



20

收入不平等与贫困 Income Inequality and Poverty



收入分配

The Distribution of Income

一个人的收入取决于对这个人劳动的供给和需求，供给和需求又取决于天赋能力、人力资本、补偿性差别、歧视等等。

A person's earnings depend on the supply and demand for that person's labor, which in turn depend on natural ability, human capital, compensating differentials, discrimination, and so on.

由此导致的收入分配是否公平、平等或合意呢？

Is the resulting distribution of income equal, fair or desirable in any way?



不平等的度量

The Measurement of Inequality

- 在我们社会中不平等程度有多大？
How much inequality is there in our society?
- 有多少人生生活在贫困之中？
How many people live in poverty?
- 衡量不平等程度时产生了哪些问题？
What problems arise in measuring the amount of inequality?
- 人们在不同收入阶层之间移动的频繁程度如何？
How often do people move among income classes?

美国的收入不平等

U.S. Income Inequality

设想 Imagine that you...

- ... 根据年收入对所有家庭进行排队。
... lined up all of the families in the economy according to their annual income.
- ... 把家庭分为 5 个（数量）相等的集团（最低的五分之一，第二个五分之一，等等）
... divided the families into five equal groups (bottom fifth, second fifth, etc.)
- ... 计算每个家庭集团在总收入中得到的份额
... computed the share of total income that each group of families received.

美国的收入不平等

U.S. Income Inequality

如果收入平等地分配到所有家庭中，
每 $\frac{1}{5}$ 的家庭（群体）将得到 $\frac{1}{5}$ （20%）的总收入。

If income were
equally distributed across all families,
each one-fifth of families would receive
one-fifth (20 percent) of total income.



美国的收入分配： 2006

The Distribution of Income in the United States: 2006

Group	Annual household income
Bottom fifth	Under \$20,035
Second fifth	\$20,035 – \$37,774
Middle fifth	\$37,774 – \$60,000
Fourth fifth	\$60,000 – \$97,032
Top fifth	\$97,032 and over
Top 5 percent	\$174,012 and over

美国的收入不平等

Income Inequality in the United States

年份 最低 1/5 第二个 1/5 中间 1/5 第四个 1/5 最高 1/5 最高 5 %

Year	Bottom Fifth	Second Fifth	Middle Fifth	Fourth Fifth	Top Fifth	Top 5%
2005	4.0	9.6	15.3	22.9	48.1	21.1
2000	4.3	9.8	15.5	22.8	47.4	20.8
1990	4.6	10.8	16.6	23.8	44.3	17.4
1980	5.2	11.5	17.5	24.3	41.5	15.3
1970	5.5	12.2	17.6	23.8	40.9	15.6
1960	4.8	12.2	17.8	24.0	41.3	15.9
1950	4.5	12.0	17.4	23.4	42.7	17.3
1935	4.1	9.2	14.1	20.9	51.7	26.5

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census.

美国的收入不平等

U.S. Income Inequality

- 从 1935 – 1970 年，收入分配逐渐变得更平等。 From 1935-1970, the distribution of income gradually became more equal.
- 在更近的若干年，这一趋势有所逆转。
In more recent years, this trend has reversed itself.



近期收入不平等上升的原因

Reasons for Recent Increase in Income Inequality

- **非熟练工人的工资相对于熟练工人的工资下降。**

The wages of unskilled workers have fallen relative to the wages of skilled workers.

- **这导致了家庭收入不平等的上升。**

This has resulted in increased inequality in family incomes.

近期收入不平等上升的原因

Reasons for Recent Increase in Income Inequality

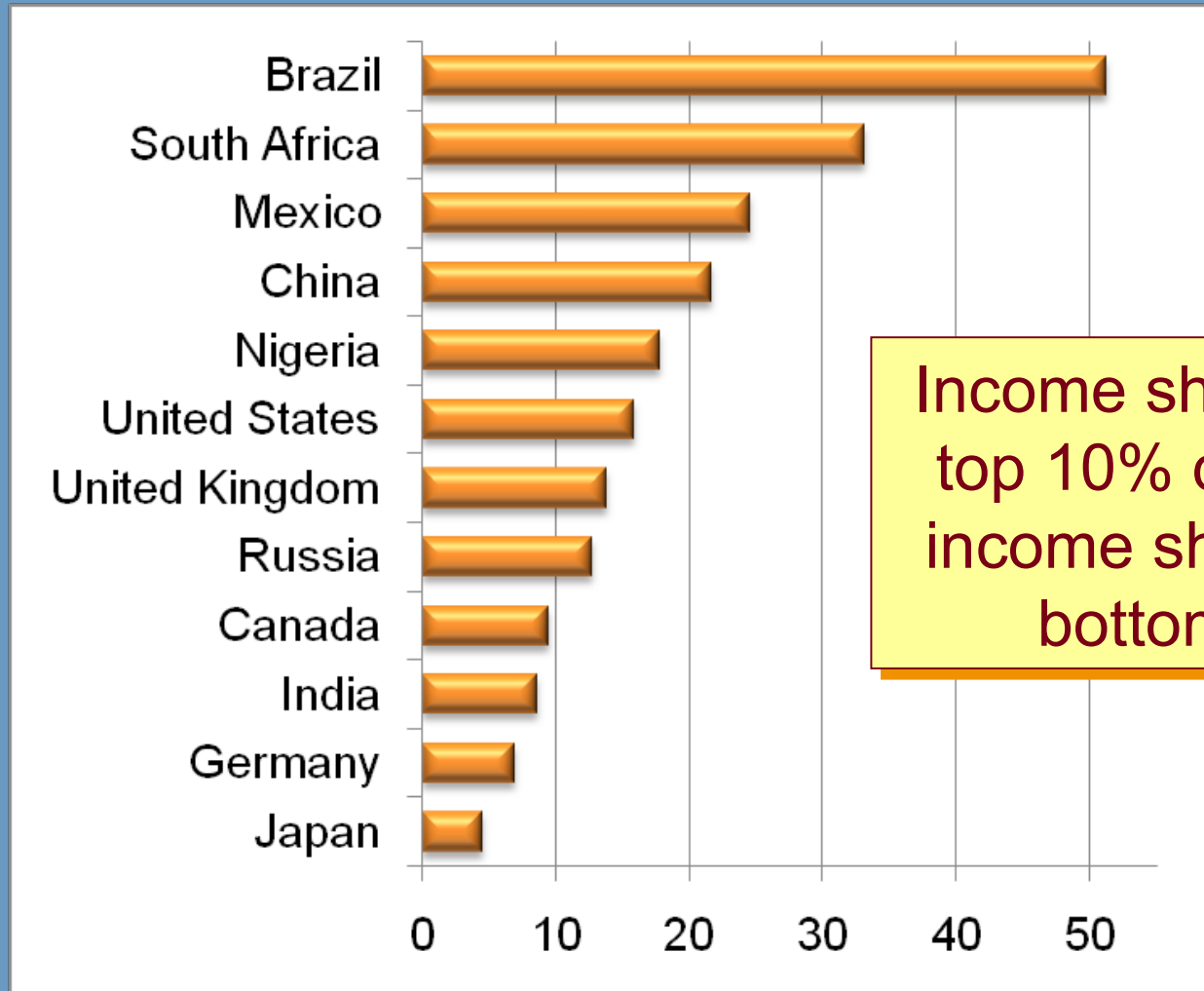
- 下列因素趋向于减少对非熟练劳动力的需求，增加对熟练劳动力的需求：

The following have tended to reduce the demand for unskilled labor and raise the demand for skilled labor:

- 与低工资国家的国际贸易的增长
Increases in international trade with low-wage countries
- 技术变革 **Changes in technology**

世界各国的不平等状况

Inequality around the World



Income share of the
top 10% divided by
income share of the
bottom 10%

世界的收入分配

Income Distribution Around the World

☞ 在过去的三十年中，每一国家内部收入分配差距拉大。

☞ 但是世界范围内的收入分配差距变小

☞ 这在很大程度上归功于发展中国家的增长，特别是中国和印度的增长。

占世界人口的 40%

贫困的迅速减少

中国的收入不平等

Income Inequality in China

年份	最高 1 %	最高 5 %	最高 10 %	最高 25 %	最高 50 %	最低 25 %	最低 1 0%	最低 5 %
2002 年	6.1 %	19.8 %	31.9 %	57.2 %	81.0 %	6.2 %	1.7 %	0.6 %
1995 年	5.6%	18.7%	30.7%	55.7%	79.9%	6.6%	1.6%	0.5%

资料来源：中国城乡收入调查，李实、岳希明，财经 2004 年 2 月 20 日（总 101/102 期）， 30
- 38 页

中国的收入不平等

Income Inequality in China

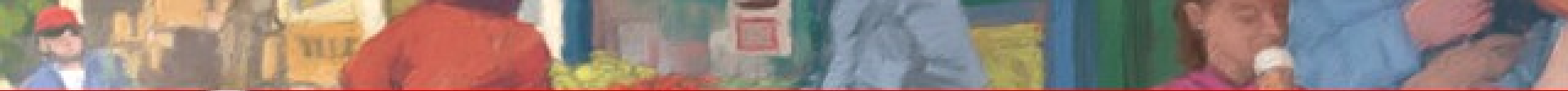
中国收入不平等的两种常见分解。

第一种分解（人口为权重）：

收入差距 = 城镇内部不平等 “+” 农村内部不平等 “+” 城乡差距

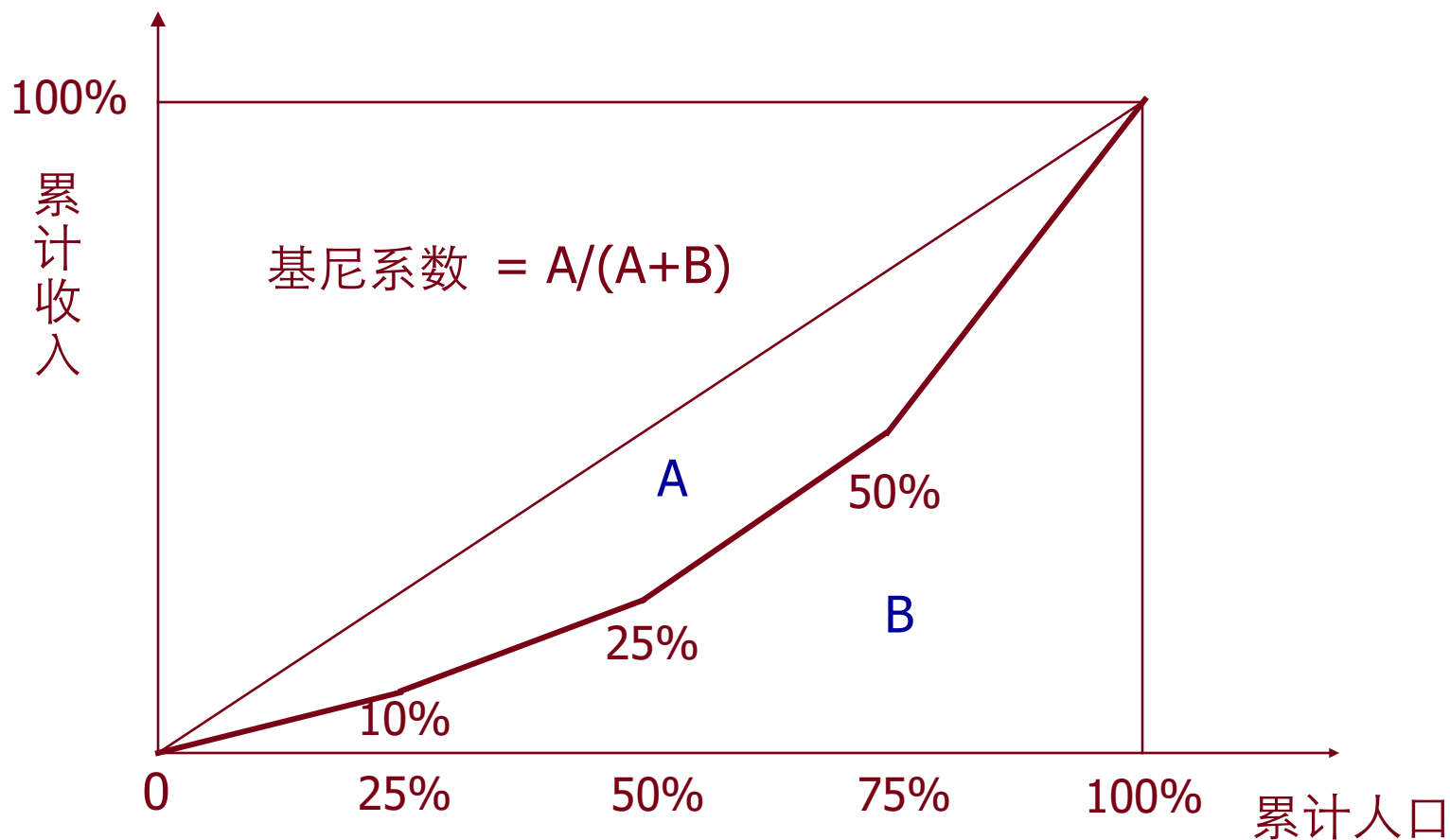
第二种分解（人口为权重）：

收入差距 = 各地区内部不平等 “+” 地区差距



度量不平等：基尼系数

Measuring Inequality: The Gini Coefficient



中国收入分配的基尼系数

Gini Coefficients in China

	1988	1995	2002
全国	0.39	0.44	0.45
农村内部	0.32	0.38	0.37
城镇内部	0.23	0.28	0.32
城镇人均收入 / 农村人均收入	2.0	2.8	3.1

资料来源：1988 年数据来自于：李实，“中国个人收入分配研究回顾与展望”，打印稿；1995 和 2002 年数据来自于：李实，岳希明，“中国城乡收入差距调查”，《财经》2004 年第 3/4 期

影响收入分配变化的原因

Factors Affecting Income Distribution

🔗 农村内部

- 劳动力流动
- 非农就业机会的增加
- 土地分配均等化

🔗 城镇内部

- 非国有部门的快速发展
- 企业破产和职工下岗
- 金融资产分布
- 行业垄断

🔗 城乡差别

- 城乡劳动力市场分割
- 政府对农副产品价格的控制
- 社会福利政策上的歧视

中国的地区差别：东、中、西部（2000年）

东部 11 省（红）：4.91 亿人口（占 39% 总人口， 57% 总 GDP）

中部 8 省（黄）：4.16 亿人口（占 33% 总人口， 26% 总 GDP）

西部 15 省（蓝）：3.93 亿人口（占 31% 总人口， 17% 总 GDP）





贫困率

The Poverty Rate

贫困率是家庭收入低于称作贫困线的绝对水平的人口百分比。

The **poverty rate** is the percentage of the population whose family income falls below an absolute level called the **poverty line**.



贫困线

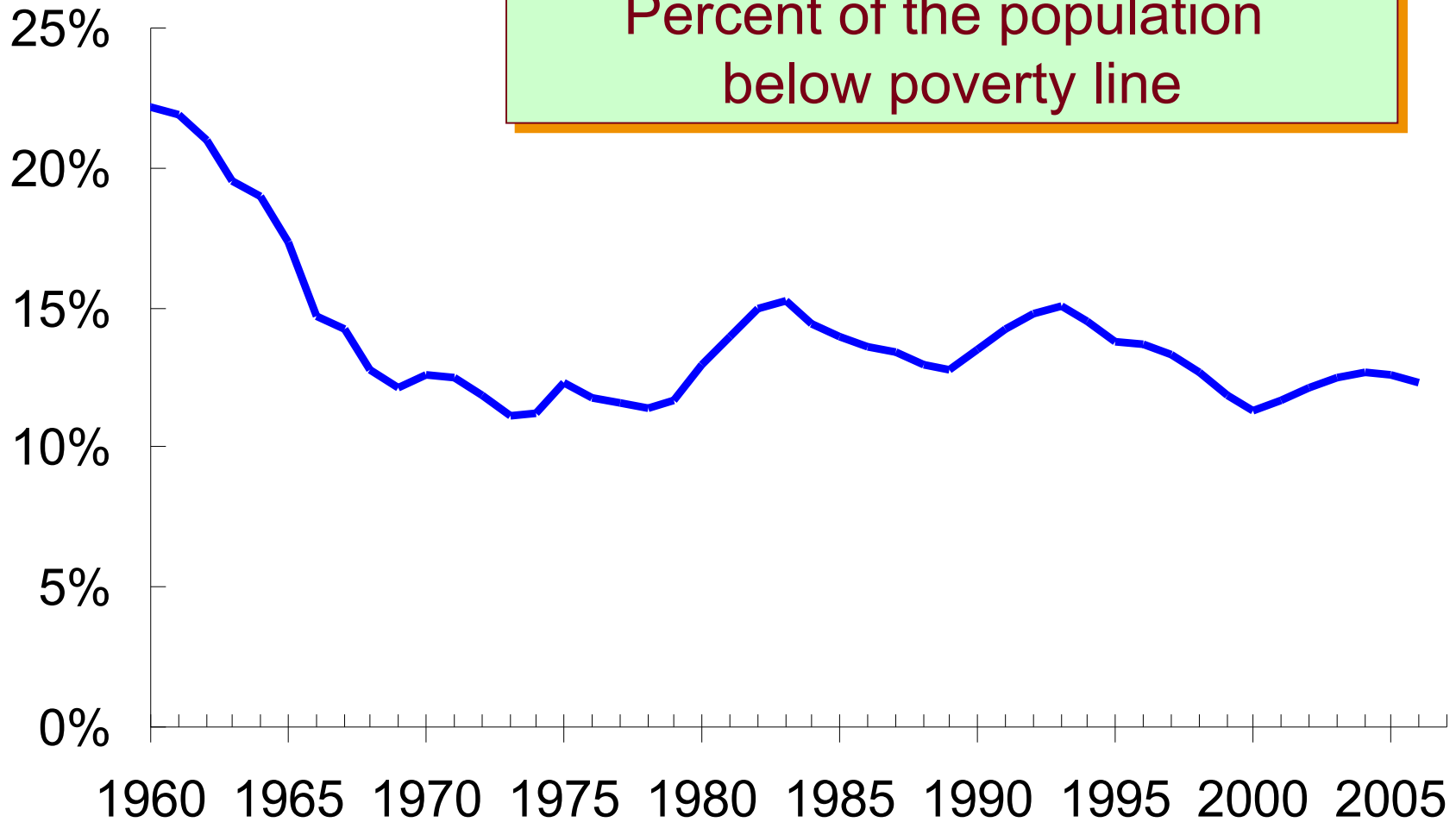
The Poverty Line

美国的**贫困线**由联邦政府设定，大致为提供充足食物的成本的三倍。

The **poverty line** is set by the federal government at roughly three times the cost of providing an adequate diet.

美国的贫困率

The Poverty Rate in U.S.



贫困线与收入不平等

The Poverty Line and Income Inequality

- 由于贫困线是绝对标准而不是相对标准，随着经济增长把整体收入分配向上推动，更多的家庭被推到贫困线之上。
As economic growth pushes the entire income distribution upward, more families are pushed above the poverty line because the poverty line is an absolute rather than a relative standard.
- 但是，从七十年代以来，尽管平均收入持续增长，贫困率却没有下降。
Since the early 1970s, however, despite continued economic growth in average income, the poverty rate has not declined.
- 虽然经济增长提高了一般家庭的收入，收入不平等的增加阻碍了最贫穷的家庭分享到经济的进一步繁荣。
Although economic growth has raised the income of the typical family, the increase in inequality has prevented the poorest families from sharing in this greater economic prosperity.

谁是穷人

Who Is Poor?

Group	Poverty Rate (2005)
All persons	12.6%
White, not Hispanic	8.3
Black	24.9
Hispanic	21.8
Asian	11.1
Children	17.6
Elderly	10.1
Married-couple families	5.9
Female household, no spouse present	31.1

关于贫困的三个事实

Three Facts About Poverty

- 贫困和种族相关
Poverty is correlated with race.
- 贫困和年龄相关
Poverty is correlated with age.
- 贫困和家庭构成相关
Poverty is correlated with family composition.

中国农村贫困人口

Poverty in China's Rural Area

	中国官方标准			国际标准（1美元／人天）	
	贫困线 （元／人年）	贫困人口 （百万）	占农村人口比例	贫困人口 （百万）	占农村人口 比例
1990	300	85	9.5%	280	31.3%
1993	350	75	8.2%	266	29.1%
1996	580	58	6.3%	138	15%
1998	635	42	4.6%	106	11.5%
2000	625	32	3.5%	NA	NA
2002	627	28	3.0%	NA	NA
2004	668	26	2.8%	NA	NA
2005	683	24	2.5%	NA	NA
2006	693	21	2.3%	NA	NA
2007	785	15	1.6%	NA	NA
2008	1196	40	4.2%	NA	NA

资料来源：《中国发展报告 2009》等



衡量不平等的问题

Problems in Measuring Inequality

- 收入分配和贫困率的数据所给出的生活水平不平等的描述是不完全的，原因包括：

Data on income distribution and the poverty rate give an incomplete picture of inequality in living standards because of the following:

- 实物转移支付 In-kind transfers
- 经济生命周期 The economic life cycle
- 暂时收入与持久收入 Transitory versus permanent income



实物转移支付

In-Kind Transfers

以物品和服务而不是现金形式给予穷人的转移支付被称为**实物转移支付**。

Transfers to the poor given in the form of goods and services rather than cash are called **in-kind transfers**.

实物转移支付

In-Kind Transfers

- 收入分配和贫困率的衡量是基于家庭的货币收入的。

Measurements of the distribution of income and the poverty rate are based on families' money income.

- 没有把实物转移支付作为收入的一部分极大影响了所衡量的贫困率。

The failure to include in-kind transfers as part of income greatly affects the measured poverty rate.



经济生命周期

The Economic Life Cycle

- 一生中收入变化的有规律的模式被称为**生命周期**。

The regular pattern of income variation over a person's life is called the **life cycle**.

- 一个年轻工人在其职业开端的收入是低的。
A young worker has a low income at the beginning of his or her career.
- 随着工人年龄增长和经验增加，收入也在增加。
Income rises as the worker gains maturity and experience.
- 收入在约 50 岁时达到顶峰。
Income peaks at about age 50.
- 收入在约 65 岁退休时急剧下降。



暂时收入和持久收入

Transitory versus Permanent Income

- 收入会因随机和暂时的力量而变化。 Incomes vary because of random and transitory forces.
 - 减少收入的自然界变动
Acts of nature that reduce income
 - 由于疾病和经济环境而引起的暂时失业等。
Temporary layoffs due to illness or economic conditions, etc.

暂时收入和持久收入

Transitory versus Permanent Income

- 一个家庭购买物品和服务的能力主要取决于其**持久收入**，即正常的或平均的收入。

A family's ability to buy goods and services depends largely on its **permanent income**, which is its normal, or average, income.

- 持久收入消除了暂时性的收入变化。Permanent income excludes transitory changes in income.



经济流动性

Economic Mobility

- 人们在不同收入阶层之间的移动被称为**经济流动性**。

The movement of people among income classes is called **economic mobility**.

- 美国经济的经济流动性是相当大的。 **Economic mobility is substantial in the U.S. economy.**

经济流动性的来源

Sources of Economic Mobility

- 在收入阶梯上的上下移动可能是由于：
Movements up and down the income ladder can be due to:
 - 好运气或坏运气 **Good or bad luck.**
 - 努力工作或怠惰 **Hard work or laziness.**
 - 经济成功在代际之间的延续性
Persistence of economic success from generation to generation.

中国的个人收入流动性

Income Mobility of Individuals in China

- 如果仅关注单一年份的收入不平等程度，就会认为在 20 世纪 80 年代晚期到 90 年代中期，中国的收入不平等加剧了。 Measurements of income inequality in a single year suggests that income inequality increased between the late-1980s and the mid-1990s in China.
- 但是，有证据表明，年收入不均的加剧同时伴随着收入流动性的提高。

However, evidences show that this increase in annual income inequality accompanied by greater income mobility.

- 收入增长略微倾向于持久性收入较低的人群，意味着收入不平等略有下降而非上升。

There is a slight tendency for income increases to have been greater for those with lower *permanent* income, implying a decreased rather than increased income inequality.



收入再分配的政治哲学

Political Philosophy of Redistributing Income

政府对经济不平等应该做些什么？

What should the government do about economic inequality?

- **仅仅是经济分析不能给出答案。**
Economic analysis alone cannot give us the answer.
- **这是政策制定者面临的一个规范问题。**
The question is a normative one facing policymakers.



三种政治哲学

Three Political Philosophies

- 功利主义 Utilitarianism
- 自由主义 Liberalism
- 自由意志主义 Libertarianism



功利主义 Utilitarianism

- **功利主义**认为，政府应该重新分配收入以最大化社会中每个人的效用之和。
Utilitarianism is the view that government should redistribute income to maximize the total utility of everyone in society.
- 功利主义的奠基人是英国哲学家杰瑞米·边沁和约翰·斯图亚特·穆勒。

The founders of utilitarianism are the English philosophers Jeremy Bentham and John Stuart Mill.

功利主义 Utilitarianism

- 功利主义者支持收入再分配的理由是基于**边际效用递减**的假设。

The utilitarian case for redistributing income is based on the assumption of **diminishing marginal utility**.

- 一个穷人得到的额外 1 美元收入给这个人带来的额外**效用**或福利，要大于额外 1 美元带给一个富人的效用或福利。

An extra dollar of income to a poor person provides that person with more **utility**, or well-being, than does an extra dollar to a rich person.

功利主义 Utilitarianism

- 功利主义者的观点似乎意味着，政府应该一直进行收入再分配，直至社会上每个人有完全相同的收入。

The utilitarian argument might seem to imply that the government should continue to redistribute income until everyone in society has exactly the same income.

- 但是，由于更大平等的好处必须要与激励扭曲的损失平衡，因此为了使总效用最大化，功利主义的政府并不会使社会完全平等。

However, since the gains from greater equality has to be balanced against the loses from distorted incentives, to maximize total utility, therefore, the government stops short of making society fully egalitarian.



自由主义 Liberalism

- 自由主义认为，收入再分配应该使得社会当中最穷的人总是得到一个充足的收入，形式上类似社会保险。

Liberalism is the view that income should be redistributed in such a way so that the poorest in society always receive an adequate level of income as a form of **social insurance**.

- 这一观点最早由哲学家约翰·罗尔斯提出。
This view was originally developed by the philosopher John Rawls.

自由主义 Liberalism

- 社会成员对公正的含义的认识，取决于自己特殊的环境。

Every person, as a member of society, has a point of view on the meaning of justice inevitably based on his or her particular circumstances.

- 只有社会的所有成员都处于“无知之幕”背后的“原始状态”，才能为社会选择出一套公正的规则。

Only when all the members are sitting in an “original position” behind a “veil of ignorance”, can we choose a just set of rules for society.

- 罗尔斯认为，处于原始状态的人会特别关注处于收入分配最低层的可能性。

Rawls argues that a person in the original position would be especially concerned about the possibility of being at the *bottom* of the income distribution.

自由主义 Liberalism

- 公共政策应该基于**最大化最小标准**，这一标准旨在最大化社会中处境最差的人的效用或福利。

Public policy should be based on the **maximin criterion**, which seeks to maximize the utility or well-being of the worst-off person in society.

- 也就是说，与其最大化每个人效用的总和，不如**最大化最小效用**。

That is, rather than maximizing the sum of everyone's utility, one should **maximize the minimum utility**.

- 最大化最小标准证明了旨在均等化收入分配的公共政策。

The maximin criterion justifies public policies aimed at equalizing the distribution of income.



自由意志主义

Libertarianism

- 自由意志主义认为，政府应该维护个人权利，以保证每个人得到同样的机会，运用他（她）的才能以获得成功，但不应该进行收入再分配。

Libertarianism is the view that government should enforce individual rights to ensure that everyone has the same opportunity to use his or her talents to achieve success, but should not redistribute income.

- 自由意志主义者认为，机会平等比收入平等更为重要。

Libertarians argue that equality of opportunity is more important than equality of income.

- 只有决定收入分配的过程是公正的，所引起的分配无论如何不平等都是公正的。

As long as the process determine the distribution of income is just, the resulting



减少贫困的政策

Policies to Reduce Poverty

- 最低工资法
Minimum-wage laws
- 福利
Welfare
- 负所得税
Negative income tax
- 实物转移支付
In-kind transfers



最低工资法

Minimum-Wage Laws

- **支持者将最低工资视为帮助工作的穷人的一种方式。**

Advocates view the minimum wage as a way of helping the working poor.

- **批评者认为最低工资损害了那些它试图帮助的人们。**

Critics view the minimum wage as hurting those it is intended to help.

最低工资法

Minimum-Wage Laws

最低工资影响的大小取决于劳动力的需求弹性。

The magnitude of the effects of the minimum wage depends on the elasticity of the demand for labor.

最低工资法

Minimum-Wage Laws

- 支持者认为，对非熟练劳动力的需求是比较无弹性的，因此高的最低工资所减少的就业是微不足道的。 Advocates argue that the demand for unskilled labor is relatively inelastic, so that a high minimum wage depresses employment only slightly.
- 批评者们认为，劳动力需求是较富有弹性的，特别是在企业可以更充分地调节雇佣量的长期更是如此。 Critics argue that labor demand is more elastic, especially in the long run when firms can adjust employment more fully.



福利 Welfare

- 政府试图通过福利体系提高穷人的生活水准。
The government attempts to raise the living standards of the poor through the welfare system.
- 福利是一个广义术语，它包括政府增加贫困者收入的诸多计划。

Welfare is a broad term that encompasses various government programs that supplement the incomes of the needy.

- 对贫困家庭的临时援助。
Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF)
- 附加保障收入
Supplemental Security Income (SSI)



负所得税

Negative Income Tax

负所得税从高收入家庭征收税收，向低收入家庭进行转移支付。

A negative income tax collects tax revenue from high-income households and gives transfers to low-income households.

负所得税

Negative Income Tax

- 高收入家庭将根据其收入纳税。
High-income families would pay a tax based on their incomes.
- 低收入家庭将得到补贴——“负税”。
Low-income families would receive a subsidy – a “negative tax”.
- 贫穷家庭无需明示其需要，即可得到资金援助。

Poor families would receive financial assistance without having to demonstrate need.



实物转移支付

In-Kind Transfers

- **实物转移支付**是以物品或服务而非现金形式给予穷人的转移支付。
In-kind transfers are transfers to the poor given in the form of goods and services rather than cash.
- **例子：食品券和医疗援助计划。**
Food stamps and Medicaid are examples.

实物转移支付

In-Kind Transfers

- 实物转移支付的支持者认为，这样的转移支付保证了穷人得到他们最需要的东西。

Advocates of in-kind transfers argue that such transfers ensure that the poor get what they most need.

- 现金支付的支持者们认为，实物转移支付是低效率的和无礼的。

Advocates of cash payments argue that in-kind-transfers are inefficient and disrespectful



反贫困计划和工作激励

Antipoverty Programs and Work Incentives

许多旨在帮助穷人的政策可能带来意想不到的后果，即削弱了穷人依靠自身摆脱贫困的愿望。

Many policies aimed at helping the poor can have the unintended effect of discouraging the poor from escaping poverty on their own.

反贫困计划和工作激励

Antipoverty Programs and Work Incentives

- **反贫困计划可能影响工作激励：**

An antipoverty program can affect work incentives:

- **一个家庭需要 15,000 美元以维持合理的生活水准**
A family needs \$15,000 to maintain a reasonable standard of living.

- **政府承诺保证每个家庭的收入不低于 15,000 美元。**
The government promises to guarantee every family a \$15,000 income.

- **任何一个收入低于 15,000 美元的人都没有激励去工作，因为有效边际税率为 100 %。**

Any person making under \$15,000 has no incentive to work due to the effective marginal tax rate of 100 percent.

反贫困计划和工作激励

Antipoverty Programs and Work Incentives

劳动福利是要求每个得到补助金的人接受一份政府提供的工作的制度。
。 **Workfare** refers to a system that would require any person collecting benefits to accept a government-provided job.

反贫困计划和工作激励

Antipoverty Programs and Work Incentives

1996 年福利改革法案支持仅在有限时期内提供补助金。

A 1996 welfare reform bill advocated providing benefits for only a limited period of time.



结论

Conclusion

- 哲学家与政策制定者就何等程度的收入不均才是合意的、甚至是否需要利用公共政策以改变收入分配而争论不休。

Philosophers and Policy makers today do not agree on how much income inequality is desirable, or even whether public policy should aim to alter the distribution of income.

- 能让绝大多数人同意的唯一观点是：平等与效率之间总是存在权衡取舍。

The one lesson concerning the distribution of income about which almost every one agrees is that there is always a trade-off between equality and efficiency.



总结

Summary

- 收入分配数据表明在我们社会中存在的巨大差距。

Data on the distribution of income show wide disparity in our society.

- 最富有的 1/5 的家庭（群体）的收入是最穷的 1/5 的约 10 倍。

The richest fifth of the families earns about ten times as much as the poorest fifth.

- 要用单独一年的收入分配数据去度量不平等程度是困难的。

It is difficult to gauge the degree of inequality using data on the



总结

Summary

- 政治哲学家们对政府在收入再分配中应该扮演的角色持有不同的观点。

Political philosophers differ in their views about the role government should play in redistributing income.

- 功利主义者会选择使社会中每个人的效用总和最大的收入分配。

Utilitarians would choose the distribution of income to maximize the sum of the utility of everyone in society.



总结

Summary

- 自由主义者认为收入分配应该这样决定：假想我们被置于“无知之幕”后面，从而无法知晓自己的生活地位。

Liberals

would determine the distribution of income as if we were behind a “veil of ignorance” that prevented us from knowing our own stations in life.

- 自由意志主义者要求政府保护个人权利，但不必关心由此造成的收入分配不平等。Libertarians would have the government enforce individual rights but not be concerned about inequality in the resulting distribution of income.



总结

Summary

- 有许多旨在帮助穷人的不同的政策：最低工资法、福利、负所得税和实物转移支付。

Various policies aimed to help the poor include: minimum-wage laws, welfare, negative income taxes, and in-kind transfers.

- 虽然每一种政策都帮助了一些家庭脱贫，但他们也有意想不到的副作用。

Although each of these policies helps some families escape poverty, they also have unintended side effects.