0.023)         Water source & Electricity         Private tap water       0.066***         (0.023)       (0.023)         Borehole       0.015         (0.056)       (0.056)	Mixture of mud and cement	-0.065*
Concrete       0.055*         (0.032)       (0.036)         Carpet       0.036         (0.036)       (0.036)         Tiles       0.174***         (0.037)       (0.037)         Wood       0.338***         (0.064)       (0.064)         Linoleum/Vinyl       0.099**         (0.043)       (0.043)         House status:         House rented       0.152***         (0.025)       (0.025)         House owned       0.072***         (0.023)       (0.023)         Water source & Electricity         Private tap water       0.066***         (0.023)       (0.023)         Borehole       0.015         (0.056)       (0.056)         Household has electricity       0.012		(0.037)
Carpet       0.036         (0.036)       (0.036)         Tiles       0.174***         (0.037)       (0.037)         Wood       0.338***         (0.064)       (0.064)         Linoleum/Vinyl       0.099**         (0.043)       (0.043)         House status:         House ented       0.152***         (0.025)       (0.025)         House owned       0.072***         (0.023)       Water source & Electricity         Private tap water       0.066***         (0.023)       O.015         (0.056)       (0.056)         Household has electricity       0.012	Floor type:	
Carpet       0.036         (0.036)       (0.036)         Tiles       0.174***         (0.037)       (0.037)         Wood       0.338***         (0.064)       (0.064)         Linoleum/Vinyl       0.099**         (0.043)       (0.043)         House status:       (0.025)         House rented       0.052**         (0.025)       (0.025)         House owned       0.072***         (0.023)       Water source & Electricity         Private tap water       0.066***         (0.023)       O.015         Borehole       0.015         (0.056)       O.015         (0.056)       O.012	Concrete	0.055*
Tiles 0.174***		(0.032)
Tiles       0.174***         (0.037)       (0.037)         Wood       0.338***         (0.064)       (0.064)         Linoleum/Vinyl       0.099**         (0.043)       (0.043)         House rented       0.152***         (0.025)       (0.025)         House owned       0.072***         (0.023)       (0.023)         Water source & Electricity       (0.023)         Borehole       0.015         (0.056)       (0.056)         Household has electricity       0.012	Carpet	0.036
Wood   0.338***   (0.064)     Linoleum/Vinyl   0.099**   (0.043)     House status:     (0.025)     House owned   0.072***   (0.023)     Water source & Electricity   Private tap water   0.066***   (0.023)     Borehole   0.015   (0.056)     Household has electricity   0.012		
Wood       0.338***         (0.064)       (0.099**)         Linoleum/Vinyl       0.099**         (0.043)       (0.043)         House status:         House rented       0.152***         (0.025)       (0.025)         House owned       0.072***         (0.023)       (0.023)         Water source & Electricity       0.015         Borehole       0.015         Household has electricity       0.012	Tiles	0.174***
Linoleum/Vinyl       (0.064)         House status:       (0.043)         House rented       0.152***         (0.025)       (0.025)         House owned       0.072***         (0.023)       (0.023)         Water source & Electricity       (0.023)         Private tap water       (0.023)         Borehole       0.015         (0.056)       (0.056)         Household has electricity       0.012		
Linoleum/Vinyl       0.099**	Wood	0.338***
(0.043)         House status:         House rented       0.152***         (0.025)       (0.072***         (0.023)       (0.023)         Water source & Electricity         Private tap water       0.066***         (0.023)       (0.023)         Borehole       0.015         (0.056)       (0.056)         Household has electricity       0.012		(0.064)
House status:         House rented       0.152***         (0.025)       0.072***         House owned       0.072***         (0.023)       Water source & Electricity         Private tap water       0.066***         (0.023)       0.015         Borehole       0.015         Household has electricity       0.012	Linoleum/Vinyl	0.099**
House rented 0.152***		(0.043)
	House status:	
House owned 0.072***	House rented	0.152***
Water source & Electricity $(0.023)$ Private tap water $0.066^{***}$ Borehole $(0.023)$ Borehole $(0.056)$ Household has electricity $0.012$		(0.025)
Water source & ElectricityPrivate tap water $0.066^{***}$ Borehole $0.015$ $(0.056)$ $(0.056)$ Household has electricity $0.012$	House owned	0.072***
Private tap water $0.066^{***}$ $(0.023)$ Borehole $0.015$ $(0.056)$ Household has electricity $0.012$		(0.023)
(0.023) Borehole 0.015 (0.056) Household has electricity 0.012	Water source & Electricity	
Borehole 0.015 (0.056) Household has electricity 0.012	Private tap water	0.066***
Household has electricity (0.056) 0.012		(0.023)
Household has electricity 0.012	Borehole	0.015
,		(0.056)
(0.032)	Household has electricity	0.012
		(0.032)

 Table 15: Proxy-means Test Prediction of Income using OLS (continued)

Variables	OLS (Log per-capita consumption)
Toilet type & shared:	
Flush toilet onsite	0.142**
	(0.066)
Flush toilet offsite	0.130**
	(0.066)
Chemical toilet	-0.118
	(0.088)
Pit latrine with ventilation pipe	-0.066
• •	(0.064)
Shared toilet facility	0.089***
·	(0.024)
Cooking energy source:	·
Gas	0.185
	(0.034)
Electricity(mains or generator)/Solar energy	0.096*
	(0.054)
Parafin	0.033
	(0.059)
Heating energy source:	,
Gas	0.027
	(0.021)
Electricity(mains or generator)/Solar energy	0.193***
	(0.068)
Parafin	0.070*
	(0.038)
Other Assets	,
Telephone	0.315***
•	(0.033)
Radio	-0.021
	(0.017)
TV	0.029
	(0.026)
Satellite TV	0.150***
	(0.021)
Computer	0.347***
1	(0.027)
Cellphone	0.126***
1	(0.028)
Electric stove	0.010
	(0.031)
Gas stove	0.105***
Cub 51010	(0.026)

 Table 15: Proxy-means Test Prediction of Income using OLS (continued)

Variables	OLS (Log per-capita consumption)
Microwave	0.033
	(0.023)
Fridge/Freezer	0.051*
	(0.026)
Washing machine	0.083***
C	(0.024)
Lounge suite	0.075***
	(0.021)
Vehicle	0.459***
	(0.028)
Bicycle	0.188***
,	(0.033)
Motorcycle	0.036
	(0.071)
Household size: 1-2 people	0.990***
	(0.028)
Household size: 3-4 people	0.402***
The decision of the option	(0.022)
Per-capita room	0.122***
Ter capita room	(0.008)
Household head gender	0.130***
Trousenola neaa genaer	(0.018)
Household head age:	(0.010)
0 - 30 years	-0.057**
o so years	(0.029)
31 - 50 years	0.006
31 30 years	(0.022)
Household head education:	(0.022)
primary	0.023
primary	(0.033)
lower secondary	0.091***
lower secondary	(0.033)
upper secondary	0.285***
upper secondary	(0.035)
tartiary (non university)	0.067**
tertiary (non-university)	(0.033)
tartiary (university)	0.055)
tertiary (university)	(0.027)
	(0.027)
Observations	4,866
R-squared	0.776

**Table 16:** Marginal Tax Rates at 2017/2018 Base Rates

13% increase	80% increase
20.34%	32.40%
29.38%	46.80%
35.03%	55.80%
40.68%	64.80%
44.07%	70.20%
46.33%	73.80%
50.85%	81.00%
	20.34% 29.38% 35.03% 40.68% 44.07% 46.33%