

Lecture 8: Inequality and Poverty

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Zhaopeng Qu

Business School, Nanjing University

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Main Content

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- How to understand inequality and poverty?
- How to measure inequality and poverty?
- How to analyze inequality and poverty empirically?
- How to make/adjust our public policies to deal with inequality and poverty?

We are living in an unequal world

An Unequal World in Pictures

Families with their possessions(1994)



Families with their possessions(1994)



Families with their possessions(1994)



Families with their possessions(1994)



Mongolia

(c) Peter Menzel www.menzelphoto.com

Families with their possessions(1994)



One meal of a week for Families(2005)



One meal of a week for Families(2005)



One meal of a week for Families(2005)



One meal of a week for Families(2005)



One meal of a week for Families(2005)



An Unequal China in Pictures

Families with their possessions across China(2015)



Families with their possessions across China(2015)



Families with their possessions across China(2015)



Families with their possessions across China(2015)



Families with their possessions across China(2015)

10000 yuan, 6 members



Zhongwei,
Ningxia

Families with their possessions across China(2015)



400000 yuan, 3 members

Shaoxing,
Zhejiang

Summary

- We are living in an extremely uneven world.
- Inequality does exist both across and within countries.
- Anyone who cares about his or her own and others' lives can not avoid thinking about it.

Introduction to Inequality

Introduction



Source: www.core-econ.org

Introduction

- Inequality poses fundamental questions about economic systems:
 - How are the gains from economic progress distributed across society?
 - What forces shape the allocation of resources and opportunities?
 - How does distribution affect the stability and sustainability of growth?
- Inequality matters at every level of analysis:
 - Those who study **market structures** and institutional design
 - Those who shape **collective decisions** about resource allocation
 - Those who experience **lived consequences** of distributional outcomes

Why we care about?

- Philosophical and ethical perspective
- For a "better" world
 - "路有冻死骨，朱门酒肉臭"by 杜甫(712-770)
 - "All men are created equal" by Thomas Jefferson(1743-1826)
- In the end, every regime should **justify** its existence.

Why we care about?

- Political and Social Stability
 - High inequality could cause crime and others, undermining social stability.
- Economic Efficiency: it may affect other important economic outcomes.
 - e.g. inequality and economic growth

How to understand inequality?

How to understand inequality?

- Popular explanations of inequality
 - Biological factors
 - Individual Efforts
 - Family Backgrounds
 - Neighborhoods or Environment
 - Random Lucks
- Additional evidence or factors: Institutional factors and public policies.
 - e.g. Unemployment varies a lot over the business cycle – hard to explain by individual variation in [laziness](#).

Introduction to theories of justice

- What is an justice state
- Common presumption for most **theories of justice**
 - Normative statements about society based on statements about **individual welfare**.
- Formally,
 - Individuals $i = 1, 2, \dots, n$
 - Individuals i 's welfare is v_i
 - the social welfare as a function of individual's welfare

$$SWF = F(v_1, v_2, \dots, v_n)$$

Introduction to theories of justice

- This framework covers many approaches, but not all
- **Nationalists or Fascist:**
 - | "What counts is the greatness of the nation"
- **Libertarians:**
 - | "Market outcomes are just, no matter what the welfare consequences for individuals"
- **Environmentalists:**
 - | "Preservation of the environment is a value, beyond its consequences for humans"

A Theory of Justice



Philosopher John Rawls on a trip to Paris in 1987. | Frederic Reglain/Gamma-Rapho via Getty Images

- **John Rawls** (1921-2002) Professor in Harvard University and the most influential political philosopher in the 20th century.

- **The veil of ignorance**
 - Faced with fundamental uncertainty, you want to insure yourself as much as possible.
 - You want to mitigate the worst possible outcome.
- The SWF should be evaluated based on welfare of the person **worst off**

$$F(v_1, v_2, \dots, v_n) = \min_i(v_i)$$

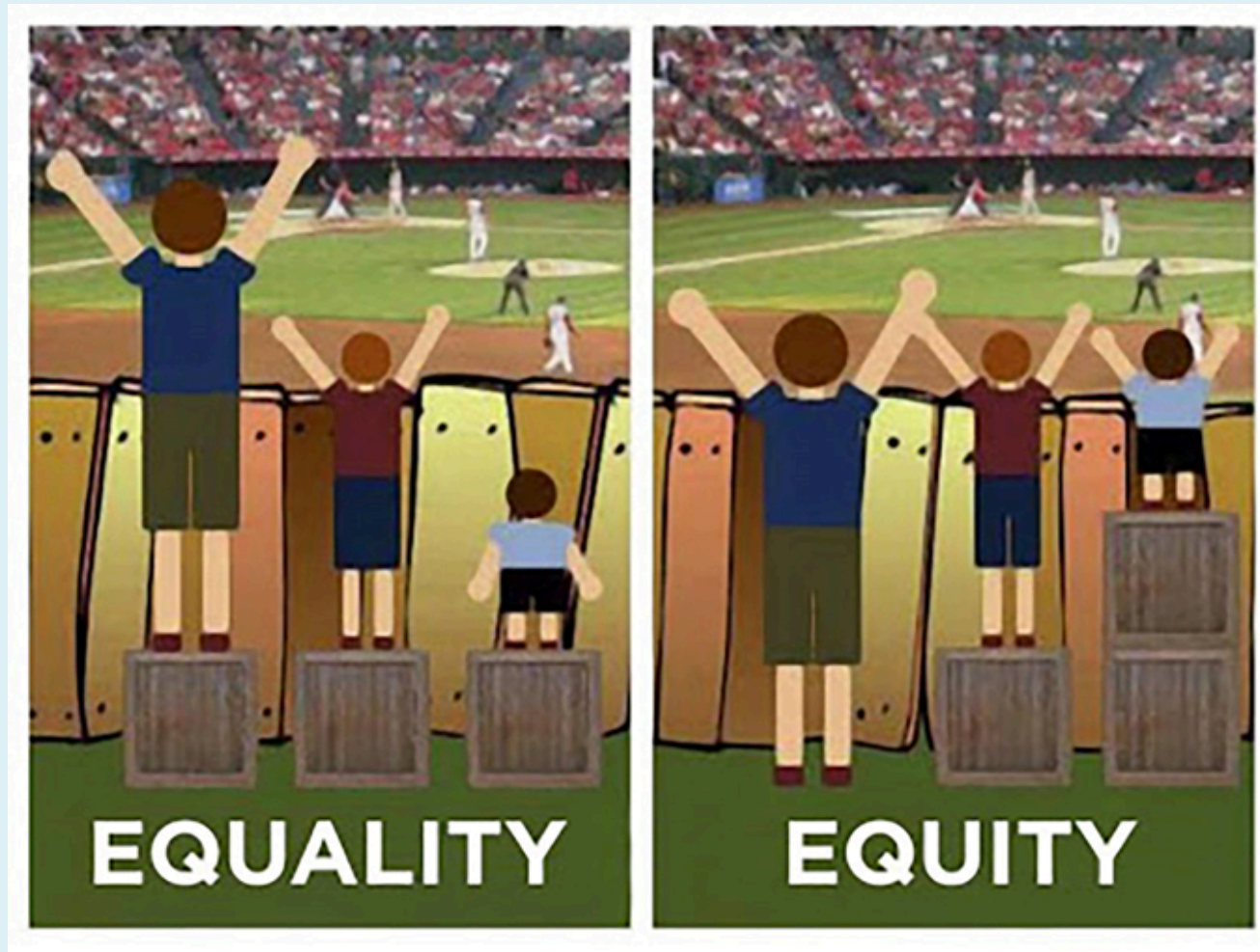
- the **maximum-min** principle.

How to understand "inequality"?

- Equality(平等): the state of quality of being equal.
- Equity(公平): fairness, treating people equally without favoritism or discrimination.
- Justice(公正): the quality of being morally right, fair and reasonable.
- **Question:** What are the relationships between these concepts?



Question: True or False?



公平 v.s 效率?

- 政治经济学问答题

"在社会主义初级阶段的收入分配中，必须坚持的原则是"

A. 按劳分配、注重贡献 B. 注重公平、缩小差距 C. 效率优先、兼顾公平 D. 兼顾公平和效率

公平 v.s 效率?

公平和效率

两者间存在取舍还是可以携手并进?

安德鲁·伯格、乔纳森·D. 奥斯特里

在其 1975 年出版的颇具影响力的著作《公平和效率：大取舍》一书中，阿瑟·奥肯主张，追求公平可降低效率（效率是指对资源进行最优利用以实现产出的最大化）。这位已故的耶鲁大学和布鲁金斯学会经济学家说，更公平的收入分配不仅会降低工作和投资的动力，而且收入重新分配（通过诸如税法和最低工资之类的机制）自身的成本会十分高昂。奥肯把这些机制比作“漏水的桶”。从富人转移到穷人的一些资源“将会在转移中消失，因此穷人不会得到从富人那里转移出来的全部金钱”——原因有二：其一是行政成本使然；其二是纳税人和资源转移接受方的工作积极性均受到了抑制。

- Arthur M. Okun(1975): 《Equity and Efficiency: The Big Trade-off》

Source: 金融与发展 (2011)

- 所以究竟是"公平与效率"的权衡,还是"平等与效率"的权衡?

What is "economic inequality"?

- The fundamental disparity in the amount of material possess or economic choice.
- Measuring the difference among people of
 - outputs such as GDP / Income
 - endowment such as capitals and skills etc.
 - choices related with their education, job, and health etc.

What is "economic inequality"?

- Most(over 90%) studies mainly focus on Inequality.
- A small portion focuses on Equity.(or Opportunity Inequality)
- Very few studies focus on Justice.

Measuring Inequality

Why measure Inequality?

- The motivation of defining inequality measure:
 - To do the empirical study.
 - Failure to specify the meaning of "inequality".
 - Different measures may give different results about the inequality.
 - The absence of clear criteria for choosing inequality measure.

Measurement Choice

- Wage, earnings and compensation
- Income or expenditure / consumption
- Current flow or Wealth
- Statics or Mobility
- Objective or Subjective
- Self-evaluated measures such as happiness

Measuring Inequality

- Standard approach to measuring income inequality: examine the share of total income received by each quintile (or fifth of the population)

Inequality in the U.S.	
Quintile	Income Share
1	3.8
2	9.3
3	15.1
4	23.0
5	48.8

Source: 2013 data from US Census Bureau

Measuring Inequality

6-2 全国居民按收入五等份分组的人均可支配收入

单位：元

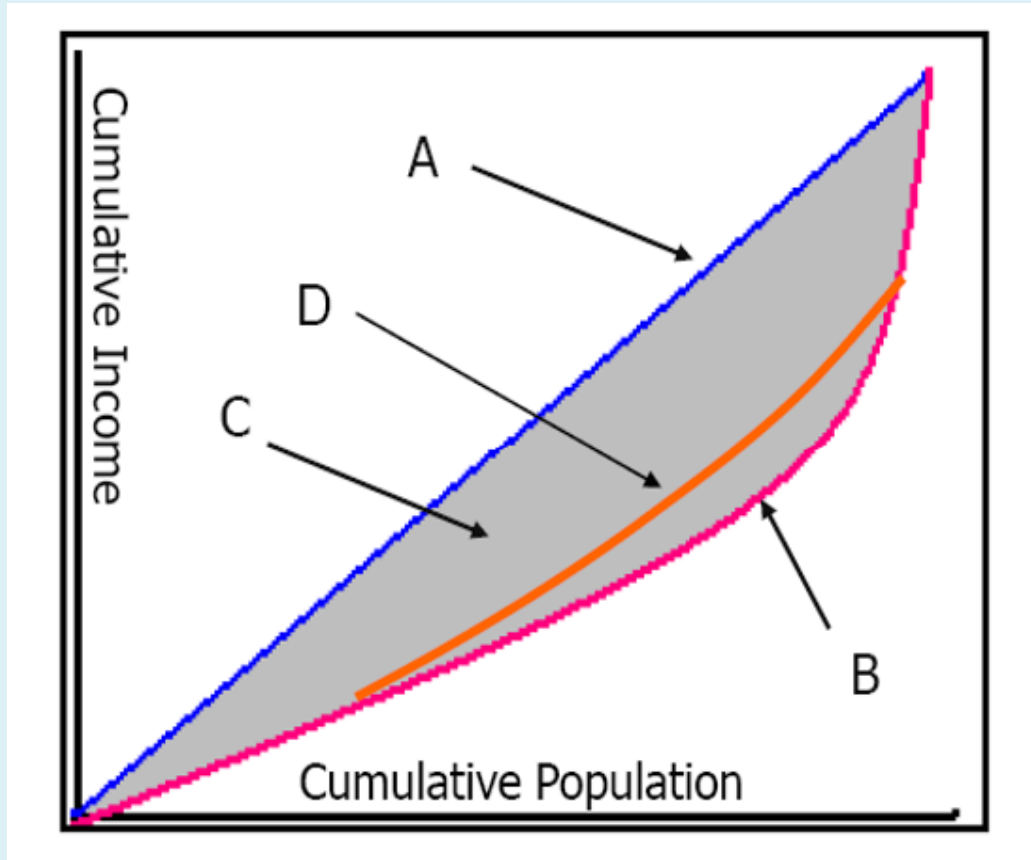
组 别	2013	2014	2015
低收入户 (20%)	4402.4	4747.3	5221.2
中等偏下户 (20%)	9653.7	10887.4	11894.0
中等收入户 (20%)	15698.0	17631.0	19320.1
中等偏上户 (20%)	24361.2	26937.4	29437.6
高收入户 (20%)	47456.6	50968.0	54543.5

6亿人每月收入1000元



- 2020年5月28日，在十三届全国人大三次会议记者会上，李克强总理强调："中国有6亿中低收入及以下人群，他们平均每个月的收入也就1000元左右"。
- **Question:** How to understand this statement?

Lorenz Curve: a useful tool



- A–Equality Diagonal Population = Income
- B–Lorenz Curve
- C–Difference Between Equality and Reality

Urban and Rural inequality(1987-2002)

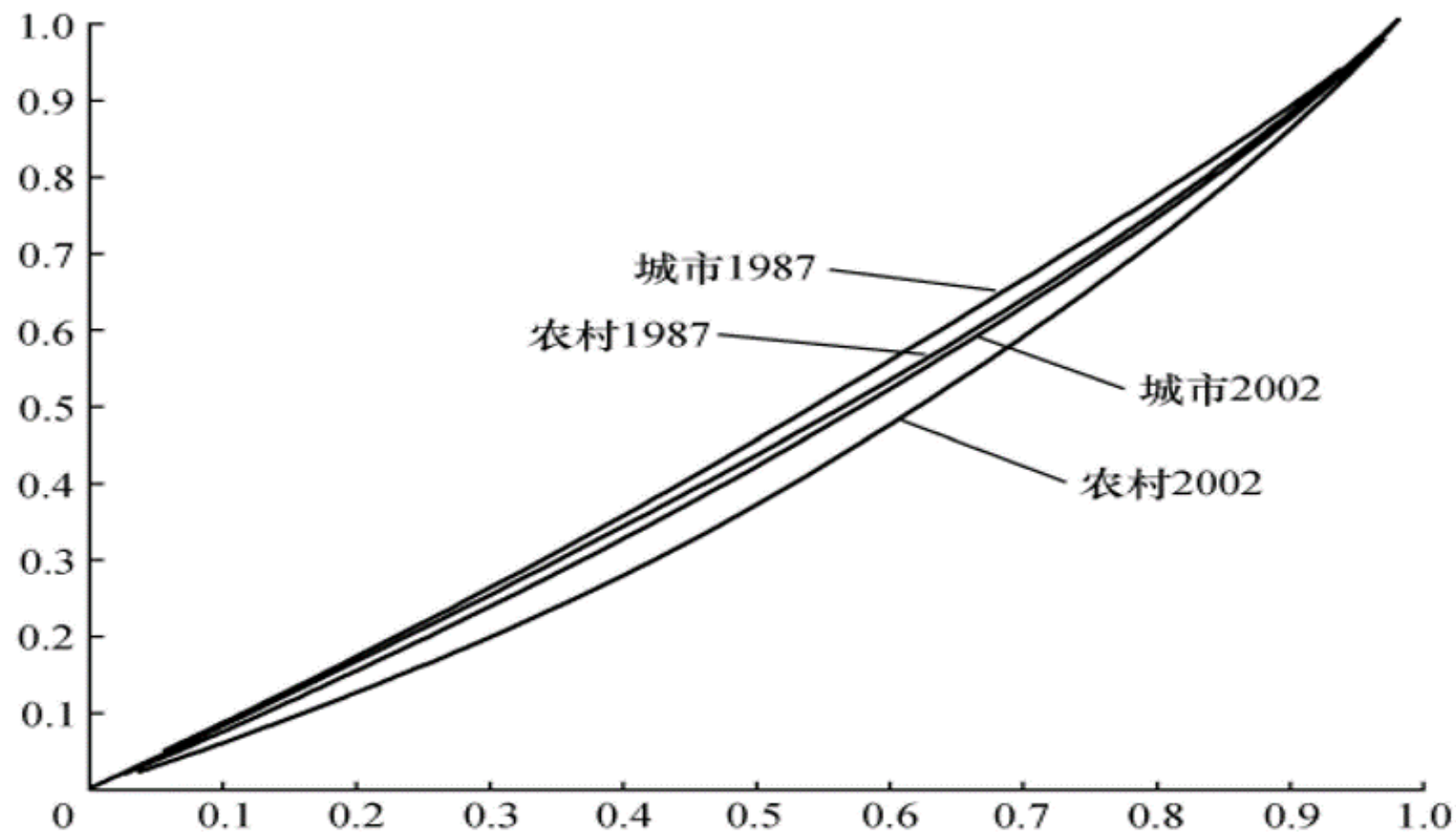


图2 中国农村与城市收入的洛伦兹曲线，1987年与2002年

Four criteria for measurement

- 1. Anonymity principle (匿名性)
- 度量结果只和观察数值有关，而和观察对象的身份没有关系。

Four criteria for measurement

- 2.Population independence(总体独立性)
- 样本的体积大小不影响度量的结果。

Four criteria for measurement

- 3.Relative income principle/homogeneity(相对收入原则/齐次性)
- 度量单位与指标无关，比如用美元还是人民币，元还是100元来做收入的度量单位，指标的结果应该完全一样。

Four criteria for measurement

- 4.The Dalton / transfer principle(转移性)
- 给定一个样本，如果从富人收入中拿出一部分，转移给穷人，收入的不均等程度应该下降，衡量了指标的敏感性。

Choosing the best metric

- Some popular measures include:
 - Range
 - Range Ratio
 - The Gini Coefficient
 - Theil's T Statistic

Range

- The range is simply the difference between the highest and lowest observations.

	Number of employees	Salary
	2	\$1,000,000
	4	\$200,000
	6	\$100,000
	6	\$60,000
	8	\$45,000
	12	\$24,000

- In this example, the Range = $\$1,000,000 - \$24,000 = 976,000$

Range

- The range is simply the difference between the highest and lowest observations.

Pros

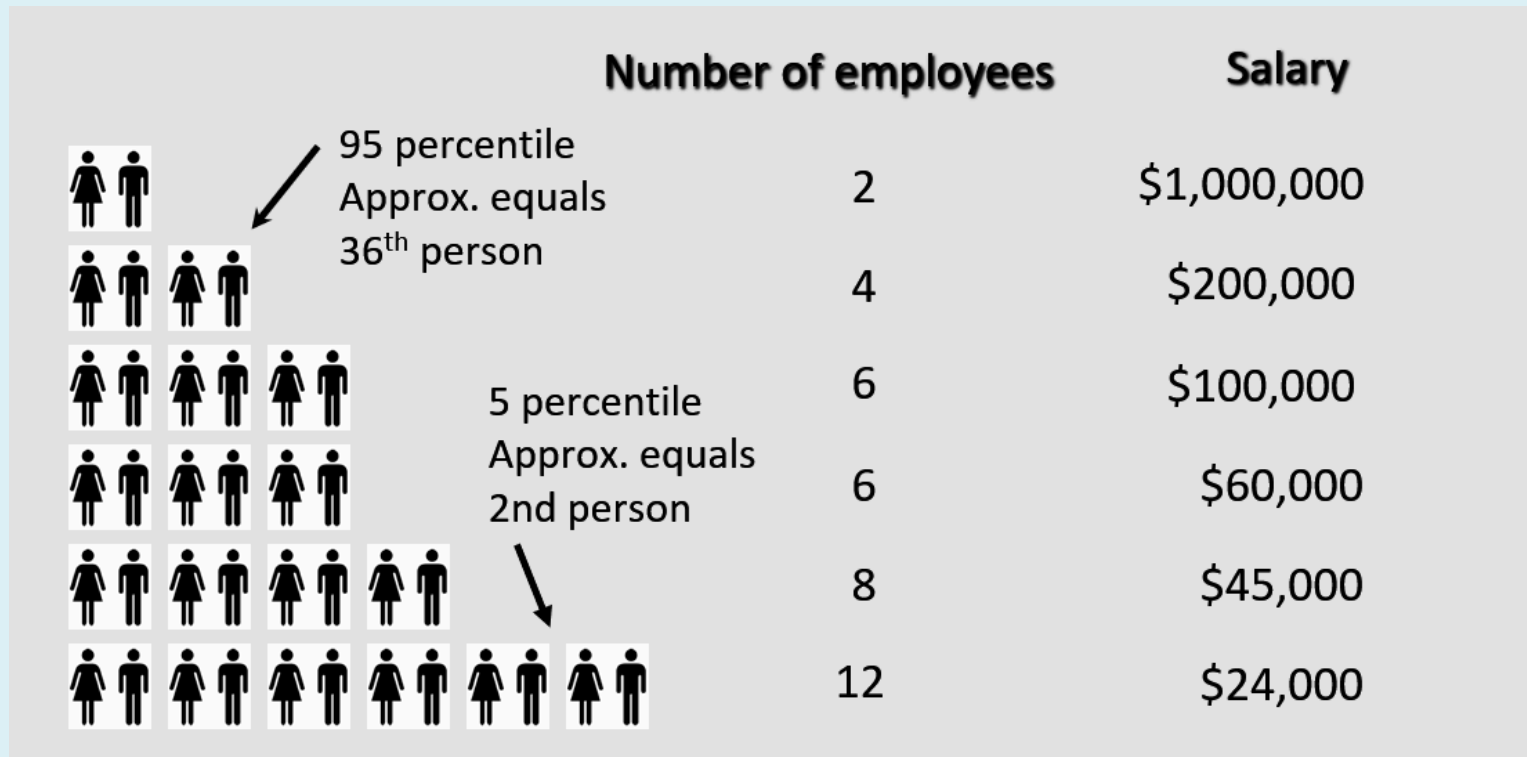
- Easy to Understand
- Easy to Compute

Cons

- Ignores all but two of the observations
- Does not weight observations
- Affected by inflation
- Skewed by outliers

Range Ratio

- The Range Ratio is computed by dividing a value at one predetermined percentile by the value at a lower predetermined percentile.



- In this example, the Range Ratio= $200,000 / 24,000 = 8.33$

Range Ratio

- The Range Ratio is computed by dividing a value at one predetermined percentile by the value at a lower predetermined percentile.

Pros

- Easy to understand
- Easy to calculate
- Not skewed by severe outliers
- Not affected by inflation

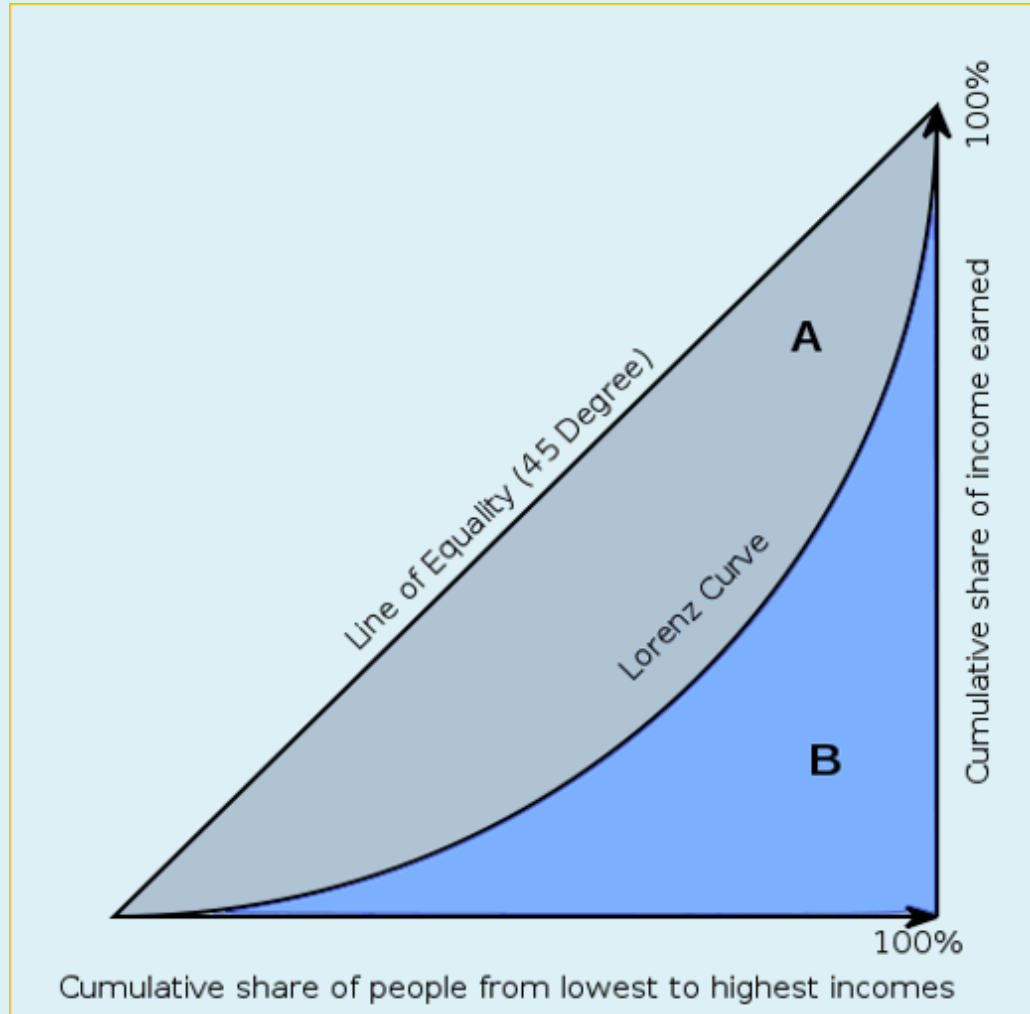
Cons

- Ignores all but two of the observations
- Does not weight observations

The Gini Coefficient

- Mathematically, the Gini Coefficient is equal to twice the area enclosed between the Lorenz curve and the equality diagonal.
- When there is perfect equality, the Lorenz curve is the equality diagonal, and the value of the Gini Coefficient is zero.
- When one member of the population holds all of the resource, the value of the Gini Coefficient is one.

The Gini Coefficient



- $Gini = A / (A+B) = 2A$

The Gini Coefficient

- 基尼系数的特点
 - 应用最广泛
 - 介于0和1之间
 - 满足四个指标原则
 - 本身具有经济学含义
- 例如：10%的人口拥有25%的收入，那么基尼系数为 $0.25 - 0.1 = 0.15$ 。
- 中国现在的基尼系数是0.45，这意味着？

The Gini Coefficient

- 两点不足
 - 对富人的观察值比较敏感，容易产生误差。
 - 同一数量的转移收入如果转移到样本众数附近，其带来的不平等下降比转移到收入底层要大。

Inequality in China

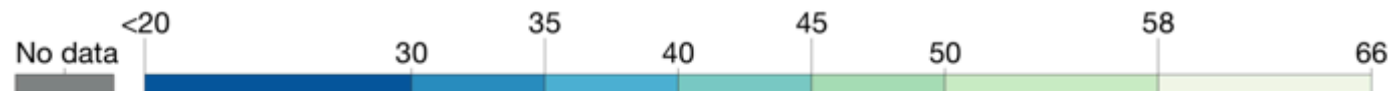
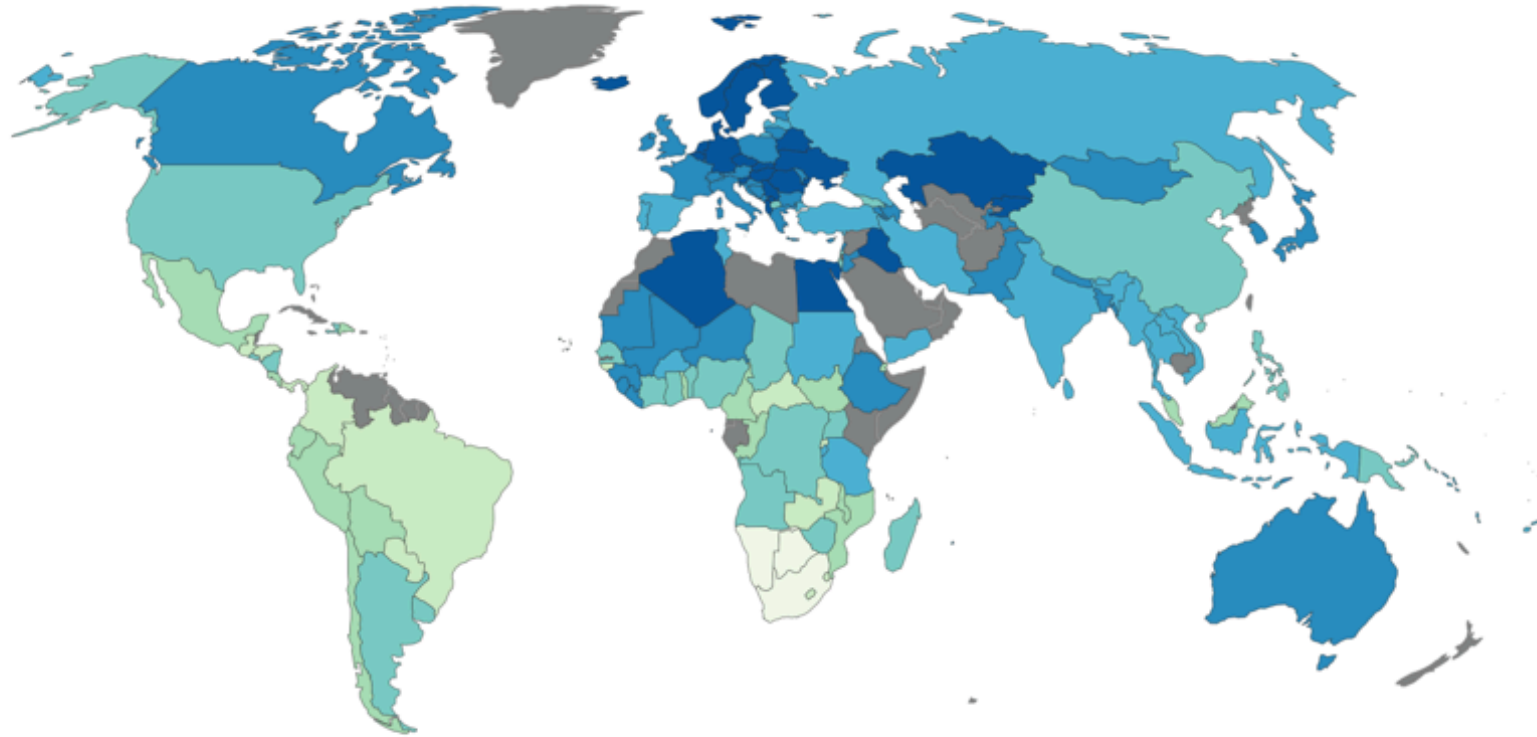


Inequality among the world

Economic inequality – Gini Index, 2011

Shown is the World Bank (PovcalNet) inequality data. This data includes both income and consumption measures and comparability across countries is therefore limited. A higher Gini index indicates higher inequality.

Our World
in Data

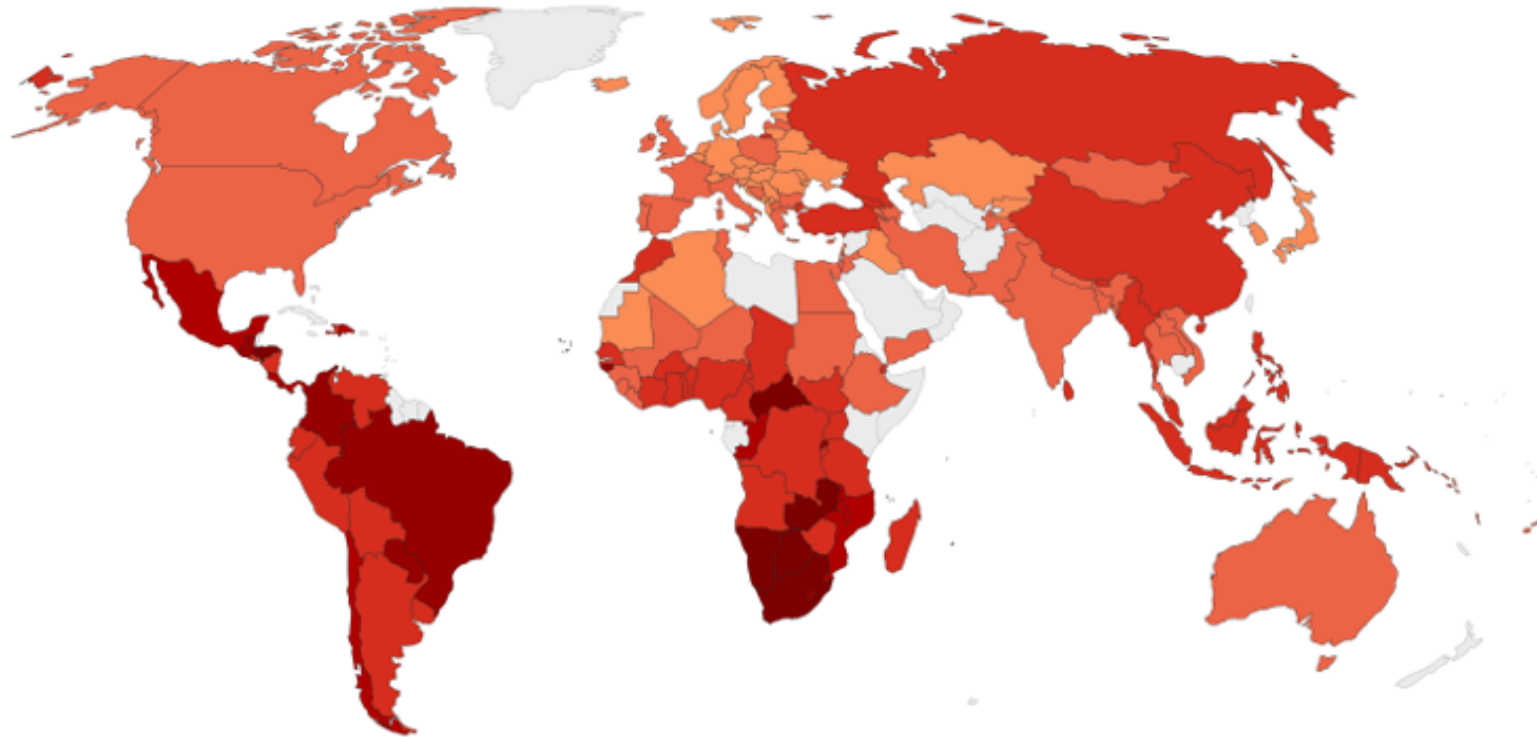


Inequality among the world

Income share held by richest 10%, 2011

Percentage share of income or consumption accruing to the richest 10% of the population. In a country with 100 people, if you rank them by income the share of the top 10% corresponds to the sum of incomes of the top 10 people, as a proportion of total income in that country.

Our World
in Data



No data 0% 5% 10% 15% 20% 25% 30% 35% 40% 45% >50%

Generalized Entropy Index

除基尼系数外，常用的相对指标还包括广义熵（Generalized Entropy, GE）指数。用 Z_j 代表收入观察值， μ 代表平均收入， N 代表样本体积， f_j 代表人口比例，广义熵指数的表达式为：

$$GE = \frac{1}{a(1-a)} \sum_j f_j \left[1 - \left(\frac{Z_j}{\mu} \right)^a \right],$$

其中， a 为常数，表示厌恶不平等的程度。 a 值越小程度越高。

Theil's T Statistic

- 令 $a=0$,则得到第二泰尔指数, 也称平均对数离差。

$$T_0 = \sum_j f_j \ln \frac{\mu}{Z_j}$$

- 令 $a=1$,则得到第一泰尔指数。

$$T_1 = \sum_j f_j \frac{Z_j}{\mu} \ln \frac{Z_j}{\mu}$$

Why?

What are driving forces behind the huge inequality?

- The labor share of total income
- The capital share of total income
- How does these shares to be decided?
 - relative scarcity
 - the bargaining power

Inequality in different angles

Two Categories Inequality

- Functional Income distribution
- Personal Income distribution

Functional Income distribution



David Ricardo(1772-1823)

- All production can be reward in terms of rent, profit and wage.
- Inequality due to the relationship in the production.

Functional v.s. Personal

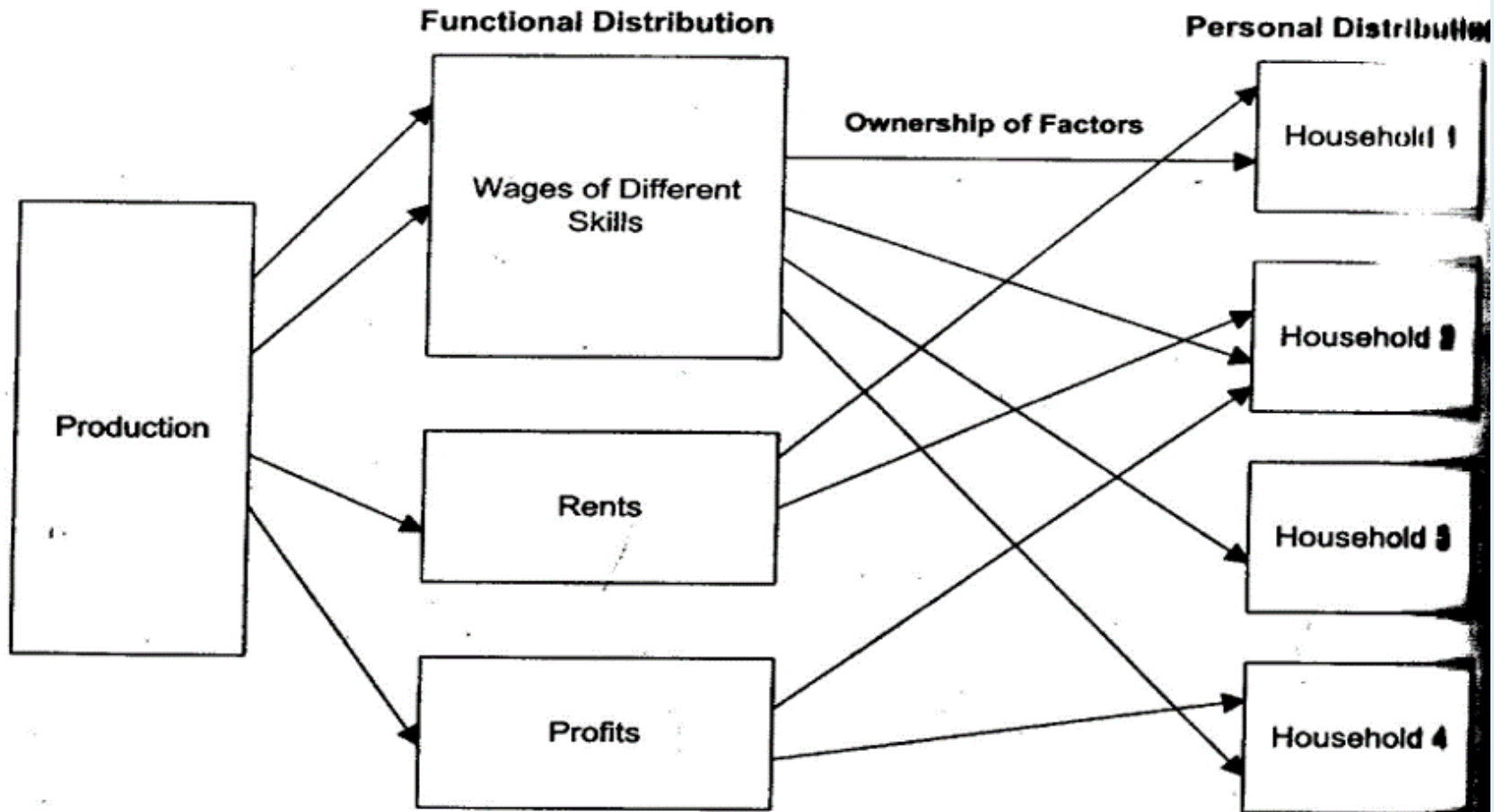
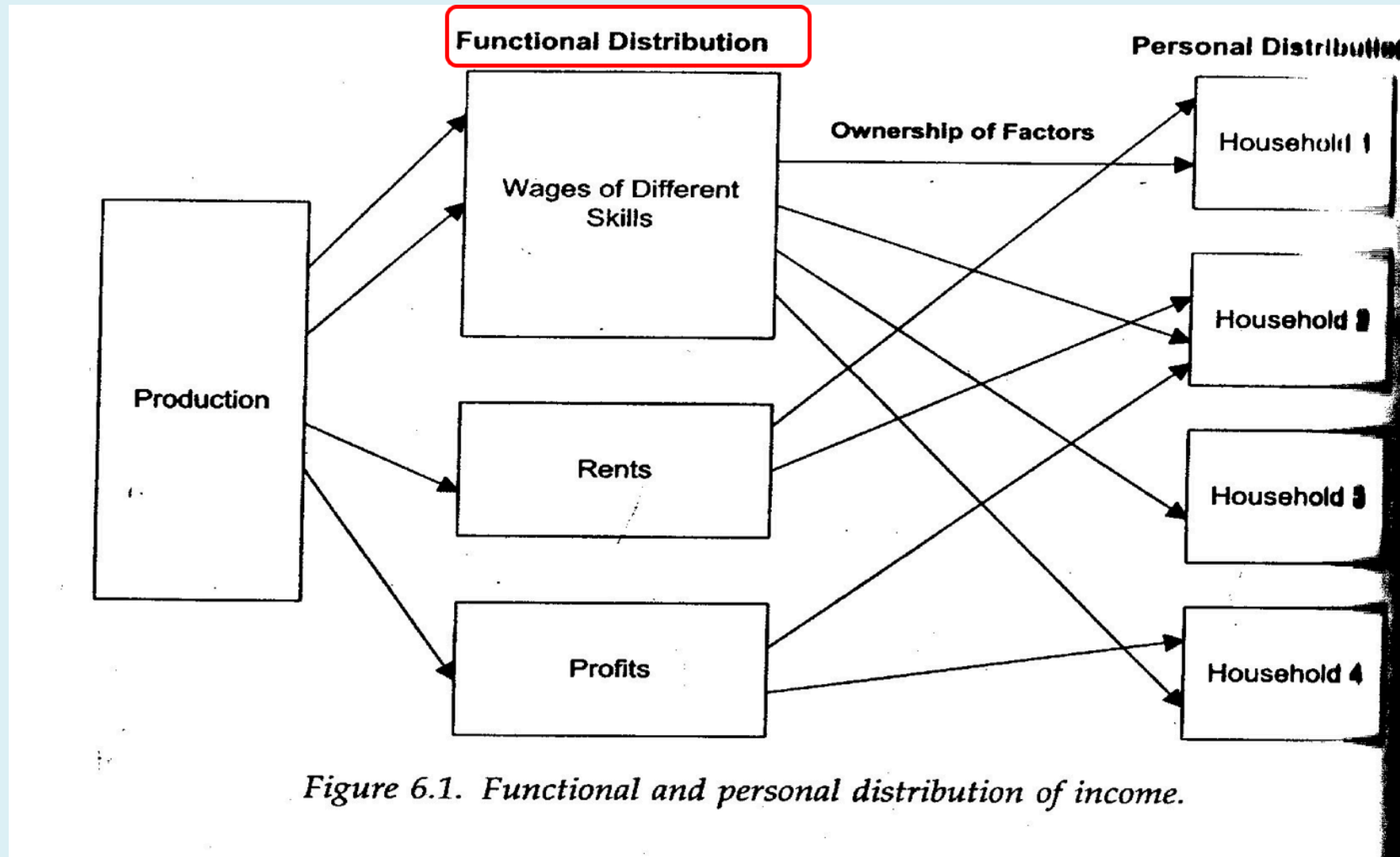


Figure 6.1. Functional and personal distribution of income.

Functional v.s. Personal



Functional v.s. Personal

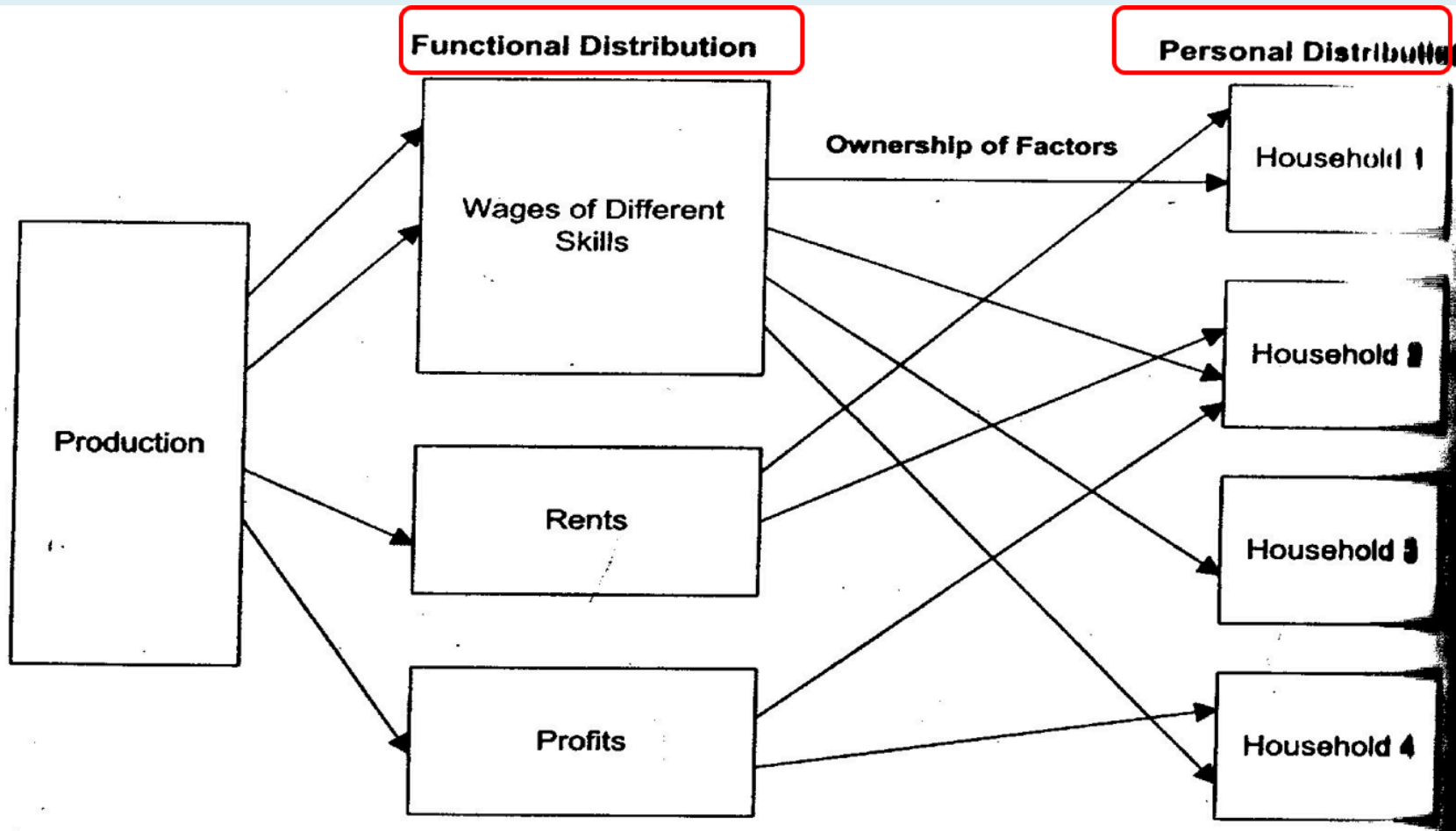
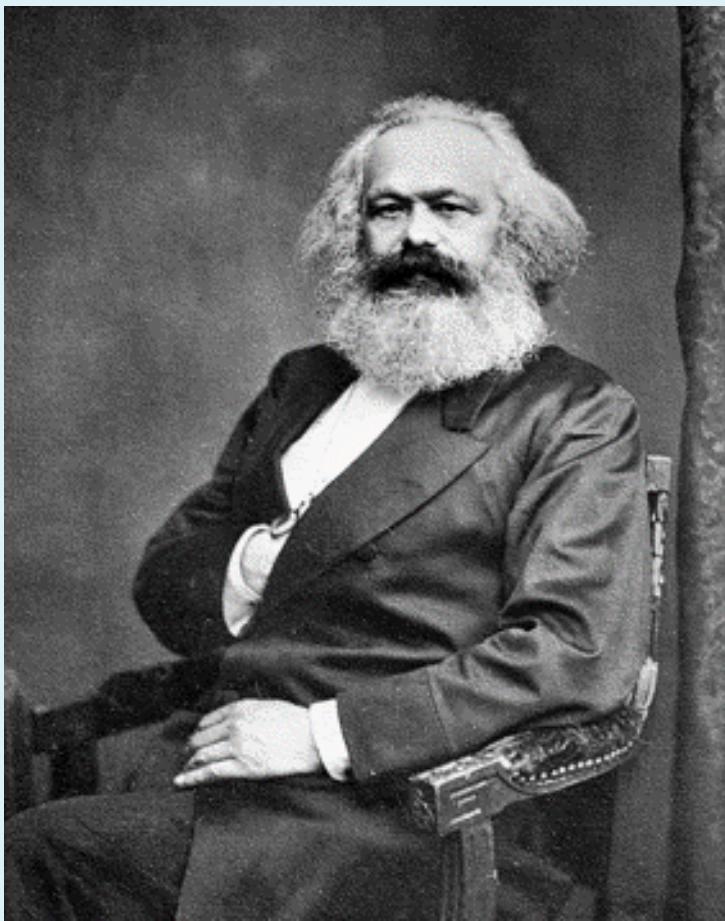


Figure 6.1. Functional and personal distribution of income.

Capital v.s. Labor

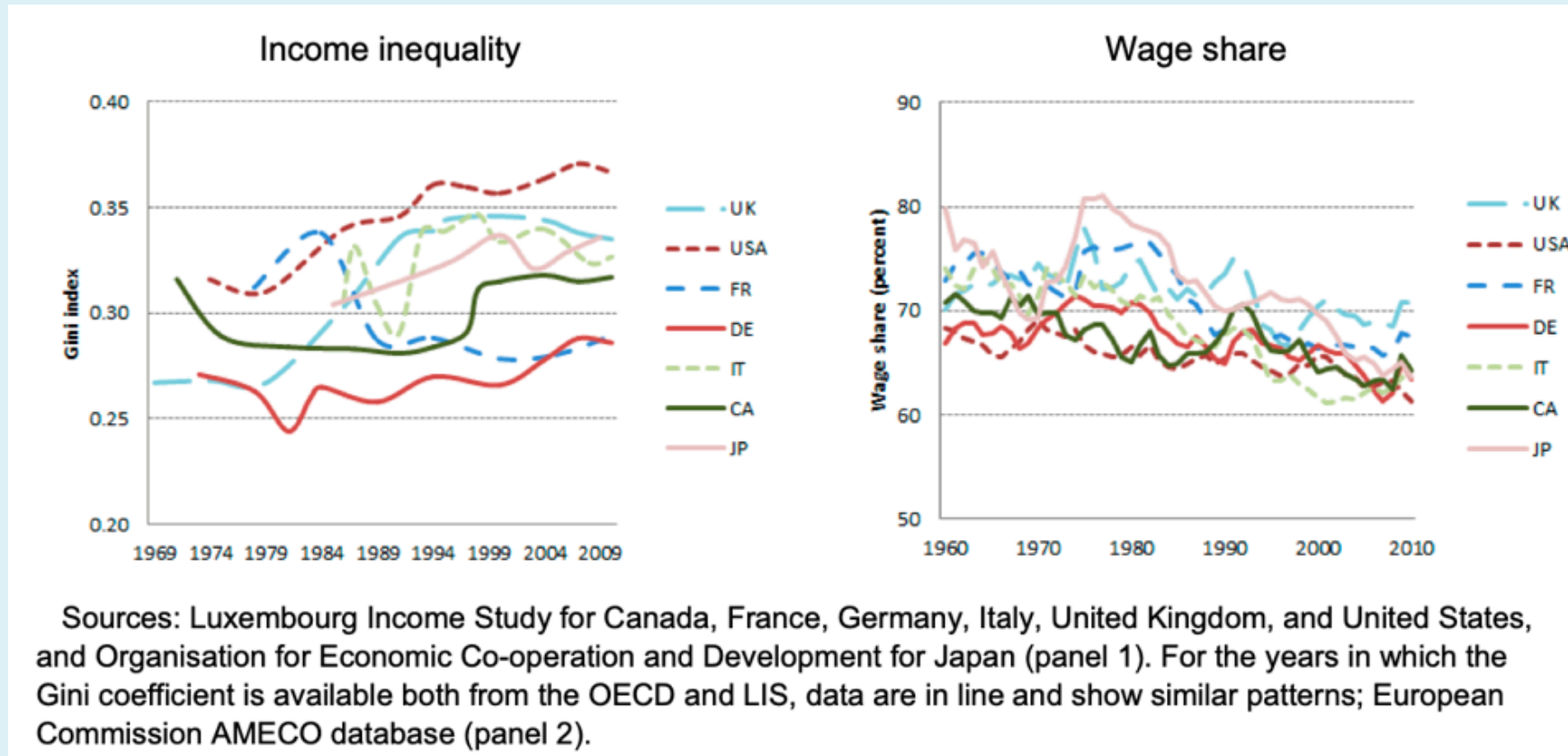


- 劳动创造价值
- 资本"剥削"劳动

Capital v.s. Labor

- The labor share of total income
- The capital share of total income
- How does these shares to be decided?
 - relative scarcity
 - the bargaining power

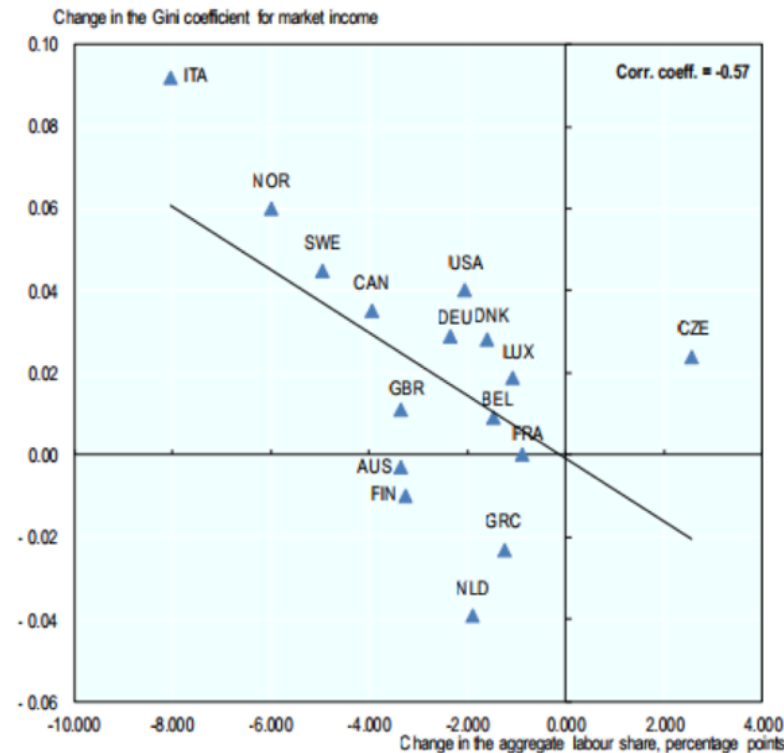
Income Inequality and Wage Share



Source: IMF(2015)

Income Inequality and Wage Share

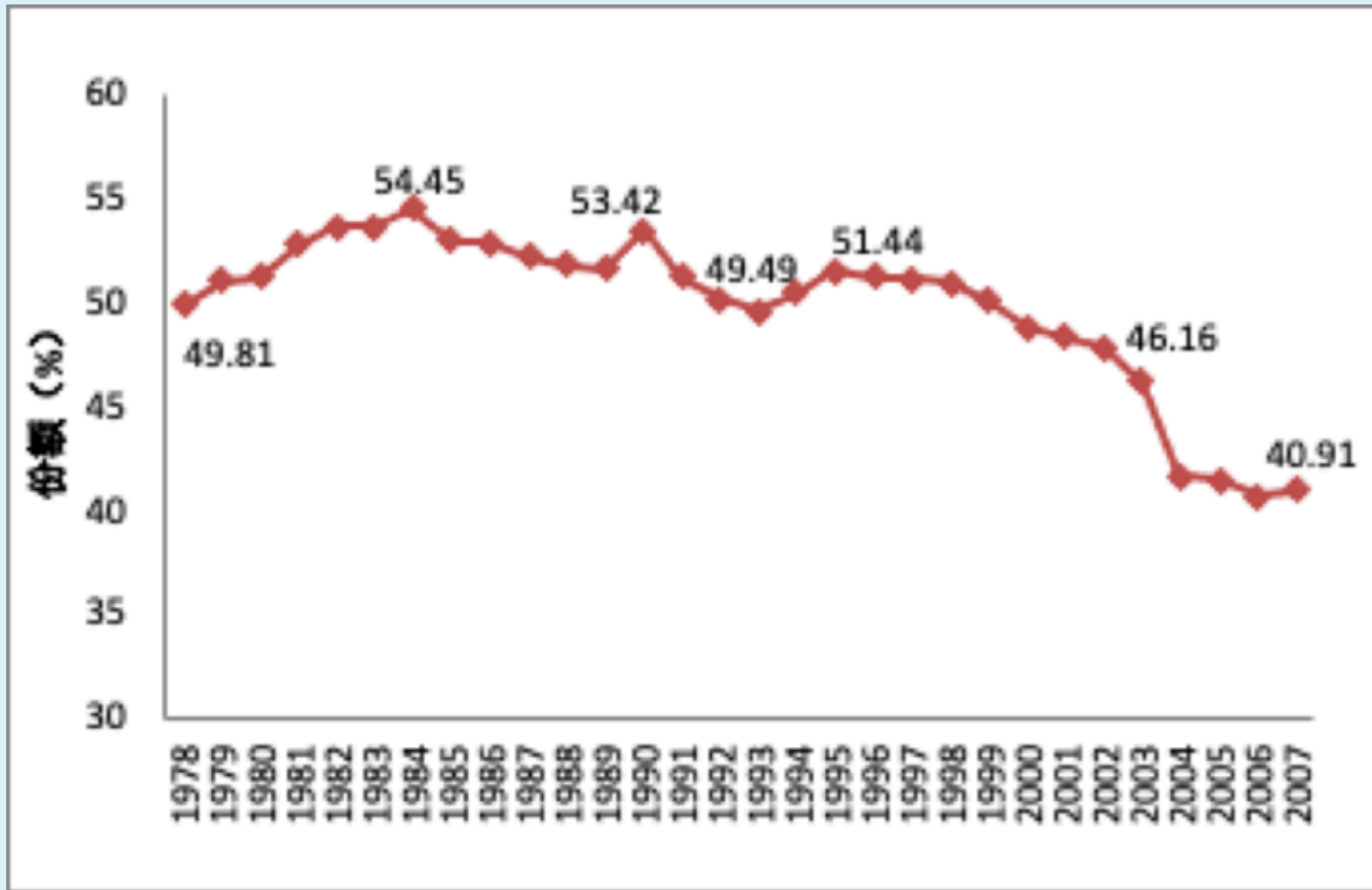
Fig. 4. Changes in the wage share and in income inequality in OECD countries, 1990s to mid-2000s



Notes: Labour share: 3-year moving averages centred around start and end dates. The wage of the self-employed is imputed assuming that their annual wage is the same as for the average employee of the whole economy. The Gini coefficient is based on pre-tax and transfer income of the population aged 18 to 65 years. a) 1990-2004 for Canada; 1990-2005 for Denmark, Netherlands and the United States; 1991-2004 for Italy, Sweden and the United Kingdom; 1995-2004 for Australia, Belgium, Germany and Norway; 1995-2005 for Finland; 1996-2004 for Czech Republic, France and Luxembourg; 1999-2004 for Greece.

Source: OECD and ILO (2015: p. 11)

Labor Share in China(1978-2007)



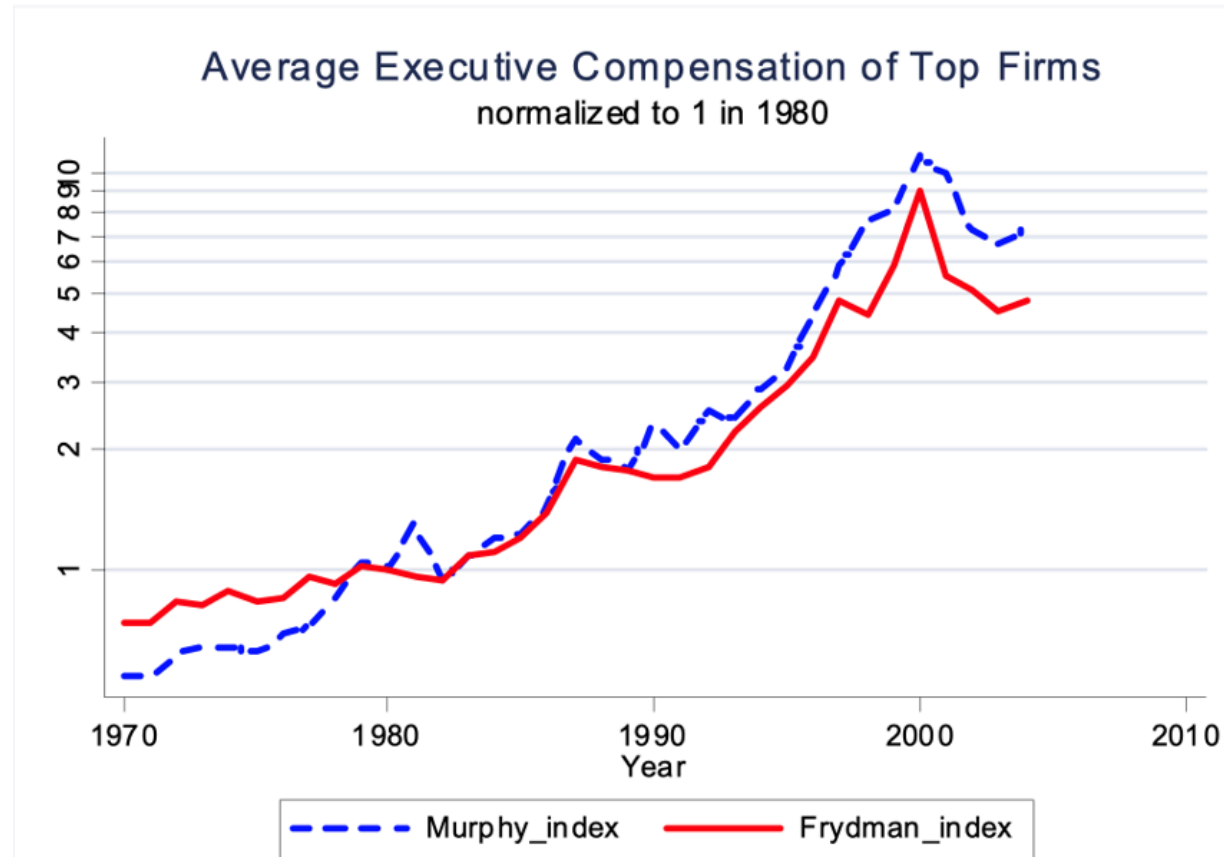
Source: 白重恩和钱震杰(2009)

Superstars v.s Ordinary Workers

- Superstars are not ordinary workers
 - CEOs
 - Stars in sports, entertainment ...

CEO pay

- Rapid increase in CEO pay in the United States:



CEO pay

FIGURE A

CEO realized direct compensation and the S&P 500 index (2018\$), 1965–2018

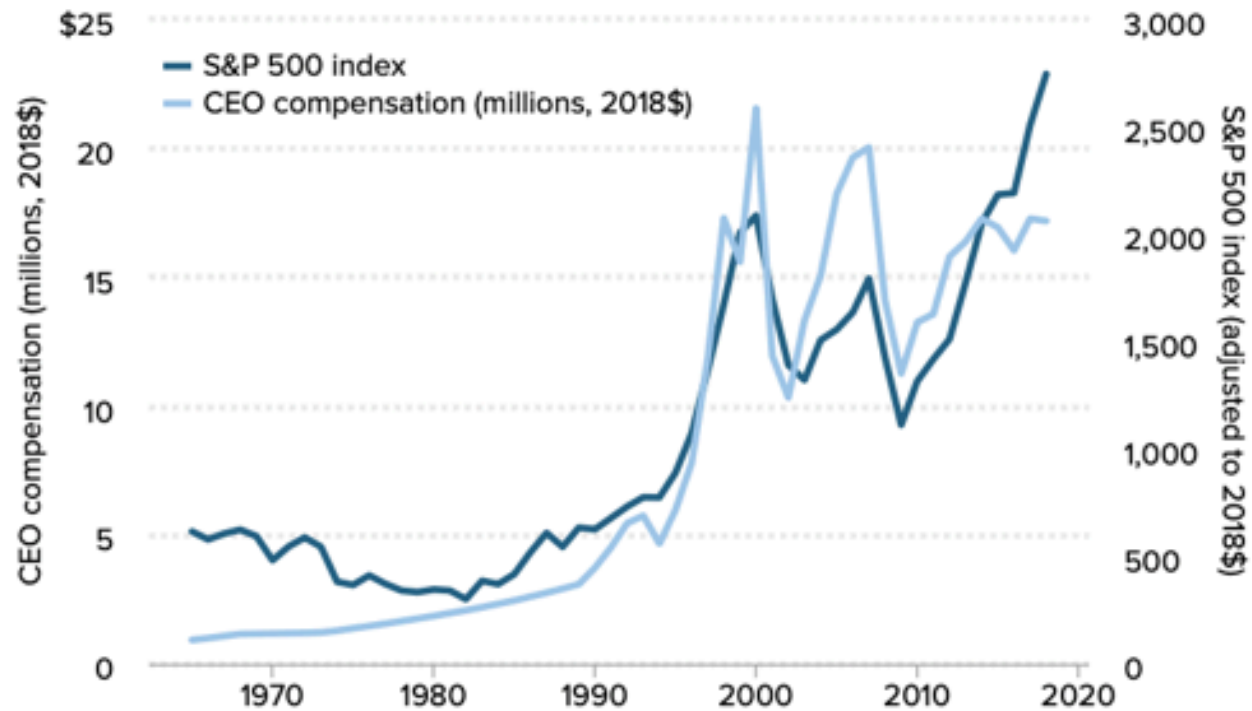


Chart Data

Notes: CEO average annual compensation is computed using the "options realized" compensation series, which includes salary, bonus, restricted stock awards, options realized, and long-term incentive

CEO pay and Firm Size

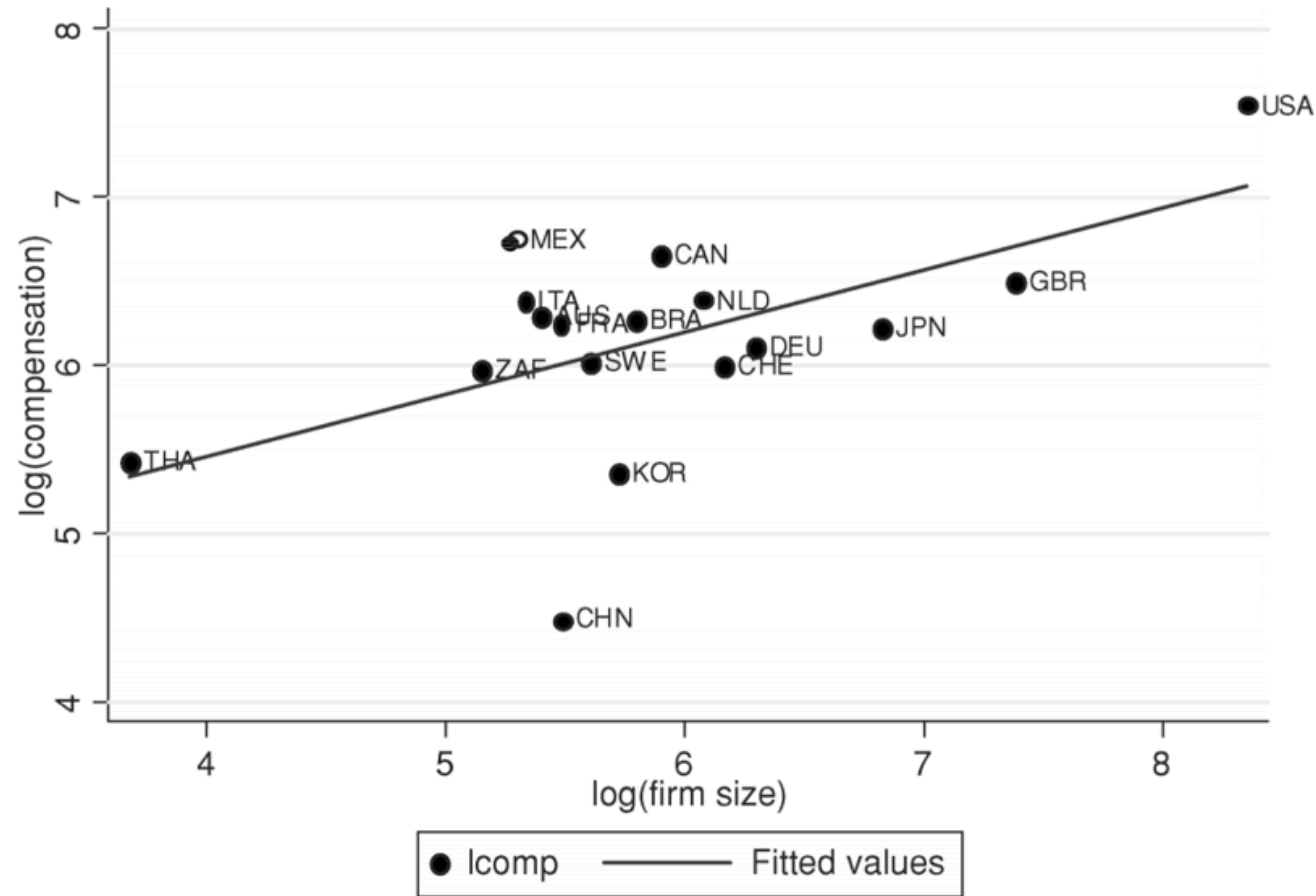


FIGURE II

CEO Compensation versus Firm Size across Countries

Notes. Compensation data are from Towers Perrin (2002). They represent the total dollar value of base salary, bonuses, and long-term compensation of the CEO

Empirical Methods: Decomposing Inequality

Decomposition Method

- The method can be tracked back from the seminal work by Solow(1957) for "growth accounting".
- We can roughly divide them into two categories
 - a) Statistical decomposition
 - b) Regression based decomposition

Statistical Decomposition

- Widely used in inequality / income distribution studies
- To find out the compositions and causes about the inequality.
 1. Decomposition in Levels: 即某个不平等程度是由哪些因素构成。
 2. Decomposition in Changes: 即不平等变化是由哪些因素变化引起的。

Statistical Decomposition

- 1. Inequality Factor Decomposition
- 把总的水平Y分解到组成Y的各个要素中，即如果我们有

$$Y = \sum_i Y_i$$

那么就可以得到

$$I(Y) = \sum_i I(Y_i)$$

Inequality Factor Decomposition

- Gini index decomposition (Kakwani,1977)

$$G(Y) = \sum_i S_i C(Y_i)$$

- 其中C代表集中率(Concentration Rate)，其计算与基尼系数完全相同，但其人口和收入排序是按总量指标而不是各个要素指标。S是各分项收入在总收入中的比重。
- 表示了各个分项要素的不平等程度，以及各分项收入与总收入的关系。

Inequality Factor Decomposition

- 缺陷：
 - 数据必须是可加的。因此，无法分析经济投入对不平等的贡献。
 - 其实某种要素带来的收入应该是由该要素的禀赋程度和要素的回报率共同决定的。
该分解方法无法区别这两种因素。
 - 本质上只是一种描述性分析。

Statistical Decomposition

- 1. Inequality Decomposition: Subpopulation
 - 研究不平等在多大程度上源自不同群组之间的差异。
 - 样本可以按地域、教育水平、性别、年龄等等因素进行分组。

Subpopulation Decomposition

- Theil index decomposition (Shorrocks,1980)
- T0 可以按人群组分解为

$$T(Y) = \sum_i S_i T(Y_i) + \sum_i S_i \ln \left(\frac{\bar{Y}_i}{\bar{Y}} \right)$$

- 其中 S_i 是第 i 个人群组在总人口中的比重。
- \bar{Y}_i, \bar{Y} 分别表示第 i 个群组 and 总人口平均收入。
- 两项分别表示组内差距和组间差距。

Subpopulation Decomposition

- 缺陷：
 - 除非子样本间的收入不重叠，否则基尼系数不能够相加分解。
 - 分解的结果与分组的数量相关。
 - 子样本之间的差异不仅仅是分组本身带来的，本质上仍只是一种描述性分析。

Decomposition in Changes

- 1. 不平等变化的分解

基尼系数的变化的分解(Wan,1998)

$$\begin{aligned}\Delta G &= \sum_i S_{i,t+1} C_{i,t+1} - \sum_i S_{i,t} C_{i,t} \\ &= \sum_i C_{i,t} \Delta S_i + \sum_i S_{i,t} \Delta C_i + \sum_i \Delta S_i \Delta C_i\end{aligned}$$

其中,

$$\begin{aligned}\Delta S_i &= S_{i,t+1} - S_{i,t} \\ \Delta C_i &= C_{i,t+1} - C_{i,t}\end{aligned}$$

Decomposition in Changes

- 基尼系数的变化分为三部分
 1. 收入比重变化（结构性效应）
 2. 收入集中系数（收入集中效应）
 3. 两者共同变化
- "劳动收入与资本收入的比重"与经济结构相关

Regression-based Decomposition

- Based on the estimation functions to make decomposition.
- We can roughly divide them into two categories for their focuses
 - a) Decomposition for factors in regression
 - b) Decomposition for gap

Regression-based Decomposition

- 优点:
 - 将决定所有不平等的决定因素都得到识别和量化。
 - 可以包含任意数量的变量。
 - Fields and Yoo(2000) -- "FY"
 - Morduch and Sicular(2002) -- "MS"
 - Wan(2002) "Shapley Value" decomposition

Regression-based Inequality Decomposition

- 缺点
 - 回归方程的形式限制
 1. FY 使用半对数的收入决定方程
 2. MS要求必须是线性函数
 - 度量指标的限制
 1. FY只能使用变异系数的平方
 2. MS只能用具有可加性的指标（第一泰尔指数）
 - 是否是真的识别？（估计的系数是否显著？）

Regression-based Decomposition

- Wan(2002) "Shapley Value" (夏普利值) 分解。
- 优点:
 1. 不平等的指标没有任何限制
 2. 允许加入所有能够控制的变量
 3. 不要求预先设定等式, 只要求估计出回归方程
 4. 回归方程的形式也不加限制

Poverty

What is poverty?

- The conventional view links wellbeing primarily to command over commodities
 - the poor are those who do not have enough income or consumption to put them above some adequate minimum threshold.
- Poverty may also be tied to a specific type of consumption
 - People could be house poor or food poor or health poor. These dimensions of poverty often can be measured directly by measuring malnutrition or literacy.

Absolute vs. Relative Poverty

- Absolute poverty
 - Countries typically define their poverty lines in terms of the amount of money required to purchase enough food for one's family.

Absolute Poverty

- International institutions(World Bank) sets the international poverty line at periodic intervals as the cost of living for basic food, clothing, and shelter around world changes.
 - Originally the **extremely poor** live on less than **1\$** per person per day, then updated at **1.25\$ per day(2008), 1.9\$ per day(2015)**.

Relative Poverty

- Relative poverty is when households receive a certain percentage (normally 50%) less than average household incomes or they are just a certain percentage (normally 20%) poorest person in the country.
- they do have some money but still not enough money to afford anything above the basics.

Subjective Poverty

- Subjective Poverty 主观贫困指家庭或个人自我认定的一种生存状态。
 - 不同的家庭可能有不同的基本需要，在界定贫困时需不需要考虑这些差别？
 - 界定贫困时，要不要考虑公众以及个人的意见？
 - 个人是否能够准确判断其生活状况、生活质量？
- "最低收入问题"：CHIP数据里有这样一个问题："按照您家的实际情况，全家每月维持最低生活水平的费用大约是多少元？"

Poverty=Deprivation

- The Noble Prize Winner(1998)

Amartya Sen Professor in Harvard University

- Human poverty is not a mere income or economic issue. It is a situation where people are deprived of basic freedoms and capabilities.



Multidimensional Poverty

- World Bank (2000), "poverty is pronounced deprivation in well-being."
- Poverty arises when people lack key capabilities
 - inadequate income or education
 - poor health
 - insecurity
 - low self-confidence
 - a sense of powerlessness
 - the absence of political rights
- Then poverty is a multidimensional phenomenon and less amenable to simple solutions.

Alkire and Foster(2007)

- Alkire and Foster(2007)提出一种具体的测量多维贫困的方法：双阈值方法。
 - 对每个维度内的贫困指标设定贫困阈值，以判断每个维度的指标贫困状况；
 - 跨维度设定多维度贫困的阈值，以判断多维贫困状况；
 - 按照指标—维度—多维贫困指数这一顺序进行三级加总计算，即可得到多维贫困指数。
- 联合国《2010年人类发展报告》利用AF方法测算了全球104个国家和地区的多维贫困指数，随后每年对该指数进行更新。
- AF方法是第一个将多维贫困测量广泛应用于全球多维贫困测量实践并得到越来越多国家采纳的方法。

Alkire and Foster(2007)

表1

全球多维贫困指数中使用的维度、指标、阈值及权重设置

维度	指标	阈值	依据	权重
健康	营养	家中有70岁以下人口营养不良	SDG 2	1/6
	儿童死亡率	在调查前5年内家中有儿童死亡	SDG 3	1/6
教育	受教育年限	10岁及以上人口未完成6年学校教育	SDG 4	1/6
	入学儿童	8年级之前的适龄儿童未入学	SDG 4	1/6
生活水平	做饭用燃料	家中使用牲畜粪便、秸秆、灌木、木材、木炭或煤做饭	SDG 7	1/18
	卫生厕所	厕所设施没有得到改善（依据SDG指南），或与其他户共用改善了的厕所设施	SDG 11	1/18
	安全饮用水	家中不能获得安全饮用水（依据SDG指南），或来回至少需步行30分钟才能获得安全饮用水	SDG 6	1/18
	用电	家中不通电	SDG 7	1/18
	住房	家庭住房不足：地面由泥土、沙土或粪便制成，住宅没有屋顶或墙壁，住宅或墙壁使用的是未经装修的自然材料（甘蔗、棕榈、松散石头等）	SDG 11	1/18
	耐用消费品	下列资产中家庭所拥有的不超过1项：收音机、电视、电话、电脑、动物拖车、自行车、摩托车或电冰箱，并且没有汽车或卡车	SDG 1	1/18

贫困标准

Poverty Standards around the World

- Extremely poor line: The standard calculated by averaging the poverty lines of the 15 poorest countries in the world: 1.9\$ per day(2015).
- Lower-Middle poor line: The standard calculated by averaging the poverty lines of the lower-middle income countries: 3.2\$ per day(2015).
- Higher-Middle poor line: The standard calculated by averaging the poverty lines of the upper-middle income countries: 5.5\$ per day(2015).

英国的贫困标准

- 1950年以前，英国采用的是"获得维持体力的最低需要"的"购物篮子"作为衡量贫困的标准。
- 1950年之后，采用多维贫困方法。
- 1979年之后，采用相对贫困方法。
 - 绝对贫困率：家庭收入低于全国收入中位数50%。
 - 相对贫困率：家庭收入低于全国收入中位数60%。

日本的贫困标准

- 1984年以前，绝对贫困标准。
- 1984年以后，采用相对贫困标准。低收入家庭收入低于中等收入家庭收入的60%者。

表5 日本生活水平相对均衡方法的操作方式

操作方式	明细
“标准家庭”的选定	1986年至今，“标准家庭”为 3口之家，丈夫33岁、妻子29岁、孩子4岁。确定方法参见焦培欣（2019）和厚生労働省社会・援護局保護課（2011）。
生活救助标准的制定	根据“标准家庭”的实际消费测算第 1 类费用（包括伙食费、被服费），利用各年龄段所需热量的国家标准，测算各年龄段第 1 类费用的标准；
	参考“总理府家计调查”各种人口规模低收入家庭的实际生活消费支出，测算“标准家庭”的第 2 类费用（包括水电费、家什器具购置费及地区冬季费用等），根据不同的折算率计算不同人口规模家庭的第 2 类费用的标准；
	根据孕产妇、母子、残障者、护理患者、居家患者、放射线障碍者、儿童养育以及教育等加算标准进行调整，得到特殊群体家庭生活救助标准；
	设定劳动收入扣除标准，具体分为基础扣除、特别扣除、新生劳动力就业扣除、未成年人扣除 4 种。
等级地划分以及救助标准的调整	日本划分了3个等级地，且将3个等级地内部细分为1类地区和2类地区； 救助标准的调整：将1级1类地区的救助标准指数设定为100%，其他等级地的指数依次降低4.5%，经调整得到不同等级地的救助标准。

资料来源：根据焦培欣（2019）和厚生労働省社会・援護局保護課（2011）整理。

台湾地区的贫困标准

- 1998年以前
 - 台湾省+高雄市低于平均所得的 $1/3$ 。
 - 台北市低于平均支出的40%。
- 1998年以后，各市县最近一年的人均消费60%。

南非的贫困标准

- 2006年开始，南非地方开始实施策略多维贫困指数。2014年全国开始实施。

表7 南非多维贫困指数的维度、指标和阈值			
维度	指标	阈值	权重
健康	儿童死亡率	过去12个月内家庭中有5岁以下的儿童死亡	1/4
教育	受教育年限	家中有15岁以上的人口受教育年限低于5年	1/8
	入学情况	家中有7~15岁的儿童失学	1/8
生活水平	照明燃料	使用石蜡、蜡烛或什么都没有或使用其他燃料	1/28
	供暖燃料	使用石蜡、木材、煤炭、牲畜粪便、其他或无	1/28
	烹饪燃料	使用石蜡、木材、煤炭、牲畜粪便、其他或无	1/28
	饮用水	住宅或住所没有自来水	1/28
	厕所	不是抽水马桶	1/28
	住宅类型	非正式小屋、传统住宅、大篷车、帐篷、其他	1/28
	资产拥有情况	收音机、电视、电话和冰箱的拥有量不超过1个，并且没有车	1/28
经济活动	失业情况	家中所有成年人（15~64岁）都失业	1/4

资料来源：Statistics South Africa（2014）。

新中国农村贫困实践

- 1949-1978年，没有具体的扶贫计划。只有特殊情况下的"赈灾救济"。
- 1978-1986年，改革开放进程中发展型减贫。
- 1987年-2000年，区域性开发战略为主，实施有组织有计划大规模的扶贫计划。针对"老少边穷"地区，以"贫困县"瞄准为重点，实施开发性扶贫。
- 1987年-2010年，重点从县转向县和村。除了 592 个贫困县外，在全国范围内确定了14.8 万个贫困村进行"整村推进"。
- 2011年-2020年，由开发式扶贫变为"精准式"扶贫。所谓"精准扶贫"就是将贫困家庭和贫困人口作为主要扶持对象。
- 到2020年底，宣布"消除贫困"。

中国农村贫困线标准演变

- 1978年标准：人均年收入100元。制定依据是每人每天2100大卡热量食物消费（占总比重85%），再加上15%的其他花费。基本上"只能勉强果腹"。
- 2008年标准：人均年收入865元。在1978年标准的基础上，增加非食物支出比重。（食物只占总比重的60%）。基本上实现"有吃，有穿"。
- 2010年标准：人均收入2300元。2100大卡热量和60克蛋白质。增加非食物支出比重。（2014年占53.5%）。基本实现"两不愁，三保障"。

中国农村贫困实践

- 2010年精准脱贫的最新标准："两不愁，三保障"
 - 两不愁：不愁吃，不愁穿
 - 三保障：义务教育、基本医疗和住房安全
 - 饮用水
- 实践中："看房、看粮、看劳动强不强、看家中有没有读书郎"
- 以收入为主，辅助多维方法

中国农村贫困状况演变

表1 1978—2019年我国农村贫困人口规模及贫困发生率 单位：万人、%

年份	贫困人口规模	贫困发生率	年份	贫困人口规模	贫困发生率
1978	77039	97. 5	2012	9899	10. 2
1980	76542	96. 2	2013	8249	8. 5
1985	66101	78. 3	2014	7017	7. 2
1990	65849	73. 5	2015	5575	5. 7
1995	55463	60. 5	2016	4335	4. 5
2000	46224	49. 8	2017	3046	3. 1
2005	28662	30. 2	2018	1660	1. 7
2010	16567	17. 2	2019	551	0. 6
2011	12238	12. 7			

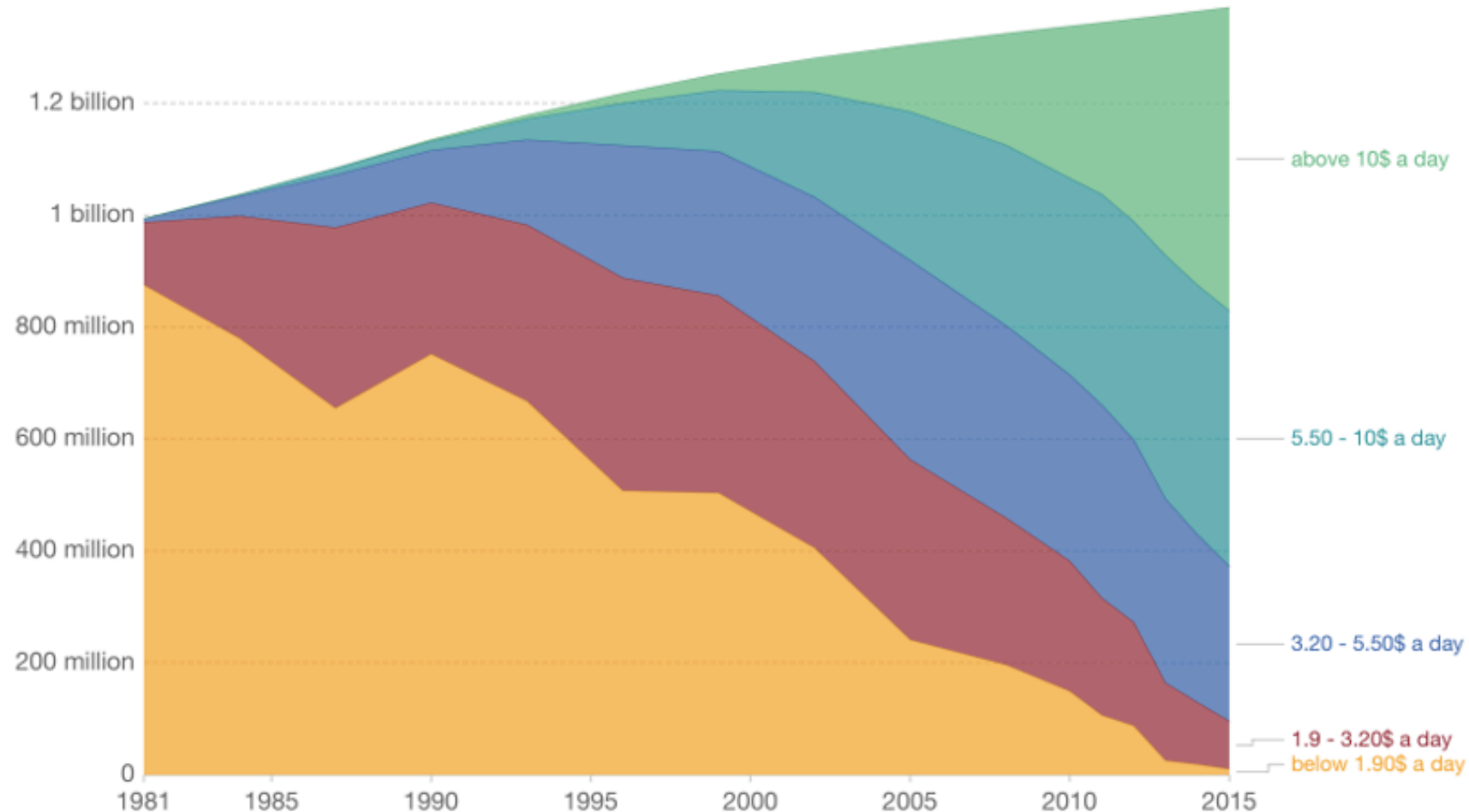
资料来源：相关年份《中国农村贫困监测报告》。其中，2010年以前数据是根据历年全国农村住户调查数据、农村物价和人口变化，按现行贫困标准测算取得。

Poverty Distribution of China 1981-2015

Distribution of population between different poverty thresholds, China, 1981 to 2015

Poverty thresholds are all in 'international dollars' at constant 2011 PPP prices. This means all figures account for cross-country differences in price levels, as well as for inflation.

Our World
in Data



总结

一方面我国脱贫减贫取得了历史性成就，但另一方面也应该看到扶贫减贫中仍然存在一些不容回避的问题，未来脱贫减贫任务依然较重。

1. 绝对贫困标准仍然不高。2020年我国农村贫困线为人均年收入4000元。这一标准勉强达到世界银行的最低贫困线（按购买力平价为每天1.92美元）。如果按更高标准(中低收入国家)的3.2美元/天，贫困人口仍然不少（2015年大概1个亿左右）。
2. 如果按照相对贫困标准计算，贫困人口数量和比例将大幅增加。
3. 扶贫政策实施在城乡中分割，流动人口成为城镇贫困的潜在群体，但在现有政策中得不到有效覆盖。

总结

- 不能仅仅从绝对贫困的角度来理解贫困，随着"时代的发展，观念的革新"，更应该从相对贫困、多维贫困以及主观贫困的角度来理解贫困。
- 另外还要思考，从学术的角度如何客观理性的看待中国扶贫政策的绩效？