



THE ECONOMIC WAY OF THINKING

Thirteenth Edition

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Chapter 12 The Distribution of Income (收入分配)

Learning Objectives（学习目标）

- Establish how the distribution of income is the outcome of the supply and demand for productive resources（阐明生产性资源的供给和需求是如何决定收入分配的）
- Analyze the role that human capital plays in income distribution（分析人力资本在收入分配中扮演何种角色）
- Discuss the role of property rights in the generation of income（讨论产权在收入形成中扮演的角色）
- Explore how competition and union restrictions affect wages and income determination（探讨竞争和工会的限制如何影响工资与收入的决定）
- Analyze and investigate income inequality in the United States, its causes, and the difficulties of redistribution（分析并研究美国的收入不平等情况及其成因，以及进行再分配的困难所在）

Chapter Outline（大纲）

- Introduction（引言）
- Suppliers and Demanders（供给者和需求者）
- Capital and Human Resources（资本与人力资源）
- Human Capital and Investment（人力资本与投资）
- Property Rights and Income（产权与收入）
- Actual, Legal, and Moral Rights（实际权利、法律权利及道德权利）
- Expectations and Investment（预期与投资）
- People or Machines?（人还是机器？）

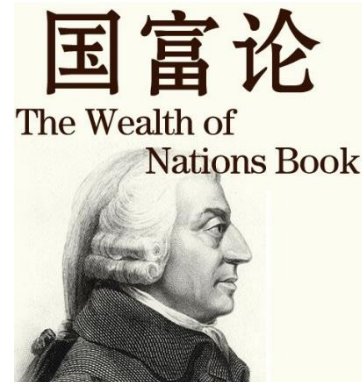
Chapter Outline（大纲）

- The Derived Demand for Productive Services（对生产性服务的派生需求）
- Who Competes Against Whom?（谁与谁竞争？）
- Unions and Competition（工会与竞争）
- Poverty and Inequality（贫困与不平等）
- Why Inequality Is Increasing（为什么不平等愈演愈烈）
- Redistributing Income（收入再分配）
- Changing Rules and Social Cooperation（改变规则与社会合作）

Introduction（引言）

- Income is not actually ***distributed***（实际上收入不是被分配的）
 - We supply what other people want.（我们提供别人想要的东西）
 - Our money incomes come from other people.（我们的金钱收入来自其他人）
 - Thus, the distribution of income simply results from supply and demand.（因此，收入分配源于供求关系）

Introduction（引言）



- Adam Smith. The Wealth of Nations 《国富论》
 - “It is not from the benevolence of the butcher, the brewer, or the baker that we expect our dinner, but from their regard to their own interest. We address ourselves, not to their humanity, but to their self-love, and never talk of our necessities, but of their advantages.”（我们得以享用晚餐，并非来自屠户、酿酒师或面包师的恩惠，而是来自他们对自身利益的关心。我们不是向他们乞怜，而是诉诸他们的自利性。我们从来不向他们谈论自己的需要，而只是谈论对他们的利益。）

Suppliers and Demanders（供给者和需求者）

- We cannot treat distribution separately from the process of exchange and production.（我们不能把分配从交换和生产过程中剥离开来单独看待）
- Income is not a fact of nature.（收入并非自然属性）
 - Choice can change it.（可以通过选择来改变）
- Incomes are the outcome of millions of interrelated decisions.（收入是无数相关决定共同作用的结果）
 - Those decisions can even be unfair.（这些决定可能是不公平的）

Suppliers and Demanders（供给者和需求者）

■ Policy choices

- are never about particular distributions,（政策选择从来无关乎特定的分配）
- but always about the rules of the game, which engender a pattern of exchange and production.（而是关乎游戏规则，后者产生了某种交换和生产模式）

Suppliers and Demanders（供给者和需求者）

- The distribution of income is the product of the supply and demand for **productive services**.（收入分配是对生产性服务供求的产物）
 - The distribution of income among individuals or families depends fundamentally on **the ownership of productive resources** or **the prior distribution of wealth**.（从根本上说，个人或家庭间的收入分配取决于对生产性资源的占有或者财富的事先分配）

Suppliers and Demanders（供给者和需求者）

- Question: What is **wealth**?（什么是财富）
 - cash, bank accounts, stocks, bonds, and real estate（现金、银行账户、股票、债券和房地产）
 - ...
 - **human capital**（人力资本）

Capital and Human Resources（资本与人力资源）

- Capital is produced goods that can be used to produce future goods.（资本是被生产出来的商品，可以用来生产未来的商品）
 - E.g. machinery, and the knowledge and skills of labor（机械以及劳动的知识和技能）

Capital and Human Resources（资本与人力资源）

■ Income（收入）

- Most is earned by supplying the services of human resources.
（大部分是通过提供人力资源服务获得的）

■ Income Inequality（收入不平等）

- arises primarily from unequal abilities to supply valuable human services.（主要是由于提供有价值的人工服务的能力不平等）

Human Capital and Investment（人力资本与投资）

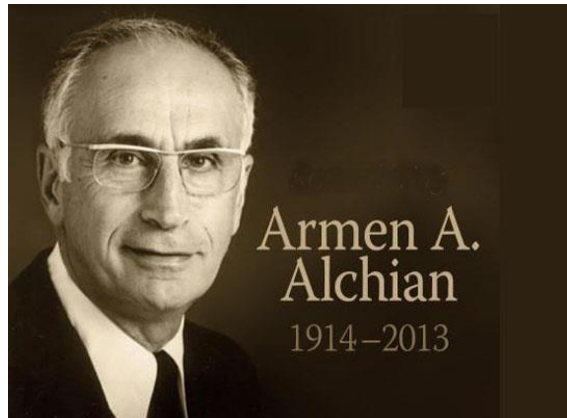
- People add to their stock of human capital by investing in their personal skills.（人们通过投资于个人技能来增加其人力资本存量）
- The prospect of a greater income exercises a constant and steady pressure on people.（收入提高的希望给人们带来的压力始终如一、稳定不变）

Property Rights and Income（产权与收入）

- Productive resources are owned, individually and jointly, by many people using a variety of arrangements.（生产资源由许多人通过各种安排单独或共同拥有）
- Property rights depend on the reigning rules of the game.（产权取决于起支配作用的游戏规则）

Property Rights and Income（产权与收入）

- *All property rights are limited in one respect or another.*
（所有财产权都在一个方面或另一个方面受到限制）
- **The ability to sell** is just an important part of property rights.（出售的能力只是产权的一个重要组成部分）



Actual, Legal, and Moral Rights （实际权利，法律权利与道德权利）

- Actual Rights （实际权利）
 - control expectations and behavior （控制预期和行为）
- Legal Rights （法律权利）
 - government regulated （政府规定的）
- Moral Rights （道德权利）
 - what one believes one *ought* to enjoy (人们认为应该享有的权利)

Actual, Legal, and Moral Rights （实际权利，法律权利与道德权利）

- Rights are social facts. （权利是社会事实）
 - They depend on acceptance by others of the appropriate obligations. （权利依赖于他人对相应义务的遵守）

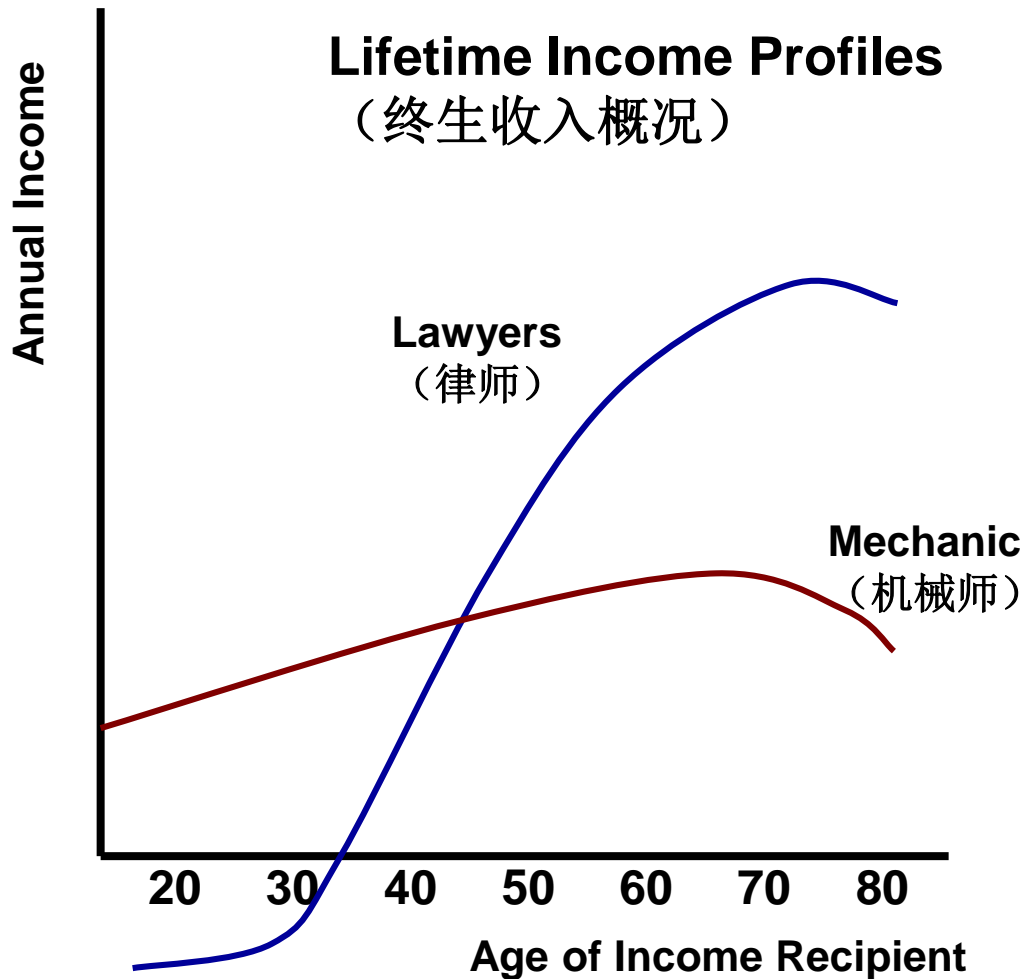
Expectations and Investment（预期与投资）

- Decisions about the use of resources depend upon expectations.（有关资源使用的决定取决于预期）
- Investment Decisions（投资决策）
 - expected rates of return（预期回报率）
 - confidence with which those returns can be expected（对能否收回预期回报的信心）
 - the rate of time preference（时间偏好率）

Expectations and Investment（预期与投资）

- The most readily portable form of wealth is human capital.（最容易带走的财富形式当属人力资本）
- But even human capital can be confiscated.（即便是人力资本也有被没收的可能）

Expectations and Investment (预期与投资)



- The relevant comparison is lifetime incomes. (有关的比较是一生的收入)

People or Machines? (人还是机器?)

■ Questions

- Do machines “destroy” jobs? (机器会“破坏”工作吗?)
- What does it mean to say “machines are more productive”?
(说“机器更高效”是什么意思?)
- When will a machine replace a person? (机器何时会代替人)
 - Only if the marginal revenue from the machine's use relative to its marginal cost is greater than the ratio for a person. (仅当使用一台机器带来的边际收入与其边际成本之比大于使用一个人的比率)
 - Wage rates play an important part. (工资率很重要)

People or Machines? （人还是机器？）

- Technology innovations release labor to do other tasks.
（技术创新释放了劳动力去做其他任务）
- Some people do experience a loss in wealth after a reallocation of labor. （在劳动力重新配置之后，有些人确实会遭受财富损失）
 - resistance to technological change and fear of automation （抵制技术变革和对自动化的恐惧）

The Derived Demand for Productive Services (对生产性服务的派生需求)

- **Derived Demand (派生需求)**
 - The demand for productive services is derived from the demand for the goods they produce. (对生产性服务的需求来自于对其生产的商品的需求)
- **Quantity of services demanded depends upon: (所需的服务量取决于)**
 - The demand for the good being produced (对生产的商品的需求)
 - The wage rates of the service providers (服务提供者的工资率)

The Derived Demand for Productive Services (对生产性服务的派生需求)

- Demand as a Constraint (需求作为约束)
 - The income of owners of productive resources is **limited** by the demand for the services of those resources. (生产资源所有者的收入受到对这些资源的服务需求的限制)
 - The income of owners of productive resources is **created** by the demand for the services. (生产资源所有者的收入是由对这些服务的需求创造的)

Who Competes Against Whom? (谁与谁竞争)

- OPEC (and similar organizations) argues that
 - their association will allow them to better compete with Buyers.
(他们的合作将使他们能够更好地与买方竞争)
- However, buyers and sellers do not compete. (买卖双方不竞争)
 - Buyers compete to obtain what sellers produce. (买方竞争以获得卖方生产的产品)
 - Sellers compete to sell their product to Buyers. (卖方竞争将其产品出售给买方)

Who Competes Against Whom? (谁与谁竞争)

■ Example:

- the agreement among owners of professional sports teams not to compete for the services of athletes (职业运动队的所有者达成协议，不为运动员的服务而竞争)
- Assigning the exclusive right to each athlete's services to a single owner of professional sports. (把每个运动员服务的专有权指派给单个所有者)

Unions and Competition（工会与竞争）

■ Wages

- Employers bid for workers' services.（雇主竞标工人的服务）
- Workers cannot insist on receiving higher wages if other similar workers will work for less.（如果其他工人愿意以更低的工资率提供服务，工人就不能成功地索要高工资）

Unions and Competition（工会与竞争）

- Unions attempt to control competition among workers.
（工会试图控制工人之间的竞争）
- Contract wages will exclude those who would work for a lower wage.（合同工资将排除那些愿意以较低工资工作的人）
- May limit competition by limiting membership.（可能会通过限制成员资格来限制竞争）

Unions and Competition（工会与竞争）

- History does not support the argument that（历史不支持这一论点）
 - unions arose to counter the power of the large corporations.（工会的出现是用来对抗大公司的力量）

Poverty and Inequality（贫困与不平等）

- Income cannot be greater than output.（收入不能大于产出）
- Reducing poverty is not the same as reducing inequality.
（减少贫困与减少不平等并不相同）

Table 12-1 Money Income of Families—Percentage of Aggregate Income Received by Each Fifth and Highest 5 Percent (家庭的货币收入：每个20%和最高的5%的家庭的收入占总收入的百分比)

	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000	2010
Lowest 5th	4.8	5.4	5.3	4.6	4.3	3.8
Second 5th	12.2	12.2	11.6	10.8	9.8	9.5
Middle 5th	17.8	17.6	17.6	16.6	15.5	15.4
Fourth 5th	24.0	23.8	24.4	23.8	22.8	23.5
Highest 5th	41.3	40.9	41.1	44.3	47.4	47.8
Highest 5%	15.9	15.6	14.6	17.4	20.8	20.0

- *Source:* U.S. Bureau of the Census Historical Income Tables—Families, Table F-2: www.census.gov/hhes/income/histinc/index.html.

Poverty and Inequality（贫困与不平等）

- Poverty Has been substantially reduced.（贫困已大大减少）
- Inequality has only been modestly reduced.（不平等只是略有减少）

Table 12-2 Percentage of Families with Income Below the Poverty Line（收入在贫困线以下的家庭比例）

2010	11.8
2000	8.7
1990	10.7
1980	10.3
1970	10.1
1965	13.9
1960	18.1

- *Source:* U.S. Bureau of the Census Historical Poverty Tables—Families, Table 13: www.census.gov/hhes/income/histinc/index.html.

Poverty and Inequality（贫困与不平等）

■ Poverty Line（贫困线）

- Income households of various sizes need to live decently.（不同规模的家庭维持体面生活所需的收入数额）
- Three times the income required to purchase an adequate diet.（购买充足食物所需收入的三倍）
- Adjusted annually.（每年调整一次）

Poverty and Inequality（贫困与不平等）

- Economic growth has led to the decrease in the poverty rate.（经济增长导致贫困率下降）
 - Total output increases at an annual compounded rate of 3 percent in the United States during the first half of the century.（20世纪上半叶，美国的总产出维持以每年3%的复合比率增长）
 - Total income will more than quadruple over the course of 50 years.（总收入在50年间就会增长超过三倍）

Why Inequality Is Increasing in U.S. (为何美国的不平等愈演愈烈)

- Why inequality has been increasing since 1980 in U.S. ?
(为什么美国自1980年以来不平等现象愈演愈烈)
 - 80% of US family income = worker' s wages (美国家庭的收入至少有80%是以员工薪酬的形式获得的)
 - We should look at changes in the structure of wages and changes in supply and demand conditions that produced these structural changes. (我们应当首先了解工资结构的改变, 以及导致这种结构改变的供求情况的变化)

Why Inequality Is Increasing in U.S. (为何美国的不平等愈演愈烈)

- Supply of Labor (劳动力的供给方面)
 - The number of high school graduates exceeds the number of college graduates entering labor force. (高中毕业生的数量超过了进入劳动力市场的大学毕业生的数量)
 - An increase in the number of immigrants who are often unskilled and relatively poor. (技能不熟练、经济状况也相对较贫穷的移民人数增加)
 - More single parent families (单亲家庭增加)

Why Inequality Is Increasing in U.S. (为何美国的不平等愈演愈烈)

- Demand for Labor (劳动力的需求方面)
 - Manufacturing sector has been decreasing in size. (制造业规模不断缩小)
 - Pay is relatively equal. (薪水相对平等)
 - Service sector has been increasing in size. (服务业规模不断扩大)
 - Pay is relatively unequal. (薪水相对不平等)
 - The most rapidly growing industries in the economy traditionally employ college graduates. (经济中增长最迅速的行业有雇用大学生的传统)

Why Inequality Is Increasing in U.S. (为何美国的不平等愈演愈烈)

- Another cause: income mobility (收入流动性)
 - Family income depends significantly upon the age of the principal income earner. (家庭收入在很大程度上取决于主要收入者的年龄)
 - As we grow older, we move into different quintiles. (随着年龄的增长, 我们进入了不同的年龄段)
 - A substantial amount of the inequality that shows up in a still picture would disappear if we were able to take a moving picture.
(若是进行动态观察, 则在静态图表中表现出来的不平等现象有一大部分都会消失)

Table 12–3 Family Mean Incomes in 2010 (in 2011 dollars)

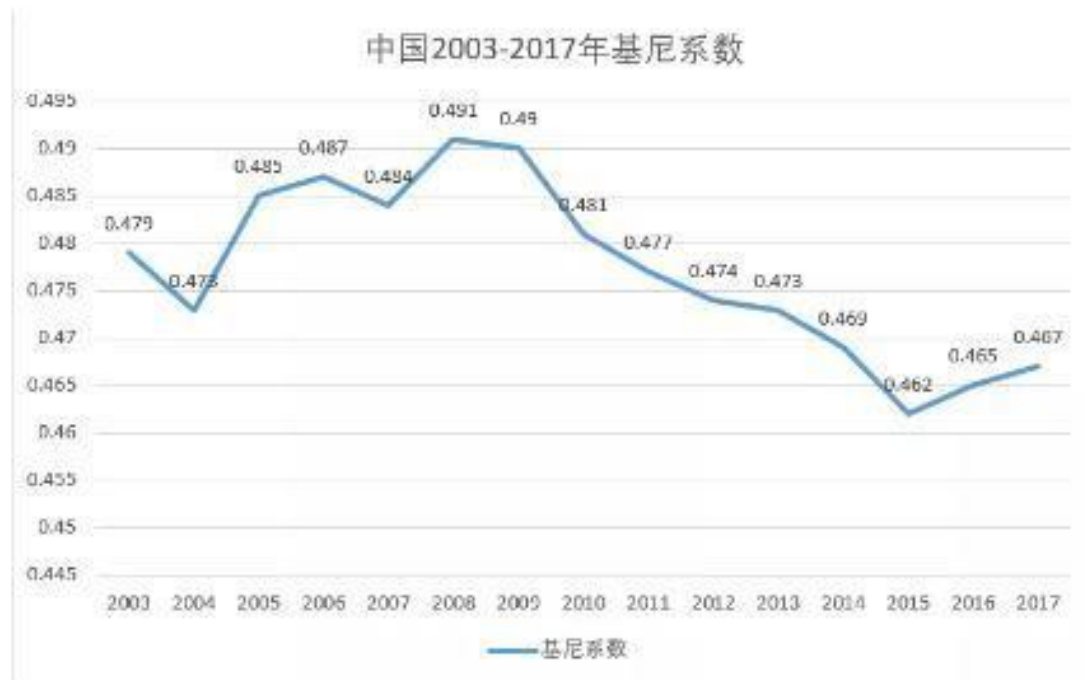
Age of Householder	Mean Income
15 to 24 years	41,251
25 to 34 years	64,044
35 to 44 years	86,696
45 to 54 years	95,451
55 to 64 years	94,250
65 years and over	64,857

- *Source:* U.S. Bureau of the Census Historical Income Tables, Table F-11: www.census.gov/hhes/income/histinc/index.html.

基尼系数

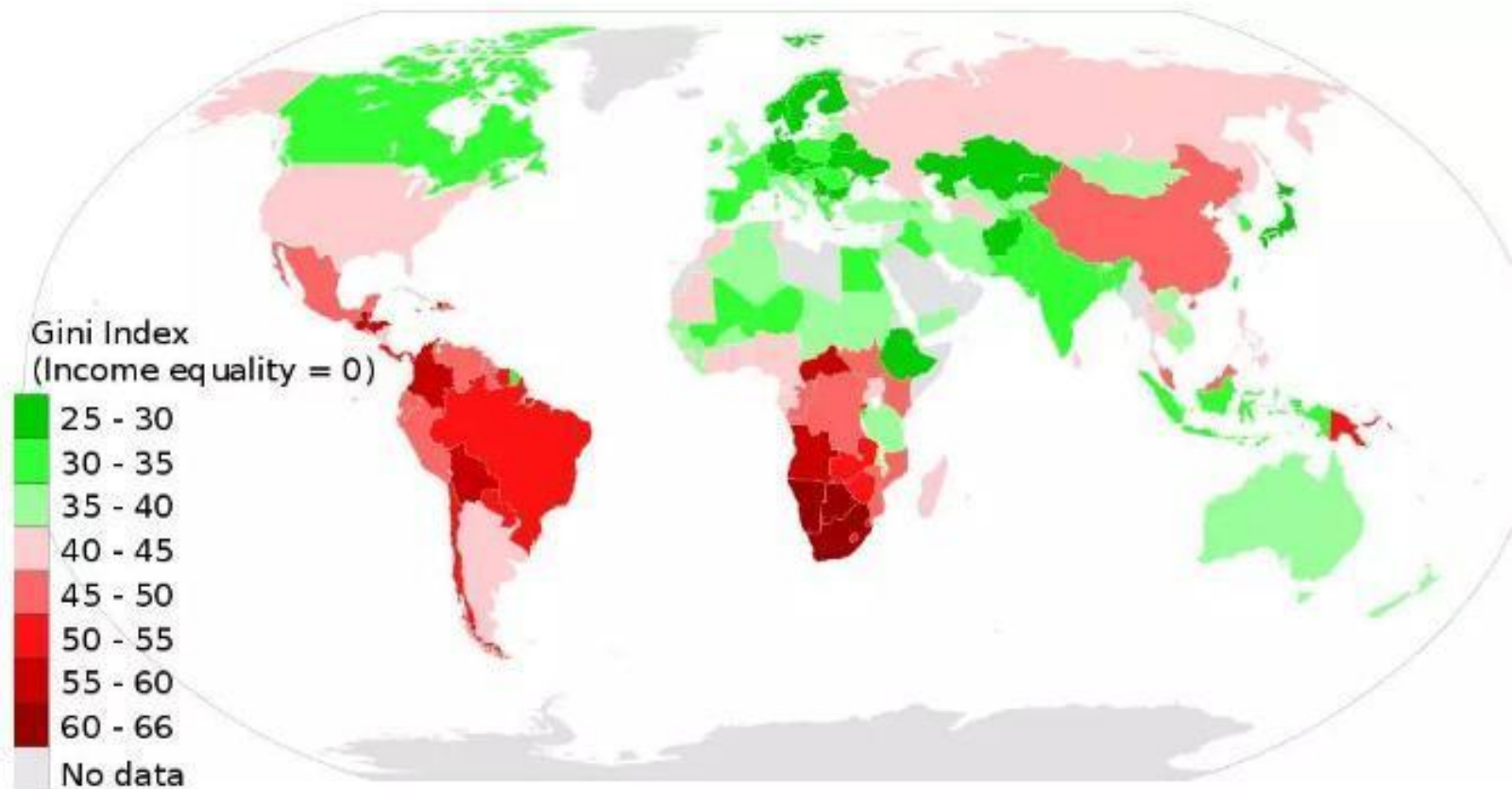
- 20世纪初意大利学者科拉多·基尼定义的判断年收入分配公平程度的指标
 - 介于0-1之间，越接近1，表示不平等程度越高，警戒线数字是0.4
- 联合国有关组织规定：
 - 基尼系数低于0.2，收入绝对平均；0.2-0.3，收入比较平均
 - 0.3-0.4，收入相对合理；0.4-0.5，收入差距较大
 - 基尼系数0.5以上，收入差距悬殊

基尼系数：中国



数据来源：国家统计局

基尼系数：世界各国



中国的收入不平等

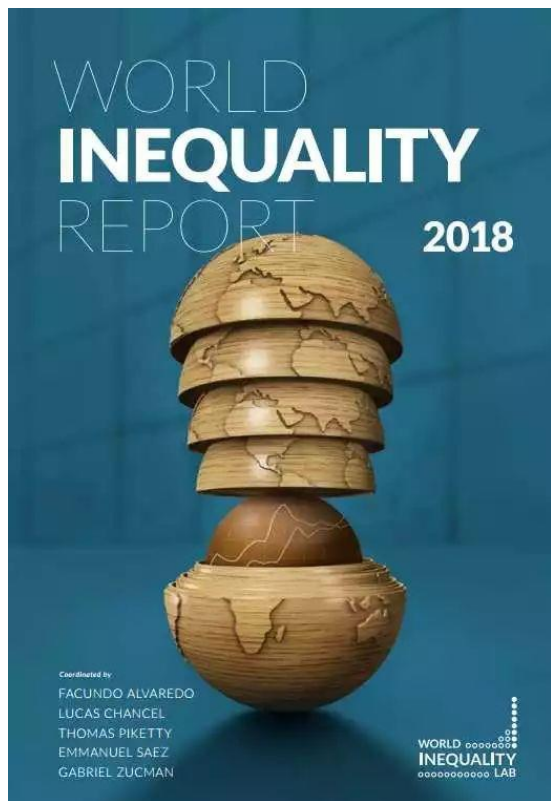
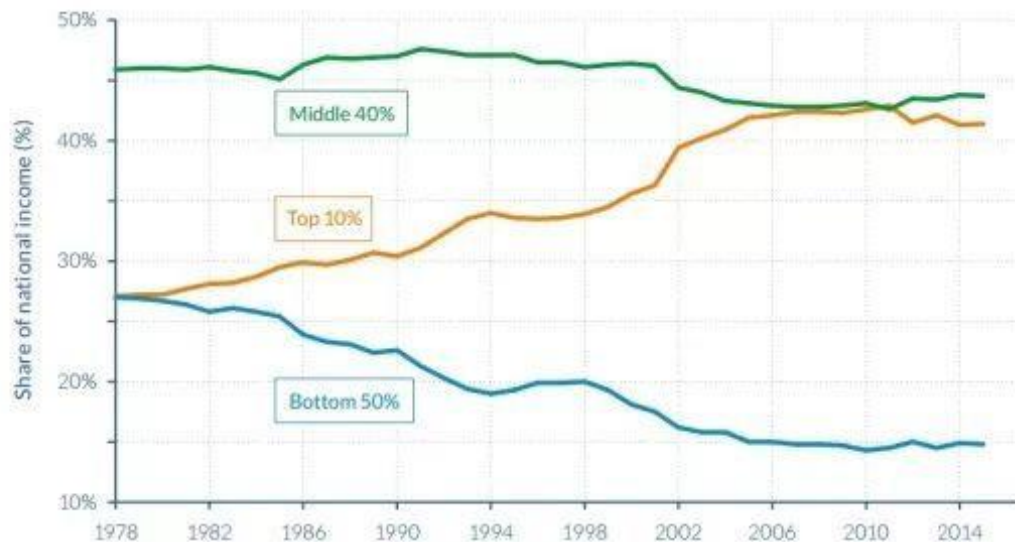


Figure 2.7.1
Income shares in China, 1978–2015



Source: Piketty, Yang and Zucman (2017). See wir2018.wid.world for data series and notes.
In 2015, the Top 10% national income share was 41%.

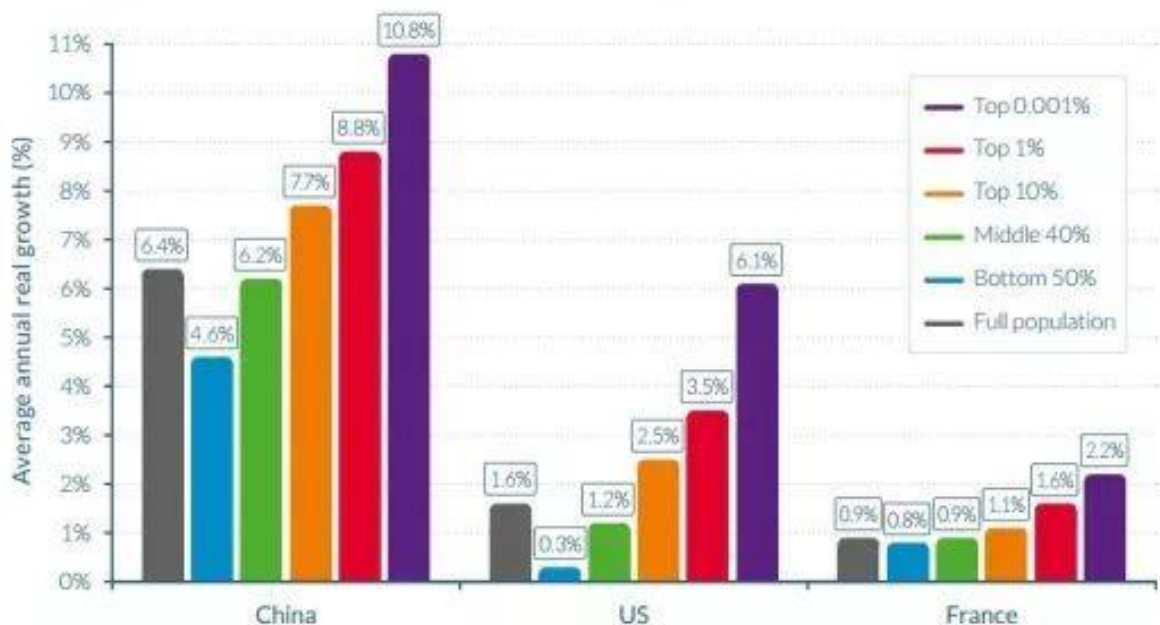
知乎 @南润发

在2015年，全国收入前10%的人群占有全国41%的收入

中国的收入不平等

Figure 2.7.2

Average annual national income growth by income group in China, France and the US, 1980-2015



Source: Piketty, Yang and Zucman (2017). See wir2018.wid.world for data series and notes.

Between 1980 and 2015, the average pre-tax income of the Bottom 50% in China grew at an average of 4.6% per year, against 0.3% in the US. Values are net of inflation.

知乎 @南润发

从1980年到2015年，中国收入最低的后50%人群的平均税前收入每年平均增长4.6%，相比之下，美国同一群体的增长率是0.3%，数值是除通胀后的净值

Redistributing Income（收入再分配）

- Question: How much income inequality is desirable?（多大程度的收入不平等是可取的？）
- A fundamental difficulty:
 - Because income isn't really distributed by anyone, it can't actually be redistributed.（收入并不是真正分配给某人的，因此实际上也就不能进行再分配）
 - The most that even government can do is to alter the rules of the game in the hope of securing a preferable outcome.（政府所能做的最多也不过就是改变游戏的规则，以期获得一个更合意的结果）

Redistributing Income（收入再分配）

- Raising taxes on high incomes（提高高收入者的税收）
 - Government must change the rules（政府必须改变规则）
 - People adjust their behaviors to minimize the impact of the new rules（人们会调整自己的行为，将新规则的影响降到最低）

Redistributing Income（收入再分配）

- Raising the Income of the Poor（提高穷人的收入）
 - Government must rewrite the rules for grants.（政府必须重写有关拨款的规定）
 - People adjust their behavior to fit the new rules.（人们调整自己的行为以适应新的规则）

Changing Rules and Social Cooperation（改变规则与社会合作）

- Why not keep changing the rules until the desired outcome is attained?（为什么不断更改规则，直到获得期望的结果？）
 - Who has the knowledge?（谁有知识？）
 - Changing rules would destroy the foundation for most social cooperation.
（不断变化的规则将破坏大多数社会合作的基础）

Once Over Lightly（简单回顾）

- The distribution of income is the result of supply and demand for productive services.（收入分配是对生产性服务供求的结果）
- The production of productive resources is investment, or the creation of capital.（生产生产性资源就是投资，或者说是创造资本）
- One important form of capital is human capital.（资本的一种重要形式是人力资本）
- Property rights establish the amount and nature of the investment that will occur in a society.（产权决定了社会中将发生的投资的数量和性质）

Once Over Lightly（简单回顾）

- Lower rates of time preference encourage investment over consumption（较低的时间偏好率会鼓励投资而不是消费）
- The demand for productive services of any kind will not be perfectly inelastic.（对任何一种生产性服务的需求都不会是完全没有弹性的）
- The quantity of resources demanded is determined by comparing MR and MC.（通过比较MR和MC来确定所需的资源量）
- The demand for productive services is derived from the demand for the goods they produce.（对生产性服务的需求来自于对其生产的商品的需求）

Once Over Lightly（简单回顾）

- Suppliers of productive services do not compete against buyers of those services.（生产性服务的提供者不与这些服务的购买者竞争）
- Economic growth has dramatically reduced poverty in the US during the first three quarters of the 20th century.（在20世纪前四分之三的时期，经济增长极大地减少了美国的贫困状况）
- The last quarter of the century was marked by small, steady increases in income inequality.（本世纪后半叶的特点是收入不平等现象持续小幅增长）
- Social cooperation requires stable property rights.（社会合作需要稳定的产权）