International Journal of Economic Research

Volume 17 • Number 1 • 2020, ISSN 0972-9380 available at http://www.serialsjournal.com

Inequalities in Human Development of India and China: A Comparative Analysis.

¹Faisal Gulzar Mir, ²Mohd Azam Khan

¹Research Scholar, Department of Economics AMU, Aligarh UP, India ²Associate Professor, Department of Economics AMU, Aligarh UP, India Email: azamkhanamu@gmail.com

Abstract: The two most populous countries of the world, India and China have undergone socio-economic transformations in recent times. However, both the countries have achieved similar economic growth outcomes but they have experienced differingresults in the sphere of human development. As China moved from medium to higher human development category, India remained at lower level of medium human development group. Both the countries have started their journey of growth almost at the same time in early 1950's, China has outperformed India in all the aspects of human development. So, in this background our study tries to find out the inequalities between the two nations in attainment of the Human development. In the introductory part of the study a brief overview of the two countries is presented that how two nations are similar and different in terms of human development attainments. In the ensuing part of the study we have explain the overall inequalities in human development of India and China further the paper discusses the inequalities in the performance of indicators of human development separately. Finally, the paper comes up with the concluding remarks, some suggestions and lessons that two countries may learn from each other.

Keywords: HDI, India, China, Inequalities. *JEL Classification:* J24, I14, I24, I30.

INTRODUCTION

The concept of human development was developed by Mahbub-ul-Haq Pakistani economist in 1970's. In 1990 Dr. Haq with Amrtya Sen and other economists published the first human development report adopted by United Nations development program (UNDP). The human development index is a composite measure of three basic indicators: a long and healthy life, access to knowledge and good standard of living. Human development index has become one of the most reliable and widely used indices of wellbeing. In human development report the rankings of countries are given according to their overall performance in these three basic indicators of human development.

India and China the two most populous countries in the world have started their growth journey almost at the same time in the mid-20th century. Most of human development indicators of these countries were almost at the same levels in the post revolution China and the newly independent India.

However, China outperformed India not only in terms of economic growth but also in terms of Human development. Now China has moved from medium to high human development category, India remains in the category of countries with lower human development.

Since China carried out economic reforms in 1979. As a result, China became one of the countries with highest growth rate in the world. China is also described as workshop or factory of the world through the expansion of manufacturing production.

The fruits of higher economic growth in China have positively impacted human development indicators. India adopted economic reforms in 1991-1992 on the same pattern that of China. In the post reform period India have also experienced spectacular economic growth during some years. Therefore, India used to be considered as an alternative to China.

In the recent past India have revolutionized its service sector in general and IT sector in particular. So, if China is considered as factory/workshop of the world India is considered as office of the world. For many decades China has remained most suitable country to be compared with India in the terms of population size, levels of impoverishment and distress.

From the great success of China in world economy India and many other countries has been learning a great deal, particularly in recent years. India has learned a lot from China about economic policy making as well as about health care particularly from china's commitment towards improvement of health care sector from the early revolutionary period.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The main focus of human development is people. The leading economists Adam Smith and David Ricardo have argued that the wealth and political arrangements are way to promote the ability of people to lead successful lives. The concept of human development was developed by Mahbub-ul-Haq in 1970's. The degree of inter country inequality in the three measures of development (Human Development Index, Gender Development Index & Gender Employment Measure) while comparing the real GDP per capita and adjusted GDP per capita Vis-A-Vis those in the three measures (TomsongOgwang, 2007). The reforms that have taken place in India &China, how China has over performed in the attainment of basic human development index over India. The attainments in basic education and long life in pre and post reform periods. Some lessons for India to learn from China (Amartya Sen & Jean Draze, 2006). (Feisal MirkazehiRigi, 2011) has discussed the advancements of China in the achievements of human development in terms of educational and health score as compared to that of India. The differences and similarities in the two countries and the different programs of poverty reduction in the two countries. Status of poverty and how far the two countries have reduced the poverty (Jayti Ghosh, 2010). The development in the education system in the two nations that how far the two nations have attained the basic educational facilities, the prevailing system of education in the two counties. The reasons why China has surpassed the India in the attainments of education (Charles A. Goldman, Krishna B. Kumar, Ying Liu, 2008). The comparison of health care facilities, a brief over view of demography, the system of delivery of health care facilities in both the nations and the superiority of China over India in the achievements of health care facilities (Sia Ma, Neeraj Sood, 2008). (Anjani A Kochak 2006) has discussed about the recent developments in human development of India and China and how China has moved from medium human development category to high human development category while India has remained in the group of medium category countries. State of inequality in income of the two counties and that how the inequalities prevail in the two nations and what policy measures were adopted by the two nations (Yixiao Zhou &Ligang Song, 2016, Li Shi, 2016, &Jayati Gosh, 2016). The lessons that India can learn from China's 70 years of growth. India and China have started their journey of growth almost at the same time in 1950's. But China has surpassed the India in the all aspects of human development, so India should adopt some polices from that of China such as Mao emphasis on education for all and the health care facilities that are provided by commune (Amit Kapoor, 2019).

The above-mentioned studies have tried to highlight the issues relating to the human development in general and various indicators of human development in particular for instance they have compared the health care facilities, educational facilities and income levels of the two counties. So, in this regard the paper tries to find the overall inequality in the human development and also tries to highlight the inequalities in health, inequalities in education and income inequalities of both the nations.

Inequalities in Human Development of India and China; An Overview

India and China are fundamentally dissimilar in some important ways. However, there are some similarities in size of population, large geographical area, regional disparities and so on. The institutional and socio-economic conditions remain extremely different in these two countries. The performance of these countries in their human development endeavor is also dissimilar.

For instance during 1990 and 2018, India's Human development index has shown an increase of 50.0 percent. Human

development Index value has increased from 0.431 to 0.674. The country has been put in to the category of medium human development, ranking 129 out of 189 countries in 2018. While China during the same period have witnessed an increase in its Human Development Index value from 0.501 to 0.758 with an increase of 51.1%. China has moved to high human development category with the rank 85 in 2018.

Right from the beginning of the post revolution period in China the fore most importance was given to the human development. Even Mao ensured state's focus on education for all and public health care facilities by utilizing institutions on his commune which helped the country in achieving better human development values. On the other hand, in India the state of education and health care have always been remained a grave cause of concern. Average Indians have also almost two and a half times less purchasing capacity than average Chinese. As a result, India's performance in human development remained poor in comparison to China over the years. The overall status of human development in both the countries have been narrated in the following table.

Table 1: Status of human development in India and China. (HDI Score)

Year	China	India	World
1990	0.501	0.431	0.598
1991	0.509	0.436	0.601
1992	0.52	0.442	0.601
1993	0.53	0.449	0.608
1994	0.537	0.456	0.611
1995	0.549	0.463	0.617
1996	0.558	0.471	0.622
1997	0.566	0.477	0.624
1998	0.574	0.484	0.631
1999	0.583	0.492	0.636
2000	0.591	0.497	0.641
2001	0.599	0.502	0.646
2002	0.61	0.508	0.651
2003	0.622	0.521	0.657
2004	0.631	0.53	0.663
2005	0.643	0.539	0.669
2006	0.657	0.548	0.676
2007	0.67	0.558	0.682
2008	0.681	0.565	0.688
2009	0.69	0.571	0.691
2010	0.702	0.581	0.697
2011	0.711	0.59	0.703
2012	0.719	0.6	0.708
2013	0.727	0.607	0.713
2014	0.735	0.618	0.718
2015	0.742	0.627	0.722
2016	0.749	0.637	0.727
2017	0.753	0.643	0.729
2018	0.758	0.647	0.731

Source: HDR (Various Issues) hdr.undp.org/en/data.

From the above table it is evident that since 1990 (from the publication of first Human development report by United nations development program) China has outperformed India in human development. In 1990 China was ranked 103 out of 140 countries with HDI score of 0.501, on the other hand India ranked at 114 out of 140 countries with HDI score of 0.431. Though both the countries where having lower HDI scores than average world HDI score (0.598) In 2010 for the first time China surpassed the average world HDI score and since then it continued to achieve higher HDI Scores than world averages. However, India has also improved its HDI score between the years 1990 and 2018. It is yet to better its score than world average. Thus, it can be observed from the above table that there is persistent inequality in the performance of India and China to have better human development. China improved its ranking in HDI by moving to 89th position (out of 169 countries) in 2010 and 85th position (out 0f 189 countries) in 2018. While India's rank in human development remained more or less same. India was ranked at 119 (out of 169 countries) in 2010 and 129 (out of 189 countries) in 2018.

In the ensuing part we will discuss about the indicators of Human development index that is health, education and income separately. We have tried to bring out the state as well as causes of inequality in the spheres of human development of the two countries.

Inequalities in health care attainments

Health is one of the most important indicators of human development. Health conditions may affect life expectancy, Mortality rate as well as population growth rate. It is also an indicator of the quality of human capital.

Just after the establishment of people's republic of China in 1949, the health conditions in the country were very poor may be due to long conflicts during the revolution period. Later on, the ruling communist party presented a unique health care system for both the rural and urban population. Healthcare services were delivered distinctly in urban and rural areas of China. In urban areas revenue and expenditure related to health care was managed by the government, health facilities were directly provided and almost fully funded by the government. While in the rural areas the commune was responsible to manage health care as well as other aspects of life. Health care was provided under cooperative medical system (CMS) which was mainly financed through the commune's collective pool of funds and particularly supported by the central Government through low priced medicine and medical equipment.

Although the China's economy grew slowly, health care system improved a lot. As a result, various health indicators have changed dramatically with longevity raisin more than double and there was sharp decline in infant and materiality mortality rates. These outcomes on the health front have been achieved by China with huge investments in public health through highly centralized system.

At the time of independence health conditions in India was extremely poor similar to that of China. It was observed that the poor health conditions in India may be attributed to lack of sanitation, malnutrition and the inadequacy of the health care infrastructure. In order to provide basic health care facilities India formulated health care policies focusing on the access of general people to health care as their basic right. As a result, primary health care system (PHS) was developed. Indian health care system is decentralized as against Chinese centralized heath care system. In India the responsibility of providing health care facilities is that of state governments. The central government usually formulates policies and grants financial support to states in this regard.

Although states are meeting between 75-90% of expenditure on public health, main part of these spending go to wages and salaries. Thus, making them dependent on the central government for providing medicine and equipment. With the privatization drive in 1990's along with other sectors public health care have also experienced reduction in expenditure and promotion of private health care system. Consequently, public health care system suffered a set back on which majority of the population is still dependent. The health outcomes in India are reflective of these policy changes.

In the following table we have compared some of the health indicators of the two countries to show the extent of inequality in the attainment of health care.

Table 2: Status of Health care Indicators in India and China.

Indicator	Year	1990	2000	2005	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018
Life Expectancy at Birth	India	57.9	62.5	64.5	66.7	67.1	67.5	67.9	68.3	68.6	68.9	69.2	69.4
(Years)	China	69.1	71.4	73	74.4	74.7	75	75.3	75.6	75.9	76.2	76.5	76.7
Life Expec-	India	0.583	0.654	0.658	0.718	0.725	0.731	0.737	0.743	0.748	0.752	0.756	0.76
tancy Index (China	0.756	0.791	0.815	0.837	0.842	0.846	0.851	0.856	0.86	0.865	0.869	0.872
Current health	India		4	3.8	3.3	3.2	3.3	3.7	3.6	3.6	3.7		
expenditure (% of GDP)	China		4.5	4.1	4.2	4.3	4.5	4.7	4.8	4.9	5		
Infant Mortality Rate (per 1000 live	India	88.5	66.7	55.7	45.3	43.2	41.1	39.1	37.2	35.3	33.6	32	
births)	China	42.1	30.1	20.3	13.6	12.6	11.6	10.8	10	9.2	8.6	8	

Source: HDR (Various Issues) hdr.undp.org/en/data.

On an average people live longer in China and are healthier than people in India (Table 2). A person born in India in 1990 was having life expectancy of 57.9 years where as a person born in China at the same time had a life expectancy of 69.1 years. However, by 2018 China reached nearly to the upper limit of life expectancy with 76.7 years, India has also gained and achieved the life expectancy of 69.4 years for its population.

Inequalities in terms of infant mortality between the two countries is also very stark, in case of China in 1990 out of every one thousand infants 42.1 were died before completing the one year of their age. While at the same time the infant mortality was 88.5 in India. Since then China has reduced the infant mortality impressively to 8 per thousand in 2017 while India is still having a higher infant mortality rate of 32 per thousand in 2017.

The improvements in the health outcomes in China as compared to India have been attributed to many factors and public expenditure on health is one of these factors. China has maintained its expenditure on health between 4.5% to 5.0% of its GDP during 2000-2016. However, India's public expenditure on health has declined from 4.0% to 3.7% of its GDP during 2000-2016 (See Table 2). The health outcomes of both the countries are reflective of their health care policies and their budgetary commitments.

Inequalities in Educational Attainments:

Education is anotherimportant aspect that shapes and grooms human capital. It may have positive impact on economic growth and changes in the social structure of a country. The recent takeoffs by India and China is by and large the result of desired educational attainments. Education helps human capital to adapt the recent innovations in technologies thus influencing their productivity also. Both China and India have the largest educational systems in the world. Although both the countries have different political and governing structures, the challenges they are facing are more or less similar. It has been observed that in the recent past China has performed impressively as compared with India in the achievements of educational goals. However, India is also catching up specially at the primary level.

In the present study an attempt has been made to compare the education in India and China as one of the indicators of Human development. Therefore, we are focusing on their strengths and weaknesses in educational system.

Educational system in China have witnessed many shifts and changes, as well as major moves during the last 70 years. In its early years of governance communist party worked to ensure basic education to the masses and prepared the governing elite through higher education. With the emergence of Deng Xiaoping, educational policies were changed. Earlier the emphasis was on access, later the focus has been shifted to quality rather than quantity. Simultaneously a compulsory 9-year educational policy was enforced.

As compared to China's educational attainments, educational development in India has remained almost stable. Luckily India inherited a good educational system by British colonial government. Though primary education as well as secondary education for the masses received little attention for the longer period of time. It was in 1986 that some strategic focus has been given to primary education. Since independence higher education as well as secondary education received utmost priority. Consequently, India have developed quality institutions in the field of engineering and technology, medicine, management and agricultural sciences. However, they continued to remain only as islands of excellence as most of the other educational institutions are of extremely poor quality.

In the following table we have presented the comparative data of both the countries regarding their achievements of various educational goals and objectives. Through this table we can also view inequalities in the educational attainments by the two countries which also get reflected in their overall human development index.

Table 3:Status of Educational Indicators in India & China.

Indicator	Year	1990	2000	2005	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018
Education	India	0.311	0.379	0.429	0.478	0.491	0.505	0.514	0.53	0.54	0.555	0.558	0.558
Index	China	0.405	0.481	0.535	0.602	0.61	0.617	0.627	0.633	0.642	0.647	0.647	0.649
Expected	India	7.6	8.3	9.7	10.8	11.3	11.5	11.6	11.9	12	12.3	12.3	12.3
Years of Schooling (Years)	China	8.8	9.6	11	12.9	13.1	13.3	13.5	13.6	13.8	13.9	13.9	13.9
Mean Years	India	3	4.4	4.8	5.4	5.3	5.5	5.8	6	6.2	6.4	6.5	6.5
of Schooling (Years)	China	4.8	6.5	6.9	7.3	7.4	7.5	7.5	7.6	7.7	7.8	7.8	7.9
Govt. expen-	India		4.4	3.2	3.4	3.8	3.9	3.8			2.8		
diture (% of GDP)	China	1.8									4.0		
Gross Enroll-	India	3		6	7	8	8	10	12	12	13	14	
ment Ratio- Pre-Primary (% of Pre-pri- mary age children)	China	21	44		55	61	70	74	78	80	84	86	
Gross Enroll- ment Ratio- Primary (% of primary age	India	92	95		109	108	110	111	108	108	115		
children)	China	127			107	106	105	104	99	99	101	102	
Gross Enrollment Ratio-Secondary (% of	India		45	54	63	66	69	69	74	74	75		
Secondary age children)	China	37	60		88	91	93	95					
Gross Enroll- ment Ratio- Tertiary (% of	India	3	8	19	24	25	28	31	41	45	48	51	
Teritary age children)	China	6	10	11	18	23	24	24	26	27	27	28	

Source: HDR (Various Issues) hdr.undp.org/en/data.

The above table shows that the people in China are better placed in terms of educational attainment than that of people in India. In 1990 china's score in the educational index of HDI was 0.405 which was higher than that of India's score (0.311). This superiority of China over India in education index is in place even now with 0.649 in 2018 as compared to 0.558 score of India. In terms of expected years of schooling and mean years of schooling China has out performed India during this period.

In case of gross enrollment ratio at every level of education China has succeeded to have better outcomes than India during the same period. However, with the recent emphasis on Primary education, India has also picked up under gross enrollment ratio and competing with that of China. The recent spurt in the enrollment at primary level is because of a significant proportion of new entrants are out of the specified age group for the primary level. As far as public expenditure is concerned China has witnessed an increasing trend that is from 1.8% in 1990 to 4% of GDP in 2016. While India has reduced its public expenditure on education from 4% of GDP in 2000 to 2.8% of GDP in 2016.

On the basis of above discussion, it can be argued that China has focused more strategically to better its educational outcomes as compared to India in the recent past. Consequently, China has got better score in education index in particular as well as over all HDI in general as compared to India.

Inequalities in Purchasing Power:

Income is another important indicator for measuring human resource development of a country. Well being and standard of living of a society depends upon the purchasing power of the members of the society, not on the level of income of the country itself.

The well being of the general people in a country depends upon the accessibility towards basic resources. The accessibility is determined by the quality of income distribution in a country. Inequality in the distribution of income may leave the masses with limited purchasing power resulting into reduced wellbeing. In the recent past inequality in the distribution of income has increased dramatically in most of the emerging economies including India and China.

The following table presents the level of incomes in PPP \$ terms for both China and India as well as their score on income index in HDI.

Indicator	Year	1990	2000	2005	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018
Gross nation- al Income	India	1882	2683	3387	4403	4584	4760	5001	5315	5674	6075	6446	6829
(GNI) per capita (2011 PPP\$)	China	1530	3651	5665	9458	10259	11090	11823	12742	13485	14311	15212	16127
	India	0.443	0.497	0.532	0.572	0.578	0.584	0.591	0.60	0.61	0.62	0.629	0.638
Income Index	China	0.412	0.543	0.61	0.687	0.70	0.711	0.721	0.732	0.741	0.75	0.759	0.768

Table 4: Status of Purchasing Power in India & China.

Source: HDR (Various Issues) hdr.undp.org/en/data.

In its early decades of economic transition China experienced rising economic growth as well as widening in the income inequality. However, China has experienced an impressive growth of around 263% in the incomes of bottom 40% of population during 2000-2018 with this performance China has not only lifted millions of its population from extreme poverty but also helped in the reduction of average global poverty. The interesting thing regarding growth in incomes in China is that the top 1% of the population have reaped 361% growth in their incomes. This inequality in the growth rates of incomes of bottom and top groups of population have caused persistence of inequality in the income distribution in

China. Though inequality in the income distribution persists in China its extent has declined in the recent years may be due to growing wages as compared to output of the low-incomegroups.

While India's economic performance in recent years has been relatively less sparkling than China's growth it has still been very impressive among the developing countries. In the post reform period growth rates in GDP increased to higher level and growth in per capita income was even more spectacular may be due to decline in population growth. In this background empirical evidences suggests that inequalities in the income distribution in India have increased during the post reform period. The growth in income of bottom 40% of the population was around 58% during 2000-2018 which was significantly below the average growth in income in India. On the other hand, the top 1% of the population have experienced a significant rise in their incomes that was substantially higher than the national average since 2000-2018. Therefore, it is evident that both the countries have experienced higher inequality in their income distributions with growing prosperity.

It can be observed from the above table 4 that India started with higher per capita income (PPP\$ 1882) as well as with its score (0.443) in income index as compared to China (PPP\$ 1530 and 0.412 respectively) in 1990. However, China outperformed India since 1993 and leaped forward with huge jump in its per capita income and as well on its score on income index. In 2018 the per capita income in China was PPP\$ 16127 and its score in income index was 0.768 on the other hand, India's per capita income was PPP\$ 6829 with the score of 0.638 during the same period. This inequality in the per capita income of the two countries is one of the factors that push China into higher HDI group from middle HDI group while India remained in the middle HDI group. It can be observed from the table 4 that though India started with higher per capita income in 1990 as compared with China it ends up with lower per capita income by around two and half times less than that of China in 2018. The reason for this impressive performance of China is the massive growth in the domestic and external sectors of China.

CONCLUSION

The discussion on the performance of the two countries in human development provides differing stories. It is evident that China ensured the control of state even in the era of globalization, meant that the economic integration of the country with the rest of the world was done in a different mode than that of India. Consequently, China achieved better results in terms of ensuring adequate food supplies, universal primary education and better health care services. The better service deliveries in these basic services has enabled China to perform impressively in HDI rankings consistently over the years.

In the recent past the transition of Chinese economy into a market driven system has caused inequalities, not only in income distribution but also in the attainment of education, health and other basic services. However, the recent steps taken by the Chinese Government to tackle the growing inequality have helped to correct these inequalities to some extent. As a result, China continued to have better outcomes on human development front.

On the other hand, India with a market oriented economic system since 1990s failed to achieve same results in its Human development. India could not develop the required structure to have similar outcomes in terms of standard of living, nutrition, health care and educational attainment as that of China. In the post reforms India, state governments were forced to cut their expenditure on various heads including social sector. As most of these services including education and health are provided by the state governments, the outcomes of these basic services were affected by the stringent fiscal constraints on states. Consequently, India could not make impressive performance in human development and remained with a lower ranking in HDI. Apparently the two Countries are looking similar on many fronts but their performances are unequal in many areas, specially in the field of human development.

India can learn some lessons from China to have better outcomes in human development by adopting expansionary fiscal measures and directing the governmental as well as private expenditures for the advancement of basic infrastructure in the social sector and with improved delivery of these services.

REFERENCES

- kita, Takahito, and Kazumi Kawamura (2002). Regional Income Inequality in China and India: A Comparative Analysis.http://www.ersa.org
- Charles A. Goldman, Krishna B. Kumar, Ying Liu. (2008). A Comparison of the Education Systems in India and China. *RAND Center For Asia Pacific Policy*.
- Cahill, M. B. (2005): Is the Human Development Index Redundant, *Eastern Economic Journal*, 31 (1).
- DiegoMaiorano & James Manor (2017) Poverty Reduction, Inequalities and Human Development in the BRICS: Policies and Outcomes, *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics*, 55:3, 278-302.
- Desai, M., (1991). Human development: concepts and measurement. Eur. Econ. Rev. 35 (2:3), 350-357.
- Ghosh, J. (2010). Poverty Reduction in China and India: Policy Implications of Recent Trends. DESA Working Paper no. 92.
- Ghosh, J. (2016). Inequality in India: Drivers and Consequences. World Socical Science Report (2016), UNESCO and the ISSC, Paris.
- Hicks, N. and P. Streeten(1979): Indicators of Development: The Search for a Basic Needs Yardstick, *World Development*, 7(6), pp. 567-580.
- Kapoor, A. (2019). What India Can Learn From China's 70 Years of Growth. The Economic Times (Oct, 6 2019).
- Khodabakshi, A. (2011). Relationship Between GDP and Human Development Indices in India. *International Journal of Trade, Economics and Finance, 2(3), 251-253.*
- Kochak, K.A. (2006). Development Concerns: China and India. Economic and Political Weekly, August 19,2006.
- Ma, S. Sood, N (2008). A Comparison of the Education Health Systems in ChinaandIndia. RAND CENTER FOR ASIA PACIFIC POLICY.
- Ogwang, T. (2000). Inter-Country Inequality in Human Development Indicators. Applied Economics letters, 7(7), 443-446.
- Rigi, F.M. (2011). A Brief Comparision Between India and China As Emerging Economy in Asia. *International Journal of Economics and Reseach*, 2(6), 125-130.
- Sen, A. & Draze, J. (2006). India and China. *Perspectives of the Economic and Human Development of India and China*. Universitätsverlag Göttingen.
- Srinivasan, T. (2006). China, India and the world economy. Economic and Political Weekly, 41, 3716–3727.
- Shi, L. (2016). Recent Changes in Income Inequality in China. World Socical Science Report (2016), UNESCO and the ISSC, Paris.
- Swanson, R.A. (2001). Human Resource Development and its Underlying Theory. *Human Resource Development International, Taylor and Francis*, 299-312.
- UNDP, (2019). Human Development Report 2019. OxfordUniversity Press, New York
- Zhou, Y & Song, L. (2016). Income Inequality in China: Causes and Policy Responses. China Economic Journal, 9(2), 186-208.