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PUBLIC SERVICE RESTRUCTURING IN THE CARIBBEAN:
A COMPARATIVE CASE STUDY ANALYSIS-
JAMAICA, BARBADOS AND TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO

by

Carol A. Clark

A Thesis submitted to
the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
Through the Department of Political Science
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for
the Degree of Master of Arts in Political Science
at the University of Windsor

Windsor, Ontario, Canada

October, 1994

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ABSTRACT

The following is a comparative case study analysis of the models of public service restructuring used in Jamaica, Barbados and Trinidad and Tobago. The model used by the Canadian government, Public Service 2000, among others, has also been reviewed. The purpose of this study is to examine the model being implemented in Trinidad and Tobago and to analyze its strengths and weaknesses, including a prognosis for its success. The first chapter provides background to the public service problems experienced in the three countries and the rationale for restructuring. It also identifies six criteria that will be used in the analysis of the models. The second chapter reviews the literature pertaining to international models of restructuring in the public as well as the private sector. The third chapter examines the models of restructuring used in Jamaica and Barbados and outlines their present levels of achievement in the reform effort. The fourth chapter analyzes the model being implemented in Trinidad and Tobago and discusses some of the major concerns involved in the process of its implementation. Finally, the Conclusion compares the models, using the pre-established criteria, and outlines those criteria that have been found to be most important for successful implementation of administrative restructuring in the Caribbean.

For Stanley and Mandy

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VITA AUCTORIS

INTRODUCTION

Public Administration Reform has been on the agenda of most countries over the past few decades. In some cases, it has proceeded as a gradual, on-going exercise; but in many others, it has only been given lip service. Many reports submitted by Task Forces and Commissions appointed to make recommendations for public administration reform have never been given serious consideration and have ended up being shelved or discarded. There are many reasons for this. Sometimes, a government might not want to tackle the legislative or constitutional changes that may be required to effect the necessary changes. In other cases, there is lack of political will - the previous government that appointed the task force might have been interested in reform, but the successor government which receives the report and recommendations might have other priorities. Sometimes, a government does not wish to risk offending the public service upon which it relies to implement its programmes and projects. In many cases, there is a lack of the necessary training and resources to implement the reform. And finally, there is the paradoxical situation where a government has to rely on the same persons and institutions which it is trying to change, to implement the change. Many governments have found a built-in resistance to change and a desperate bid by public servants to maintain the status quo.

Over the past decade, however, most governments have been forced to address the issue and to make serious efforts to reform their systems of public administration. This has been due to several factors. If left unchecked, bureaucracy often becomes an end in itself and grows in order to support its own structures.¹ Many countries have found that their public service has become too large and unwieldy, too costly, too inefficient and too antiquated for modern times. The global economy has also become very competitive, leaving many countries in a tenuous economic situation. Last, but not least is the dynamic global environment and rapid changes in technology, which have had a monumental impact on the way modern organizations operate, driven largely by the increasing role of computers in almost every facet of life.

In private sector organizations, new trends have emerged. "Strategic Management" has replaced the "Scientific Management" model, with the emphasis being on proactive, rather than reactive management. Most organizations have experienced a new vision. Their values have changed. They have become more client-oriented, with a focus on customer satisfaction. Teamwork and "Total Quality Management" have resulted in the elimination of many middle managerial levels, with designs of flatter, leaner structures replacing the taller, hierarchical models. Deregulation has shifted the

¹Max Weber, The Theory of Social and Economic Organization, trans. A.M. Henderson and Talcott Parsons (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1947), 333-339.

focus from compliance with rules and regulations to achievement of results. Decentralization of decision-making has encouraged greater flexibility and innovation. Openness and consultation have replaced the previous model of secrecy and downward communication. In other words, efficiency and effectiveness have been redefined to include a host of new concepts.

These global, economic and corporate sector influences have placed added pressure on governments to initiate reform as a matter of urgency. Growing deficits have forced governments to become more cost effective. Governments in many developed and developing countries are now implementing their own models of change within the public sector to suit their individual needs and cultures.

The purpose of this study is to review some of the models of public service reform which have been used internationally, with a view to analyzing the model being implemented in Trinidad and Tobago and generating positive ideas which may be used there. The term "restructuring" has been used in some instances instead of "reform", because it contemplates more fundamental changes in the structures and institutions of government. Three main countries were examined - Jamaica, Barbados, and Trinidad and Tobago. These were selected for a number of reasons - they all share a similar history, being former colonies of Britain and were the first to achieve political independence in the early 1960's; they all adopted

the Westminster / Whitehall model of government; they are all considered to be among the more advanced Caribbean countries in terms of development and have shared similar social and economic experiences and problems since independence; and they are all involved in restructuring their public service. Table 1-1 below provides some useful comparative data on the three countries.

TABLE 1-1: BASIC SOCIAL and ECONOMIC INDICATORS, BY COUNTRY²

<u>Country:</u>	<u>Jamaica</u>	<u>Barbados</u>	<u>Trinidad & Tobago</u>
<u>Population:</u>	2.5 mil	260,000	1.2 mil
<u>GNP per capita:</u>	\$1,160	\$5,320	\$3,731
<u>Size of Public Service:</u>	40,000	20,000	40,000

* 1992 figures (i.e. prior to restructuring)

Canada's model, PS 2000, was reviewed as a yardstick for measurement, because of its comprehensiveness. Canada was identified because it was also a colony of Britain and had the same system of government, although it has since moved from being a developing, to a developed country.

The methodology employed in this study was a comparative case study method. Jamaica, Barbados, and Trinidad and Tobago were examined individually and then in a comparative context.

²Paul B. Goodwin, Latin America, 5th ed. (Guildford, Connecticut: The Dushkin Publishing Group Inc., 1992), 102-124.

Six criteria were used for evaluation and comparison of the models - political will for change, change agents, strategies for change, level of acceptance, level of implementation, and prospects for success.

This study relied on numerous sources of information, including government documents, books, reports, journals articles and personal interviews with political and public officials. The primary conclusions of this thesis are that the most important criteria for successful implementation of administrative reform are, in order of importance: political will and support for change, change agents used and strategies employed.

CHAPTER 1

BACKGROUND

The administrative organization of a Government is not an end in itself but a means for the achievement of national objectives....The obvious purpose is to allocate the tasks of government so that they will be performed in a manner that is both efficient and economical, with a minimum of duplication and overlapping.³

This chapter traces briefly the development of government and its system of public administration in the Caribbean from colonial times, through independence, up to the present time. It shows the impact of the struggle for development and the ensuing problems for public administration which have now culminated in the need for change. The chapter focuses mainly on the Trinidad and Tobago experience, but the information can be applied to Jamaica and Barbados as well, because of their similar history and experience.

Many of the islands of the Caribbean were former colonies of Britain. During the colonial period the Governor was the Head of State and representative of the Queen. He was also the chief decision maker, subject to supervision only from the Colonial Office in Britain.⁴ The administration of government was handled by the Colonial Secretariat, headed by the Colonial Secretary. He was assisted in the exercise of his responsibilities by a group of senior British officials appointed by the Crown. The main objectives of government

³United Nations, Secretariat, A Handbook of Public Administration (New York: United Nations Publication, Sales No. 61. II. H2), Part II, 1.

⁴Selwyn Ryan, Race and Nationalism in Trinidad and Tobago (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972), 345.

during the colonial period were the maintenance of law and order, the collection of taxes, and the provision of minimum services to ensure the basic welfare of the people.⁵ Development planning was never a priority. Day-to-day administration was carried out through various departments and each of these was administered by a chief professional officer, who was in turn responsible to the colonial secretary or the governor; both being more concerned with their future careers than with the business of administration for development.⁶

Within that framework, local born members of the civil service were restricted to positions in which they performed routine clerical functions. Local public opinion was disregarded and the societies drifted more and more into one of differentiation based on class. Because the centralised colonial state bureaucracy exercised political power and was directly responsible for the management of the economy on behalf of imperial interests, its dominance over the social system was all-embracing. Moreover, it used its vast resources to sponsor dependent classes that were committed to the maintenance of the status quo.⁷ Therefore, administrative

⁵George F. Gant, Development Administration: Concepts, Goals, Methods (Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1979), 18-19.

⁶Kempe Ronald Hope, The Dynamics of Development and Development Administration (London: Greenwood Press, 1984), 68.

⁷Ryan, Race and Nationalism in Trinidad and Tobago, 346.

machinery for problem solving was basically non-innovative and was organised primarily to consolidate elite interests.⁸

Beginning in the early 1960's, many of the Caribbean islands achieved political independence from Britain, starting with Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago in 1962 and later, Barbados in 1966. With independence, decision-making and executive authority were transferred from the colonial governors and secretaries to local politicians and their cabinets. This resulted in the creation of a ministerial system of public administration patterned on the British Westminster / Whitehall model of government.⁹ The ministerial system of public administration will be discussed further, but it is necessary to emphasize at this point that the whole focus of the new national governments changed to nation-building and development. These became the two main priorities of government and were addressed with urgency and determination, as with independence, survival as a nation meant self-reliance.

According to Dr. Eric Williams, the first prime minister of Trinidad and Tobago, the main priorities of nation building included regaining local control of the economy, obtaining markets for trade, reducing unemployment, establishing a defence force, joining international agencies like the United

⁸Kempe, The Dynamics of Development and Development Administration, 68.

⁹Ibid.

Nations, and providing proper educational facilities for all.¹⁰ With respect to the latter, the University of the West Indies was established, with campuses in Jamaica, Barbados, and Trinidad and Tobago.

Nation-building also involved the forging of a national identity. It included such things as the creation of a national anthem, flag, emblem and motto. It also involved the promotion of a national culture in its many facets - art, music, language, literature, food, customs, festivals, television and radio programmes, dress, and folklore. In a multiracial society, such as exists in most of the Caribbean islands, and especially in Trinidad and Tobago, this function was especially challenging, as all races had to be recognized within the general framework of a national culture. Also, the success of nation-building depended heavily on the acceptance by each group of all the existing cultures. This function was sometimes placed under the portfolio of the Ministry of Education and Culture, bearing in mind the key role that education would have to play in the whole process. The struggle for a national identity is always more difficult for small post-colonial countries, since they have to continually offset the strong influences of the former colonizing power, as well as other larger, developed countries.

¹⁰Eric Williams, Inward Hunger - The Education of a Prime Minister (London: Andre Deutch Ltd., 1969), 338 - 42.

Development was a more pre-occupying imperative for the new governments, because it was all-encompassing in its scope. Most post-independence development plans had as their main objective economic growth, defined in terms of gross national product per capita. Increasingly, equitable distribution of wealth and income, full utilization of manpower, better utilization of natural resources, and protection of the human environment have been included as major development objectives. Social development was later recognized as an integral part of development and many international bodies advocated a comprehensive approach to economic and social development.¹¹

Social development refers to the "well-being of the people," which in the final analysis is the ultimate objective of development. It is generally measured by the level of welfare (reduction of poverty, disease, and other social ills), the state of physical, mental and social health, and the standard of living in terms of the satisfaction of material needs, especially by the poorest sector of the population. While all the factors involved in development are not in the hands of government, it is the government that is ultimately held responsible. The people of developing countries are fully aware of, and impressed by the standard of living in the developed countries. There are rising

¹¹United Nations, Secretariat, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Development Administration: Current Approaches and Trends in Public Administration for National Development, 1975, 8.

expectations for significant economic improvement, fuelled by the promises made by their leaders that national independence would bring a better life. There is, therefore, great pressure on governments to accelerate national development. In short, owing to political necessity, all governments in developing countries are development-oriented.¹² Public administration, as an integral part of the development process, is referred to as "development administration."

While development administration was an absolute necessity for the newly independent Caribbean countries, it was also the reason for the growth in the size and complexity of the public service, for the ensuing problems of administration, and for the present need for restructuring. To understand this dilemma, it is important to appreciate the evolution which occurred in the public service, brought about by development administration.

"Development Administration" refers to the complex of agencies, management systems and processes a government establishes to achieve its developmental goals. It is the adjustment of the bureaucracy to the vastly increased number, variety, and complexity of governmental functions required to respond to public demands for development. It is the administration of policies, programs, and projects to serve development purposes. It is the machinery set up by the

¹²Ibid., 8-9.

government to administer change.¹³ Some of the functions of government in the development process include economic planning, technological innovation, institutional changes, provision of capital, training and education, development of manpower, control over natural resources, development of public enterprise, government regulation, the building of the national state, modernization of law, and the application of the principles of democracy and social justice.¹⁴ "Development administration" embraces two concepts which are opposite sides of the same coin - development of administration and administration of development.¹⁵ Development of administration means the improvement of the administrative capability for development - administrative capability being the capacity to achieve development objectives through organizations. This is a major and crucial factor in the success or failure of development efforts. The main focus here is performance and this depends on the most important resource - human input. Since human and physical resources must perform within an organizational setting, performance also depends on how a public administration system is organized, how work is divided or differentiated and co-ordinated, and what management

¹³Gant, Development Administration, 20.

¹⁴United Nations, Development Administration, 9-11.

¹⁵Fred W. Riggs, Frontiers of Development Administration (Raleigh, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1970), 6-7.

technology or methodology is employed. It also involves productivity, efficiency, and effectiveness.¹⁶

Administrative capability also depends on the level of centralization or decentralization of decision-making authority. The ability to decentralize with confidence and without losing control is itself an important element of the administrative capability for development. There are also bound to be changes in the administrative system and its organizational units. Structural or institutional changes include the building of new institutions, the abolition of some old ones, the reorganization of existing units, and innovations in organizational forms, as well as major comprehensive reform. Administrative capability at all levels is itself one of the scarcest of all resources in a developing nation. It is therefore important to understand its nature, take steps to enhance it, and make the best use of that which is available. This scarce resource should not be diverted to unnecessary tasks. Allowing the building or expansion of non-essential organizational units, permitting unnecessary duplication of efforts, under-utilizing able administrators and maintaining a poor system of differentiation and coordination are among the most serious errors or misapplications of scarce administrative capability.¹⁷

¹⁶United Nations, Development Administration 32-35.

¹⁷Ibid., 41-44.

"Administration of development" on the other hand, refers to public administration as an instrument of national development. It has to do with the way in which government organizations are set up to manage development tasks. In the Caribbean, the ministerial system has been used in public administration. Under this system, the administrative structure is divided up into Ministries, each having responsibility for a particular sector, geographical area, function, or service. Cabinet creates policy and determines national objectives; the ministries implement them. Each ministry has a government minister as its political head and a permanent secretary as its administrative head. The Permanent secretary and staff are all permanent career civil servants who are recruited and promoted under a merit system and are expected to be politically neutral¹⁸. They are a key element in maintaining continuity and stability in government. The permanent secretary, however, contrary to what the designation implies, is not always permanent, and frequently changes with the election of new governments. ¹⁹

The permanent secretary has four main functions: managing, co-ordinating, advising, and forecasting. He or she is also the accounting officer for the ministry and is

¹⁸Sadly, the merit system has, over the years, been largely superseded by the seniority principle, causing many human resource problems, such as demotivation, complacency, meaningless performance appraisal systems, rewarding of mediocrity, and "promotion by osmosis", among others.

¹⁹Ibid., 144-45.

accountable to parliament for the use of public funds. One of the main checks and balances is the Auditor General, who reports annually to Parliament, and whose report is referred to the Public Accounts Committee, headed by the Leader of the Opposition, for scrutiny. This traditional British system, adopted in the Caribbean, was also based on the classical, or orthodox, model of public administration. This model is a synthesis of Max Weber's theory of bureaucracy and Frederick Taylor and Henri Fayol's theories of scientific management, as formulated by Gulick and Urwick in the 1930's. It encompasses such ideas as the rational-oriented approach towards achievement of goals, political neutrality, a unified system of authority, division of labour, specialization, impersonality, meritocracy, stability of tenure, training, accountability, co-ordination of activities, a pattern of hierarchy, and strong adherence to rules and procedures.²⁰ Within more recent times, public servants, especially at the more senior levels, have become increasingly involved in policy formulation, because of their advisory role to government. These principles have all impacted on the practice of public administration in the Caribbean.

Much can be said about the cabinet system, the classical orthodox system, the politics/administration dichotomy, the role of public administration, and the multidimensional issues that emerge from the struggle for development, but such an

²⁰Ibid., 14.

examination is beyond the scope of this paper. The discussion will be confined to the elements of development administration that have contributed to problems in the Caribbean, resulting in the present crisis and consequently, the need for restructuring of the civil service.

CARIBBEAN REALITY

Various types of problems emerged in the newly independent Caribbean countries as a result of the development process. Many of these were documented in the "First Report of the Working Party on the Role and Status of the Civil Service in the Age of Independence" published in Port of Spain in 1964. While this report related specifically to the Trinidad and Tobago public service, the problems were common to the other Caribbean countries during their post-independence era, as they shared a similar history, colonial legacy and general circumstances.

Firstly, civil servants could not adjust to their new role of decision makers; they still saw themselves as assemblers of information in duly labelled files to be passed to the top of the hierarchy. The Report warned that "skill in paper passing is not enough to ensure that problems of financial policy.. or economic development are dealt with satisfactorily."²¹ There was also an ingrained tendency to stand firm on regulations without too much concern for what

²¹Ryan, Race and Nationalism in Trinidad and Tobago, 347.

was gained or lost by this lack of flexibility. The Report found that "in far too many cases, the regulations were used to penalize, rather than to protect. Instead of being used as the servant of the administration, 'the regulations' had been regarded as its master, to be obeyed to the letter, whatever the consequences in terms of human hardship and, sometimes, even of downright injustice."²² Civil servants, especially at the junior level, could not relate their role to the needs of the nation and felt that their presence was not in any way vital to the functioning of the machinery of government.

Another major problem was the conflict that existed in intra-organizational relationships.²³ New technocrats found that older public servants resented their zeal and impatience with the established ways of doing things, their rapid mobility and their easy access to the new political elite. Conflict inevitably occurred in the relationships between technical officers, administrative officers, permanent secretaries, and sometimes with their ministers, many of whom lacked the necessary knowledge and training to perform their duties effectively. There were frequent struggles to "demonstrate beyond question exactly who was boss."²⁴ The

²²Government of Trinidad and Tobago, First Report of the Working Party on the Role and Status of the Civil Service in the Age of Independence, (1964): 4, quoted in Ryan, Race and Nationalism in Trinidad and Tobago, 347.

²³Ryan, 349-50.

²⁴Ibid., 350.

smallness of the society and the consequent absence of privacy and anonymity tended to intensify jealousies and rivalries.

There was also the tendency for the prime minister and senior officers to undertake many roles that should have been allocated to juniors, because of lack of trust in their competence or reliability. This led to junior officers becoming less responsible, less involved and more prone to paper-passing. The Working Party Report found that "practically every decision, no matter how simple, now seemed to involve the personal approval of the highest level of officers, and not infrequently of the highest authority itself. More Notes go to Cabinet in one month than go to the British Cabinet in an entire year."²⁵ Indeed, even now, many matters that could easily be handled at a lower level still go to Cabinet for decisions. The Report also found that many officers were genuinely afraid to render advice that might be politically objectionable for fear of victimisation.

The civil service itself stressed such things as fringe benefits, security, tenure, and salary increments according to seniority regardless of performance, much more than development-oriented attributes. It was welfare-oriented, rather than task-oriented. Recruitment was based largely on formal academic qualifications, rather than on any real test of administrative or technical competence.²⁶

²⁵Working Party Report, 8.

²⁶Ryan, 353.

Inter-organizational conflicts were also frequent and coordination was marginal. Some ministries refused to reveal to other departments information which was needed to carry out agreed policies. A 'shroud of secrecy' appeared to envelop even the most trivial policy matters and some who possessed knowledge of policies tended to behave as though they were guardians of vital state secrets. It was a classic example of the "knowledge is power" syndrome. The Report commented that "prudence in the disclosure of official policy is not a characteristic to be discouraged in public officers. Excessive secrecy is, however, not only contrary to the spirit of democracy, but also a contributor to administrative inefficiency."²⁷

Another key block to efficiency was the control exercised by the Ministry of Finance, which kept a tight rein on operational expenditures of the entire public sector. This was designed to ensure financial accountability and to reduce public sector costs, but it became dysfunctional with its negative approach of "waiting for a proposal to reject", in a society where government spending was to be a stimulant to economic activity.²⁸

With all these problems, comments were frequently made that the old colonial service was better. However, the real problem was that the expanded range of governmental activity

²⁷Working Party Report, 12.

²⁸Ibid., 12.

and the heightened level of public expectations had imposed demands on a bureaucracy that was not designed to cope with the new responsibilities.²⁹ Business organizations complained about inefficient and slow port-clearing facilities, confusing and rapidly changing regulations, the impossibility of obtaining prompt and definite rulings or replies or permission to act, and difficulty of access to authoritative decision-makers.³⁰ There was understaffing at the senior level, overstaffing at the junior levels and lack of competence, civility or any sense of urgency.

Perhaps one of the most crucial problems for the new administration was the lack of trained professional, technical and skilled personnel. Many of the citizens who possessed marketable training sought employment in the private sector which paid higher salaries, while others emigrated to more developed countries, causing the much-lamented "brain-drain."³¹

The Working Party Report which highlighted many of the above problems was presented in 1964, two years after Trinidad and Tobago's independence, when the country was experiencing inevitable "teething problems." In the three decades that have since elapsed, there have been many developments, both in

²⁹Ryan, 358.

³⁰Ibid., 359.

³¹Hope, The Dynamics of Development and Development Administration, 94-95.

the structure and the working of the public service. Some of the original problems have been alleviated, but others still persist, albeit to a lesser extent. For example, with respect to the lack of trained manpower, many people have been trained at the three campuses of the University of the West Indies, in the faculties of Law, Medicine, Public Administration, Agriculture, Economics, Business Administration, Sociology, Accounting, Engineering (civil, electrical and mechanical), and other Arts and Sciences. Technical Institutes were established to offer training in carpentry, land surveying, draughtsmanship, masonry, and a host of other technical skills. Government scholarships have been offered annually providing training both locally and abroad in many professional and technical fields of study. However, there is still the problem of attracting qualified persons to work in the public service, because of the considerably lower compensation packages which it offers.

Nevertheless, increased training has raised the level of proficiency in the public service. Managers are better educated and more confident, enabling them to provide sound advice to the policy makers without fear of victimization. The inter- and intra- departmental conflicts, and withholding of information have been largely alleviated. There is also better on-the-job training within the service. The Training Division is well staffed with highly trained officers and provides training to employees at all levels. But training

has not been a panacea for all the ills afflicting the public service. A host of problems still exist and new ones have developed over time, with the mushrooming of government which occurred during the development process. These have caused rapid decline in the level of efficiency and effectiveness and have led to various initiatives for administrative reform, culminating in the present move towards restructuring.

IMPETUS FOR CHANGE

Organizational inefficiency

The rapid economic expansion of Trinidad and Tobago saw a parallel growth in the size of the public service, which now numbers over 40,000.³² Government is the main employer in the country and there is still the tendency to expect, as an inalienable right, (especially among the untrained and unskilled), that it should provide jobs for them.³³ Government has indeed created new agencies and departments to administer projects and provide additional services over the years. This has caused it to become quite unwieldy. At the same time, a high level of centralization exists, a prime example being the human resource management function. A look

³²Government of Trinidad and Tobago, Report of a Cabinet Appointed Task Force on Centralization of the Human Resource Management Functions in the Public Service, (October 1992), 11.

³³Service Commissions Department of Trinidad and Tobago, Strategic Plan 1992-1997 (Port of Spain, 1992), 5.

at the operations of the Public Service Commission demonstrates this problem.

The Public Service Commission is one of four independent Service Commissions appointed under the Constitution to carry out the human resource management function within the public service. (The other three Commissions are the Teaching Service Commission, the Police Service Commission, and the Judicial and Legal Service Commission). The Public Service Commission has the largest portfolio, being responsible for all professional, technical, administrative, clerical, secretarial and manipulative³⁴ staff, as well as the prison and fire services. While permanent secretaries are responsible for managing their individual ministries in the implementation of government policies, they do not have the constitutional authority to recruit, select, appoint, promote, transfer, discipline or terminate staff. They have limited delegated powers to deal with day-to-day matters, such as short-term acting arrangements and intra-ministerial transfers. However, final decisions with regard to the human resource function rest with the relevant Service Commission.

The rationale for this centralized approach was that in such a small developing country, the framers of the Constitution wished to establish non-political bodies in order to ensure a neutral public service, free from the undesirable

³⁴This is the term generally used to refer to support staff such as janitors, messengers, watchmen, maids, receptionists, telephone operators, etc.

effects of discrimination, nepotism and injustice. The Service Commissions Department is the secretariat that provides support services to the Commissions to enable them to carry out their functions.

Because the sole authority for the human resource management function is vested in the Public Service Commission, it plays a pivotal role in all the activities associated with this function throughout the ministries of the public service. On a daily basis, recommendations on staffing matters are received from permanent secretaries for approval of the Commission. These proposals are researched, analyzed, and prepared for submission to the Commission. Because of the generic nature of many posts and the need for impartiality, the emphasis tends to be on seniority, rather than merit.

It can be seen, therefore, that the public service is highly centralized to the extent that no staffing function can occur without the prior approval of the Commission. There are advantages and disadvantages to this system. It ensures equity of treatment for all; however, it creates bottlenecks and delays, reduces flexibility and inhibits the efficient functioning of the public service in today's dynamic environment. Furthermore, the strict adherence to the seniority principle inhibits the promotion of superior performers, acts as a demotivator, and appears to reward mediocrity. Many are promoted to a level beyond their competence.

Another problem is that the human resource management function itself is fragmented.³⁵ The Service Commissions Department deals with staffing; the Personnel Department deals with conditions of service, the grant of no-pay leave, study leave, extended sick leave, job analysis, job classification and compensation; the Training Division deals with training and the administration of scholarships, the Technical Co-operation Division of the Prime Minister's Office also deals with training and scholarships that are funded by foreign agencies; the Organization and Management Division is responsible for reviewing the organizational structures and management techniques and procedures of the public service; and the Pensions Division deals with superannuation benefits upon separation or retirement. This fragmentation causes confusion, duplication and lack of co-ordination of functions.

A report of a Cabinet appointed task force to address the issue of centralization of the Human Resource Management function in the public service, issued in October, 1992, concluded that

what exists today are procedures and 'regulations' that are primarily intended to ensure compliance, control, the appearance of equity, natural justice and protection from perceived dangers of political interference. As a result of this orientation, activities that are required for the management of public servants in the workplace are carried out in ways that are re-active rather than pro-active, and regulatory, rather than facilitating. This approach to managing people is today considered to be the antithesis of what is generally accepted to be desirable

³⁵Task Force Report, 23-25.

characteristics of effective Human Resource Management.³⁶

Because of these and numerous other problems, a programme of administrative reform and organizational restructuring is now being seriously promoted by the government with the full support of the political elite, as a matter of urgency, in an effort to rationalize the workings of the public service.

Economic Crisis

Another important impetus for change in the public service has been the economic crisis in which Trinidad and Tobago has found itself. The country's economy is oil-based, and is therefore subject to the vagaries of international price-setting. During the period 1974 to 1982, the country experienced rapid economic expansion due to rising oil production and increased world prices. However, the fall in international oil prices in 1983 precipitated eight years of decline in economic activity. As a result, the government took steps to reduce the dependence on oil through diversification, by utilizing the abundant natural gas resources, which are of tremendous importance to "downstream" industries. Apart from the oil industry, the country now also relies on the production of nitrogenous fertilizers, ammonia, urea methanol, iron and steel, manufacturing and asphalt. However, oil is still the primary export and with the

³⁶Task Force Report, 4.

relatively low prices which have prevailed, the economic situation is still quite fragile.³⁷

From 1983, several reform measures were introduced to adjust the economy to lower earnings from the petroleum sector. These adjustment efforts were intensified in 1986, following the virtual collapse of the oil market.³⁸ The government has been implementing a comprehensive programme of financial stabilization and structural adjustment initiatives to facilitate the resumption of growth and to foster the development of a more competitive, efficient and resilient economy. The major features of this programme have been trade policy reform, tax reform, improved fiscal management, exchange rate adjustments, revision of the foreign investment regime, reduction of price controls, liberalization of exchange controls, and substantial rationalization or closure of state enterprises. The programme has been facilitated by two stand-by arrangements from the International Monetary Fund (IMF), a re-scheduling of debt repayments to bilateral and commercial creditors, and a structural adjustment loan from the IBRD.³⁹

³⁷Minister of Planning and Development, Letter of Sectoral Policy to IADB, May 4, 1993.

³⁸Ibid.

³⁹Minister of Planning and Mobilization, Letter to the International Bank of Reconstruction and Development - Strategy for Business Expansion and Industrial Restructuring in Trinidad and Tobago, October 24, 1991.

In addition, there was a devaluation of the currency by approximately 15 percent in August 1988, and also a revision to the personal income tax regimes which have resulted in a reduction of tax exemptions and a lowering of the marginal rates. A Value Added Tax was introduced in 1990, wage rates in the public service were frozen and then temporarily reduced from 1988 to 1991, and the amount of transfer payments to public enterprises were cut back significantly.⁴⁰

This economic crisis has impacted on the public service in a number of important ways. Public servants remained without any salary increase from 1983 to 1991, pending a decision from the Industrial Court⁴¹ in response to their rejection of government's offer of 6% over a 3-year period from 1984 to 1986 (2% - 2% - 2%). The Industrial Court finally awarded 2% in 1989 over the three-year period 1989 to 1991 (0% - 0% - 2%), but this was not paid until 1992. Since then, no other salary increases have been forthcoming. The Cost of Living Allowance was suspended from January 1987 to December 1988, but was reinstated in 1989. Annual increments have been suspended since 1987 and have not been reinstated. Public Service salaries were cut by 10% from January 1989 to December 1990, but were restored to their previous levels from 1992, although the arrears have not been paid. A Voluntary

⁴⁰Ibid.

⁴¹The Industrial Court is the final appeal body for adjudicating labour conflicts in the country.

Termination of Employment Plan was introduced in July 1989, offering attractive compensation packages to employees who wished to make a voluntary separation from the public service. This was designed with the hope that within 3 years from July, 1989 to June, 1992, the public service would be reduced by 9,600 employees.⁴² However, only approximately 600 employees accepted the offer.⁴³ These measures were taken because the public service wage bill was absorbing a large percentage of government revenue.⁴⁴

These measures have affected the level of motivation of public servants, who went on a series of "go-slow" and "work-to-rule" periods to register their objections. Also, the freezing of salaries and the suspension of annual merit increases have made a mockery of the performance appraisal system and the reward system, because there is no longer any financial incentive to perform well. There is a lack of trust in the government on the part of public servants, who feel that they are being made to bear the whole burden of readjustment of the economy by an unfeeling and unsympathetic government.

⁴²Prime Minister and Minister of Finance and The Economy, Budget Speech and Taxation Measures 1989. 30-33.

⁴³Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Finance, Memorandum to Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Consumer Affairs and Social Services, January 14, 1994.

⁴⁴Budget Speech 1989, 30-31.

As a result of all the problems outlined above, the government now sees it as imperative that the public service be reduced, rationalized, streamlined and restructured. It has stated that

the focus of the Administrative Reform Programme in the public service will be the implementation of long-standing recommendations for changes in the traditional system of operation. The major objectives of the programme will be to address long-term efficiency of the administration and to promote greater cost-effectiveness.⁴⁵

Conclusion

The above discussions have shown the impetus for change in the Caribbean public service to have derived mainly from organizational inefficiency and economic problems. However, as stated in the introduction, other major contributing factors have been the compelling changes in technology and in the global environment which have occurred over the past decade. These changes have impacted on the public sector as much as the private sector, but the latter has been in a better position to adjust because of the inherent difference in the nature, size, mission and operations of its organizations.

Furthermore, many governments (including those in the Caribbean) have been faced with additional challenges. They have found themselves competing with business for many services which the public service has traditionally provided,

⁴⁵Minister of Planning and Development Letter of Sectoral Policy to the IADB, May 4, 1993.

such as security, transportation, cleaning and maintenance. In addition, the general public has been demanding higher standards and greater efficiency from government in the delivery of its services.

Accountability is another issue. Despite the existence of the Public Accounts Committee, which is regarded as the "watchdog" of the people, there has been very little accountability within the public service. Sanctions are seldom imposed for waste or inefficiency against public officials, who bask in the knowledge of their job security. Now that the "bottom line" of government has become important to taxpayers, governments have had to re-examine their "raison d'etre" and to re-evaluate their new role for the future. Many services are being privatized. In short, the vision, mission and values of government are being questioned and redefined.

The next chapter will explore some of the models for reform and restructuring being implemented internationally in both the private and public sectors.

Chapter 2

MODELS FOR CHANGE

As we approach the end of the century, our current methods of governance are being increasingly questioned. The forces of globalization are expanding our horizons, the role of the nation-state is in flux and the search for a sense of community is ever growing. We can no longer rely on our traditional reference points. This is especially true regarding the future shape of government and its responsibilities. Indeed, (many countries are) launched on a process of rethinking government. This process will be more fundamental than past attempts at reform. It will go far beyond approaches such as "total quality management" and "cultural change," which focus primarily on government processes. Rethinking government means taking a hard look at the size and structure of the public service, particularly in the light of the perilous state of public finances. It means dispelling the common belief that a public good is a free good. Rethinking government also means devising ways of responding to the needs of citizens, who increasingly demand that services from the public and private sectors be of comparable quality. Significant reform is required to close the gap.⁴⁶

Literature Review

This chapter looks at some of the models for change that are being implemented within organizations, both in the public and private sectors. A review will be done of alternative approaches to public sector reform and restructuring which were presented at the research and roundtable discussions sponsored by the Institute for Research on Public Policy in Montreal in June, 1993. The conference publication, "Rethinking Government: Reform or Reinvention?" included

⁴⁶Monique Jerome-Forget, "Foreword", in Rethinking Government: Reform or Reinvention?, ed. F. L. Seidle (Montreal: The Institute for Research on Public Policy (IRPP), 1993), 3.

contributions from Canadian as well as international communities, and offers broad perspectives and insights into possible methods of innovation. The Canadian model of public service reform, Public Service 2000, which has been recently introduced, will also be discussed.

Before reviewing the public sector, however, it would be prudent to look briefly at the some of the methods of restructuring which have been implemented by the private sector to deal with the new challenges posed by the changing environment. It is important to review trends in the private sector, because while efforts at administrative reform have been pursued within the public sector for some time, the most innovative and comprehensive restructuring strategies have emerged from the corporate private sector, as a response to the turbulent external environment.

It is also instructive to look at the private sector initiatives, because, according to the opening quote, citizens now demand that service from the public and private sectors be of comparable quality. Citizens being served by the public service no longer see themselves as "beneficiaries," but rather as "clients," and expect a high level of service for their increasingly high taxes. Contrary to previous beliefs, there is a "bottom line" in the public sector in terms of its finances - taxpayers' money - and "efficiency" has acquired a heightened importance, with serious financial overtones. The public service needs to tap into the entrepreneurial spirit of

the private sector and utilize some of its strategies, including those used for restructuring.

The term "restructuring" is one of many buzzwords which have emerged out of the private sector to denote a change in the size, structure and operations of an organization. The literature includes other words used interchangeably, such as downsizing, layoffs, cutbacks, workforce reduction, rightsizing, becoming "lean and mean," "doing more with less," rationalizing, reorganizing, and streamlining (among others). In this paper, "restructuring" will be taken to mean all of these and more. It will transcend the concept of simply reducing the workforce to cut costs. It will include changes in the structure, processes, operations and procedures of the organization to improve communication, decision-making, response time, accountability, productivity, efficiency, quality of service, and flexibility. It also envisages a change in the culture, vision and mission of the organization. However, the term "administrative reform" will sometimes be used synonymously with "restructuring."

The main focus of all restructuring efforts, has been the inevitable reduction of the workforce, because it has important implications, not only for the financial aspects, but also for the human elements of the organization. With respect to the latter, it affects not only those laid off, but also the "survivors" and therefore, the organization. Partly

because of these implications, there is a large body of literature on workforce reduction.

Downsizing

The scope, rationale, strategies used, and outcomes of private sector downsizing are well researched.

In the early 1980's, organizational downsizing had its primary impact on blue-collar employees and manufacturing organizations. More recently, the scope of downsizing has broadened beyond these traditional targets to affect white-collar employees as well. Downsizing targets increasingly include middle-level managers, professional staff, and even the upper, executive echelons of management. It has also spread beyond manufacturing to encompass service organizations. Moreover, there are indications that both the increasing prevalence and the changing scope of downsizing are international in nature.⁴⁷

The reasons given for downsizing include foreign competition, deregulation, mergers and acquisitions, increasing costs, changing technology, the shift from a manufacturing to a service economy, shifts and cutbacks in government spending, and simply poor management.⁴⁸

It has been estimated that by the end of 1986, almost seventy-five percent of the Fortune 500 companies had undergone a reorganization in which 1,000 or more workers were

⁴⁷Steve W.J. Kozlowski et al. "Organizational Downsizing: Strategies, Interventions, and Research Implications", in International Review of Industrial and Organizational Psychology 1993 Volume 8. C.I. Cooper and I.T. Robertson (Eds.) (New York: John Wiley & Sons 1993), 263.

⁴⁸Heisler, Jones & Benham, "Organizational Downsizing: Managing the Restructuring Process", in Managing Human Resource Issues (1988), 104.

cut.⁴⁹ More than eighty-five percent of the Fortune 1000 firms downsized their white-collar workforce between 1987 and 1991, affecting more than five million jobs, with more than fifty percent downsizing in 1990 alone. Major reductions occurred in firms such as ITT (more than forty percent of the company's workforce), K-Mart and Peat Marwick (more than twenty percent), IBM and Sears (more than ten percent). Almost a million American managers with salaries exceeding \$40,000 lost their jobs in 1990 and between one and two million pink slips were handed out each year from 1989 to 1991.⁵⁰ IBM removed 40,000 workers (twice as many as originally planned) in 1992 alone.⁵¹ DuPont cut fifty percent of its executive positions at the Vice-President level and above and General Electric removed five of its nine layers of management.⁵² The list is endless and it is clear that this trend is here to stay.

The international scene tells the same story. In Europe, a similar shift from predominantly blue-collar to white-collar reductions has been documented. With the achievement of a unified market in the European Economic Community in 1992, the

⁴⁹Ibid.

⁵⁰Kim S. Cameron, Sarah J. Freeman and Aneil K. Mishra, "Best Practices in White-collar Downsizing: Managing Contradictions" Academy of Management Executive, 1991 Vol 5 No 3. 57.

⁵¹"The Typing on the Wall", in The Economist (October, 3, 1992). 74.

⁵²Kozlowski et al. (1993), 265.

tradition of lifetime employment is expected to end as many organizations restructure for competitive advantage. In addition, the recent political changes in Central and Eastern Europe have launched ambitious programmes to privatize enterprises that were previously state-owned. These changes have already resulted in programmes that move away from policies preventing unemployment, toward the downsizing of overstaffed and inefficient organizations.⁵³

In Japan, because of the battered stockmarket and decline in corporate profits in 1992, many firms sharply reduced their estimates of earnings. Many others announced job cuts of unprecedented size for large established employers. Nissan, Japan's second largest car maker, cut 4,000 jobs, Oki Electric, a telecommunications equipment manufacturer, cut 2,000, and JVC, a consumer electronics firm cut 3,000. Prompted by government announcements about Japan's labour shortage, many companies had gone on a "hiring binge." Misreading the growth of the economy, they also spent large sums on labour-saving equipment, such as robots, automated warehouses and electronic point-of-sale ordering systems. After this capital spending and the labour shortage myth had taken their toll, the only sure way of cutting costs quickly was to cut jobs. Previously, this was confined to the small

⁵³Ibid.

companies that acted as subcontractors, but recent cuts have been in the larger firms as well.⁵⁴

The scope of corporate downsizing described above gives an indication of the importance of this phenomenon in today's organizations. The drastic measure of having to downsize can be avoided or minimized, however, if efforts are made to keep the organization lean. This starts with an analysis of two aspects of organizational structure - span of control and hierarchical levels or layers of management. If tight control is maintained over these structural dimensions, the tendency of organizations to get fat as they prosper can be curbed. At Federal Express, the company closely monitored workforce statistics, such as the ratio of direct and indirect staff to each \$1 million in sales. There was also a conscious campaign to control the size of the organization. This included an awareness programme, study of other companies, monitoring of corporate processes such as selection, compensation, an incentive system to reward nonmanagement personnel for their achievements, careful review of all requests for additional manpower, and frequent evaluation of new positions or changes for effectiveness.⁵⁵ There are also other ways of accomplishing more without increasing the workforce, such as the use of overtime, subcontracting work to another company,

⁵⁴"Employment in Japan: Wielding a Sword", The Economist (September 5, 1992), 70.

⁵⁵Heisler, Jones and Benham (1988), 107.

leasing of employees from temporary agencies for short periods, using retirees (to avoid retraining) and accelerated development of exceptional personnel.⁵⁶

Downsizing can be proactive or reactive. **Proactive** downsizing, is a long-term process which incorporates a variety of strategies, is linked to long-range strategic objectives, preserves distinctive and critical competencies, and is carefully monitored through human resource management interventions. In contrast, **reactive** downsizing decisions are poorly articulated with respect to these criteria. The time-frame is compressed, criteria are simplistic, strategically relevant competencies are not considered, and the process is unmanaged. Many organizations miss the environmental signals indicating the need for adjustment and are then forced into crisis situations which necessitate immediate personnel cutbacks to generate savings.⁵⁷ These downsizing efforts are poorly planned and are often ineffective.

Whether downsizing is proactive or reactive in form, decisions must be made as to which segments of the organization must be targeted for reduction and how. There are various options here. Downsizing may focus on **geographical locations**, such as countries, regions, or specific sites. It may occur because of high maintenance costs, higher taxes, technological obsolescence, mergers or

⁵⁶Ibid.

⁵⁷Kozlowski et al. (1993), 307.

acquisitions. Certain functions may be targeted, such as human resources, or research and development; or specific positions, representing redundant, superfluous, or obsolete competencies and skills (usually affecting blue-collar workers) may be abolished. There can also be a reduction in the number of administrative levels in an effort to expedite decision-making and improve flexibility. This is usually associated with restructuring and is accompanied by reorganization of departmental units (usually affecting middle managers, professional staff and executives). Finally, there can be across the board personnel cuts. These are made in a uniform fashion, without specific targeting, and are done simply to perform the same functions with fewer personnel. These cuts are usually based on seniority for equity purposes and can result in the loss of key competencies to the organization. Cuts can also be done on the basis of merit or performance, but these can be perceived as unfair if the evaluation system is not entirely objective.⁵⁸

Downsizing strategies

There are five hierarchical levels of strategies for downsizing, reflecting the central tradeoff between maintaining employee well-being versus short-term cost savings to the organization: natural attrition, induced redeployment,

⁵⁸Ibid., 285-87.

involuntary redeployment, layoff with outplacement assistance, and layoff without outplacement assistance.⁵⁹

Natural attrition entails freezing or limiting the influx of new employees. The workforce shrinks because employees who are terminated, retire, resign or die are not replaced. Care must be taken to ensure that the required skills are maintained within the organization. This method offers the greatest amount of employee well-being as it does not alter the psychological contract between the organization and its employees. However, it is usually the slowest of the five means of reducing labour costs.⁶⁰

With induced redeployment, management offers incentives for early retirement or resignation, retraining for transfer to undersupplied jobs, the option of shorter work schedules, curtailed advancement opportunities, work sharing and leave without pay. Induced redeployment reduces labour costs more quickly than does natural attrition. However, it is difficult to predict the level of response and the organization may lose many people with critical skills. In terms of employees' well-being, this method may hamper their control over

⁵⁹Leonard Greenhalgh, Anne T. Lawrence, and Robert I. Sutton, "Determinants of Workforce Reduction Strategies in Declining Organizations in Academy of Management Review, (1988) Vol. 13 No 2, 241 - 254.

⁶⁰Ibid.

continuity of employment, but is less distressing than layoffs, because it does not threaten economic security.⁶¹

Involuntary redeployment includes all the measures of induced redeployment, but here employees are required to participate and to accept these changes. In addition, demotion or downgrading is part of this strategy, which can be implemented without agreement by the employees. Involuntary redeployment reduces costs quickly because it can be implemented immediately. However, employees feel that they cannot influence the continuity of their employment, even though they are not threatened with job loss.⁶²

The last two strategies involve **layoffs**. Layoffs cut payroll costs immediately, but remove employees' control over their basic economic security. **Layoffs with outplacement support** are more costly, but offer assistance in adjusting to the termination by providing continuation of benefits, vocational retraining and counselling. **Layoffs without outplacement support** are the most drastic form of downsizing as they do not offer the employees any form of assistance in coping with the transition to unemployment. However, this system results in greatest short-term savings for the organization and is therefore the one that is most often used in downsizing.⁶³

⁶¹Ibid.

⁶²Ibid.

⁶³Ibid.

Regardless of the strategy used, there will be effects on the displaced employees, the survivors and the organization. Displaced employees experience financial loss, as well as negative impacts on their well-being, attitudes and family relationships. Surviving personnel also experience stress, as well as insecurity, guilt, fear, and decreased morale, trust and commitment to the organization. Within the organization, there are significant increases in role conflict, role overload, role ambiguity, reduced productivity, a decrease in morale and lack of communication feedback.⁶⁴

The type of workforce reduction strategy used by an organization depends on a number of variables. At the employee level, it would depend on the types of skills, the external demand for such skills, the mix of generic and organization-specific skills, age and seniority. At the organizational level, it would depend on the structure of the firm (multidivisional vs unitary), the use of temporary workers, the level of slack resources, and the organizational history and value system. At the environmental level, factors would include whether it is a public or private sector organization, whether it is unionized, and the public policy context.⁶⁵

The effects of downsizing vary, depending on the type of strategy used, the method of implementation and the

⁶⁴Kozlowski et al (1993), 270-79.

⁶⁵Greenhalgh, Lawrence and Sutton (1988), 246.

characteristics, situations and attributions of employees. All of these salient aspects of downsizing must be properly considered before a decision is made, as they would dictate the success of the strategy chosen in terms of the organization's efficiency and effectiveness, as well as the well-being of displaced workers and survivors.⁶⁶

Public sector models of restructuring

Restructuring has also had an impact on the public service and its institutions, both in Canada and internationally. Some of the more popular methods used have been decentralization, deregulation, privatization, delayering, and empowerment of employees. It is clear, however, that these changes, while valid in themselves, are only bandages. The old ways of government are being questioned in a fundamental manner and governments need to go much further in order to make meaningful changes. The public is concerned, not only about the cost and complexity of government, but also about the fact that the administration does not pay enough attention to quality of service, that the public service is not judged on the basis of results and does not allow for adequate client and public involvement in the development and implementation of policies.⁶⁷

⁶⁶Kozlowski et al., (1993), 270-79.

⁶⁷F. Leslie Seidle, ed., Rethinking government: Reform or Reinvention? (Montreal: Institute for Research on Public Policy, 1993), 7.

One view expressed by Gaebler is that the public service is more suited to "steering" (developing policy), than "rowing" (actually delivering service). The original word of "government" in Greek means "to steer," not "to row." By being a catalyst for change and for the provision of services, government can make sure things happen to enable people to meet their quality-of-life needs, without necessarily doing it with government employees. According to Gaebler, what is needed is "entrepreneurial government" : public sector institutions should anticipate problems rather than simply react to them, encourage competition (thus expanding consumer choice) and measure and publicize results.⁶⁸

Jerome-Forget expressed the view that "internal tinkering" with government administration at various levels is no longer adequate. She suggested that reform should be looked at from three perspectives. The first is the size and structure of government- span of control, number of public servants, and what are seen as the essential tasks. The second is how government departments work, especially how decisions are taken and how departments are managed. Government organizations must be mission-driven (that is driven by goals, not rules and regulations), and results-oriented (measuring performance). This can be done by changing the culture of the organizations. The third is the

⁶⁸Ted Gaebler, "Reinventing Government: Priorities and Potential", in Rethinking Government: Reform or Reinvention?, ed. F. Leslie Seidle (Montreal: IRPP, 1993), 126.

relationship between government and citizens, in particular, how government serves the people. There must also be a vision for reform and political support for change.⁶⁹

According to Gaebler, many tasks previously performed by government are now being done by the private sector, in competition with the public sector. There is the need to see government in this competitive environment and to inject a sense of ownership into public employees. He cites the following example which occurred in the United States:

In 1972, our postal service spent three years debating whether to go from an 11-cent stamp to a 14-cent stamp. In 1972, Federal Express was born and proved that people would pay US \$12.75 to get something there, guaranteed overnight, while the postal service was fooling around with 11 cents to 14 cents. Today, our postal service delivers 66 percent junk mail, Christmas cards and bills. Anything else you want to get to anybody else you fax, you modem, you hand carry, or you courier, you satellite uplink, you teleconference, you telephone. It is astonishing the market share our postal service has lost over that period. They did not understand they were in a competitive market.⁷⁰

Another example referred to by Gaebler is the police service, where almost twice as many police officers are employed in the private, as in the public sector. His view is that government also needs to drop services and programs that have long since outlived their need. He also criticized a variety of civil service systems: procurement and purchasing systems, revenue-generating systems, information-flow systems,

⁶⁹Monique Jerome-Forget, "Opening Remarks" in Rethinking Government, 15 - 18.

⁷⁰Ted Gaebler, "Situating the Debate on Government Reform", in Rethinking government, 25.

accounting, personnel, budgeting and managerial systems, as well as the lack of strategic planning systems. There are good people trapped in bad systems. Between 15 and 30 percent of government spending is on supporting outmoded, archaic, centralized systems that add to the costliness of government and the perception of inefficiency. In this context, he noted that in the US:

all our rules are written to go after that one percent (of workers) to make the other 99 percent feel that they are stealing and are not to be trusted. So because of the way the rules are written for the one percent, the message gets to the other employees that their creativity should be inhibited.

With respect to budgeting systems, Gaebler commented that under the current budgeting systems there is no incentive for departments to save money.

All governmental budgeting systems in the US have a built-in incentive for public employees to spend money. Otherwise: (a) you do not get to keep it in your department; (b) you don't get as much money next year if you don't spend your allocations for this year, which is why 40 percent of all government spending takes place in the last quarter of every fiscal year; and (c) if you don't spend what you were allocated, you asked for too much.

Gaebler concluded that

the challenge of a leaner future is to provide services without a lot of bureaucratic nonsense, without a lot of baggage dragging behind us, and to create a taxpaying clientele that likes what governments do and how they do it.⁷¹

⁷¹Gaebler, "Reinventing Government" in Rethinking Government: Reform or Reinvention? 124-26.

With respect to coping with change, Thomas stated that change is both continuous and tumultuous in terms of the social, economic, technological and political upheavals involved, and that successful organizations need to be anticipatory, flexible, responsive, inquisitive, innovative and adaptive. There is no one best way to manage change, and therefore, creative strategic improvisation would be more important than formal strategic planning. The organizational size and complexity of government operations mean that public managers face more complicated environments, a weaker sense of strategic direction and far more elaborate requirements for coordinating activities than their private sector counterparts. Efforts at decentralization and innovation have been frustrated by the need for budgetary restraint, and also by the constitutional requirements of ministerial responsibility and the dynamics of cabinet-parliamentary government.

The advice to public sector managers to develop their own strategies and to decentralize authority could undermine ministerial responsibility. Ministers will not for long pay the price of a loss to their political reputations when the mistakes or problems caused by more entrepreneurial bureaucrats become the focal point for opposition attacks.

Thomas proposed that in coping with change, the most prevalent system will be "adhocracy" and strategic

improvisation - a combination of systematic planning and continuous adaptive learning.⁷²

The British Model - The Next Steps Initiative

According to a paper by Jenkins and Gray, a major transformation has been occurring in the British civil service under the Next Steps Initiative programme. Key objectives of this initiative have been to separate responsibilities for policy development and delivery of services through the creation of "executive agencies" and to foster a more businesslike and client-oriented approach to service delivery in the operation of these agencies. Within this framework, the emphasis has been on releasing the initiative and energies of middle managers and staff. Managers have been given clearer strategic directions as well as more freedom to achieve quality results in ways they know will work for customers in their business.⁷³ In a wide range of services, the focus now is on delegated budgets, targets, performance, audit, contracts and purchaser/provider relationships as the new managerialism takes hold. These concepts are now being adopted in many countries of the world.

⁷²Paul Thomas "Coping With Change: How Public and Private Organizations Read and Respond to Turbulent External Environments", in Rethinking Government, 58.

⁷³Bill Jenkins and Andrew Gray, "Reshaping the Management of Government: The Next Steps Initiative in the United Kingdom", in Rethinking Government: Reform or Reinvention? 73.

The Next Steps Initiative was introduced in 1979 by former Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher, who vowed to reduce the size of the public sector, especially with respect to expenditure. The Prime Minister's Efficiency Unit was created in 1979 and in 1982, the Financial Management Initiative (FMI) was launched. The Unit has been a catalyst for initiating managerial change in government through its programme of departmental efficiency scrutinies. Its task is to detect and eliminate waste, as well as to change the culture of the civil service by making good management a valued and well rewarded activity. The FMI's focus has been delegated budgets, creation of information systems and a regime of accountable management, in which managers are given some operational freedom as long as they meet resource and performance targets.

John Major became Prime Minister in November, 1990 and continued the initiative. A major feature of this model is the creation of Next Steps Agencies to improve service delivery. Certain government activities are examined to decide whether they should be privatized, dispensed with, or contracted out. If none of these is appropriate, an Agency would be set up to operate in an autonomous way. A policy and resources framework would be designed and a chief executive appointed. Most chief executive posts are advertised and appointees come from a variety of backgrounds, within and outside the public service. They are on fixed term contracts, with salaries that have performance related

elements linked to agency targets. They also have direct access to ministers.

It is left to be seen whether the Next Steps initiative is successful in achieving its objectives. According to Jenkins and Gray, it has succeeded as a management innovation, because through it, a large section of the UK public service has been changed in structure, process and organizational culture. The view of the client has changed and delivery of service has improved greatly. However, certain problems have to be addressed. The employment of chief executives on contracts (which can be easily changed), militates against their full empowerment and therefore against effective management. The political nature of the programme still results in the politics / administration dichotomy, perhaps because the two are really inseparably linked. Moreover, strategies and initiatives need to be integrated. The balance of power between central government and agencies is still unclear. Reduced layers of bureaucracy to encourage responsiveness and flexibility have caused reduced accountability. Basically, the central government still controls and the administrative structures comply. Jenkins and Gray refer to this as "an old model of politics struggling to deal with a new model of management." While the Next Steps initiative is a step in the right direction, these questions must be addressed for the model to be effective.

PUBLIC SERVICE 2000 (PS 2000)

PS 2000 was launched by Prime Minister Brian Mulroney on December 12, 1989 as an initiative to renew the Public Service of Canada. Its purpose was to foster and encourage a public service that is professional, highly qualified, non-partisan and imbued with a mission of service to the public; one that recognizes its employees as assets to be valued and developed; places as much authority as possible in the hands of front-line employees and managers; and provides scope for different organizational forms to meet differing needs, in the context of a single public service.⁷⁴ To this end, the PM stated that the government's employment and personnel management regime would be less complicated and burdensome for managers and employees alike; central administrative controls would be reduced to give Deputy Ministers greater freedom to manage their departments and clearer accountability for results; the roles of central agencies and systems of personnel and administrative control would be clarified and simplified; and innovative ways to encourage efficiency and improve program delivery would be developed.⁷⁵

The thrust of PS 2000 is to create a new consultative and client-oriented culture in the Public Service.⁷⁶ The focus

⁷⁴Office of the Prime Minister, Public Service 2000: The Renewal of the Public Service of Canada (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1990), 3.

⁷⁵Ibid.

⁷⁶Ibid., 4.

is on those departments under direct Ministerial control, although the themes concerning values, service, innovation and deregulation also apply to the wider public service.⁷⁷

The public service has been examined periodically, usually by Royal Commissions. PS 2000 is different because it is led from within by those who must implement its results and it carries the conviction of Ministers and the leadership of the public service that this change is necessary. **Special Operating Agencies** have been introduced, which are designed to improve the delivery and cost-effectiveness of services by setting performance targets, applying private sector management techniques and monitoring performance. Other recent innovations are "government-owned, contractor-operated" facilities and the encouragement of employee takeovers. The Treasury Board's emphasis today is on providing guidance and assistance to departments, rather than telling them how to manage their affairs.⁷⁸ In 1989, the Public Service Commission simplified the staffing process and reduced considerably the number of guidelines and directives. Efforts have also been made to improve the quality of recruits; the Canadian Centre for Management Development was established in 1988 to upgrade management skills and foster change. Deputy Ministers have worked with the staff in their ministries to

⁷⁷Ibid., 6-7.

⁷⁸Ibid., 24-25.

develop clear departmental missions, to simplify procedures and to improve internal communications.

The Glassco Commission contributed the slogan "let the managers manage." In PS 2000, public servants will be held accountable for the results they achieve, rather than the processes they follow. In organizing the renewal, efforts were made to involve in some degree every member of the public service. It has been led by the Clerk of the Privy Council, assisted by the Chairman of the Public Service Commission, the Secretary of the Treasury Board, and by ten task forces composed of some 120 Deputy and Assistant Deputy Ministers and other senior officials. The findings and recommendations were made available to all members of the public service before the government made its decisions.⁷⁹

The model was structured around key areas which will be summarised here. The fundamentals of renewal include a new mission for the public service, greater consultation and partnership with citizens, establishment of clear standards of service and greater involvement of the regions. The model hopes to achieve better management of resources, through a system of incentives to save money. A single operating budget will be established for each ministry and its savings can be carried over to the next year. Rewards will be given to managers who realize unusual savings through productivity increases. Duplication in administrative services will be

⁷⁹Ibid., 39-41.

rationalized and the purchasing and procurement system will be decentralized. Careers in the public service will be facilitated by better recruitment and career planning systems and the use of training and development throughout all the ranks of the public service.

Several Acts of Legislation are being amended to clarify the roles of the Public Service Commission, Treasury Board, Privy Council, and line departments, in terms of the Human Resource Management function. The classification of occupational groups will be reduced by two-thirds, to allow for flexible deployment of staff and to reduce the levels of hierarchy in terms of reporting relationships. The Public Service Staff Relations Act will also be amended to provide more flexibility in Industrial Relations. Women, minority groups, aboriginal peoples and the disabled will be represented throughout all levels in the public service and managers will be assessed on their success in achieving this. The Public Service Employment Act will be amended to give Deputy Ministers more power in terms of recruitment and separation, enabling them to release poor performers. With respect to terms and conditions of employment, employees can choose the benefits package they prefer, and managers can use benefits and rewards as incentives to attract and maintain good performers. There will be greater accountability at all levels for the use of resources and results. Special training

will be given to Deputy Ministers and managers on how to evaluate employees.

Because of the pivotal role of Deputy Ministers, their effective performance is crucial to an effective public service. They will be assessed by the Minister, the Prime Minister, and Clerk of the Privy Council in terms of the quality of their judgement, support to the Minister, innovativeness, leadership, values, service, career development, standards, delegation, corporate role and accountability.

Given the fundamental importance of leadership and accountability in the public service, and the necessity to provide a more visible focus for renewal, the Government proposes to amend Section 40 of the Public Service Employment Act to provide for the statutory appointment of the Clerk of the Privy Council and Secretary to the Cabinet as Head of the Public Service.

With respect to the implementation of PS 2000, responsibility will be given to various persons. The Privy Council Office will ensure that the Prime Minister and Head of the Public Service are supported in implementation of the policies; Deputy Ministers will decentralize authority to their managers to shape the new service-oriented culture; the Treasury Board Secretariat will develop policy and work closely with Deputy Ministers; the Public Service Commission will concentrate on recruitment and promotion to ensure

competence and fairness. The Head of the Public Service will be required to report annually to the Prime Minister on the state of the public service in general, and for the next five years, on the implementation of PS 2000 in particular. The Prime Minister will table that report in Parliament.

Conclusion

The international public and private sector approaches and models to restructuring discussed in this chapter, while technically different, bear many general similarities. They are all geared towards decentralization and the empowerment of managers for quicker decision-making, deregulation, competitiveness, customer satisfaction, results, consultation, accountability, cost effectiveness, and rewards based on merit and performance. Both the British and the Canadian models have developed "Agencies" (The Next Steps Agencies in the U.K. and Special Operating Agencies in Canada) to improve service delivery and cost effectiveness. Both models had the benefit of support from the "political will" and were launched by the respective Prime Ministers (Thatcher in the U.K. and Mulroney in Canada). Their successors (Major and Chretien) have since continued the drive for change. The change agents in charge of implementation have also been at the most senior levels of the public service.

Financial management is at the core of the change process, with a new system of budgeting, allowing Chief Executives (in

the U.K.) and managers (in Canada) to determine how the money should be spent to achieve their goals in the most cost effective manner.

Most of the strategies of PS 2000 are innovative and should result in increased efficiency. However, there are some concerns. According to Bruce Rawson, Deputy Minister, Canadian Department of Fisheries and Oceans,⁸⁰ there are some services delivered by government that are analogous to those in the private sector, but only up to a point. There are many other services (like the collection of taxes and customs duties, enforcement of laws and regulations) that are distinct from those provided by the private sector. Success cannot be measured solely in terms of client satisfaction. There is also the requirement of entitlement: every citizen is legally entitled to government service. On the other side of the coin is the requirement for equity: laws and regulations must be interpreted in the same even-handed way throughout the country. The rejection of a request or an unfavourable decision to someone may be perceived as bad service. Satisfaction must be measured against the wider public interest. With government service, there is less scope for flexibility and responsiveness to individual client needs. Where government service is concerned, the customer is not going to be always right. In the circumstances, although some

⁸⁰Bruce Rawson, "Public Service 2000 Service to the Public Task Force: findings and implications", Canadian Public Administration Vol 34 No. 3. 490-500.

innovations in business can be helpful in the public sector, all cannot apply.

With respect to the goal of PS 2000 to create a service-oriented culture, problems are foreseeable. Processes and procedures are based on command and control theory, designed to avoid mistakes, not with the client's interest in mind. The system is not built to serve; it is built to avoid error, deflect criticism, and justify actions. It is a defensive system with so much fail-safe built in that it is complex, time-consuming and costly to operate. Motivated public servants feel constrained between serving their clients and complying with regulations. Change must begin at the top, with promotion, performance appraisal, and career advancement being based on initiative, innovation and external results.

With regard to "empowerment" to the front line, there are practical limits. There must be balance between mere delegation of minimum authority on the one hand, and a full transfer of discretionary power on the other. The litmus test must be the effect on the service. But particularly in the public service, some level of centralized control will always be both necessary and desirable. Also, a middle manager must be wary of a proposed delegation that brings a workload of added administrative responsibilities, as there may be less time to attend to clients. Furthermore, one cannot empower people simply by decree. Training will be the key to success in this new and more autonomous role.

With respect to decentralization, it might not necessarily be a good thing in all circumstances. The main yardstick will have to be the responsiveness of the system to meet the needs of the clients. In some cases, decentralization may only mean costly duplication of people and services. The limits of delegation and decentralization need to be recognized.

Finally, some public servants will face challenges of personal adaptation to the new systems envisaged by PS 2000. This is particularly the case with managers who have been in the service long enough to be conditioned by the existing system, and who will remain in it long enough to play a decisive role in implementing the new one.⁴²

There are other areas in PS 2000 that might make the system vulnerable, for example, the pivotal role to be played by Deputy Ministers in terms of the amount of delegated authority they will have. Specific concerns are as follows:- what real checks and balances are in place to prevent abuse of power or favouritism? What forms of redress would managers or members of staff have in the case of a personality clash with the Deputy Minister, whose evaluation of them would be crucial in terms of their rewards, promotion, or other career advancement? In the case of an ineffective Deputy Minister, (bearing in mind the amount of power he or she now has), what

⁴²Ibid.

would be the effects on the service before something is done to replace him or her?

These are some of the risks that would have to be taken as the inevitable cost of change. According to the mandate, PS 2000 will be evaluated continuously over the next few years. Hopefully, these concerns and problems will be satisfactorily resolved.

CHAPTER 3

PUBLIC SERVICE RESTRUCTURING IN JAMAICA AND BARBADOS

This chapter examines the efforts at public service restructuring that have taken place in Jamaica and Barbados. Like Trinidad and Tobago, both countries have had dealings with the International Monetary Fund during their respective economic crises and have had to impose strict austerity measures to reduce their public service wage bill. These measures have included a cut in wages and/or reduction of the workforce by layoffs and attrition. These patterns form a common thread among the Caribbean countries being studied, and also form the basis for the restructuring strategies implemented.

JAMAICA

Initiatives for Restructuring

Since 1984, administrative reform had been on the agenda of the Jamaica government. However, from 1991, the government intensified its efforts to review its role and structure, as well as to modernize civil service management systems and practices. This was brought about by three initiatives, which together formed the impetus for the restructuring exercise. These initiatives were the World Bank assisted Financial & Programme Management Improvement (FPM) Project, ongoing since

the 1991/92 financial year; the study and report in April 1992 on government structure by a group of advisors (The Nettleford Report); and the imperative to reduce the public service burden on the 1992/93 budget.⁸²

These initiatives were based on the government's commitment to develop a more market-oriented economy by withdrawing from commercial activities and removing restrictions on production and movement of goods and services. This would have to be facilitated by a reorganized public bureaucracy, geared towards cost-effectiveness.⁸³

The first initiative, the FPM project, had two components - corporate planning and programme budgeting. These are being progressively implemented in ministries and have special relevance for the restructuring effort. Corporate planning seeks to help ministries in defining their missions, objectives and priorities more clearly; identifying relevant programmes and performance indicators; developing administrative structures for cost effective programme delivery; and developing management information systems for effective monitoring and implementation of programme implementation. Programme budgeting, on the other hand, is based on clearly defined objectives and expenditures on

⁸²Marie Slyfield and Paulette Morgan, Downsizing - Jamaica's Experience 1992-1993, Paper presented at the World Bank Conference on Civil Service Reform in Latin America and the Caribbean, Washington D.C., 20-21 May 1993.

⁸³Ibid.

government programmes, projects and activities. It gives clear indications of the purposes of fund allocations, easier identification of programmes spanning several ministries, and a better definition of priorities in allocating scarce funds.⁸⁴ During the period of the restructuring exercise, ministries were in the process of implementing the corporate planning system. With respect to programme budgeting, four ministries had prepared their 1992/93 budgets in the required format, and five others were preparing to do so for 1993-94.⁸⁵

The second initiative, the **Nettleford Report**, was the result of a study commissioned by the former Prime Minister, Michael Manley on January 6, 1992, shortly after the government's decision to reduce the number of ministries from 17 to 14. The Prime Minister announced the appointment of a Committee of Advisors (under Professor Rex Nettleford of the University of the West Indies) to study the structure of government and its role in the new economic context. The study was intended to help sharpen the focus of the administration in the transition to a market-driven economy, and its recommendations were to serve as the basis for a plan of action for immediate and medium-term implementation. The exercise was seen as part of a "process of continuing consultation and dialogue between government, the private

⁸⁴Ibid.

⁸⁵Ibid.

sector and the community at large, in the interest of social stability, economic prosperity and an early end to the crisis of governance."⁸⁶

The Terms of Reference of the Committee were as follows:

1. To identify what the functions of government should be in the context of the new market-driven economy, and how it should organize itself to deliver maximum benefit to the population, given that there had been no fundamental change in the role and organization of government since the colonial period;
2. This examination should embrace all associated agencies of government;
3. The Committee's recommendations should be given to the group working under the direction of the Ministry of the Public Service, charged with the responsibility to improve government machinery;
4. There should be as extensive consultation as possible with socio-economic groups, to take into account their feelings and perceptions;
5. The Report of this Committee should be submitted within three months, so that action could be taken and accommodated in the 1991/92 budget.⁸⁷

⁸⁶Ministry of Finance and Planning, Report of the Committee of Advisors on Government Structure (Kingston, Jamaica: Printing Unit, Bank of Jamaica, 1992).

⁸⁷Ibid.

In carrying out its mandate, the Committee met in various parts of Jamaica, including the Kingston Corporate Area, Montego Bay and Mandeville. It also reviewed the reports of similar committees, like the Stone Report, as well as that of the Administrative Reform Programme.

The reform goals and management requirements were identified as the promotion of a client-centered, results-oriented, administrative machinery, capable of providing services efficiently and effectively to the population. There was a need to decentralize, simplify procedures, provide competent management and a professional, career-oriented public service.

In submitting its report, the Committee noted that lines would have to be drawn between state and private activity. It acknowledged the role of the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and Regional Development Banks, whose support would be conditional on the adoption by developing countries of the new economic models. The Committee also noted the effects of globalization, recession, the strong resistance to change, and the resulting hardship from the new economic policies. It found that the prevailing perception of government was that there was an over-concentration on decision-making, a low quality of service, and over-bureaucratization of methods, leading to compliance rather than service orientation. There was an over-manned, slow, lumbering bureaucracy, characterized by low morale, partly

because of unsatisfactory salaries and conditions of service, inadequate training, and political interference.⁸⁸

The Committee also found that there were too many statutory bodies, causing organizational fragmentation, duplication of functions, overlapping of jurisdiction / authority, and loss of accountability which undermined effectiveness and control. Differential salary scales and conditions of service caused reduced motivation, morale and productivity. There were weak policy and decision-making mechanisms, adherence to job security as a dominant organizational norm, a de-emphasis on rewards or penalties for performance, and a lack of urgency in policy implementation.

The recommendations of the Nettieford Committee were as follows:

1. Government should review all its policies toward a market economy, in terms of its facilitative, regulatory, and monitoring functions and provide a social safety net for disadvantaged citizens to assist in basic education, health, child nutrition, affordable housing, and social welfare services;
2. Government should establish itself as enabler/facilitator for the promotion of growth, equal opportunity, and wider participation, and provide incentives to direct capital, export and agriculture;

⁸⁸Nettleford Report.

3. Monitoring and regulatory agencies should be established without excessive bureaucratic structures;
4. In collaboration with the private sector, government should have dialogue to formulate mutual thrusts and goals in achieving economic growth and development, encourage secondments of personnel to enhance management capability, provide management information systems and improved systems of education and training, stimulate research and development, and encourage the growth of small business;
5. Government should harness the resources of Non-Governmental Organizations (NGO's) and community-based organizations to introduce an economic charge in delivering services where possible;
6. There should be greater flexibility in respect of appointments, transfers, promotions and dismissals in the restructured public service, and a review of the constitutional provisions relating to the role of the Public Service Commission;
7. Efficiency audits should be carried out in each ministry, department and agency of government to determine appropriate staffing in light of the new functions;
8. There should be adequate training at all levels;
9. Government should rationalize and make more cost-effective the management of its network of overseas agencies;

10. Provision should be made for senior public officials to appear before Parliamentary Committees, in addition to the Public Accounts Committee, in pursuit of public accountability and greater transparency.⁸⁹

The third initiative which led to the restructuring exercise was the need to reduce the burden on the 1992/93 budget. Commencement of the budget process was accompanied by directives from the Executive that short-term and medium-term strategies should be devised to reduce the burden on the budget and improve efficiency in the operation of government agencies, in keeping with government's commitment to reduce the budget deficit. These strategies, which were approved by Cabinet, included the following:

1. Implementation of a public sector recruitment freeze with effect from January 1992;
2. Continued review and implementation of service delivery improvement initiatives in eight prioritized government departments - Inland Revenue, Customs and Excise, Post and Telecommunications, Town Planning, Registrar General, Registrar of Companies, Registrar of Titles, and the Department for Stamp Duty and Transfer Tax;
3. Review of ministry programme priorities to ensure appropriate alignment with government's overall policy priorities;

⁸⁹Ibid.

4. Elimination of capital works projects not contributing to economic growth.

The key elements of the restructuring process are shown in the Chart attached as Appendix A.

The above strategies had been previously planned as part of the overall reform exercise, but now had to be implemented immediately. This third initiative, therefore, was the strongest push for urgent restructuring.⁹⁰

Approach and response to restructuring

To achieve the goal of reducing the burden on the budget, the Cabinet agreed to the following:

1. the reduction of the public service workforce by 20% (8,000 posts);
2. the implementation of the programme in the central service beginning in June, 1992;
3. that permanent secretaries should be requested to take the necessary action to effect the redundancies / retirements;
4. the provision of \$565 million for retiring benefits and \$35 million for counselling and retraining.⁹¹

⁹⁰Slyfield and Morgan, Downsizing - Jamaica' Experience 1992-93, 3.

⁹¹Ministry of the Public Service, Brief on the Restructuring of the Public Service - Reduction in Force (Kingston, Jamaica: May, 1992).

The program began when Cabinet approved the following objectives to be undertaken by permanent secretaries - identifying under-utilized resources and eliminating redundant positions, non-essential programmes, unnecessary work, duplication of administrative functions and other administrative waste; and increasing resources for essential programmes primarily through the implementation of cost recovery initiatives.

The political directorate provided leadership for the downsizing exercise and the process was monitored closely by a sub-committee of the Cabinet. Progress reports were submitted weekly to Cabinet. The implementation process was discussed at weekly meetings of the Permanent Secretaries Board, which aired problems and sought to arrive at solutions for all the ministries. Private consultants from Alcan, Peat Marwick and other companies were employed to assist in the exercise.

The implementation process involved the following stages:

1. Review of programmes,
2. Review of organization and restructuring,
3. Identification of posts to be abolished and persons to be redeployed or separated,
4. Abolition of posts.⁹²

Two types of downsizing were implemented - layoffs with outplacement assistance, and attrition, both discussed in

⁹²Slyfield and Morgan, 4.

chapter 2. Layoffs were determined by the ministries, which were requested to review their missions and objectives and to rationalize overlaps and duplications. Programmes were then prioritized and staffing determined for improved efficiency. Next, posts were identified for abolition and suitable officers recommended to occupy the positions being retained. In determining whom to release, the following priority order was applied:

1. re-employed pensioners
2. persons who voluntarily request early retirement
3. temporary employees
4. contract officers
5. selection of the best officer to fill the retained post to effect greater efficiency or economy.⁹³

Outplacement assistance was handled by an advisory committee comprising members of the Ministry of the Public Service team responsible for the programme, as well as representatives of staff associations and unions, which met weekly to share information, identify and solve problems at the operational level and to ensure follow-up. Considerable emphasis was placed on conducting special programmes for those persons who were losing their jobs. These programmes included the active involvement of unions, staff associations and the private sector through a steering committee to minimize the

⁹³Ibid., 5.

trauma of separation. The programmes addressed the question of job placement and included counselling on personal coping skills, finance, career and job hunting/interviewing techniques. Guidance was also available to those who were entering self-employment. Special task forces were created to ensure the speedy processing of terminal benefits and advances on pensions. A "hotline" was established to provide information to employees. The media were also used extensively for additional communication of information to displaced workers.⁹⁴

Downsizing by attrition was effected mainly by the recruitment freeze beginning in January 1992, when all existing and future vacant posts were left unfilled. Unfreezing could only be approved by the Ministry of the Public Service and only under certain conditions: if there was justification for its use, if the post was to be retained in the revised structure of the organization, or if it was funded in the budget. However, there were essential categories that were exempted from the downsizing exercise, including police and security, teachers, medical professionals, revenue-earning departments, and town planning and land surveying departments.

The present position

The targeted workforce reduction of 20% (8,000 posts) was achieved through severance and attrition programmes by 31

⁹⁴Ibid.

March, 1993. The recruitment freeze is still in effect. Employment in the central government agencies is controlled by the Public Service Commission, which enforces a policy of non-return of officers who have been displaced. The statutory agencies have also been required to continue the recruitment freeze. Critical vacant positions may be funded, but this is dependent on expected revenue intake.

According to the Slyfield and Morgan Report, downsizing of this magnitude could have resulted in social upheaval and possible loss of political support in view of the high rate of unemployment. However, due to certain factors, this was fortunately not the case. Firstly, there was much consultation between the political directorate, managers, staff and unions. Secondly, the logic of the corporate planning and programme budgeting method indicated rationality and fairness. Thirdly, special provisions and facilities, which were put in place by government in partnership with the private sector, lent a "human face" to the process. These included placement services, financial assistance to enable self employment, expediting payment of separation benefits, and the constant calls from the public for reduction of the size of the public service.

The Report conceded, however, that the urgency of the budgetary constraints did not allow enough time to deal effectively with the achievement of the companion goal of increasing the efficiency of the public service. This goal,

in some cases, had to be sacrificed. The absence of an adequate human resource data base also impeded the total success of the restructuring effort.⁹⁵

Conclusion

It would appear that the main thrust of the "restructuring effort" was to reduce the size of the public service, and having achieved this, the exercise has now lost its drive. Recent research conducted in Jamaica indicated that most of the other recommendations of the Nettleford Report to renew the public service had not yet been implemented. In interviews with senior public officers, reference to restructuring was largely taken to mean the downsizing effort which had been successfully completed. Admittedly, the other recommendations are more difficult to implement, because they call for more fundamental and revolutionary changes - changes in the vision, mission and culture of the public service, as well as in the institutions, systems, procedures and possibly in the country's constitution. These types of fundamental changes usually take a longer time and require a very dedicated and persistent change team, with the necessary expertise and skills.

There are, however, some initiatives that are being undertaken which will have a positive impact on the renewal of the public service. Arising out of the World Bank assisted

⁹⁵Ibid., 8.

Financial & Programme Management Improvement Project, the system of corporate planning and programme budgeting, which was started in 1991, is being implemented in a serious way. In an interview with the Head of the FPM Project,⁹⁶ it was explained that because of the IMF's conditions, the restructuring effort was re-active, rather than pro-active, and had to be accomplished within a limited time frame and with many constraints. The corporate planning and programme budgeting system, however, is being tackled in a proactive manner and is being carefully monitored. In this system, the government is required to review its size and structure relative to GDP and to eliminate unnecessary functions, overlaps and duplications. Permanent Secretaries must ensure that their ministries' policies conform to government's overall national policies and that their objectives are consistent with the national plan. Their staffing, structures, systems and procedures will then be streamlined to achieve these objectives in the most cost effective manner. It is hoped that this system will result in higher levels of efficiency and effectiveness.⁹⁷

Other restructuring initiatives are also emerging. For example, the Government Printery Unit and the Language Training Centre were divested by government and purchased by

⁹⁶Beryl Miller, Head, Financial and Programme Management Improvement Project, interview by author, 8 July 1994, Kingston, Jamaica.

⁹⁷Ibid.

former employees who took early retirement. They used their retirement benefits as capital and were able to negotiate contracts with the government, thereby retaining some of their former jobs. The Computer Services Unit of the Pensions Division has also been privatized. Further, steps are being taken to move towards full computerization of the public service records.⁹⁸ Private consultants from Peat Marwick assisted the government in revising and deregulating some of its taxation policies. Also, there has been some measure of decentralization of the pharmaceutical services within the Ministry of Health; and the responsibility for vocational training, formerly under the Ministry of Education, has been transferred to the Human Employment And Resource Training agency (HEART).⁹⁹ There is also a plan to recruit a consultant from the United Kingdom to facilitate empowerment of managers and decentralization of decision making, through the establishment of Special Operating Agencies, similar to the Next Steps Agencies in the U.K. and Special Operating Agencies in Canada.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁸Pearl Ainsworth, Director of Superannuation, Ministry of the Public Service, interview by author, 7 July, 1994, Kingston, Jamaica.

⁹⁹Paulette Morgan, Director of Public Sector Establishment Control, interview by author, 6 July, 1994, Kingston, Jamaica.

¹⁰⁰Ms. Callan, Senior Management Analyst, Organization and Management Division, Ministry of the Public Service, interview by author, 6 July, 1994, Kingston, Jamaica.

These activities are all steps in the right direction to achieve the kinds of changes that are envisaged in the restructuring process. This process will be long and will require both human and financial resources. It will also have to be pursued consistently, and continue to receive the full support of the political directorate to achieve the desired level of success. It is hoped that this goal will be attained in the foreseeable future.

BARBADOS

Impetus for Restructuring

Public administration reform has also been on the agenda of the Barbados government for many years. In January 1975, Thorbjorn Sorum, a United Nations Advisor, conducted a study and submitted a Report on Administrative Reform in the Public Service of Barbados, in which he developed policy guidelines that were included in the national development plan for 1975 to 1977. During this time, efforts were made to improve efficiency and effectiveness. The Organization and Management Division was established and the Head of the Civil Service was given responsibility for co-ordinating the implementation of the reform policies. However, most of the recommendations were never implemented. June 1986 saw renewed efforts at implementing another "ambitious reform programme, which by

1988 had diminished in momentum" due to lack of adequate economic and human resources.¹⁰¹

In December, 1988, yet another report, "Administrative Reform Strategy of Barbados: A Review and Analysis," was submitted by Gerald Caiden, Professor of Public Administration, University of Southern California. This met a similar fate. The private sector subsequently submitted its own report in March, 1993, entitled "Barbados 2000: A Summary of Private Sector Recommendations for National Plan 1993-2000."

In June 1993, a United Nations Development Programme / Caribbean Centre for Development Administration (UNDP/CARICAD) Identification Mission on Public Service Reform for the government of Barbados was appointed. Its terms of reference were to:

1. Identify the specific needs of Barbados and determine the allocation of financial resources which the UNDP had approved under its Management Development Programme;
2. Assist in the development of policies and guidelines with respect to reform, as well as major issues requiring urgent attention and action;
3. Execute a data gathering activity and conduct a needs analysis identifying major issues impacting on the management of the public service.

Several meetings were held with senior managers and public service representatives, who were persuaded that there was need to move swiftly towards instituting effective

¹⁰¹United Nations Development Programme, Report of a UNDP Identification Mission on Public Service Reform and Improvement, (Bridgetown, Barbados: 1993).

measures for improved public sector management. These meetings were conducted in a climate of openness, co-operation, collaboration and a readiness for change.¹⁰²

The key areas of concern were that:

1. The public service should be more results-oriented;
2. There should be greater responsibility, accountability and delegated authority at the appropriate levels;
3. Human Resource Management and Human Resource Development should be given priority;
4. A more meaningful performance appraisal system should be developed, along with appropriate incentives and compensation plans;
5. Improved technology, especially information technology was needed;
6. There should be a rationalization of organizational structures, systems and relationships;
7. There should be a reform of administrative procedures;
8. There should be an enhancement of the capacity of public servants to respond to private sector needs; and
9. There should be a rationalization of public enterprise.¹⁰³

The UNDP/CARICAD Report was submitted to the government of Barbados in August, 1993. The report referred to the prevailing economic and political context. Barbados had

¹⁰²Ibid., 1.

¹⁰³Ibid., 4.

experienced an economic decline in real GDP during the period 1990 to 1992, due to the decline in its main industries - sugar and tourism. Unemployment had reached 23% in 1992. Short-term stabilization and structural adjustment programs of the IMF and World Bank were restoring conditions for growth. Its Incomes Policy included a general 1-year wage and salary freeze in both the public and private sectors; additions to basic salaries being only in terms of profit sharing and productivity bonuses; and the establishment of a National Productivity Board, which should include representatives of business, labour and government to address productivity issues.¹⁰⁴

In addition to the wage and salary freeze,¹⁰⁵ there was an 8% cut in salaries (including overtime rates) from 1 October 1991 to 31 March 1993 for all categories of staff including Statutory Boards,¹⁰⁶ and the release of 2,000 casual employees.¹⁰⁷ These measures were imposed in order to

¹⁰⁴Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ Public Service Suspension of Increments Act, 1993 (Bridgetown, Barbados: 14 October, 1993).

¹⁰⁶ Public Service Reduction of Emoluments Act, 1991 (Bridgetown, Barbados: 23 September, 1991).

¹⁰⁷ Permanent Secretary, Ministry of the Civil Service, Circular No.14/1991 to Permanent Secretaries and Heads of Departments - Payment of Terminal Benefits to Displaced Temporary and Casual Employees (Bridgetown, Barbados: 23 September, 1991).

reduce the deficit and avoid a devaluation of the Barbados dollar.¹⁰⁸

Approach to Restructuring

The UNDP/CARICAD Report stated how it would deal with the following key concepts of reform -

- o The overall strategy for reform was to emphasize collaborative consensus-building and internally driven and supported effort; since change is to be constant, careful attention should be paid to issues regarding introducing and managing change in a complex system.¹⁰⁹
- o The approach was an Organizational Development (OD) approach, which would require the following philosophical underpinnings to the reform effort: the purpose, the goals and objectives, the process for embarking on and sustaining reform activity, levels of participation and involvement, scope and vision and the resources available.
- o The locus of responsibility was with the line ministries and managers, senior public servants and permanent secretaries. The overall tasks of planning, co-ordinating, monitoring and communicating were to be with one agency - the Ministry of the Civil Service, whose

¹⁰⁸Permanent Secretary, Ministry of the Civil Service, Circular No 9/1991 to Permanent Secretaries and Heads of Departments - Agreement for the Withholding of Part of the Emoluments of Permanent and Temporary Staff in the Public Service, (Bridgetown, Barbados: 5 September 1991).

¹⁰⁹UNDP/CARICAD Report

core staff had a range of skills, including facilitation, training, research and consultancy.

- o The **modus operandi** would be different from past efforts by its new emphasis on measurable results and process. Emphasis would be placed on communication with key stakeholders (public sector managers, public servants, private sector bodies, trade unions, and the political directorate). The communication strategy to be developed would include linkages with CARICAD, the Administrative Reform Programme, and other improvement initiatives.
- o **Institutional strengthening** would be aimed first at certain critical agencies, like the Ministry of the Civil Service, the Government Information Services Division, Personnel Administration, and Training.
- o The **targeted outcomes** were collaboration, consensus, flexibility and feasibility.
- o The **action plan** was that each organization would set performance improvement goals and try to achieve them; identify inputs, outcomes, responsibilities, and measurement techniques; and clarify roles and relationships among various levels of management. Finally, the Administrative Reform Programme would be **launched** by the Prime Minister in the presence of the major stakeholders.

The **short term action plan** was as follows:

The **Training Division** should support individual Ministries in their training effort and run courses in Human Resource Planning, Training for Trainers, and Management Training.

The **Personnel Administration Division** should be more facilitative. Assistance should be given in the decentralization of the Human Resource Function. Small Human Resource units should be set up in each Ministry. This Division should also set up a Human Resource Information System, as well as deal with the revision of the rules and regulations.

The **Ministry of the Civil Service** should become the focal point for change management. It should be responsible for technical assistance for computer hardware and software, development of the strategic plan, and the Training programme. The **Government Information System** should be responsible for communication and for the refinement of the performance management system.

The **Medium Term Plan** would address three areas - strategic planning capabilities and systems, performance management systems and computerized information systems.

It was anticipated that the short term activities would take place from September 1993 to February 1994 and be implemented fully by February 1995. The medium term activities would be fully implemented by September 1996. The Report noted that:

there is a strong political commitment to improvement and improved management of the public sector and the

government has indicated the need and a willingness to have public sector reform undertaken, not in a one-shot comprehensive approach, but on a pragmatic incremental basis which will eventually allow for the necessary widespread successful change effort.¹¹⁰

A pilot project was set up using the General Post Office as a model for change. Its vision was to be more customer - and results-oriented; to update its rules and regulations; to enable senior officers to be managers, not administrators; and to have a focus on accountability, responsibility and productivity. Its philosophy was to be more businesslike, oriented to systems, procedures, product and profit and to serve the customer better by establishing a customer relations unit. It revised its top management structure, held regular management meetings, updated its institutional and legal framework to expedite decision-making, and took steps toward deregulation, cutting layers of hierarchy, and providing adequate training. It also introduced a computerized Human Resource Database and Management Information System, tightened expenditure control, streamlined procedures and introduced an express mail system. The Department moved from a deficit of \$1.5 million to a surplus of \$1.5 million in the short-term structural adjustment programme.¹¹¹

¹¹⁰Ibid., 9.

¹¹¹Ibid.

The present position

Research conducted in July 1994 indicated that there was a small dedicated group of senior public servants who were committed to reform. They would attend administrative reform meetings in Barbados and in other Caribbean countries. However, there were no developments that indicated any system-wide, on-going efforts at change in the public service. As was the case in Jamaica, the most drastic and effective initiatives in terms of reform took the form of IMF imposed programmes for salary freezes, cuts and staff layoffs. The other visions and strategies for change had not been implemented.

It was stressed that the change process would be on a pragmatic, incremental basis, rather than the one-shot comprehensive approach.¹¹² This would probably imply future pilot projects and gradual changes over time. It was also indicated that program budgeting was being attempted, due to the IMF's mandate to improve the financial management system, as well as the Inter-American Development Bank (IADB) interest in the country's expenditure management system. However, this new budgeting system had not been very successful, partly because no measuring procedures had been established to test the effectiveness of the programmes. The Estimates of Expenditure showed inputs, but not outputs and it was

¹¹²Leonard Beckles, Acting Permanent Secretary, Ministry of the Civil Service, interview by author, 12 July, 1994, Bridgetown, Barbados.

therefore difficult to evaluate the achievement of targets. There was a need to establish benchmarks to test efficiency and effectiveness.¹¹³

Research also indicated that the Department of Personnel Administration had been singled out for early institutional strengthening, training, reform of its procedures in terms of the human resource management functions, and amendment of its regulations relating to the role of the Public Service Commission. The Department was also contemplating the computerization of its records, revision of its performance appraisal and rewards systems and decentralization of its decision making processes.¹¹⁴ The reallocation of functions between the Ministry of the Civil Service and the Public Service Commission was also a matter receiving attention.¹¹⁵

Conclusion

The Prime Minister, Erskine Sandiford resigned in early July, 1994. Elections were held on 5 September, 1994 and the former opposition party, headed by Owen Arthur, has been elected to power. It is therefore not yet known whether the

¹¹³George Reid, Director of Finance and Economic Affairs and Head of the Public Service, interview by author, 12 July 1994, Bridgetown, Barbados.

¹¹⁴Wendell Kelliman, Chief Personnel Officer, interview by author, 13 July 1994, Bridgetown, Barbados.

¹¹⁵Avril Gollop, former Permanent Secretary, Ministry of the Civil Service, interview by author, 11 July, 1994, Bridgetown, Barbados.

new government will be committed to public administration reform, and if it is, whether any urgency or priority would be given to the programme in terms of implementing the recommendations. Needless to say, without political will, the UNDP/CARICAD Report will go the way of its predecessors and the public service restructuring effort will die a natural death.

CHAPTER 4

PUBLIC SERVICE RESTRUCTURING IN TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO

Initiatives for Restructuring

Trinidad and Tobago (like Jamaica and Barbados) has had a history of unsuccessful attempts at public administration reform. There has been a proliferation of reports and recommendations over the years, but the problem has always seemed to be one of implementation. Apart from sporadic "tinkering" within the system, no meaningful reform has taken place. In Chapter One, the organizational and economic problems leading to the new impetus for change were discussed. The first real steps toward restructuring were taken in the late 1980's as a result of the economic situation. The country's economy is based largely on oil, and with the fall in oil prices in 1983, there was a decline in the economy. The government has been implementing a comprehensive programme of financial stabilization and structural adjustment initiatives to foster the development of a more competitive, efficient and resilient economy. The major features of this programme have been trade policy reform, tax reform, improved fiscal management, exchange rates adjustments, revision of foreign investment, reduction of price controls, and substantial rationalization or closure of state enterprises. The programme has been facilitated by two standby arrangements from the IMF, a rescheduling of debt repayments to bilateral

and commercial creditors, and a structural adjustment loan from the IBRD. In addition, there was a devaluation of the currency by approximately 15% in August 1988 and the introduction of a Value Added Tax of 15% in 1990.

In terms of the Public Service, wage rates were frozen from 1983 to 1988 and then cut by 10% from January 1989 to December 1991, cost of living allowance was suspended from January 1987 to December 1988, Annual merit increases have been suspended since 1987 and have not yet been reinstated. In addition, a Voluntary Termination of Employment Plan (affectionately called VTEP) was introduced in July 1989, offering attractive compensation packages to employees who wished to make a voluntary separation from the public service. This was designed with the hope that within 3 years from July 1989 to June 1992, the public service would be reduced by 9,600 employees. However, only 600 employees accepted the offer.

Various strategies were implemented to reduce the size of the public service and its wage bill, which was consuming a large percentage of government revenue. From the late 1980s, attrition was used as vacant posts in most cases were left unfilled. However, the present restructuring effort emerged out of a consensus that something had to be done about the public service itself - its structure, procedures and operations to improve efficiency and effectiveness. A Minister of government was appointed in December 1991, with

specific responsibility for the public service. This minister, who was the head of the Department of Management at the University of the West Indies, has spearheaded a programme of change throughout the public service, which has gathered momentum in mobilizing public servants towards a new vision and a new mandate.

Before discussing the recent developments in public administration reform, it may be useful to review some of the major reports that were commissioned over the years since the country gained political independence in 1962, and the main problems that were identified:

1. Report of the working party on the role and status of the civil service in the age of independence (The Lewis Report, 1964)
2. Report of the working group on the organization and streamlining of public services practices and procedures in Trinidad and Tobago (The Dolly Report, 1970)
3. The case for reform of the administrative system in Trinidad and Tobago. (Report of the Futures Research Seminar, 1973)
4. Administrative Improvement Programme of the government of Trinidad and Tobago (U.N. Project, 1975)
5. Proposals for improvement of efficiency in the public service (Committee of Permanent Secretaries, 1981)

6. Reports of the public service review task force (The Dumas Task Force 1984-1986).¹¹⁶

A chronological review of these reports reveals that the most recent studies identify the same problems which plagued the earlier rounds of reform attempts. Administrative reform reports have an uncanny way of repeating themselves.¹¹⁷ The main problems and issues which have been repeatedly cited are:

- The relationship between the politician and the public servant
- Over-centralization
- Human resource management issues
- Training and Development
- Performance appraisal
- Discipline
- Management systems and styles.¹¹⁸

Many of these problems have already been discussed, however, a brief synopsis of the main points will be useful. With respect to the relationship between the politician and the public servant, the crucial issues are the number of matters that go to Cabinet for decisions, the reluctance of Ministers and Permanent Secretaries to take decisions for fear of castigation by the Prime Minister; the role and functions

¹¹⁶Gordon M. Draper, The Quest for Appropriate Public Service: Reform Efforts in Trinidad and Tobago 1962-1986 (Institute for Social and Economic Research (ISER), 1987), 2.

¹¹⁷Ibid., 1.

¹¹⁸Ibid., 3.

of the Minister vis-a-vis the public officer and how far one encroaches into the realm of the other - basically, the politics / administration dichotomy and how such conflicts are handled in Trinidad and Tobago; the poor quality of advice given to Ministers by public officers and how it affects their relationships; the ambiguity in the constitutional provisions which assign duties to the Minister and the Permanent Secretary.¹¹⁹

In the case of over-centralization, the main culprits seemed to be Cabinet, the office of Permanent Secretary, the Public Service Commission, the Statutory Authorities Service Commission, the Central Tenders Board, the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of Planning and Development, and the Personnel and Establishment agencies, such as the Service Commissions Department, the Personnel Department, and the Organization and Management Division. All of the reports on administrative reform commented on some aspect of over-centralization involving these agencies.¹²⁰

Problems concerning the fragmentation of the Human Resource Management function in the Public Service, as discussed in Chapter One, focused on the six separate organizations which perform this function - the Service Commissions Department, the Personnel Department, the

¹¹⁹Both the Lewis Report and the Dolly Report highlighted these problems.

¹²⁰Draper, The Quest for Appropriate Public Service, 13-16.

Organization and Management Department, the Training Division, the Technical Co-operation Division and the Pensions Division. The U.N. Report highlighted the following additional problem areas:

- The need to delegate to the Permanent Secretary the responsibility for the annual awarding of increments
- Improvement in the disciplinary system which is cumbersome and extremely slow
- The serious problems being caused by the lack of information on the part of supervisors in the areas of personnel management and conditions of employment
- The need for an organized, formalized method of rewarding an outstanding employee for performing his or her job in an exemplary manner
- The lack of an employee handbook, outlining not only employee rights, but also responsibilities and obligations.

The U.N. reformers had also expressed concern about the composition of the Public Service Commission and recommended that the Commission

should represent dynamic and changing currents of major ideas to be transmitted throughout the public side of the economy reflecting changing moods, politics, new concepts of administration and socio-economic problems of national interest. Government can and should, in many instances, be the 'ideal employer' and a leader in a dynamic and aggressive modern approach to management and industrial relations.¹²¹

¹²¹Ibid., 18.

On the issue of training and development, the Lewis, Dolly and Dumas Reports had all argued the need for more systematic and planned approaches to training. They highlighted the lack of clearly defined bases for selection of officers for training, manpower assessment and planning, needs identification and ensuring that training programmes respond to the changing needs of the organization.

Performance appraisal was identified in many of the reports as a crucial area for reform. Dolly argued for a review of all the confidential report forms and the need for them to be made more relevant to the jobs being evaluated. The report also called for extensive training for all officers who must complete appraisal reports. The U.N. report spoke about the need to re-design appraisal instruments and to provide ongoing training for supervisors. The Dumas Task Force conducted a survey among public servants to investigate their perception of the performance appraisal system. While eighty-six percent (86%) were aware of their job descriptions, 31% did not know when the last staff report was completed on them. Eighty-eight percent (88%) had no discussion with the supervisor during their last performance appraisal report, and eighty-nine percent (89%) did not know their overall assessment in their last appraisal. Finally, fifty-five percent (55%) had regular discussions with their supervisors about their work, but forty-five percent (45%) did not. The Task Force report concluded that

nearly half of the public service therefore operates in an environment devoid of ongoing discussion about its work; a situation which is a little short of alarming.¹²²

The system of discipline was another area of concern identified by reformers. It was described as slow, cumbersome, and debilitating to the supervisor. Although the Public Service Commission had delegated some of its authority for discipline to Permanent Secretaries, the regulations and systems themselves were lengthy and cumbersome to operate and resulted in inordinate delays. Many Permanent Secretaries still referred many matters to the Commission for action.¹²³

Many of the reports referred to the need for changes in management systems and styles, including the introduction of mechanisms to foster increased worker involvement. As a result, a Joint Consultative Committee was introduced by the Personnel Department in 1973 to facilitate workers' participation in the management of their departments. However, this mechanism never worked, partly because follow-up work to ensure implementation was not done, and also because management commitment to this initiative was not strong.¹²⁴

With the numerous problems identified above over the years, the public service was slowly grinding to a halt. The appointment of a minister of government in December 1991, with

¹²²Ibid., 32.

¹²³Ibid., 40.

¹²⁴Ibid., 42.

specific responsibility for public administration, was the catalyst for the implementation of the restructuring that is now taking place.

Model for Change

Before embarking on the new thrust for change, an analysis was done by the Minister, Gordon Draper, to determine and understand why previous attempts had failed, and to ensure that this effort would not also end in failure.¹²⁵ It was felt that the process of Organizational Change itself needed to be understood. Emphasis was therefore placed on utilizing theories of change management. The Kurt Lewin model of organizational change was examined. This involves a three-step process of "unfreezing, moving and refreezing" the organization. "Unfreezing" means reducing the forces keeping the organization at its present level, for example, introducing new information, decreasing the strength of current values, attitudes and behaviours. "Moving" involves getting the organization to a new level, by developing new values, behaviours or attitudes through internalization, identification or change in structure. "Refreezing" involves stabilizing the change at a new equilibrium, through supporting mechanisms, such as change in organizational culture or policies.¹²⁶

¹²⁵Draper, The Quest for Appropriate Public Service (1987)

¹²⁶Ibid., 43.

Lippitt, Watson and Westley elaborated on Lewin's model by adding a change agent - either an external or internal consultant. They outlined five steps in the change process: development of the need for change, establishment of a change relationship, working toward change, generalization and stabilization of change and achieving a terminal relationship.¹²⁷ It was emphasized that in dealing with organizational change, it was important to realize that subsystems are highly interactive and interdependent and that a change in one subsystem affects the entire system. Also, the organization influences and is influenced by the environment. In other words, the open-system model of organizations must be considered. These models were instructive in defining the model of change that would be adopted in the public service of Trinidad and Tobago for maximum success of the reform effort.

The major elements of Kotter's open systems model and Greiner's approaches to organizational change were examined. An analysis was also done of the process of Organizational Development, which deals with the deliberate, reasoned introduction, establishment, reinforcement and spread of change for improving an organization's competence. This process draws on theories of motivation, personality, learning, group dynamics, general systems, leadership, and organization design.¹²⁸ It was noted that most models of

¹²⁷Draper, Reform Attempts in Trinidad and Tobago, 43.

¹²⁸Ibid., 46-48.

change were based on private sector organizations and that public service organizations reflect a strong adherence to bureaucratic norms and behaviour, which are at variance to the fundamental "organization development" model. For example, the many rules, regulations, policies and laws governing the public service are based on the "Theory X" model of management, while the principles of "organization development" are rooted in McGregor's "Theory Y" model of management.

There were many other practical problems. Public service managers are not free to utilise reward systems to reinforce desired behaviour and values; many administrative reform reports, having diagnosed serious problems, still proceed to make mild recommendations because they have to be implemented within that same bureaucracy; senior public servants maximize their sources of information, but minimize the control exercised by subordinates; there is reluctance by those in positions of power to relinquish it voluntarily - they therefore fight reform and being powerful, are in a position to do so; many administrators interpret any proposal for reform as implied criticism of their current personal performance, and their response is a vigorous defense of the status quo and attack on the reformer and his or her motives; there is the fear of change, which implies risk and uncertainty that they would rather avoid; the work of many reform teams is perceived to end when they hand in their reports - this is articulated by the political directorate

itself, who may not even want reformers to ask about the status of their recommendations; many reform teams are not given a mandate to implement the recommendations which were accepted; some reports are sent for comment to departments and ministries, some of which are targeted for reform - the delay in responding is an effective way of killing the proposals; there are usually no outside interest groups to complain if the implementation of proposals is not done. All of these situations give the impression that the political directorate, who may have initiated the reform exercise, are not really committed to reform. The reformers are window dressing which allows the politician to pretend concern for public service efficiency, while realizing that the existing inefficiency provides him with a useful whipping horse.¹²⁹

In planning the model for future reform in Trinidad and Tobago, it was emphasized that what must change is the **process of change**. The following steps were identified as key to the change process:

1. Consensus on the need for change - this was essential between the political and administrative directorate, trade unions, client groups and other special interest groups.
2. A communication strategy - both for within and outside the public service. This was important to ensure feedback.

¹²⁹Ibid., 52-56.

3. Firm guidelines and plans - this would ensure continuity regardless of change of government.
4. Structured approach and management of programme - this should involve participation at all levels and a strong management of the process. It would include task forces, working groups, inter-ministerial committees, ministry implementation teams to facilitate commitment and a sense of ownership.
5. Choice of management consultants - the need for ongoing management of the consultants, including an evaluation mechanism; determination of which individual will be responsible if a consulting firm is contracted; realistic terms of reference; importance of team building among the consultants.
6. Change technology - use of Organisation Development intervention skills to develop a supportive climate for specific technical initiatives.
7. Planning administrative reform - the programme must establish and articulate clear change objectives and priorities; these need to be communicated to critical groups; sequencing and phasing must be clear for planning purposes; aim to achieve some short-term success consistent with long-term goals; link reform plans to national plans.
8. Implementing administrative reform - use of participatory mechanisms (e.g. task forces, inter and intra-

ministerial); appropriate change management methodology should include one-to-one relationships to overcome resistance and fears; use of evaluation mechanism and methodology.¹³⁰

It was proposed that the above model be adopted in the reform of the public service in Trinidad and Tobago. In February 1992, an Initial Progress Report was submitted to Cabinet to obtain a mandate for the proposed direction. The report described the broad organizational framework and action plan proposed to initiate, communicate and sustain the change process. Briefly summarized, the vision is for a public service which is designed to produce high performing teams capable of implementing system-transforming innovations. This vision is characterised by a public service which demonstrates a sense of caring for its members and its clients, is client-driven, results-oriented, highly motivated and businesslike, has a 'high-speed' processing capacity, promotes and expects high standards of performance, has high profile leadership, provides for the growth and development of its members and is highly flexible and adaptable to a changing external environment. To this end, a mission statement reflective of these goals would be developed. The expected outcome of the reform process is an increased level of efficiency, cost-effectiveness in all operations, delivery of services within

¹³⁰Ibid., 57-61.

acceptable performance standards, appropriate organizational structures, and the establishment of a mutually beneficial interface between the public and private sectors.¹³¹

The environment for the reform programme is more supportive than in previous attempts. The support of the political directorate, through its open demonstration of the will to effect change, is the strongest facilitating factor. There is also the general support within the society and its social partners, such as the private sector, the University, labour, and within the public service itself. Permanent Secretaries and Heads of departments attended a one-day Team Building/Orientation session, which resulted in an open commitment to work with the Office of the Prime Minister to formalise the reform process through strategic planning and change management techniques.

The external environment, however, presents many resource constraints, which must be taken into account in terms of their impact on the reform process.¹³²

Since the proposed reform involves complex organizational change, it must be carefully managed. An **Organizational Development** approach is to be used, which will consider both the content and process of the desired change. This approach will consist of the following:

¹³¹Office of the Prime Minister, Implementation of Public Service Reform in Trinidad and Tobago: Initial Progress Report, Port of Spain: PMO, 1992.

¹³²Ibid., 3-4.

- A collaborative methodology to develop consensus and commitment among key actors on the need for change, the objectives to be pursued, the steps to be taken, and empowerment to proceed;
- Clearly defined goals for public servants and the establishment and maintenance of an effective communication system;
- Linkage of public service reform plans to national plans and priorities;
- Systematic techniques for information sharing to obtain support among various stakeholders in society;
- Flexibility of the planning process to ensure ongoing review and diagnosis.

Although reform will involve the institutional strengthening of all ministries and departments throughout the public service, four ministries - Agriculture, Land and Marine Resources; Health; Finance; and Trade, Industry and Tourism were identified for special attention.

Institutional Strengthening of Ministries/Departments will include human resource development, as well as establishment of effective and efficient organisational systems and structures. Some key elements are:

1. **Mission and Strategic Direction** - all ministries and departments must develop mission statements and strategic plans, which must conform to the overall policy of

government, but allow for continuous evaluation in a changing environment;

2. **Strategic Goal Setting and Programme Development** - identification of goals and objectives which can be achieved in the short term and medium term. This will assist in building confidence in the reality and attainability of the reform effort;
3. **Environmental Impact Analysis / Resource Analysis** - This involves an analysis of the impact of the proposed reforms on the internal and external environments, as well as the available resources in terms of personnel, finance and equipment. These analyses would provide a critical input in the formation of achievable goals;
4. **Organisational Structures and Processes** - public sector institutions should be organised to focus resources on achieving strategic objectives, and to permit the efficient execution of operational tasks. There must be compatibility between the organisational strategy, structure, processes and environment. This will impact significantly on performance;
5. **Financial and Administrative Systems** - Financial, accounting and administrative systems must be effectively managed and integrated to ensure proper information and resource flows and timely decision making in policy implementation and service delivery. These systems are

indispensable in ensuring that value is received for money spent;

6. **Human Resource Management** - Human resources constitute the single largest item of public expenditure. The major objectives of the human resource management system are the efficient management, training and development of the human resource and its maximization through motivation, incentive-based remuneration and maintenance of high employee morale;
7. **Information Technology and Management** - The capacity of the public service to competently and speedily process information is central to its activity. This capacity must be enhanced;
8. **Marketing** - The public service must appreciate the importance of employing marketing concepts and strategies. Ministries and departments must tailor their operations to meet the requirements of their various clients;
9. **Culture Change Management** - Sustainability of public sector reform would depend largely on the internalisation of new behaviour patterns among employees. They must be assisted to move from positions of perceived helplessness and low level responsiveness to positions of empowerment and innovativeness. The nurturing and management of this culture change will determine the success or failure of the reform;

10. **Comprehensive Auditing** - As part of the institutional strengthening process, and with the increasing focus on accountability, the system of comprehensive or "value for money" auditing will be revitalised. Managers will be given not only the responsibility, but also the authority to ensure efficiency, effectiveness and economy in the delivery of their services.¹³³

General Systems

Within the context of institutional strengthening, the following general systems are prioritised for immediate attention:

1. **Accommodation and Maintenance** - Public sector unions have identified this as a priority area for improvement. An Accommodation Task Force will be established to explore the possibility of constructing government offices, upgrading existing premises and consolidation / rationalisation of those that are similar in function. It is felt that improvement in accommodation will have a positive effect on worker attitudes;
2. **Industrial Relations** - A key factor for success will be broad-based support and commitment to the process. All officers who must interface with the unions will therefore be exposed to industrial relations training. To foster the consultative process, a Task Force will be

¹³³Ibid., 6-9.

established to ensure that Joint Consultative Committees are introduced in all ministries and departments. Other related activities will include an examination of the feasibility of linking performance incentives to the revised performance management system; a review of the disciplinary system; and a review of collective bargaining arrangements;

3. **Human Resource Management** - Activities in this area will include the introduction of Human Resource Information Systems in all ministries and development of a human resource inventory; phased confirmation of appointments for employees who have been acting or temporary for long periods; introduction of new regulations governing human resource management, as well as a system of human resource planning and development;
4. **Management Information Systems** - These must be updated using modern technology for the storage and retrieval of information. Immediate attention will be given to introducing a computer-based Human Resource Information System (PERSYS) and Registry Information System in all ministries and departments;
5. **Training / Human Resource Development** - Training plans will place more emphasis on advanced and refresher training for professional and technical personnel to increase their expertise, which is crucial to the

achievement of the central objectives of their organisations;

6. **Budgeting and Financial Management** - This represents the lifeline of an organisation. In the reformed public service, this must complement the strategic planning process and facilitate the achievement of objectives, all within a framework of accountability;
7. **Purchasing and Supply** - Inefficient management of the supply function leads to losses in time and money and suffer the consequences of 'out of stock' or idle stock situations. A review of the existing systems of procurement and supply will be undertaken by a team, who will formulate and submit recommendations for improvement in these systems.¹³⁴

The above plans basically formed the framework for the proposed restructuring process to be implemented. (See Organizational Framework Chart in Appendix B). In submitting this initial report to Cabinet, the Minister outlined the strategy to be adopted for the implementation of the plans. The responsibility for implementation would rest with several teams:

The Committee of Permanent Secretaries and Senior Public Servants would be responsible for keeping the vision, maintaining the momentum of the reform process, ensuring that

¹³⁴Ibid., 10-13.

the process remains on target, and providing feedback to the Office of the Prime Minister and the Implementation Steering Committee;

The Implementation Steering Committee would formulate and articulate the strategic direction and goals of the process. It would develop the work plan for the broad implementation effort and monitor progress reports at monthly meetings. This committee includes the Minister of Public Administration, the Permanent Secretary to the Prime Minister and Head of the Public Service, Heads of central government agencies, senior public officers, a representative of the University of the West Indies, and representatives of the Public Service Association, as well as several other trade unions;

Implementation Teams would be established in each Ministry or Department and these would be responsible for management of its implementation effort and to report regularly to the Permanent Secretary or Head of Department:

The Office of the Prime Minister, supported by consultants and task forces, would facilitate the implementation of reform within Ministries and Departments;

The Information and Communication Plan included seminars, workshops and retreats for various target groups within the public service for sensitization and clarification of issues, feedback and reinforcement of the ownership of the reform process. The Prime Minister's Information Division would be responsible for preparation of media packages for the

information of the wider community. Bulletins would be published regularly to keep public servants abreast of developments and to provide encouragement to them.¹³⁵

Developments

Cabinet approved the plan for public service reform in February, 1992. (See Reform Wheel at Appendix C). Based on progress reports that have been submitted to Cabinet, recent interviews that were conducted with key officials involved in the change process and documents examined, the following is a summary of the developments that have taken place since then:

1. A residential retreat was held for all Permanent secretaries and senior public servants to develop a new mission statement for the public service and to discuss and obtain consensus on the proposed reform. Retreats were also held by each ministry and department to develop new visions, mission statements and strategic plans. These had to be submitted to the Minister by a certain deadline.¹³⁶

¹³⁵Ibid., 14-18.

¹³⁶Gordon Draper, Minister of the Public Service, Interview by author, 15 August 1994, Port of Spain, Trinidad.

2. The strategic plans had to be transformed into operational plans and linked to each ministry's budget before funds were released;¹³⁷
3. A new system of (programme) performance budgeting is being introduced;¹³⁸
4. Comprehensive training programmes were conducted at the outset for Permanent Secretaries, heads of departments and senior managers throughout the service to sensitize them to the reform effort and they were mandated to attend; other training geared towards the new changes has also been taking place throughout all the levels of the public service;¹³⁹
5. A comprehensive system of public relations and communication was set up. This included extensive use of the media, regular bulletins, the issue of pens, bookmarks, posters, etc. with the Public Service Reform logo and colour scheme¹⁴⁰ (see example at Appendix D);
6. The Organisation and Management Division (dealing with the size, structure, and management of government

¹³⁷Office of the Prime Minister (Public Administration), Implementation of Public Service Reform in Trinidad and Tobago - Fifth Progress Report (Port of Spain: Government Printery, 1993). 17.

¹³⁸Ibid.

¹³⁹Carlyle Maitland, Director of Training, Interview by author, 11 August, 1994, Port of Spain, Trinidad.

¹⁴⁰Gordon Draper, Minister for the Public Service, Interview by author 15 August, 1994, Port of Spain, Trinidad.

departments) and The Central Tenders Board (dealing with procurement and supply for the whole public service) were both decentralised and small units set up in each department;¹⁴¹

7. The Ministry of Health has been decentralised. Hospitals are now being run by Hospital Boards, for greater efficiency; delivery of services is also being rationalized;¹⁴²
8. The performance appraisal system is finally being revised; new procedures and instruments are being used in a pilot project being tried in the Ministry of Agriculture. A consultant has been engaged to coordinate the exercise, which is to be implemented in the wider public service;¹⁴³
9. The Public Service Regulations are being revised;¹⁴⁴

¹⁴¹Ibid.

¹⁴²Claudia Harvey, Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Health, Interview by author, 8 August, 1994, Barataria, Trinidad.

¹⁴³Winston Rudder, Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Agriculture, Land and Marine resources, Interview by author, 9 August, 1994, Port of Spain, Trinidad.

¹⁴⁴Office of the Prime Minister (Public Administration), Implementation of Public Service Reform in Trinidad and Tobago - Fifth Progress Report (Port of Spain, Trinidad: Government Printery, 1993).

10. Certain services which are not cost effective are targeted to be contracted out - these are to be determined;¹⁴⁵
11. The Human Resource Management function is being rationalised and Human Resource units are being set up in each ministry;¹⁴⁶
12. Human Resource Information Systems are being implemented in each ministry, with computerisation of the registry, personnel and accounting records in the first instance; specialised computerised systems are being installed in departments, such as Customs & Excise, and the Supreme Court among others, and computer training is being provided to staff;¹⁴⁷
13. A job evaluation project was completed for the entire public service with a view to revising the classification and upgrading the compensation systems;¹⁴⁸
14. An employee assistance programme has been introduced to provide counselling and related services to employees;¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁵Gordon Draper, Minister for the Public Service, Interview by author, 15 August, 1994, Port of Spain, Trinidad.

¹⁴⁶Ibid.

¹⁴⁷Office of the Prime Minister (Public Administration), Implementation of Public service Reform in Trinidad and Tobago - Fifth Progress Report (Port of Spain: Government Printery, 1993). 2-4.

¹⁴⁸Fourth Progress Report 2.

¹⁴⁹Fifth Progress Report, 5.

15. Accommodation at government offices is being upgraded. Also government quarters, traditionally provided to officers at minimal rent, are now being sold on the open market;¹⁵⁰
16. A "Hotline" has been established at the Prime Minister's Office to deal with problems, complaints and concerns and to provide advice to public officers as well as members of the public;
17. Change teams or implementation teams have been set up in each Ministry to oversee the implementation of the reform agenda items identified in their strategic plans; these teams have been introducing numerous changes in individual ministries;¹⁵¹
18. To encourage a client-centered culture, customer service training has been given by the Training division and Customer Contact Officers have been named for most of the ministries. A customer service evaluation questionnaire is being designed for feedback purposes;¹⁵²
19. The Ministry of Social Development is restructuring its delivery system in the provision of social services, through the use of Non-governmental Organisations

¹⁵⁰Fifth Progress Report 7.

¹⁵¹Fifth Progress Report, 9.

¹⁵²Fifth Progress Report, 17.

(NGO's). The Ministry will remain a policy making and monitoring body;¹⁵³

20. Training has been undertaken to ensure that all personnel required to interact with unions are appropriately sensitized to industrial relations issues.¹⁵⁴

Discussion

The model of reform being implemented in Trinidad and Tobago seems to have been properly conceptualised and based on sound management theories - motivation, personality, learning, group dynamics, general systems, leadership, organizational development, and change management. The ideas have been culled from a mix of models - mainly from New Zealand, but with shades of ideas from other countries. For example, the move toward decentralization, delegation of more powers and responsibilities to Permanent Secretaries and Heads of Departments and empowerment of managers is similar to the Next Steps initiative in the United Kingdom, where Next Steps Agencies are being created out of government departments, giving them greater autonomy for better service delivery. It

¹⁵³Louis Bryan, Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Social Development, Interview by author, 10 August, 1994.

¹⁵⁴Fifth Progress report, 8.

is also reminiscent of the Special Operating Agencies in Canada's PS 2000, which basically have the same objective.¹⁵⁵

While the model formulated for Trinidad and Tobago is suitable idealistically, there might well be problems in its practical application and implementation. A detailed analysis of all the reform initiatives being proposed and implemented is beyond the scope of this paper. However, there are some general concerns.

With the decentralisation of decision making, especially in Human Resource Management, much power will go to Permanent Secretaries and senior managers in areas such as recruitment, appointment, promotion, and merit increases. In a small society like Trinidad and Tobago, it will be difficult to ensure that fairness prevails and that nepotism is avoided. It is recommended that an independent Appeal Board be appointed to hear charges / complaints about possible abuses of power. This might be a role which a less burdened Public Service commission can play in the new system. This has worked in Canada, where such appeals are heard by an independent body and are open to all members of the public. The public official must present all the facts and defend decisions which he or she has taken. This can be a powerful deterrent to abuse of power.

¹⁵⁵These are described more fully in Chapter 2. However, for a comprehensive discussion of these Agencies, please see PS 2000 and the Next Steps Initiatives.

Another concern is that any plan to remove the Service Commissions, or revise their role, will require changes to the Constitution of the country. This would need a 2/3 majority vote in Parliament, which is unlikely to be achieved, given the present balance of power between the Government and the Opposition. However, the creation of a Ministry of the Public Service would not require parliamentary approval and may be easier to implement. Another option is for the Public Service Commission to continue to perform the recruitment function and provide Permanent secretaries with eligibility lists from which they can proceed to make appointments, promotions, etc. This is done by the Canadian Federal government in Ottawa and has been working successfully.

Also any effort towards administrative reform intended to increase efficiency must place emphasis on "merit" in filling vacancies, and not merely on "seniority," as has been the norm. Proper testing and assessment centres will have to be established to conduct various types of tests, (such as "in-basket" exercises for managers), to select suitable officers for posts being filled. The existing Civil Service Examinations System is not equipped to deal with such assessments, which require highly trained staff. The performance appraisal system, after it is revised, would also assist in providing information as to officers' relative suitability for promotion.

A major concern is that the level of rhetoric about reform may surpass the reality of what is actually being implemented. Certain significant measures have in fact taken place, like the decentralisation of the Ministry of Health. This is largely due to the efforts of a very dynamic Permanent Secretary, who is infused with the spirit of reform and has been very instrumental in pushing change and ensuring that objectives are achieved. However, some Permanent Secretaries and Heads of Departments, who are not as enthused about the reform, have not seen as much progress within their ministries. This emphasizes the importance of the leader of each organisation for the success of the effort. It will be left to the Minister of the Public Service to ensure that the plans are being implemented in a widespread way throughout the public service.

There are other plans for some central agencies that will have implications for the success of the whole reform effort, like the introduction of Human Resource Information Systems in the Service Commissions Department and other computerised systems in other areas of the public service. Research has revealed that apart from the generic Persys system, involving basic personnel records in ministries and departments, the comprehensive computerisation of records has not yet taken place. Admittedly, this is one of the main challenges, because of the lack of financial and trained human resources necessary for successful implementation. However, this is an

area that will require constant monitoring and supervision to ensure that it continues to receive priority, and is not neglected for lack of resources.

There are other areas of reform that are being talked about, but have not yet come to fruition. This is to be expected, given the comprehensive changes envisioned in the reform plan. Some reforms will take longer than others; only so much can be done at one time. However, one must guard against the possibility that the changes are "talked to death" without the necessary follow up action, as so often happens in these large scale plans.

Other plans, like the setting up of Human Resource Management Units in Ministries and Departments and staffing them with officers recruited largely from outside the public service on contract, may be easier said than done. While this may serve the purposes of efficiency and facilitate change by infusing fresh perspectives and removing those with an entrenched "mindset," it could result in massive redeployment and displacement of workers and cause upheaval, which could be detrimental to the reform. It could also destroy the goal of a career-oriented public service. This move will have to be implemented in a very sensitive way and incorporate plans for retraining and reallocation of displaced officers.

Another concern is that although the public service unions have been included in every stage of the reform process, they are not fully supportive of the effort. There

is a level of resistance to certain changes, especially those involving reduction of staff. It is hoped that further dialogue will be fruitful in resolving the issue. From interviews conducted with some public servants, it is evident that there are other pockets of resistance - those striving to maintain the status quo and their old power bases, those who are afraid of change and the risks involved, and those who are in denial and are proceeding as usual, hoping it all goes away. Efforts will have to be made to give some measure of reassurance to those who are fearful of change, and also to inspire the others with the vision for change to enlist their support. This leads into the next concern.

Most human resource management theories stress the importance of a proper reward system in an organisation in order to encourage motivation, superior performance, higher productivity, job satisfaction and loyalty. With past efforts at downsizing, freezing of salaries, salary cuts, suspension of merit increases, and collapse of the performance appraisal system, public servants have virtually lost all confidence and trust in the system of public administration in the country. This has resulted in a sharp decline in motivation, productivity and commitment. While most public servants appear to be excited about the reforms that are taking place, full support and commitment to the administrative reform effort will only be obtained when a proper reward system has

been introduced, when merit increases are restored and when the performance appraisal system once again makes sense.

Finally, it has been mentioned that the success of this reform agenda in Trinidad and Tobago has been due largely to the fact that a Minister of Government has been appointed with specific responsibility for the public service. He has managed, because of his expertise in management and his dedication to the reform effort, to spearhead the programme of change and to mobilize the public service to implement it. Because of his position, he has the confidence and support of the Prime Minister and the government, and the power to get the necessary resources. This is probably the primary advantage that Trinidad and Tobago has over the other two countries. The Minister has stated that implementation of reform should be completed by the last quarter of 1995. National elections are due to be held in December, 1996. Because of the importance of political will and support for the success of the reform, it is hoped that he continues to hold that portfolio until the plan is fully implemented.

Conclusion

There have been similarities, as well as differences, in the process of reform / restructuring in the three countries - Jamaica, Barbados and Trinidad and Tobago. The impetus has been the same for all - economic problems, organisational inefficiency (with common identified problems) and increasing pressures from the dynamic global environment, including rapid changes in technology. All three countries have had a history of failed reform efforts due to lack of implementation.

In the introduction, six criteria were outlined for the analysis of the models - the political will for change, the change agents, the strategies for change, the level of acceptance, the level of implementation and the prospects for success. In terms of political will, it has been a strong influence, initially because of the need to redress the economic situation, especially to comply with conditions of the International Monetary Fund or other lending agency. In Jamaica, this seemed to form the focus of the reform effort, and having successfully cut 20% of the public service labour force, the effort has waned somewhat. The main thrust now seems to be installing the new programme budgeting system, again for financial and economic reasons. In Barbados, having cut the workforce and salaries, the economic problem is not as acute. Programme budgeting is being contemplated, but has not yet been properly introduced. Because change is to be implemented in a pragmatic incremental manner, there is not

much evidence of any widespread effort. Further pilot projects may be implemented gradually. It is not known whether the political will for reform will continue with the new government which has been elected. In Trinidad and Tobago, the economic situation also prompted salary cuts and reduction of the workforce by means of attrition. However, there is a comprehensive reform plan which is being implemented. Progress reports are being submitted at regular intervals to Cabinet and action is continuing. The political will seems to be very strong and supportive of the effort.

In terms of **change agents**, all three countries have used private consultants. The Ministry of the Public Service has been responsible for implementing reform in Jamaica and Barbados. In Trinidad and Tobago, the Minister of the Public Service and the Prime Minister's Office have been responsible for implementing the change. They have been supported by task forces, committees, and change teams established in each ministry. The consultants have also remained and continue to provide support, advice and assistance in implementation.

The **strategies for change** have varied among the three countries, although the visions and goals were similar. The main difference is that in Trinidad and Tobago, the programme was elaborately planned out and based on theoretical models and approaches; someone was charged with the responsibility for implementation and took ownership of it; and the overall plan was broken down into its component parts, each being

assigned to a particular group for implementation. This made it easier for monitoring and problem solving. This was the strategy used in Canada, as well as in the U.K. While Barbados also used an Organizational Development approach and had a detailed strategy, no one person was charged with the responsibility for implementation.

The level of acceptance is difficult to measure. In all three countries, the changes that were implemented have been accepted. It remains to be seen what new changes will occur in Jamaica and Barbados, and what support they will engender. In Trinidad and Tobago, the change has largely been accepted, except for the pockets of resistance from the unions, those in fear of change, and some "seasoned" bureaucrats who still wish to protect the status quo and their own positions. These pockets of resistance may also be due to the all encompassing nature of the reform and the number of persons being touched by it. Again, it remains to be seen what further changes will take place and what level of support they will have.

The level of implementation has also varied in the three countries. Trinidad and Tobago has implemented the most comprehensive reform so far. There have been changes in vision, mission, culture, and also in regulations, systems, procedures, structures, and operations. One major indicator of the level of implementation is reflected in the Progress Reports which have to be regularly submitted to Cabinet. This maintains the political interest and serves as an impetus for

continuing action. In Jamaica, the implementation of reform has focused mainly on downsizing. Other initiatives for reform have been sporadic. Implementation of the programme budgeting system is continuing, and this will have a positive impact on planning and cost efficiency. However, the main reform goals have not been implemented. In Barbados, the level of implementation has also been low and the vision for reform has not been realised. In both countries (Jamaica and Barbados), it was significant that there were no available reports or documents showing that feedback was required by, or being given to Cabinet. This is not a good prognosis for the success of the reform effort.

With regard to the prospects for success of the administrative reform effort, it would appear that Jamaica and Barbados will have to devise a proper plan, develop a model similar to the one being implemented in Trinidad and Tobago, and appoint a leader with the responsibility to implement it. Having started out with the same problems, this seems to be the main difference which accounts for the lack of implementation in these two countries. This view is reinforced by the fact that in both Canada's PS 2000 and Britain's Next Steps Initiative, the Head of the Public Service is required to report regularly to the Prime Minister on the progress of public service reform, and the Prime Minister tables the report in Parliament. The analysis shows that of all the criteria examined, the ones that have made the

difference between implementation and non-implementation have been political will in terms of support and leadership of the reform, change agents and strategies for change. The Trinidad and Tobago model placed greater importance on these, and thus far, has been most successful.

After all the problems that the three countries have experienced since independence, and with the constraints of human and financial resources, one can conclude that they have come a long way. However, as we stand on the threshold of the twenty-first century, with all its new challenges, we must take the necessary steps to approach it in the most positive way. It is heartening that in all three countries, administrative reform has moved beyond the report stage and has been implemented in one form or another. There will be the inevitable "teething problems" in the implementation process, but there are strong indications that it can happen; it can be successfully implemented with the proper leaders, the right strategies, and with public servants who share the vision.

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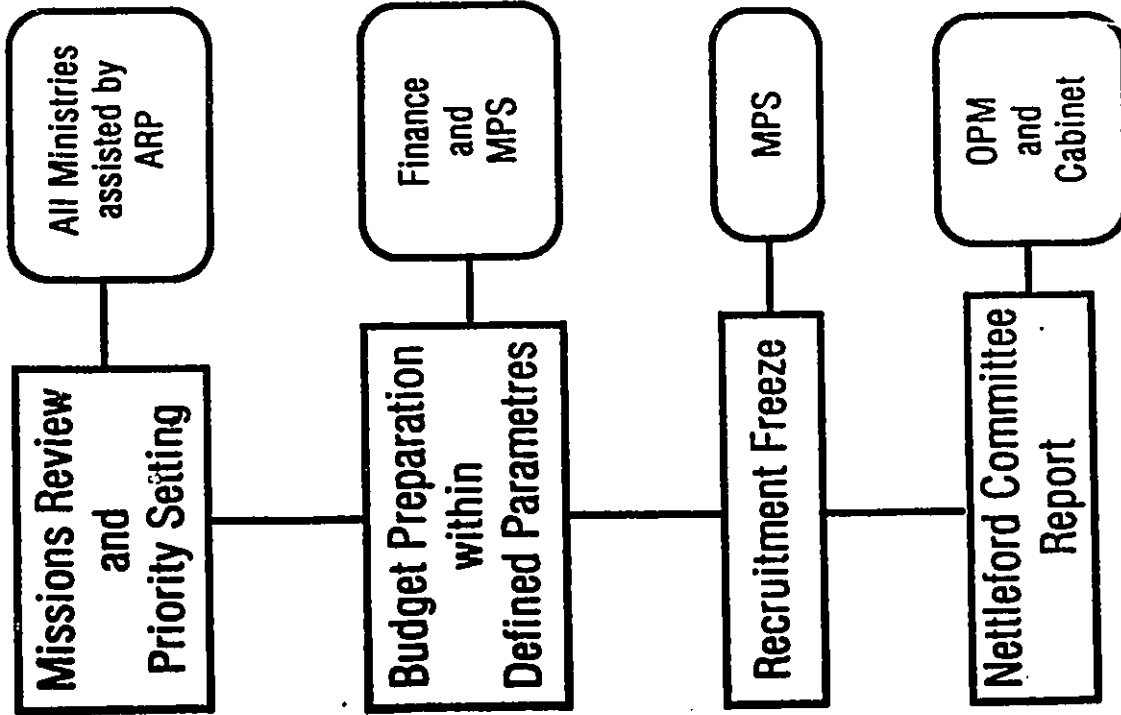
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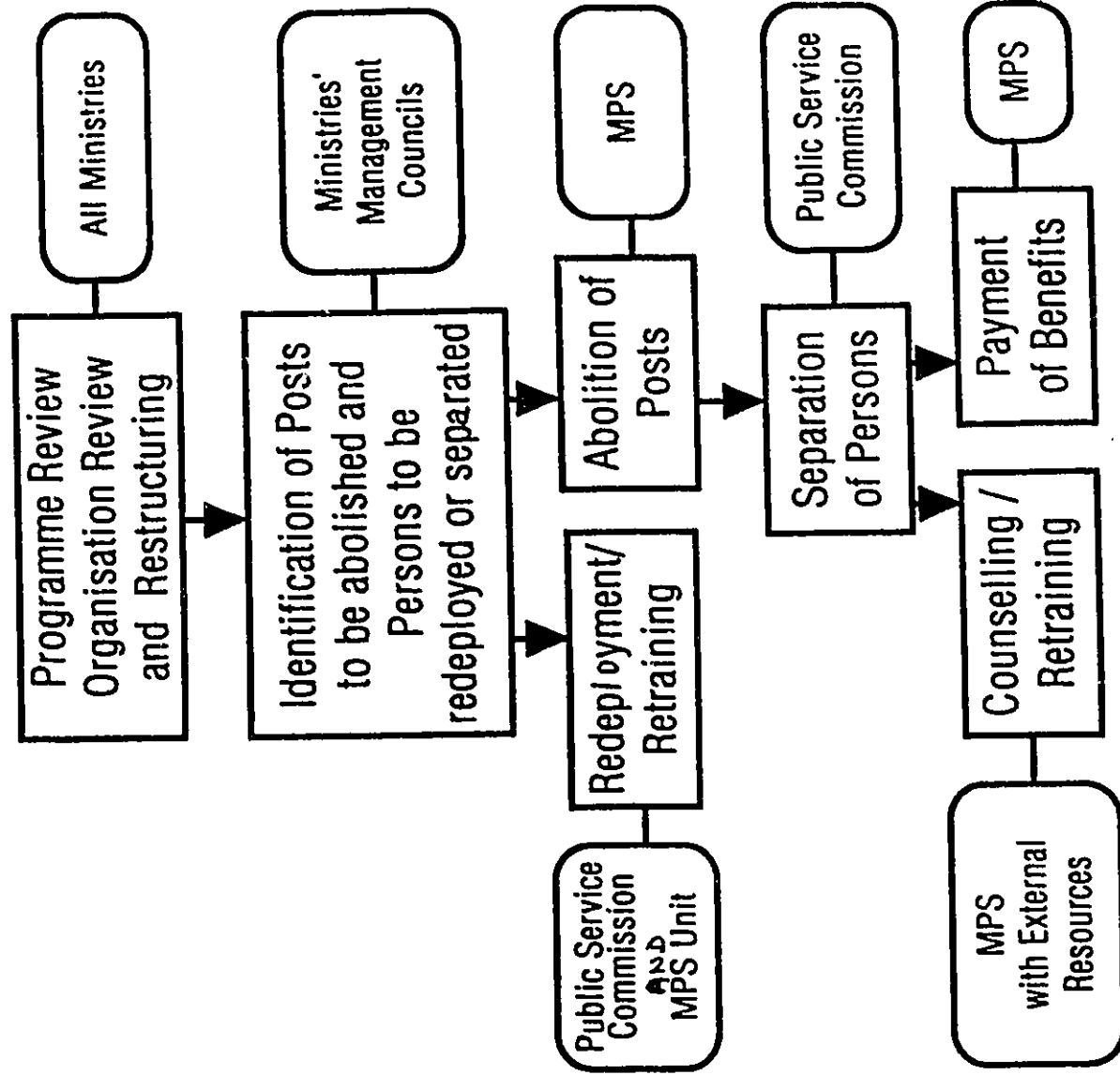
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- Sergeant, Stevenson, Reform Consultant. Interview by author, 11 August, 1994, Prime Minister's Office, Port of Spain, Trinidad.

RESTRUCTURING PROCESS - KEY ELEMENTS

CABINET DECISION



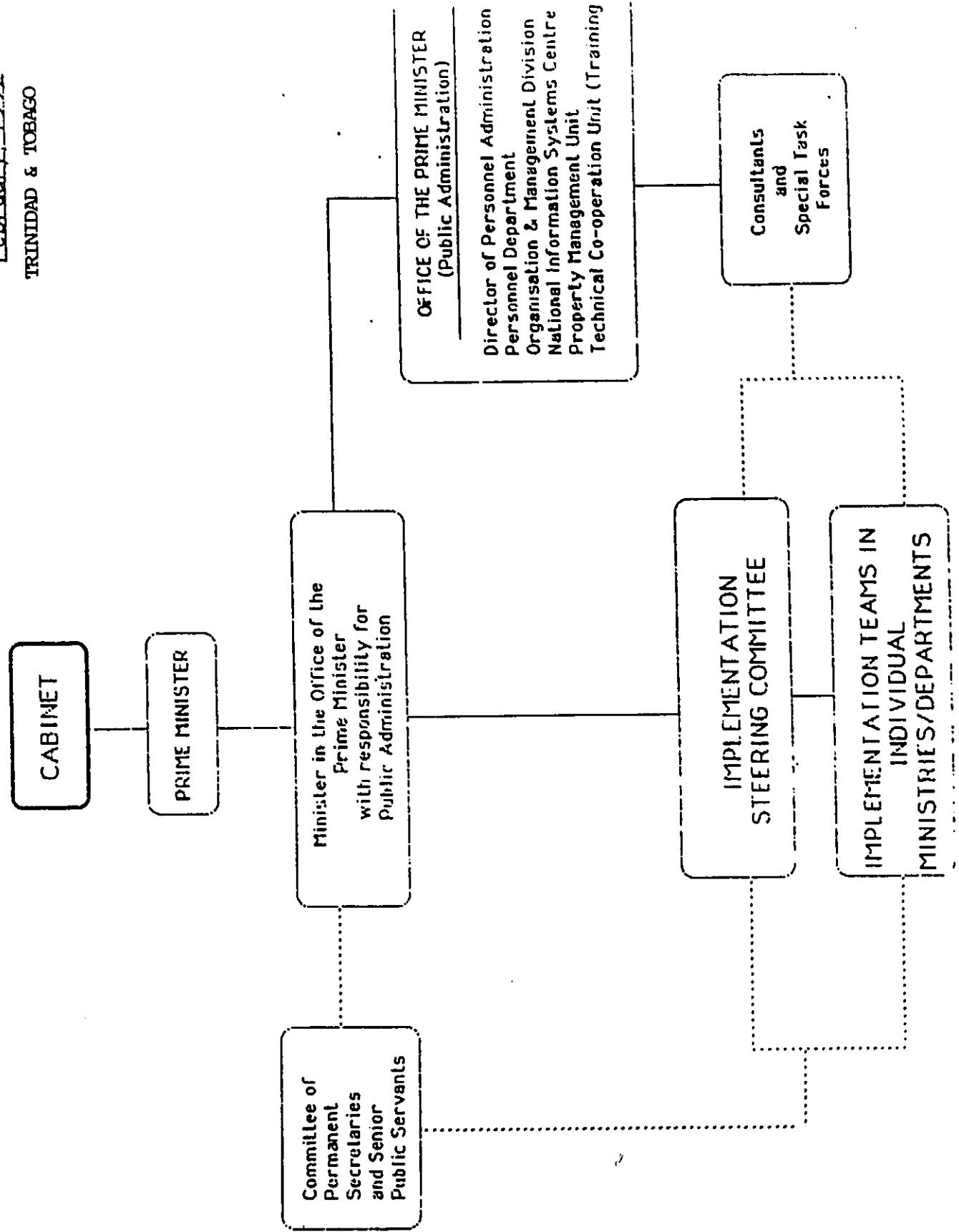
IMPLEMENTATION



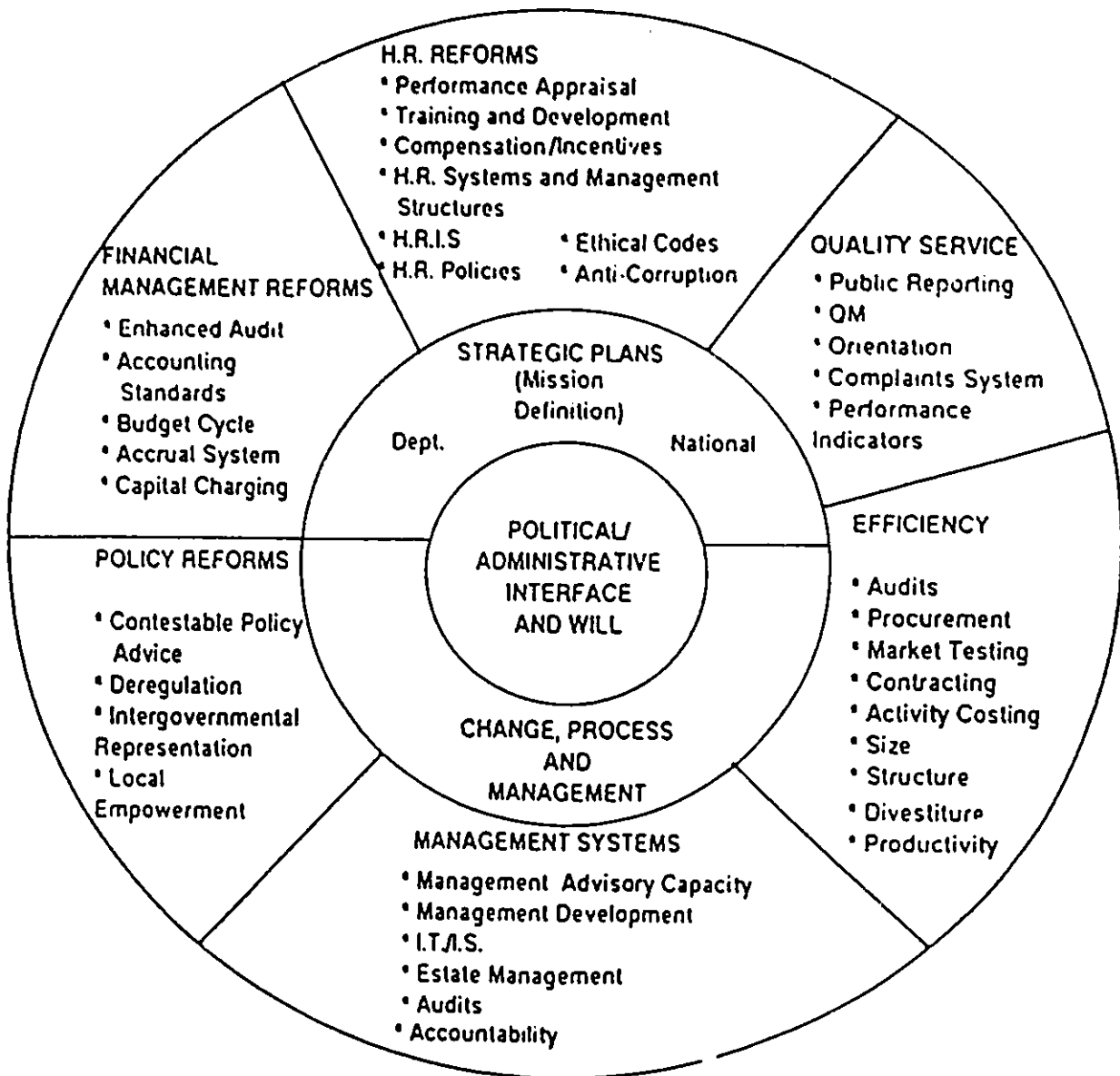
ORGANIZATIONAL FRAMEWORK FOR IMPLEMENTATION OF PUBLIC SERVICE REFORMS

February, 1992

TRINIDAD & TOBAGO



THE PUBLIC SERVICE REFORM WHEEL



PUBLIC

SERVICE

REFORM

Public Servants
working towards
implementing →
change

← Implementation thrust-
A planned programme
of Reform seeking to
improve business
systems across
the Public Service

OUR GOALS

- * prompt results
- * cost effectiveness
- * a business orientation
- * a strategic planning culture
- * high standards of performance
- * a customer-sensitive Public Service



"Pressure points"

Increasing demands of the T&T Public for Quality Service

VITA AUCTORIS

Carol Clark was born in Trinidad in 1945. She attended St. Joseph's Convent in Port of Spain, from which she graduated with the Cambridge School Certificate (First Class) in 1961. She has worked in the public service of Trinidad and Tobago for several years and holds the position of Administrative Officer IV. In 1984 she was awarded a government scholarship to the University of the West Indies to pursue the Diploma in Public Administration, which she obtained in 1985.

Ms. Clark came to Canada in 1991 on a Canada/Caricom scholarship sponsored by CIDA, to pursue the Bachelor of Public Administration (Honours) degree at the University of Windsor. Upon her graduation in 1994, she was awarded the Board of Governors' Medal in Public Administration. She is currently enrolled in the Master of Arts programme in Political Science at the University of Windsor and will be completing the requirements in December 1994.