

UNEMPLOYMENT, INCOME INEQUALITY, AND CONSUMPTION SMOOTHING IN URBAN CHINA

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REPORT PREPARED FOR
ICSEAD

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1 INTRODUCTION

Economic shocks, let them be normal business cycles, financial crises, or economic restructuring, happen all the time, especially in a developing world. During recent Asian Crises one has observed enough individuals and households who experienced difficult periods. Some of them even permanently fell into unemployment and a poverty trap. Every shock may enlarge income inequality in a society. Unlike developed countries, most developing economies do not have financial power to redistribute income. In addition, they may not reach the stage where they can sacrifice efficiency for equality. As a result, how to deal with an income inequality problem, and how to better help the individuals and households most severely affected to pull through is often a very important policy issue for developing countries.

Urban unemployment has become one of the most important social economic problems in China since the middle of 1990s. Due to soft budget constraints and other property rights related problems the Chinese state sector has been performing badly. In 1995-1996, around 50 per cent of enterprises were making losses. To vitalise the Chinese economy the policy of radical reform in the state enterprises was introduced. As a result of this policy many small and median size loss making state enterprises were bankrupted. Those which survived started to take efficiency measures seriously. These two forces led to large-scale retrenchments. Over the last 4 years around 15 to 27 million state sector workers have been made redundant.

Such large-scale involuntary job losses are bound to have some serious economic, social, and political implications. Most importantly it has generated a serious income inequality problem. This is so because a sudden increase in unemployment pushes a large group of people into the lower end of income distribution at the same time when lower end of the income is decreasing. These effects enlarge the income gap between the employed and unemployed. In addition, involuntary job losses may also have different effects on individuals within the unemployed group. For example, those layoff workers who are young, educated, and energetic may easily find better paid jobs somewhere else in the economy or set up their own business, while those who are older or less skilled may fall into long term unemployment or accept jobs in the lower paid informal sector. Those whose family members are employed may find it easier to cushion the effect of income reduction than those

whose family members are also unemployed. Those who live in developed and dynamic regions may easily find other jobs while those who live in less developed regions may become long term unemployed.

Thus, the diversity between employed and unemployed and within the unemployed group may be considerable. This diversity will contribute significantly to income inequality in urban China. In developed economies, a government normally uses various income redistribution channels to solve the problem of income inequality. Putting aside the negative effect of such redistribution measures on economic efficiency, China in its current economic situation cannot afford a generous income support scheme. However, such an across-the-board scheme may not be needed. For example, according to the “permanent income” hypothesis most individuals can smooth their consumption by saving more during the good times and spending some of early savings during the difficult periods. In addition, traditional Eastern value of within family income transfers may also provide a channel for retrenched workers to tide over the difficult period. Perhaps, not all unemployed workers but those whose income reduction cannot be cushioned within the households should be helped. Perhaps, providing trainings to retrenched workers and providing incentives for self-employment are more suitable policy alternatives to income support. Perhaps, providing education subsidies to children of unemployed workers is a more efficient way to prevent further increase in income inequality in the next generation.

To date, very little empirical work has been conducted to investigate the impact of urban involuntary job losses on urban income inequality and how retrenched workers pull through their difficulties. This is mainly because relevant data are none existent.

To enhance our understanding of the issues, a major household employment, income and expenditure survey was conducted. During the period of February to May 2000, the Institute of Economics, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences with the help of the State Statistical Bureau conducted a comprehensive survey. The survey covers 6 provinces: Beijing, Liaoning, Jiangsu, Henan, Sichan, and Gansu. Around 4500 urban households were interviewed. The survey questionnaires cover a wide range of information concerning individual and household income, expenditure, employment and unemployment status, and other demographic features. This survey, together with a comparable household survey conducted in 1995 serve as the main source of information for this study.

This study aims to contribute to our understanding of the following important issues related to the involuntary retrenchment: (1) To what extent has involuntary retrenchment increased income inequality in urban China; (2) Who are the most vulnerable people in the process of economic restructuring. (3) how do different individuals cope with the unemployment experience. And (4) what kind of policy alternatives are available to help retrenched workers through this difficult period.

The report is organised as follows. The next chapter introduces the background of the significant economic restructuring happened in the late 1990s in urban China, the scale of the urban unemployment, and the change in government policy towards urban unemployed individuals. Chapter 3 investigates how has the large scale unemployment in urban China increased income inequality. Chapter 4 identifies the most vulnerable group in the process of economic restructuring. Chapter 5 examines whether and how households with unemployed members cope with the income shocks brought about by their unemployment experience. Conclusion and policy implications are given in Chapter 6. Most of the main chapters are self-contained academic papers.

2

UNEMPLOYMENT AND GOVERNMENT POLICIES

2.1. Introduction

Large-scale urban unemployment had never been an issue in China before the radical economic reform initiated in the mid-1990s.¹ Official unemployment figure has never exceeded 5.5 per cent over the last half century.

Since the mid-1990s, however, unemployment has become the most important economic issue that affects social and political stability. Before the 1990s, although China successfully achieved high economic growth while avoiding direct factor market reform and radical state sector reform, accumulated redundant workers within the state enterprises were said to be amounted to more than 30 per cent of the total labour force. Due to the large scale hidden unemployment, together with soft budget constraints and other property rights related problems the Chinese state sector has been performing badly. By 1995-1996, around 50 per cent of enterprises were making losses. To vitalise the Chinese economy the policy of radical reform in the state enterprises was introduced, first on trial in 1993 and finally launched in 1997 (East Asia Analytical Unit, 1997; Appleton, Knight, Song, and Xia, 2001).

As a result of this policy many small and median size loss making state enterprises were bankrupted. Those which survived started to take efficiency measures seriously. These two forces led to large-scale retrenchments (layoff or 'Xiagang' in Chinese).

Xiagang differs from official unemployment in the sense that workers who have lost a job still keep an employment relation with the enterprises they used to work for. They still receive housing, medical, and other benefits from the enterprises, and the enterprises are still obliged to pay their living allowance and their work related insurances, such as medical, unemployment, and pension insurances. In addition, once jobs become available they will be re-employed.²

¹ There were two exceptional periods: the period after the Great Leap Forward and that after the Cultural Revolution (see Chen and Yu, 1993; Feng, 1982; White, 1988; Meng 2000).

² For those whose original enterprises were bankrupted, they receive various benefits from a re-employment centre set up by local governments. All layoff workers are free to find jobs somewhere else. As long as one is not officially known as being re-employed one is entitled to all the benefits from the enterprises. This is probably why most layoff workers are not keen to reveal their current employment status.

In addition to the state sector layoff workers, many of state sector workers who are close to retirement age have chosen to take early retirement as retirement pension is somewhat higher than living allowances provided to layoff workers. Furthermore, employees who lost jobs from the collective or various forms of private enterprises are not counted as layoff workers. Together with the urban labour market new entrance who are unable to find jobs they form the group of official unemployment. This group does not enjoy the benefits provided to the layoff workers. They have to register with the government unemployment centres to receive unemployment benefit.

Chinese official unemployment figures only accounted for those who formally register with the unemployment centre. In this study we choose to use a more broader definition of unemployment, which includes (1) official unemployment; (2) layoff workers; and (3) early retirement.

2.2. Scale of urban unemployment

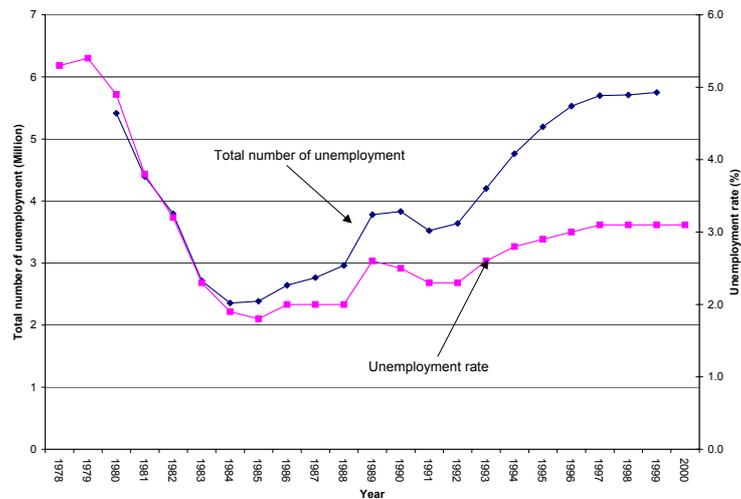
Chinese official urban unemployment figure only includes those who are registered with the local government unemployment centres. This figure amounted to 5.75 million in 1999, which accounted for 3.1 per cent of the total urban labour force. Figure 2.1 presents the official urban unemployment (left-hand scale) and unemployment rate (right-hand scale). It indicates that in the late 1990s the urban official unemployment rate is at its highest position since 1983.³

The official unemployment figures, however, only include very limited number of the state sector layoff workers. To estimate the scale of urban layoff workers is not an easy task. This is so partly because it is difficult to collect accurate data and partly because the unwillingness of the government to release such data. Below we report some relevant information from the scraps of official information on layoff workers since 1995.

1995. China Labour Statistical Yearbook 1996 reports that there were 6.57 millions of surplus workers in urban areas at the end of 1995 (p409), of which about 5.64 million were layoff workers (p409). Among layoff workers, over 65% came from state-owned enterprises, and 32% from urban collective enterprises.

³ The high urban unemployment rate in the early 1980s is entirely due to return 'intercellular youth' from the countryside after the Culture Revolution (see Feng, 1982; White, 1983).

Figure 2.1 Official unemployment and unemployment rate



Source: DX data base.

1996. The Ministry of Labour and Social Security (MOLSS) *1996 Annual Statistical Report* reports that at the end of 1996, there were total of 8.15 million layoff workers.

1997. MOLSS *1997 Annual Statistical Report* indicates that there were 11.51 million layoff workers at the end of 1997, of which 6.34 millions were from state-owned enterprises.

1998. MOLSS *1998 Annual Statistical Report* shows that there were 8.92 million layoff workers at the end of 1998, of which 6.10 millions from state-owned enterprises.

1999. MOLSS *1999 Annual Statistical Report* suggests that at the end of 1999 there were 6.52 million layoff workers.

2000. The same MOLSS report for the first half of 2000 presents that at the end of June 2000, there were totally 6.77 million layoff workers. Among them 1.96 million are new layoffs in this period.

These official figures seem to be low. For example, the China Labour Statistical Yearbook 1999 reports not only number of layoff workers, but also number of not-on-post workers at the end of 1998. The former is reported to be 8.77 millions (p442) (which is slightly lower than the figure reported in the MOLSS report), and the latter is 19.77 millions, including 3.36 millions of early retirees (p205). Even without including the early retirees the figure of not-on-post workers is still 87% higher than the number of layoff workers. One reason for this difference may be that definition of not-on-post workers is broader than that of layoff workers, the former including both layoff workers with and without temporary jobs and the latter only includes those without temporary jobs.

Several non-official estimates are available. Appleton, Knight, Song, and Xia (2001) notice that there was a sharp fall in urban employment figure by 27.7 million over the period of the radical reform (from 148.5 million at the end of 1996 to 119 million in the mid-2000). They indicate that this may imply that the number of accumulated layoff workers is related to this figure. Fan (2000) estimated a 15 million accumulated layoff workers at the end of 1999. His figure is also substantially higher than the figure provided by the MOLSS.

The household survey conducted by the Institute of Economics, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences for the purpose of this study includes two questions on employment status. One asks individuals about their current employment status (at the time of survey, year 2000), and the other inquires whether the individual has experienced unemployment during 1999. Table 2.1 presents the statistics of the first question. It indicates that if we include early retirees, layoff workers, as well as registered unemployment, the total unemployment rate reached 24 per cent of the total labour force. Excluding early retirement the total unemployment accounted for 17 per cent of the total labour force (not including retirees). The data from the second question suggest that in 1999 around 17 per cent of the total labour force (not including retirees) experienced unemployment, which is consistent with the information derived from the first question.

Figure 2.1 Employment and unemployment in 2000

	Frequency	Percentage
Employed	6215	76.05
Total unemployment	1957	23.95
Of which: early retirement	677	8.28
layoff workers	832	10.18
registered unemployment	448	5.48
Total	8172	100

2.3. The government policies directed towards layoff workers

Urban enterprises began to lay off redundant workers in 1993, when the State Council issued the Stipulation on Arrangement of Redundant Workers in State-owned Enterprises in April 1993. The stipulation provides regulations for state-owned enterprises to lay off redundant workers and the level of compensation for the layoff workers. These are listed below:

- (1) Maternity leaves for female workers are allowed to be prolonged from 3 months to two years. Those who are taking prolonged maternity leaves are paid subsistence income.
- (2) Workers who are retiring in five years are allowed to take early retirements and will be paid subsistence income before reach official retirement age.
- (3) Workers, who want to quit their jobs, are given once-for-all compensation.
- (4) Enterprises are encouraged to lay off or re-train surplus workers. During the period of re-training, workers should be paid lower wages. The level of the training wage should be determined by the enterprises.

The stipulation also provides special policy for enterprises re-employing redundant workers. It indicates that 'labour service companies' set up by enterprises to re-employ redundant workers will be exempted from corporate income tax in the first two years and in the next three years only half of corporate income tax is required.

In 1994, Ministry of Finance and General Bureau of Taxation issued 'Curricular of Preferential Policies on Corporate Income Tax', which specifies preferential treatment to enterprises employing layoff and unemployed workers. It states that if more than 60 per cent of employees in a 'labour service company' are layoff or unemployed workers, it will be granted a three-year exemption of corporate income tax. After three years, if the enterprise still keeps the proportion at 30 per cent, it will enjoy a half exemption of the corporate income tax for the following two years.

In the next few years no comprehensive policies for layoff workers were announced. 1997 saw the number of layoff workers reached its peak and the central government realised that the serious problem of layoff workers might be harmful to social and political stability. To speed up the process of re-employment of layoff workers and to alleviate poverty of layoff workers the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and the State Council jointly issued the document No. 10 in 1998. It highlights the key points of new policies for layoff workers. The basic theme of the document is that reform of state enterprises is an inevitable process and is consistent with the long-run objective of the economic growth. During this process some workers may suffer temporarily from being laid-off and the government is committed to support them. In particular, the document states that:

- 1) Enterprises should consider workers' living standard before making decisions on who should be made redundant. For example, they should not lay off both husband and wife from the same family.
- 2) Local governments should encourage the rural labour force to find jobs within rural regions and the size of rural migration should be controlled.
- 3) Every enterprise with redundant workers should set up a re-employment service centre, which will distribute living allowances and other benefits, as well as pensions, unemployment and medical insurance for redundant workers.
- 4) The re-employment centres will take care of redundant workers for no more than 3 years. The living allowance for redundant workers should gradually reduce over the three year period, but no lower than unemployment benefit.
- 5) Layoff workers should be encouraged to set up small businesses of their own. For those who do so, they should enjoy three year tax-free status. Financial institutions should provide loans for these businesses.
- 6) Layoff workers, regardless of whether they were re-employed or not, should enjoy the same pension benefits and housing arrangements.
- 7) Enterprises with vacancies should give employment preference to layoff workers, especially female workers.
- 8) Layoff rural migrant workers are not eligible for any of these benefits.

To further specify and assist the implementation of the central government new policies, the General Bureau of Industrial and Commercial Management (GBICM) issued a circular in June 1998. The Ministry of Labour and Social Security (MOLSS) distributed the 'Circular of Re-employment Program for Training 10 millions of layoff Workers in Three Years' at the same time. The General Bureau of Taxation (GBT) handed out 'Circular of Preferential Policies of Tax for Labour Service Companies Established by Layoff Workers' in March 1999.

To summarise, the above documents stressed the following key points:

Layoff workers are re-defined as employees of state-owned enterprises who lost their work position, but still keep the employment relation with their work units. They are different

from the unemployed in the sense that they are provided subsistence income by their employers rather than getting unemployment benefits from governments.

The government attempts to establish a three pillars safety net system to protect the layoff workers. The first pillar is associated with Re-employment centres. The centres are organised by enterprises and are required to provide to the layoff workers the re-employment services such as providing job opportunity information, offering training courses, and guarantee subsistence income. When workers being laid off and enter into a centre, they would sign an agreement with the centre, which specifies obligations of the centre. They include provision of subsistence income, purchasing pension insurance, medical insurance, and unemployment insurance for the layoff workers. The maximum period for a layoff worker to stay in the centre is three years. After three years, he/she will have to leave the centres and become unemployed who will be supported by unemployment benefits or local minimum living allowance.

The second pillar is the Unemployment Insurance System. The system is applied to those layoff workers who still have not found a job after three years being with the re-employment centre. However, not everybody will receive unemployment benefit after three years. Only those whose work units have participated in the system (have been paying unemployment insurance).

The third pillar is the System of Minimum-Income Insurance designed only for urban residents. This system would provide minimum living allowance to urban households whose per capita income is below the officially poverty line, due to layoff or unemployment.

In the first half of 2000, a 10.96 billion yuan fund was raised as special fund for supporting layoff workers. Of which 27.4 per cent comes from contribution of enterprises, 50.4 per cent from government revenue, and 22.2 per cent from other sources. The total expenditure on layoff workers is 11.7 billion yuan, which is a 39.4 per cent increase compared to the same period in 1999. About 63 per cent of the total expenditure spent as subsistence income of layoff workers (at the re-employment centres) and 33.7 per cent spent on minimum income insurance for layoff workers.

To re-employ more layoff workers, the Chinese government actively encourages the expansion of the labour intensive industries, particularly the service sector in urban areas. Preferential policies are given to enterprises operating in commerce, trade, catering, tourism,

community services⁴, and to other small labour intensive enterprises. The policy indicates that if layoff workers set up businesses in community services, they would enjoy three-year exemption of operation tax, personal income tax and other fees⁵. In addition, the procedure to register such a firm is simplified (GBICM, 1998).

The central government also requires enterprises to continue buying pension insurance for the layoff workers. If a layoff worker reaches the legal age of retirement, the calculation of his/her pension depends on the number of years his/her enterprise has purchased the pension insurance and on the number of years his/her labour market experience. Layoff workers remain the rights to purchase housing at the subsidised price from their original work units. For some layoff workers with low income and financial difficulty, their children can exempt from school fees.

The enterprises have to contribute equivalent to 3 per cent of their total wages as unemployment insurance for their workers from 1998, which is tripled that was required before 1998.

To speed up re-employment projects, MOLSS plans to train 10 millions of layoff workers in three years (from 1998 to 2000). Specific target is that 3 millions are trained in 1998, 3.5 millions in 1999, and another 3.5 millions in 2000. The number of workers are trained is distributed in some key sectors as follows. 1.2 million in textile industry, 0.4 millions in rail-way transportation industry, 0.5 millions in coal industry, 0.4 millions in military industry. At the same time, to reduce unemployment pressure, MOLSS also plans to implement probationary system for urban high school graduates. Under this plan high school graduates should take 1 to 3 year training courses before enter the labour market. All the training cost will be covered by the central and local government revenue.

The level of the subsistence income for layoff workers is set to be higher than local minimum standard living cost. The re-employment centres should pay pension, medical, and unemployment insurances for layoff workers and the level of the insurance should be equal to

⁴ Community services cover the following businesses: cleaning and sanitation services; primary health services; child care; after-school care; services for disable children and for ageing population; care-taking for patients; and family planning consulting.

⁵ More specifically, if the community services are provided by individual layoff workers or enterprises with more than 60 per cent re-employed layoff workers, they would be exempted from operation tax, city maintenance and construction fees and additional education fees for the first three years. Layoff workers engaged in individual business would be exempted from personal income tax for three years.

60 per cent of average wages in the previous year. Insurance fees for pension and medical expenditure should be put into personal accounts.

The money used for supporting layoff workers comes from three sources. One third of it comes from government revenues, one third from enterprises contribution, and one third from other commitments such as contribution of unemployment funds. For enterprises located in less developed regions or enterprises making losses the central and local governments will give more financial support, while for those financially sound state owned enterprises the entire expenses should, in principle, be cover by themselves.

In some prosperous areas, local governments should start new projects of infrastructure and environmental protection to increase job opportunities for layoff workers. In remote and less developed areas, layoff workers should be organised to participate in agricultural production by utilising surrounding uncultivated land.

2.4. Conclusions

Increases in unemployment are unavoidable for a transitional economy moving from a planned to a market system at some stage of this process. As labour market liberalises, labour will be re-allocated from previously distorted state sector to market sector. At times, such a reallocation will generate large-scale unemployment. This has been proven by the experience of all the Eastern European transitional economies, as well as that of China.

Such a large scale unemployment will generate social and political unease. This is why most of the governments try very hard to compensate the welfare loss of the affected group. The government effort, however, is constraint by its financial power. The above discussion has shown that the Chinese government is serious about the unemployment problem and have paid a considerable amount of money trying to help a particular group of the unemployed, namely the state sector layoff workers. Questions arise as to how serious has the unemployed group been affected by the economic restructuring? Who are the most affected? How have they been coping during the difficult period? And, finally, are there better policy alternatives to compensate the most affected group? The following Chapters will try to answer these questions.

In addition to studying the most recent development of the issue of income inequality, this study also adopts a new methodology. Most of the previous studies on investigating the contributing factors to the level and change in income inequality in China adopt methodologies only allowing for limited number of contributing factors to be considered (see, for example, Aaberge and Li, 1997; Gustafsson and Li, 1998, 1999). This study employs a regression based decomposition approach developed by Fields (1998) that permits a control of wide range of contributing factors to the level and change in income inequality. This enables us to identify the main contributing factors more accurately.

The chapter is structured as follows. The next section provides background information on the process of economic reform in urban China and its relationship with income distribution. Section 3 describes methodology and data. Section 4 presents preliminary examination of the change in inequality over the period studied. Section 5 investigates the contributing factors to the change in income inequality over the period. Concluding remarks and policy implications are given in Section 6.

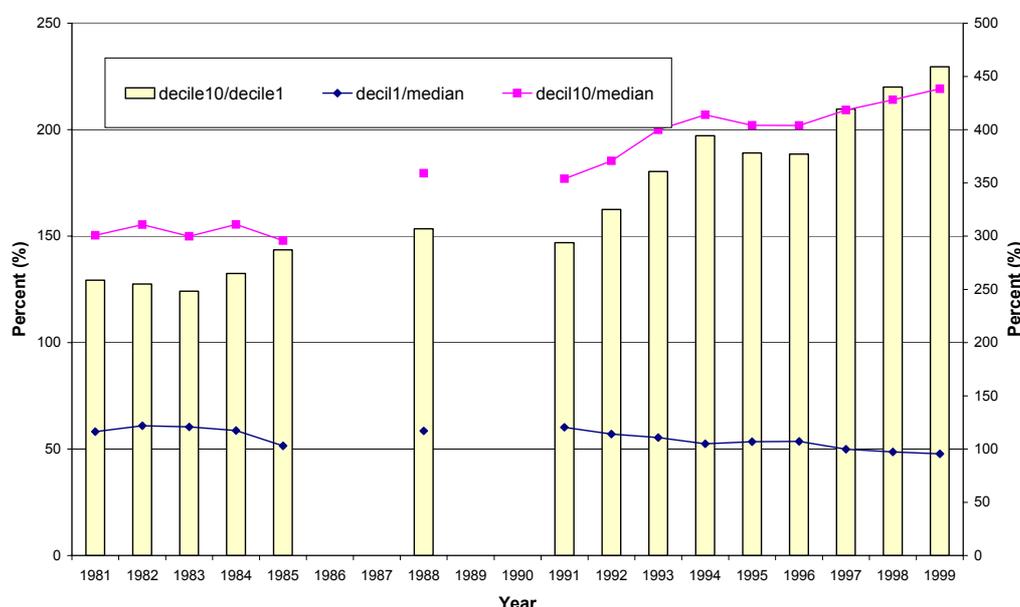
3.2 Background

China has experienced a fast economic growth since the economic reform began in the late 1970s. During the period 1978-1999, per capita real GDP increased by 8.3 per cent per year. Household income also increased considerably. Figure 3.1 present the average urban per capita household real income level (at 1982 price level) in the period where comparable data are available (1982-1999). During this period urban household per capita real income increased by 7.4 per cent per annum (China State Statistical Bureau (SSB), 2000). The rate of increase, however, varied for different periods. From 1982 to 1990, the annual increase in urban household real income is 5.6 per cent, this ration is 8.3 and 7.3 per cent for the period 1988 to 1995 and 1995 to 1999, respectively.

Accompanying such a significant economic growth, income inequality in China has also increased. The World Bank (1997) reports that the Gini coefficient for China as a whole increased from 28.2 in 1981 to 38.8 in 1995. The increase in inequality, however, varied significantly in different period of economic reform. Figure 3. 2 shows the overall change in distribution of real per capita household income (PCHI) in urban China during the period 1981-1999. The bar chart in Figure 3.2 shows the ratio of the mean real income of the 10th to the first income deciles (right-hand scale). The top and the bottom two lines indicate the

coefficient. Their calculation suggests a increase in Gini coefficient from 23.3 to 33.2 between 1988 and 1995.⁶

Figure 3. 2 Change in dispersion of real per capita household income in urban China, 1981-1999



Source: China Statistical Yearbook, various years.

The aggregated data also provide us with a consistent story. The ratio of 10th income decile over the 1st income decile as shown in Figure 3. 2 increased from 295 per cent in 1991 to 378 per cent in 1995. The ratio of first income decile over the median income reduced from 60 to 54 per cent, while this ratio for the 10th income decile increased from 177 to 202 per cent. For the first time since the economic reform started we observed a decline in the relative income of the bottom end of distribution. This is accompanied by a relative increase in the top end of income distribution. The increase in income inequality in this period, however, was identified as mainly a result of regional dispersion (see, for example, Gustafsson and Li, 1999 and Khan and Riskin, 2000).

Since 1995 urban economic reform has taken a sharp turn. Due to soft budget constraints and other property rights related problems the Chinese state sector has been performing badly. In 1995-1996, around 50 per cent of enterprises were making losses. To vitalise the Chinese economy the policy of significant reform in the state enterprises was introduced in 1997 (Appleton, Knight, Son, and Xia, 2001). As a result of this policy many

⁶ The reason for this difference is not clear.

The average annual growth rate is 6.2 per cent for the period of 1988 to 1995 and 5.6 per cent for the period of 1995 to 1999. These growth rates are slightly lower than those reported in Section 2 from the national statistical data.

Table 3.1 presents the measures of income inequality for the three survey years. We report two sets of inequality measures for the 1988 and 1995 data: the first column under each of the two years reports the measures for the full sample (11 provinces) and the second column reports that for the sample of 6 provinces which are consistent with those included in the 1999 data. It is shown clearly that income inequality has increased during the period of interest. Similar story appears regardless which inequality measure and which income measure or which sample is used.

Table 3.1 Various inequality measures of income, 1988, 1995, and 1999

	Real per capita HH income					Real HH income				
	1988		1995		1999	1988		1995		1999
	11 Prv.	6 Prv.	11 Prv.	6 Prv.	6 Prv.	11 Prv.	6 Prv.	11 Prv.	6 Prv.	6 Prv.
Relative mean Dv.	0.163	0.149	0.199	0.194	0.223	0.163	0.148	0.195	0.185	0.221
Coeff. Var.	0.488	0.447	0.604	0.587	0.630	0.487	0.442	0.593	0.535	0.653
Sd. Dv. of logs	0.422	0.392	0.507	0.500	0.603	0.431	0.404	0.499	0.484	0.606
Gini coefficient	0.234	0.215	0.282	0.274	0.313	0.235	0.215	0.278	0.263	0.312
Mehran measure	0.322	0.300	0.383	0.378	0.430	0.323	0.302	0.377	0.364	0.429
Piesch measure	0.190	0.173	0.231	0.222	0.255	0.191	0.172	0.228	0.212	0.254
Kakwani measure	0.052	0.044	0.072	0.069	0.088	0.052	0.044	0.071	0.063	0.088
Theil entropy measure	0.097	0.082	0.140	0.131	0.165	0.098	0.082	0.137	0.118	0.168
Theil mean log Dv.	0.092	0.079	0.132	0.126	0.171	0.094	0.080	0.129	0.116	0.172

Using Gini coefficient as an example, our estimates of the Gini for per capita household disposable income for the full sample increased from 23.4 in 1988, to 28.2 in 1995, and further increase to 31.3 in 1999. The conclusion does not change when samples for 1988 and 1995 surveys are restricted to the same six provinces included in the 1999 survey. The calculated Gini Coefficient using consistent sample of 6 provinces increased from 21.5 in 1988 to 27.4 in 1995. Our observed Gini coefficient using full sample for 1988 and 1995 are virtually the same as those calculated in Gustafsson and Li (1999), where they obtained the Gini Coefficient for urban per capita income changing from 23.93 in 1988 to 27.55 in 1995.

Figure 3. 3 Lorenz curves for real per capita household disposable income, 1988, 1995, and 1999

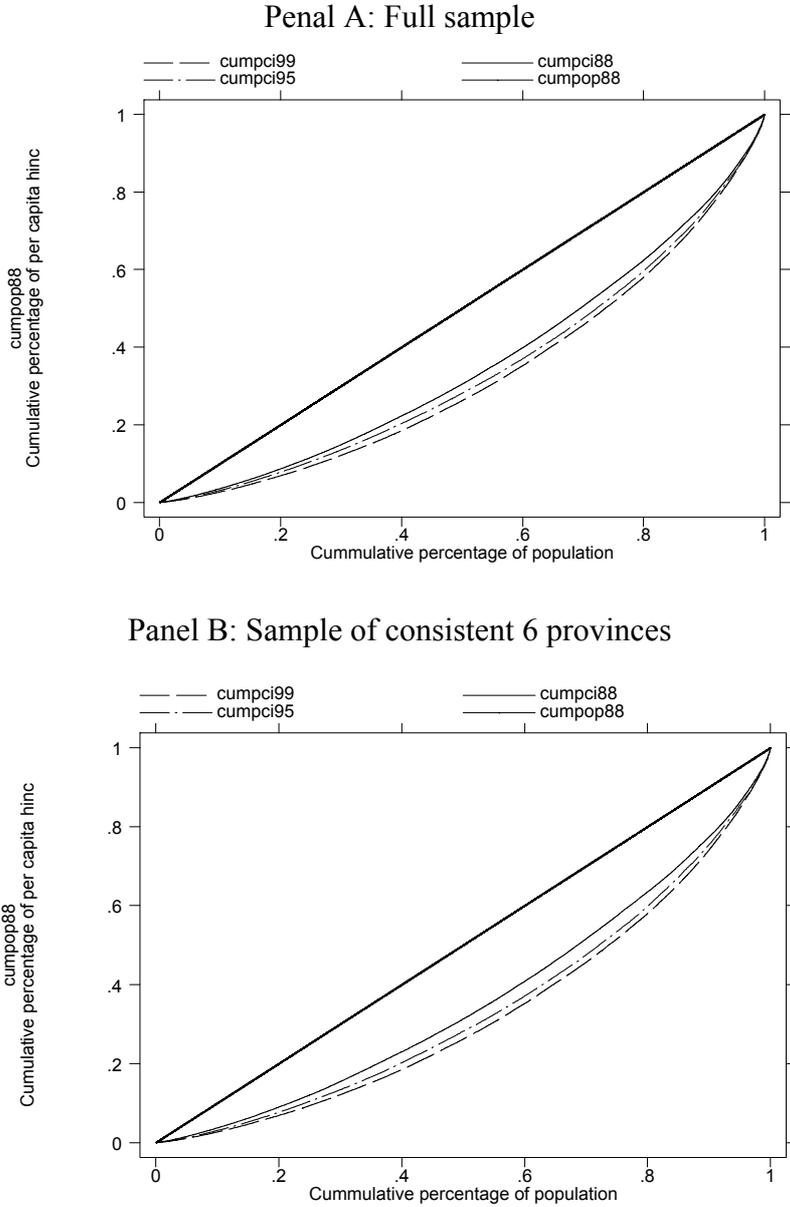
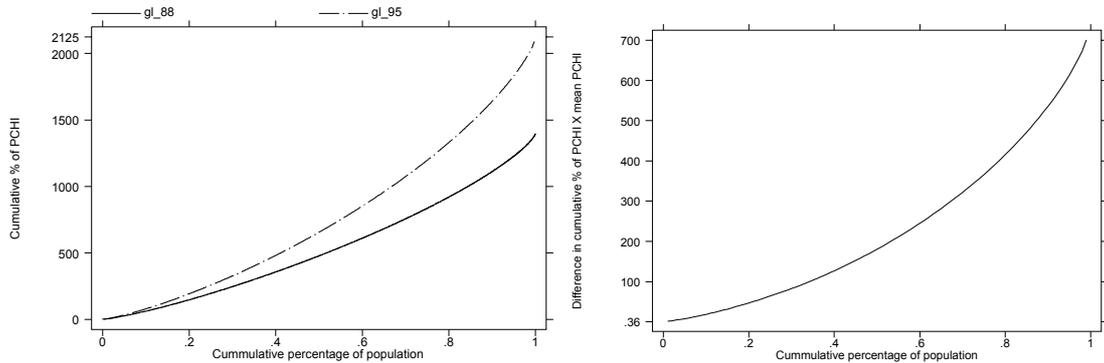


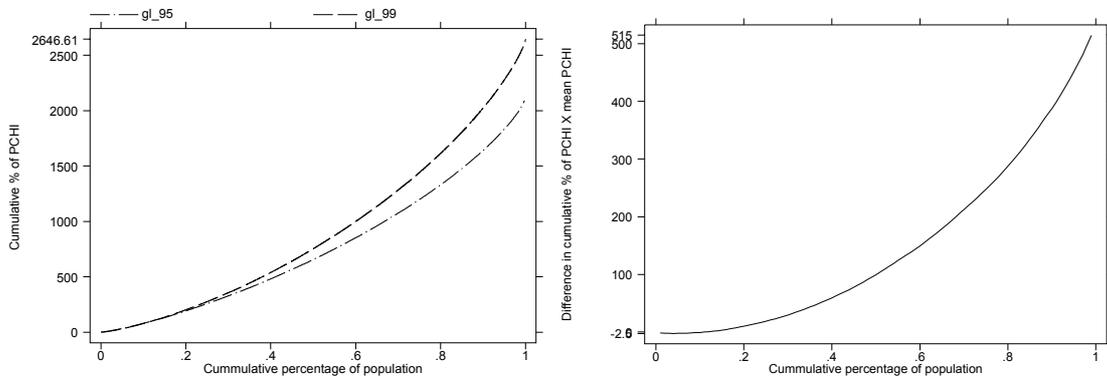
Figure 3. 3 plots the Lorenz curves for the three survey years. Panel A presents the Lorenz curves for using the full sample, whereas Panel B shows those using the 6 province sample. The solid curve indicates the income distribution in 1988, the dash and dotted line indicating the case in 1995, whereas the dashed curve presenting the 1999 situation. If one Lorenz curve lies everywhere above another it is said to 'Lorenz dominate' the other curve and all inequality measures will show that inequality to be lower for the higher curve. What we observe from Figure 3. 3 is that the 1988 Lorenz curve dominates that of the 1995, and the 1995 curve dominates that of the 1999. These confirm that income inequality has

Figure 3. 4 Generalised Lorenz curve

Panel A: 1988 and 1995

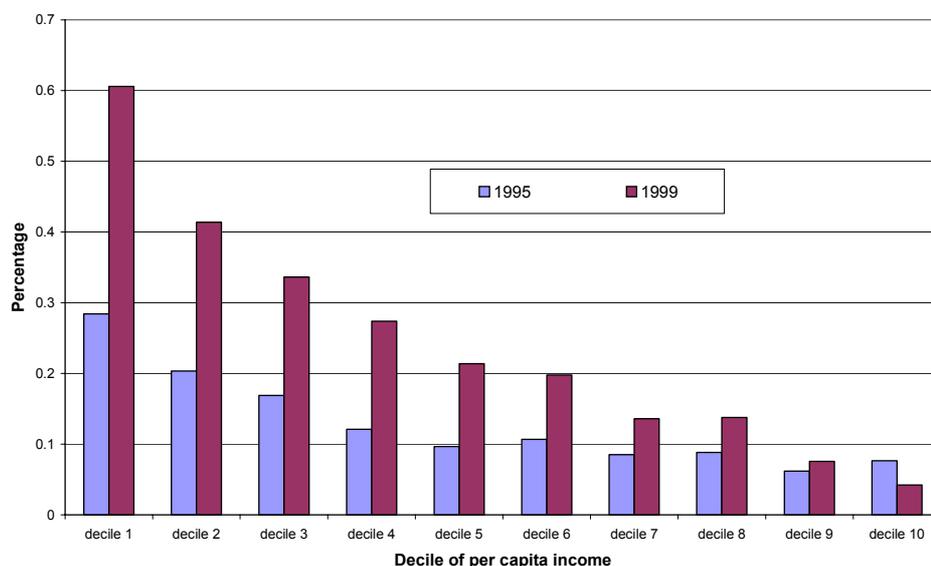


Panel B: 1995 and 1999



To further identify the group which suffered the most from the welfare loss Figure 3.5 depicts the changes in the average income of each percentile of real PCHI distribution. Panel A shows the average real PCHI distribution over the three years and Panel B indicates the change of the distribution. It reveals more clearly that the growth in income inequality over the two periods (1988 to 1995, and 1995 to 1999) has different patterns. Over the 1988 to 1995 period, both the top and bottom end of the income distribution had gained strong income growth but the top end grew stronger than the lower end. Whereas over the 1995 to 1999 period we observed a strong growth for the top sixty percentiles (about 20 per cent increase), a moderate growth for the lower middle income group (around 10 to 20 per cent increase), a very slight increase for the fifth to the fifteenth percentile, and a reduction in income for the bottom 5 percentiles.

Figure 3. 6 Distribution of households with unemployed members across income deciles



If unemployment is an important cause for the reduction in income at the lower end of the distribution between 1995 and 1999, why is it that not all unemployed households fall into the low income group? Perhaps households have cushioned away some of the impact of unemployment have on income. The reduction in household income from one member being unemployed can be compensated by other members income if they are employed. On the contrary, households with more members being unemployed are less likely to be compensated within the household and hence more likely fall into the lower end of the distribution. Indeed, in 1999 around 50 per cent the households with 2 or more members being unemployed are located at the bottom 10 percentile of the income distribution, and about 30 per cent of such households are concentrated at the lowest 5 percentile of the distribution. Whereas in 1995 only 25 per cent of the households with more than 1 members being unemployed are located in the bottom 10 percentile of the income distribution.

3.5 Identifying contributing factors to the change in income inequality

1 Determinants of income variation

To evaluate the contributing factors to the level of income inequality and its change across the three survey years we first estimate the income generating model specified in equation 3 for the three cross-sectional data sets. Table 3.2 reports the results for the full sample with the real per capita household disposable income as the dependent variable. The results using the sample of the same 6 provinces for the three survey years are consistent with

to the increase in income inequality over the period? To quantify this we apply equation 3 to the results presented in Tables 3.1 and 3.5. Table 3.6 summarises the results for the change in Gini coefficients between 1988 to 1995, and between 1995 to 1999. The upper panel reports the results from the full sample decomposition and the lower panel reports the results from the consistent 6 province samples.

The results from the upper panel of Table 3.6 shows that regional effect contribute to 50 per cent of the increase in the Gini coefficient between 1988 and 1995, whereas the economic restructuring contribute to around 34 per cent of such an increase. Of which, unemployment accounted for 6 per cent, while household members working in a loss making firm or sector of employment each contributed to more than 13 per cent. Another important factor that contributes to the increase in income inequality between 1988 and 1995 is the human capital factor, which accounted for about one quarter of the increase in Gini coefficient. This finding is consistent with other studies indicating that the effect of labour market reform increased the rate of return to human capital in the 1990s (see, for example, Knight and Song, 1999; Meng, 2000).

During the period of 1995 to 1999 the main contributing factor to the increase in Gini coefficient is the factor of economic restructuring, which accounted for more than 100 per cent of such change while regional effect contributes to the reduction of Gini coefficient. Among the economic restructuring factor, unemployment contributes to 79 per cent of the increase in Gini coefficient, while working in loss making firms and sector of employment each contributed to 39 and 22 per cent, respectively. Thus, the single factors which accounted for the most increase in income inequality during the period 1995 to 1999 are unemployment and working in a loss making firm. Another important effect contributing to the increase in Gini coefficient during this period is party membership. Around one fifth of the increase in inequality can be explained by this factor. The reason that party membership increase income inequality is due to a sharp increase in the rate of return to party membership as there has been little change in the proportion of households with party member.¹¹

Turning to the bottom panel of Table 3.6 we find a slight change in the decomposition results when the consistent 6 province samples are used. The economic restructuring becomes the most important factor to the increase in the Gini coefficient between 1988 and 1995 just

¹¹ See Appendix A for summary statistics of the data.

Appendix B:

Determinants of real per capita household disposable income
for consistent 6 province sample, 1988, 1995, and 1999

	<u>1988</u>		<u>1995</u>		<u>1999</u>	
	Coef.	T-Ratio	Coef.	T-Ratio	Coef.	T-Ratio
Constant	7.6902	74.18	7.4727	48.47	7.7957	44.13
Average age of HH labour	-0.0142	-2.73	0.0234	3.37	0.0113	1.41
(Average age of HH labour) ²	0.0002	3.52	-0.0002	-2.77	-0.0001	-0.90
Average years of schooling of HH L	0.0177	8.79	0.0344	14.45	0.0442	14.35
H party membership	0.0608	5.97	0.0702	5.51	0.1034	7.11
W party membership	0.0431	3.06	0.0477	2.92	0.1029	5.73
H being unemployed	0.0456	0.76	-0.1037	-3.69	-0.2880	-11.86
W being unemployed	0.1317	5.27	-0.1135	-4.60	-0.2558	-12.66
2 nd generation being unemp.	0.0986	1.58	-0.0977	-2.77	-0.1627	-4.58
H working in loss-making firm			-0.1014	-6.44	-0.1717	-10.39
W working in loss making firm			-0.0833	-5.36	-0.0846	-5.10
H working in local SOEs	-0.0307	-2.34	-0.1038	-6.61	-0.0790	-4.42
H working in collectives	-0.0734	-4.45	-0.1746	-7.55	-0.1427	-5.14
H working in private sector	0.0579	1.13	-0.0602	-1.36	-0.0038	-0.14
H did not report sector	0.0900	3.30	0.0145	0.33	-0.2693	-3.60
W working in local SOEs	0.0030	0.21	-0.0446	-2.54	-0.0145	-0.74
W working in collectives	-0.0614	-4.18	-0.1037	-5.04	-0.1129	-4.76
W working in private sector	-0.0400	-1.12	-0.1639	-3.64	-0.0723	-2.49
W did not report sector	-0.0595	-3.06	-0.2254	-7.57	-0.2684	-8.04
Male as the household head	0.0053	0.24	-0.0430	-3.27	-0.0444	-2.96
% of kids aged 0-5	-0.4403	-9.00	-0.2637	-3.24	-0.2252	-2.36
% of kids aged 6-10	-0.2875	-6.63	-0.0580	-0.94	-0.0343	-0.49
% of kids aged 11-16	-0.3779	-8.56	-0.0520	-0.97	-0.1601	-2.74
% of elderly	0.1311	2.27	0.2053	3.85	0.1687	2.88
Household size	-0.2142	-32.80	-0.2749	-23.27	-0.1905	-13.98
Number of labourers in the hh	0.1971	19.65	0.1905	13.46	0.1378	9.38
Liaoning	-0.0506	-2.85	-0.3084	-14.39	-0.4904	-20.64
Jiangsu	-0.0216	-1.22	-0.0465	-2.18	-0.1663	-6.92
Henan	-0.2932	-17.30	-0.4602	-20.64	-0.5309	-22.61
Sichuan	-0.0142	-0.05	-0.2803	-13.35	-0.4499	-19.67
Gansu	-0.1371	-7.21	-0.4849	-19.46	-0.5093	-20.66
Number of observations		3701		3503		4002
Adjusted R ²		0.4587		0.5301		0.5162
R ²		0.4628		0.5341		0.5198

Note: The central state owned enterprises sector and Beijing are used as the omitted category for the sector of employment and region, respectively.

4

IDENTIFYING THE MOST VULNERABLE GROUPS

4.1 Introduction

When an economic shock hits the society, not everybody or every household will fall into poverty. As stated in the last chapter, during the significant economic restructuring in urban China in the late 1990s the most significant determinant of household income reduction is unemployment. In addition, not all households with unemployed member become poor, but only those whose household have more than one member being unemployed.

In this chapter we take one step further to investigate who are more likely to become unemployed, what kind of households are more likely to be poor, and what kind of households are more likely to have more than one member being unemployed (in this chapter they will also be referred to as “vulnerable households”). An understanding of these issues will help us to identify the most vulnerable group and to evaluate if government policies towards layoff workers have aimed at the right target and how these policies can be fine-tuned so that the maximum effect can be achieved.

4.2 Model specification

To identify who are more likely to be unemployed we estimate a probit model of unemployment. Let $Prob(UE_i)$ be the probability of individual i being unemployed, the reduced form of the unemployment model may be specified as follow:

$$Prob(UE_i = 1) = f_i(\text{age}_i, \text{sage}_i, \text{edu}_i, \text{party}_i, \text{loss}_i, \text{health}_i, \text{sector}_i, \text{sex}_i, \text{region}_i) \quad (4.1)$$

where *sage* is a squared term of age; *edu* is years of schooling; *party* presents whether individual i is a party member or not; *health* indicates whether the individual is healthy; *loss* specifies if the individual works in a loss-making firm; *sector* is sector of employment; and *region* refers to a group of regional dummy variables. Both *loss* and *sector* refers to the individual’s previous employment affiliation if the individual is unemployed. Equation (4.1) is estimated for all individuals aged 16-65 who are in the labour force.

In addition, we also estimate probit models to discover the characteristics of poor households and households which are more likely to have more than one member being unemployed.

Fifth, the effect of the sector of employment on unemployment has changed. Individuals who were previously employed in the collective-sector had less or no more chance of becoming unemployed than those employed in the private sector in 1995. By 1999 the chance of an employee who worked in the collective sector being made redundant has become much higher than that of their counterparts in the private sector.

Finally, regional effect on unemployment was much significant in 1995 than in 1999. A simple test indicates that in 1995 regional effect explains around 4 per cent of the probability of individuals being unemployed, whereas this ratio is only around 1.3 per cent in 1999.

These results coincide very well with our expectations. Since 1995, more and more middle aged women have been made redundant. In addition, as the radical enterprise reforms occurred mostly in small and median sized enterprises, and as these enterprises are concentrated mostly in the collective sectors, unemployment is now more likely to happen in this sector than in the private sector. Hence, it may be summarised that less educated, middle aged, none party members, who work in a loss making firm and/or collective sector are more likely to be unemployed. This is more so for women than for men.

4.4 The most vulnerable households to the economic restructuring

As discussed in Chapter 3, the households which are the most likely to fall into the bottom 20 percentile of the income distribution in 1999 are those which have more than one household members being unemployed. In this section we identify the characteristics of the households who fall into the bottom 20 percentile of the income distribution, and those who are more likely to have more than one member being unemployed.

Table 4.2 reports the estimated results for the *POOR* equation. The age only have linear effect and hence the quadratic term is dropped. Interestingly, we find that young households are more likely to be poor, this not only indicated by the age variable but also by the household composition variables. Households with young children are more likely to be poor.

Number of household members being unemployed has very significant effect on whether a household is poor or not, especially in 1999. Indeed, one extra member being unemployed increase the probability of the household become 'poor' by 5 per cent in 1995 and by 11 per cent in 1999. This finding is consistent with that found in Chapter 3.

Table 4.2 Selected results from probit estimation of the determinants for being a poor household

	1995		1999	
	marginal effect	t-ratio	marginal effect	t-ratio
Average age of HH labour	-0.0017	-2.65	-0.0027	-3.14
Average years of schooling of HH L	-0.0190	-10.78	-0.0205	-7.72
Number of members unemployed	0.0468	5.65	0.1093	12.27
Gender of the HH head	0.0146	1.66	0.0126	1.08
H working in loss-making firm	0.0327	3.11	0.0765	6.27
W working in loss making firm	0.0512	4.75	0.0384	3.19
H working in local SOEs	0.0581	5.35	0.0506	3.44
H working in collectives	0.1428	7.25	0.0780	3.37
H working in private sector	0.0900	2.52	0.0391	1.71
H did not report sector	0.0231	0.72	0.0930	1.47
W working in local SOEs	0.0414	3.11	0.0079	0.46
W working in collectives	0.0817	4.81	0.0637	3.05
W working in private sector	0.1439	3.95	0.0598	2.34
W did not report sector	0.2226	8.57	0.2300	6.91
H party membership	-0.0506	-5.87	-0.0640	-5.66
W party membership	-0.0320	-2.70	-0.0539	-3.61
% of kids aged 0-5	0.3486	8.23	0.2344	3.88
% of kids aged 6-10	0.2409	7.05	0.0782	1.62
% of kids aged 11-16	0.1690	5.43	0.1427	3.60
% of elderly	0.0242	0.70	-0.0128	-0.30
Household size	0.0851	16.36	0.0462	6.34
Region		Yes		Yes
Number of observations		6223		3904
Pseudo R ²		0.32		0.31

Working in loss making firm and not working in the central state sector both increase one's chance to be poor, while being party member reduces the chance. Large households are more likely to be poor.

In general, the results presented in Table 4.2 are consistent with that reported in Table 3.2. After all, these are similar equations estimated from different angles.

If having more members being unemployed is a very important determinant for being poor, we need to know the characteristics of such households. The estimated results from the probit model of *MUR* are reported in Table 4.3. The results indicate that there have been some significant changes as to the type of households which are more likely to have more than one member being unemployed over the period of 1995 to 1999. Controlling for household size, the only significant determinants in 1995 are 'education' and 'loss-making firm'. In 1999, however, 'age', 'party membership', 'sector of employment', and 'region of resident' all become significant determinants as well.

Less educated households have a higher incidence of having more than one member

UNEMPLOYMENT, CONSUMPTION SMOOTHING, AND PRECAUTIONARY SAVING IN URBAN CHINA

5.1. Introduction

Economic shocks, whether due to normal business cycles, financial shocks, or economic restructuring, happen all the time, especially in the developing world. The recent Asian financial crisis is one of many examples. Facing such shocks, many individuals and households will experience difficult periods of unexpected reduction in income, and perhaps poverty. How to better help the individuals and households most severely affected pull through such periods is often an important policy decision for a government. One of the mechanisms governments in the developed world use to offset the effect of adverse shocks is to finance an income support scheme.¹⁴ Putting aside the possible negative effect of such redistribution measures on economic efficiency and possible crowding out effect on private precautionary savings (Engen and Gruber, 1995), many developing countries in their current economic situation may have to juggle with very limited resources. Thus, finding the most effective way to help individuals and households who are adversely affected by economic shocks is an important policy issue.

The theoretical background for government financed direct income support schemes to offset adverse shocks assumes that individual households are limited in their ability to help themselves and that individuals may be short-sighted and hence unable to save for their own uncertain future (Bauer and Paish, 1952).¹⁵ However, according to the Permanent Income Hypothesis, individual households should be able to smooth their consumption by saving in normal times and dissaving during periods of adverse economic shocks. Many empirical studies have found that the Permanent Income Hypothesis is, to some degree, at work in some developing economies (see, for example, Bhalla, 1979, 1980; Wolpin, 1982; and Paxson, 1992). In addition to the Permanent Income Hypothesis, the richer life cycle models, which allow for precautionary saving, suggest that when future uncertainty increases, current consumption will fall and saving will increase, especially in the developing world where

¹⁴ Various unemployment insurance (UI) schemes are also implemented in some developed countries. While UI schemes have the benefit of pooling risks, government involved UI schemes are often associated with a substantial income redistribution.

to smooth consumption with respect to unexpected shocks. In addition, the majority of studies utilise aggregated data. Studies by Jalan and Ravillion (1996, 1998) and Kraay (1998), however, investigate the effect of income shocks on consumption and the impact of future income uncertainty on saving. Nevertheless, their studies are based primarily on rural household surveys (Jalan and Ravillion, 1996, 1998) or aggregated provincial data (Kraay, 1998). In addition, Kraay's study uses data collected for the period before 1995, when the acceleration of urban economic reform had not been underway for a sufficient period or to a sufficient extent to present large increases in future uncertainty to urban households. These deficiencies may have contaminated his results which indicate that neither permanent income hypothesis nor precautionary saving motives can explain urban household savings in China.

In this chapter a 1999 Urban Household Income, Expenditure and Employment (UHIEE) survey conducted in 2000 is utilised. The questions addressed are how well can urban households smooth their consumption and how well can they handle future income shocks. There is a special focus on urban unemployment. The situation in urban China seems to provide a unique opportunity to test Permanent Income and Precautionary Saving hypotheses given the sudden increase in adverse income shocks and the introduction of income uncertainty. The results of such tests will have significant policy implications.

The chapter is structured as follows. The next section briefly describes background changes that have occurred in the Chinese economy with particular implications for the increase in unemployment and uncertainty faced by urban households. Section 3 lays out the framework for the empirical analysis and discusses the data. Section 4 presents the empirical results. Conclusions are given in Section 5.

5.2. Background

Since 1978 China has embarked on an economic transformation towards a market-oriented economy. For the last two decades or so Chinese households have seen dramatic changes in their lives, especially since the early 1990s and especially for urban households. The focus of this chapter is on consumption smoothing in urban China and consequently the background description will focus on the urban Chinese economy.

¹⁶ For a comprehensive survey see Kraay, 1998.

More and more schools have begun to charge fees and compulsory ‘donations’ for what used to be free primary and secondary education. Since the mid-1990s, tertiary education has also increasingly required financial contributions from parents.

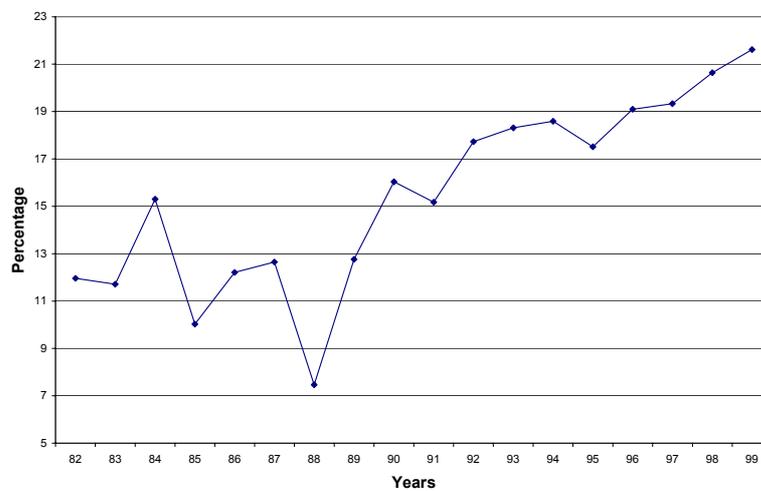
Perhaps the most significant changes have occurred in the system of employment. Lifetime employment has more or less been abolished for new labour market entrants, even in the state sector. As a replacement, new labour market entrants are mainly employed under fixed or continuous contracts in the state sector (Meng, 2000). More importantly, the employment share of the state sector has been shrinking while the employment share of the “other sector”, which comprises private, foreign owned, and joint venture enterprises, has increased significantly. Employment in the “other sector” is mainly under short term contract or on a temporary basis. It is reported that in 1998 the share of “other sector” employment exceeded the share of employment in the state sector (Meng, 1999).

Accompanying all these changes is the reform of state-owned enterprises. Due to soft budget constraints and other problems related to determining property rights, the Chinese state sector has been performing badly. In 1995-1996, around 50 per cent of enterprises were making losses (East Asian Analytical Unit, 1997). To vitalise the Chinese economy a policy of drastic reform in the state enterprises was introduced. As a result of this policy many small and median size loss making state enterprises were bankrupted. Those that survived started to take efficiency measures seriously. These two forces led to a large-scale displacement. Over the last few years around 15 million state sector workers have been made redundant (Fan, 2000). According to the 1995 Urban Household Income and Expenditure Survey (UHIES), also conducted by the Institute of Economics at Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, and the 1999 UHIEE survey, the unemployment rate was 8.5 in 1995 while in 1999 this rate had increased to 17.3 per cent. Thus, not only has lifetime employment been abolished for the young, but also those who previously had lifetime employment, especially middle aged and older employees, are facing a real possibility of being displaced.

In summary, social security reforms implemented in urban China, together with a dramatic increase in unemployment in recent years, has changed urban household perceptions as to their future. Despite these growing uncertainties, the formal credit market in urban China has not been developing quickly. Banks do not normally provide personal loans. Only very recently (after 1997) have some banks in some regions begun to provide housing loans and a limited number of other personal loans to individual households.

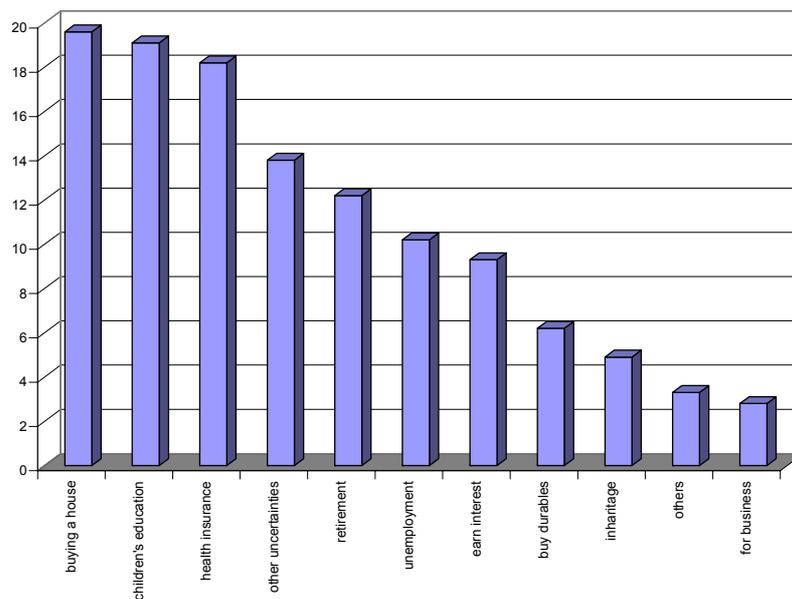
The sudden increase in uncertainty of household welfare and income has had a large impact on household consumption and saving behaviour. Figure 1 shows the increase in the saving rate for urban households over recent years. It indicates a substantial increase in the per capita saving rate since the late 1980s and early 1990s when the social security reform began. During the 1995-1999 period when the state sector speeded up laying off workers, the average per capita income increase has been 7.3 per cent per annum, while the average rate of per capita saving increased at the rate of 13.1 per cent per annum.

Figure 5. 1 Per capita saving rate, 1982-1998



Source: State Statistical Bureau of China, various years, *China Statistical Yearbook*, Beijing: China Statistical Publishing House

Figure 5. 2 Household saving motive, 1995-1997



Source: Wu, 1999.

It is fairly obvious that the increase in the saving rate is related to the reforms. In a survey of household saving motives during 1995-1997, it is found that the main motives for saving are buying houses, paying for children's education, health and old age insurance, and preparing for unemployment.¹⁷ Figure 5. 2 shows that around 20 per cent of this sample identifies buying a house as the most important saving motive, and about the same percentage identifies children's education or health insurance as the most important motive. About 10 to 12 per cent of the sample indicates that preparing for retirement and unemployment is the most important motive (Wu, 1999). These figures suggest that since the mid-1990s, it has become more and more obvious to urban households that the era of government taking care of everybody has ended and households should acquire assets and be prepared for their own uncertain futures.

5.3. Model specification and data

The permanent income hypothesis suggests that households will smooth their consumption over a given time horizon. When realised income exceeds expected income households will save. When realised income is below expected income households will either borrow from banks or withdraw money from previous savings to finance current consumption. Thus, the consumption of household i is a linear function of its permanent income (expected income) and transitory income (the difference between realised and expected income) in addition to variables which are related to household taste, such as household size, composition, and other characteristics (Friedman, 1957; Bhalla, 1980; Paxson, 1992).

The richer life-cycle models, which allow precautionary saving suggest that income uncertainty should also affect household consumption (saving) behaviour as long as households have precautionary saving motivations (Carroll and Weil, 1994; Carroll, 1994; Deaton, 1997). Thus, following Paxson (1992) the approximation of the consumption function may be specified as follows:

$$C_i = \alpha + \beta Y_i^P + \gamma Y_i^T + \mu UC_i + \lambda X_i + \varepsilon_i \quad (5.1)$$

where C_i is household i 's consumption level

¹⁷ Using Browning and Lusardi (1996) terminology, these motives may be summarised as the downpayment, bequest, life-cycle, and precautionary motives.

Y_i^P is the measure of permanent income for household i

Y_i^T is the measure of transitory income for household i

UC_i is income uncertainty facing household i

X_i is a vector of household characteristics indicating taste shifters.

According to Friedman (1957), the marginal propensity to consume out of permanent income, β , should be equal to one and the marginal propensity to consume out of transitory income, γ , should be zero if the ‘strict’ version of the permanent income hypothesis is followed. However, empirical studies often find that such a ‘strict’ version of the permanent income hypothesis does not exist. This may be due to liquidity constraints (Pagano, 1994; Zeldes, 1989) or due to an increase in the precautionary saving motive generated by increases in income uncertainty (Romer, 1990; and Carroll, 1994). Thus, a weaker version of the Permanent Income Hypothesis, which suggests that $\beta > \gamma$, may be more appropriate, especially for developing countries (see, for example, Bhalla, 1980, Paxson, 1992, and Deaton, 1997).

The consumption theory also indicates that if urban Chinese households are precautionary savers the variable UC , which measures income uncertainty, should be negatively correlated with consumption.

One of the important issues in relation to equation (1) is how to measure Y^P , Y^T and UC . In the previous literature, permanent and transitory incomes are measured in several different ways. When using a single cross-section of data the normal procedure is to use at least one instrumental variable which is correlated with permanent income and orthogonal to transitory income to identify permanent income. Such instruments have included assets and education, lagged income, and long run averages of rainfall (Musgrove, 1978, 1979; Bhalla, 1979; Wolpin, 1982; Deaton, 1997). An alternative procedure is to find at least one instrument which can identify transitory income shocks. Paxson (1992), for example, uses regional rainfall to construct measures of a component of transitory income for Thai rice farmers and uses this instrument to facilitate the estimation of the propensity to save out of transitory income. Using panel data, Bhalla (1980) constructed two different permanent income measures, one being a weighted average of past incomes, and the other being based on estimates of an earnings equation which accounted for unobservable personal characteristics.

The current study uses cross-sectional data and the main purpose is to identify the effect of a transitory income shock—employment displacement—on households’

consumption behaviour. Ideally, one would use the Paxson (1992) methodology. However, as the determinants of displacement (unemployment) are, to a certain extent, collinear with the determinants of permanent income, this approach cannot be followed.¹⁸

The other possible approach is to use predicted values of permanent income from cross-sectional estimates of household income based on human capital theory as a measure for permanent income (Wang, 1995). However, as has correctly pointed out by Kraay (1998), such a methodology does not take into account the rapid change in the economic environment in China, and hence is not very attractive.

The most relevant permanent income measure to the current chapter may be Bhalla's (1980) weighted average of past incomes, which is specified as:

$$Y^P = \sum W_t Y_t \quad t = -\infty, \dots, 0 \quad (5.2)$$

where W_t are the weights for time t and Y_t the measured income in time t . The weight, W_t , is specified as follows:

$$W_t = \delta \frac{(1 + \alpha)^{-t}}{(1 + \delta)^{-t}} \quad t = -\infty, \dots, -3, -2, -1, 0. \quad (5.3)$$

where δ refers to the discount rate, and α refers to the trend rate of growth of permanent income for an individual household.

Although the data used in this study are cross-sectional, households were asked to report their last five years' income. The question, however, is how to weight past incomes to obtain the best estimate of household permanent income. Bhalla's definition cannot take into account a change in future uncertainties. This is reasonable given that the normal definition of uncertainty only implies changes in the variance of expected income but not changes in expected income itself. The specific situation considered in this study, an increase in the probability of being unemployed, however, has the property that it not only changes the variance of expected income but also changes expected income. An increase in the probability of unemployment in China reduces income without any offsetting positive effect.

¹⁸ Studies by Gruber (1997), Browning and Crossley (1999) test the effect of unemployment insurance on the change in consumption. The approaches used in their studies, however, require data on changes in consumption before and after unemployment, which are not available from the data used in this study.

In other words, an increase in the probability of being unemployed will reduce household expected income as well as increase uncertainty.

To take into account the change in expected income generated by the increased risk of unemployment, the permanent income measure is adjusted for the change in the average probability of being unemployed for each household. Thus, each year's income is adjusted using the estimated average household probability of being unemployed for that year. Following Bird (1995) in the income risk literature, the measure of permanent income can be written as:

$$Y^P = \sum W_t [(1 - P_t) * Y_t + P_t \bar{Y}_t^U] \quad (5.4)$$

where P_t is the average probability of individuals in household i being displaced in time t , which is calculated by predicting the probability of being unemployed for each individual from estimated probit unemployment equation 4.1, and then average it over all individual within each household. \bar{Y}_t^U is average income of households which have unemployed members at time t .

Following other studies, transitory income is defined as the difference between realised and expected income.

The measurement of uncertainty, UC , is another important issue. Economic theory suggests that households with precautionary motives will consume (save) less (more) when future income uncertainty is higher (lower). Discussion provided in the last section indicates that Chinese urban households have been subjected to significant changes in social welfare arrangements. In addition, due to lack of a formal credit market, high interest rates in the informal market, and a strong cultural bias against debt, Chinese households have historically been reluctant to borrow money. Each of these factors may contribute to urban Chinese households' precautionary saving motives. In this chapter, households' income uncertainty is measured by two variables: One variable is the variance of past incomes, and the other variable is the average predicted probability of being unemployed/displaced of household labourers in 1999.

The variables used to indicate households' taste shifts include household size, household composition, and an indication on whether household i has had changes in household size in 1999.

The main data source is from the 1999 UHIEE survey, which was conducted by the Institute of Economics, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, in early 2000. In addition, to assist the estimation of probability of being unemployed in earlier years (1995-1998), data from the 1995 Urban Household Income Distribution Survey (UHIDS) is also utilised.

The calculation of the weight used to adjust permanent income, W_t , requires determination of δ and α . Following Bhalla (1980), we assume a common income growth rate, α , which is the national average household income growth rate estimated at 7 per cent per annum during the period 1995-1998 (State Statistical Bureau, 1999). The discount rate, δ , is not fixed but ranges from 10 per cent to 90 per cent to test the sensitivity (Bhalla, 1980).

To adjust permanent income one also needs to trace the probability of being unemployed/displaced, P_t , for each of the 4 years. To do so, equation (5) is estimated using both the 1995 UHIE and 1999 UHIEE data sets, and predicted probabilities both years for the 1999 sample households are obtained from the estimated results. The assumption is then made that the change of the probability of being unemployed takes an exponential form between the two years. The predicted probability for each household for the years of 1996-1998 is calculated according to the calculated average annual growth rate of the probability for each household.

The 1995 UHIE and 1999 UHIEE surveys have two questions on employment status. The first one seeks information on the individual's current labour force status (the time the surveys were conducted, which was 1996 for 1995 UHIE and 2000 for 1999 UHIEE), while the second one asks about the individual's employment and unemployment status in 1995 and 1999. Due to the fact that both individual incomes and household consumption are for the year of 1995 and 1999, the second measure of employment status is used as the main indicator for unemployment.

In addition to the two questions on employment status, the survey also interviewed 1336 displaced workers (not the complete sample of displaced workers) and has detailed information on their duration of unemployment. From this information, one can derive a rough measure of the stock of unemployment/displacement in each year during the period 1995-1999.¹⁹ To test the sensitivity of the unemployment adjustment to permanent income, I

¹⁹ For this sub-sample of individuals a question is asked as to how long they have been unemployed. From this question one can derive the stock of unemployment in 1995 to 1999.

Figure 5.3 Deciles of saving distributions for households with and without unemployed members

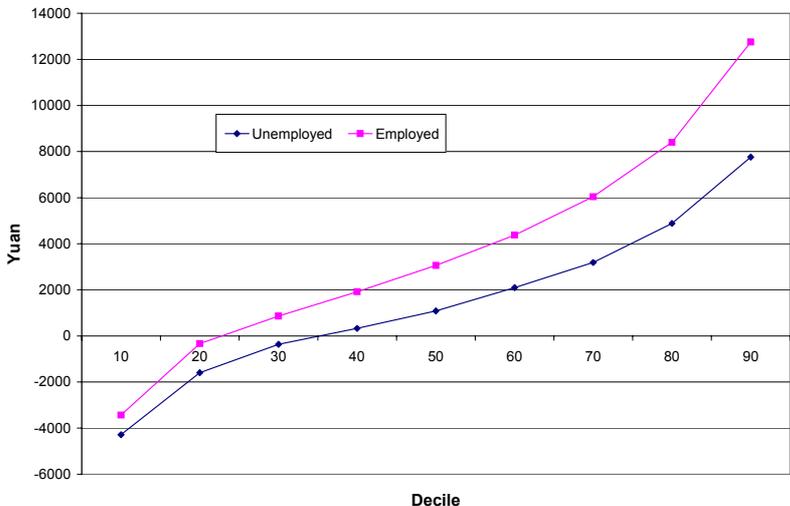


Figure 5.3 shows the saving distribution for the two sub-groups of households. It presents the average saving for each decile when households are arranged in ascending order of savings. Apart from a vertical displacement the saving pattern is quite similar for the two groups. About 35 per cent of households with unemployed members dis-save while this ratio is about 23 per cent for the other group of households.

The fact that the average saving for households with unemployed members is positive and that about 65 per cent of this group of households has positive saving suggests that the unemployment shock to the urban households, measured in terms of its impact on consumption and savings, is not as significant as it may be expected. Perhaps there are other income channels for these households apart from formal employment that help to offset the unemployment shock. Such channels may include employment in the informal sector and intra-family income transfers.²⁰

The summary statistics for other relevant variables are reported in Table 5.A, Appendix A. Although real total expenditure for households with unemployed member(s) is about 33 per cent less than that of households without unemployed individuals the expenditure patterns are similar. Food consumption accounted for 42 per cent of total consumption for households without unemployment and 46 per cent for households with unemployed member(s). The proportion of educational expenditure in the total expenditure is

²⁰ The average government income support for households with unemployed members only accounts for 5 per cent of the average household income for this group.

11 and 10 per cent, respectively. The family size for households without unemployed individuals is slightly smaller than that of households with unemployed individuals. In addition, unemployed households have a slightly higher proportion of primary aged female members than employed households (36 per cent compared to 33 per cent).

5.4. Empirical results for the total sample

To evaluate the impact of unemployment on household consumption two adjustments are made to the normal empirical test of Permanent Income Hypothesis. First, as discussed in the previous section, permanent income is adjusted for the predicted probability of being unemployed/displaced. Second, the predicted probability of being unemployed/displaced is included in the consumption equation as an independent effect to capture whether households change their consumption behaviour over and above the adjustment to permanent income because of their potential possibility of being displaced.

In addition, a test is conducted to investigate if consumption behaviour differs between households with and without unemployed members and separate consumption equations are estimated for the two groups of households when we identify a statistically significant difference in behavioural patterns. The theoretical consideration behind this is that households with unemployed members may face more serious liquidity or subsistence constraints, and hence, have a different consumption behaviour in comparison to households without unemployed members. In addition, as the large scale unemployment is only recently became a recognised reality to the Chinese urban households, households which are hit by this recent unemployment shocks may not have had enough time to adjust.

Equation (1) is estimated with controls for regional differences. In this chapter the consumption smoothing is tested for total consumption, food consumption, and educational consumption separately. F-tests for structural change between households with and without unemployed members show that, for total consumption and food consumption, the two groups of households have significantly different behaviour patterns, while for educational consumption no statistically significant difference is observed.²¹ Nevertheless, the marginal propensity to consume education out of permanent income is statistically different between

²¹ The F-test for total consumption is $F_{\infty,28} = 1.70$ and for food consumption $F_{\infty,28} = 1.99$, which are both greater than the critical value of 1.62 at 2.5 per cent significant level. For educational consumption, however, the F value is 1.22, which fails to pass the critical value even at 10 per cent significant level.

the two groups. Thus, the results reported below on total consumption and food consumption will include findings for the total sample as well as for the two sub-samples of households with and without unemployed members separately. For the educational consumption, an interaction term between the variable of permanent income and a dummy variable for households with an unemployed member is included.

As discussed in Section 3, permanent income is measured in 6 different ways according to different adjustments (see Table 5.1). To test the robustness of the results, each consumption equation is estimated 6 times using different permanent and transitory income measures.

The predicted probability of unemployment is obtained in two ways, one according to the stock of unemployment in 1999 reported in the 1999 UHIEE data, and the other according to the information on current employment status reported in the 1999 data. To test the sensitivity of the results, each of the above mentioned 6 consumption regression with different permanent income measures is also estimated twice with different measures of predicted probabilities.

The estimations using different permanent income measures and different measures of the predicted probability of being displaced produced similar results, suggesting that the results are very robust. Selected results from the total consumption regression using permanent income adjusted for a growth rate, a discount rate, as well as for the predicted probability of being displaced obtained from 1995 and 1999 data are reported in Table 5.3.²² The table consists of three panels. The top panel reports the results from the total sample while the middle and the bottom panels provide estimates using the employed and unemployed sub-samples.

To correct for heteroscedasticity, White's consistent estimator of the covariance matrix is used (Greene, 1990). In addition, the inconsistency of the variance-covariance matrix of our estimation may also occur due to the use of the predicted regressor of average probability of being unemployed/displaced for the household labourers (Pagan, 1984). The remedy provided in Pagan (1984), however, may not be appropriate because the predicted regressor used in this study is generated from a non-linear estimation. Furthermore, the

Every one percentage point increase in household average predicted probability of being displaced reduces household consumption by 71 to 77 yuan. This result seems to suggest that households with no unemployed members are aware of their potential probability of being displaced and hence react accordingly in their consumption and saving behaviour. The average probability of being displaced for households without unemployed members is about 12 percentage points, with a minimum of approximately zero and a maximum of around 46 percentage points. Thus, on average these households save about 855 to 920 yuan in anticipation of unemployment, which accounts for around 23 to 25 per cent of their average savings. This is a significant amount.

The predicted probability of being unemployed also has negative and statistically significant effect on the consumption of the households with unemployed members. There are two possible interpretations of this additional effect. First, because this study uses cross-sectional data, the variation in the predicted probability of being unemployed among households with unemployed members may capture the effect of the duration of unemployment. Individuals with a longer duration of being unemployed are more likely to be identified in any given time frame. Thus, the negative effect of the average predicted probability of being unemployed on consumption for this group of households may suggest that households with predicted longer duration of being unemployed are saving more. Second, the variable of predicted probability of being unemployed used in this study is average predicted probability of being unemployed for all household labourers. Thus, the negative effect of this variable on total consumption may indicate the awareness of probability of more household members being unemployed.

The above analysis is mainly focused on total consumption. For households facing transitory shocks, however, the most important policy implications should be drawn from household basic (food) consumption and educational consumption smoothing. This is because for poor households basic consumption is an important indicator of welfare and educational consumption provides human capital investment to the next generation and hence is important for intergenerational income mobility.

Table 5.5 reports selected results from the food consumption regression. The marginal propensity to consume food out of permanent and transitory income for the total sample is about 14 and 7 per cent, respectively. Once again, these ratios are much higher for the sub-sample of households with unemployed members. However, these households seem to be

future uncertainty ought to attract a greater attention from the government. It is not a good outcome if future generations of poor families, with an increasing incidence of unemployment, are unable to adequately finance the education of their children. This outcome provides an *a priori* case for government involvement in education financing for the poor.

6

CONCLUSIONS AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

In this study we have investigated three important issues related to the large-scale urban unemployment which occurred in the late 1990s. To recall, the issues are:

- 1) To what extent has the large-scale unemployment caused by the radical economic reform increased income inequality in urban China.
- 2) Who are the most vulnerable people in the process of economic restructuring?
- 3) How do different individuals cope with the unemployment experience?

Our main conclusions may be summarised as follows:

First, the large-scale unemployment which occurred in the late 1990s has had a great impact on urban income inequality. According to our estimates, around 78 per cent of the increase in Gini coefficient between 1995 and 1999 is due to increased unemployment.

Second, the most vulnerable individuals to the economic restructuring are those who are less educated, middle aged women and those who worked in loss making firms.

Third, not all unemployed individuals suffered from significant income losses. Those whose family have no other unemployed members seem to have done relatively well comparing to individuals whose family has more than one member being unemployed in terms of per capita household income. It is the latter who suffered the most from the economic restructuring.

Fourth, apart from less educated, the most important characteristics of the households which have more than one member being unemployed are: husband and wife work in loss making firms, employed in the collective or private sectors, and lived in less developed regions.

Fifth, despite the significant income in unemployment and income inequality in the late 1990s, urban Chinese households in general can smooth consumption, even for households with unemployed members. However, educational consumption seems to be highly correlated with transitory income. As a result, most households squeeze educational consumption when they face transitory income losses. In addition, the poorest households at the bottom one decile of the income distribution cannot smooth their consumption, though

used as buffer for income shocks. When income reduces and uncertainty increases households squeeze educational consumption for other expenditure and saving. This ought to attract a greater attention from the government. As stressed in Chapter 5 it is not a good outcome if future generations of poor families are unable to adequately finance the education of their children. Perhaps, money saved from changing general income support to the layoff workers to income tested household based income support can be directed to educational subsidy to the poor.

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