

澳門經濟發展、人力資源 與政府政策

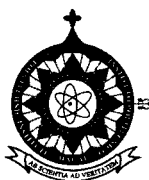
陳卓華 著



澳門理工學院

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出版

2007 年 8 月

澳門經濟發展、人力資源與政府政策

The Economic Development, Human Capital and Government
Policy in Macao

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出版：澳門理工學院

Published by Macao Polytechnic Institute

印刷：嘉華印刷公司（澳門）

出版日期：2007 年 8 月

版次：初版一刷

印數：500 本

ISBN 978-99937-58-44-0

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序

本論文集是澳門理工學院的資助項目，是《澳門經濟持續發展策略與政府的角色》(2004 年出版) 的延續。

首先，本人要衷心感謝 李向玉 院長 及理事會成員，他們除了重視提升本學院的教學質量之外，還努力爭取資源給教師作研究經費，好讓在學院內及本地社會，得以有更蓬勃的學術討論及研究發展。

本人亦要感謝 公共行政高等學校 汪碩 校長，她除了在學校行政方面給予本人很多寶貴意見及經驗心得之外，在日常的工作相處中，她經常分享她對澳門社會現象的一些看法及分析，刺激了本人的研究興趣及一些概念的形成。

本人也要感謝 香港中文大學 關信基教授 以及 英國 Lancaster University Prof. Bob Jessop 及 Prof. John Urry，他們分別是本人的博士研究及碩士研究的指導老師，本人的學術興趣、概念分析架構的形成，有幸受了他們的薰陶。

本論文集得以順利完成，有賴研究小隊成員的努力及貢獻，其中包括：于宏源博士、譚倩珠女士、孫悅老師、黃錦全老師、梁翠儀女士。

最後，本人要感謝內子，詠詩，她的支持及鼓勵是本人做研究工作的其中一股重要動力。

由於時間緊迫，文中疏漏缺失在所難免，歡迎讀者批評指正。

本論文集內容中，質性研究比量性研究為多；主要目的是讓讀者可以容易掌握政治經濟學的一些重要概念，以及與讀者分享本人對本澳近年的一些經濟議題之研究心得。第一及第二章是理論性及制度上的闡述，第三、五、六章則具有分析性內容及政策建議，主題涉及本澳人力資源發展、旅遊業與城市規劃、博彩業帶來的社會成本與政府的責任。第四章是本人與香港女青年會合作的一項問卷調查研究報告，主題是關於香港及澳門青少年對工作能力的自我評估。

The Economic Development, Human Capital and Government Policy in Macao

A Preview

Macao is a wonderful place for gambling, leisure and play, from the eyes of gamblers and urban workaholics in nearby cities. With the flourishing of new hotels and casinos, Macao attracts flock of visitors from the mainland, Hong Kong and other Asian countries. However, the uni-dimensional development and over-dependence on gambling industry may make Macao's economy vulnerable to the sudden change of external environment. It is just like the story of Ireland in the mid of 19th century. The Irish were over-dependent on potato as the single main source of food crop at that time. When a fungi was brought from outside unintentionally and it attacked the crop of potato in a massive way, there were over 1100 to 1500 thousands of people died in starvation in Ireland.¹

Casinos bring profits as well as sins to the society. The social costs of gambling (such as pathological gambling and casino-related crimes) make damages to individuals and families in Macao as well as in nearby cities. It should not be neglected by politicians and policy makers, since all governments have the responsibility to tackle the problem of externalities.

The thriving of gambling industry nourishes the economy and certain sectors of local people have got improvement in living standard. However, the inflation, illegal imported labor and structural unemployment together worsen the social inequality problem. The social distress constitutes an underlying threat to the political legitimacy of the Macao SAR government and it has to find some solu-

¹ Bacci, Massimo Livi, 2001, *A Concise History of World Population*. Blackwell, 3rd edition.

tions (such as, via public housing policy, social welfare policy, etc.). Citizens, civic groups and local mass media are all hesitated to express radical political views openly. However they did come out for strike and demonstration in the 1st of May in recent years, for expressing their dissatisfaction of the corruption of some government officials, economic inflation and the arbitrary rules for land leasing.

The Central Government of China always keeps a close eye on Macao, in order to make sure that it is following the smooth track of economic and political development. However it is not an easy job for the Central Government to maneuver, since the quality of public policy making, the public management, the rule of law and the global institutional framework for business have not yet well developed in this small gambling city (in comparing to that of Singapore and Hong Kong).

Macao has the real and urgent need for high-quality human capital with innovative mindset and global world-view. This kind of human capital may stimulate the government and private sector on how to tune-up their policy philosophy, in order to revise the local business environment to be in a better resonance with 'the rules of game' in the global market which is dominated by the Anglo-American liberal-democratic spirit. Rent-seeking activities should be put in the first priority for scrutinization and control. Otherwise, there is no hope for Macao to get into the top-list of the annual ranking competition for being labeled as the best places for global business and investment in Asian region.

Singapore would be a good showcase for Macao on how to strive for excellence in governance and cultivation of a wonderful business environment. Over the years, Singapore has developed a good reputation for sound government. Many international rating agencies have consistently given the Singapore Government high ratings for its efficiency, rule of law and lack of corruption.

Governance is more than just a set of regulations and formal institutional arrangements to ensure the effective functioning of society. The well-cultivated civil

society (with the belief in democracy) and the spirit of citizenship (respecting the institutions), as well as the endowment of a strong team of civil servants with dignity and commitment are the necessary conditions for the implementation/actualization of the rule of law and a clean government.

Eschewing corruption is the most basic requirement. If political leaders fail to meet this necessary standard of probity, it cannot be demanded of any official throughout the system. The foundation of the public's trust in the government stems from their belief that government decisions are made without fear or favor. The actions and decisions of the government must be fair, consistent and transparent to all. This is the fundamental pillar of a long-living and competitive business environment. Hong Kong and Singapore are two good examples.

In this book, the first chapter delineates the elements of business environment and the roles of government in it. Some examples from Macao will be used for illustration. It stresses that a global-linked, well-design and well-implemented institutional framework is essential.

Chapter Two discusses the conceptual framework of the competitive advantage of a territory, and the notion of sustainable development, as well as how could governments and private corporations innovate the new niche of competitiveness (with fashionable moods).

Chapter Three deals with the accustomed problem of human capital quality in Macao. This problem has been addressed for years, but the self-confined and monotonous mindset prevented people to innovative and to put new ideas into actions. The pre-existing education system and foreign language incapability also hindered the advancement of human capital.

Chapter Four introduces a survey on the self-evaluation of work competencies by youth in Hong Kong and Macao. It is found that the governments and NGOS of both cities have to design more programs for enhancing the work competencies of their youth along dimensions of building self-esteem, planning/man-

agement skills, presentation skills, self-motivation, and innovative mindset.

Chapter Five tries to delineate the dilemma of reservation of cultural heritage and exploration of new attractions for tourism, under the political need of resolving the conflict of interests in a multi-cultural society.

Chapter Six discusses the social costs brought by gambling industry in Macao, and explores the possibility of the government to learn and execute the paradigm of responsible gambling, together with the awareness of business ethics and social responsibility initiated by casino-based conglomerates.

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Recent Publications and Conference Papers by CHAN Cheuk-Wah Sunny

- 1/ A Survey on the Conceptualization of Work Competencies of Youth in Hong Kong and Macao: A Comparative Study, a survey report co-opted with the YWCA in Hong Kong, May 2007.
- 2/ ‘The self-perception of work competencies of youth in Macao’ (proceeding), The Round- Table on Youth Studies in Mainland, Hong Kong and Macao, May 2007, Chinese University of Hong Kong.
- 3/ ‘The Problem of Human Capital Quality in Macao’ (proceeding), The 5th International Conference on Social Indicators of Chinese Societies, December 2006, Hong Kong Polytechnic University.

- 4/ 「良治型政府理論與澳門經濟發展」，《澳門理工學報》Vol.9 No.3 (serial No.23) 2006.
- 5/ 'The Developmental State Model of Governance in Macao and Regional Economic Cooperation' (proceeding); May 2006; 澳門大學 / 北京人民大學 第二屆兩岸四地公共管理學術研討會.
- 6/ 'The Conceptualization of Citizenship of the Youth in Macao', (proceeding) The 7th International Conference on Asian Youth Issues; Dec. 2005; organized by Macao Youth and Education Bureau.
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- 13/ 《澳門經濟持續發展策略與政府的角色》，陳卓華、許毓濤、賴偉良，科研報告，澳門理工學院出版，Oct. 2004.
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- 15/ “Comparing the welfare institutions in Hong Kong and Singapore”, *Contemporary Social Issues in Macao and Hong Kong*, Conference Proceedings, Macao: Macao Polytechnic Institute, 2002, pp.159-164. [in Chinese]
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第一章：營商環境與政府角色

引言

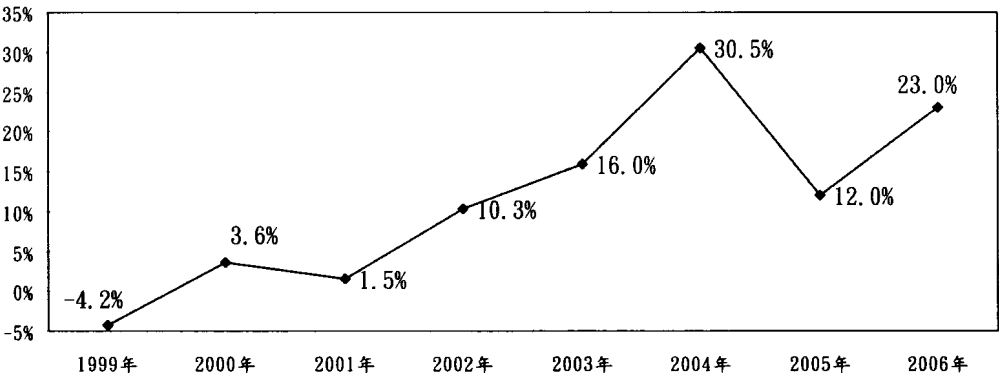
在 1999 年或以前，在中國以至亞洲人的經濟考量中，澳門一直是不太被關注的地方；澳門地域內生產要素及資源非常有限，但經濟外向度非常高；澳門是中國沿海的其中一個自由貿易港，出入口貨量少（相對於鄰近港口），但具有國際政治經濟策略性價值；中國可利用澳門為橋樑，與歐盟及葡語系國家鞏固國際政治及經濟上的結盟關係。

1997-99 年，亞洲區經濟氣候不穩定，加上 2003 年 SARS 疫潮使澳門及多個亞洲城市經濟萎靡不振。中國中央政府自 2003 年 7 月起開放自由行政策，2004 年起開始啟動‘緊貿安排’(CEPA) 政策，以及澳門特區政府 2002 年初開放賭權，引進外資，使本地經濟迅速回升。

表一：澳門本地生產總值 名義增長率〔當年價格〕

年份	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
增長率(%)	-4.2	3.6	1.5	10.3	16	30.5	12	23

資料來源：澳門特別行政區統計暨普查局網頁， www.dsec.gov.mo。



澳門本地生產總值 名義增長率（當年價格）

澳門從來都是外向型經濟體系，但在西方資本主義自由市場之制度建設上 (institutional support for capitalism)，澳門仍有許多改善的空間。

2006-07 年，澳門正處於急劇轉變的時期。以博彩及酒店業為主的外資在近兩三年紛紛湧至，商機及就業機會的增加速度，高於本地原有生產要素的負荷量，迫使通貨膨脹，樓市及某些行業的工資急升；部份青年人放棄學業，只圖當高薪荷官（可能有 16,000 元月薪，是全澳工資中位數的兩倍多）。

部份僱主非法聘用外來勞工，引致本地工人非常不滿。資源再分配速度追趕不上物價及房屋支出的上升，公共房屋嚴重不足，引致低收入人士 / 貧窮線下的人士生活質素進一步下降，甚至一般市民的生活質素也受負面影響而怨聲載道。澳門北區約住了十萬人，大部份是從內地來的新移民，平均學歷低又缺乏專業技能；因澳門有不少工廠紛紛搬往內地，這些人相繼失業，其中有部份人轉行以當‘水客’為生（物流運輸散工），約有 5,000 至 6,000 人，每日來回兩地邊檢站十多次，拖著兩地需要的沉重貨品，每天賺取一百多元的微薄工錢，收入僅可糊口；住房租金急升，令他們的生活負擔百上加斤。¹

本澳賭場（包括角子老虎機娛樂場所）數目不斷上升，且越來越接近民居，已有關心賭博問題的團體表示病態賭徒問題令人擔心，而政府好像仍沒有積極行動。博彩業及地產業的可觀利潤，似乎大部份落入了資本家的口袋裡。政府土地工務運輸局局長歐文龍涉及貪污數十億元的案件被揭發後，引來社會巨大迴響，市民批評政府‘賤賣土地，以權謀私’。2007 年 5 月 1 日的市民示威大遊行引致嚴重的警民衝突，正是為上述種種社會及經濟問題，大力地叩響了警鐘。

雖然 2006 年澳門人均 GDP 已略高於香港（是香港的 1.03 倍），但入息中位數則只有香港的 70%；² 博彩業收益及賭客數量已追過了美國拉斯維加斯；但社會正蘊釀著各種危機，包括貪腐猖獗、貧富懸殊尖銳、房地產價格飆升、黑工泛濫、賭業以外人才凋零等。³ 澳門的經濟前景是否仍然樂觀呢？

概念上，我們應如何建立一個具吸引力 / 健康的營商環境呢？

營商環境的概念

‘營商環境’是一個很廣闊的研究課題，其中涵蓋經濟學、法律及政治學等範疇。

¹ 《亞洲週刊》，香港，2007 年 5 月 13 日，頁：28。

² In 2006, the GDP per capita of Macao was US\$28436, and that of Hong Kong was US\$27641; however, the medium income of Macao was HK\$7136, and that of Hong Kong was HK\$10000. The contradiction and inconsistency can be explained by the reason that a large portion of the GDP volume was fallen into the pockets of casino owners and taken as the revenue of government. Another reason was that the total export value of manufactured goods of Macao was overestimated. A part of it was actually aroused from the value-added work done by workers in Mainland China.

參見：永遠，「澳居民實質收入並未因人均 GDP 水漲船高」，《華人澳語》，澳門，<http://www.waou.com.mo/wa/2007/04/20070402a.htm>。

³ 《亞洲週刊》，香港，2007 年 5 月 13 日，頁：25。

營商環境包括市場性與非市場性部份；市場性部份 (market environment) 包括私人公司之間 / 供應商 / 買家 / 顧客之間的互動關係，涉及財產 / 服務的自由交換 / 交易，受自由市場制度、商業合約制度規限；資本家要不斷提高生產效率，了解顧客的最新需求，預測市場變化及作好準備適應；努力研究 / 創造新產品 / 意念。

非市場性部份 (non-market environment) 涉及民間社會及團體、政治競爭、法律制度、官僚架構等之間的互動關係，它們的互動結果時刻都影響著自由市場的運作。

本文將會集中營商環境的**非市場性**部份，作進一步闡述。

隨著全球化的發展，資本家的經濟活動早已跨越地域、國界及文化，只要有經濟效益，資本家都會‘攀山涉水’尋找投資機會。那麼，究竟是甚麼因素吸引資本家的投資呢？⁴

基本上，在一個獨立的經濟體系內，資本家會認真考慮一些重要的本地要素組合起來能否有利於他們作出持續性投資；這些本地要素包括 –

- 法治制度
- 總體經濟政策
- 公共管治及監管制度 (governance and regulatory framework) ⁵
- 基本建設

A. 法治制度

一個給人安居樂業的地方，不一定需要有雙位數字的本地生產總值 (GDP) 增長率，但必須要有均衡及長遠的市政規劃，否則，本地人的生活質素轉差，生產力下降，連資本家也被嚇得跑掉。究竟，良好的經濟管治應包含甚麼原則？政府的責任應是以推動經濟增長還是改善市民生活質素為優先呢？營商環境與本地人的生活環境如何互相協調呢？

⁴ Wipplinger, G., et.al., 2006, ‘*Quality infrastructure – A vital aspect of business environment for enterprise development*’, Asian regional consultative conference, Donor Committee for Enterprise Development, Thai-German programme for Enterprise Competitiveness, see, http://www2.gtz.de/wbf/BE_Bangkok_2006/downloads/Presentation/Quality_Infrastructure.pdf ;

Karakaya, F. and Canei, C., 1998, ‘Underlying dimensions of business location decisions’, *Industrial management and Data Systems*, Vol.98, No.7, see, <http://www.emeraldinsight.com/Insight/ViewContentServlet?Filename=Published/EmeraldFullTextArticle/Articles/0290980703.html> ;

‘The firms speak : What the world business environment survey tells us about constraints on private sector development’, World Bank, *World Business Environment Survey Report*, 2002, see, <http://www.worldbank.org/wbi/governance/pdf/firmsspeak.pdf> .

⁵ Governance here refers to the degree of corruption, as well as qualities of the government in underpinning markets, such as transparency, fairness, accountability, efficiency and effectiveness, see, <http://www.worldbank.org/wbi/governance/pdf/firmsspeak.pdf>.

在資本主義制度下，政府有責任要維持自由市場的公平性及合理性，⁶ Douglass North (新制度經濟學派其中一位具代表性的學者) 認為，由於政府具有一般社會組織所沒有的‘強制力’(coercion) 的性質，由政府來界定和保護私有產權，具有比較優勢。

概念上，政府可以代表大多數人的利益。政府的其中一項基本功能就是設計及維持制度 (institutions)，而這些制度必須獲得大多數人的認同及尊重；同時地，制度亦需要政府出面實施強制性的安排；同時政府亦受到制度的約束。公共選擇學派認為，在民主化及資本主義制度下，政府為獲取政治認受性及收入（選票及稅收），以一組服務（如 保護私有產權、維持社會公義、尋求公共利益等）作交換。另外，在某些情況下，政府會試圖使國家收入最大化。⁷

依據新制度經濟學理論⁸，‘政府’在產權制度形成中具有非常重要的作用。私有產權制度是營商環境的基礎，政府藉其強制力和權威在全社會實現私有產權制度。在很多情況下，政府會致力解決‘搭便車’問題，各種經濟組織和個人在政府嚴格確立和實行私有產權制度的條件下，才願意付出來自貿易的成本。同時，政府的角色有利於降低產權界定和轉讓中的交易費用。產權的界定涉及一系列費用，如量度費用、信息費用、談判(律師)費用等。當政府進行度量衡標準化，便有利於降低產權交易成本。政府亦可以中立者身份，提供正確信息 / 資訊，使私人交易的信息費用降低。政府作為第三種當事人，可以通過建立非人格化的立法和執法機制，來減低私人交易的談判費用。⁹ 大部份西方資本主義國家，其政府均強調尊重及保護私有產權。

根據本人與黃錦全先生於 2006 年 9 月進行的一項關於‘澳門人對政府角色及公民權利的認知’電話訪問調查¹⁰，我們發現，對於保護私有產權的責任方面，被訪者中認同（包括非常認同）澳門特區政府有責任保護市民私有產權的比例不足五成，僅為 49.2%；而不認同（包括非常不認同）的佔 42.1%；這數字較為不尋常；因為在一般資本主義社會中，理論上市民應不會猶疑政府有絕對責任保護市民私有產權。

這數字反映出兩個可能性，第一，被訪者對於澳門特區基本法之有關內容，以及

⁶ North, D., 1981, *Structure and Change in Economic History*. New York: Norton Press.

North, D., 1990, *Institutions, Institutional Change, and Economic Performance*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press.

⁷ Buchanan, James, 1975, *The Limits of Liberty: Between Anarchy and Leviathan*. Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press.

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— 1969, *Cost and Choice: An Inquiry in Economic Theory*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

⁸ 羅必良（2005）。《新制度經濟學》。太原：山西經濟出版社。

⁹ 羅必良（2005）。《新制度經濟學》。太原：山西經濟出版社。頁：611-623。

¹⁰ 本電話訪問調查的對象是從澳門家用電話號碼庫中，以電腦隨機抽樣方式，選出約 700 個電話號碼，其中成功訪問了 504 個被訪者（年齡在 18 歲或以上）。

本研究主要針對澳門市民對於政府與公民的權力關係的認知情況，例如政府有否責任保護市民的私有財產，行政長官的權力是否高於一切法律，澳門特區政府是否三權分立，澳門市民享有甚麼公民權利等。