

Chapter 1

The Economic Way of Thinking (经济学的思维方式)

ALWAYS LEARNING PEARSON

Learning Objectives (学习目标)

- Convey the definition of economics(介绍经济学的定义)
- Introduce the concept of economizing behavior (介绍节约的概念)
- Develop an understanding of importance of individual decision-making (发展对于个人决策重要性的认识)
- Introduce property rights as rules of the economic game (介绍作为 经济博弈的规则的产权)
- Gain a sense of appreciation of the invisible hand of social interactions (理解并欣赏社会互动中那只看不见的手)

Chapter Outline(本章大纲)

- Recognizing Order(认识秩序)
- The Importance of Social Cooperation (社会协作的重要性)
- An Apparatus of the Mind (智力工具)
- Cooperation Through Mutual Adjustment (通过相互调整进行合作)
- Rules of the Game (游戏规则)
- Property Rights as Rules of the Game (作为游戏规则的产权)
- The Biases of Economic Theory (经济理论的偏见)
- *No* Theory Means *Poor* Theory (没有理论就是糟糕的理论)

Is order prevalent in society? (秩序在社会中很普遍吗?)

- When we have long taken something for granted, it's hard even to see what it is that we've grown accustomed to. (一旦我们把某种东西认为是理所当然的,对于那些熟悉的事物,就很难看清它的真面目)
- How does an economic system work when it is functioning properly?
 (一个正常运转的经济体系是怎样工作的?)
- What mechanisms of social cooperation do we depend upon? (我们 依赖于怎样的社会合作机制?)

Recognizing Order(认识秩序)

- Rush hour traffic is an <u>example</u> of social cooperation. (高峰期的交通 是一个很好的社会合作的例子)
 - → There are general rules that everyone is expected to obey. (每个人都要被指望遵守一些一般规则)
 - → Traffic flows smoothly. (交通平稳运行)





Recognizing Order(认识秩序)

■ We tend to notice only failures and take successes for granted. (我们往往只注意到失败,把成功当作理所当然)





Recognizing Order(认识秩序)

■ Rather than anarchy and chaos, the movement of rush-hour traffic, or indeed of urban traffic at any time of day, really is an astounding feat of social cooperation. (高峰期的交通状况(或者任何时候的城区交通状况)确实是社会协作的巨大成果,并非混乱与无序!)

The Importance of Social Cooperation(社会协作的重要性)

Civilization depends upon cooperation. (文明依赖合作)

利维山 市場和緊急性中性大人自由 (別) 霍布斯 市 人名布 和市

- Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679):
 - □ Abstention form violence and robbery(远离暴力和抢劫)
 - □ Positive cooperation —the kind that actually produces industry, agriculture, knowledge, and art—seems to develop of its own accord(那些能产生工业、农业、知识和艺术的积极协作似乎会自然而然地产生)

How Does It Happen? (社会协作是如何发生的)

- Why society "worked"? (社会为什么能运行?)
 - □ Individuals pursuing their own interests, with extremely limited information, nonetheless managed to produce not chaos but a remarkably ordered, productive society. (在信息极其有限的情况下追逐自身利益的众多个体,不但没有造成混乱,反而形成了井然有序且成果丰硕的社会)





How Does It Happen? (社会协作是如何发生的)

- Adam Smith (1723-1790) (亚当·斯密)
 - □ An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations.《国民财富的性质和原因的研究》/《国富论》,1776
 - He was the first to use it in a comprehensive analysis of social change and social cooperation. (他是第一个将经济学的思维方式运用于对社会变革和社会合作进行全面分析)

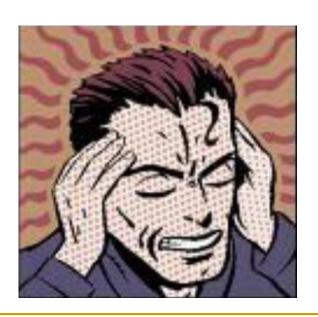
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国民财富的性质和 原因的研究

How Does It Happen? (社会协作是如何发生的)

- Smith described the process of social coordination that he saw operating in society (史密斯描述了他所观察到的社会协作过程)
 - □ The Invisible Hand (看不见的手)
 - □ The process functioned without the constant attention of government. (社会协作过程在政府关注缺席时能起作用)
 - □ It worked so powerfully that it often canceled the effects of contrary governmental policies. (甚至当政府的政策与之相反时,这个过程还能抵消其后果)

■ What is *The Economic Way of Thinking*? (什么是经济学的思维方式?)

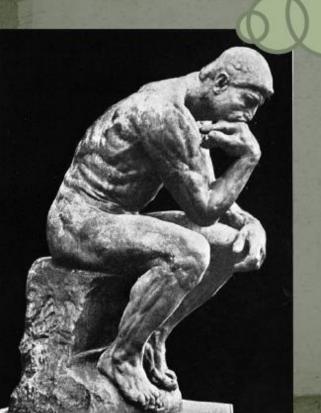


- "The technique of economic thinking" is a set of concepts derived from one fundamental presupposition. (经济学的思维技巧是由下述基本预设导出的一套概念)
 - All social phenomena from the actions and interactions of individuals who are choosing in response to expected additional (or marginal) benefits and costs to them. (所有社会现象均源于个体的行为及其互动,这些个

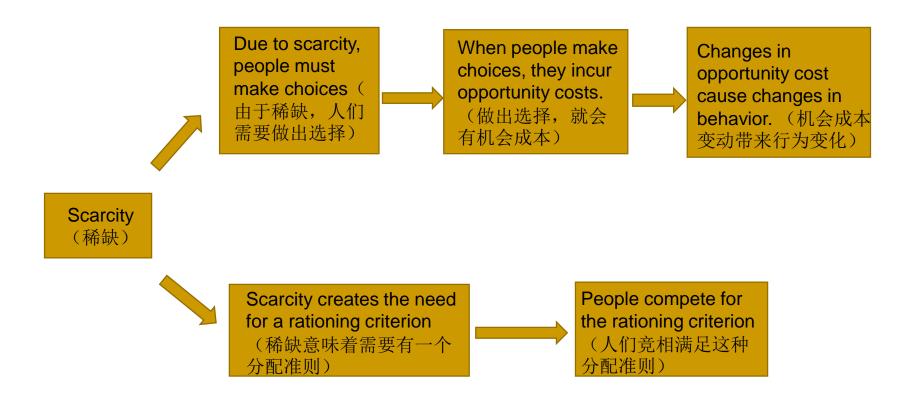
人基于他们**预期的额外(或边际)收益和成本**进行**选择**)

Economics
assumes that
people make
choices under
scarcity based on





Economics Starts From Scarcity(经济学起自稀缺性)



Choice (选择): End and Means (目的与手段)

- 目的 (end)
 - □ 行为人赋予目的的重要性称为价值(value)
 - □ 价值具有主观性
- 手段(means)
 - 行为人认为能够达成目的任何事物
 - □ 相对于人们的欲望而言,手段必然是有限的
 - □ 在经济学中,用来达成目的的手段被称作财货/物品(goods)

Choice: Economizing (节约)

- 手段往往有多种用途(可以实现不同的目的)
- 节约
 - □ 行为人将手段用于最迫切的(最重要的/最有价值的)目的
 - □ 一旦做出选择,意味着放弃本来可以实现的其他各种目的,即付出代价/ 牺牲(sacrifice)

Choice: Benefit and Cost(收益和成本)

- 收益和成本都是(主观的)价值
- 收益 (benefit)
 - □ 行为人意图实现的目的的价值
- 机会成本/成本(the opportunity cost)
 - □ 成本是最高的代价,是放弃的最高价值
 - 放弃的本来可以实现的其他各种目的的最高价值

Choice: Profit and Loss (利润/盈利与损失/亏损)

■ 利润 (profit)

- □ 收益与成本之间的差,又称净收益
- □ 在原始的意义下,利润是纯主观的
- □ 负的利润称为损失 (loss)
- 事前(行为前,做出选择时)来看,利润总是正的
 - □ 收益高于成本
- 事后来看,目的可能未实现,利润可能是负的
 - □ 收益低于成本





Choice: Marginal analysis(边际分析)

- People make choices at the **margin**(人们在边际上做出选择)
 - □ The benefit from pursuing an incremental increase in an activity is its **marginal**benefit (边际收益)
 - □ The cost of pursuing an incremental increase in an activity is its **marginal cost** (边际成本)

Choice: Methodological Individualism(方法论个人主义)

- 方法论个人主义
 - 通过追溯个人行为来理解观察到的社会结果(the method of understanding an observable social outcome by tracing its cause to the earlier actions of individuals)
- 只有个体才能行动/选择!
 - □ 并不否认个体行为者的意愿和行为受其他个体的影响

- Economics studies all kinds of choices and the unintended consequences —the unanticipated side effects— of choices. (经济 学研究人们做出的各种选择及其无意的结果—未曾料到的副效应.)
 - □ Not limited to the economic sector(不限于经济部门)

- Individuals are choosing in response to expected marginal benefits and costs to them. (个人是根据预期的边际收益和成本进行选择的)
- Does this assume that
 - people are selfish (自私), materialistic (物质至上), and shortsighted (短视)?

No!

- Everything depends on what people take to be benefits and costs and the relative values they place on these benefits and costs. (一切都取决于人们把什么东西看作收益和成本,以及他们赋予这些收益和成本联系的相对价值)
- □ Economic theory does not deny the reality or importance of generosity, public spirit, or any other virtue. (经济学理论不否认慷慨、公益精神及其他美德的现实性或重要性)

Donation (捐赠行为)

- 经济学不去问:
 - □ 人们的捐赠行为是否反映了人们具有某些美德?人们为什么具有这些美德?
- 经济学是这样分析(推断)的:
 - 如果出现类似"郭美美"事件,给定其他条件没有(发生大的)变化,人们的捐赠量将会下降.





- Focus is on three aspects(经济学的思维方式关注三个方面)
 - **□ actions**(个体的行动*)*
 - □ interactions (互动)
 - The core problem is a multiplicity of diverse and even incommensurable individual projects. (核心问题就是存在大量互不相同甚至互不兼容的个人计划)
 - □ consequences (结果,后果)
- E.g.城市交通的例子!

- E.g. Specialization(Division of Labor) in modern industrial societies
 (现代工业社会中的专业化分工)
 - Results from people's economizing actions (是节俭行为的结果)
 - □ Is necessary to increase production (是增产所必需)
- Question: will specialization without coordination work? (没有协调的专业化可行吗)

The Commercial Society(商业社会)

- Adam Smith referred to the Commercial Society (商业社会) in his "Wealth of Nations":
 - □ "It is but a very small part of man's wants which the produce of his own labor can supply…"(分工一经完全确立,一个人自己劳动的生产物,便只能满足自己欲望的极小部分.)



The Commercial Society(商业社会)

- "…He supplies the far greater part of them by exchanging that surplus part of the produce of his own labor, which is over and above his own consumption, for such parts of the produce of other men's labor as he has occasion for…" (他的大部分欲望,须用自己消费不了的剩余劳动生产物,交换自己所需要的别人劳动生产物的剩余部分来满足.)
- "…Every man thus lives by exchanging, or becomes in some measure a merchant, and the society itself grows to be what is properly a commercial society." (一切人都要依赖交换而生活,或者说,在一定程度上,一切人都成为商人,而社会本身,严格地说,也成为商业社会)



- Question: how are the parties involved in producing goods and services motivated to coordinate their activities? (人们是怎样受到激励,以协调他们的活动从而生产出各式各样的产品和服务的呢?)
 - Each people is interested in particular projects, on the basis of their own unique resources and capabilities, in almost total ignorance of the interests, resources, and capacities of almost everyone else.(每个人只是按照自己的资源和能力,根据自己特定的计划追逐一己之利,与此同时,对旁人的利益、资源和能力几乎一无所知)

铅笔是一个奇迹

"我,铅笔,是种种奇迹的复杂的结合:树,锌,铜,石墨,等等。然而,在这些大自然所显现的种种奇迹之外,还有一个更为非凡的奇迹:人的种种创造精神的聚合——成百上千万微不足道的实际知识,自然地、自发地整合到一起,从而对人的需求和欲望作出反应,在这个过程中,竟然没有任何人来主宰!"

——Leonard E. Read ,"I, Pencil",

Foundation for Economic Education, Dec. 1958.

米尔顿•弗里德曼的评论

"成千上万的人卷入了生产铅笔的过程中,没有一个是因为自己想要一支铅笔而去干自己的活儿的,他们中有些人从来没有见过铅笔,也从来不管铅笔是干什么用的。每个人都把自己的工作仅仅看作是获取自己所需要的商品和服务的一种办法,。。。每次我们到商店购买一支铅笔,我们都是用我们的一丁点劳务,来换取投入到铅笔生产过程中的成千上万人中的每个人提供的极小量的一些劳务。

"更令人叹为观止的是,铅笔在源源不断地生产出来。没有一个人坐在一个中央办公机构对这成千上万的人发布命令。也没有军警来执行这些无人发布的命令。这些人生活在不同的地方,讲着不同的语言,信奉着不同的宗教,甚至可能彼此憎恶,——然而,所有这些差异,并没有妨碍他们合作生产一支铅笔。这是如何发生的?亚当·斯密在二百年以前就给了我们答案。"

"亚当·斯密认为,经济秩序可以作为许多各自谋求自身利益的人的 行动的非有意识的结果而产生,这在当时是个惊人的思想,直到今天仍 不失其意义。"

—《自由选择》

Cooperation Through Mutual Adjustment (通过互相调整进行合作)

- Economizing actions create alternatives available to others (人们在 追逐自身利益过程中的节约行为为他人创造了多种选择机会)
- Social coordination is a process of continuing mutual adjustment (社会协作是*对个人相互作用过程中产生的不断变动的净利益*之持续的互相调节过程)

Cooperation Through Mutual Adjustment (通过互相调整进行合作)

Example

□ Why don't drivers on a freeway drive in one lane?(为什么在高速公路上 开车的司机不全部在一条车道上行驶)

Example

□ lines at the checkout counter(收银台排队)





Cooperation Through Mutual Adjustment (通过互相调整进行合作)

- The net advantage determines people's actions (净利益决定着人的行动)
 - Costs versus Benefits
- Money persuades! (货币有说服力)





Signals (信号)

- People need information to successfully accommodate to others(人 们需要依赖信息来成功适应他人)
- Monetary price (货币价格)

序号	商品名称	規格等级	单位	价格类型	上期报价	本期报价	涨跌幅
1	猪全精肉	新鲜	元/500克	市场价零售	18.0	18.0	
2	猪肋条肉	新鲜	元/500克	市场价零售	17.0	17.0	
3	牛肉	去骨统肉	元/500克	市场价零售	38.0	38.0	
4	羊肉	去骨统肉	元/500克	市场价零售	25.0	25.0	
5	鸡肉	白条鸡	元/500克	市场价零售	20.0	20.0	
6	鸡蛋	新鲜完整	元/500克	市场价零售	5.65	5.65	
7	草鱼	活750克左右	元/500克	市场价零售	8.25	8.0	↓3.03%
8	花鲢鱼	活750克左右	元/500克	市场价零售	8.5	8.25	↓ 2.94%
9	晚籼米	标一	元/500克	市场价零售	2.7	2.7	
10	粳米	标一	元/500克	市场价零售	2.7	2.7	
11	花生油	鲁花牌压榨一 级桶装	元/5升	市场价零售	145.5	145.5	
12	菜籽油	一级散装	元/500克	市场价零售	6.0	6.052	
13	大豆油	一级散装	元/500克	市场价零售	5.5	5.5	

Rules of the Game(游戏规则)

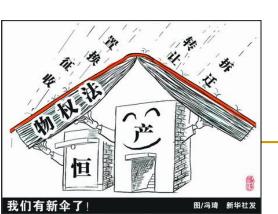
- Economic systems and social interaction are directed and coordinated by the rules participants know and follow (经济体制和社会交往需要由参其人所知道、并遵守的"游戏规则"来指引和协调)
- Rules affect incentives (规则影响激励)





Property Rights as Rules of the Game(作为游戏规则的产权)

- Private property rights are an example of rules of the game (私有 产权是社会互动游戏规则的一个例子)
 - A market exchange economy is based upon private property rights (市 场交换经济以私有产权为基础)
 - □ Provide the members of a society with dependable information and incentives (为社会成员提供了可靠的信息和激励)

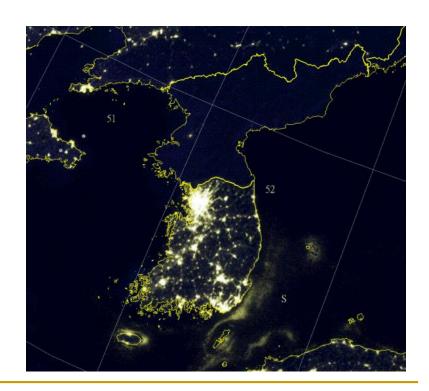


Property Rights as Rules of the Game(作为游戏规则的产权)

Contrast with centrally planned economies (中央计划经济)







The Biases of Economic Theory(经济理论的偏见)

- Economic thinking is often criticized:
 - □ focuses on choice(过于关注选择)
 - □ only individuals choose(只有个人会选择)
 - □ individuals choose after weighing benefits and costs(个人在权衡利益和成本后做出选择)
 - □ consequences result from people's choices(后果源于人们的选择)
 - □ contains a pro-market bias (经济学的思维方式具有亲市场倾向)

Really Prejudices?(真的是成见吗?)

- Do we say that biologists are biased because *they assume that DNA molecules control the development of organisms*? (生物学家假设DNA分子控制机体发育)
- No! They are convictions(它们是坚定的看法/信念)
 - □ we must begin somewhere(我们必须从某个地方开始)
 - □ we are always wrong to some extent(在某种程度上总是错的)
 - Every "true" statement leaves out a great deal and thus errs by omission(每个 "真实" 陈述必然略去大量真实信息,犯下遗漏的错误)

Really Prejudices?(真的是成见吗?)

- Some people suppose that we avoid this risk by steering clear of theory (有些人认为我们可以通过避开理论来回避这种风险)
- E.g. The very common but mistaken reasoning (一种相当普遍但却错误的推理)
 - □ The association or statistical correlation among groups of facts establishes some kind of causation among those facts (一组事实之间的 联系或统计相关性,在这些事实之间确立了某种因果关系)

The Skills of the Economist(经济学家的技能)

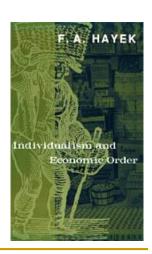
- We can observe facts, but
 - □ it takes a theory to explain the causes(需要一种理论来解释原因)
 - □ It takes a theory about cause and effect to weed out the irrelevant facts from the relevant ones(需要一个因果理论从相关事实中剔除无关紧要的事实)
- No Theory Means Poor Theory (没有理论就意味着糟糕的理论)

No Theory Means Poor Theory (没有理论就意味着糟糕的理论)

- 社会科学的"事实"(facts)都必然装载着理论
 - □ 参考: "社会科学的事实" (The Facts of the Social Sciences) ,载《个人主义与经济秩序》(英)哈耶克著, 三联书店, 2003年.







The Skills of the Economist(经济学家的技能)

- Economic theory has limits:
 - Economics by itself cannot answer all social questions (经济学本身并不能回答全部的社会问题)
- Economics must be supplemented with knowledge from other sources(必须得到其他来源知识的补充)
 - History
 - Culture
 - Politics
 - Psychology

What We Do in This Course?

- Organized around a set of concepts that collectively make up the economist's basic kit of intellectual tools. (将围绕一组概念展开,这些概念合起来构成了经济学家的知识工具箱)
- Achieve more by attempting less(要事半功倍!)
- 主流教科书中对经济学理论的介绍
 - □ 冗长
 - □ 支离破碎
 - □ 令人困惑
- 例如: 曼昆《经济学原理》: "经济学的十个原理"

曼昆: 经济学的三类问题

一.人们如何作出决策?How People Make Decisions?

二.人们如何相互作用?How People Interact?

三.整体经济如何运行?How the Economy as a Whole Works?

曼昆: 经济学的十个原理 (第一类问题: 人们如何作出决策)

1. 人们面临得失交换(权衡取舍)

People face tradeoffs.

2. 某物的成本是为此所放弃的东西

The cost of something is what you give up to get it.

■ 3. 理性人思考边际量

Rational people think at the margin.

4. 人们会对激励作出反应

People respond to incentives.

曼昆: 经济学的十个原理 (第二类问题: 人们如何相互作用)

■ 5.贸易能使人人收益

Trade can make everyone better off.

- 6.市场通常是组织经济活动的好方式
 Markets are usually a good way to organize economic activity.
- 7.政府有时可以改进市场结果

Governments can sometimes improve market outcomes.

曼昆: 经济学的十个原理 (第三类问题: 整体经济如何运行)

- 8.一国的生活水平取决于它的生产
 The standard of living depends on a country's production.
- 9.当政府发行了过多的货币时,物价上涨

 Prices rise when the government prints too much money.
- 10.社会面临通货膨胀和失业之间的短期得失交换
 Society faces a short-run tradeoff between inflation and unemployment.

Once Over Lightly (简短回顾)

- Economics is a theory of choice and its unintended consequences(经济学是关于选择及其无意图后果的理论)
- All social phenomena emerge from individuals' actions and interactions in response to expected benefits and costs
 (一切社会现象都产生于个人行为和互动,个体对预期的收益和成本做出反应)
- Individuals economize. (个体进行节约)

Once Over Lightly (简短回顾)

- Rules of the game are important as they influence our choices(游戏规则很重要,因为它们影响我们的选择)
- The "Biases" of Economic Theory(经济理论的偏见)
- No Theory Means Poor Theory(没有理论就是糟糕的理论)