

教育部人文社会科学青年项目

“中国农村社会分层与代际收入流动性研究”（项目编号：17YJC630008）

江苏省社科基金青年项目

“江苏农村贫困代际传递的测算、机制及阻断策略研究”（项目编号：18EYC004）

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识 别 与 机 制 研 究

陈杰 / 著



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## 摘要

中国在经过快速发展的 30 多年后，一部分人先富起来，财富的差距，在事实上形成身份的差别、阶层的分化。恰逢代际更替，带来了许多“富二代”“穷二代”（张铁，2010）。“二代”现象的本质就是代际收入流动性不足，所反映出的正是强者愈强、弱者愈弱的“马太效应”。代际收入流动性不足可能会使低收入阶层生出的子代产生“读书无用”“努力无效”等消极情绪并放弃努力；同时，代际收入流动性不足也可能使高收入阶层生出的子代缺乏一种危机意识，从而减少努力。两方面的影响最终会导致人力资源的巨大浪费，进而引起经济效率的下降。此外，代际收入流动性不足可能还会引起高低收入阶层的对立，引起社会的不稳定。经济效率的下降和社会的不稳定很有可能将我国拖入“中等收入陷阱”。为此，深入研究代际收入流动性，寻找保持较高代际收入流动性的有效途径具有一定的现实意义。

在 Becker 和 Tomes（1979）的分析框架中，代际收入流动性度量的是家庭对孩子福利的影响，一般用代际收入弹性表示。代际收入弹性越大，子代对父代的依赖性越强，说明代际收入流动性越低；反之，代际收入弹性越小，子代对父代的依赖性越弱，说明代际收入流动性越高。那么，现阶段，我国代际收入流动性的整体情况究竟如何呢？“二代”现象能否代表我国代际收入弹性整体较高？此外，父代收入又是通过何种机制传递给子代？父代收入对子代最终的收入差距又会产生怎样的影响？围绕这些问题，本书将从中国农村出发，对农村居民父代、子代收入之间的关系做全面研究，主要包括以下几方面内容：

研究内容一：本部分的研究目标是估计农村居民总样本的代际收入

弹性，以了解父代收入对子代收入的影响程度。研究结果表明：第一，1989—2011年，农村居民代际收入弹性总体较高，表明代际收入流动性整体较低。尽管如此，低收入居民的子代仍然有机会脱离低收入阶层，而高收入居民的子代若过度依赖父代，则完全有可能跌出高收入阶层；第二，从代际收入弹性20多年的变化趋势看，1997年达到峰值后，代际收入弹性保持下降，然而在2011年时，代际收入弹性有所反弹。背后的原因可能是随着中国经济的发展，社会层次逐步形成，父代对子代收入的影响开始增强。

内容二：本部分的研究目标是估计农村居民不同群体的代际收入弹性，以了解父代收入对不同群体子代收入的影响程度。研究结果表明：第一，男性样本代际收入弹性总体高于女性，但东部地区、世代1（1956—1965年）的女性样本代际收入弹性显著高于男性。分位数的估计结果显示，东部地区、世代1（1956—1965年）女性样本在中低收入分位的代际收入弹性较高，表明此部分女性受父代影响较大；第二，东部地区代际收入弹性明显高于中、西部地区，中部与西部地区代际收入弹性相差不大；第三，世代1（1956—1965年）男性的代际收入弹性远低于女性，世代2（1966—1975年）、世代3（1976—1985年）男性样本代际收入弹性较高，世代4（1985年后）样本代际收入弹性均较高，而这种结果主要体现在东部地区，中、西部地区各世代样本的代际收入弹性均较低。

研究内容三：本部分的研究目标是基于经济因素的视角探讨代际收入传递机制，以了解父代收入通过何种途径传递给子代。研究结果表明：第一，以子代教育代表的人力资本投资的确是解释农村代际收入流动性的重要因素，其贡献率在8.13%—13.36%之间，而以子代职业代表的社会资本投资则在代际收入传递过程中扮演着更加重要的角色，贡献率达到16.1%—22.02%。第二，1989—2011年，子代教育与子代职业在代际收入传递中的累积贡献率经历了一个先上升后下降的过程，其中，累积贡献率在2004年达到峰值，超过了50%。子代教育总体上也表现出一个

先上升后下降的过程，并在 2004—2006 年达到峰值。子代职业的贡献率虽然有起伏，但总体来说子代职业对代际收入传递的贡献率更高。第三，除了父代收入外，父代教育、职业也会对子代教育、职业产生影响。具体而言，父代受教育程度越高，子代受教育程度可能也会越高，从而带来子代教育的边际作用更大。父代职业的分值越高，子代受教育程度可能也会越高，从而带来子代教育的边际作用更大。父代受教育程度越高，子代职业的分值可能也会越高，从而带来子代职业的边际作用更大。

研究内容四：本部分的研究目标是对农村不同群体的代际收入传递机制展开讨论。主要得到以下研究结果：第一，对于不同性别的子代而言，子代教育在代际收入传递中的贡献率对男性而言远低于子代职业，而对女性而言两者相差无几；第二，东部地区子代教育与子代职业贡献率没有太大的差距，子代教育的贡献率在中部、西部地区均低于子代职业，且在西部地区两者之间的差距大于中部地区；第三，对世代 3（1976—1985 年）而言，父代收入通过子代教育及子代职业进行代际收入传递的程度达到最大。与理论预期一致，父代教育、职业也会通过影响子代教育、职业，进而对子代收入产生作用，但是这种作用方式在不同群体之间存在一定差异。

研究内容五：本部分的研究目标是考察农村居民收入差距状况，并探讨父代收入对子代收入差距的影响。研究的主要发现有：1989—2011 年，父代收入对子代收入差距的贡献率一直较大，父代收入与职业因素对子代收入差距的贡献率一直高居前两位。随着我国市场化程度以及经济水平的提高，尽管父代收入对农村子代收入差距的贡献率在 2009 年前总体上呈现下降的趋势，但是 2009 年后其贡献率却迅速上升，表明近年来机会不平等对收入差距的影响有所扩大。从不同世代角度看，父代收入对世代 1（1956—1965 年）、世代 2（1966—1975 年）、世代 3（1976—1985 年）子代的贡献率较为平稳，但对世代 4（1985 年后）的贡献率却迅速提高，表明“85 后”子代的机会不平等情况更为严重。从不同地区的角度看，父代收入因素的贡献率在东部地区远高于中部、西部地区，

表明在经济最发达的东部地区，农村地区机会不平等情况反而更严重。此外，年龄因素对收入差距的形成有较高的贡献。由于年龄的大小在一定程度上代表着经验的高低，因而年龄因素的结果代表着经验对收入差距具有较大影响。与此同时，人力资本的另一代表，教育因素对农村子代收入差距的影响总体上较小。职业因素的贡献率一直较高，表明中国劳动力市场的分割特征比较明显。地区因素的贡献率保持稳步上升，反映了中国区域经济发展的不平衡。地区间经济发展绩效的巨大差异直接导致了不同地区子代收入差距的扩大。婚姻因素、性别因素对子代收入差距的贡献总体来看较低。

研究内容六：2000年以来，农村社会阶层结构系统分析的结果表明：第一，从总体看，农村社会阶层基本呈现出一个典型的“金字塔”型的社会结构。尽管这一“金字塔”型社会结果2000年以来一直比较稳定，但从内部看，各阶层之间向上流动与向下流动频繁，具有一定的流动性。这一结果表明农村社会阶层稳定性与流动性并存。第二，从父代与子代的角度考察农村社会阶层情况，我们发现，父亲的社会阶层结构呈现出“金字塔”型，而母亲的社会阶层结构更像是“倒丁字”型。子代低收入、中低收入阶层则呈现下降的趋势。2009年以后，子代的社会阶层结构逐渐成为中等收入阶层较多的“橄榄”型社会结构。第三，我们发现，父代所处社会阶层对子代有着显著影响，且父亲对于子代社会阶层的形成有着更大的影响。

基于以上结论，本书认为：第一，政府首先需要进一步健全和完善劳动力市场，努力减少劳动力市场的分割程度及职业间不合理的收入差距；其次，政府还需不断提高劳动力就业市场的信息透明度，努力打破劳动力就业市场中的双轨制，从而使子代在就业时依赖父代社会资本的情况不断减少。第二，政府需要努力保证各阶层子代拥有公平受教育的机会。这就需要政府一方面要进一步提高优质教育资源的供给，尤其是经济欠发达的落后地区，以降低私人投资教育的成本；另一方面还需要搭建较为完备的教育融资平台，以消除低收入群体在对子代进行教育投

资时的信贷约束。第三，教育体系的完善需要与劳动力市场的完善相结合，因为只有有效的劳动力市场才能提供合理的教育回报率。倘若收入的高低与个人受教育程度毫无关系，那么低收入群体首先就会缺乏对子代进行教育投资的激励，其次即便进行了投资，低收入群体也可能因投资教育而致贫，在此情况下反倒会导致贫困者更加贫困。



## ABSTRACT

After more than 30 years rapid development in China, some people get rich first. The wealth gap in fact has been the sign of different identity and different class. Coincided with the generational shift, it also brought a lot of “rich second generation” and “poor second generation”. The essence of the “second generation” phenomenon is the lack of intergenerational income mobility, which reflects the Matthew effect of the stronger the strong and the weak weaker. Low intergenerational income mobility may lead some negative emotions, such as “school useless” and “ineffective efforts”, to low-income groups’ offsprings. Then they will be slacking and giving up trying. At the same time, the high-income groups’ offsprings will be lack of crisis consciousness and reduce effort. All of these will eventually bring the huge waste of human resources and then lead to the decline of economic efficiency. In addition, low intergenerational income mobility may also cause the conflict between high and low income groups, and then bring about social instability. Economic efficiency decline and social instability will take our country into the “middle income trap”. Therefore, further study of intergenerational income mobility and seek the effective ways to keep high intergenerational income mobility have some practical significance.

In the analysis framework of Becker and Tomes (1979), intergenerational income mobility measures the degree of one family influence on child welfare, which generally be expressed through intergenerational income elasticity. The greater the intergenerational income elasticity, the more dependent on the parent generation, which means the intergenerational income mobility, is low. On the

other hand, the smaller the intergenerational income elasticity, the less dependent on the parent generation, which means the intergenerational income mobility, is high. At present, how is the overall situation of intergenerational income mobility in China? Can “Second generation” phenomenon represent the overall high intergenerational income elasticity? In addition, how can parent income pass to the offsprings? What kind of impact will parent income influence offsprings’ income inequality? Toward these problems, this paper will research the relationship of parent and offsprings’ income in rural China, mainly includes the following three aspects:

Part 1: The goal of this section is to estimate the intergenerational income elasticity of total rural residents in order to understand the influence of parent income toward the offsprings’ income. The results show that: in the first part, we find that from 1989 to 2011, the intergenerational income elasticity of rural residents is generally high, which shows that intergenerational income mobility is low. Nevertheless, the offsprings of low – income residents still have a chance to get out of low – income groups; high – income residents’ offsprings may be entirely possible to fall out of the high – income groups, if they totally dependent on their parents. In the second part, through more than 20 years trend of intergenerational income elasticity, we find that intergenerational income elasticity keep falling after a peak in 1997, but in 2011, intergenerational income elasticity rebound. The reason may be with the development of economy, social hierarchy gradually formed, parent’s influence on the offsprings’ income started to increase.

Part 2: The research goal of this section is to estimate the intergenerational income elasticity of different groups of rural residents in order to understand the influence of parent’s income on the income of child of different groups. The results show that: first, males’ income elasticity is generally higher than that of females, but females in the eastern region and generation 1 (1956 – 1965) have

significantly higher intergenerational income elasticity than men. Second, the intergenerational income elasticity in the eastern region is significantly higher than that in the central and western regions, and the intergenerational income elasticities in the central and western regions are similar. Third, the intergenerational income elasticity of men in generational 1 (1956 – 1965) is much lower than that of women. Men in generational 2 (1966 – 1975) and generation 3 (1976 – 1985) have higher intergenerational income elasticity. Generation 4 (after 1985) has higher intergenerational income elasticity, and this result is mainly reflected in the eastern region. The intergenerational income elasticity of each generation sample in the middle and western regions is relatively low.

Part 3: The goal of this section is to explore the intergenerational income transfer mechanism based on the perspective of economic factors, in order to understand what channels can father generation influence their offsprings' income. The results show that: In the first part, we find that offsprings' education is indeed important factor which can explain intergenerational income mobility in the countryside, its contribution rate between 8.13% and 13.36%. However, offsprings' profession type plays a more important role in the intergenerational income transfer process, its contribution rate between 16.1% and 22.02%. In the second part, during 1989 – 2011, the cumulative contributions of child's education and occupation in intergenerational income transmission experienced a process of rising first and then decreasing. The cumulative contribution rate peaked in 2004, exceeding 50%. The education of child generally shows a process of rising first and then decreasing, and reaches a peak in 2004 – 2006. Although the contribution rate of child's occupation has ups and downs, but generally speaking, the occupation has a higher contribution to intergenerational income transmission. Third, in addition to the father's income, the father's education and occupation also have an impact on the education and occupation of the child. Specifically, the higher the parent's education level, the higher the edu-

cation level of child may be, which will lead to a greater marginal effect of child's education. The higher the parent's occupation score, the likely education level of child may be, which will lead to a greater marginal effect of child's education. The higher the education level of the father, the higher the score of the child's occupation may be, which will lead to a greater marginal effect of child's occupation.

Part 4: The goal of this section is to discuss the intergenerational income transmission mechanism of different groups in rural areas. The main results are as follows: first, the contribution rate of education in intergenerational income transmission is far lower than that of occupation for men, while it is almost the same for women. Second, there is not much difference in the contribution rate between the education and occupation in the eastern region. The contribution rate of education is lower than that of occupation in the central and western regions, and the gap between the two is greater in the western region. Third, the father's income achieved the greatest rate of intergenerational income transmission through child's education and occupation for generation 3 (1976 - 1985). Consistent with theoretical expectations, parent's education and occupation will also have an effect on child's income by affecting education and occupation of child, but there are certain differences in this mode of action among different groups.

Part 5: The goal of this section is to measure the income inequality of rural residents, and explore the impact of parent's income on the income inequality of child. The results show that: in the first part, the contribution rate of father's income to the child's income inequality was big from 1989 to 2011, and the contribution rate of parent's income and occupation to the child's income inequality was the top two. The contribution rate of parent's income to the income inequality of child has generally declined before 2009, with the increase in the degree of marketization and economic development in China. But the contribution rate has

increased rapidly since 2009, indicating that the influence of opportunity inequality on the income inequality has widened in recent years. From the perspective of generation, the contribution of father's income to the child of generation 1 (1956 – 1965), generation 2 (1966 – 1975) and generation 3 (1976 – 1985) is relatively stable, but the contribution rate has rapidly increased for generation 4 (after 1985), indicating that the opportunity inequality for generation 4 (after 1985) is even more serious. From the perspective of regions, the contribution rate of the father's income is much higher in the eastern region than that in the central and western regions, indicating that the opportunity inequality is even worse in the eastern region where the economy is most developed. In addition, the factor of age has a higher contribution to the formation of the income inequality. Since the age represents the level of experience, the results of the factor of age represent that experience has a large impact on the income inequality. At the same time, another representative of human capital, the impact of education on the income inequality of child in rural areas is generally small. The contribution rate of occupation has been relatively high, indicating that the segmentation characteristics of the labor market are obvious. The contribution rate of regional factors has remained steadily rising, reflecting the uneven development of China's regional economy. The huge differences in regional economic development performance have directly led to expansion of the income inequality between the children of different regions. The factors of marriage and gender have lower contribution rates to the income inequality.

Part 6: Since 2000, the results of the systematic analysis of rural social stratification structure show that: First, from a general perspective, the rural social class basically presents a typical "pyramid" type of social structure. Although this "pyramid" type of society has been relatively stable since 2000, the upward flow and downward flow between the various classes are frequent and have certain liquidity from the inside perspective. This result indicates that the social

class stability and mobility coexist in rural areas. Second, from the perspective of father and child, we can see that the social class structure of the father presents a “pyramid” type, while the mother’s social class structure is more likely a “down-side” type. The low – income, middle and low – income groups of the child has gradually become an “olive” type social structure with more middle – income class. Third, we find that the social class of the parent has a significant influence on the child, and the father has a greater influence on the child.

Based on the above conclusions, we consider that firstly, the government needs to further improve and perfect the labor market, make efforts to reduce the degree of labor market segmentation and unreasonable income gap between the professions. Then, the government also needs to constantly improve the transparency of information; make efforts to break the double track of the employment market, in order to reduce the situation of offsprings depend on their parents’ social capital when they are searching jobs. Second, the government should make efforts to ensure that all the children have a fair chance to receive education. For this reason, the government should further increase the supply of high quality education resources, especially the economic underdeveloped backward area, in order to reduce the cost of private investment on education. On the other hand, the government also needs to set up a relatively complete education financing platform, which can eliminate the credit constraints of low income group when they want to invest on their offsprings’ education. Third, as only effective labor market can provide a reasonable return on education, the improvement of the education system needs to be combined with the improvement of the labor market. If there is no relationship between income level and the level of personal education, the low income groups firstly will lack incentives of investment on offsprings’ education, secondly even invested, the low income groups will become poverty because of the investment on education. In this case, it will lead to the poor poorer.

# 目 录

## 第 1 章 导 论

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1.1	研究背景与问题提出 .....	( 2 )
1.2	研究意义 .....	( 5 )
1.3	研究思路 .....	( 6 )
1.4	研究数据 .....	( 8 )
1.5	论文结构 .....	( 9 )
1.6	可能的创新与不足 .....	( 10 )

## 第 2 章 代际收入流动性研究进展

---

2.1	概念界定 .....	( 13 )
2.2	相关理论 .....	( 15 )
2.3	文献综述 .....	( 18 )

## 第 3 章 农村代际收入流动性分析

---

3.1	数据 .....	( 43 )
3.2	代际收入流动性估计方法 .....	( 47 )
3.3	农村代际收入流动性趋势 .....	( 48 )
3.4	不同收入阶层代际收入流动性的比较分析 .....	( 55 )

3.5 本章小结 .....	( 58 )
----------------	--------

## 第4章 农村不同群体代际收入流动性分析

---

4.1 不同地区—不同性别样本的比较分析 .....	( 60 )
4.2 不同世代—不同性别样本的比较分析 .....	( 63 )
4.3 不同地区—不同世代样本的比较分析 .....	( 66 )
4.4 本章小结 .....	( 69 )

## 第5章 农村代际收入传递机制分析

---

5.1 代际收入传递机制理论分析 .....	( 71 )
5.2 代际收入传递机制实证分析 .....	( 76 )
5.3 代际收入传递机制进一步分析 .....	( 90 )
5.4 本章小结 .....	( 93 )

## 第6章 农村不同群体代际收入传递机制分析

---

6.1 不同性别代际收入传递机制 .....	( 95 )
6.2 不同地区代际收入传递机制 .....	( 98 )
6.3 不同世代代际收入传递机制 .....	( 100 )
6.4 本章小结 .....	( 104 )

## 第7章 农村收入差距的代际传递效应分析

---

7.1 父代收入与子代收入差距——时间序列角度 .....	( 107 )
7.2 父代收入与子代收入差距——世代角度 .....	( 114 )
7.3 不同地区父代收入与子代收入差距 .....	( 118 )



7.4 本章小结 .....	(122)
----------------	-------

## 第8章 农村社会分层与代际传递分析

8.1 分析框架 .....	(127)
8.2 农村社会阶层的变化趋势 .....	(129)
8.3 农村社会阶层收入的变化趋势 .....	(132)
8.4 农村社会阶层的代内流动性 .....	(136)
8.5 农村社会阶层的代际流动性 .....	(142)
8.6 本章小结 .....	(148)

## 第9章 结论与展望

9.1 主要结论 .....	(151)
9.2 政策建议 .....	(154)
9.3 研究展望 .....	(157)

参考文献 .....	(158)
------------	-------

附录 .....	(177)
----------	-------

附表1 代际收入弹性估计结果一 .....	(177)
-----------------------	-------

附表2 代际收入弹性估计结果二 .....	(177)
-----------------------	-------

附表3 不同地区—不同性别样本代际收入弹性估计结果 .....	(178)
---------------------------------	-------

附表4 不同世代—不同性别样本代际收入弹性估计结果 .....	(179)
---------------------------------	-------

附表5 不同地区—不同世代样本代际收入弹性估计结果 .....	(180)
---------------------------------	-------

附表6 不同年份代际收入传递机制分解结果 (Blanden 分解法) .....	(181)
---	-------

附表7 不同年份代际收入传递机制分解结果 (Bowles 和 Gintis 分解法) .....	(181)
---	-------