## What Are Unique about China's Inequality?

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### Contexts

- High growth rate: 10% a year for 30+ years
- A large country with differences in many dimensions
- We are not in equilibrium yet: people are still moving around

### Contexts

- Economic transition: from plan to market
  - From equality to inequality when human capital and efforts are rewarded (Heckman and Li, 2005; Zhang et al., 2005)
  - How much of the gap is due to productivity gap?

### Rising returns to education



### Contexts

• Economic transition: from plan to market

- There are many shocks (reforms)

# Why do we care about shocks?

- Luck plays an important role
- Example: housing reforms since 1998, then house price started to shoot up
- So, when you are born is important in China! Research questions:
  - How much of the inequality is due to cohort income gap?
  - What are the inter-generational implications?
  - Inequality of labor vs. non-labor income?

### Contexts

• Economic transition: from plan to market

- Reforms unfinished yet

## Unfinished reforms

- The state and state-owned enterprises (SOEs) are still powerful, monopoly many resources in China
- Inequality in access to public goods, or markets (health, education, finance, employment...)
- Implications: some people earn rents that shouldn't exist in a market economy

# Policy wise

- Productivity difference: rewards should be encouraged
  - Policies should target on reducing inequality in human capital (how to measure it?)
- Luck: should be taxed, but how?
- Rents: should be removed... can privatization help?

### Contexts

- Economic development
  - industrialization with lagging urbanization due to the unique *hukou* policy

# Industrialization and inequality

- Should industrialization increase or reduce inequality?
- Industries have higher wages than agriculture, suppose we move one labor from agriculture to industries, how should Gini change?

# Industrialization and inequality: ambiguous



# Short-run vs long-run

- Myopic laborers
  - Short-run: high demand for low human capital workers, they enter the labor market too soon, and have low-level of education (inequality comes down)
  - Long-run: technology improves (Li et al. 2012 JEP), return to human capital increases (inequality goes up)
- Left-behind children due to hukou policy
  - Children are parentless: what are the implications? Inter-generational inequality will rise?
- Policy: pay the opportunity cost of staying in school

### Contexts

- Economic development
  - Lower level of protection for workers (union, pension, insurance ...)

## China's Educational Inequality: Evidence from College Entrance Exams Scores and Admissions

### Hongbin Li C.V. Starr Professor of Economics Tsinghua University

### **Education Inequality**

- Related to Income, wealth, consumption
- > Has inter-generational implications
  - Parental income affects child education
  - Parental education affects child achievement



### **College Entrance Exams (CEE)**

- To get into college, most students need to take the College Entrance Exams (CEE) on June 7-9
  - Math
  - Chinese
  - English
  - Composite (one of the two)
    - Sciences
    - arts/social sciences
- Fate-determining exams for Chinese



### **Applications and Admissions**

- Before/after the exams (before/after scores known), students need to fill in their
  - college preferences in order
  - Major preferences in order
- Scores are known
- Each college sends an admission team to every province (where it has admission quotas)
- The quotas and distribution are ultimately set by the Ministry of Education, but colleges have some freedom



### Data: CEE Takers in 2003

- The population of all CEE takers
- ➢ 6.2 million students in 2003
- Information
  - Exam takers: high school name, location, hukou, birth date, gender, ethnicity, health status, repeating taker, science, scores of College Entrance Exams (CEE)...
  - Admissions: university name, major
- Could get access more years potentially



### **Supply of Higher Education**

Two categories of higher education

- Colleges (2-3 years)
- Universities (4 years)
- Universities
  - 985 universities (in May 1998, President Jiang's speech: build world-class universities)
  - 211 universities (21<sup>st</sup> century: invest in 100 universities)
  - Other universities



### 985 Program

> Tier 1: to become top universities in the world

- 2: Tsinghua University; Peking University
- Funding: all from central government
- Tier 2: to become top universities in China, well known in the world
  - 10 universities
  - Funding: ½ from central, ½ from local
- Tier 3: to become well known universities in China and the world
  - 27 universities
  - Funding: ½ from central, ½ from local



### Rate of Admission in 2003

Туре	Number of colleges	Number of students	Percent of the population
Not Admitted	0	1960199	0.316
College	1123	2424147	0.391
University	602	1365827	0.220
211 Universities	76	284212	0.046
985 Universities	29	138686	0.022
Top 9 Universities	7	26672	0.004
Top 2 Universities	2	6497	0.001
Total	1839	6206240	1



### **Major Allocation**





#### Percentile of CEE Scores by College Type





#### Percentile of CEE Scores by Major





#### Percentile of CEE Scores of Top 9 Universities





### **Educational Inequality**

### Gender bias

- Urban (rural) bias
- Income bias
- Home bias



#### **CEE** Scores for Males and Females





Proportion of Females among Top Students





#### Proportion of Females by University Type





#### Proportion of Females by Major





### **Educational Inequality**

- Gender bias
- Urban (rural) bias
- Income bias
- Home bias



#### CEE Scores: Urban vs. Rural





#### Proportion of Rural among Top Students





#### Proportion of Rural Students by University Type





#### Proportion of Rural Students by Major



清华大学中国经济社会数据中心 CHINA DATA CENTER, TSINGHUA UNIVERSITY

### **Educational Inequality**

- Gender bias
- Urban (rural) bias
- Income bias
- Home bias



### **Income Bias**

### Children from rich families

- Repeat exam takers (only once a year)
- Go to elite high schools







#### Proportion of Repeating Exam Takers





### **Income Bias**

Children from rich families

- Repeat exam takers (only once a year)
- Go to elite high schools



#### Number of High Schools in a Province





### **High School Gini**

- High school Gini coefficients for different level of colleges
- Eg: High school Gini for admission to Top-2 universities
  - Count the number of successful applicants of each high school
  - Calculate the Gini coefficients



### **High School Gini: # Admitted**

Type (inclusive)	Gini Coefficient
College	0.556
University	0.712
211 Universities	0.804
985 Universities	0.861
Top 9 Universities	0.929
Top 2 Universities	0.959



### **Admissions from Top High Schools**

Туре	Top 10% of high schools	Top 5% of high schools
College	0.365	0.222
University	0.510	0.318
211 Universities	0.664	0.456
985 Universities	0.764	0.565
Top 9 Universities	0.914	0.756
Top 2 Universities	1	0.858



#### Gini of High School Students Admitted by Universities





### **Educational Inequality**

- Gender bias
- Urban (rural) bias
- Income bias
- Home bias



#### Number of Colleges in a Province





#### Number of 985 Universities in a Province





### **Local Admissions of Each Type**

Type (inclusive)	Percent of local admissions
College	0.658
University	0.667
211 Universities	0.456
985 Universities	0.393
Top 9 Universities	0.388
Top 2 Universities	0.209



#### Universities





#### Home bias: Colleges of All Types





### Summary

Who have the largest chance to enter an (elite) college?

### ■ They are

rich urban boys from elite high schools located in "good" provinces

### So, the College Entrance Exams may be fair, but admissions are not

