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Cost-Benefit Analysis for a Quinquennial Census: The 2016 Population Census of South Africa

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Cost-Benefit Analysis for a Quinquennial Census:

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The question of whether to carry out a quinquennial census is being faced by national statistical offices in increasingly many countries, including Canada, Nigeria, Ireland, Australia, and South Africa. We describe uses, and limitations, of cost-benefit analysis for this decision problem in the case of the 2016 census of South Africa. The government of South Africa needed to decide whether to conduct a 2016 census or to rely on increasingly inaccurate post-censal estimates accounting for births, deaths, and migration since the previous (2011) census. The cost-benefit analysis compared predicted costs of the 2016 census to the benefits from improved allocation of intergovernmental revenue, which was considered by the government to a critical use of the 2016 census, although not the only important benefit. Without the 2016 census, allocations would be based on population estimates. Accuracy of the post-censal estimates was estimated from the performance of past estimates, and the hypothetical expected reduction in errors in allocation due to the 2016 census was estimated. A loss function was introduced to quantify the improvement in allocation. With this evidence, the government was able to decide not to conduct the 2016 census, but instead to improve data and capacity for producing post-censal estimates.

Key words: demographic statistics; fiscal allocations; loss function; population estimates; post-censal estimates

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1. Introduction

1.1. Background on Costs and Benefits of Mid-Decade Censuses

At all times, but especially in challenging economic times, governments considering investment in an accurate census or other social information face simultaneous decision problems of how much to invest and how much accuracy to seek. In the United States of America, the Constitutional requirement of a census every ten years has been met, at increasing cost and with varying degrees of accuracy. On the other hand, the Congress of the United States has never provided funds for a mid-decade census despite the legal requirement that a mid-decade census be carried out "in the year 1985 and every ten years thereafter" (Census Act of 1976, PL 94-521; 13 USC §141(d)). Since the 2010/11 round of census taking, media reports suggest that the timing and format of national censuses is being debated in several countries including Australia (*The Guardian* 2015); Canada (*The Globe and Mail* 2011); Ireland (*The Journal* 2012) and Nigeria (*Nigerian Tribune* 2015).

In South Africa, the Statistics Act of 1999 requires "a population census to be taken in the year 2001 and every five years thereafter . . . unless the Minister, on the advice of the Statistician-General . . . determines otherwise." The Act further provides for an independent Statistics Council to advise both the Minister and the Statistician General on a wide range of matters pertaining to official statistics, with the taking of a population census specifically identified. In accordance with the law, censuses were taken in 2001 and 2011, but following the advice of the Statistics Council, not in 2006. The analysis described in this paper was prepared as part of the evaluation of the 2011 Census to help the Statistics Council advise the Statistician-General and the Minister responsible for official statistics on whether a

2016 census should be carried out by the government statistical agency, Statistics South Africa (Stats SA).

Consideration of costs and benefits of government data programs such as the 2016 census is essential for making informed decisions about how much to invest in the data program. In November 2009, representatives of national statistics agencies and UN agencies met in Dakar to discuss improving the provision of statistics in the context of the United Nations Millennium Development Goals. The Dakar Declaration on the Development of Statistics that followed from this meeting proposed that official statistics are a public good and that their production and dissemination is a core responsibility of all governments. Consideration of costs and benefits of data programs is necessary because the market does not lead to socially optimal investment in such public goods (Sims, 1984). The cost of a 2016 census is estimated to be at least that of the 2011 census at R3 billion. (All amounts are in 2011 prices and at the time of the Census, the South African Rand was equivalent to US$0.14.) Note that the value of the census really refers to the *added* value of the census, compared with the value of alternatives, in particular a large sample survey to provide data on inter-provincial migration since the 2011 census. The more accurately population change can be measured without a census, the less is the 2016 census's value, ceteris paribus.

Benefits from data programs arise largely from their use, and to understand the causal pathways by which outputs from the data program affect outcomes used is enormously complex. In particular, we would want to predict what outcomes would occur if the 2016 census were to be conducted and what outcomes would occur if it were not conducted. The benefit from the 2016 census reflects the difference in the value of the outcomes under the two scenarios, and therefore outcomes that would be the same for both scenarios can be ignored in the analysis. Even so, to consider all actions or outcomes

affected by taking or not taking a 2016 census is not feasible. In addition, assigning values (e.g., monetary values) to the outcomes is challenging for most but not all uses of statistics (Spencer 1982a).

The impossibility of studying all the benefits of a major data program such as a census implies that cost-benefit analysis of the program must, necessarily, be incomplete in that some benefits – perhaps even the majority of the benefits – will be unmeasured. Our analysis is a partial cost-benefit analysis, in that not all benefits are considered. As discussed below, *we focus on just a single use of the census data: allocation of national funds to sub-national jurisdictions by formulas*. There are many other uses of census statistics which may be important. For consideration of other benefits from the South African census, see May et al (2013). The Office on National Statistics in the UK explicitly considered costs and benefits of the 2011 census, after receiving the recommendation of the "House of Commons Treasury Select Committee . . . that: "any future Census should also be justified in cost-benefit terms" (Cope 2015, 2). However, the detailed "business case" that was developed to "make the case" for the 2011 census is not publicly available, only a high-level summary (Parliament of the U.K. 2009) and links thereto discussing some identified uses. General Register Office for Scotland (2006) discusses costs and benefits of the 2011 Scotland census, and Bakker (2014) analyzes costs and benefits of the New Zealand census. However, in all of these studies, the quantification of benefit for non-allocative uses of census statistics typically is highly uncertain.

The earliest identified cost-benefit analysis of a quinquennial census is that of Redfern (1974), who focused on benefits from more accurate fund allocations arising from a mid-decade census for England and Wales. Spencer (1980a) conducted a cost-benefit analysis comparing two alternative versions of the 1970 U.S. census. Seeskin and Spencer (2015) analyze benefits from improved allocations of funds and political representation under alternative accuracy profiles of the 2020 U.S. census. May and Lehohla

(2005) discuss reasons for cost increases during South Africa's 2001 Census but only describe some of the benefits.

Assigning values to alternative outcomes is a challenge for cost-benefit analysis of data programs. To compare costs and benefits most directly, it is convenient if benefits are quantified in the same units as costs. When such a comparison is not feasible, however, the issue should not be forced. Instead, summaries can be prepared showing what benefits are attainable at what costs. Savage (1985) and Sims (1984) offer cautionary critiques of misguided attempts to force benefits of data programs to be measured in comparable units to costs.

A partial cost-benefit analysis of a data program should not be narrowly interpreted as a formal set of calculations that will point to the "correct" or "optimal" decision (Savage 1985, 4). Cost-benefit analysis in the narrow sense can be misleading when applied to data programs, as pointed out by the National Academy of Sciences (1985).

> Cost-benefit analysis, as we understand and use the term, means describing a program as a set of commodities produced (benefits) and a set of commodities consumed (costs) and aggregating those using prices – market prices when possible, otherwise "shadow prices" that emerge from calculations based on assumptions of optimization, either by individuals or by components of a market economy. . .
>
> With information dissemination programs, this analytical framework is not helpful. Technical analysts can determine some of the political and economic decisions to which the information is relevant, and they can look for alternative pathways through which the information might flow if the program were reduced or eliminated. But these efforts will involve tracing out the operation of incomplete and imperfect markets and

> of nonmarket information transfer mechanisms; the usual practices of relying on market prices and on the uniqueness of the values of traded goods will not be available. Trying to proceed nonetheless to attach dollar values to the effects of the information will nearly always lead to guesswork and arbitrary assumptions obscure, rather than clarify, the analysis. (54-55)

We use the term cost-benefit analysis in the broad sense of providing a way of thinking about, and a way of organizing information about, *some* of the benefits and costs of a data program. There should be no automatic presumption that the measured benefits will outweigh the measured costs even for a data program that truly should be carried out, in the sense that the difference between its actual benefits and its actual costs is greater than for other programs. *Failure to demonstrate measured benefits exceed costs does not indicate the data program is unjustified or should not be carried out.* The value of such a cost-benefit analysis is a reduction in the uncertainty concerning the benefits and costs, and in an ideal world this would improve decisions concerning statistical programs. There is a danger with this approach, however, in that decision-makers may conclude that a data program is unworthy of funding if the partial cost-benefit analysis does not show benefits exceeding costs.

Although additional practical constraints on statistical agencies could in principle be incorporated into the cost function, factors other than cost may influence whether a data program is carried out. These possible factors include the capacity of the responsible institution to undertake data collection, competing demands from other data collection programs, and anticipated technology or methodology changes that improve the accuracy of estimating the population. In the case of capacity constraints, the institution may opt to reprioritize its work program, delaying or suspending other data collection activities in order to undertake the activity deemed a priority. In the case of the technology or methodological changes, improvements in the capacity to sample, such as satellite imagery, may permit

the institution to opt for a large survey rather than a full census, thereby affecting the cost function of an alternative to a census.

There are major limitations in scope of partial cost-benefit analyses that must be communicated by researchers. If incorrectly interpreted, a partial cost-benefit analysis could do more harm than good. Key assumptions must be presented in a transparent way. Decision-makers within the statistical agency should be aware of all the limitations. In their communications with decision-makers and the general public, the researchers should explain the limitations in an understandable, if abbreviated form.

1.2. Legal Context for the Census in South Africa

In South Africa, census-taking has a longstanding and sometimes controversial history dating back to the 18th century. However, most of Statistics Acts (1976, 1978, and 1980) and censuses were designed during the apartheid regime and therefore considered to be too narrow and insufficient to protect and promote the rights of all citizens in South Africa. To address the limitations of the previous Acts, the current democratic South African Government designed the Statistics Act, 1999 (Act No. 6 of 1999). The Act provides for "a Statistician-General as head of Statistics South Africa, who is responsible for the collection, production and dissemination of official and other statistics, including the conducting of a census of the population, and for co-ordination among producers of statistics; to establish a Statistics Council and provide for its functions; to repeal certain legislation; and to provide for connected matters." The first responsibility of the Statistician-General specified in the Act is to "cause a population census to be taken in the year 2001 and every five years thereafter . . . unless the Minister [of Finance, or other Minister as chosen by the President], on the advice of the Statistician-General . . . determines otherwise."

1.3. Uses of Census Data

The additional information a 2016 census would provide about the population would lead to changes of various kinds, including but not limited to the following.

1. Under South Africa's system of multi-tier government, funds are allocated by the national government to provinces and municipalities on the basis of population and other data. The fund allocations will differ depending on whether a 2016 census is carried out or not.
2. Additional social science information about population sizes (for groups classified by geography, ethnicity, and other criteria) would be provided, along with information about internal migration and migration between South Africa and other countries. Such information is important for understanding, and may or may not lead to identifiable changes in actions or outcomes. May et al. (2013) discuss a survey conducted to yield some limited insight into this.
3. Surveys carried out by Stats SA and also by other survey organizations can be designed more efficiently (using updated sampling frames) based on information the 2016 census will provide. The survey analysis is also improved by the availability of more accurate population totals for various and diverse subgroups, which can be used to calibrate the survey data.
4. Policy analyses in all spheres of government will change to some degree as a result of having the 2016 census data available.
5. Social planning and allocation of funding for electricity, water, sanitation, education facilities and telecommunications can be based on more accurate data about population distribution.
6. Businesses may make different decisions about where to locate, product design, or risk assessment.

In addition, a census can have an important ceremonial aspect and be taken as a symbol of government efficiency [or inefficiency, depending on point of view], as observed by Kruskal (1984) and confirmed in the survey of data users as discussed by May et al. (2013, viii).

Uses of census data for formula-based allocation of funds are perceived as important in the context of a multi-tier government system such as that adopted by South Africa, and are the focus of the benefit analysis in this paper. Section 1.4 provides further context.

The uses of census data for policy analysis (item 4 in the list) appear to be important as well. McCaa et al. (2006) discuss the strategic importance of the census in providing demographic, economic and social data pertaining, at a specified time, to all persons in a country or a well-defined part of the country. They further note that census helps in undertaking efficient management of economic and social policies/programmes, and one infers that census information is a key element in evidence-based policymaking. Indeed, concern for effects of population change and numbers is reflected by the South African government's *White Paper on Population Policy*, which emphasizes "the need for reliable and up-to-date information on the population and human development situation in the country to inform policy making and programme design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation" (Ministry for Welfare and Population Development, 1998, 16).

To understand how data affect policy development and analysis is challenging, and may require careful case studies of policy processes. We did not attempt this in full, but we did consider how changes in population numbers would affect outputs from the kind of microsimulation analyses that would be produced in the policy context, and found moderate impact (May et al. 2013, 32-35). The findings were communicated to the Statistics Council, the Statistician-General and the Minister responsible for Stats SA, but will not be further discussed in this paper.

1.4. Formula-Based Allocations of Funds

The South African Constitution considers various aspects of intergovernmental fiscal relations including the devolution of certain revenue and expenditure assignments to sub-national governments. Responsibility for revenue generation is unequally distributed between the national, provincial and local spheres of government. The national government has a wide variety of tax instruments available for raising revenue. In contrast, the provinces have limited options for taxation, and the municipalities largely rely upon property taxes and service charges. Although the revenue generating power of municipal governments was strengthened following the Municipal Property Rates Act (2004), the bulk of national revenue accrues to national government (Yemek, 2005:9). To address this, the Constitution also provides for a non-partisan Financial and Fiscal Commission (FFC) that advises parliament and sub-national governments on a variety of issues concerning intergovernmental fiscal relations, including the allocation of revenue among the three spheres of government, i.e., national, provinces, and municipalities. According to Section 214 of the Constitution, one of the two main instruments for transferring revenue from the national to the other two spheres is the "equitable shares" program. The provincial equitable share accounts for around 80 per cent of transfers to provinces and the local government equitable share accounts for over half of transfers to municipalities (National Treasury 2015).

The provincial share and local government shares are divided between the provinces and the municipalities according to revenue-sharing formulae that are revised periodically. The Provincial Equitable Share (PES) and Local Government Equitable Share (LGES) formulas are based on the demographic and economic profiles of the sub-national jurisdictions as revealed by population and other statistics. To align with the mandated responsibilities of these jurisdictions, the PES has included the following components: an education share based on the average size of the school-age population

(ages 5 to 17) and the number of learners enrolled in public ordinary schools; a health share based on the use of the public health system and the number of people without medical aid or health insurance; a general component based on population size. The LGES formula depends mainly on population numbers from the latest census because updated population statistics are not available at a municipal level for non-census years. This paper is based on the LGES formula that was used prior to 2013, as this was the formula in use at the time the research was conducted. The new formula that was introduced in 2013 is still driven mainly by the number of poor households in each municipality (National Treasury 2013, 34-43).

1.5. Refining the Set of Choices

In a cost-benefit or other decision analysis, it is important to specify the alternative choices and underlying assumptions. We assume that a census will be taken in 2021 whether or not a census is taken in 2016. Further, we assume that if the 2016 census is not taken, Stats SA will conduct a large sample survey in 2016 similar to the Community Survey undertaken in 2007 that sampled 300 000 households. This will provide data on inter-provincial migration since the 2011 census. Uses of population numbers through 2016 will be unaffected by the 2016 census, because the census results would not yet be available. Users of population numbers for 2022 and beyond will rely on the 2021 census numbers. Although post-2021 analysis of population dynamics would still be improved by the availability of 2016 census data, we judge the benefits of the improvement to be relatively small in comparison to other benefits from the 2016 census. These considerations lead us to focus on benefits arising from uses of population numbers for the five-year period, 2017 – 2021.

If a 2016 population census is not carried out, province-level population numbers for 2017 – 2021 will be available from the mid-year population estimates, which are derived by allowing for births, deaths, and net movements into and out of each province since the time of the 2011 census (Statistics South Africa

2011). The first two are derived from civil registration of vital statistics, but the last can only be estimated as internal migration is not recorded, and there is a potentially substantial unrecorded international immigration. Thus, in the absence of the 2016 census, the mid-year estimates for provinces will need to account for 6 – 10 years of population change since the 2011 census; the Community Survey will be useful for this. If the 2016 census is conducted, the population numbers for provinces for 2017 – 2021 are again provided by the mid-year population estimates, but these need only account for 1 – 5 years of population change since the 2016 census, and official population numbers below the province level will be 1 – 5 years out of date instead of 6 – 10. Mid-year estimates are not available below the province level. Thus, municipal population numbers for 2017–2021 will be based either on the 2016 census, if it is conducted, or on the 2011 census if there is no 2016 census.

1.6. Organization of Paper

As noted, we focus on the benefits from the 2016 census that arise from improved allocations from the LGES and PES over the period 2017 – 2021. For this analysis, we treat the PES allocations as being correct if the input data for the allocation calculations were perfectly correct. A loss function for measuring the aggregate discrepancy between the calculated allocations, $\hat{\theta}$, and the correct (or "true") allocations, θ, is developed (Section 2). We consider two alternative ways that $\hat{\theta}$ can be developed, according to the construction of mid-year population estimates for 2017 – 2021: the "*cen16*" alternative uses the 2016 census results either as the estimates (LGES) or as the base for mid-year estimates (PES), whereas the "*nocen16*" alternative relies on the 2011 census for the municipal estimates (LGES) and as the base for the mid-year estimates for provinces (PES), supplemented by a 2016 Community Survey. To model the accuracy of the two alternative sets of mid-year population estimates, we assess the past performance of mid-year population estimates by comparing them to the 2011 census results (Section 3) and then we model their accuracy for 2017-2021 (Section 4). The distributions of PES and LGES

allocations are then derived under the "*cen16*" and "*nocen16*" alternatives (Section 5), leading to estimates of improvement in allocation due to the 2016 census. Limitations of the analysis are indicated (Section 7). After discussing census cost (Section 8), we discuss the benefits in light of the costs (Section 9). The paper concludes with a brief discussion of the decisions made concerning the 2016 census and alternatives (Section 10).

2. Use of Loss Functions to Measure Improvement in the Allocations of Funds

2.1. Loss Functions for Errors in Allocations

An important identified use of population census data in South Africa is for allocation of funds by a formula whose inputs are statistics of various kinds and whose output specifies what share of a total each province should receive. As already noted, the formula is called the Provincial Equitable Share (PES). A similar important use is for allocation of funds to municipalities by the Local Government Equitable Share (LGES) formula. The design and weighting of the formulas are agreed by intergovernmental forums that include provincial and municipal representatives. The formulas are also reviewed by an independent constitutional advisory institution, the Fiscal and Financial Commission (FFC). These formulas are used annually by the National Treasury to allocate shares of a total that is not affected by the population statistics.

Distortions in the allocations arise from error in the data used to compute the allocations. We will use a loss function as in statistical decision theory to accomplish two purposes. First, the loss function will reflect rankings over alternative patterns of errors in allocation, with smaller loss corresponding to higher ranking and greater preference (National Academy of Sciences 1980, 84ff; Spencer 1980c). The loss functions considered here all take the value zero when there is no error in allocations arising from statistical error. The loss function is thus the negative of a utility function and satisfies the properties of

a regret function (Berger 1985, 46ff, 376ff). The scale of the utility function is chosen (at least in theory), so that preferences under uncertainty, including risk aversion, are automatically taken into account when expected utility (or expected loss) is considered. Alternative axioms for preferences under uncertainty lead to focus on minimizing the maximum regret rather than expected regret or loss (Manski 2011). More generally, providing the probability distribution of loss – either the full multivariate distribution or the marginal distributions for each of the recipients (e.g., local governments) can be informative. Second, we will use the loss function to compare costs of improving data to the benefits in terms of improved allocations (Spencer 1980a, 31-33).

Different perspectives have been taken in the literature on the effects of the distortions in allocations. One perspective addresses inequities that arise because the allocations differ from those that would arise if the legislated formulas were applied to error-free data. A second perspective looks at inefficiencies and reductions in social welfare that are believed to arise when the allocations are based on data with error instead of error-free data. Our analysis will focus on inequities because we believe that measuring changes in social welfare caused by distortions in allocations arising from data error is simply too difficult.

2.2. Loss in Social Welfare from Errors in Allocations

Analyses of benefits from censuses arising from increased "utility" or social welfare have been conducted recently for England and Wales (Cope 2015) and New Zealand (Bakker 2014). Although the details of the analysis for England and Wales could not be discovered by the authors, Cope report mentions differences in utility from overallocations and underallocations and refers to the sum of net differences as "efficiency loss." More details are available for the analysis of the value of the New Zealand (NZ) census and associated population statistics. Bakker (2014, 50-53) considered distortions in allocations with the NZ health funding formula. The analysis assumed that the allocations based on

error-free population data maximized the welfare of NZ residents. In particular, let H_a and $\hat{H}_a$ denote the health expenditure allocations to area a with error-free data and actual data, respectively, and let X_a denote other final consumption expenditure to area a, with $a = 1,\ldots,A$. The analysis specified that the social welfare W from health formula allocations $\hat{H}_a$ and other final consumption expenditures X_a has the form $W(\hat{\mathbf{H}},\mathbf{X}) = \sum_a X_a + u_a(\hat{H}_a)$ with $\hat{\mathbf{H}} = (\hat{H}_1,\ldots,\hat{H}_A)$, $\mathbf{X} = (X_1,\ldots,X_A)$, and $u_a(\hat{H}_a) = H_a \log(\hat{H}_a)$. This social welfare specification implies that the optimal distribution of a fixed sum equal to $\sum_a H_a$ occurs when the allocation to area a is indeed equal to H_a. The total loss from distortions in health was taken to be $W(\mathbf{H},\mathbf{X}) - W(\hat{\mathbf{H}},\mathbf{X})$. This is non-negative and is equal to $\sum_a u_a(H_a) - u_a(\hat{H}_a)$ or

$= \sum_a H_a[\log(H_a) - \log(\hat{H}_a)]$. It is important to note that, other than the assumptions of optimality and decreasing marginal utility from health funding allocations as reflected by $u_a(\cdot)$, the analysis made no attempt to justify the specifications involving W and $u_a(\cdot)$. Different specifications would lead to different assessments of loss from distortions in allocations due to data error.

The assumption that an allocation formula is optimal should not be made casually. The U.S. experience indicates diverse ways that formulas fail to be optimal (Buehler and Holtgrave, 2007). The National Research Council (2003) report, *Statistical Issues in Allocating Funds by Formula,* commissioned several papers examining the design, development, structure and inherent compromises in intergovernmental aid formulas. (The papers were published in 2002 in *Journal of Official Statistics* 18(3).) Downes and Pogue (2002) discuss the "often contradictory aid objectives . . . [and] assess the extent to which, in practice, formulas deviate from the ideal" (National Research Council 2003, 97). Zaslavsky and Schirm (2002) describe formula complexities such as hold-harmless provisions, floors and ceilings and inconsistent data sources, and describe how their effects can be difficult to predict and can "produce allocations that don't line up with original intentions" (National Research Council 2003, 97). Similar

critiques appear in Spencer (1982b). Melnick (2002) describes the legislative process by which allocation formulas "pass the test for face validity while generating the necessary political support" (National Research Council 2003, 97). Possibly, legislators are motivated to secure the most funding for their constituents, but by including factors representing need, capability, and effort, the formulas appear if they are addressing program goals. A legislator who participated in the development of a complex formula for General Revenue Sharing, a program that would distribute more than $55 billion in the U.S. from 1972 to 1980, described the process this way: "We finally quit, not because we hit on a rational formula, but because we were exhausted. And finally we got one that almost none of us could understand at the moment. We were told that the statistics were not available to run the [computer] print on it. So we adopted it, and it is here for you today" (quoted in Spencer 1980a, 152). Furthermore, even if the formula could be regarded as optimal when the input data were error-free, the formula allocations may not be optimal, e.g. if the population numbers also depended on other data series that did contain error. E.g., Schirm, Zaslavsky, and Czajka (1999) discuss estimation error for local governments.

In conclusion, analysis of benefits from improved data in terms of increased social welfare arising from more accurate formula-based allocation of funds should be taken skeptically unless the formula can be demonstrated to be optimal and the form of the social welfare function can be justified.

2.3. Loss from Inequity in Allocations Due to Data Error

The very names of the PES and LGES, Provincial *Equitable* Share and Local Government *Equitable* Share, indicate the importance of equitable allocations in South Africa. Therefore, we did not attempt a social welfare analysis based on assumptions of formula optimality, but instead we considered which patterns of distortions of allocations would lead to larger increases in inequity for the local governments and their people.

However, the business case analysis for the 2011 Scotland census is available, and it contains an analysis of shifts in fund allocations to Health Board Areas that would have occurred with a 2001 census and without a 2001 census -- in which case post-censal estimates would have been used. (General Register Office for Scotland 2006, 27-34).

For the purposes of the analysis, the allocations will be considered to be correct if there is no error in the statistics used as inputs to the allocation formulas. We will index the n units (provinces or municipalities) receiving allocations by $i = 1,\ldots,n$. The correct allocation to recipient unit i will be denoted by θ_i and the allocation based on statistics will be denoted by $\hat{\theta}_i$. The arrays of allocations are respectively denoted by $\boldsymbol{\theta} = (\theta_1,\ldots\theta_n)$ and $\hat{\boldsymbol{\theta}} = (\hat{\theta}_1,\ldots\hat{\theta}_n)$. The component loss function for misallocation to unit i is denoted by $\ell_i(\boldsymbol{\theta},\hat{\boldsymbol{\theta}})$ and the aggregate loss equals the sum of the component losses,

$$\sum_{i=1}^{n} \ell_i(\boldsymbol{\theta},\hat{\boldsymbol{\theta}}). \tag{1}$$

Summing the component losses to the recipients, as in (1), is consistent with a utilitarian view of social welfare measurement (Spencer 1985, 816–817). In addition to considering aggregate loss, it is important to also pay attention that the expected component loss $E\ell_i(\boldsymbol{\theta},\hat{\boldsymbol{\theta}})$ is not excessive for any recipient i. This principle could be extended to see that the upper quantiles of the component loss functions are not excessive for any recipient.

To motivate the form of the component loss functions $\ell_i(\boldsymbol{\theta},\hat{\boldsymbol{\theta}})$ consider the asymmetry of the recipients' views regarding positive and negative errors in allocation. If the error in the allocation, $\hat{\theta}_i - \theta_i$, is negative (an underpayment), the recipient unit suffers a shortfall equal to that amount. A simple measure of loss in this case is $a(\theta_i - \hat{\theta}_i)$ with $a > 0$. If the error in the allocation, $\hat{\theta}_i - \theta_i$, is positive

(an overpayment), the recipient is really receiving a positive benefit! In this case, a simple measure of loss is $-b(\hat{\theta}_i - \theta_i)$ with $b > 0$. A simple component loss function for recipient unit i that takes this perspective into account is

$$\ell_i(\boldsymbol{\theta}, \hat{\boldsymbol{\theta}}) = a(\theta_i - \hat{\theta}_i)^+ - b(\hat{\theta}_i - \theta_i)^+, \tag{2}$$

where $(x)^+ = \max\{x, 0\}$. Perceiving an underpayment to be somewhat more consequential than an overpayment of the same magnitude, we have $a > b \geq 0$, but the ratio b/a will not be too small. For the PES and LGES, the fact that the total amount allocated is fixed implies that the sum of the over-allocations must equal the sum of the under-allocations, and hence

$$\sum_{i=1}^{n} a(\theta_i - \hat{\theta}_i)^+ - b(\hat{\theta}_i - \theta_i)^+ = c \sum_{i=1}^{n} |\hat{\theta}_i - \theta_i|, \tag{3}$$

with $c = (a - b)/2$. The non-negativity of b implies $c \leq a/2$. The value of c is considered further in Section 9.

The loss function (3) refers to one year's allocation at a time. To account for multiple years of allocation, we sum the loss functions for the individual years from 2017 through 2021, to obtain the aggregate loss function

$$\ell(\boldsymbol{\theta}, \hat{\boldsymbol{\theta}}) = c \sum_{y=2017}^{2021} \sum_{i=1}^{n} |\hat{\boldsymbol{\theta}}_{iy} - \boldsymbol{\theta}_{iy}|. \tag{4}$$

In effect, this treats the years independently and does not allow for cancellation of a recipient unit's underpayment one year by equivalent overpayment the following year. However, the factor c does account for offsetting of underpayments and overpayments to different units in the same year. The benefit from reducing errors in allocations is measured by the reduction in the expected value of the

aggregate loss when $\hat{\boldsymbol{\theta}}$ is developed with the availability of the 2016 census data versus when the 2016 census data are not available.

2.4. Additional Rationale for the Loss Function

In application of statistical decision theory, the optimality criterion should lead to desired choices. The loss function (3) satisfies the criterion of Fisher-consistency, in that minimization of loss occurs precisely when the allocations are correct, i.e., when $\hat{\boldsymbol{\theta}} = \boldsymbol{\theta}$ (Spencer 1980, 36). If Fisher-consistency is violated, then minimization of expected loss would lead to statistical inaccuracy being optimal, which is contrary to the principles of statistical agencies. A generalization of (2) is given by

$$\ell_i(\boldsymbol{\theta}, \hat{\boldsymbol{\theta}}) = w_i \left[aH\left((\theta_i - \hat{\theta}_i)^+\right) - bH\left((\hat{\theta}_i - \theta_i)^+\right) \right], \tag{5}$$

with $w_i > 0$, $H(0) = 0$, and H strictly increasing on $[0, \infty)$. The criterion of Fisher-consistency imposes strong restrictions on the weights w_i and the shape of H in (5). Requiring that (1) remain Fisher-consistent for an arbitrary number n of recipients and any size errors in allocation leads to the conditions that

$$\frac{\max w_i}{\min w_i} < \frac{a}{b} \tag{6}$$

and

$$A \leq \frac{H(x)}{x} \leq B \tag{7}$$

for $x \geq 1$ and for positive constants A, B not depending on n (Spencer 1980, 41-46). Condition (6) implies that the weights cannot be inversely proportional to θ_i, for example, because the values of θ_i vary widely. Provided that condition (6) holds, it is possible that the weights might be inversely

proportional to per capita income in the areas. On the other hand distribution of income (or wealth) within the recipient units (provinces or municipalities) could also be important, motivating alternative weights. Condition (7) rules out choice of a non-linear power function for H. Thus, choosing more complicated component loss functions either leads to violation of Fisher-consistency or to component loss functions similar to (2).

3. Accuracy of Mid-Year Population Estimates for Provinces, 2002-2011

3.1. Overview and Motivation

The performance of mid-year estimates based on the 2001 census and accounting for 10 years of change can be assessed by comparison to the 2011 census results. The error structure observed for the 2001-2011 period will be extrapolated to the 2011-2021 period (Section 4). As in other evaluations of population estimates to account for post-censal change, we find that the estimates under-predict growth or decline in shares of the population (Section 3.2). To estimate the variances of the mid-year estimates that account for 10 years of change, we analyze deviations about the average errors for provinces whose relative share of the population was growing or shrinking. To model the variances for time spans less than 10 years, we consider two models of year-to-year correlation between estimates of yearly population change, independence or correlation equal to 1.

Thus, in the absence of the 2016 census, the mid-year estimates will need to account for 6 – 10 years of population change since the 2011 census. Evidence for their accuracy is derived from the analysis of accuracy of the mid-year population estimates produced using the 2001 census as a base, as discussed in Section 3.2.

3.2. Biases of Estimates of Population

Denote the (mid-year) estimate of a province's population size *t* years after the census by $\hat{P}_t$, and denote the actual population size by P_t. Thus, P_0 denotes the population size at the last census. Numerical values for P_0 and P_{10} are taken from prior census results (Stats SA, 2012a, Table 2.1 for 2001 population and Table 2.9 for 2011 population), with undercount adjustments for both censuses (Stats SA, 2012b, section 5). All censuses in South Africa (at least since the 1996) have had undercount adjustments based on data from a post-enumeration survey. Following a matching procedure to identify persons who should have been enumerated (and those that should not have been), the adjustments are predicted using Chi-square Automatic Interaction Detection CHAID technique using race, geographic category, sex and age. They are applied to produce adjustment classes. Summing up the adjusted population across adjustment classes) produces a separate ratio estimate of total from which the national adjusted population could be calculated. At the municipal level, the effect of adjustment will vary according to the share of different adjustment classes present in that municipality; see Stats SA (2012b, Section 5).

Figure 1 plots estimated percent change based on the mid-year population estimates for 2011, $(\hat{P}_t - P_0)/P_0$, against the observed percent change based the 2011 census adjusted for undercount, $(P_t - P_0)/P_0$. Notice that small changes are overestimated and larger changes are underestimated.

Let ε_t denote the relative error in the estimate of population change *t* years since the last census,

$$\varepsilon_t = \frac{(\hat{P}_t - P_0) - (P_t - P_0)}{P_t - P_0} = \frac{\hat{P}_t - P_t}{P_t - P_0}.$$

Figure 2 plots ε_t versus the observed relative change in population. The relative errors are positive for relative changes below 15% and are negative for changes above 15%. Calculations based on the 2011 mid-year population estimates ($\hat{P}_t$), adjusted census counts for 2011 (P_t), and the 2001 census counts

(P_0) for provinces shows that the average value of ε_{10} is +0.42 for the 5 provinces that grew by more than 12% in size between 2001 and 2011 and is -0.62 for the 4 provinces that grew by less than 12% over that period. Given the small number of observations and the similarity in magnitudes, we decided to specify the same magnitude for provinces growing faster and slower than average, leading to the model that the expected value of ε_{10} is

$$E(\varepsilon_{10}) \approx 0.52 \times \text{sgn}(dP_0 - P_{10}), \tag{8}$$

with $d = 1.12$ and $\text{sgn}(x) = 1$ if $x > 0$, $= -1$ if $x < 0$, and $= 0$ if $x = 0$.

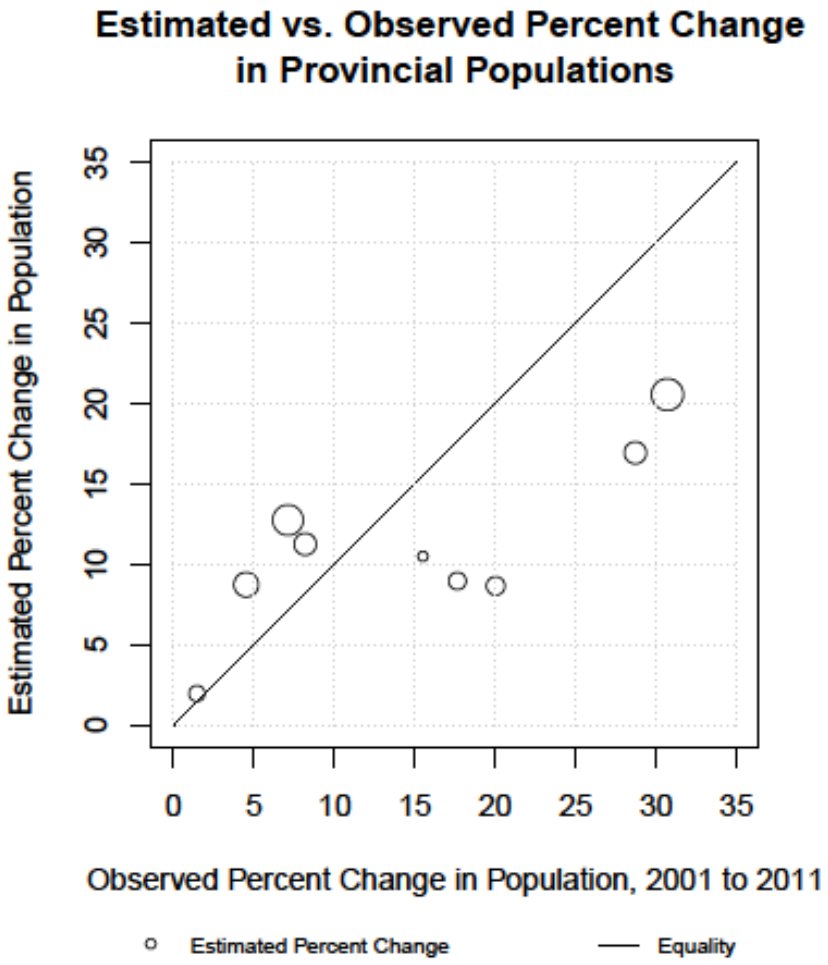

Fig. 1. Estimated versus observed change in province population size 10 years after 2001 census. Area of circle is proportional to average of 2001 and 2011 population sizes.

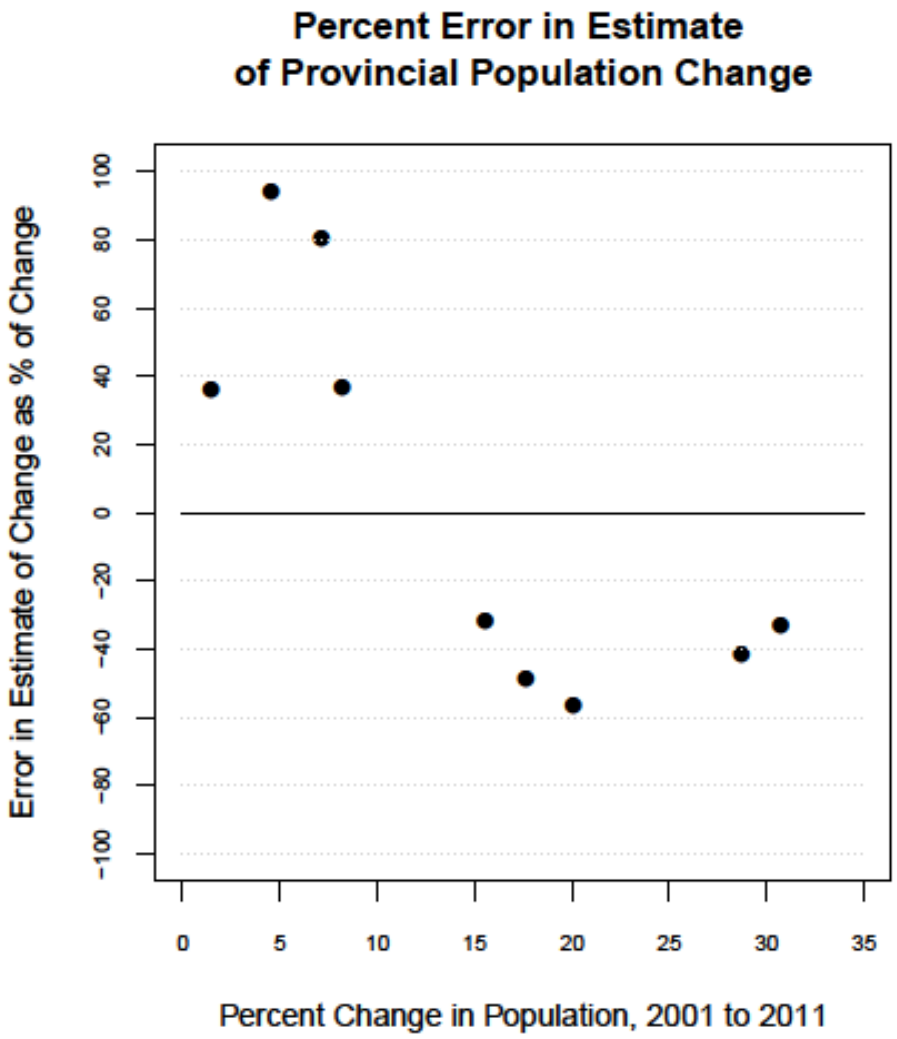

Fig. 2. Relative error of estimate of change versus observed percent change in province population size 10 years after 2001 census.

Specifying the mean of ε_t for intermediate times $1 \le t < 10$ requires some assumptions because we have direct information only about ε_{10}. Denote the incremental error in the estimate of annual change by $\delta_t = (\hat{P}_t - \hat{P}_{t-1}) - (P_t - P_{t-1})$, with $\hat{P}_0 = P_0$ by assumption. It follows that

$$\hat{P}_t - P_t = (P_t - P_0)\varepsilon_t = \sum_{s=1}^{t} \delta_s .$$

Given the short time span, it is reasonable to use the simple approximation that the expected incremental error for a province is the same for each of the 10 years, i.e.,

$$E(\delta_t) = (P_{10} - P_0)E(\varepsilon_{10})/10, \quad 1 \le t \le 10. \tag{9}$$

3.3. Variances of Estimates of Population

The average squared deviation about the mean for the relative errors observed for 2011 was 0.01067, leading to the model that the variance of ε_{10} is

$$V(\varepsilon_{10}) = 0.01067.$$

As was the case for the mean, to specify the variance of ε_t for $1 \le t < 10$ requires assumptions because we have direct information only about ε_{10}. A simple model for the variances of the incremental errors is that $V(\delta_s)$ does not change with s. If the incremental errors in a province are independent over time, then $V(\sum_{s=1}^{t} \delta_s)$ grows linearly with t, and hence $V(\delta_s) = 0.001067(P_{10} - P_0)^2$. On the other hand, if the incremental errors in a province are perfectly correlated across time, then $V(\sum_{s=1}^{t} \delta_s)$ is quadratic in t, and $V(\delta_s) = 0.0001067(P_{10} - P_0)^2$. We are assuming that the incremental errors for different provinces are mutually independent. To summarize, we have two alternative models for the variances of sums of incremental errors within provinces, the independent increments model

$$V(\sum_{s=1}^{t} \delta_s) = t(0.001067)(P_{10} - P_0)^2, \tag{10}$$

and the dependent increments model,

$$V(\sum_{s=1}^{t}\delta_s) = t^2(0.0001067)(P_{10} - P_0)^2. \quad (11)$$

3.4. Accuracy of Estimates of School-age Population of Provinces

The observed errors in the mid-year estimates of ten-year change school-age population (i.e., persons aged 5 –17) from 2001 to 2011 were all positive, with magnitudes proportional to the error in the estimated ten-year change in total province population, with different constants of proportionality for overestimates and underestimates of total population change. Estimates of those proportionality constants are 0.80 and –0.26, respectively, so that the prediction of error in the school-age population estimate is 0.80 times the predicted error in the estimate of total province population if the predicted error is positive, and the prediction of error in the school-age population estimate is –0.26 times the predicted error in the estimate of total province population if the predicted error is negative. In both cases, the predicted error in the estimate of school-age population is positive.

4. Distributions of Mid-Year Population Estimates, 2017 – 2021

4.1. Overview

If no 2016 census is carried out, the population estimates for 2017 – 2021 must account for 6 – 10 years of change since the 2011 census. If the 2016 census is carried out, the mid-year estimates for 2017 – 2021 will need to account for only 1 – 5 years of population change since the 2016 census. The error distributions for the two sets of estimates are based on the analysis of Section 3. To specify the distributions of the estimates for 2017 – 2021, we add the errors to the specified true values of the population. The true values of the future population are developed in Section 4.2. Then the distributions of estimates without a 2016 census (Section 4.3) and with a 2016 census (Section 4.4) are developed.

4.2. Specifications of True Population of Provinces, 2017—2021

To specify true values of total population and school-age population (ages 5 – 17) of provinces, we utilized projections of future population prepared in 2003 by the Actuarial Society of South Africa (ASSA). These projections are referred to as the ASSA2003 population projections, and they are prepared using the 2001 census as a base (after adjustment for undercount). We assume that the true population sizes are unaffected by whether a 2016 census is taken or not. This is a non-trivial assumption since more accurate population data may lead to better provision of services, which can in turn influence fertility and mortality rates, as well as migration flows as migrants seek access to better resourced areas that can provide better services. For example, in the case of the former, HIV/AIDS, low birth weight and diarrheal diseases accounted for more than 60 percent of under age 5 deaths in South Africa at the time of the 2001 Census (Bradshaw et al, 2003). A range of primary health and basic service interventions has been found to have an immediate impact on these causes (Bhutta et al, 2013). Many of these would be affected by inequalities arising from inaccurate population data and inadequate resource allocation to the authority responsible for their implementation (Say and Raine, 2007). These include vitamin A supplementation, the provision of Antiretroviral Therapy (ART), the availability of health care workers and the provision of adequate sanitation and protected water.

We use the ASSA projections in two alternative ways to specify the true future population values. One specification is simply the total population as projected by the ASSA, and the other specification multiplies the ASSA forecasts by the ratio of the undercount-adjusted 2011 census figure for the province to the ASSA forecast for the province 2011 population. The latter "calibrated" population thus coincides with the undercount-adjusted census number for 2011. For school-age population (ages 5-17), one specification was derived from the ASSA2003 projections for 5-year age groups, with population numbers disaggregated by single age based on the Sprague multiplier software on the

Stats SA website. As with total population, a second specification was developed by ratio-adjusting (calibrating) the school-age population forecasts to agree with undercount-adjusted 2011 census school-age population numbers. The two alternative sets of true values are denoted by the indicator k taking values 1 (uncalibrated) and 2 (calibrated).

4.3. Specifications of True Population of Municipalities, 2017—2021

The true values of total population for municipalities as used in the LGES can be taken to be the values for 2016, because no updating for post-censal population change is used in the LGES. Lacking ASSA projections of 2016 values for municipalities, we carried out a simple modeling of future values by extrapolating the 2001 – 2011 trends in the statistical inputs to the formula to 2016, subject to the constraint that the change from 2011 to 2016 could not exceed 50% of the 2011 total population size of the municipality.

4.4. Distribution in the Absence of a 2016 Census

For province estimates under the no-2016-census scenario, the variances of sums of incremental errors in mid-year population estimates are given by (10) or alternatively by (11). Using the independent increments assumption, we model the 10 values $\delta_1,\ldots,\delta_{10}$ as independently normally distributed with means given by (8) and (9) with $d=1$ and variances given by (10). Expression (10) can be evaluated because the modeling described in Section 4.2 specifies P_0 and P_{10}. Alternatively, using the dependent increments assumption, we model δ_1 as normally distributed with mean given by (8) and (9) and variance given by (11), and $\delta_{10}=\cdots=\delta_1$. The two alternative independence assumptions are denoted by the indicator I taking values 1 (independence) and 2 (perfect dependence).

The population estimate for province i, in year y, for dependence model I, corresponding to true value specification k (indicating uncalibrated or calibrated forecast), is denoted by $\hat{P}_{iykl}^{nocen16}$ when no 2016 census is conducted and by $\hat{P}_{iykl}^{cen16}$ when a 2016 census is conducted.

For municipalities, the error in the population estimate for municipality m in year y, $2017 \le y \le 2021$, is equal to $P_{m2011} - P_{m2016}$ under the no-census scenario because errors in census numbers are ignored.

4.5. Accuracy in the Presence of a 2016 Census

For the scenario with a 2016 census, mid-year estimates for provinces for 2011 + t, $6 \le t \le 10$ are based on the 2016 census and therefore account for only $t-5$ years of population change, in contrast to the estimates for the no-2016-census scenario, which must account for the full t years of population change. Therefore, in the 2016-census scenario, for each province the joint distribution of δ_t, $6 \le t \le 10$ is equal to the joint distribution of the corresponding values of δ_{t-5} in the no-2016 census scenario.

For municipalities, the error in the population estimate for municipality m in year y, $2017 \le y \le 2021$, is identically zero under the 2016 census scenario, because errors in census numbers are ignored.

5. Distributions of PES and LGES Allocations

5.1. Hypothetical True Values

In the analysis, the true values of the allocations are allowed to change over time as the true population changes (Section 4.2). The LGES allocations depend only on the population numbers for municipalities according to the latest census. The PES allocations depend not only on population statistics, but on other statistics as well. To fully model the joint distribution of the various statistics and their underlying true values would have involved substantial additional work and would have added to the complexity of

the analysis. Instead, our analysis conditions on (i.e., takes as fixed) the values of the non-population statistics which served as inputs for the 2011 PES allocations.

The true allocation for province i, in year y, for true value specification k (indicating uncalibrated or calibrated forecast) is denoted by θ_{iyk}.

5.2. Specifying and Simulating Errors in PES Allocations

The errors in PES allocations are functions of population numbers only, because any non-population statistics are held fixed. The joint distributions of the true and estimated allocations are determined by the joint distributions of the true and estimated populations. Recall that for the population of a province in a given year, under either the 2016 census or no-census scenario, there are 4 alternative specifications, corresponding whether or not the forecasts specifying the true values were calibrated and whether the estimates of year-to-year change are independent or perfectly dependent over time. For each of the 8 specifications, we randomly generated 4 independent replications, which we indicate by $r = 1,\ldots,4.$ These yielded 4 replications of population estimates $\hat{P}_{iyklr}^{cen16}$ and $\hat{P}_{iyklr}^{nocen16}$, respectively, when a 2016 census is and is not taken. (To increase the precision of estimated reduction in expected loss due to the 2016 census, we set not only the distributions but the realizations of δ_t, $6 \le t \le 10,$ equal to realizations of δ_{t-5} in the no-2016 census scenario.) Each replication of population estimates leads to a replication of the allocation, $\hat{\theta}_{iyklr}^{cen16}$ and $\hat{\theta}_{iyklr}^{nocen16}$, respectively. The corresponding errors in allocation are $\hat{\theta}_{iyklr}^{cen16} - \theta_{iyk}$ and $\hat{\theta}_{iyklr}^{nocen16} - \theta_{iyk}$.

5.3. Specifying and Simulating Errors in LGES Allocations

As with the PES, the errors in LGES allocations are functions of population numbers only, because any non-population statistics are held fixed. The joint distributions of the true and estimated allocations are

determined by the joint distributions of the true and estimated populations. Recall that there are only two possible alternative estimates for the population of a municipality m in year y, P_{m2016} and P_{m2011}, corresponding to the 2016 census scenario and the no-census scenario. The corresponding allocations to municipality m in year y are denoted by $\hat{\theta}_{my}^{cen16}$ and $\hat{\theta}_{my}^{nocen16}$.

6. Estimating Improvement in the Allocations Due to the 2016 Census

6.1. Estimating Reduction in Expected Loss from Errors in PES Allocations

The reduction in expected loss from errors in PES allocations when the 2016 census is conducted is $E[\ell(\boldsymbol{\theta},\hat{\boldsymbol{\theta}}^{nocen16}) - \ell(\boldsymbol{\theta},\hat{\boldsymbol{\theta}}^{cen16})]$, where the loss function is specified by (4). To estimate this reduction in expected loss, we use the scaling constant c times

$$\frac{1}{16}\sum_{y=2017}^{2021}\sum_{i=1}^{9}\sum_{k=1}^{2}\sum_{l=1}^{2}\sum_{r=1}^{4}|\,\hat{\theta}_{pyklr}^{nocen16} - \theta_{pyk}\,| - \frac{1}{16}\sum_{y=2017}^{2021}\sum_{i=1}^{9}\sum_{k=1}^{2}\sum_{l=1}^{2}\sum_{r=1}^{4}|\,\hat{\theta}_{pyklr}^{cen16} - \theta_{pyk}\,|. \qquad (12)$$

Expression (12) shows the model averaging approach used to manage the different options for calculating the true population (calibrated or not) and the two variance options.

For practical considerations arising from tight decision deadlines, instead of computing the allocations for each year from 2017 to 2021, we computed the allocations just for 2021 for both $\hat{\theta}$ and θ, and we used those values for each year. This likely led to a modest overstatement of the reduction in expected loss due to the 2016 census, because the accuracy of the mid-year population estimates is least in 2021. The calculated value of (12) is R4.8 billion.

One technical point is worth noting. By ignoring error in any non-population statistics in the allocation formulas, we are in effect approximating $E[\ell(\boldsymbol{\theta},\hat{\boldsymbol{\theta}}^{nocen16}) - \ell(\boldsymbol{\theta},\hat{\boldsymbol{\theta}}^{cen16})]$ by $E[\ell(\boldsymbol{\theta}',\hat{\boldsymbol{\theta}}^{nocen16}) - \ell(\boldsymbol{\theta}',\hat{\boldsymbol{\theta}}^{cen16})]$, where $E[\cdot]$ denotes expectation and $\boldsymbol{\theta}'$ denotes the array of allocations when the population statistics

have no error, but the other statistics are observed with possible error. Research in progress suggests that the approximation either overstates or only modestly understates the reduction in expected loss.

6.2. Estimating Reduction in Expected Loss from Errors in LGES Allocations

Recall that the LGES allocations for 2017—2021 will be based on the 2011 census if the 2016 census is not conducted, and on the 2016 census if it is conducted. As was the case for the PES, we approximate $E[\ell(\boldsymbol{\theta},\hat{\boldsymbol{\theta}}^{nocen16}) - \ell(\boldsymbol{\theta},\hat{\boldsymbol{\theta}}^{cen16})]$ by $E[\ell(\boldsymbol{\theta}',\hat{\boldsymbol{\theta}}^{nocen16}) - \ell(\boldsymbol{\theta}',\hat{\boldsymbol{\theta}}^{cen16})]$, where $E[\cdot]$ denotes expectation and $\boldsymbol{\theta}'$ denotes the array of allocations to municipalities when the population statistics have no error, but the other statistics are observed with possible error. By construction, $\boldsymbol{\theta}' = \hat{\boldsymbol{\theta}}^{cen16}$ and so we estimate the reduction in expected loss by scaling constant c times

$$5\sum_{m=1}^{278} | \hat{\theta}_{m2016}^{nocen} - \hat{\theta}_{m2016}^{cen} |, \tag{13}$$

where m indexes the 278 municipalities and the allocations are calculated for 2016. The calculated value of (13) is R32.1 billion. As the LGES is assumed to allocate only 1/15 as much money as the PES program over the 5 year period, 38.9 billion rand for the LGES versus 600 billion rand for the PES, it is surprising that (13) is more than 6 times as large as (12). The explanation arises from the much larger differences in the LGES allocations in the presence or absence of the 2016 census. Even though mid-year estimates do not estimate population change accurately, the PES allocations are based on the total population level. The mid-year estimates predict population levels much more accurately than population change, whereas in the LGES, the municipal estimates of population levels are not updated at all in the absence of a 2016 census.

7. Limitations

Several limitations to the analysis of reduction in PES and LGES misallocations arising from the 2016 census may be noted.

1. The specifications for true values for province population, which depend on the ASSA projections, are to an unknown degree inaccurate.
2. The true values of population for the LGES allocation are taken to be those for 2016 rather than the true population sizes for 2017–2021.
3. We are ignoring the effects of errors in non-population statistics used to calculate PES and LGES allocations. This may well increase the estimated magnitude of improvement in allocations from conducting the 2016 census.
4. Distribution of error in mid-year population estimates 2017 – 2021 could be different than in last decade due either to changes in patterns of population growth or decline or to differences in quality of data used to estimate births, deaths, and net migration among provinces.
5. Errors in 2011 census numbers used in the analysis can cause errors in estimates of error in mid-year population estimates for 2011 (Spencer 1980b). Our analysis ignores possible error in the 2011 census numbers.
6. Hold-harmless provisions in the allocation formulas were not taken into consideration.

The effects of the limitations noted in points 1, 2 and 5 might be slightly reduced by use of a prior distribution to specify uncertainty about true values, as part of a full Bayesian decision theoretic analysis. However, this is unlikely to change the estimates of expected loss by very much.

8. 2016 Census Cost

The costs of census-taking include the investment cost, the amount spent on the collection, capture, cleaning and data assurance (quality control). Other costs that are often forgotten include data curatorship which refers to looking after, updating and maintaining the data and the on-going assistance provided to the users of these data. Finally, dissemination and publicity also carries a cost. Nonetheless for a standard cost-benefit analysis, estimating the direct costs of Census is relatively straight-forward to the extent that reliable and up-to-date expenditure data are available from the appropriate government departments. Some indirect costs such as calculating cost of the time taken by respondents to complete a Census questionnaire may be more complex but can be estimated using an appropriate shadow wage rate. This has not been undertaken for this study.

In the absence of the 2016 census, it is assumed that some variation of the 2007 Community Survey would be conducted and it is assumed that the cost of the mid-year estimates program is essentially unchanged by whether the census or Community Survey is taken in 2016. The net additional cost of the 2016 Census (over and above the 2016 Community Survey) was predicted to be on the order of R3 billion.

9. Measuring Benefit from Improvement in Allocations

The measures of reduction in absolute values of misallocations, such as (12) and (13) should not be interpreted directly as measures of benefit. In monetary terms, the sum of the overallocations equals the sum of the underallocations, or equivalently, one area's loss is another's gain. As discussed in Section 2.3, the benefit arises from reduction in inequity of the allocations. The translation from (12) and (13) to benefit, or reduction in expected loss, is achieved through the scaling constant c in the loss function (4). The scaling constant c should reflect the sensitivity of society or the decision maker(s) to misallocations. Logically, the value of c should not be as large as 1, as in the cautionary example of

Jarndyce v. Jarndyce (Dickens 1985). If overallocations are viewed as beneficial or benign for the local governments that receive them, then $c \leq 0.5$, as noted in Section 2.1. Ultimately, however, the magnitude of c depends on the decision-maker's preferences regarding tradeoffs for equitable allocations versus spending money to achieve the equitable allocations. If it is just worth spending R10 million to reduce the sum of absolute misallocations by R1 billion, then $c = 0.01$. If it is just worth spending R100 million to reduce the sum of absolute misallocations by R1 billion, then $c =$ 0.10, and if it is just worth spending R500 million to reduce the sum of absolute misallocations by R1 billion, then $c =$ 0.50.

We believe that the specification of c is inherently subjective and should be openly addressed. People's values are not objectively determined, and the choice of the choice of the scaling constant c involves a question of values – how much is it worth spending to achieve more equitable allocations. Our analysis has drawn on technical analyses to compute the expected loss as parameterized by the scaling constant c. However, the specific choice for c reflects the willingness of the decision makers to use tax dollars to reduce inequity in fund allocations. Having a single, easily interpretable parameter for social values conveys the additional advantage of providing transparency to the analysis.

Spencer (1980a) suggested that $c = 0.01$ in the 1970s context of General Revenue Sharing in the U.S. The rationale, as discussed in Section 2.3 above, was that if $x = \hat{\theta}_i - \theta_i$ and $x < 0$, then local government i incurs a deficit of $|x|$, and if $x > 0$ then it incurs a surplus of $|x|$. If a deficit of $|x|$ is incurred, the local government is assumed to borrow an amount equal to the shortfall, to be repaid in the next fiscal period. If the interest rate for the period was $a - 1$, the monetary loss to the local government would be $a|x|$. He neglected long term effects because they are hard to trace and because the local government cannot make adjustments for the deficit before the end of the current period, but after the period it can make adjustments. Conversely, if $x > 0$, so that a surplus is produced, the local government invests $|x|$

for the period at interest rate $b-1$. The local government's monetary loss incurred is $-b|x|$, -a negative loss (i.e., a gain). From (3), $c=(a-b)/2,$ and so we may interpret c as half the difference between the local governments' interest rates for investing versus borrowing for the period. Spencer (1980a) took the period to be one year and the difference interest rates to be 0.02, leading to a specification that $c=0.01$. Under this scenario, the choice of c would reflect economic conditions and the length of the period the local government would need to adjust for the shortfall.

The following table shows the expected improvement in allocation when a 2016 census is conducted, for various values of c.

For an illustration, if $c=0.06$ is a reflection of the preference tradeoff between PES and LGES equity on the one hand and expenditure on the other, the benefit in terms or more equitable allocation of funds is R2.2 billion. If the 2016 census will cost an additional R3 billion (beyond the cost of what a 2016 Community Survey would cost), then the improvement in allocation of funds justifies about three quarters of the census cost, and other uses of the data would need to justify the remaining R800 million of the census cost. If $c>0.08,$ then the benefit from improvement in allocation of funds equals or exceeds the census cost, in which case the analysis would provide strong support for a 2016 census.

Table 1. Effects of 2016 Census on Improvement of Allocation of Funds to Provinces and Municipalities, 2017-2021, with Alternative Levels of Scaling.

Expected Reduction from Misallocations When a 2016 Census is Carried Out (R millions)											
	Scaling Constant, c										
	1.0	0.50	0.30	0.20	0.15	0.10	0.08	0.06	0.04	0.02	0.01
PES	4,800	2,400	1,440	960	720	480	384	288	192	96	48
LGES	32,121	16,061	9,636	6,424	4,818	3,212	2,570	1,927	1,285	642	321
Total	36,921	18,461	11,076	7,384	5,538	3,692	2,954	2,215	1,477	738	369

10. Discussion

As mentioned at the outset, the decision to fund a Census in 2016 is not only dependent upon its costs and anticipated financial benefits, and the South African government has decided not to undertake a census in 2016 (Stats SA 2014a, 21). Instead the government decided to improve its data collection program. An enlarged Community Survey with a sample size increased from 300 000 households to 1 million households is being undertaken in 2016 and is planned to cover all enumerator areas in the country (Parliament of South Africa, 2015, 3424). In addition, the agency has focused on improvements in the civil registration of vital statistics to be able to better estimate the mid-year population (Stats SA 2014, 59). Further considerations include a long-term strategy to introduce a continuous population survey that will collect population and other social statistics on an on-going basis. The methodology described above permitted this decision to be evidence-based, up to the subjective specification of the parameter c, and to confront the possible effects of error (Stats SA, 2014b). Indeed, the impact of prior error resulting from the ten-year gap between 2001 and 2011 has received attention in South Africa's most recent government budget. The Annex to the Budget notes that by not properly accounting for

migration, the division of revenue between provinces has become inequitable, with receiving provinces such as Gauteng and the Western Cape being allocated fewer resources than would have been provided with accurate data. However, as the National Treasury (2015:17-18) acknowledges, provinces which have been receiving more resources need time to adjust to revised allocations, and a total R4.2 billion has had to be added to the PES over the three years from 2013 to 2015 to cushion the impact of the census data. The results of this partial cost-benefit analysis of South African census-taking contributed towards greater awareness of the role played by official statistics in the allocation of resources, and a greater awareness of the wider costs of error, and of assessing 'value for money' of official statistics. The decision to triple the size of the Community Survey in 2016 and the methodological improvements introduced by Stats SA to improve cost effectiveness are examples of on-going reflection concerning official statistics in South Africa and elsewhere (Stats SA, 2016). The cost-benefit approach used in this paper is applicable to other data programs as well, such as improvements in sample surveys and vital registration statistics, provided uses of the statistics are sufficiently understood.

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