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## 收入与歧视

## Earnings and Discrimination

# 今日美国的收入差别

## Differences in Earnings in the U.S. Today

- **普通医生一年挣到 20 万美元左右**  
The typical physician earns about \$200,000 a year.
- **普通警官一年挣到 5 万美元左右**  
The typical police officer earns about \$50,000 a year.
- **普通农场工人一年挣到 2 万美元左右**  
The typical farm worker earns about \$20,000 a year.

# 今日中国的收入差别

## Differences in Earnings in China Today

按行业分城镇单位就业人员平均劳动报酬

行业	平均劳动报酬 (元)	与所有行业平均劳动报酬之比
信息传输、计算机服务和软件业	54906	1.90
金融业	53897	1.87
科学研究、技术服务和地质勘查业	45512	1.57
电力、燃气及水的生产和供应业	38515	1.33
采矿业	34233	1.18
文化、体育和娱乐业	34158	1.18
租赁和商务服务业	32915	1.14
公共管理和社会组织	32296	1.12
卫生、社会保障和社会福利业	32185	1.11
交通运输、仓储和邮政业	32041	1.11
房地产业	30118	1.04
教育	29831	1.03
所有行业	28898	1.00
批发和零售业	25818	0.89
制造业	24404	0.84
居民服务和其他服务业	22858	0.79
建筑业	21223	0.73
水利、环境和公共设施管理业	21103	0.73
住宿和餐饮业	19321	0.67
农、林、牧、渔业	12560	0.43

资料来源：  
《中国统计年鉴  
2009》

# 什么造成收入差异如此之大？

## What causes earnings to vary so much?

- 工资取决于劳动力的供给和需求。  
Wages are governed by labor supply and labor demand.
- 劳动力的需求反映了劳动力的边际生产率。  
Labor demand reflects the marginal productivity of labor.
- 在均衡状态下，每个工人得到的是他（她）对整个经济的物品与服务生产边际贡献的价值。  
In equilibrium, each worker is paid the value of his or her marginal contribution to the economy's production of goods and services.

# 什么造成收入差异如此之大？

## What causes earnings to vary so much?

- 在竞争的、自由进入和退出的劳动力市场中，不同工作的工资应该是相等的，如果：
  - 在企业看来所有工人是同质的：在每种工作中，新增任一工人的边际产值相同。
  - 在工人看来所有工作是同质的：对于每个工人，所有工作带给他（她）的满意程度是相同的

工人和工作的不同特点引起了劳动需求、供给与均衡工资的不同。

**Differences in Characteristics of workers and jobs cause differences in labor demand, labor supply, and equilibrium wage.**



# 决定均衡工资的若干因素

## Some Determinants of Equilibrium Wages

- 补偿性差别  
Compensating differentials
- 人力资本  
Human capital
- 能力，努力和机遇  
Ability, effort, and chance
- 信号  
Signaling
- 超级明星现象  
The superstar phenomenon





# 补偿性差别

## Compensating Differentials

- **补偿性差别**指不同工作的非货币特征所引起的工资差别。

**Compensating differentials** refer to differences in wages that arises from nonmonetary characteristics of different jobs.

- 煤矿工人得到的工资高于其他有相似教育水平的工人 Coal miners are paid more than others with similar levels of education.
- 夜班工人的工资高于白班工人。  
Night shift workers are paid more than day shift workers.
- 教授的工资低于律师和医生。  
Professors are paid less than lawyers and doctors.



# 人力资本

## Human Capital

- **人力资本**是对人的投资的积累。 **Human capital** is the accumulation of investments in people.
- **最重要的一类人力资本是教育。**  
The most important type of human capital is education.



# 人力资本

## Human Capital

- 教育代表着为了提高未来生产率而在某一时间的资源付出。

**Education represents an expenditure of resources at one point in time to raise productivity in the future.**

- 美国大学毕业生的收入比高中毕业的工人高出约 75 %。

**College graduates in the U.S. earn about 75 percent more than workers with a high school diploma.**

# 不同教育程度的平均年收入

## Average Annual earnings by Educational Attainment

		1980	2005
□ □	□ □ □ □ □ □ □		
Male	High school, no college	\$41,083	\$40,112
	□ □ □ □ □	\$59,196	\$75,130
	College graduates		
	□ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □	+44%	+87%
	Percent extra for college grads		
□ □	□ □ □ □ □ □ □	\$24,775	\$28,657
Female	High school, no college		
	□ □ □ □ □	\$33,452	\$49,326
	College graduates		
	□ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □	+35%	+72%
	Percent extra for college grads		

# 为什么近年来熟练工人与非熟练工人之间的收入差距扩大了

**Why has the gap in earnings between skilled and unskilled workers risen in recent years?**

- **国际贸易改变了对熟练劳动力和非熟练劳动力的相对需求。**

**International trade has altered the relative demand for skilled and unskilled labor.**

- **技术变革改变了对熟练劳动力与非熟练劳动力的相对需求。**

**Changes in technology have altered the relative demand for skilled and unskilled labor.**



# 能力、努力和机遇

## Ability, Effort, and Chance

收入当中无法解释的差异主要归因于天赋能力、努力和机遇。

**The unexplained  
variation in earnings is largely  
attributable to natural ability, effort, and  
chance.**



# 对教育的另一种观点：信号

## An Alternative View of Education: Signaling

- 企业把教育状况作为区分高能力工人与低能力工人的一种方法。

Firms use educational attainment as a way of sorting between high-ability and low-ability workers.

- 企业把大学学位解释为能力的**信号**是理性的 It is rational for firms to interpret a college degree as a **signal** of ability.

# 对教育的另一种观点：信号

## An Alternative View of Education: Signaling

- 人力资本理论和信号理论都可以解释为什么受教育多的人往往比受教育少的人赚得多。

**Both the human-capital theory and the signaling theory can explain why more educated workers tend to earn more than less educated workers.**

- 但这两种观点对旨在增加教育普及度的政策后果的预测是完全不同的。

**But the two views have radically different predictions for the effects of policies that aim to increase educational attainment.**

# 好大学真的物有所值吗？

## Are Elite Colleges Worth the Cost?

- 人们通常认为上更难上的大学——录取标准更严格的大学——的学生会有更高的收入。

People usually think that students who attend more selective colleges – one with tougher admissions standards – land better paying jobs as a result.

- 但这里有一个选择性偏差问题，即：更难上的学校接受的是更具高收入潜力的学生，而这些学生也更愿意上更难上的学校。

But there is a selection bias problem that more selective schools accept students with greater earnings potential, and students with greater earnings potential are more likely to apply to more selective school.

- 一项研究集中比较了同时申请并被相对更难和更易上大学录取（但选择不同）的学生，发现收入与学校的难上程度无关。

By restricting the comparison to students who applied to and were accepted by comparable (more selective and less selective) colleges, a research found that earnings were unrelated to the selectivity of the college.





# 超级明星现象

## The Superstar Phenomenon

- **超级明星**出现在有以下特点的市场：  
**Superstars** arise in markets that exhibit the following characteristics:
  - 市场上的每位顾客都想享受最优生产者提供的物品。  
Every customer in the market wants to enjoy the good supplied by the best producer.
  - 生产这种物品所用的技术使得最优生产者以低成本向每位顾客提供物品成为可能。

The good is produced with a technology that makes it possible for the best producer to supply every customer at a low cost.



为什么对某些工人来说，工资确定在高于供求均衡的水平上？

**Why are, for some workers, wages set above the level that brings supply and demand into equilibrium?**

- 工人之间大多数的工资差别都是基于劳动市场的均衡模型，即工资调节以平衡劳动供求。

Most analyses of wage differences among workers are based on the equilibrium model of the labor market –that is, wages are assumed to adjust to balance labor supply and labor demand.

- 但是对有些工人，工资被定在了高于供求均衡的水平 But for some workers, wages are set above the level that brings supply and demand into equilibrium.
  - 最低工资法 Minimum-wage laws
  - 工会的市场势力 Market power of labor unions
  - 效率工资 Efficiency wages



# 效率工资

## Efficiency Wages

**效率工资**理论认为，企业会发现支付高工资是有利的，因为这样做提高了工人的生产率。高工资可以：

The theory of **efficiency wages** holds that a firm can find it profitable to pay high wages because doing so increases the productivity of its workers. High wages may:

- 减少工人的流动 reduce worker turnover.
- 提高工人努力程度 increase worker effort.
- 提高向该公司申请工作的工人的素质 raise the quality of workers that apply for jobs at



# 歧视经济学

## The Economics of Discrimination

当市场向那些仅仅是在种族、宗教、性别、年龄或其他个人特征不同而在其他方面相似的个人提供了不同机会时，就出现了**歧视**。

**Discrimination** occurs when the marketplace offers different opportunities to similar individuals who differ only by race, ethnic group, sex, age, or other personal characteristics.

# 歧视经济学

## The Economics of Discrimination

虽然歧视是一个情绪化的话题，但经济学家力图客观地研究这个题目，以便把假想与现实分开。

**Although discrimination is an emotionally charged topic, economists try to study the topic objectively in order to separate myth from reality.**



# 劳动力市场歧视的衡量

## Measuring Labor-Market Discrimination

- 歧视通常是通过观察不同群体的平均工资来衡量的。

Discrimination is often measured by looking at the average wages of different groups.

- 但是，简单地观察宽泛的群体——白人与黑人、男人与女人——之间的差别并没有说明歧视的普遍性。

However, simply observing differences in wages among broad groups – white and black, men and women – says little about the prevalence of

# 劳动力市场歧视的衡量

## Measuring Labor-Market Discrimination

- 即使在一个没有歧视的劳动力市场，不同人的工资也是不同的。

**Even in a labor market free of discrimination, different people have different wages.**

- 人们拥有的人力资本数量，以及能够并愿意从事工作的种类是不同的。

**People differ in the amount of human capital they have and in the kinds of work they are willing and able to do.**

- 由于不同群体之间平均工资的差别部分反映了人力资本和工作特性的差别，这些差别本身并没有说明劳动力市场上有多大的歧视。

**Because the differences in average wages among groups in part reflect differences in human capital and job characteristics, they do not by themselves say anything about how much discrimination there is in the labor market.**





# 雇主的歧视

## Discrimination By Employers

- 乍看起来，将歧视性工资归罪于雇主是理所应当的。

**It might seem natural to blame employers for discriminatory wage differences.**

- 对于受到雇主歧视的工人来说，其需求更低。

**The demand for workers discriminated against by employers is lower than it otherwise would be.**

- 结果，他们就好比没有受到歧视的工人得到更低的工资。

**As a result, they earn lower wage than those not discriminated against.**

# 雇主的歧视

## Discrimination By Employers

- 然而，竞争的市场经济提供了对雇主歧视自然的矫正方法——利润动机。

**However, competitive, market economies provide employer discrimination a natural antidote – profit motive.**

- 当不进行歧视的企业雇佣那些被歧视的雇员时，他们将会有更低的劳动力成本。

**Firms that do not discriminate will have lower labor costs when they hire the employees discriminated against.**

- 不进行歧视的企业将会比进行歧视的企业更能赢利并逐步取代进行歧视的企业。

**Firms that do not discriminate will be more profitable than, and tend to replace, firms that discriminate.**

# 经济力量和歧视

## Economic Forces and Discrimination

**竞争性的市场倾向于限制工资歧视的作用。**

**Competitive  
markets tend to limit the impact  
of discrimination on wages.**



# **顾客和政府的歧视行为**

## **Discrimination by Customers and Governments**

- **虽然利润动机是消除歧视性工资差别的强大力量，但也存在对这种力量的矫正能力的限制。**

**Although the profit motive is a strong force acting to eliminate discriminatory wage differentials, there are limits to its corrective abilities.**

- **顾客偏好 Customer preferences**
- **政府政策 Government policies**

# 顾客和政府的歧视行为

## Discrimination by Customers and Governments

**顾客偏好：** 如果顾客有歧视偏好，竞争性市场和歧视性工资差别就可以并存。这种情况发生在顾客愿意为保留歧视性的惯例进行支付。

**Customer preferences:** If customers have discriminatory preferences, a competitive market is consistent with a discriminatory wage differential. This will happen when customers are willing to pay to maintain the discriminatory practice.

# 顾客和政府的歧视行为

## Discrimination by Customers and Governments

**政府政策：** 当政府要求遵照歧视性的惯例，或者要求企业进行歧视，这就可能导致歧视性的工资差别。

**Government policies:** When the government mandates discriminatory practices or requires firms to discriminate, this may also lead to discriminatory wage differentials.



# **Larry Summer's Controversy at NBER Conference (Jan 14, 2005)**

**Why are women underrepresented in  
science and engineering in universities?**

**Are women less capable in science and  
engineering?**

- Biological (genetic)

**Are women discriminated against in job  
market?**

- Social policy (environment)



# Larry Summer's Controversy at NBER

## ☞ **Three hypothesis**

### **High powered job hypothesis**

- the general clash between people's legitimate family desires and employers' current desire for high power and high intensity (conflict between family pressure and employer demand)

### **Different availability of aptitude at the high end**

- intrinsic aptitude, and particularly of the variability of aptitude

### **Different pattern of socialization and discrimination in a search**

☞ **Summer is in favor of the first two, not the third**



# 总结

## Summary

- 工人由于许多原因而挣到不同的工资。 **Workers earn different wages for many reasons.**
- 在一定程度上，工资差别是对工人工作性质的补偿。

**To some extent, wage differentials compensate workers for job attributes.**

- 人力资本多的工人得到的工资高于人力资本少的工人。

**Workers with more human capital get paid more than workers with less human**



# 总结

## Summary

- 人力资本积累的收益是高的，而且在过去的十年中一直在增加。

**The return to accumulating human capital is high and has increased over the past decade.**

- 收入的许多差别不能用经济学家可以衡量的事情来解释。

**There is much variation in earnings that cannot be explained by things economists can measure.**



# 总结

## Summary

- 收入当中无法解释的差异主要归因于天赋能力、努力和机遇。

**The unexplained variation in earnings is largely attributable to natural ability, effort, and chance.**

- 一些经济学家指出，受教育多的工人得到更高工资是因为有更高天赋能力的工人把教育作为向雇主发出其高能力信号的一种方式。 **Some economists argue that more-educated workers earn higher wages because workers with high natural ability use education as a way to signal their high ability**



# 总结

## Summary

- 有时工资会被抬升到高于均衡的水平，其原因包括最低工资法，工会和效率工资。

Wages are sometimes pushed above the equilibrium level because of minimum-wage laws, unions, and efficiency wages.

- 收入的一些差别可归于基于种族、性别和其他因素的歧视。

Some differences in earnings are attributable to discrimination on the basis of race, sex, or other factors.

- 在衡量歧视的程度时，必须对人力资本和工作特征的差别进行矫正。

When measuring the amount of discrimination, one must correct for differences in human



# 总结

## Summary

- 竞争性市场倾向于限制歧视对工资的影响。  
Competitive markets tend to limit the impact of discrimination on wages.
- 竞争性市场上的歧视将会持续下去，如果顾客  
Discrimination can persist in competitive markets if customers are
  - 愿意向进行歧视的企业支付更多  
willing to pay more to discriminatory firms,
  - 或者，政府通过法律要求企业进行歧视  
or if the government passes laws requiring firms to discriminate.