

# Transfer Progressivity and Aggregate Development

Leandro De Magalhaes <sup>1</sup>   Enric Martorell <sup>2</sup>   Raül Santaeulàlia-Llopis <sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>U. of Bristol

<sup>2</sup>Bank of Spain

<sup>3</sup>NYU Abu Dhabi and CEPR

UN - Wider, June 2025

# MOTIVATION

What explains income per capita differences across countries?  $TFP$ ,  $K$ ,  $H$ , institutions ...

We propose transfer progressivity as a source of cross-country GDP per capita differences.

▷ We interpret (microfound) transfer progressivity as the result of social norms.

Main finding: Moving to optimal transfer progressivity increases income p.c. by 56%.

# OUR CONTRIBUTION

(1) Empirical cross-country (across time and space) evidence on:

(1.1) Transfer progressivity decreases with GDP per capita.  
(cross-sec data per country)

(1.2) Consumption insurance decreases with GDP per capita.  
(micro panel data per country)

Our measure of **transfers** includes **formal (public) + informal (private)**. E.g., we include food transfers across households (large for the poor).

## OUR CONTRIBUTION

(1) Empirical cross-country (across time and space) evidence on:

(1.1) Transfer progressivity decreases with GDP per capita.  
(cross-sec data per country)

(1.2) Consumption insurance decreases with GDP per capita.  
(micro panel data per country)

Our measure of **transfers** includes **formal (public) + informal (private)**. E.g., we include food transfers across households (large for the poor).

## OUR CONTRIBUTION

(1) Empirical cross-country (across time and space) evidence on:

(1.1) Transfer progressivity decreases with GDP per capita.  
(cross-sec data per country)

(1.2) Consumption insurance decreases with GDP per capita.  
(micro panel data per country)

Our measure of **transfers** includes **formal (public) + informal (private)**. E.g., we include food transfers across households (large for the poor).

## OUR CONTRIBUTION (CONTINUED)

- (2) Build an OLG model w/ heterogeneous agents (in permanent skills and shocks) that consume, work, accumulate physical and human capital (LBD).
  - (2.1) Show that transfer progressivity  $\phi(Y)$  can explain the behavior of consumption insurance across development levels.
  - (2.2) Quantify the effect of too much transfer progressivity on income per capita: move to optimal progressivity in poor countries increases income p.c. by 56% and welfare by  $1/3$ .

## OUR CONTRIBUTION (CONTINUED)

- (2) Build an OLG model w/ heterogeneous agents (in permanent skills and shocks) that consume, work, accumulate physical and human capital (LBD).
  - (2.1) Show that transfer progressivity  $\phi(Y)$  can explain the behavior of consumption insurance across development levels.
  - (2.2) Quantify the effect of too much transfer progressivity on income per capita: move to optimal progressivity in poor countries increases income p.c. by 56% and welfare by  $1/3$ .

## RELATIVE INEQUALITY: MALAWI AND US

|             | Variance of Logs |       |      |      |      |
|-------------|------------------|-------|------|------|------|
|             | Malawi           |       |      | U.S. |      |
|             | Rural            | Urban | Full | SCF  | PSID |
| Consumption | 0.41             | 0.55  | 0.50 | –    | 0.79 |
| Income      | 0.98             | 1.56  | 1.09 | 0.99 | 0.97 |
| Wealth      | 1.49             | 4.52  | 1.96 | 4.53 | 2.11 |

De Magalhaes and Santaaulalia-Llopis (JDE 2018) 'The Consumption, Income, and Wealth of the Poorest'.



# TEST OF FULL RISK SHARING

Full risk sharing (Townsend, 1994; Kinnan 2022), that is,

$$\frac{U_{c_i}(c_i(s^t))}{U_{c_{-i}}(c_{-i}(s^t))} = \frac{\omega_{-i}}{\omega_i}.$$

Under CRRA:

$$\ln c_i(s^t) = \frac{1}{\sigma} \left[ \ln \omega_i - \overline{\ln \omega} \right] + \overline{\ln c(s^t)}.$$

Imposing  $\Delta \ln \hat{c}_i(s^t) = \ln \hat{c}_i(s^t) - \ln \hat{c}_i(s^{t-1})$ :

$$\Delta \ln (\hat{c}_{it}) = \phi \Delta \ln (\hat{y}_{it}) + \varepsilon_{it}$$

# TEST OF FULL RISK SHARING

Full risk sharing (Townsend, 1994; Kinnan 2022), that is,

$$\frac{U_{c_i}(c_i(s^t))}{U_{c_{-i}}(c_{-i}(s^t))} = \frac{\omega_{-i}}{\omega_i}.$$

Under CRRA:

$$\ln c_i(s^t) = \frac{1}{\sigma} \left[ \ln \omega_i - \overline{\ln \omega} \right] + \overline{\ln c(s^t)}.$$

Imposing  $\Delta \ln \hat{c}_i(s^t) = \ln \hat{c}_i(s^t) - \ln \hat{c}_i(s^{t-1})$ :

$$\Delta \ln (\hat{c}_{it}) = \phi \Delta \ln (\hat{y}_{it}) + \varepsilon_{it}$$

# TEST OF FULL RISK SHARING

Full risk sharing (Townsend, 1994; Kinnan 2022), that is,

$$\frac{U_{c_i}(c_i(s^t))}{U_{c_{-i}}(c_{-i}(s^t))} = \frac{\omega_{-i}}{\omega_i}.$$

Under CRRA:

$$\ln c_i(s^t) = \frac{1}{\sigma} \left[ \ln \omega_i - \overline{\ln \omega} \right] + \overline{\ln c(s^t)}.$$

Imposing  $\Delta \ln \hat{c}_i(s^t) = \ln \hat{c}_i(s^t) - \ln \hat{c}_i(s^{t-1})$ :

$$\Delta \ln (\hat{c}_{it}) = \phi \Delta \ln (\hat{y}_{it}) + \varepsilon_{it}$$

## TEST OF FULL RISK SHARING: DATA

22 countries with at least 2 years of representative household panel for consumption and income; 66 country-year surveys with 185,000 household observations.

- ▶ Poor countries (most from LSMS-ISA): Ethiopia, Uganda, Tanzania, and Malawi.
- ▶ Middle income countries: China (CHNS), Indonesia (IFLS), India (IHDS), and Mexico (MXFLS).
- ▶ Rich countries: United States (PSID) and E.U. countries (HFCN-ECB).

# CONSUMPTION AND INCOME MEASUREMENT

For poor countries, we use the new LSMS-ISA data:

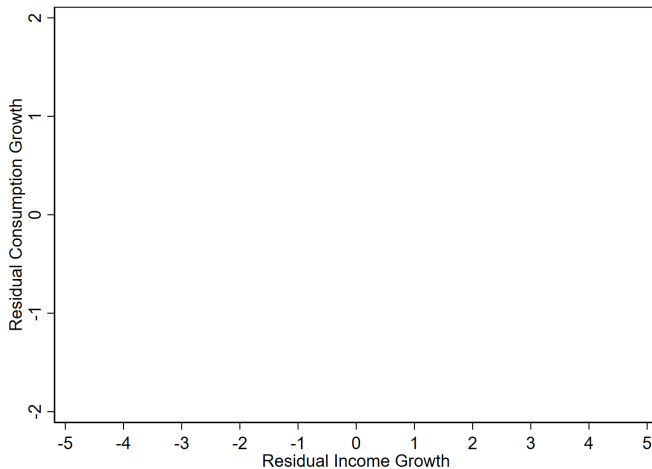
- Consumption (nondurable): Food, Clothing, Utilities, Other nondurables.

Some obstacles: (1) **value of own-produced food** (prices, bucket of bananas vs. 1 kg bag of bananas, we use median prices per item-season-region.) Different from the unit conversion used at the World Bank; (2) at the gate prices (sales happen in few weeks, after harvest) vs. **consumption prices**; (3) and **de-seasonalization** for annualization.

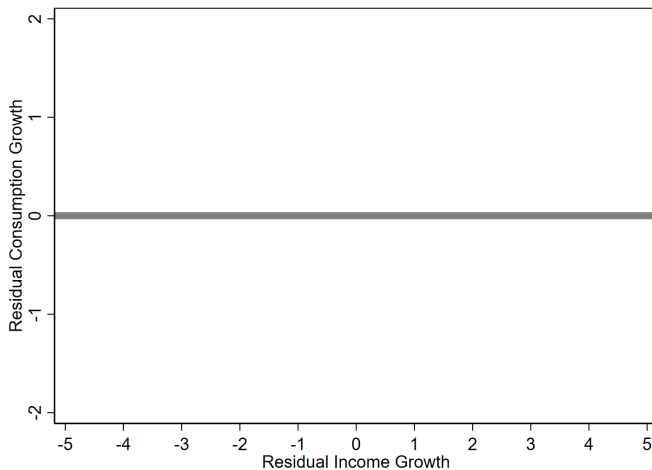
- Income (Before Transfers): Agricultural production (by season), business income (monthly), labor income, and sources of capital income.

Potential measurement error (e.g. recollection bias and underreporting of income).

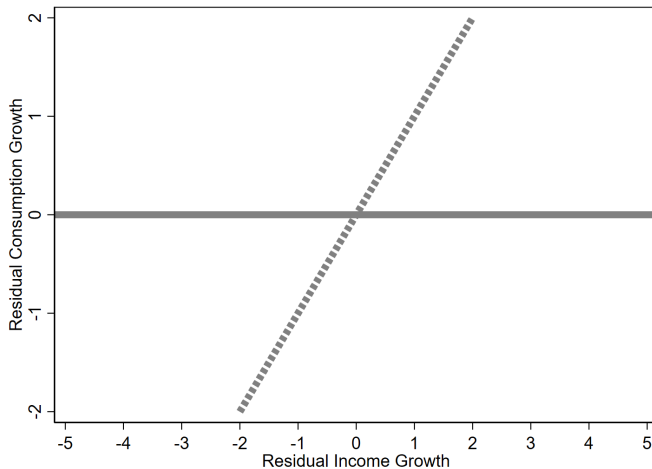
# CONSUMPTION AND INCOME GROWTH ACROSS GDP PER CAPITA



# CONSUMPTION AND INCOME GROWTH ACROSS GDP PER CAPITA

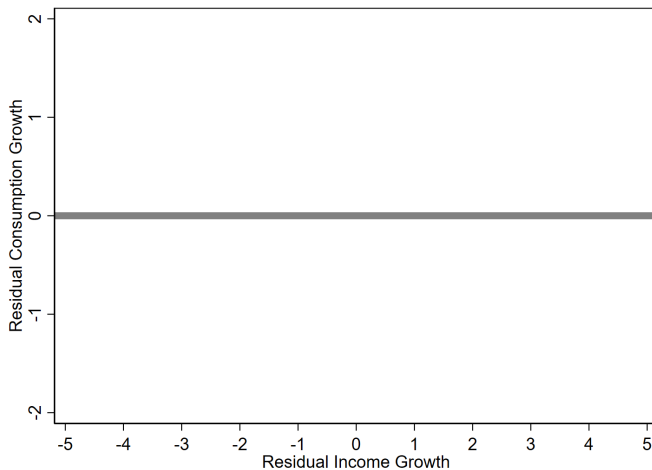


# CONSUMPTION AND INCOME GROWTH ACROSS GDP PER CAPITA

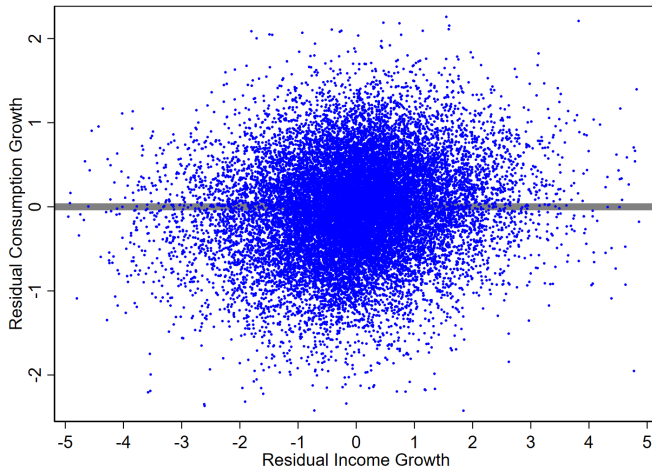




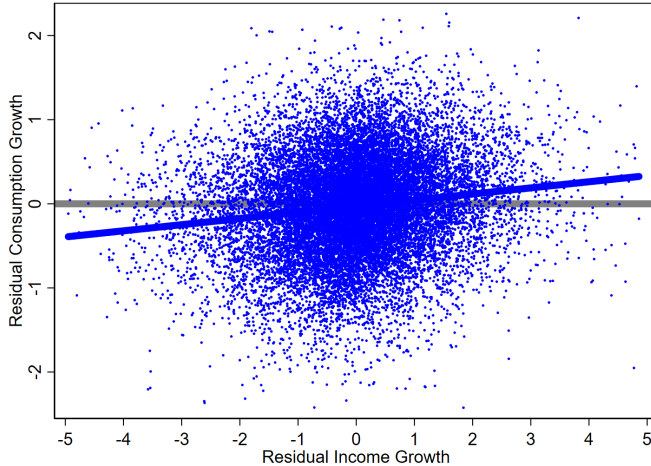
# CONSUMPTION AND INCOME GROWTH ACROSS GDP PER CAPITA



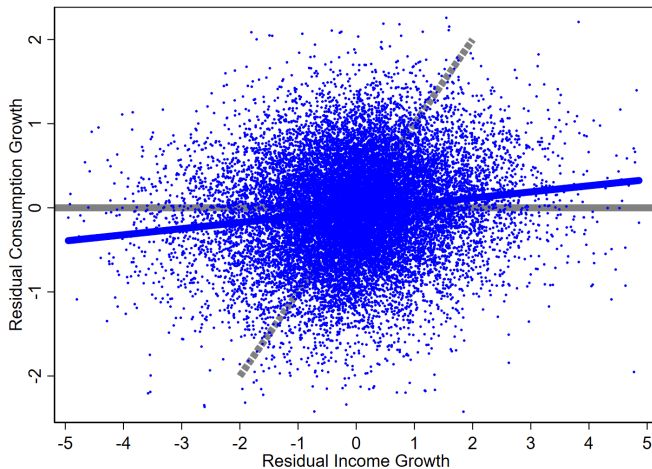
# CONSUMPTION AND INCOME GROWTH ACROSS GDP PER CAPITA



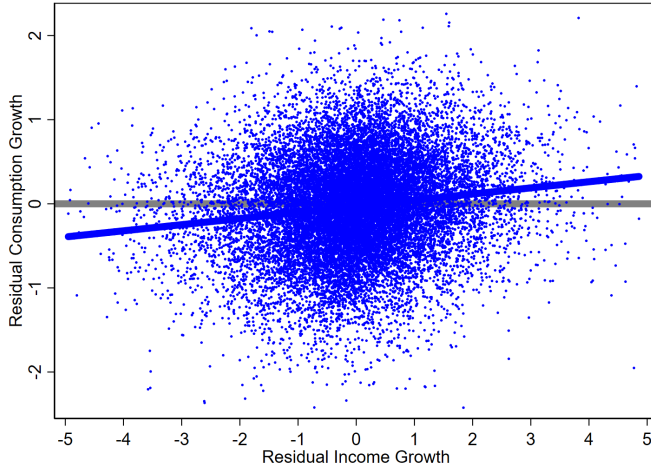
# CONSUMPTION AND INCOME GROWTH ACROSS GDP PER CAPITA



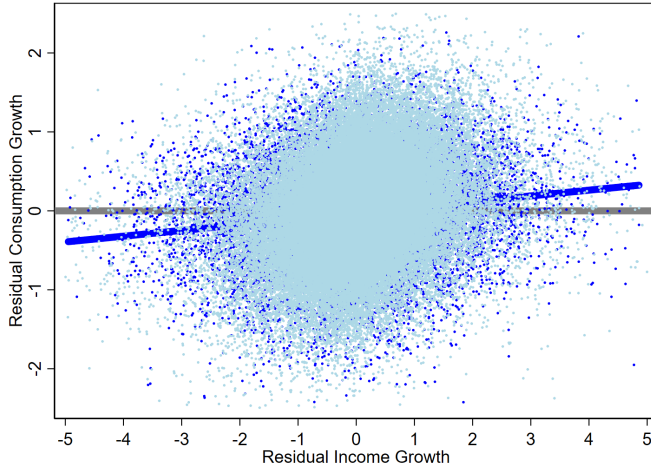
# CONSUMPTION AND INCOME GROWTH ACROSS GDP PER CAPITA



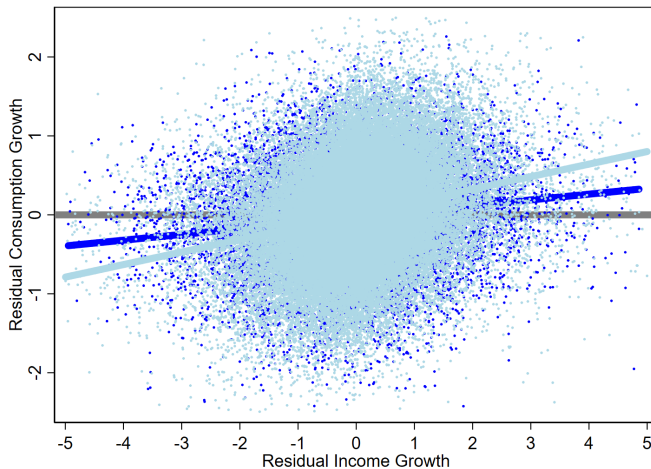
# CONSUMPTION AND INCOME GROWTH ACROSS GDP PER CAPITA



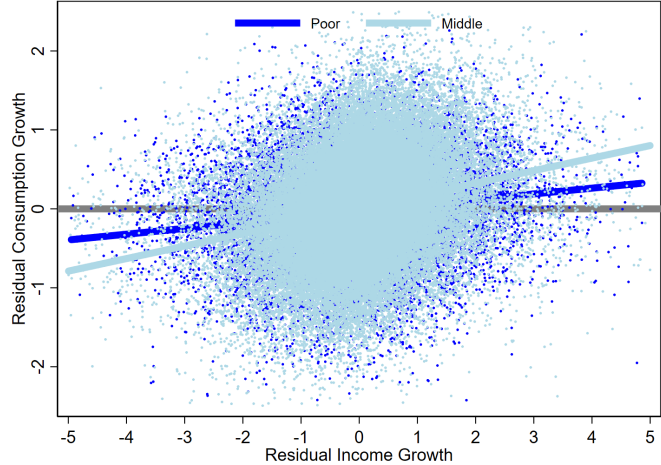
# CONSUMPTION AND INCOME GROWTH ACROSS GDP PER CAPITA



# CONSUMPTION AND INCOME GROWTH ACROSS GDP PER CAPITA

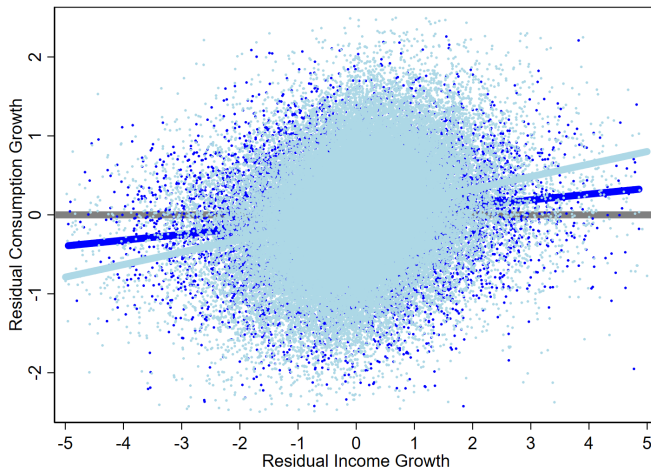


# CONSUMPTION AND INCOME GROWTH ACROSS GDP PER CAPITA

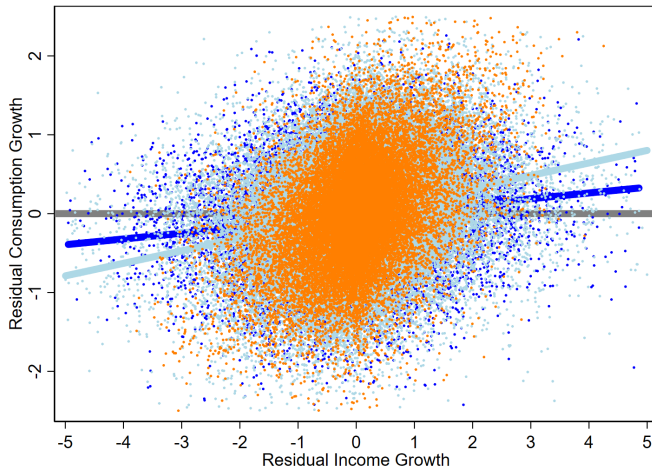




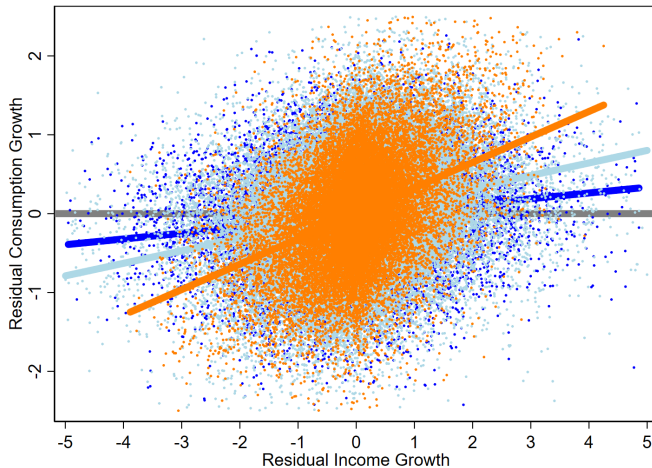
# CONSUMPTION AND INCOME GROWTH ACROSS GDP PER CAPITA



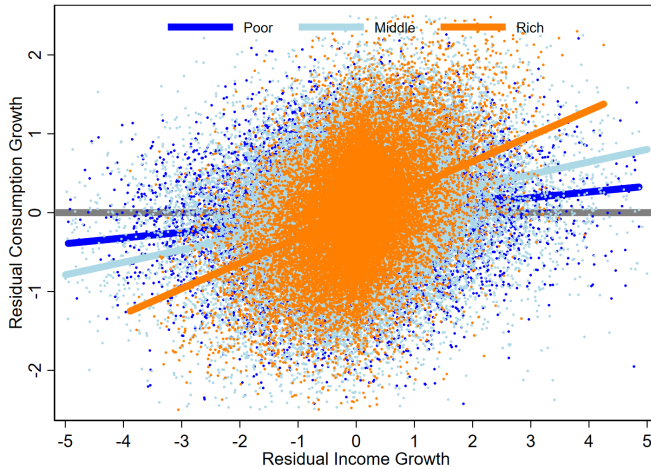
# CONSUMPTION AND INCOME GROWTH ACROSS GDP PER CAPITA



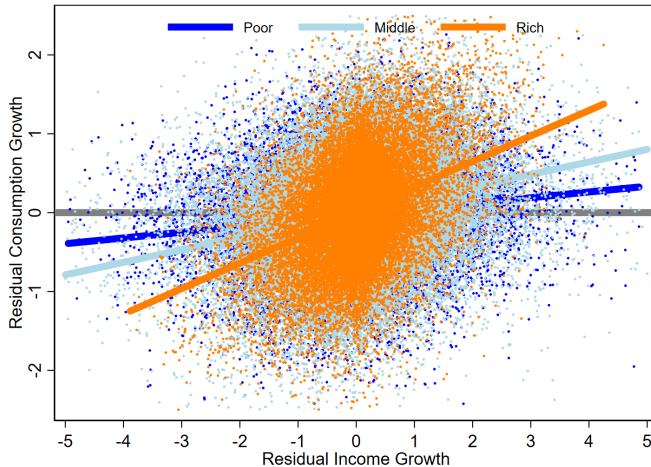
# CONSUMPTION AND INCOME GROWTH ACROSS GDP PER CAPITA



# CONSUMPTION AND INCOME GROWTH ACROSS GDP PER CAPITA



# CONSUMPTION AND INCOME GROWTH ACROSS GDP PER CAPITA



---

## CONSUMPTION INSURANCE ACROSS GDP PER CAPITA

| (a) By Country & Groups: | Poor               | Middle             | Rich                    | Ethiopia           | Uganda             | Tanzania                                | U.S.                      |
|--------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|-------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|---|---------------------------|
| Townsend Test            | 0.0992<br>(0.0036) | 0.1571<br>(0.0022) | 0.3323<br>(0.0047)      | 0.0728<br>(0.0088) | 0.0493<br>(0.0097) | 0.0964<br>(0.0094)                      | 0.1762<br>(0.0067)        |
| Covariances:             |                    |                    |                         |                    |                    |   |                           |
| (b) Full Sample:         | (1)                | (2)                | Townsend $\beta$<br>(3) | (4)                | (5)                | ( $\Delta \ln c, \Delta \ln y$ )<br>(6) | ( $\ln c, \ln y$ )<br>(7) |
| ln GDP p.c.              | 0.0176<br>(0.004)  | 0.0176<br>(0.026)  | 0.0172<br>(0.029)       | 0.0171<br>(0.021)  | 0.0167<br>(0.098)  | 0.0357<br>(0.000)                       | 0.0418<br>(0.000)         |
| Country FE               | No                 | Yes                | Yes                     | Yes                | Yes                | Yes                                     | Yes                       |
| Time FE                  | No                 | No                 | Yes                     | Yes                | Yes                | Yes                                     | Yes                       |
| Age FE                   | No                 | No                 | No                      | Yes                | Yes                | Yes                                     | Yes                       |
| Household Controls       | No                 | No                 | No                      | No                 | Yes                | No                                      | No                        |
| Sample: Country-Years:   | 66                 | 66                 | 66                      | 66                 | 63                 | 66                                      | 81                        |
| Countries                | 22                 | 22                 | 22                      | 22                 | 21                 | 22                                      | 32                        |
| Households               | 185,572            | 185,572            | 185,572                 | 185,572            | 150,700            | 185,572                                 | 185,572                   |

▶▶ Associated Figures

# THE IMPORTANCE OF INFORMAL TRANSFERS IN MALAWI

## Rural Residency

|                    | Quintiles |     |     |     |     |
|--------------------|-----------|-----|-----|-----|-----|
|                    | 1st       | 2nd | 3rd | 4th | 5th |
| Income Sources (%) |           |     |     |     |     |
| Labor              | 20        | 19  | 17  | 17  | 19  |
| Agriculture        | 57        | 60  | 63  | 66  | 57  |
| Business           | 3         | 4   | 5   | 6   | 14  |
| Transfers          | 3         | 2   | 1   | 1   | 0   |
| Food Gifts         | 17        | 14  | 12  | 9   | 3   |
|                    | 100       | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

De Magalhaes and Santaaulalia-Llopis (2015 - World Bank Working Paper 7337) 'The Consumption, Income, and Wealth of the Poorest'



## INFORMAL TRANSFERS AS TAXES

- ▶ Does Africa need a Rotten Kin theorem? Experimental evidence from village economies (Jakiela and Ozier - R. Stud 2015). Kenyan villagers forgo expected return to reduce that social pressure.
- ▶ The effect of social pressure on expenditures in Malawi (Goldberg - JEBO 2017): Spend quicker when paid in the presence of peers.
- ▶ Local Elites as State Capacity (Balan et al - AER 2022): Chiefs in the Congo use local information to increase tax compliance.
- ▶ The Social Tax: Redistributive Pressure and Labor Supply (Caranza - 2022): optional to hide formal labour income increases labour supply in Cote'Ivoire.

## INFORMAL TRANSFERS AS TAXES

- ▶ Does Africa need a Rotten Kin theorem? Experimental evidence from village economies (Jakiela and Ozier - R. Stud 2015). Kenyan villagers forgo expected return to reduce that social pressure.
- ▶ The effect of social pressure on expenditures in Malawi (Goldberg - JEBO 2017): Spend quicker when paid in the presence of peers.
- ▶ Local Elites as State Capacity (Balan et al - AER 2022): Chiefs in the Congo use local information to increase tax compliance.
- ▶ The Social Tax: Redistributive Pressure and Labor Supply (Caranza - 2022): optional to hide formal labour income increases labour supply in Cote'Ivoire.

## INFORMAL TRANSFERS AS TAXES

- ▶ Does Africa need a Rotten Kin theorem? Experimental evidence from village economies (Jakiela and Ozier - R. Stud 2015). Kenyan villagers forgo expected return to reduce that social pressure.
- ▶ The effect of social pressure on expenditures in Malawi (Goldberg - JEBO 2017): Spend quicker when paid in the presence of peers.
- ▶ Local Elites as State Capacity (Balan et al - AER 2022): Chiefs in the Congo use local information to increase tax compliance.
- ▶ The Social Tax: Redistributive Pressure and Labor Supply (Caranza - 2022): optional to hide formal labour income increases labour supply in Cote'Ivoire.

## INFORMAL TRANSFERS AS TAXES

- ▶ Does Africa need a Rotten Kin theorem? Experimental evidence from village economies (Jakiela and Ozier - R. Stud 2015). Kenyan villagers forgo expected return to reduce that social pressure.
- ▶ The effect of social pressure on expenditures in Malawi (Goldberg - JEBO 2017): Spend quicker when paid in the presence of peers.
- ▶ Local Elites as State Capacity (Balan et al - AER 2022): Chiefs in the Congo use local information to increase tax compliance.
- ▶ The Social Tax: Redistributive Pressure and Labor Supply (Caranza - 2022): optional to hide formal labour income increases labour supply in Cote'Ivoire.

## INFORMAL TRANSFERS AS TAXES: QUALITATIVE EVIDENCE FROM VILLAGE CHIEFS IN MALAWI

- ▶ 'Explain the procedures people follow when they approach others to ask for aid'.
- ▶ 'Mostly it is not very common to approach the village head. But relatives.'[...] 'from the others, they go buy from them.'[...] We do not state the amount[...] just ask them to help'.
- ▶ 'They start to the village head.'[...] 'we just get in the house and get maize'.[...] 'piece work [ganyu] in farms to find the food.'
- ▶ '[ask family to help another] Yes'; [amount to share]'No'. '[refuse to help when they have food?] No, that can not happen here.'

## INFORMAL TRANSFERS AS TAXES: QUALITATIVE EVIDENCE FROM VILLAGE CHIEFS IN MALAWI

- ▶ 'Explain the procedures people follow when they approach others to ask for aid'.
- ▶ 'Mostly it is not very common to approach the village head. But relatives.'[...] 'from the others, they go buy from them.'[...] We do not state the amount[...] just ask them to help'.
- ▶ 'They start to the village head.'[...] 'we just get in the house and get maize'.[...] 'piece work [ganyu] in farms to find the food.'
- ▶ '[ask family to help another] Yes'; [amount to share]'No'. '[refuse to help when they have food?] No, that can not happen here.'

## INFORMAL TRANSFERS AS TAXES: QUALITATIVE EVIDENCE FROM VILLAGE CHIEFS IN MALAWI

- ▶ 'Explain the procedures people follow when they approach others to ask for aid'.
- ▶ 'Mostly it is not very common to approach the village head. But relatives.'[...] 'from the others, they go buy from them.'[...] We do not state the amount[...] just ask them to help'.
- ▶ 'They start to the village head.'[...] 'we just get in the house and get maize'.[...] 'piece work [ganyu] in farms to find the food.'
- ▶ '[ask family to help another] Yes'; [amount to share]'No'. '[refuse to help when they have food?] No, that can not happen here.'

## INFORMAL TRANSFERS AS TAXES: QUALITATIVE EVIDENCE FROM VILLAGE CHIEFS IN MALAWI

- ▶ 'Explain the procedures people follow when they approach others to ask for aid'.
- ▶ 'Mostly it is not very common to approach the village head. But relatives.'[...] 'from the others, they go buy from them.'[...] We do not state the amount[...] just ask them to help'.
- ▶ 'They start to the village head.'[...] 'we just get in the house and get maize'.[...] 'piece work [ganyu] in farms to find the food.'
- ▶ '[ask family to help another] Yes'; [amount to share]'No'. '[refuse to help when they have food?] No, that can not happen here.'



# ESTIMATING PROGRESSIVITY

A class of tax policies traditional in public finance (Feldstein, Benabou, HSV, etc.) defined by:

$$T(y, Y) = y \left( 1 - \lambda(Y) y^{-\phi(Y)} \right), \quad (1)$$

where  $y$  is pre-tax income,  $T(y, Y)$  is the total tax ( $\tilde{y} = y - T(y, Y)$  is post-tax income). The parameters to be estimated are  $\lambda(Y) \geq 0$ , and  $\phi(Y) \geq 0$ . The parameter  $\lambda(Y)$  determines the net revenue and  $\phi(Y)$  the degree of progressivity.

We can manipulate the equation:

$$\ln \left( \frac{\tilde{y}}{y} \right) = \ln \lambda(Y) - \phi(Y) \ln y.$$

## TRANSFERS MEASUREMENT

We use an all-in criteria:

- ▶ Private transfers: Food gifts, cash, in-kind, adult children living elsewhere, remittances, shared input, causal labor, alimony/child support.
- ▶ Public transfers: Free food, food subsidy, input subsidy, public work-labor, food/cash for labor, scholarships, direct cash transfers, and taxes.

Transfer data is available for a sample of 13 countries.

- ▶ Food gifts (Malawi and Ethiopia)
- ▶ Subsidized work (Malawi and India)
- ▶ State and individual pensions must go on pre-transfer income (Italy)
- ▶ Personal gifts must go on pre-transfer income (USA)

## TRANSFERS MEASUREMENT

We use an all-in criteria:

- ▶ Private transfers: Food gifts, cash, in-kind, adult children living elsewhere, remittances, shared input, causal labor, alimony/child support.
- ▶ Public transfers: Free food, food subsidy, input subsidy, public work-labor, food/cash for labor, scholarships, direct cash transfers, and taxes.

Transfer data is available for a sample of 13 countries.

- ▶ Food gifts (Malawi and Ethiopia)
- ▶ Subsidized work (Malawi and India)
- ▶ State and individual pensions must go on pre-transfer income (Italy)
- ▶ Personal gifts must go on pre-transfer income (USA)

## TRANSFERS MEASUREMENT

We use an all-in criteria:

- ▶ Private transfers: Food gifts, cash, in-kind, adult children living elsewhere, remittances, shared input, causal labor, alimony/child support.
- ▶ Public transfers: Free food, food subsidy, input subsidy, public work-labor, food/cash for labor, scholarships, direct cash transfers, and taxes.

Transfer data is available for a sample of 13 countries.

- ▶ Food gifts (Malawi and Ethiopia)
- ▶ Subsidized work (Malawi and India)
- ▶ State and individual pensions must go on pre-transfer income (Italy)
- ▶ Personal gifts must go on pre-transfer income (USA)

## TRANSFERS MEASUREMENT

We use an all-in criteria:

- ▶ Private transfers: Food gifts, cash, in-kind, adult children living elsewhere, remittances, shared input, causal labor, alimony/child support.
- ▶ Public transfers: Free food, food subsidy, input subsidy, public work-labor, food/cash for labor, scholarships, direct cash transfers, and taxes.

Transfer data is available for a sample of 13 countries.

- ▶ Food gifts (Malawi and Ethiopia)
- ▶ Subsidized work (Malawi and India)
- ▶ State and individual pensions must go on pre-transfer income (Italy)
- ▶ Personal gifts must go on pre-transfer income (USA)

## TRANSFERS MEASUREMENT

We use an all-in criteria:

- ▶ Private transfers: Food gifts, cash, in-kind, adult children living elsewhere, remittances, shared input, causal labor, alimony/child support.
- ▶ Public transfers: Free food, food subsidy, input subsidy, public work-labor, food/cash for labor, scholarships, direct cash transfers, and taxes.

Transfer data is available for a sample of 13 countries.

- ▶ Food gifts (Malawi and Ethiopia)
- ▶ Subsidized work (Malawi and India)
- ▶ State and individual pensions must go on pre-transfer income (Italy)
- ▶ Personal gifts must go on pre-transfer income (USA)

## TRANSFERS MEASUREMENT

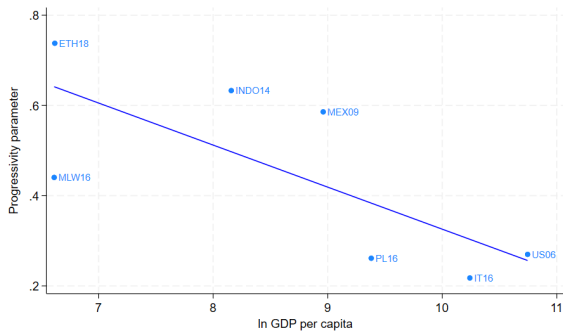
We use an all-in criteria:

- ▶ Private transfers: Food gifts, cash, in-kind, adult children living elsewhere, remittances, shared input, causal labor, alimony/child support.
- ▶ Public transfers: Free food, food subsidy, input subsidy, public work-labor, food/cash for labor, scholarships, direct cash transfers, and taxes.

Transfer data is available for a sample of 13 countries.

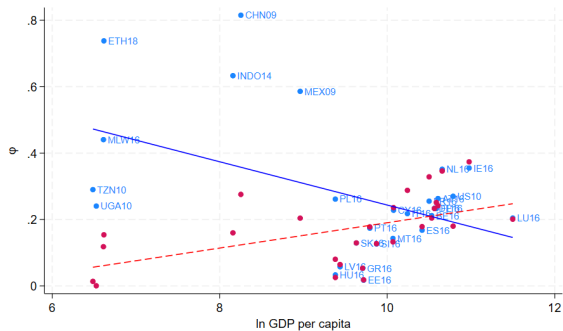
- ▶ Food gifts (Malawi and Ethiopia)
- ▶ Subsidized work (Malawi and India)
- ▶ State and individual pensions must go on pre-transfer income (Italy)
- ▶ Personal gifts must go on pre-transfer income (USA)

# TRANSFER PROGRESSIVITY $\phi(Y)$ ACROSS GDP PER CAPITA





# TRANSFER PROGRESSIVITY $\phi(Y)$ vs. GOVERNMENT PROGRESSIVITY



## MODEL INGREDIENTS

An OLG economy with  $J$  generations. Heterogenous agents choose  $k$ , human capital  $s$ , and are hit with a labor productivity shock  $\varepsilon \in \mathcal{E}$ .

Labor income and capital income are taxed at an endogenous rate  $\tau(y)$  defined as,

$$\tau(y) = 1 - \lambda y^{-\phi}. \quad (2)$$

Capital and labor demand are determined competitively by a representative firm:

$$Y = BK_t^{1-\theta} N_t^\theta \quad (3)$$

The tax-subsidy parameters  $\phi$  and  $\lambda$  are estimated from the data.  $B$  and the parameters associated to the accumulation of human capital specific to High, middle, low income (e.g., match Lagakos et al 2018).

## LOWER PROGRESSIVITY REDUCES SOCIAL INSURANCE BUT INCREASES WELFARE

Rich country defined by high  $B$  (20 times larger than poor countries), high  $T \approx 30\%$  (versus 20% in poor countries), and low progressivity  $\phi = .10$  (versus  $\phi = .40$  in poor countries).

Moving poor countries to rich countries' progressivity increases the covariance between income shocks and consumption, explaining 85% of the difference between consumption insurance in rich and poor countries.

Moving poor countries to their optimal progressivity increases in income (56%) (and consumption) per capita rises welfare (by 1/3) and dominates the negative effect due to loss in insurance.

## LOWER PROGRESSIVITY REDUCES SOCIAL INSURANCE BUT INCREASES WELFARE

Rich country defined by high  $B$  (20 times larger than poor countries), high  $T \approx 30\%$  (versus 20% in poor countries), and low progressivity  $\phi = .10$  (versus  $\phi = .40$  in poor countries).

Moving poor countries to rich countries' progressivity increases the covariance between income shocks and consumption, explaining 85% of the difference between consumption insurance in rich and poor countries.

Moving poor countries to their optimal progressivity increases in income (56%) (and consumption) per capita rises welfare (by 1/3) and dominates the negative effect due to loss in insurance.

## LOWER PROGRESSIVITY REDUCES SOCIAL INSURANCE BUT INCREASES WELFARE

Rich country defined by high  $B$  (20 times larger than poor countries), high  $T \approx 30\%$  (versus 20% in poor countries), and low progressivity  $\phi = .10$  (versus  $\phi = .40$  in poor countries).

Moving poor countries to rich countries' progressivity increases the covariance between income shocks and consumption, explaining 85% of the difference between consumption insurance in rich and poor countries.

Moving poor countries to their optimal progressivity increases in income (56%) (and consumption) per capita rises welfare (by 1/3) and dominates the negative effect due to loss in insurance.

# CONCLUSION

- 1 We have documented two phenomena across levels of development:
  - Transfer progressivity decreases with GDP per capita.
  - Consumption insurance is negatively correlated with GDP per capita.
- 2 Using a quant. macro model we find that transfer progressivity is a source of cross-country income per capita differences:

Reducing progressivity to optimal levels—which takes into account the loss of insurance—the income per capita of poor countries increases by 56%.

# CONCLUSION

- 1 We have documented two phenomena across levels of development:
  - Transfer progressivity decreases with GDP per capita.
  - Consumption insurance is negatively correlated with GDP per capita.
- 2 Using a quant. macro model we find that transfer progressivity is a source of cross-country income per capita differences:

Reducing progressivity to optimal levels—which takes into account the loss of insurance—the income per capita of poor countries increases by 56%.

# CONCLUSION

- 1 We have documented two phenomena across levels of development:
  - Transfer progressivity decreases with GDP per capita.
  - Consumption insurance is negatively correlated with GDP per capita.
- 2 Using a quant. macro model we find that transfer progressivity is a source of cross-country income per capita differences:

Reducing progressivity to optimal levels—which takes into account the loss of insurance—the income per capita of poor countries increases by 56%.