DEFINING AND CHANGING THE CULTURE OF THE PUBLIC SECTOR: AN EVALUATION OF THE RECRUITMENT, COMPENSATION, DISCIPLINE AND RETIREMENT POLICIES OF ESTABLISHED AND NON-ESTABLISHED EMPLOYEES IN ANTIGUA

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by

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Abstract

This thesis looks at the policies governing two groups of public sector employees—established and non-established workers—in Antigua and Barbuda, in the areas of recruitment, compensation, discipline and retirement. It provides an account of the views of employees at all levels of the public service in the areas under study.

The thesis begins by establishing the background to the study, first considering its importance in light of the current fiscal situation affecting the service. It then gives a synopsis of the public sector, its historical origin, the role that the trade unions have played in politics, and the reasons why the policies governing the areas of recruitment, compensation, discipline and retirement need to be examined in light of the present culture.

Empirical data were collected in a series of thirty interviews with participants drawn from the senior, middle and junior levels of the public sector (established workers, non-established workers and retired civil servants) and responses to a questionnaire survey of 116 people in over a dozen government ministries. Analysis of these data revealed no significant overall difference between established and non-established workers and their working culture, despite some perceptions to the contrary and despite the two parts of the public service being governed by separate pieces of legislation.

It was also found that because of the evolution of the public sector, its governance and ties to political power, the relationship between politicians and public sector workers was personal in nature. Finally, despite the perceived tension among workers, the two groups were found to work in harmony, sharing a desire to move the sector forward. It is concluded that reform is needed in the areas mentioned, but the government must be willing to accept and embrace changes to the policies under review. In addition this study can be used as a benchmark for Small Island Developing states where there is need to change the culture from one of depending on the political directorate to one of independence towards personal development.
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ACF</td>
<td>Advocacy coalition framework</td>
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<tr>
<td>CARICAD</td>
<td>Caribbean Centre for Development Administration</td>
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<td>CSME</td>
<td>Caribbean Single Market and Economy</td>
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<td>IG</td>
<td>Integrated governance</td>
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<tr>
<td>OECD</td>
<td>Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development</td>
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<tr>
<td>NEW</td>
<td>Non-established worker</td>
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<tr>
<td>NPM</td>
<td>New public management</td>
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<tr>
<td>PS</td>
<td>Permanent secretary</td>
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<tr>
<td>PSC</td>
<td>Public Service Commission</td>
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<td>PwC</td>
<td>PricewaterhouseCoopers</td>
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<td>WTO</td>
<td>World Trade Organization</td>
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Chapter One

Introduction

1.1 Introduction to the research

The public sector in Antigua and Barbuda emerged from colonialism, whose dominant feature was the adoption of a rigid adherence to the Westminster standard of administration. Strong bureaucratic principles with an over-centralized decision-making centre created minimal opportunities for public servants to participate in management and decision making. One legacy of this era was the division of public sector employees into two groups: Established Workers and Non-Established Workers. While there has been legislation to create a framework for these groups to be part of the working population, they are still undefined, their image and impressions of them remain negative, and very little has been done to address the inequalities that exist in order to create acceptable conditions under which they can continue to exist and make their contribution. Research and studies in public management have indicated that the effective delivery of public management is extremely challenging. (Elling and Thompson 2006, p.302). During the late 19th and early 20th centuries reformers of the public sector around the world sought to replace patronage-based systems with merit systems, as they sought to remove the hiring and firing of workers away from ‘political parties and elected officials’ (p. 303). Although there have been talks about changes in public management systems, due to the effects of globalization, there has been very little or no talk on the changes that need to take place in the culture of the public sector. This research is seeking to define the culture of the Antiguan public sector, so that recommendations can be made for improvement in the light of the need for public sector reform. It therefore focuses on these two groups, (established and non-established workers) and evaluates the policies that govern them in the areas of recruitment, compensation, discipline and retirement. The intention is to capture a comprehensive view of how these policies operate within the public sector of Antigua and Barbuda and how they have affected the two groups of workers in the current culture. This researcher is of the view that if any real and meaningful reform is to take place in the context of Antigua and Barbuda, changes need to occur in the culture of the sector, and the stated polices that governs workers in the sector.

In the Constitution of Antigua and Barbuda, ‘Established Workers’ are referred to as Public Officers: they are persons who “hold or act in offices in the public service or the
Civil Service”. According to the Civil Service Act (No 24 of 1984), “A public officer, who holds a public office in the public service” (Section 3(2)) is also called a ‘Civil Servant’ as specified in the First Schedule of the Act, Section 3(1). ‘Established employee’ means a “Civil Servant or a person employed by the government whose salary is paid from or out of personal emoluments included in the Official Estimates of Antigua and Barbuda” (section/division A5, Antigua and Barbuda Labour Code, Cap.27), while ‘Non-Established Worker’ means a “Civil Servant or a person employed by the government whose wage or salary is paid from or out of funds other than personal emoluments included in the Official Estimates of Antigua and Barbuda” (ibid). The provisions of the Labour Code apply to non-established employees of the Government (ibid, section/division A6 (2)).

This chapter explains how the study came about and explores the context of the public sector in light of global factors that indicate the need for change and for the culture of the Antiguan and Barbudan public sector to be defined. The research questions and the aims and objectives of the study are stated and the structure of the thesis outlined.

1.2 Rationale for the research

The public sector is growing throughout the Caribbean as governments become the major employers in the delivery of goods and services, against the background of slow growth in national economies and private sector investment due to the global recession. Despite this phenomenon, governments within the region strive to strike a balance between private sector prosperity and providing for the citizenry.

A study of the public sector in Africa by Vigoda-Gadot and Meiri (2008) concludes that a number of states have adopted and tried many aspects of the New Public Management (NPM) doctrine of public administration, which “has attracted a great deal of interest… with the goal of moving antiquated bureaucracies into a new era characterized by a market orientation and higher level of effectiveness, flexibility and responsiveness to citizens” (p.111). They also report that a number of studies have been conducted in many countries, focusing on “recommended practices, comparative views among nations and bureaucracies, case studies of successful and less successful experiences and suggestions about the ‘next steps’ needed” (ibid, p.11). What these studies have failed to address are “cultural and personal considerations, especially questions about values, values-fit and the compatibility of the individuals with their changing organizational environment climate and culture [which] have been left almost
untouched” (ibid). The present research is motivated in part by the need to address some of these under-researched aspects of the employment of public sector workers, specifically their recruitment, compensation, discipline and retirement, along with the culture that exist.

It is also motivated by the researcher’s twenty-seven years of direct experience of work in the public sector, both as a teacher of mathematics and English literature at the secondary level and (for over twenty years) as a local tutor in public sector management and human resources at the Open Campus of the University of the West Indies in Antigua and Barbuda. His interaction with public sector workers, both established and non-established, during this long time has created a strong perception of the sector. The researcher came to realise that there were a number of questions regarding non-established workers in the Antiguan public sector that needed to be addressed:

Who are these workers, and what purpose do they serve in the public sector? How did this dichotomy come about? Why is it still in operation today? What is the nature of their work culture? What is their attitude towards work? Is their culture different from the established workers? Can we do without them? What significant role (if any) do they play in the development of the Antiguan and Barbudan public sector? How are these groups influenced by the existing political culture?

These questions arise because of the interest that has been generated in the problems that have emerged in the sector. They are important to this study, especially in light of the reality that the world is changing and work behaviours and systems have become points of interest for both citizens and governments. With this in mind, this research looks in depth at the operations of the sector and more specifically the policies that govern the employment of established and non-established workers in the areas of recruitment, remuneration, discipline and compensation. Interviews and questionnaires were used to explore the perceptions and knowledge of these four factors among a sample of established workers within the public sector who have had experience of working with non-established workers in different ministries and a sample of the non-established workers themselves.

These issues have been at the fore of the researcher’s mind in trying to achieve a better understanding of this cadre of workers (established and non-established) so that recommendations can be made for the restructuring and reform of the relevant aspects of the Antiguan and Barbudan public sector. This study is expected to contribute to the
debate on culture and policy change in light of public sector reform, while pointing the way forward for the public sector reform in Antigua and Barbuda.

1.3 Background to the research

The environment in which the public sector operates is always in a state of flux, resulting in changes in the internal environment. It must be accepted that “change is an inherent and ever-present element of every organization” (Lane, 1986, p.201). At a practical level, change can be viewed as “a relational term that applies to every situation resulting from the interaction of two or more forces over a period of time” (ibid). Thompson (1992) is of the view that a public organization can respond to change in either of only two ways: “It can react to change after it manifests itself in fully developed form, or it can attempt to anticipate such change before it becomes fully manifest” (p.202). In a bold attempt to change the organization through systems and processes, a close examination between the themes of policies, culture and change is vital for a clearer understanding of the role each play in the evolution of the public sector.

The Caribbean public sector has some notable characteristics which it has inherited from the colonial era. The feature of size is highlighted by Browne (2010) in his examination of institutional development within small states, of which Antigua and Barbuda is one. Although smallness makes the “job of the public servant a great deal easier”, Browne observes some “shortcomings in relation to institutional development” (p.47). These shortcomings became more prominent in the Caribbean and Latin America in light of the role of the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and the World Trade Organization (WTO), which came to the assistance of ailing economies through loans and aid that were tied to conditions of structural adjustment measures, severely impacting on the public sector (Bissessar, 2002).

In the Caribbean, the public sector is the largest employer controlled by one body, the government, and it is responsible for goods and services, wages, salaries and capital investment (Browne, 2010). The uniqueness of the Antiguan case is that the public sector is also “the largest consumer of goods and services, and public expenditure fuels economic and commercial activities” (ibid, p.50) ; furthermore, “at the beginning of the decade, Antigua and Barbuda was easily the worst case scenario” in relation to the consumption of goods and services (ibid).
A review of the Antigua and Barbuda public service was carried out between 2000 and 2002 by PricewaterhouseCoopers (PwC), resulting in a report which states that the government employed approximately 16 per cent of the population, and that wages and salaries represented 70 percent of current expenditure. “A ‘parallel’ service of established and non-established staff exists, producing anomalies in the pay structure, duplication of roles and organizational chaos, and contributing substantially to the unsustainable wage bill” (PwC, 2002, p.6). In addition, there were inconsistencies in the recruitment and placement of personnel because of a lack of harmonized legislation governing all employees in the public service. This had a “demoralizing effect on the senior managers and supervisors” (ibid, p.24). This current system has crafted a culture that needs clarity and definition if reform strategies are going to be embraced.

In 2001, the World Bank conducted a study of the Antiguan and Barbudan public sector and noted that the conditions in which public servants operated allowed for high job security in established posts. However, there also appeared to be relatively high numbers of non-established posts, which were often subject to political patronage and enjoyed no security.

Sutton (2008) more recently found that “the figures for both established and non-established posts can be difficult to obtain with any accuracy” (p.13), while Browne (2010) reports a similar problem, that the “basic employee data for established and non-established workers in each ministry did not exist, and payroll lists were manually maintained and updated” (p.51). Nonetheless, some figures have been estimated. A review undertaken in Antigua by the Caribbean Centre for Development Administration (CARICAD, 2000) observed that there were 8,000 public personnel in 1998, about 60 percent of whom were in non-established posts. Brown (2010) notes that it was “not uncommon for ‘ghost workers’ and deceased persons to be receiving pay, and for retired persons to be re-hired on salary while continuing to receive full pensions”. The situation was so out of control that in October 2009, the Minister of Finance in Antigua announced that the government was “seeking a technical assistance grant from the World Bank to carry out a comprehensive human resource audit to uncover current numbers, qualifications and remuneration levels of established and non-established and statutory bodies’ personnel” (ibid, p.52).

Figure 1.1 is a graph representing the percentages of established and non-established workers in 1998 and 2002, according to the CARICAD and PwC reports referred to
above. It shows that non-established workers accounted for 53.75% of the public workforce in 2002 and as many as 60% in 1998.

![Established and Non-Established workers](image_url)

Figure 1.1: Percentage of established and non-established workers, 1998 and 2002

Source: CARICAD (2000); PwC (2002)

The large number of non-established workers has become a serious problem for the government’s current revenue; Browne (2010, p.51) notes that “public sector wages account for 37 percent of total government expenditure and 51 percent of the government’s current revenue”, imposing “fiscal constraints that drive down public sector compensation, making wages relatively low and uncompetitive vis-à-vis compensation in the private sector or opportunities abroad”.

Owusu (2012) is of the view that “bureaucracies in many poor countries suffer from low capacity, often do not deliver effective service and are frequently staffed with poorly trained, poorly remunerated, and poorly motivated public servants” (p.135). This applies to Antigua and Barbuda, as the PricewaterhouseCoopers report makes clear:

The service has become burdened with non-established workers who may not contribute effectively to the work of the Ministries to which they are appointed and are not governed by the same regulations as the established workers who have been employed through the correct channels. Resultant problems of administration occur as two separate pieces of legislation are in operation, the Civil Service Regulations governing the established workers and the Labour Code governing the non-established workers (PwC, 2002, p.54).
Khan (1987) identifies a number of “organizational handicaps” in the Caribbean public sector, which can be seen to exist in the Antiguan and Barbudan public sector. These are:

… the inadequacy of public service organization to meet the needs of transition and development; ministerial proliferation accompanied by an excessive number of small units devoted to a narrow specialized range of work which results in an equally excessive number of hierarchical and organizational layers, featherbedding, excessive desk-bound work-movement, wasteful duplication, variable unit-size, and organizational slack; inadequate work load distribution – in some cases excessive concentration, in others the opposite; lack of unity and cohesion of work units; poor organization of the policy-making agencies; poor communicating channels within the public sector and with the population groups; poor distribution of competence and skill; and poor definition of staff and line functions” (p.95).

Lane et al (2003) while conducting research in the public sector noted that the role of Human Resource Management in the public sector has shifted from compliance with the bureaucratic structure to one where there is a strategic integration of human resource capital issues into management systems and programs. These programs need to be developed in order to capture and retain the skills necessary to meet current and future objectives. Lane et al (2003) also advocated five trends that are evolving as strategic approaches that will be necessary to manage people in government. These are:-

“strategic workforce planning, recruitment and hiring, compensation and performance, benefits and quality of work life practices and workforce development and succession planning” (p.129).

These factors, coupled with the structural and organizational problems that exist in the Antiguan and Barbudan public sector, have contributed to organizational and human resource deficiencies and created a culture which is yet to be defined. An understanding of the public sector culture in Antigua and Barbuda is important because of the existing situation of two sets of workers governed by two differing sets of legislative instruments. In addition, with the introduction of the free movement of people and skills under the Caribbean Single Market and Economy (CSME), there will be a need for a national strategic human resource plan to improve the overall service delivery of the sector and to cope with the influx of non-nationals who may seek employment in the sector. The culture of the public sector in any country is critical to the survival of that sector. Schedler and Proeller (2007) examined different cultures form an anthropological perspective, focusing on the cognitive aspects and the ethnoscience of shared cognitions, beliefs and knowledge, along with the symbolic perspective of
culture and shared beliefs. These beliefs are linked to meaningful relationships and are best understood via a structural and psychodynamic approach where culture is viewed as an “expression of unconscious psychological process” (p.11). The authors examine the historical institutional process and its relation “to the mutual interpretation of historical experience within an organization. Relevance is mostly made to highlight specific traditions and beliefs at the national level which seem plausible and relevant to explain certain traits and developments” (ibid).

The concept of organizational culture in the public sector is important because it “has a significant effect on organizational performance” (Ryan and Lewis, 2007, p.271). Although organizational culture is described as the way people do things within their environment (Deal and Kennedy, 1982), researchers such as Peters and Waterman (1982) hold that culture “has a significant effect on organizational performance” and are convinced that “changing the culture is the key to organizational success” (cited in Ryan and Lewis, 2007, p.271).

In the context of Human Resource Management and development, this reference to culture is quite distinct from structure which we refer to when we are alluding to all those processes that reflect a hierarchy such as, division of labour, work specialization, departmentalization, formalization, chain of command, centralization and decentralization in which levels of reporting and responsibility are assigned. This researcher is aware that culture in organizations can affect structure, and that cultural procedures are likely to be a part of structure. This study examines the culture of the public sector in Antigua and Barbuda in order to ascertain if there are differences in work ethics and behaviours among workers, and to recommend improvements. In addition, it examines the public sector policies governing the recruitment, remuneration, discipline and retirement of established and non-established workers in the Antiguan public sector, with the ultimate aim of defining the culture of the sector. Clearly there is an argument for cultural change if the current public sector is to survive the challenges of this current era.

1.4 Reflections

Antigua was ‘discovered’ by Christopher Columbus in 1493. It then took one hundred and thirty nine years for the British under Thomas Warner to establish a settlement on the island. As settlements sprang up throughout Antigua, the British governing strategy under colonialism was evident in its laws and through its Legislative Council. The
island was primarily used for the growing of sugar cane as a monoculture. Under the slave trade the British were able to carve out a society made up of African slave labour under three European groups: the merchant class, the planter class and the aristocrats.

After the emancipation of slaves in Antigua in 1834, the ‘free’ slave society pressed for better working conditions and greater representation in the Legislative Council, but conditions throughout the Caribbean did not improve, despite agitation, resistance and rebellion from within for improvement in key developmental areas. Furthermore, very little attempt was made by Britain to improve the economic and social conditions of the citizens of an island that was 90 percent African.

The 1930s were difficult times in the West Indies. Richards (1967, p.1) describes the situation “from Jamaica to Trinidad” as “poverty and poverty and poverty”. This led to mass employment among the citizenry throughout the islands. Antigua was possibly the hardest hit, because of major drought that inevitably severely damaged the sugar cane crop, its only means of earning revenue:

The Antiguan government, now bankrupt, sought help from the United Kingdom Government, but only a limited amount of relief was possible. Men were able to acquire work for two or three days weekly or fortnightly depending on the availabilities of funds. Amidst the poverty that existed in the West Indies, there was widespread unrest. Bush fires from Jamaica to Trinidad, riots in Jamaica, St. Vincent, St. Kitts and Trinidad, with Antigua on the brink. With the threat to law and order imminent, the British Government appointed a Royal Commission under Lord Moyne to investigate the cause of the unrest and make recommendations (Richards, 1967, p.1).

The Commission found that “the society was completely disorganized and the large numbers of unemployed and underemployed provided a proper breeding ground for the exploitation of labour” (ibid, p.2). One response was the passing of the Trade Union Act of 1939 with the assistance of Sir Gordon Letham through the Colonial Office, following the formation of a trade union in Antigua and Barbuda on January 1, 1939. Trade union activities flourished from this point and unions were able to secure an increase in wages, enhanced working conditions and improvements in general labour relations between workers and management in both the private and public sectors.
1.5 Research problem

The problem being researched is that of public sector culture through the current governing policies of recruitment, compensation, discipline and retirement of established and non-established workers.

Thus, the research question is:-

How can we define and change the current culture of the Antiguan and Barbudian public sector among established and non-established workers, and provide detailed strategies for improvement in the areas of recruitment, compensation, discipline and retirement?

The aims and objectives of the research are as follows:

Aims

1. To examine and analyse the current developmental policies (on recruitment, compensation, discipline and retirement) and their impact on the current public sector culture.

2. To suggest reforms in light of the findings

Objectives

a. To highlight the operationalization of the developmental policies governing established and non-established employees within the Antiguan public sector

b. To identify the existing challenges facing established and non-established workers and to suggest improvements in the light of public sector reform.

c. To provide evidence that will suggest the need for cultural change in the public sector.

d. To propose a list of recommendations suggesting changes to the recruitment, compensation, disciplinary and retirement policies in light of reforming the culture of the public sector.

The sub-questions are as follows:

i. To what extent are these current policies influenced by the existing political culture?
ii. Is there a difference between the culture of established and non-established workers?

iii. What challenges exist in the process of reforming policies on the recruitment, compensation, discipline and retirement of workers within the public sector in light of the philosophy of New Public Management?

iv. How is the public sector culture defined by these policies?

1.6 Other research issues

Policies on recruitment, compensation, discipline and retirement are key factors that impact on the development of human capital of any business organization. These are issues that set the tone for personal and economic development and are integral to the success of the organization, especially in how they affect workers’ commitment. Potential workers who are able to choose between employers are likely to be attracted to organizations for different reasons. Most theories of organizational choice argue that “a person, consciously or unconsciously, chooses an occupation that ‘matches’ his or her unique set of needs, motives, values and talents” (Greenhaus et al, 2010, p.160). According to the traits concerned, “a person would be expected to identify his or her abilities, needs, interests, and values; select an appropriate career goal; and then choose an occupation thought to be most compatible with these goals” (ibid).

The other major issue being researched is that of compensation, a matter of great importance to workers within any sector which ought to be viewed strategically (Bohlander and Snell, 2007). Appropriate compensation serves to motivate and enhance individuals as they grow and develop while aligning themselves with the philosophy of the organization. Compensation systems ought to be devised in such a way that they are linked to the objectives of the organization and add value to individuals as they perform their duties. The concept of fairness in pay is also of importance in embracing what equity theory refers to as ‘distributive fairness’ (Bohlander and Snell, 2007, p. 399). The present study examines and discusses these issues.

Organizations take disciplinary action in order to correct or curb certain types of unwanted behaviour as they surface and to bring harmony among workers. Mathis and Jackson (2003) view discipline as “a form of training that enforces organizational rules” (p.533). Discipline among public sector workers is examined within the prevailing culture and in the light of the relevant theories. Finally, it examines retirement policies
among established and non-established workers for comparative purposes. A review of
existing policies within both sectors is undertaken in order to evaluate their equity and
to examine issues surrounding this reality.

Almond and Verba (1963,) in their discourse on civic culture noted that it is
“pluralistic”, based on “communication and persuasion, a culture of consensus and
diversity, a culture that [permits] change but [moderates] it” (p.8). One of the other
areas that will be reviewed is the impact of the current political culture on the
established and non-established worker, so that a greater understanding can be obtained
about these two groups of workers and their interaction with each other.

1.7 Plan of the research

The present research reviews official policy regarding the recruitment, compensation,
discipline and retirement of established and non-established workers in Antigua and
Barbuda. This thesis is organized as follows:-

Chapter 1 examines the background to the study and sets the research in context by
briefly reviewing the public sector in Antigua and Barbuda, focusing on some key
features of the study. Chapter 2 then fleshes out this context by means of a critical
review of the existing literature on public sector policies and their cultural effects. It
addresses a number of key themes and ideas that have emerged from the study of policy
and its effects on organizational culture. Chapter 3 next explains the methodological
approach to the study and provides justification for the methods used. The fieldwork
design and the ethical issues are discussed and the specific data collection methods
identified. This chapter also considers the limitations of the study.

Chapter 4 presents and analyses the empirical data collected in the field, then the
findings are discussed in Chapter 5, in light of the research objectives. Chapter 6
concludes the study by re-examining the research question, proposing realistic solutions
to the problems identified and indicating future research interest.
Chapter 2

Literature Review.

In addressing the research question, a critical review of the issues in the literature is required in order to set the research in context. The aim of this chapter is therefore to examine and appraise the key issues and themes which have been raised in light of the research questions.

After examining the role of the public sector and the behaviour of workers and their work habits, the discussion will turn to the policies on recruiting, remunerating, disciplining and retirement within the Antiguan and Barbudan public sector, and the challenges faced in this domain. The chapter serves to indicate where this study fits into the literature and to identify the need to carry out further research in this area.

2.1 The public sector

This study was undertaken to assess the policies on recruitment, compensation, discipline and retirement affecting established and non-established workers in the Antiguan and Barbudan public sector, to which context it is limited. The areas identified are nonetheless of major importance to any organization that seeks to sustain its development. They encompass the total development of the worker and if ignored or treated frivolously at any stage may impact on the quality of service, productivity and ultimately the culture of the sector.

Khan (1982, p.7) describes public organizations as institutions that are involved in policy-making and policy implementation through the public managerial conduits where policy makers determine who gets what, when and how. This is particularly visible in the Caribbean where there is a strong propensity to depend on politicians and party representatives for financial and others assistance. In the Eastern Caribbean public sector legislatures were crafted to ensure legitimacy in the management of public affairs, based on conventions, precepts and practices. Hence, in Antigua and Barbuda, the public sector operates within the ambit of the law governing the sector: the Civil Service Act 1994. It is managed by a group of individuals who would have been trained to function as managers. Khan further notes that public management as an institution involves a number of stakeholders, which he calls ‘domestic’ and ‘extra domestic’, who are engaged in a number of transactions that reflect the “social values and cultural practices of the wider society” (ibid, p.67).
Management of human resources in the public sector has adopted and practiced the bureaucratic concept as advocated by Weber (1843), characterised by much formality and structure. Fry (1989) asserts that “Weber considered the bureaucracy to be the most rational and efficient form of organization yet devised by man” (p.15); yet “as an organizational form, bureaucracy subjects individuals to an oppressive routine, limits individual freedom and favors the ‘crippled personality’ of the specialists” (ibid., p.16).

The principles advocated by Weber and other classical and behavioural theorists of his era (Taylor, Fayol and Mary Parker-Follet) were intended to ensure that there was effectiveness in the management and control of human resources. The treatment of workers on the production line using Taylor’s Scientific Management, for example, was designed to enhance the productivity and efficiency of workers (Fry, 1989).

The arrival of trade unionism in Antigua in the 1930s and the institution of collective bargaining were conceived as ensuring that the rights of workers on the job were protected. Trade union activity in the Caribbean, and more so in Antigua and Barbuda, was instrumental in preventing the exploitation of labour and in providing a means for workers to be conscious of the role that they should play in their development (Richards, 1967). The trade union movement ushered in a new age of labour management activity when its leaders sought political office and were successful. As a result, political and union development became parallel and has since influenced the alignment of human resources in the public sector. Richards (1967, p.55) states that “the chief aim of the trade union was to raise the social status of the workers to enable them to share in the wealth of the community”. He goes on:

The movement of the trade union into the field of politics was therefore a means of assisting in or as political power became more assured, in taking responsibility for the social and economic planning of the island, to safeguard the rights of the workers through legislative means, but to ensure that as far as practicable there would be an even distribution of the wealth and services of the island (ibid).

This movement and the concept of the marriage between political development and trade unionism had a profound influence on public sector management, because of the relationship between the politician and the functioning of the public sector through the mandate given for public management via the constitution. This is recognized by Almond and Verba (1980), who introduce the concepts of political culture and civic culture, highlighting people’s feelings, values and attitudes towards the bureaucracy,
elections and political parties. This aspect of cultural awareness applies not only to a particular entity that is learned, but also to the underlying reasons why governments and civic institutions in society are accepted or rejected. Thus, Almond & Verba (1980) argue that “unless a society’s political institutions are congruent with its underlying political culture, those institutions will be unstable”. Schedler and Proeller (2007) add that “based on these assumptions” of “public attitudes and competences … civic culture is a mix of political culture” (p.9).

To be more specific about the Caribbean, and Antigua and Barbuda in particular, Khan (1982) observes that “public management operates in a highly sensitive political ecology characterized by intense party rivalry, electoral divisiveness, policy uncertainty, and political patronage and victimization” (p.43).

These factors not only highlight the sensitivity of the public sector, but also reflect the reality of its operations. In fact, research by Bissessar (2001) on the public sector in Trinidad and Tobago—which like Antigua and Barbuda is a twin-island state within the region—reveals that public administration and public sector management are indeed extensions of the ruling party. Khan (1982) describes this relationship of politics with public management as “acrimonious and counter-productive” (p.44), because it is “personalistic” and inhibits a “mass-based political socialization” (ibid). This shifts the focus of governments, which “tend to become more preoccupied with political survival than with development work” (ibid).

It is important to note that the concept of ‘smallness’ has been a determining factor in the governance of the public sector within the region (Khan 1982) and that “personalism is hypothesized to be major force in determining social relations” (p.50). It is not surprising therefore to observe that a significant level of political patronage operates in the public sector. The researcher’s own observation is that this has done more harm than good to the sector and ought to be drastically changed in light of the current trend of government towards public sector reform. Hampton (1994) suggests that the activities of management are changing to affect how non-profit corporations and government agencies operate. In societies that are small, and where political activities centre stage these policies may not have been the best practice since it may have been difficult to measure job performance. As a result there has been increasingly loud talk of reform and demands for transparency and accountability in the management of the public sector, in order to align itself with best practices. These factors represent a challenge to
the survival of the sector. Government is now forced to critically look at the operations of the public sector, and make decisions that are geared towards reform.

2.2 Public sector culture

This section of the literature review seeks to critically examine the views of various authors on the theme of culture and the factors which influence it. The purpose is to examine the various definitions of culture and look critically at the arguments presented in order to assess its importance in the public sector. Different dimensions of culture were examined as proposed by writers such as, Adler, Andah, Bourdieu and Shoremi among others. In this thesis, the concept of culture refers to some aspects of national culture, civic culture along with organizational culture as seen in the public sector.

The role of culture has known to be influential in the work behaviour of employees in the public sector. In light of global trends triggered by globalization, Hofstede’s work on national culture emerged as one of the “major determinants of workplace behaviour.”(Hess, 2001 p.3).

During the nineteenth century in Europe, sweeping changes came about in the work attitude and motivation of workers because of the Industrial Revolution (Hess, 2001). It became increasingly important for workers to be ordered and structured to affect production. As a result new forms of management emerged with the emphasis on productivity. Labour could be bought and sold where “employers had the stronger position because of their ability to provide or withhold the employment workers needed to earn a livelihood and gain social status.(Keenoy 1985; p.85-95) Cited in Hess, 2001.

Hess (2001) noted that in those countries where governments are pursuing developmental policies geared towards economic growth, there seem to be a conflict of attitudes, work and home. Hence, their work behaviour may be conditioned by “a variety social sanctioned attitudes that might be regarded as a product of particular cultures” (p,5)

The concept of culture is dynamic and its dynamism has had a profound impact on societies as the concept evolves through successive patterns. Gray, (2009, p574) observed that the definition for culture is a difficult one and it is a “contested concept.” However, governments around the world use culture as a tool for “developmental practices”, namely “urban regulation” (Evans, 2001) Cp.8) to “social inclusion” (Long and Bramham 2006), to health care and treatment (Wolf 2002; Madden and Bloom

Keesing (2010) reflects upon the evolution of culture and senses the difficulties in its application to the many categories of human development. He asserts and identifies a number of biological and cultural components which are likely to affect human behaviour, namely: - “aggression, territoriality, sex roles, facial expression, sexuality, and other domains” (p.73).

Despite the difficulty some writers have in defining culture, there are other writers who have developed some useful definitions. Culture has been defined as “that complex whole which includes knowledge, beliefs, art, law, morals, customs and any capabilities and habits acquired by a man as a member of society” Adler (1993, p.29), … material and non-material expressions of a people as well as the processes with which the expressions are communicated. (Faure, 1993). According to Mbakogu 2004, Andah (1982, (pp.4-5). from studies conducted during the 1960s (Kroeber & Kluckhohn, 1967) It is believed the evolution of culture runs parallel to human development and has been conceptualized by students of anthropology who have concluded that culture relates to the totality of the behaviours, beliefs or values which characterize society.

Alternatively, Bodley (1999) classifies culture in historical, behavioural, normative, functional, mental, structural and symbolic terms. This approach seems to support the functionalist perspective advocated by Durkheim, who developed an interest in “the shared and normative nature of culture and its function for integrating the individual into the group” (Hess et al, 1996, p.56). Durkheim’s approach was to construct a theory to explain the interplay between the factors of society and behaviours relating to education, deviancy, crime, education, suicide, penology and anomie, by examining the cultural context in which these problems are manifested.

This contrasts with the assertion of Shoremi (1999) that what culture does is to find a way, through the work of “cultural architects” to adjust to the ever-changing external and internal environment by “producing the techniques” to meet the needs of society, whether “social, physical or ideological” (Cited in Mbakogu, 2004, p.38). This argument falls in line with Inglehart’s (1977) view of culture as an influence on the outcomes of administration and democracy as it adapts gradually to the changing value system. Whilst theorists may be able to argue that culture is dynamic, in the process of change for some unknown reason, Mbakogu (2004) asserts that cultural dynamics can
become “lost”, “replaced” or “blended” and may even induce negative changes that could result in “cultural dearth” (p.38). What Mbakogu (2004) has done is simply to find a way to apply cultural dynamics to a process that seems to fit all evolving organizations including the public sector, where an organizational culture exists.

The study of culture in public policy is used to question whether the study of culture is capable of producing any major benefits in countries where a “cultural turn in policy has also been marked.” (Gray,2009 p.574). Gray (2009) is cognisant that culture is problematic. When cultural policies are pursued it presents a difficulty for government. Wherever organizational culture exists, civic culture is present, and this, according to Almond and Verba (1980) is a reflection of the existing attitudes that is displayed towards the political system. Political culture in the Caribbean represents that conduit where people vie for jobs through their association or affiliation with politicians and political parties.

Stone (1986), in keeping with Almond and Verba (1980), posits that political culture impacts strongly on the behaviour of the citizens of a country, moulding the attitudes, feelings and ideas which they form about politics, the government and the roles they play. This culture and its effects will vary from country to country, making it difficult to understand the politics of any country without understanding the political culture of its people. There are nevertheless likely to be similarities within groups of countries having shared historical backgrounds.

Thus, Beckford (1972) notes that many Third World societies evolved from an imposed culture, among other things through a plantation system, which is responsible for their institutional legacies. The fate of their populations can therefore be seen as having been controlled by the nations of Europe as a new phenomenon emerged that established a long-standing relationship while they sought to extend their territory. The main thrust behind the plantation system was capitalism, which was profit driven, according to Beckford (1972, p.40):

It was through this system of the plantation economy that a number of cultural changes were brought about in the socioeconomic development of the population. What the plantation economy did was to create a “new world order from elements drawn from different societies and cultures” (Beckford, 1972, p.37). According to Beckford, another Caribbean writer, Lloyd Best, recognized that the plantation culture had set the pattern for a general open-door approach to foreign investment which came to be labelled
“industrialization by invitation” (ibid, p.43). This form of foreign investment was a modernized variant of the plantation economy, sustaining the culture of dependency. This became the link between culture and the economy in Small Island Developing States where culture and economic development became fused.

Beyond this analysis, Beckford refers to a culture where the intelligentsia was identified as a “superior” group which understood the plantation system, but did not make any move to eradicate it, since it formed the basis for further subversion of the masses and thus created a culture of dependency and instituted a class structure among the citizenry. The dependency culture is discussed by Dixon and Hinde (2007), who examine Pierre Bourdieu’s theory of culture and cultural economy, concluding that neither economy nor culture can be understood properly without the other, because “trying to break the two apart produces eristic monsters which try to repress their own mixed origins in a way which is already too familiar in other fields” (p.402). In support, they cite Amin and Thrift (2004), who argue that

… it does not make sense to divorce the economy from culture because so many contemporary social actions contain symbiotic elements of aggregation (or accumulation of resources) and ordering (or the passing of judgements on standards or qualities), whether by cooperation or consumers (ibid).

The current arrangement between politics and economics in the functioning of the state apparatus, does not allow for both entities to be detached. In fact the process cements the relationship even greater between politics, culture and economics.

It was worthy to note that Amin and Thrift admitted that it is not enough to say that “cultural action is the same as economic action” … some argue that “it is even not possible to assume a ‘rapprochement between culture and the economy.’” (Allen, 2002 p, 54)

Bordeau (1984) offers another perspective for relieving the tension between culture and economy. He conceptualizes that the economy and culture are separate, but not opposing. This allows them to work independently, beside each other towards the goal.

Bourdieu (1984, p.411) explains that there has been tension between power, culture and the economy and that within the capitalist market, “the powerful class factions are continually modifying the rules or establishing new ones – thus staying ahead of the other classes and ensuring the rules always work in their favour.” He further explains that “the dominant classes in the cultural and economic fields each set the rules of the field to their own advantage, thereby maintaining power” (ibid). Bourdieu is analysing
the case for dependency, as he notes that those individuals who hold economic power will do all it takes to maintain their cultural dominance. Economic capital, he argues, can be transformed into cultural capital, for example “where an individual spends economic capital to acquire cultural capital through formal education; and companies may gain power in the cultural field by establishing or influencing cultural institutions” (ibid, p.412) Conversely, “cultural capital can be transformed into economic capital through the use of cultural works and specialist knowledge in the economy” (ibid). This encouragement to change economic capital into cultural capital is necessary in all societies for its strengthening and transformation. This approach towards changing “cultural capital” to “economic capital” has not been vigorously pursued by public sector agencies, despite the onset of Globalization and borderless competition, and changes that have occurred in the expectation of citizens. Bordeaux (2013, p.1) Closer ties have been developed since political Independence between the public and the political directorate, cementing that culture of dependence. This is not reflective of the path that citizens should pursue.

While culture is dynamic and takes place at every stage of our development, a well-known writer, Hofstede (1991) conducted a comprehensive research on the study of culture as it related to work. In viewing culture from a management perspective, Hofstede recognized that culture is “learnt” and not “inherited” and should be different from human nature and personality. This argument however, suggests that cultural development does not squarely relate to what has been learned from previous generations, but is likely to change as time goes by. The generations yet unborn can then be shaped since culture is a learning experience. By studying cultures, Hofstede was able to examine cultural differences, values and the impact of culture on the attitude of workers and the different approaches used to understand culture. The concept of culture according to Hofstede has four dimensions which are key determinants of national culture and how it impacts on organizations. Power-distance, uncertainty avoidance, individualism and masculinity–femininity were his main focus. However, after conducting his research, initially in forty countries, he then widened the scope subsequently to fifty-three countries. His studies concluded that in each of his key dimensions “national culture had a greater influence on attitudes, than gender, age, occupation or organizational status” (Hess, 2001 p.6). Hofstede realized that all the countries he conducted the research in could not fit into the module developed, and that personalities differ according to culture and within a specific culture. The mode that Hofstede purported indicated that countries with high uncertainty avoidance embraced
job security and lifetime employment which they consider more important than “holding interesting or challenging jobs.” (Adler, 1991 p.153. Cited in Hess 2001. He noted that in developing countries, holding a job is an individual achievement, and some “individuals may well be prepared to accept low wages and lack of employment security to gain an income” (Hess, 2001 p.7). This attitude is reflected in many western societies within the public sector where there is a heavy dependency on the government for employment. What Hofstede (1991) did not capture in his discourse was how cultural reform will take place in countries that have strong bonds with political parties and how the reform will impact on the productivity of the public sector in Small Island Developing States.

The argument about culture and how it impacts on the moral development of individuals is another area of concern, because of its connection to the development of values. Pekarsky, (1998) for instance indicates that moral development is a natural process through which individuals “acquire sensibilities, attitudes, beliefs, skills and dispositions that render him or her a morally mature or adequate human being” (p.1).

Other arguments have identified culture with structure where efforts have been made to identify those factors and agencies that shape individual life. Thus, a number of questions are asked: Is culture a product of individual action as individuals are involved in interpreting symbols and making sense of events and situations they encounter in their daily lives? Or, can culture be considered as something that transcends this dualism? Here, Archer (1988) has argued that “while culture is recognized as a core concept within the social sciences, it has not been analysed to the same extent as concepts such as structure.” (Cited in CLMS M2FU1-9).

Keraudren (1996) has indicated that culture is sometimes defined as attitudes. He then identifies three models based on a sequence of culture-values, attitudes-behaviour. (Schedler, 2007).

However for the purposes of this study, the researcher will focus on the first model which is linked to the core subject matter under investigation. The first model, values, is determined by culture. Values are desirable for any group to operate as it influences the outcome of actions. “Values determine attitude …attitudes determine behaviour …resulting in social action (Adler, 1993p.30-33) “resulting in social practices (Schedler 2007p.33)”.
One of the advocates of public value has been Moore (1995) who sought to distinguish the commercial sector from the public sector by highlighting value systems. In the light of the new public management, the influence of politics is not central, since politicians are asked to “develop a sense of distinctive non-businesses dimension to weigh in on which public services should be run.” (Stoker, 2006 p.46). In this advocated “public value model” as opposed to the “traditional model” politics is “not confined to some specific space”, where it affects the input and output into the management system. (ibid)

Instead, in the public value management paradigm, politics is the life-giver and is “valued a mechanism for social co-ordination…” (p.47)

In this process, workers are encouraged to treat others equally and recognize their worth. Political decisions are flexible and should be able to deal with uncertainty, ambiguity and expected change. Further, politics should be used to influence workers and create an environment of partnership. (Stoker, 2006)

Pekarsky cites Plato as identifying three variables that jointly give rise to the moral character of a human being: native traits (or what we might call genetic endowment or predispositions), early childhood experience and the cultural environment. The values and beliefs of individuals will “tend to mirror those of the surrounding culture” (ibid, p.4). Pekarsky nevertheless appears to consider overly pessimistic Plato’s suggestion that it will be quite difficult for an individual to “maintain his or her value commitments and morals … in the face of a surrounding culture that represents and rewards different values” (ibid). This difficulty that may be presented is a case of becoming overwhelmed where an individual has no other choice but to fit into the said culture, instead of resisting it.

Anthropologists and sociologists have observed that because organizations are outward expressions of their culture, their members ought to be knowledgeable of what defines their culture, and should be able to connect activities, events and that “common rubric” that distinguishes themselves from others (Ferlie et al, 2005, p.469). This distinguishing feature may not be possible however, if individuals are not recognized as a valuable human capital. The dynamism of culture does indicate that changes are inevitable and change is necessary to understand the every-day-operation of the sector.

A number of factors within our societies have been responsible for cultural change. Keesing (2010) noted that these factors, when considered, may strengthen the argument
of cultural dynamics that is so necessary to function in this current economy. Keesing continues,

“Technology, subsistence economy, and elements of social organization directly tied to production are the most adaptively central realms of culture. It is in these realms that adaptive changes usually begin and from which they usually ramify. However, different conceptions of how this process operates separate the ‘cultural materialism’ of Harris from the social dialectics of more authentic Marxists or the ‘cultural evolutionism’ of Service and distinguish the cultural ecologists of the Steward tradition from human ecologists such as Rappaport and Vayda” (p.76).

The essence of the argument put forward by Keesing and his colleagues is that culture is convolutedly linked to the operation of human development and growth, and has been impacted by a number of factors which determine their growth and direction.

The on-going cultural debate where different writers have examined the literature surrounding the nature/nurture aspect of culture supports the theory that the environment has a profound influence on the individual and more so dominates our character, rather than our biological traits which have been inherited. Rubenstein, (2001, p.208) labels this “environmental determinism— the principle that the physical world is responsible for the make-up of each existing culture”. This assertion may signal why changes in the environment is likely to affect the culture.

The theories of culture highlight the many areas in which cultural dynamics operate. Keesing (2010) cites Goodenough (2000) as defining a society’s culture, qua cognitive system, as consisting of

… whatever it is one has to know or believe in order to operate in a manner acceptable to its members. Culture is not a material phenomenon; it does not consist of things, people, behavior, or emotions. It is rather an organization of these things. It is the form of things that people have in mind, their models for perceiving, relating, and otherwise interpreting them (p.76).

Furthermore, culture “consists of standards for deciding what is, … what can be, … what one feels about it, … what to do about it, … and how to go about doing it (ibid).

Greenhaus (2010) similarly sees culture as

… a pattern of basic assumptions invented, discovered or developed by a given group as it learns to cope with its problems of external adaptation and internal integration that has worked well enough to be considered valid and, therefore, is
to be taught to new members as the correct way to perceive, think, and feel in relation to those problems (p.97).

Culture in this view is not seen in a vacuum but as part of a social entity which involves organizing a pattern of development within the establishment where relationships thrive to ensure positive quality outcomes. Culture within an organization is perpetuated through the process of socialization, which ensures that this long-term process is continued as the “appropriate attitudes, behavior and social knowledge” are learnt (Greenhaus, 2010, p.197). Culture, which is dynamic in nature, thus touches all aspects of organizational development and should be seen as a collective entity in order to impact change. In some societies, however, culture remains static, based on rituals and other teachings which are used to preserve a particular moral philosophy or teaching that will distinguish a group of people.

Another writer, Thompson (2001) notes that the term ‘culture’ tends now to be used collectively to embrace everything including “arts, habits of mind, political institutions” (p.1) and organizations. He concurs with Greetz (1993) and Goodenough (2000) that culture, “though ideational … does not exist in someone’s head; though unphysical it is not an occult entity”. Culture is located “in the minds and hearts of men” (ibid, p.8). “This school of thought holds that culture is composed of psychological structures by means of which individuals or groups of individuals guide behaviour” (ibid). Thompson concludes that “a society’s culture consists of what it is one has to know or believe in order to operate in a manner acceptable to its members” (ibid, p.10). This definition seems to be all inclusive and embracing, and may be used as a working definition for culture in this study.

O’Donnell (1996) in studying the behaviour of governments in the 1990’s reports that governments were encouraged to promote public cultures that were “mission driven” rather than “rule driven” (p.241). This approach was taken to ensure that governments provided the necessary impetus for change, towards creating a public sector which, instead of “being preoccupied with building bureaucratic empires”, would strive “to provide an improved quality of service to its customers” (Greiner, 1992, p.43).

This focus on cultural change mirrors the international trend, and similar experiments have been undertaken by both British and North American governments in an attempt to alter the culture of their public sectors from supposedly unproductive bureaucratic to efficient and responsive customer-driven organizations (Osborne & Gaebler, 1993;
Pollitt, 1993). At the workforce level, the quality of culture seeks to “empower public service workers and provide them with an increased role in decision making by introducing total quality management teams” (O’Donnell, 1996, p.247). Cultural change involves a “management-driven initiative to change traditional ways of thinking in an attempt to socialize workers into accepting management-driven values, goals and objectives” (ibid). O’Donnell also emphasises a commonality of interest between labour and capital that creates a “superficial adversarial relationship between managers and workers” (ibid). Once this is eliminated, it paves the way for them to “pull together during difficult times and to defend the common interest in the firm’s health” (ibid).

This relationship, according to Dawson & Palmer (1993), creates a “corporate culture” which “overlooks the potential for conflict to exist both within the management hierarchy and between management and labour” (p.128). Ogbonna (1992, p.83) warns that “management’s attempt to alter the values and beliefs of shop floor workers may result in minor changes in workforce behaviour”, but not necessarily changes in the deep-seated value system. Willmott (1993), in support, suggests that “rather than identifying with the corporate culture, workers’ responses may be selective and involve minimal compliance” (p.541).

In democracies, the process and structures that seek to bring about institutional change are incorporated into the decision-making systems. These structures form part of the political culture, which seeks to embrace diversity, tolerance and respect for the rules governing the process of management. Values in the public sector may not be amenable to change in response to a short-term cultural programme, and attempts to change the culture in British and American public services have either been “crude or contradictory or largely ineffective or some combination of all three” (Pollitt, 1993, p.25). Legge, (1989) reinforces this argument, concluding that “were it possible for management to instil a ‘strong’ and unified culture, this may result in ‘dysfunctional solidarity’, with workers combining against rather than in furtherance of, the interest of management” (p.38). Attempts to socialize management values and beliefs among workers may enjoy limited success beyond management itself and may serve only to “cocoon management within a world view that is secure against intrusion” (Anthony, 1990, pp.3-8).

It is to be noted that no culture is monolithic, nor is it impenetrable. Cultural change comes through experience and challenges within different groups of workers, including those in the public sector. Collectively, cultural change and cultural resistance are all part of a process described by Mbakogu (2004) as “cultural dynamism”. Change here
can be either forced or incremental, but in some societies, it becomes necessary for some cultural behaviour to remain static, while others are dynamic. In a given society, a number of factors can be responsible for change. Marx, for instance, distinguishes between the forces of production, which he terms economic, and the relations of production, which relates to the ideological and cultural structures. These, we have seen, are responsible for cultural and economic development. The ideological aspect of change is not static, as the world would have experienced in the evolving of political systems. Caribbean islands are no different, as Monroe (2007) observes with respect to Jamaica, where although “government structures of Westminster may be identical, the politics cannot be similar because of the culture – how people feel” (p.7). Thus, just as culture changes over a period of time, political culture is likely to change with the times; and it varies from country to country, as Almond and Verba (1980, cited by Schedler and Proeller, 2007) assert: “unless a society’s political institutions are congruent with its underlying culture, those institutions will be unstable [and] based on these assumptions, … public attitudes and competences, … civic culture is a mix of political culture” (p.9).

Political culture, “the dimension of ideas and beliefs…a belief system to [wards] attitudes and feelings.”(Munroe 2002, p 8) in these territories, is the popular culture of the day. Whether economic activities are indicating a slow down or an increase in labour, there will be changes in the labour market where turnover and attrition factors will force stakeholders to seek for the brightest and best talents. One dimension of political culture is political behaviour which is related to beliefs. Political behaviour according to Monroe (2002) may arise out of “circumstances”, but “political beliefs arise out of conviction.” (p.8). Hence, a person’s behaviour may change, if their circumstances change or if their belief system has shifted. One of the ways of changing behaviour is through public policy geared towards re-education of the masses towards a new thinking, a new paradigm, a new culture since presently; the current political culture in many Small Island Developing States represents a conduit where people vie for jobs and positions from the political directorate. Change under these conditions is difficult to manage, and to really be effective ‘significant resources’ must be invested’ ‘to enhance the effective implementation of change’ (McCracken and Bennett 2011, p.2) in the public sector.
Just as political systems and ideology change with time, economic and technological changes, along with demographic trends, are likely to influence cultural change. For example, the signing of a protocol by Caribbean governments to establish the CSME has paved the way for the free movement of skilled personnel in the region, so cultures are likely to converge. Gray, (2009, p 576) concludes by saying that

“the identification of an exact definition [of culture] that is acceptable to all users is unlikely to occur, as each directs attention to specific aspects of ‘culture’ and identify different processes, actors and institutional arrest as being of analytical concern (Bennett, (2004). For this research however, this researcher sees the definition of culture as a tool that is likely to encompass the total development of systems and processes in the public sector while catering for the development of workers. This will have a greater purpose towards a more meaningful outcome, but cultural issues should be addressed first to provide a platform for change. In other words, culture should be seen as an activity –based concept where value is created and opportunities for personal development are embraced along with a practical approach to human resource management using the facets of the New Public Management where private sector values are incorporated towards one entity– a united public sector.

The foregoing discourse has highlighted the complexity of culture and public sector culture. Many writers agree that there is no one single definition of culture since culture changes over time and is influenced by historical, political and economic forces. However, culture is seen as the driving force towards human development and behaviour, as it embraces all facets of human existence, since culture is not only inherited, but can be learned. This seem to be indicating that new learning ought to take place within the public sector if any meaningful change is going to be embraced, especially in areas where political ties are stronger. The literature is also indicating that there is scope for individual independent development and reform practices, free from political influence.

This section has identified many facets of public sector culture and its dynamism, affecting all aspects of our lives, whether economic, political or social. In essence, the discussion sums up the critical balance which is needed when discussing culture within the workplace and within society. It also establishes the importance of cultural behaviour among public sector workers and how this can either build or break organizations. With this exposure, one may be able to analyse the cultural dynamics of the public sector culture in Antigua, and make a determination for change.
2.3 Public policy

After many of these countries in the Caribbean achieved their political independence the islands maintained much of their administrative structure and colonial format. Changes at Independence brought changes to public policies and its operations. Some of these changes were approached reluctantly in order not to adopt tough economic measures that will affect the citizenry that became party and politically conscious.

One of the aims of this study is to review the policies affecting the recruitment, compensation, discipline and retirement of workers in the public sector. This section examines such policies, how they evolve, their nature and how they have impacted on the management and behaviour of workers within the public sector.

Public policy is an interesting aspect of the study of society. A bad or poorly constructed policy can have serious implications for a growing population. “Policy is political [and] it is about the power to determine what is done. It shapes who benefits for what purpose and who pays” (Stevenson and Belle, 2006, p.9). The managers of the public sector are the implementers of public policy, and not necessarily the coordinators, and in many respects, the “public” is not really involved in the policy-making process. Research has shown that it is the policymakers who thoroughly analysed policies to assess their potential effects and the likely impact on the target population (Aide and Thomas, 1978). Other definitions of policy have been put forward by Easton (1965) who defines public policy as “the authoritative allocation of values for the society” (p.35). Policy can be understood to be a text, a process, a discourse, a decision, a programme, or even an outcome. “Policy is also a form of intended social action and is therefore inevitably incomplete in terms of how it maps onto practice.” (Somekh and Lewin, 2011, p.190) Additionally, policy is seen as normative, so that as policymakers attempt to change behaviour by distributing scarce resources, they thereby change values (Le Grand, 1997). Whether it is at the state or institutional level, policy is thus “the authoritative allocation of values” (Taylor et al., 1997, p.1). Political behaviour within the public sector and the influence of politicians on its management practices supports what Dye, according to Somekech and Lewin (2011, p.190), asserts. They have concluded that the process of policy making “is a form of intended and actual social action, and is therefore inevitably incomplete in terms of how it maps into practice”. The fact that policy has to do with government decision seems to be indicating that there will always be some perceptual bias, despite
the fact that it is a “prolonged course of action taking place over a long period of time and involving a large number of decision points rather than individual acts of decision making” (Aide and Thomas 1987, p.192). Thus policy is not only political but deliberate. This point was borne out by Colebatch (2006) who sees policy as a process where “some people are making choices, and others are engaged in helping them to make the best choice” (p.309). Alternatively, it is “a process leading to known and intended incomes” (ibid, p.311). Despite this revelation, in reality, it is governments and policymakers who choose for the workers, regardless of the impact on the culture. This heavy influence of policy making from the government’s end, based on the powers of the constitution, may not be reflecting the general interest of workers toward a common goal due to the likelihood of perceptual bias which has plagued governments in the Caribbean, based on their party’s philosophy and or ideology.

Another approach to policy development, is to view public policy in terms of “global trends” (Bottery, 2000, p.3), or values from the socio-political environment, leading to the formulation of broad strategic policies for the different sectors within the public domain (Stevenson and Belle, 2006).

The process of deciding policy, in the words of Stevenson and Belle (2006) is likely to reflect “a complex mix of factors including personal values, available resources and stakeholder power and perceptions” (p.8). For Lynn (2006, p.156), “policy making [is] virtually indistinguishable from public management.”

Policy making, in other words, when conceived of as the determination of precisely what actions will be taken, is a ubiquitous activity of government. Policy significance impregnates decisions and actions at all levels: high, middle and low. Political executives who would be concerned with policy making must be concerned with activities taking place above, beside and below them (ibid).

This in practicality may not hold true for all policy makers, especially if there is disconnect between the philosophy of the policy and its practical application. For example, Colebatch (2006) noted that as time progresses in the formation and implementation of policy, the game is likely to change. The emergence of new issue may prompt changes and affect the outcome, and change the direction of the policy. (p.311).

Policy makers, during the developmental stage of a policy would ensure that the content, key component, direction and decision about the policy are clear. Yet it may
not be practical over time to continue its implementation especially if the environment and other factors which are likely to influence its outcome changes. Despite the fact that “policy analysis provides information that helps inform decisions about policy directions and is a key component of the policy formulation stage, with ties to adoption and implementation”, (James and Jorgenson 2009, p.141). Current policy analysis as a tool for future determination of policy change may not be practical in light of global trends and the demands of public sector reform.

James and Jorgenson (2009) cite Weimer (1998a) as stating that one of the main critiques of policy theory is that the “political scientists who study public policy tend to emphasize the process by which policies are made and implemented, rather than the substantive content and impacts of the policies themselves” (p.182). They further argue that “to bridge this divide, policy theory must inform how policy analysts and evaluators influence decision making, address problems facing practitioners and citizens, and inform scholars as to the specific activities of coalitions in the process” (p.182). Many times this process seems to produce more harm than good especially where political mandates have dictated the process to fulfil election promises, rather than ensuring that the policy content will benefit the citizenry. The process of policy formulation, from “problem” through “decision” to “solution” is as a matter of “common sense, but this is usually not the way that participants experience it” (Colebatch 2006, p.312)

To get clarity on the issue, Somekh and Lewin (2011) pose a set of complementary questions on policy in relation to the types and development of policies, the intended group, the authorized development and dissemination of the policy, the allocation principles, the promoted values and who wins or loses. (p, 190).

To answer these questions, Somekh and Lewin (2011) cite Bacchi’s (1999) incrementalist position, noting that “if a policy is seen as proceeding by consensus through a benign state then underlying assumptions about inequalities in power and who will win and lose as a result of a policy(s) need not be interrogated” (p.191).

This view may not be compatible with the approach to the establishment of policy goals, which ought to be “set, clear and coherent” (Ingram and Mann, 1980, p.16) in order for careful evaluation of their efficiency and effectiveness, whether or not the policy meets its goals. Ingram and Mann (1980) suggest, however, that policy goals are often not what they seem to be and that it would be a “mistake to take stated purposes
too literally, because government often lacks the power and will to address problems straightforwardly; thus roundabout means are chosen” (p.20). In consequence, the “wholehearted accomplishment of goals can scarcely be expected when a policy is directly in conflict with other policies, or if it is internally inconsistent” (ibid, p.21).

If we examine the models of the New Public Management (NPM) they are (all proposing changes in policy development and policy direction, and a shift in culture. For instance Samaratunge et al (2008) noted that the NPM model is likely to replace the “combine management practices, with economics while retaining the core public sector values” (p.26). Hood (1995) noted that in order to make these reforms effective, the management practices among the private sector will need to replace the “bureaucratic approaches.”(p.26). In order for this approach to be successful there ought to be changes in the policies that govern the public sector. The public sector reform approaches (NPM) as advocated by Hood (1995; Pollitt, 1993), Osborne and Gaebler, 1993) was adapted in many countries (Australia, New Zealand, Asia, South and East Asia). Although a few of these countries inherited the legacy of colonialism, Small Island Developing States were not examined or assessed for a likely possibility of the impact of this process. However, from examining those countries with similar history and public sector structure and operation, there will be great demands on the need to change a number of policies.

Samaratunge et al (2008 p.26) while conducting their research on the reforms done in East Asia noted that “the reform process has required public managers to do more with less in the context of reduced conditions of employment, in some cases including loss of tenure for departmental secretaries.”(Maor, 1999; Weller and Wanna, 1997; Zimmerman, 1997) longer hours, less control over their lives and lower morale”(Maddock and Morgan, 1998). The writes also noted that while the process may have been adopted in a number of OECD countries, the reform model has been proven to be controversial because of its emphasis on a country’s economics and finance at the expense of the citizen participation (p.26). One of the dimensions of debate surrounding the NPM debate is given by Considine and Painter (1997) who argued that there is too much emphasis on using private sector management practices in the public sector and this may “undermine the existing social democratic norms and practices.” Samaratunge et al (2008, p.26). To manage this aspect of the reform process, this researcher is advocating an approach to analyse the policies that are associated with the governance of the NPM along with those policies that currently govern the public sector, and move
towards a synergy of the policies so that development of its human resources and growth are not marginalised.

Taylor et al (1997) propose a framework for policy analysis, focusing on three aspects of the process: the context, the text and the consequences. Broadly speaking, they advocate this framework as a model for policy analysis, showing how policies might have emerged from economic, political or social factors by focusing on the process from formulation to implementation. The context of the framework comprises the factors leading to the formation of the policy and an analysis of the socioeconomic and political factors giving rise to the policy. It examines the roles played by pressure groups and other social movements, and determines whether a policy is part of a continuing thread or a new one (Stevenson and Belle, 2006). The literature refers to the content of the policy itself, how the policy is articulated and framed, and its values, whether explicit or implicit. Determining the consequences of the policy requires consideration of whether or not the policy itself is interpreted differently by practitioners and implementers. If interpreted differently, this will lead to different implementation strategies. “Distortions and gaps appear in the implementation process, resulting in what is best described as policy refraction.”

Policy analysis, according to James and Jorgensen (2009), “provides information that helps inform decisions about policy directions and is a key component of the policy formulation stage with ties to adoption and implementation” (p.141). To understand public policy, public management ought to be examined in light of the services delivered to the public and the range of factors which are likely to determine how these services are delivered. Elling and Thompson (2006) note that “chief among the factors that contribute to effective management of public programs are the number, competence and commitment of those individuals who are employed to manage those programs, as well as the systems used to recruit, select, develop, compensate and sometimes discipline and dismiss them” (p.303).

Policy process models stress the relations between actors (e.g., legislators, analyst, lobbyist) and institutions (e.g., legislative bodies, advocacy coalitions) but often neglect the policy knowledge exchanged in this process, hence there is little systematic investigation into why, when and how decisions utilize policy knowledge, especially regarding which policy knowledge actors use (James and Jorgenson, 2009, p.124).
James and Jorgenson (2009) developed their Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF) to address the question: “What effect do policy analysis and program evaluation have on policy formulation and change?” (Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith, 1998, p.124). To elucidate this relationship, James and Jorgenson (2009) use the utilization paradox, which states that the “policy research community produces a wealth of policy information and analysis (supply) but the political community underutilizes this information (demand)” (p.144). The argument of the ACF is that “policy dialogue and relationships occur within networks of individuals, groups and organizations called coalitions, which vary in beliefs systems and are embedded in large units called policy sub-systems” (ibid).

Adie and Thomas (1987) discuss the view that as policy problems surface, there must be a unit of analysis which the government can use to identify solutions. It is to be noted, however, that because policies are not based on the experiences of organizations, but are often developed according to utopian expectations, they can be seen as “outside impositions” by management (Owusu, 2005, p.5). As a result, “public-sector reform policies generally have been implemented by officials with a lukewarm attitude. Indeed, policies based on the experiences of organizations within a country are more likely to be seen as realistic and have a greater chance of adoption than those derived from organizations in different countries” (ibid). Owusu further acknowledges that a different approach is needed, and one that is flexible enough “to accommodate country-specific constraints”, especially those imposed by “the broader socioeconomic and political environment” (ibid).

The ability to adapt to constraints is important in Africa (and indeed in other countries), “where the performance of public organizations has been influenced by a series of external constraints including colonial legacies” (Ekeh, 1975; Alemika, 1993), by the broader culture in which organizations are immersed (Dia, 1966), by the use of public organizations as a tool of popular patronage instead of a mechanism for providing public goods (Sandbrook and Oelbaum, 1999) and by the changing livelihoods of employees in response to economic crises and reforms (Owusu, 2005). The influences of these factors “may hold the key to organizational culture change, and hence performance” (ibid).

Another aspect of policy development is the analysis of policy. Dunn and Quade (in Lane, 1986) both examine the use of policy analysis and its relevance to the understanding and resolution of policy problems. Dunn sees policy analysis “as an
applied social science which uses reason and evidence to clarify, appraise and advocate solutions for public problems”, while for Quade (1986), it is

… any type of analysis that generates and presents information in such a way as to improve the basis for policy makers to exercise their judgment. … In policy analysis, the word analysis is used in its most general sense; it implies the use of intuition and judgment and encompasses not only the examination of policy by decomposition into its components but also the design and synthesis of new alternatives. The activities involved may range from research to illuminate or provide insight into an anticipated issue or problem to evaluation of a completed programme. Some policy analyses are informal, involving nothing more than hard and careful thinking, whereas others require extensive data-gathering and elaborate calculation employing sophisticated mathematical processes. The scope and methods of policy analysis are partly descriptive, and factual information about the causes and consequences of policy is essential for an understanding of policy problems (p.247).

Quade continues that those who conduct policy analysis

… are guided by three types of questions that are likely to surround values, whose attainment is the main test of whether a problem has been resolved; facts whose presence may limit the attainment of values; and actions whose adoption may result in the attainment of values and the resolution of problems (ibid).

A practitioner of policy analysis may use one of three approaches—empirical, evaluative, or normative—in order to analyse the situation and gather information through reasoned arguments. The empirical approach examines what factors exist and their cause-and-effect relationships, while the evaluative approach is mainly concerned with determining the worth or value of some policy. The normative approach, finally, asks what should be done to resolve public problems (Quade, 1986).

Description and prediction assist in answering designative questions; does a policy exist and how did it come about? What are the expected future consequences? Of what worth is the policy and according to whose values? What should the policy be? Is it feasible as well as desirable? (ibid, p.249).

Policy analysis exposes practitioners to four policy-analytic methods:

(1) Monitoring (description) permits us to produce information about the past causes and consequences of policies;

(2) Forecasting (prediction) enables us to produce information about the future consequences of policies;
(3) Evaluation (evaluation) involves the production of information about the value or worth of past and future policies;

(4) Recommendation (prescription) permits us to produce information about the likelihood that future courses of action will result in valued consequences (Quade, 1986, p.250).

These general analytical procedures usually form part of the policy analysis procedures within organizations and will constitute part of the process of analysing the Antiguan public sector with a view to recommending reform.

Clearly, there are many challenges associated with the process of policy reform, especially when there are a number of socio-political and economic factors, such as size and the colonial legacy, which have shaped institutional development and contributed to the urgency of ensuring survival in a post-colonial era. Through this discourse, the researchers have been able to identify the processes through which policy is formulated by the different stakeholders, and how the policies are implemented. The literature suggests that policy is to be reviewed consistently to address the dynamics of society. The information gathered will be used a guide reforming the policies of the public sector.

2.4 Recruitment

The harnessing of the requisite talent in any system is necessary for its longevity. The function of human resource management, forms an important part of any operation and more so the recruitment process which is “arguably the most important function of all,” but it can be “daunting and esoteric, and … life changing” (Berman et al, 2010, p. 80). From the organizational perspective, “recruitment is the process of soliciting the most talented and motivated applicants, and as such it is a bedrock function” (ibid). Mathis and Jackson (2003) define recruitment as “the process of generating a pool of qualified applicants for organizational jobs” (p.202). Highly skilled personnel are needed in organizations to carry the mantle, since the process of work is becoming more challenging. The concept of quality has been highlighted by organizations as a goal that they wish to reach in the development of their human capital. Many organizations however, may never reach this milestone because of a number of factors which impact on the process. Some of these factors may be political and occur because of patronage and this within itself creates an unfair platform for qualified applicants. In many instances there are no plans for staffing and recruitment and the necessary steps that are
required in the recruitment process are never followed. The process can be a turn off for prospective applicants (Bernal et al, 2010). A number of cultural forces seem to have been responsible for influencing the process of recruitment.

Greenhaus et al (2010) contend that most theories of organizational choice hold that “a person consciously or unconsciously chooses an occupation that matches his or her unique sets of needs, motives and talents” (p.160). The person has to “identify his or her abilities, needs, interest and values, select an appropriate career goal, and then choose an occupation thought to be most compatible with these goals” (ibid). Wellington (1993) warns that how organizations recruit employees may not be as simple as it may seem, since what they may need and what employers choose may differ. Reflecting on research carried out by Carter (1962), Jenkins (1986) and Wellington (1989), Wellington (1993, p.86) suggests that “the needs for employers are not as straightforward as one may expect, and may not even be in the interest of the organization or the economy”. This is indicative that there may be other factors influencing the recruitment process.

Fisher et al (2006) advise that “the nature of a firm’s recruiting activities should be matched to its strategy and values as well as to other important features such as the state of the external labour market and the firm’s ability to pay or otherwise induce new employees to join” (p.233). In other words, the firm must decide where to place the emphasis:

Is it merely on filling vacancies or on hiring for long-term careers? Does the organization seek people with skills sufficient for present vacancies, or does it try to attract the type of talented candidates who can feed the management pipeline for the future? Do organizations seek and hire a diverse range of employees and view the applicants as commodities to be purchased or as customers to be wooed, and with the ethical principles involved, does it relate to fairness and honesty in the process? (ibid)

In public service, selective recruitment has become important and is vital for the quality improvement of the sector. As a result, it is believed in many management circles, in both the private and public sectors, that the value of human resources should be critically examined at all times to ensure that quality and sustainability remains intact. Recruitment efforts and strategies must therefore come into focus to that end. The recruitment process can become subjective once other factors are seen to influence it. Berman (2010) identifies three cultural forces, “the historical recruitment philosophy,
the social status of public employment and political leadership”, as a “powerful context within which government seeks employees” (p.3).

The labour force population, the applicant population and the applicant pool are all critical to the quality of individuals recruited. A supply of highly educated and skilled personnel is necessary to ensure the succession of values within the organization. Bewley (2006), in a study of regulation of employment in the public sector, addresses the question of “whether the state should behave like a ‘good’ or ‘model’ employer” (p.352) and be concerned about employment practices.

Being a good employer in relation to the public sector is generally understood to include a commitment to the principle of pay comparability, equality of opportunity and fair treatment, joint regulation of the employment relationship, stability and security of employment, training career development, and the provision of sick pay, annual leave and occupational pensions (ibid).

Reflecting on the Thatcher era and examining the Warwick Agreement of 2005, Bewley (2006) observes that the state sought to present a model of employment in which the public sector would have met its staffing needs while at the same time not depriving the private sector of high quality employees. He then defines “a good employer as matching the conditions offered by the best private sector companies” (p.352). The literature suggests that there is no uniformity of employment practices within either the public or private sectors, but “the workforce composition has a higher concentration of older and a lower concentration of younger, workers in public sector workplaces” (ibid). However, “with regard to training, stability and security of employment, public sector establishments were more likely to provide off-the-job-training for experienced core employees than private sector workplaces, and job security guarantees were more usual in the public sector” (ibid).

Although Bewley’s study was of the public sector in Britain, some parallels can be drawn with the situation in the Caribbean and in Antigua in particular. The concept of equality in relation to pay is highlighted as a useful dimension on which to compare the public with the private sector. Equality may not be feasible, since private sector organizations are in a position to offer better pay than the public sector and as a result will attract better talent. The government, in asserting itself as a good employer, may not be in a position to compete in this way, but would be concerned for the treatment of workers in a way that would be consistent with being a “good model employer” (Bewley, 2006, p.354).
While pay review activity in the British public sector in 2005 indicated government concern for fairness of treatment, consistent with the traditional conception of the good employer, a lack of attention to the importance of consistency in the local authorities and higher education schemes threatened the likelihood that equality will result (ibid).

Another perspective is that of Blaize et al (1990), who report that “studies of recruitment of managers and professionals into the service indicate the existence of a selection bias: Those who are more favourably disposed towards the state are likely to look for and get a job in the public service” (p.382). This makes reference to public choice theory, which postulates that bureaucrats at all levels of public service are interested in “increased public expenditure”, whereas employees are more concerned with “greater opportunities for promotion, more job security etc” (ibid). Thus, “the selection bias effect applies only to a limited category of bureaucrats, whose presence in the public sector represents a deliberate career choice, such as managers and professionals; the bulk of the public sector employees are more likely to have entered the service of the state by choice” (Blaize et al, 1990, p.383). If public sector workers make rational choices in relation to entry into the service, then they ought to be treated fairly. In this case, the selection bias applies only to those individuals who want to work, while the majority are interested not in promotion, but in job security.

Berman et al (2010) ask:

Is recruitment a politically neutral, skilled-based process, as it purports to be, or is it frequently a personalist “underground” hiring system with “wired” jobs subject to subtle, modern-day patronage? ... [T]he public sector was once largely based on patronage; even today patronage positions are among the most influential in government. The bulk of those senior positions, however, are supposed to be based strictly on technical merit; nonetheless, the influence of “political” or personal factors is common (p.81).

Throughout the western world and especially in the Caribbean, government being the largest employer in a number of territories has been given the mandate by the electorate through general elections to provide jobs. The process of political recruitment by the Ministers of government is a reality, especially in those territories that have strong labour union backgrounds, and where dependency is high. Political recruitment is defined by Rush (1992) as
the process by which individuals secure or are enlisted in the roles of office-holders in the political system, mainly political and administrative office, but in some cases including other office holders… (p.128).

Many criticisms have been given to political recruitment especially in countries that have strong bureaucracies, because of politicization of the bureaucracy, and the power that politicians have. (Rush, 1992) spoke about the different approaches to political recruitment highlighting its significance to political systems and political office holders such as Presidents, Prime Ministers and members of Legislatures. In some political systems, for instance the former communist countries, the bureaucracy is highly politicised and “control of the bureaucracy remains extensive” (Rush 1992, p.128). This is highly reflective also in the United States where a ‘spoil system’ exists and “appointment to key positions in the federal public service are subject to direct political control”(ibid). This feature is quite evident in western democracies, especially Small Island Developing States where some aspect of recruitment is subject to direct political control. Rush (1992) contends that recruitment may take on a “variety of forms” or a “combination of forms.” Historically, especially in monarchies, and aristocracies, and among the wealthy middle class, persons who inherited wealth and property were recruited. Other approaches used especially in the United States is a ‘spoil’ system was developed where a rotation system paved the way for more persons to be recruited into the public service. The Germans under Hitler in 1940’s used force by developing a purging system to eradicate their opponents and recruit others. Stalin in Russia during the 1930’s and the Chinese Cultural Revolution between 1966 and 1999 saw a similar approach where “political recruitment is in the form of internal military intervention…” (Rush,1992, p.131). Other force in political recruitment has come through assassinations, forced resignations, abdication and coup d’état which Rush (1992) has labelled “a negative form of political recruitment” (p.132). A more peaceful form of political recruitment known as patronage is more prevalent in western societies. Patronage as defined by Rush (1992), is “the distribution of offices through existing office holders or under the auspices of those with higher status in the society concerned” (ibid). This form of recruiting was used in Britain before 1832 to recruit individuals into the British public service, a similar operation to the ‘spoils’ system in America (Rush, 1992). Upon close examination election and the electoral system are systems of political recruitment, where office-holders are appointed by the Chief Executive, who is also elected or
appointed. The recruitment system where exist usually follow some established process or procedure.

In the words of Greenhaus et al (2010), the recruitment process,

… has often been viewed as the most significant source of unrealistic expectations. In essence it is claimed that organizations often portray jobs in overly optimistic terms, thus inducing unrealistic expectations on the part of the job candidate. To understand why this occurs, one must appreciate [that principal among] the organization’s goals are to attract qualified candidates (p.174).

Candidates ought to be attracted to organizations offering a process that will result in a desirable outcome in relation to their career choice (Greenhaus, 2010). Furthermore, “organizational choice involves trying to find a match between the individual, in terms of his or her values, interest, abilities and lifestyle preferences; a job in terms of required skills and aptitudes; and an organization, in terms of its mission, products, culture and … location” (p.382). The recruitment experience ought therefore to be more strategic, and according to Fisher et al (2006), “should be guided by good human resource planning and key to the strategies and values of the organization” (p.271).

In Caribbean societies, the manifestation of good recruitment practices in the public sector, free from political influence may not be possible based on the depth and extent of influence by political activities. This practice seem to be a common feature even in the United States where linkages between parties, voters, party organization also have an impact on the recruitment process. Thurber, (1976) noted that “most political scientist agree that the control of candidate recruitment, as well as the responsiveness of public officeholders to a party program, are two major prerequisites to party government.” (p.533). Thus the writer concludes that the recruitment process is an important factor in explaining the role of the legislature in strong patronage-based executive-oriented party organizations. (Thurber, 1976).

The act of recruiting in the public sector can be seen as one in which an organization sells its culture to those persons who are seeking employment. A modern approach to recruitment is to use technology, (e-recruitment) where on-line recruitment is practiced jobs are posted on-line and potential candidates have an opportunity to apply. The advantage here is that the pool of applicants will be wider. In the United States and
other European countries, job posting is a regular activity where internal recruitment is practiced so that all potential candidates have a fair chance of being recruited.

Another approach used that of forging links with Tertiary Institutions in order to recruit the brightest and best through the practice of internship, and the development of on-campus events where orientation programs can be used to attract potential workers to careers in the public sector. (Stratton, 2001) However, Lane (2003) observed that for this type of college recruitment programme to be successful, governments will be required to invest heavily in “formal long-standing relationships whereby government organizations gain name recognition on campus” (p.130). In the United States A non-profit organization was formed in 2001 to “promote public service to young people as a career builder…(p.130).

Another approach is to recruit persons who have retired because of the knowledge and skills that they bring to the fore. After retirement these workers are often bored and seek new challenges. (Stratton 2001). In some instances, throughout the Caribbean, opportunities have been made available where these workers can be re-employed to once again become productive in some small way.

This section highlights the importance of the recruiting process and the likely impact a choice will make on output. In many instances this process is taken for granted because of the influence of political activity and nepotism in Small Island Developing States.

The process of recruitment has highlighted some instances where governments and other institutions have been forced to use method which may not be widely accepted, or beneficial to the majority of the citizenry, but nevertheless have impacted on cultural development in the public sector. These methods may not be adequate for benchmarking given the subjectivity of the process. Schedler (2007) strongly believes that the attitude and behaviour of workers are likely to influence a system’s culture and its values. Hence the process of recruitment has to reflect knowledge, skills and abilities coupled with qualification and experience. The choice of methods used should be benchmarked to attract the brightest and best talents to the public sector. The next section turns to the matter of compensation.
2.5 Public sector compensation

In the wider world, to adequately compensate individuals, they are classified according to qualifications, in which their knowledge, skills and abilities (KSA’s) and experiences are highlighted. The classification system is also used to manage positions and compensation, but in recent times “has rapidly deteriorated as a tool for managing positions and compensation” Lane et al (2003, p.131). The demands and changes in work requirement, classification, changing job description, classification authority among other things, “has significantly reduced the consistency and equity that once were a hallmark of the federal personnel system.” (ibid) With these new demands of recruitment and retention the classification system is now used to “increase pay, by raising grade levels” (ibid).

A compensation system in any organization should aim to align members with the organization and its objectives. Individuals have the right to be fairly compensated and organizations have the right to expect staff to be productive; hence, “a value added remuneration system should optimize the balance between institutional constraints and personal expectation by creating value for both the organization and its members” (Berman et al, 2010, p.200).

Abdelhamid and El Baradei (2010) state that this applies to the public sector, where the pay system must “satisfy the needs of both employer and employees” (p.59). They add that political rather than economic considerations tend to guide governments in their pay systems and offer this detailed critique:

> Poor compensation of government employees is directly related to many negative phenomena in government administration, including feeble productivity, weakened commitment to the public service, corruption, absenteeism, pursuit of alternative employment, reduced accountability and inability of the government to attract the needed qualified and competent candidates, especially for its leadership positions (ibid, p.61).

There is a clear indication that the model of compensation used by governments, even those within the region, ought to be revisited.

Pay systems in a number of developing countries vary widely, based on a number of policies that have been developed to allow for collective bargaining with trade unions. Kiragu and Mukandala (2003) identify three models of pay adjustment and reform. The *crisis driven model* is one where the government is not proactive in tackling pay
decisions. Instead, government reacts and makes adjustment to pay because of pressure. This method is ad hoc rather than strategic, since it does not provide a permanent solution to the problem but favours the more ‘powerful’ groups of employees.

The political model stresses that those decisions in relation to pay affect different groups in society in different ways. The basis of the pay should serve some political objective or motive. This model has three variants:

(i) the centralized control option, where government decides on a unified salary structure index for salary adjustments and minimum wage policy;

(ii) the consensus building option, where discussions are held with stakeholder groups and salaries are reviewed; and

(iii) the egalitarian option, where equity and fairness are sought in allocating pay.

The rational model assumes that the only way to achieve effective and efficient reform of pay in the public service is to depoliticize it. The implementation of this model can be achieved in three ways: through the affordability option, the skills market competitive option and the performance-based option.

The affordability option starts by setting a wage bill ceiling and tries to find the appropriate matching wage scale and public service size. For the skills market competitive option, it focuses on the need to recruit and retain adequate numbers of personnel with critical skills and experience through setting their salary levels to be comparable with market rates (Kiragu and Mukandala, 2003, p.60).

The performance-based function links performance to pay, but although seemingly logical, it is difficult to implement and faces a great deal of resistance from labour unions, according to Abdelhamid and El Baradei (2010). They urge that the question of emoluments ought not to be ignored, since they form part of the compensation practice in the public sector. Emoluments tend to attract workers to the service, especially if the incentives are right. If emoluments are inadequate, recruitment may be difficult, morale will tend to be low, retention may be weakened, and employees may exhibit negative behaviour such as poor work effort. Although performance-related pay has been successfully applied within the private sector, it may not be readily embraced by the public service because of some specific characteristics of the sector; the application of incentive systems may work for one sector but not another. This and may prove to be
counterproductive and ineffective when implemented inappropriately (Weibel et al, 2009).

In reforming pay within the public service, many countries in the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) have nonetheless sought to adopt a pay-for-performance strategy, performance based on self-interest, which allows for a cash incentive component to be given for outstanding performance, while penalties are imposed for poor performance (Jensen and Murphy, 1990). According to the OECD, when this approach was followed in certain member states, it was concluded that there was no evidence that it improved either motivation or productivity (Cardona, 2006). Indeed, research suggests that “performance related pay systems have generally been unsuccessful” (Weibel et al, 2009, p.388). Those who oppose this approach contend that “the theory based on self-interest cannot provide sufficient grounds to analyze the motivation of employees, especially that of employees in the public sector” (ibid). These criticisms can be substantiated by theories of modern psychological economics, motivation psychology and in particular self-determination theory, which consider intrinsic and extrinsic motivation and contend that employees are usually highly motivated intrinsically and perform their tasks because of loyalty and an “internalized sense of duty” (ibid). The existence of intrinsic motivation undermines the justification of pay for performance, however, since the penalty aspect is likely to cause demotivation among workers who already enjoy what they are doing.

The process of pay reform in developing countries faces a number of rather complex issues. Whatever is done, political consideration ought to be noted, because government is likely to influence the process of pay even more than economic considerations. In addition, labour unions are likely to lobby for pay rises that may exceed the market rate and end up being unaffordable, according to Abdelhamid and El Baradei (2010), who identify a number of complexities associated with pay reform:

Poor compensation of government employees is directly related to many negative phenomena in the government administration, including but not limited to feeble productivity, weakened commitment to the public service, corruption, absenteeism, pursuit of alternative employment, reduced accountability, and inability of government to attract the needed qualified and competent candidates, especially for leadership positions (p.61).

The impact of inequity in public sector pay is also of great concern. Work performed by men seems to attract better pay than the same or equivalent work performed by women.
This practice, which has been referred to as institutionalized sex discrimination, brings to light the issue of comparable worth. The argument for comparable worth not only states that equal pay should be awarded for the same duties irrespective of gender, but that jobs held by women are not compensated in the same manner, even though the work performed may contribute equally to the success of the organization (Bohlander and Snell, 2007). This argument indicates that there is a gender gap in pay which discriminates against women. Other arguments include women traditionally occupying certain occupations and men other types. This trend has set the pace for wage differences.

The comparisons that employees make, whether on gender, pay, conditions or other factors, are the subject of equity theory, which posits that individuals calculate the ratio of their input to the job to the outcomes they receive, then compare this ratio with the input/outcome ratio of others doing similar work. If for some reason the worker perceives an inequity, he or she will be motivated to resolve it at the management or supervisory level. The comparison is usually done by considering education, skills, knowledge and experience (Starke et al, 1985). This theory is dealt with in more detail at the end of this section.

Compensation systems, according to Fisher et al (2006, p.233), should do the following:

a. Signal to employees … the major objectives of the organization.

b. Attract and retain the talent an organization needs.

c. Encourage employees to develop the skills and abilities the organization needs.

d. Motivate employees to perform effectively.

e. Support the type of culture the company seeks to engender.

Ideally, a reward system should align individual objectives with the strategic goals of the organization (ibid).

Islam (1999), researching compensation structures in the public service in Bangladesh, notes that the “central question to any kind of service is the payment” (p.5). He adds that there are three types of pay scale in existence—the international, private sector and government pay scales—and that the “co-existence of these three pay scales is destabilizing and is a potential force for disequilibrium.” In adjusting to these different pay scales, the market has produced an undesirable type of equilibrium. Workers’ attitudes are now expressed through the maxim: “The Government pretends to pay and
we pretend to work. In other words, since the pay is low, government employees cut down on the amount and quality of work that they actually perform on the job. There is less motivation, less effort and less effectiveness” (ibid, p.5). This is consistent with Festing and Sahakians (2010), who argue that “compensation is crucial, from both the employers’ and the employees’ perspective. Compensation “serves as an important source of motivation as well as an instrument for attracting and retaining employees” (p.204). The importance of reform in pay structures has also come to the fore in recent times due to the link between motivation and work behaviour, along with the demands of the New Public management.

Morgan and Shin (1995) report that in the experience of the World Bank with public sector bodies, the areas highlighting the need for reform of compensation systems included:

‘Surplus’ civil servants, erosion of the purchasing power of salaries accompanied by demands for compensatory non-wage benefits, and the increasing compression of the ratio of top to bottom salaries through de facto policies of employing more people at lower wages than fewer over a broader salary range (p.1427).

The reasons why it is so important to highlight these issues are that in many territories governments are the major employers, and that they are in a position to set standards and impose regulatory frameworks that will work in their mutual interest. Bewley (2006, p.351) observes that “direct regulation of employment can be used to impose minimum standards across the labour market, but governments also exercise influence over employment practices in their role as employer”. One of the roles of government highlighted in the literature is that of being a “good or model employer”, which can be interpreted as “commitment to the principle of pay comparability, equality of opportunity and fair treatment, joint regulation of employment relationship, stability and security of employment, training career development, and the provision of sick pay, annual leave and occupational pensions” (ibid).

The issues raised about pay and compensation is critical, current and can be cumbersome, if governments are not clear about the approach they decide on in modernizing pay in the public service. Perkins and White (2010, p.246) examined three models that the Labour Administration has been using in the United Kingdom. The ‘Single Status’ agreement in local government, ‘Agenda for Change’ agreement on the National Health Service (NHS) and the ‘Framework Agreement for Pay
Modernization’, in the Higher Education (HE) sector. A number of challenges exist: a new national grading and pay framework, and pay harmonization across the public service. By producing a White Paper, the Government committed itself to invest in employees and to ‘reward employees for embracing a continuous culture of improvement.” (ibid). Matters relating to ‘fair pay’ ‘recruitment and retention problems’ ‘rewarding best performers, pay spines’ and inequality in the public service on a whole (ibid). By using these approaches, with their many challenges, the UK government was able to provide some structure, in which equity was visible, and modify as the demands changed.

Bateman and Snell (1999, p.455) examine the concept of equity in relation to work input and output, noting that “equity theory proposes that when people assess how fairly they are treated, they consider two key factors: outcomes and inputs”. Outcomes, as in expectancy theory, are the various things a person receives on the job: recognition, pay, benefits, satisfaction, security, job assignments, punishments and so forth. Inputs, on the other hand, are the contributions the person makes to the organization, including effort, time, talent, performance, extra commitment and good citizenship. People have a general expectation that the outcomes they receive will reflect, or be proportionate to, the inputs they provide: a fair day’s pay (and other outcomes) for a fair day’s work (broadly defined by how people view all their contributions). Starke et al (1985), offer this detailed explanation:

The equity theory assumes that individuals consider the ratio of their inputs on the job to the outcomes they receive and then compare this ratio with the input/outcome ratio of others doing similar work. If the worker perceives an inequity, he or she will be motivated to resolve the inequity. Managers must deal with employees who continually compare the pay and rewards they are receiving with the rewards other employees receive. The degree of perceived equity is important to each employee. When an employee receives compensation from the organization, his or her perceptions of equity are affected by (1) comparison of the compensation received to such factors as input of effort, education or training and (2) the comparison of the perceived equity of pay and rewards received compared to other people (p .12).

The receipt of more equitable rewards would have been more important if there were a more strategic approach to the process of recruitment within the public sector among non-established workers, as recommended in the preceding section.
Compensation based practices are institutes to ensure that individuals are treated fairly and are motivated. Several compensation models links compensation to motivation. Government can react to pay demands (crisis driven model) or use political objectives to decide pay grades (political model). Otherwise through its centralized control options, consensus building option or egalitarian option government can depoliticize pay in order to achieve a more effective rational model of reforming pay. The performance-based model of pay may be fitting as it seeks to justly compensate workers based on their consistent performance. The process can become complex if the stakeholders are unsure of the input, process and outcome of these models. The model agreed on, must seek to embrace the culture of the public sector and ensure the development of employees. Through an accepted and agreed-on model workers should be able not only to perform, but to track their progress and measure change. This section provides a window to the different approaches that can be used in addressing the topic of compensation, and the options that are available in the quest for an improved public sector.

2.6 Discipline

The word discipline appeared in early management when the concept was being developed. It was incorporated into the Functions of Management by Henri Fayol the Father of Administrative Theory.

Based on his observation of the real world, Fayol developed five functions of management, and fourteen principles of management in order to guide and assist managers in resolving problems as they arise at work. Fayol believed that the skills of management could be learned through his development of management theory. The third principle in his list of fourteen principles id discipline. (Montana and Charnov, 2000)

“Discipline is the application of punishment for the failure to act in accord with the desires of those who possess legitimate authority in the organization” (p.20).

In organizations today, discipline assist in signaling to the employees what behaviors are acceptable or not and also assist in clarifying the role of management and employees (Fisher et al, 2006). Although there is no guarantee that discipline would change the behavior of the offender, one theorist suggests that disciplinary actions may assist in curbing the behavior. However, the arguments against discipline seems to suggest that punishment in the form of discipline never eliminates the undesired behavior, but that
“undesired behavior is suppressed until the threat of punishment is gone, or the behavior goes underground where the possibility of detection is reduced” (p.713). Supervisors in organizations ought to be cognizant of the fact that how thy discipline their subordinates can have a long-lasting effect on their existing relationship (Newman et al (1967)

Many approaches to discipline have been advocated. (Bohlander and Snell, 2007) looks at progressive discipline as one of the corrective measures that can be used to motivate and correct misconduct. Whatever the offense committed, the discipline is tailored to fit it. Since every situation is unique, each situation will determine what course of action will be taken and how severe the process will be. Four steps have been identified in progressive discipline. They are, oral warning, written warning, suspension without pay and dismissal. This approach is rather intimidating, autocratic and adversarial. (Bowman et al, 2010) and have been replaced by a more ‘positive non punishment ‘approach (p.322)

However, in some organizations the Managers highlight the use of reprimands, demotion, temporary layoffs, with hold promotions or bonuses as a part of their disciplinary process. As consideration is given for punishment, some organizations hardly focus on a reward system, or a system of extra benefits to be executed when that worker has gone the extra mile in their work activity. Yet some organizations according to (Bowman et al 2010) looks at positive discipline in which workers are aware of the existing problem the change expected, and the consequences of inaction.

The disciplinary process comes under close scrutiny when politicians get involved in the process. This common feature exhibited in Small Island Developing States can provide more harm than good to the process of public sector reform. Specific guidelines from an authorized body ought to be developed to guide this process. A benchmark approach is to allow the process to be fair and transparent using the established bodies and protocol that the public can confide in, for timely results.

2.7 Public sector reform

The phenomenon of new public management has been attracting increasing interest in both developed and developing countries, where reform models have been developed and implemented. Osborne and Gaebler (1992, cited in Sozen and Shaw, 2002, p.475) see NPM as part of what they term “entrepreneurial government”, viewed also as “a new global paradigm emerging in contemporary public administration”. Public reform
is not done in isolation, but appears to be part of an overall approach by all stakeholders in society. For example, Therkilsden (2001) defines reform as including change in power relations between the state and society, between politicians and bureaucrats, and between government and organizations. He notes that at the heart of any reform is the question of who governs. Before undertaking any reform, Peters (2000) urges reformers to “diagnose the problem created by the existing governing machinery, the bureaucracy that is the backdrop against which reform attempts are formulated” (cited in Bangka 2009, p.197).

According to Pennings (2010, p.174), “the main goals of public sector reform are to reduce costs, increase effectiveness and efficiency in order to make the public sector more businesslike” and more client oriented, so that it “works better and costs less”. Most OECD member countries are currently searching for strategies and policies on how to retain and enhance the professional quality of their public services. If governments do not succeed in enhancing their competitiveness as employers in the labour market, the possibility of recruiting highly qualified personnel to public organizations will diminish dramatically. Additionally, the risk of an increasing outflow from the strategic tasks of the public service to more attractive private employment is a threat to the public sector. In support of this approach, Scharpf and Schmidt (2000) and Pennings (2010) observe that public sector reform is part of a broad change from the dominant interventionist and Keynesian policies of the first part of the twentieth century to more market-friendly and less state-controlled public policymaking since the 1980s.

Owusu (2012) concludes a research study set in Ghana by arguing that

… one-size-fits-all approaches cannot be used to address the public sector problem in all countries and for all organizations. Rather the evidence provides support for an adaptive form of strategy that takes into consideration the country-specific constraints on public organizations as well as the organization-specific strategies for responding to such constraints (p.140).

His approach was to examine the public organizations within a particular country, examine their differences, highlight them and use these differences as a basis for his own reform strategies.

Hamdock (2010, p.4) defines the public sector as “the machinery of government, that is, the totality of services that are organized under the public (that is government) authority. It is the totality of the administrative structures within which the
government is carried out.” This is not to be confused with the civil service, a term which is often used synonymously with government. In his report on reforms in Africa, Hamdock (ibid, p.5) refers to a “body of permanent officials appointed to assist the political executive in formulating and implementing governmental policies, who are referred to as civil servants” and to “ministries and departments within which specific aspects of government work are carried out”.

As to public sector reform, Hamdock (2010) defines this as “the process and practices which are concerned with improving the capacity of institutions to make policy and deliver services in an efficient, effective and accountable manner”. He adds that it involves “the strengthening and management of the public sector” (p.17). Hamdock also cites Caiden and Sundaram (2004) as warning that public sector reforms “are highly complicated and emotional because they are bound up with ideology and values, not just techniques and processes, and include not merely detail but key societal issues” (ibid). The international era of public sector reform has allowed countries to develop long-term patterns that will place the sector on a firm footing, as they adopt changes.

The need for public sector reform has come about due to a number of drivers: many governments are unable to balance their budgets or to respond adequately to public demands, compounded by the internationalization of many issues that were once domestic and the tendency for intervention by governments in all spheres of society, where its incompetence causes overload problems (Cohen, 2003; Levy and Kpundeh, 2004; Mutahaba, Baguma and Halfani, 1993; Van de Walle and Ramachandran, 2003; UNECA, 2004; Rugumyamheto, 2004; AFBD, 2005). In addition to these factors, Cioclea (2007, p.2) observes that NPM “has emerged as an alternative to Weberian Bureaucracy, seen as an ‘administrative dinosaur’, too big, too slow, too insensitive, lacking in adaptability and taking too long to send the message through the hierarchical structure”.

Ocampo (1991) lists three models of reform in public administration and management, which can be adapted: “re-inventing government” (Osborne and Gaebler, 1993), “business process engineering” (Hammer and Champy, 1993) and the NPM doctrines of the OECD countries (Hood, 1995, 1996; Kickert et al., 1997). NPM is “shorthand for a group of administrative doctrines” in the reform agenda of several OECD countries, starting in the 1970s.
Kickert et al (1997, cited by Ocampo, 2012, p. 249) enumerate the characteristics of the new paradigm of public management: “strengthening steering functions at the centre; devolving authority, providing flexibility; ensuring performance, control, accountability; improving the management of human resources; optimizing information technology; developing competition and choice; improving the quality of regulation; and providing responsive service”.

This new dispensation of creative ideas in the drive to improve and increase performance of the public sector has come about from several sources. Galnoor et al (1998) state that the impetus for change came from several directions, including the public’s demanding more value for their taxes; the competitive pressures that globalism places on national governments and economies; the growth of strong market orientation for supplying public goods and individuals to communities, accompanied by a concomitant desire to reduce government through privatization; and the rapidly developing information technology that opens up new possibilities.

De Vries (2012, p.10) considers “the main trend in public sector reform” to have been towards NPM and its “basic idea” that “society should be run like a business”. Osborne and Gaebler (1992) see it as inspired by a desire to reinvent government in order that it works better and costs less. Denhart (2004, cited by deVries, 2012) summarizes the ideas of Osborne and Gaebler (1992) using ten principles: “Government under NPM should be catalytic (steering rather than rowing), community-owned (empowering rather than serving), competitive by injecting competition into service delivery, mission-driven instead of rule-driven, results-oriented, customer-driven, enterprising, anticipatory, decentralized and market-oriented.”

In contrast, Bourgon (2008) had different ideas as to the way forward with reform. She claims that a new structural framework should have an incorporation of the classic bureaucratic model, and the NPM models. She also noted that due to the strong context of dependency, instead of formulating theories, we are forced to work with “models, concepts descriptions and assessments in order to understand how best to improve governance, organization and management of the public administration” (p.132). From her perspective, models, the classical bureaucratic model and the NPM model are both relevant and useful, and cannot be replaced by a single model (ibid). Instead she advocates a “descriptive framework” that will incorporate both models. The writer also observed that the NPM as models gives managers powers of discretion, contractual arrangement with statutory workers, and the leverage to empower their workers, which
is distinct since it breaks away from the traditional colonial practice and classical bureaucracy. The difficulty here, is that will our politicians be prepared to embrace the NPM wholeheartedly, knowing that they would have relinquished some of their powers? If not, what would be the extent of the reform process?

A number of countries, especially OECD members, embarked on public sector reforms in the late 1980s and 1990s as they found new markets to ensure the “international competitiveness of their economies in an era of globalization”, according to Chittoo et al (2009, p.32). They also note that the role of the state has changed to that of a facilitator, creating an enabling environment for development led by the private sector, and conclude that the focus of the public sector will be one of “policy formulation rather than implementation” (ibid, p.34).

The literature shows that reactions to the NPM-type reforms have been mixed. While NPM has its supporters, including Spann (1981) and Osborne & Gaebler (1992), there are also detractors (Schick, 1998; Allen, 1999; Sutch, 1999) and others who claim that its application has produced mixed results far below its theoretical promise (Minogue et al. 1998; Batley, 1999; Chittoo et al, 2009). Despite the need for reform, its implementation has faced some challenges, one of these being identified by Cristofoli (2011) as opposition among politicians and civil servants. Chittoo et al (2009) report that the World Bank (1995) acknowledges that NPM is hard to implement because of political obstacles to privatisation. They also note the “defeatist” attitude of those including Nunberg (1995) who warn of “the difficulty of applying developing-country governance reform strategies that are rooted in the different cultures and superior resources of developing countries” (ibid). More recently, the Economic Commission for Africa (2010) found that the literature on civil service reform had focused on a number of areas, including “measures to track the existing staff, for instance, payroll and human resource databases, since pay and employment data are essential in diagnosing civil service issues and designating reforms, measures to contain and reduce staff, compensation reform …, pensions and human resources management practices”.

There is obviously a great deal of merit in introducing the NPM reforms in the Public Sector, of countries that have emerged from colonialism. However it may not be a “one size fit all” situation since there are cultural, economic and political factors to consider which will affect the development of policies, and how they are implemented.
2.8 Approaches to reform

During the 1990s a new dispensation of state-centred administrative reforms, termed new public management, (NPM) was adopted by a number of governments around the world. New Zealand, Australia and Great Britain started the process, which was later also implemented in Brazil, France, Korea, Portugal, Sweden and the United States. The reforms in these countries differed widely in terms of their scope, particularly as measured by the degree to which they significantly changed the basic form of organization (Geri, 2001). An analysis of these NPM programmes shows that there were dramatic improvements in service delivery and the ‘buying-in’ of the concept (Barzelay, 1992; Gore, 1993; Alford and O’Neill, 1994; Osborne and Plastrik, 1997). Their detractors note, however, “the uneven implementation of such reforms around the world, the often spotty results and the threat that the ‘neo-managerialist’ philosophy implicit in the NPM poses to traditional public administrative values such as equity, fairness and the need for accountability” (Geri, 2001).

An examination of the reform strategies and models thus shows some variation from country to country. In Australia and New Zealand, the governments embarked on programmes embracing the NPM concept, seeing themselves as “third generation reformers”, which suggest that “system integration and performance are central to the prevailing approach of the mid 2000s … an emergent model which best represents the mid-2000s as reintegrating governance” (Halligan, 2007, p.218). This model is an “amalgam of the new elements and design features derived from previous models, representing a mix that moved away from the previous models towards a new normative model” (ibid). Halligan (2007) uses the term ‘generation’ to distinguish the first set of NPM reformers in the 1980s from those of the 21st century. He also applies the term to those nations with “systems that have sustained reform sufficiently long for several generations to be evident, hence the reference to the third generation reformer” (ibid). He continues: “reform models are distinguished as a basis for exploring and clarifying clusters of change that renovate management and reconstitute relationships. This allows an examination of integrated governance relative to its predecessor” (ibid).

Integrated governance (IG) is the third in a sequence identified by Halligan (2007) as having started with managerialism, which according to Pollitt (1993), represents a model in which the central concept focuses on management. This was followed by the NPM model developed by Hood (1991), “in which the market element is prominent”
and which features such concepts as “disaggregation, privatization and private focus” (Halligan, 2007, p.219). The third model, IG, is “derived from a focus on different modes of coordinating and control designed to confer great coherence and capacity on the public sector” (ibid).

Integrated governance has two purposes: renewing the public sector to improve capacity; and resetting and refocusing the core public service to increase performance. The term reflects the strong impulse to integrate, recognition of its attendant features that cover whole-of-government and coordination, roles of central agencies, and line departments, autonomy and governance of public bodies, delivery and implementation and the performance focus (Halligan, 2007, p.219).

Australia embraced all three models of reform successively. Managerialism (Zifcak, 1994) best reflects the first phase, in which management became the central concept and reshaped thinking. This was succeeded by a phase that for a time came close to the mainstream depiction of NPM (Hood, 1991), in which the market element was favoured and features such as disaggregation, privatisation and private sector focus were at the forefront. In turn, in the 2000s, NPM was followed although not displaced by the emergent model of IG (Halligan, 2007).

The focus on the first phase of reform saw the emphasis being shifted from inputs and processes to one of results. The main emphasis was on the commercialization and decentralization of core public services and the senior public service, followed by corporatization and privatization (Halligan, 2007). In the 1980s the Financial Management Improvement Programme dominated the reforms, emphasizing budgeting and management, as the country sought to adopt a more microeconomic reform agenda.

A closer examination of the Australian reform model in its first phase highlights management improvement. The existence of a coalition government “led to the public service becoming highly decentralized, marketized, contractualized and privatized”, with a new agenda and emphasis on “competition and contestability of service delivery, contracting out, client focus, core business, the application of the purchaser/provider principle. The agenda also covered a deregulation of personnel system; a core public service focuses on policy, regulation and oversight of service delivery; and greater use of the private sector” (Halligan, 2007, p.220).

The second phase was characterised by the use of the four dimensions of the IG model “to draw together fundamental aspects of governance”, these being “resurrection of the
central agency as a major actor with more direct influence over departments; whole-of-government as the new expression of a range of forms of coordination; central monitoring of agency implementation and delivery; and departmentalization through absorbing statutory authorities and rationalizing the non-departmental sector” (Halligan, 2007, p.220). The IG approach shifts the focus from the vertical to the horizontal, where cross-agency collaborative relationships and individual agency are emphasized. The whole-of-government agenda sets the tone for policy direction, devolution through strategy with an aim to steer management from the centre, while “rebalancing the positions of centre and line agencies” (ibid).

Elsewhere, according to the Economic Commission for Africa (2010), “public sector reforms in Africa were driven by economic reform, democratization and the search for administrative efficiency with a view to improving the quality of goods and services delivered to the public”. In other words, African reforms were inspired by the public administrative reform experiences of other countries outside Africa, or can be seen to have parallels with them (Adamolekun and Kiragu, 1999; Caiden and Sundaram, 2004).

Several Commonwealth Caribbean countries have also embarked on the New Public Management (NPM). Sutton (2006, P.199-202) highlighted the activities that took place in five countries: - Barbados, Guyana, Jamaica, St. Lucia and Trinidad and Tobago. Six factors of importance have been identified: -“the need for high-level political leadership in the design, promotion, and implementation of reform, bureaucratic departments will oppose the process, reform must proceed incrementally, reform must be seen as a wider agenda for change, reform should be “home grown” and second wave reforms associated with NPM are more difficult to mount and sustain than first wave reforms” (p.18). Reforms in these Islands have met with a number of challenges. There have been increased workloads for bureaucrats and politicians in the “promotion monitoring and enforcement of reforms” which has become quite burdensome. (ibid). One Senator and Minister of State overseeing public sector reform in Barbados summarised as follows:-

*In the region as a whole, progress has been made on dome fronts but the latest attempts at “externally induced modernization” have not produced the results they promised. The new public management which has been introduced has some sound aspects; accent on results; service to the public; delegation of authority; greater attention to cost, and the quest for efficiency through adoption of private sector practices, such as “contracting out” and merit pay.*
But the market-driven rhetoric and “reductionist approach” has been questioned. This particular administrative culture tends to neglect important political, social and legal dimensions. It offers no practical solution to the critical concerned, which continue to bedevil many of our regional countries” (p.20).

In other countries, (St. Lucia) public servants are reporting some success and some failure, because the “old order of public service is still very prevalent today- poor work ethics, wastage, lack of accountability and transparency, idleness, absenteeism, lateness, lack of professionalism and inefficiency” (p.20). Reporting on her experiences in public sector reform in St. Lucia, Catherine Butcher noted that these negative attitudes among workers are hampering the reform process and challenged workers to reform themselves in order for the process to be successful. Another observer from the Commonwealth Victor Ayeni noted that the outcome of reform in the Caribbean has been mixed due to “several pockets of uncertainties; and persistent economic and government crises” (2000). Questions have also been raised by on NPM in the Commonwealth Caribbean have also been raised by Bartley and Larbi (2004). His concern was with the radical application of the NPM reform models and the appropriateness of the models used in low-income countries. For models to be successful, the appropriate systems and processes of government should be in place to enable a “skilful political management to steer it through” to conclusion. (p.20)

The decision on which reform strategy should be embraced has to be clearly thought out considering the challenges that face the public sector. Issues relating to human resource development strategies, economic stability, quality of life for citizens and cultural change and value in the public sector ought to be remain in focus, and used as a benchmark for public sector reform and development.

This chapter has reviewed the literature on the public sector, its culture, management, policy and reform. The next is concerned with the research methodology.
Chapter Three

Fieldwork Design and Methodological Approach

3.1 Introduction

This chapter explains the methodology used in carrying out this study, which seeks to gather information in relation to the current culture by evaluating the policies on the recruitment, compensation, discipline and retirement of established and non-established workers in the Antiguan and Barbudan public sector. It further explains the process that was involved, the data collection methods and those who took part in it. Also discussed are the methods used to analyze the data. The data were collected by means of survey questionnaires and semi-structured interviews. The interview questions and questionnaire items were formulated and developed after an extensive search of the literature along with consultation with established and non-established middle and senior managers. A random sample of established and non-established middle and senior managers were contacted and an appointment was set to discuss the set of interview and survey questions.

The interview questions were designed to elicit the thoughts, opinions and feelings of senior public service officials on non-established workers, their work habits, behaviour and functionality. In addition, a sample of non-established workers was interviewed to gather their thoughts, opinions and feelings about themselves and other non-established workers. According to Schutt (2009, p.40), “when we conduct social research, we are attempting to connect theory with empirical data—the evidence we obtain from the social world”. The collection of this evidence from a given population is likely to embrace a specific methodology, which is defined in the social sciences as “a theory and analysis of how research should proceed” (Harding, 1987, p.2). In justifying the approach taken, the researcher tapped into the methodology that has been established by social scientists in their approach to investigating real-life phenomena and solving social problems.

3.2 Research methods

In the quest for information to answer the research question, the researcher considered the methods that will be used to justify the approach. Carter and Little (2007, p.1320) remind us that “methodology justifies methods, and methods produce knowledge, so
methodologies have epistemic content.” It follows that “epistemology profoundly shapes the researcher’s conceptualization of the participant in data collection and analysis” (ibid, p.1320), which makes the participants active contributors to the process of acquiring knowledge.

According to Harding (1997), “a research method is a technique for … gathering evidence … and can be thought of as research action” (p.2). One could reasonably argue that all evidence-gathering techniques fall into one of three categories: listening to (or interrogating) informants, observing behaviour or examining historical traces and records. In short, “methods are the nuts and bolts of research practice” (Carter and Little, 2007, p.1325).

Uprichard (2006) states that the methodology adopted by any researcher can be chosen from a number of available approaches according to their existence, the framework of knowledge that they present, the data—whether simulated or empirical—and the mathematical model. In addition, the researcher must consider the nature of the abstractions made in the object of inquiry, whilst also attempting to maximize the probability that the object is adequately and accurately described and explored. Thus, the specific choice of methodology depends upon what one wants to learn about the object of study (Sayer, 2000). Every piece of research therefore calls for its own unique methodology (Crotty, 1998).

The phenomenological approach reflects the qualitative method, in which the researcher becomes more active in the research process. This type of social research provides for researchers to have “face-to face encounters with their participants”, facilitating “a communication of knowledge, opinions, feelings and experiences from the participants to the researcher” (Ryan et al, 2006, p.1191). This researcher was mindful of the purpose and nature of the research along with the sensitivity of the information. Therefore, with an emphasis on 'meaning, experiences and so on' (Coolican,1990 p.36) a qualitative approach will help to inform 'how' people feel and 'why' they feel the way they do, as opposed to obtaining quantifiable data which will identify 'how many' and 'what' has taken place. For example, this researcher is seeking to gather information on the current public sector culture by interviewing a purposive sample of participants that will be able to answer the questions 'how', 'what' and 'why'.

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3.3 Quantitative and qualitative approaches

The approach to gathering data for this study is critical to the outcome. While the results must be credible, there is also a need to ensure that the process of gathering the data is reliable. A fundamental choice to be made is that between quantitative and qualitative methods, which Verma and Mallick (1999) distinguish as follows:

Quantitative, as its name suggests, refers to any approach to data collection where the aim is to gather information that can be quantified; that is to say it can be counted or measured in some form or the other. Qualitative, on the other hand, is an approach to evidence gathering which although disciplined relies less on scales and scores. Typically, it involves the gathering of evidence that reflects the experiences, feelings or judgments of individuals taking part in the investigation of a research problem or issue, whether as subjects or as observers of the scene (p 26).

The quantitative aspect of this study was exercised through a survey questionnaire. The purpose of the survey is to ascertain the participant’s attitude towards the culture of the public sector and to provide feedback on the policies governing recruitment, compensation, discipline and retirement. In order to formulate the quantitative research instrument, the concepts coming out of the literature review were closely examined, and questions relating to these concepts were constructed. These questions were also reflected in the semi-structured interview in order to strengthen the research by comparing the data. A semi-structured interview was therefore designed to collect qualitative data from thirty (30) respondents which were drawn from a cross-section of the established and non-established divide.

In general, when we speak about qualitative research, we mean social research in which the researcher relies on textual data rather than numerical data, analyzes those data in their textual form rather than converting them into numbers for analysis, aims to understand the meaning of human action (Schwandt, 2001) and asks open questions about phenomena as they occur in context, rather than setting out to test predetermined hypotheses (Carter and Little, 2007).

Robson (2011) describes qualitative data as an “attractive nuisance” (p.465):

Their attractiveness is undeniable. Words, which are by far the most common form of qualitative data, are a specialty of humans and their organizations. Narrative accounts and other collections of words are variously described as ‘rich’, ‘full’ and ‘real’ and contrasted with the thin abstractions of number. Their collection is often straightforward. They lend verisimilitude to reports.
On the other hand, Hesse-Biber and Leavy (2011) observe that “the logic of qualitative research is concerned with in-depth understanding, usually working with small samples … Qualitative research aims to look at ‘processes’ or the ‘meaning’ individuals attribute to their given social situation” (p.45). In qualitative research, there is a “dynamic interaction between the research problem and the literature review. Research questions are tentative and most often are not framed in terms of hypotheses. The goal is one of theory generation” (ibid, p.35).

Ryan and Golden (2006) add that “the experience of carrying out social research, especially research involving face-to-face encounters with participants, encompasses complex and shifting boundaries. Research that requires communication of knowledge, opinions and experiences from the participants to the researcher needs to overcome, at least temporarily, any boundaries that may inhibit that communication” (p.1091).

For Hodkinson (1998), “all knowledge is interpretation, for each of us has to interpret anything we sense before it becomes knowledge for us” (p.563). However, while there may be no guarantee that the participants are giving their true points of view, we as researchers ought to respect the data collected, as Peshkin (2001) points out, adding: “We display respect to our research others by taking seriously what they say, what they think they are doing, what they make of things. In this way, we communicate that we have not come with preconceived notions of the type that preclude careful, serious listening” (p.244).

Within the realm of qualitative research, the interest is not on so much on numbers but on the spoken word, the text which is data enriched to be analyzed. The researcher is mindful that this research seeks to explore and understand the experiences of the participants in relation to the research question and the aims of the research. Thus, the choice of the research strategy is linked to the questions that the researcher asks. According to Strauss and Corbin (1997) one of the valid reasons for conducting qualitative research is because of the nature of the research problem. In this study, questions relating to the policies of recruitment, compensation, disciplining and retirement and how these policies can be change are addressed. To expedite the process, contacts had to be established with the respondents in a timely manner to ensure that the necessary information was analyzed in accordance with established procedures.

In the present study, the interviewees were informed at the outset of the interview process that they were free to respond as they saw fit with whatever thoughts they had,
since it was their views that the researcher was interested in. Gill (2003) cautions that “researchers who adopt a qualitative approach involving interviewing with participants are likely to insist that any deception would have the potential to negatively affect the development of trust that is the cornerstone of their research”. In order to avoid this danger, the researcher informed potential participants of the methodology and purpose of the study, assuring them that the exercise was designed to provide not only new learning about the governance of the public sector, but a practical approach to solving the existing problem. In addition to the qualitative approach, the researcher made use of a quantitative instrument.

Mitcham (2007) recalls that “quantitative methods have been used … to advance systematic research associated with professional activities such as health care, education and social work, all of which focus on persons” (p.1435). He also notes that “quantitative research investigates external casual relations and the what, where and when of phenomena, especially non-human phenomena, whereas qualitative research attempts to uncover the reasons behind—that is, the why and how of—human phenomena, including human behavior and all sorts of human interactions with the nonhuman world” (p.1437).

The use of these two approaches simultaneously is allowing for a mixed methods approach to be executed, because “mixed methods approaches to social enquiry are uniquely able to generate better understanding in many contexts than studies bounded by a single methodological tradition” (Somekh and Lewin, 2011, p.260). One methodological purpose that has been identified for using a mixed approach is triangulation, which “seeks convergence, corroboration, or correspondence of results from different methods, thereby enhancing the credibility and reliability of inferences” (ibid). This researcher was of the opinion that the qualitative data obtained from using one method would reflect some limitation and therefore saw the necessity of gathering statistical information produced by questionnaires. This will provide some measure of comparison and extend the parameters of discussion which in this researcher's opinion would add clarity and create a greater platform for analysis.

The rationale for employing the mixed methods approach calls for researchers to make a compromise between the requirements of both approach—quantitative and qualitative—which is called “the representativeness/saturation trade-off” (Teddle and Yu 2007, p 87). “This trade-off means that the more emphasis that is placed on the representativeness of the quantitative sample, the less emphasis there is that can be
placed on the saturation of the qualitative sample and vice versa. (ibid). The researcher is aware that no research methodology is perfect or free of errors. By using a mixed-methods approach, there will be a better understanding of the analysis and outcome, because of the support that each will give to the other. One writer, Neuman (2000, p. 125) recommends a mixed qualitative-quantitative approach since the two methods have complementary strengths, is fuller and more comprehensive.

3.4 Sampling

In order to fully investigate the research question, a purposive sample was identified in which this researcher “intentionally select individuals to learn or understand the central phenomenon” (Patton, 1990, p.169). The aim of sampling in qualitative research is to achieve “representativeness” (Teddlie and Yu 2007,p.87). This means that the researcher wants a desired sample which will reflect the characteristics of the population of interest, and typically, this requires a sample of certain size relative to the population.”(e.g.Wunsch, 1986). Hesse-Biber and Leavy (2011) observe that “qualitative researchers are always interested in selecting a purposive or judgment sample. The type of purposive sample used is based on the particular research question as well as consideration of the resources available to the researcher” (p.45). Carter and Little (2007) support this contention by stating that “qualitative research samples purposively; that is, samples are selected to serve an investigative purpose rather than to be statistically representative of a population” (p.1318). After close examination of the data provided by the ministries, this researcher used the categories of years of service, age, and position to selected thirty (30) individuals, which in his estimation was able to provide the necessary information on the public sector that will aid in answering the research question. This approach was used to gather a rich data due to the fact that these individuals would have worked in the service given different time span. This allowed for the data to stretch over a prolonged period.

Creswell (2005 p. 204) noted that in the process of using purposeful sampling the researcher “intentionally select individuals...to learn or understand the central phenomenon” Creswell (2005) also noted that the standard approach used in choosing the participants is that “they are information rich” (cited in Patton, 1990,p.169). Patton (1990) according to Coyne (1996,p 624) continues to note “that logic of and power of purposeful sampling lies in selecting information-rich cases for study in depth”.

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Thus the sampling approach for the qualitative data was to select a cadre of individuals some of whom have served and others who are still serving in varying capacities and positions within the public sector, equipped with experience and knowledge of how the sector functions and the climate of the current culture. The names of these junior, middle and senior managers were selected from twelve ministries.

The researchers choose this sampling approach because the individuals will be able to help the researcher to “generate or discover a theory or specific concepts within a theory” (Patton 1990, p 169). For the quantitative approach, samples were randomly chosen by a computer model, after the data in reference to number of established and non-established workers in the respective ministries were fed into it.

The numbers given from the computer print-out reflected both established and non-established workers, and a cross-section of individuals having worked between 10 and 40 years in different areas and in different capacities. According to Schutt (2009, p.330), “sampling decisions in qualitative research are guided by the need to study intensively the people, places or phenomena of interest. The sample must be appropriate and adequate for the study, even if it’s not representative.” The sample for this study was appropriate given the sensitivity of the subject matter being researched and the limited numbers of key individuals that have held senior, middle and junior positions within the public sector that have specialized knowledge on the operations of the sector.

Coyne (1996, p.624) in support of the approach above noted that in the process of sampling, researchers select people according to their “age, gender, status, role or function in the organization, stated philosophy or ideology…” This process is to be differentiated from the theoretical sampling process in which the sampling process is on-going one where data is collected depending on the emerging theory. In this approach, the inductive-deductive process involves emerging theory from the data, whereas the purposeful selection of samples was used in order to check out the emerging theory, (Becker, 1993). This was further supported by Teddlie and Yu (2007, p 83) who noted that

“a purposive sample is typically designed to pick a small number of cases that will yield the most information about a particular phenomenon, whereas a probability sample is planned to select a large number of cases that are collectively representative of the population of interest.”
“Purposive sampling leads to greater depth of information from a small number of carefully selected cases, whereas probability sampling leads to greater breath of information from the larger number of units selected to be representative of the population (e.g., Patton, 2002).

Teddlie and Yu (2007) observed that there were differences between the two types of sampling method. The probability sampling frame are usually formally laid out, whereas purposive sampling frames are typically informal, and “based on the expert judgment of the researcher or some available resource identified by the researcher.” (p.83). Bryman, (2001, p. 100) also noted that the purposive type of sampling frame is ‘a non-probability, convenient sample where the participant are selected at the convenience of the researcher. Convenience sampling according to Bryman (2001) is seen as a legitimate way of carrying out social research which some researchers have used as a sampling technique in carrying out their study.

Bryman (2011) further explains that purposeful sampling “is essentially strategic and entails an attempt to establish good correspondence between research questions and sampling. In other words, the researcher samples on the basis of wanting to interview people who are relevant to the research questions” (p.333). Support for this explanation comes from Hesse-Biber and Leavy (2011, p.45): “The type of purposeful sample chosen is based on the particular research question as well as consideration of the resources available to the researcher.”

Schutt also defines purposive sampling as

… a non-probability sampling method in which elements are selected for a purpose, usually because of their unique position. … In this type of technique each of the sample elements is selected for a particular purpose, usually because of the unique position of the sample elements. Or a purposive sample may be a ‘key informant survey’ which targets individuals who are particularly knowledgeable about the issues under investigation (ibid, p.173).

The research participants for the qualitative data comprised a purposive sample of 30 people including senior managers, permanent secretaries, an ombudsman, public sector officers, retired senior civil servants, the Solicitor General, a representative from the World Bank, a retired university tutor and head teacher, the Chief Establishment Officer and low-level established and non-established workers. Most of these participants had been in the Antiguan public service for more than twenty years, giving them a wide scope of views of the relevant issues on the ability to provide the information required
with a certain weight of authority. The period of time worked by the participants gave them the opportunity to reflect on the issues being addressed. When contacted, they agreed to participate in the research because they were of the view that a solution was needed to remedy the escalating problem. The purposive sampling approach was used because in the researcher's estimation this was the most effective way of extracting the required information to answer the research question, given the sensitivity of the exercise. The research participants was identified by the researcher from a list of participants given by the Establishment Division, the number of participants was chosen based on the length of time they served in the public service, and the capacity in which they served. This selection was done before the start of the study and the selection was made due to the tenure of the participants, their position, their age and their sex. This approach may have presented some bias in the process and may affect the responses given. A roster representing a time line was established after the participants were contacted. This was stuck to in order to collect the information over the time period identified. Interviews were done at work for those persons who were employed, while those who were retired were interviewed in the confines of their residence in order for them to reflect and provide the information requested.

The research participants for the quantitative data comprised of one hundred and sixteen (116) participants drawn from a population of approximately eight thousand (8,000.00) public sector workers drawn from twelve (12) ministries. A computer generated the samples for this group of participants. The exercises were conducted usually during the participant’s lunch period at their respective ministries. The reason for using this approach is that it allows a fair chance for each worker to be included in the sample.

3.5 Interviews.

According to Khan and Cannell (1957, cited in Saunders et al, 2000), an interview is a purposeful discussion between two people. Wellington (2000) adds that interviews are generally used by researchers to “investigate and prompt things we cannot observe” such as “thoughts, values, prejudices, perceptions, views, feelings and perspectives” (p.71). All the interviews in this study were conducted on a one-on-one or face-to-face basis, and followed a semi-structured format. Coombes (2001) gives sanction to this format, noting that it allows an “enormous scope for the free flowing of information”,
which means that it “offers a greater flexibility and questions can be spontaneous and responsive to the latest thing that the interviewee has said” (p.96).

The data-gathering process was conducted over an eight month period from January to August 2013. The researcher first contacted the participants by telephone to make arrangements for the interviews. Each of the interviewees who had retired from service invited the researcher to his or her home, while all other interviews were conducted in the formal setting of an office. These environments were found to be conducive to thought development and reflection. Each interview lasted approximately two and a half hours. The semi-structured format of the questioning allowed the participants to relate their experiences, to give examples and to express their own views on each topic. The data were collected verbatim and rewritten in a cohesive manner thereafter. One important observation made by the researcher was the willingness of the participants to talk; they freely communicated “their knowledge of the subject matter under investigation, along with their range of points of view” (Rubin & Rubin, 1995, cited in Schutt, 2009, p.173).

### 3.6 Questionnaires

Opie and Sikes (2004, p.95) describe the questionnaire as “the most widely used procedure for obtaining information”, because it is easier to standardize the approach to questioning, to obtain information, to ensure anonymity and for the questions to be constructed for a specific purpose. While this may be so, Borg and Gall (1989) caution that the utility of questionnaires is limited to answering questions as to what happened, where, when and how, being of little value in explaining why. A quantitative questionnaire was developed to elicit responses from both established and non-established workers themselves, at the middle and low management levels, along with the line staff. The questionnaire was chosen as a method because of the quick time in which they could have been completed, and the possibility of obtaining data from the sample population. Another advantage is because the method is said to be cheaper and quicker to administer (Bryman 2001). The method also reduce the possibility of bias been introduced or any measure of influence from a person conducting an interview.

The survey questionnaire covering the quantitative aspect of the present study was developed to gather data on the behaviour and work attitudes of established and non-established workers, which would assist in carving out a definition of the culture of the Antiguan and Barbudan public sector. The questionnaire items were constructed,
reviewed, reworded and rewritten to ensure their validity in light of the research questions. For this exercise, the groups contacted were divided into established and non-established. From these two groups the participants were selected based on the computer output.

The researcher personally administered the questionnaire to the participants, usually at their workplace during the lunch hour, on the same day based on the computer output which randomly selected the participants. This had the advantage of a faster response, as the researcher was able to get the questionnaires completed quickly. In some instances, the Permanent Secretaries (PSs), under the instruction and guidance of the researcher, assisted in the process, which assured participants that it was legitimate. This approach was designed to remove skepticism from the process. They workers were briefed on the purpose of the exercise and the strict conditions under which the questionnaire was to be completed. To expedite the process because of time constraints, the PSs were told who to give the instrument to, as the researcher had selected the sample. This method was especially suitable where the researcher was able to get the participants to cooperate, and allowed the researcher access, so that the survey could be conducted in a specified area. The researcher was present to clarify any issues and to ensure that respondents understood the contribution that they were making to the research. In some instances, he used the presence of the PS as a source of motivation. This process additionally allowed for a connection of the researcher and the participants, who were also informed that the information collected would be treated as anonymous and confidential. The names of the interviewees’ have been anonymised for their protection, which conforms to, and based on the standards set by the university.

While the research question for this study may have pointed to questionnaires and interviews as the chosen quantitative and qualitative approaches, other methods such as focus group and case study were considered. However, after examining the subject matter, the sensitivity of the issues the confidentiality that was necessary and the need for close interaction with the subjects, the researcher decided against it for fear of influence by other team members within a proposed group, and the time frame that will be needed to complete the exercise.
3.7 Pilot Study.

A pilot study was conducted to enable the researcher to reduce or eliminate those factors which may impede on the outcome of the research. These may include the length of the questionnaire for the interviews, the order of the questions, the phrasing or structure of the questions and clarity of instructions. This process was executed to test responses to the first draft of the questionnaire. Again a random approach was executed to carry out this exercise. At the end of the exercise, the questions were then revised, reformed and restructured to elicit the data that the researcher required.

This exercise was conducted a month before the actual field work. Two semi-structured interviews were conducted, one participant selected from the established workers and another from the non-established workers, at the middle management level. After the questions were administered, feedback was given from the participants on how the process can be amended to better facilitate the aim of the research. Four questionnaires were also issued to two established workers and two non-established workers at the lower level. Feedback was also given and a chance to restructure or modify the questions. Creswell (2005, p.367) highlighted that "a pilot test of a questionnaire or interview survey is a procedure in which a researcher makes changes in an instrument based on feedback from a small number of individuals who complete and evaluate the instrument." Based on this exercise the researcher was able to ‘fine tune’ the instruments to gather the best data from the participants. Bryman (2004, p.159) noted that “piloting also has a role in ensuring that the research instrument as a whole functions well.”

3.8 Reflexivity

Ryan et al (2006, p.1192) point out the importance of reflexivity in conducting research, despite its being seen as a challenge to the validity of the research. Reflexivity, instead of weakening research, “adds a necessary insight into the complex dynamics that do exist between researchers and participants in quantitative research”. The authors add that “reflexivity involves honesty and openness about how, where and by whom the data were collected and locates the researcher as a participant in the research process” (ibid). They also assert that reflexivity has helped to reveal the research relationship between subject and subject matter, since it has been “used primarily in relation to the collection of qualitative data, usually interviewing, and has provided a fascinating insight into the experience of doing research” (ibid). The present researcher considers
reflexivity to be an important aspect of the study, helping “to reveal the complex
dynamics which underpin the research relationship … power dynamics, shifting
boundaries, self-censorship, fractured selves and unsympathetic inter-subjectivities
(ibid, p.1193).

This chapter has offered an overview of the methods used by the researcher in gathering
the data for analysis. It has provided support from the literature and examined the
philosophical thinking behind the methodology. The next chapter presents an analysis
of the empirical data, qualitative and quantitative, collected in the field.

3.9 Content Analysis of Data

For this study the researcher developed a questionnaire (see appendix 2) for the
collection of quantitative data where a number of respondents were asked to give
individual responses to the question asked. A five-point Likert scale was used to
measure the feelings and opinions of the participants. For some questions, the responses
varied on the Likert scale depending on the information desired (ref Appendix1). The
responses were tallied, and the percentage calculated, and displayed in tabular form for
easier reading and to make comparisons for discussion. In some instances graphs were
used to display the information. The questionnaires provided an opportunity for the
participants to provide a response to the questions asked on recruitment, compensation,
discipline and retirement. Likewise there were responses from the interviewees in the
collection of the qualitative data.

The qualitative research instrument allowed the researcher to see the world through the
eyes of the research participant. Hence questions were asked to elicit responses from the
research participants about their opinion of the research question and sub questions.
Each response was examined for the information given, so that a clear indication or
guidelines can be given as to the areas that will be coded and discussed in the data. The
content of the qualitative data was analyzed and coded based on themes emerging from
the interviews. This was done so that the content of each participant could be discussed
and inferences made during the analysis.

According to Frankfort- Nachmias and Nachmias (1996, p.324), content analysis is
“any technique for making inferences by systematically and objectively identifying
specified characteristics of messages.” Content analysis “is most frequently applied in
describing the attributes of the message” (ibid). The writer further noted that content
analysis is done systematically, and the “inclusion or exclusion of content according to consistently applied criteria of selection.” (p 345)

The data used can be verbal or non-verbal to answer a research question through generalizations and inferences. Another application of content analysis refers to “who says what and why and to whom” Nachmias and Nachmias (1996, p 326). In this manner, “a text is analyzed in order to make inferences about the sender of the message and about the causes or antecedents” (ibid). Another writer Hesse-Biber and Leavy (2001) noted that “content analysis can be conceptualized as an inherently mixed method of analysis or a method that always contains the possibility of both quantitative and qualitative applications. Bauer (2000) refers to content analysis as a “hybrid technique”, which has always, even when performed quantitatively, been an implicitly hybridized approach to inquiry.”(p.132) Hesse-Biber and Leavy (2001) continued to note that social scientists in their research have made significant contributions to “the overall body of knowledge in significant ways with statistical and descriptive power” (p.233). Social scientists see this method of “gaining hard data” which further contributed significantly to social scientific knowledge and directly influencing social policy, (ibid). This falls in line with one of the objectives of this study which is, to evaluate the policies governing established and non-established workers. This researcher used content analysis to codify the data where the frequency of responses was tabulated. The data was manually coded. The response for each question was analyzed, for responses in common, by underlining similar words and phrases. A different color highlighter was used to note similar word and phrases for each participant. The researcher did not highlight every word or phrase given in response by the participant, but coded only those words or phrases that were relevant to the established themes. In some instances, the researcher was flexible to allow related phrases to be included in the coding, to show comparison or present alternate views. The coded information was then tabulated under the different themes of culture, recruitment, compensation, discipline, retirement, policy, structure and the way forward. With these established themes, the researcher was able to note the responses that will supported a particular theme or refuted it. From the coded information, the researcher was able to construct arguments based on the themes that reflect in essence the argument of the respondents. The qualitative questionnaire was used as a guide in analyzing each question, examining what the questions asked and the responses given. Phrases and words that in some way were indicators of the themes were generally used
to support the arguments presented. Irrelevant information was ignored and excluded, since they bear no relevance to any of the themes. This was done by writing down the concept as they occur from each participant. The unwanted or irrelevant information was used to re-examine and reassess the data or even re-code it, if possible. The researcher was able in some instances to stretch the argument beyond the responses given. This allowed for a more in-depth data acquisition that was able to take the data beyond the initial information requested. This process of data gathering provided the opportunity for the development of this researcher’s skills as opportunities were presented to analytically assess the process where credible and reliable data was obtained to ascertain new knowledge.

The quantitative responses were tabulated and the response percentage indicated. The researcher used these responses to compare it with the qualitative responses, critically examining whether the responses from the quantitative results would refute or support the argument coming from the qualitative analysis. By reading through the responses from the qualitative participants this researcher was able to construct logical arguments around the themes that reflected the thinking of the participants.

The data was interpreted so that generalizations in relation to the themes could be made, and to identify any trends and patterns of thought development.

Hesse-Biber (2011) noted that “The strength of the method is that it enables researchers to examine patterns and themes within the objects produced in a given culture… the force of this form of data cannot be underestimated when trying to call attention to systematic practices of inequality and when attempting to change public policy.”(p.233). The literature does indicate that the use of content analysis is quite significant in the understanding of what issues are to be discussed, based on the research question. Bryman (2001) highlighted that what might be actually needed “to count will be significantly dictated by your research question” (p.187).

Logical arguments were then developed around the themes, noting the common trends and those responses which clarified issues and were consistent. The incorporation of the mixed methods approach assisted this researcher in the “total understanding of the research problem” (Hesse-Biber 2011, p 281). This process also aided the researcher in developing his analytical skills as the process of writing and re-writing took center stage. Thus the research question had further implication for regional research in the
public sector of Small Island Developing States, notwithstanding the implications for public sector reform in Antiguan and Barbuda.

This chapter has highlighted the methods and processes used to gather the data required to answer the research question. Discussion based on the reasons for the choice of method and approach, along with how the data will be analyzed was presented. This chapter also gave the researcher the opportunity to fully exercise the data gathering process and develop his skill as a researcher. Many meaningful learning took place throughout this exercise. The next chapter will provide further discussion on the findings.
Chapter Four

Data Analysis

4.1 Introduction

This chapter fulfils twin functions, analysing respectively the qualitative and quantitative data gathered during the study. This analysis incorporates statistical data relating to both qualitative and quantitative aspects of the study of established and non-established workers within the Antiguan and Barbudan public sector. The discussion of the data focuses on four key areas: recruitment, compensation, discipline and retirement. It seeks to answer the following research question:

How can we define and change the current culture of the Antiguan and Barbudian public sector among established and non-established workers, and provide detailed strategies for improvement in the areas of recruitment, compensation, discipline and retirement?

At the end of the analysis, a number of issues relating to the work culture of the non-established and established workers will be revealed. The data are analysed using graphs, charts and textual discussion. (The full results of the quantitative survey are given in Appendix 2, while Appendix 6 reproduces sample interview transcripts.)

The chapter begins with a brief analysis of some demographic data.

4.2 Characteristics of the study population

The participants in the qualitative part of the study comprised two retired senior officers of the Antiguan and Barbudan public sector and 28 persons working for the following ten government ministries: The Ministry of Health, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, The Ministry of National Security and Labour, the Ministry of Finance and Public Administration, the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Agriculture, Lands and Fisheries, the Prime Minister’s Ministry, the Ministry of Legal Affairs, the Ministry of Housing and the Ministry of Social Transformation. Of these 28 interviewees, 16 were established and 12 non-established.

There were 116 respondents to the quantitative survey, of whom 75 were established and 41 non-established, sampled from among middle and low-level workers. Figure 4.1 tabulates these categories.
Of the thirty participants in the qualitative interviews, twelve were male and eighteen female. Twenty interviewees in total were university graduates. More than a third (37%) of the population sampled had a master’s degree, 17% a bachelor’s degree, 3% a graduate certificate, 17% a diploma and 20% a high school certificate. They included permanent secretaries, key personnel in government ministries, senior managers, non-established line staff, middle managers and retired civil servants. Figures 4.2, 4.3 and 4.4 are tables showing detailed breakdowns of these demographic statistics.
The graph shows that half of the non-established workers were aged between 40 and 49 years and a further 7% were over 50 years old. This indicates that the bulk of the working population of non-established workers is likely to retire within the next twenty years. Significantly, while a greater percentage of the population of established workers was older than 50 years, a much smaller percentage (39%) were within the 40-49 year age range, leaving half under 40, which signifies that a greater proportion of the younger workers were in the established than in the non-established sector. This may be an opportune time for emphasis to be placed on reform commencing with a younger group of individuals. Policy reform in recruitment and compensation is likely to impact on whether or not the sector will be reflected as one group.

### 4.3 Recruitment of established and non-established workers

In public organizations, employees are a very important resource and are essential to achieve high performance (Pfeffer, 1994). The human resource management system is often viewed as an invisible asset that has the ability to create value, thereby enhancing the ability of the government to recruit and retain employees (Selden et al, 2000).

Greenhaus et al (2010) are of the view that organizations have three major tasks to accomplish in the process of recruitment. The first is to attract individuals who are talented and keep their level of interest at a maximum. The second task is to ensure that the candidates minimize unrealistic expectations about the job, and the third is to select applicants who are likely to stay with the organization and become successful.

Recruitment should be formal and follow an established and transparent process, because each candidate ought to be given a fair chance of being selected from a pool of
applicants. Based on the responses given by a number of participants in the present study, there are a number of issues that need to be addressed.

The qualitative interviews began with a number of specific questions about the background of the participants, their work in the public sector, the training they received and how recruitment in the sector took place. These questions were asked to elicit interviewees’ knowledge of established and non-established workers. The length of service of many of these officers and the knowledge that they had gathered made their contributions valuable. The first part of each interview focused on recruitment in the public sector. The following are some relevant responses.

At the established level, the recruitment is handled by the Public Service Commission, the body instituted to carry out this activity. (Choba. F.11)

The recruitment process from an established worker perspective goes through several steps where an application form is completed for a job. The candidate is then interviewed by the Public Service Commission. The Establishment Division then does the placement and after three months probationary period, the individual is confirmed in the position. (Biggie. F.16)

The Public Service Commission does not look after non-established workers. Applicants for the establishment division must possess a minimum of three CXC/CSLEC subjects, which must include either mathematics or English language. These persons will start at the lower level, as either Petty Officer or Clerical Assistant. (Gobi. F.22)

The process of recruitment was made clearer by Gobi, who continued:

The PSC’s [Public Service Commission’s] process of recruiting staff is based on qualifications. These positions are advertised in the Gazette and the Schedule of Recurrent Estimates of Antigua and Barbuda. When a person applies for an established position in the civil service, that application, accompanied by the supporting documents, is scrutinized by the Establishment Division, who then make a recommendation to the PSC, based on their findings. The applicant is informed of an appointment to be interviewed by the PSC, then subsequently informed of the outcome of the interview. If they are successful, they will be invited to meet with the Permanent Secretary, who would set a date to commence employment. (Gobi. F.22)

For the non-establishment division, the recruitment process is based on a verbal promise or in writing to the Minister, who informs the Permanent Secretary of the person who will be hired. During an election year, the Ministers allow the Permanent Secretary to hire without considering if the budget can allow them or not. This reflects votes for jobs. (Biggie. F.16)
Biggie was able to differentiate between the two recruitment processes, and perhaps even to identify why the non-established workers could become the focal point of hiring, especially during an election year.

The unique case of the non-established group of workers is reflected by this statement by one of the interviewees:

*In Antigua 55% of the workers are non-established. Of this amount approximately 67% are security workers, pensioners and cleaners. Of the 45% of the established workers, sixty-seven percent of the workers’ highest level of education is secondary education. There is no structure with the non-established workers as it relates to hiring or salary. In contrast, the Civil Service Act for the established workers calls for more order. It is time to review their recruitment and retirement policies. There is further need to reform the Finance Department to improve their capacity building.* (Locks. F.18)

Further details of the job were highlighted by another participant who interacted frequently with non-established workers:

*From my interactions with the established and non-established workers it was noted that the non-established workers have no clear recruitment policy. The jobs are not advertised and the workers are given jobs by the ministers. This nepotistic behaviour encourages the ministers to have no set compensation policy. Some persons have to negotiate since the policy is not laid down in the statutes of the civil service. Persons recruited at the top will be paid more than those recruited at the bottom. There is no security of tenure as those persons who are non-established workers are likely to lose their jobs when there is a change of government. There are a number of ghost workers in the service because of the way they are recruited to the service.* (Choba. F.11)

The data also reveal that non-established workers were recruited and hired to create a new brand of public sector workers. This clearly indicates that the culture may already have been crafted (intentionally or unintentionally) and may have been heavily influenced by the vision of the policymakers of the day.

*The non-established sector is a puzzle. It’s puzzling to understand why this category of workers are still able to acquire better packages than the established workers. This genesis of public sector employees took place earlier in the development of the public service but was strengthened in the latter half of the 1970s. These casual workers as they were called were employed with the understanding that their employment was for a short period and a specific purpose. The period of employment was determined by the permanent secretary. These workers were easily exploited since nothing prevented the respective ministries from hiring them. Workers were hired without the necessary checks and balances. With the absence of fiscal regulations, there were no steps to determine what was needed, so the hiring was done arbitrarily. Primarily*
because of expediency, the politicians use this process to give them the opportunity to give their constituents jobs even without them having the requisite qualifications. (Cancan. M.7)

The origin of this group of workers in relation to the history of the public sector in Antigua and Barbuda is interesting:

Back then, people were needed to clean the streets, remove liquid and solid waste, and other short range activities that would spread over a period of time. The paradigm was borrowed from the British civil service, and readjusted by the Antigua government. Non-established work started when the civil service came into being as early as 1836. It was not given the title of non-established back then. The workers were known as casual workers. (Mini, M. 20)

By probing into the reasons why these workers became so essential, the researcher elicited the following response:

The non-established workers are really contract workers or casual workers. The policy was intended to impact the lowliest of workers who were excluded from becoming civil servants. This reflected class consciousness. Black-skinned people were kept out until the 1930s at the inception of the trade union movement, specifically the Antigua Trades and Labour Union. The white and brown-skinned people received all the benefits and the black-skinned people were left behind, until the coming of the union under Vere C. Bird Sr. That changed everything. (Mini, M. 20)

A senior staff member suggested that it appeared as if non-established workers were used by the government to perform menial tasks:

When government took over the syndicate lands in Antigua there were people working on the estates, in the Health Department, and at the Public Works Department. These persons were called casual workers or non-established workers. They were then employed on a month-to-month basis. (Lucy. F.6)

The hiring of these workers was not limited to the middle or low level ranks, however, but included and involved workers at a higher level.

The non-established workers who come in at the top have a greater flexibility to negotiate their salary. They are however subject to the whims and fancy of the cabinet. The intent of the non-established workers was to abuse the system. There are differences with the established workers, but a way has to be found to regularize the system. … the non-established workers at a high level make a lot of money. This erodes the confidence of the PS, especially because they are paid more than the PS. At the lower level, the non-established workers report to the politicians and this is what really stands out, because the PS cannot discipline the non-established workers that work under him. (Naco. M. 10)
The process seems to be rather unorthodox, as pointed out here, in that no recruitment agency or streamlining for employment was pursued. The process was fairly ad hoc.

Recruitment of non-established workers is done by politicians or on their recommendation. There is no need for qualifications and there is no need for an interview. There is very little screening done to see the best personal job fit. The decision to hire, when made by Cabinet, will be sent with the date when employment becomes effective. These persons are told to report to the ministry that they have requested to work in. They carry with them a letter of employment from the minister. Some non-established workers who are highly qualified are contracted for a period of time. These positions may not be a part of the established positions. (Heads. M.19)

What was very evident here was a clear lack of understanding of the process of recruitment from a political perspective. They were not generating a pool of the most talented of applicants, as advocated by Mathis and Johnson (2003), but shifting the process from quality to quantity, neglecting the goals they should strive to reach in the development of the human capital. This limits the capacity of the sector to strengthen itself and build on the limited talent provided. The practice thus reflects the cultural forces affecting the way that government seeks employees, as explained by Berman (2010). These forces allowed politicians as recruiters to ignore the fundamental principle of being qualified to perform certain duties and tasks, as reflected by these participants.

The non-established worker is unconstitutional. Despite this, there is nothing in the law that prevents the practice from happening. This however does not mean that it is right. (Hassle. M.8)

One respondent went further, asserting that the current process of recruiting and hiring non-established workers was actually illegal:

The process itself is illegal. It is not discussed publicly by administrators, since they will be admitting to having an illegal system. In addition there is no written evidence that the PSC has delegated the permanent secretaries to hire non-established workers. Their positions are not part of the established scale. (Heads. M.19)

If this process is indeed illegal, one is entitled to ask why it has been allowed to survive so long. The point was further strengthened by Mini, who said:

The Constitution of Antigua speaks to one body, the Public Service Commission, to hire people for the public service. The PSC is given constitutional protection. Earlier in our public service history recruitment was done by the PSC. Today
the ministers have a great hand in the hiring process. This is evident when it was required for the minister to present a budget in relation to his staff and the projected number of potential staff. (Mini, M, 20)

This can be summed up by these words from Biggs:

There is no regulation that gives any minister the power to hire. (Biggs. F.16)

The argument was further strengthened by another participant, who seemed frustrated with the situation:

There is a big problem in the sector with the non-established workers. There is no order, no structure, and no salary scale. Everything is just arbitrary. They are just unconstitutional ... the constitution does not recognize the non-established workers, but it is embraced by politicians. (Locks. F.18)

From the comment noted, the practice of recruitment among the non-established workers in Antigua and Barbuda does not reflect a strategic approach, nor does the practice have a legal basis. In addition, the pay system ought to reflect the needs of both employee and employer, as indicated by Abdelhamid and Baadei (2010). However, the process may be guided by not economic considerations, but by political ones, as Abdelhamid and Baadei (2010) suggest. For example, the results indicate that non-established workers could negotiate pay increases, whereas established workers must wait until the government decides to increase salaries for the entire service. This is reflective of the crisis-driven model, where government makes adjustments to pay because of pressure, favouring the more powerful groups of employees.

From the comments made by the respondents, it appears that the historical recruitment philosophy was manifested in a process where patronage was accepted as the norm and a systematic process was not instituted for non-established workers. Instead, political leadership took centre stage. There seemed to be no concern within the hiring process for quality or qualifications. Bewley (2006) reflects on the need for the state to behave as a model employer. This seems not to be the case in Antigua and Barbuda, where there is a problem of pay inequity within the public sector. The results indicate that non-established workers are paid more than established workers in comparable positions, despite tending to be less well qualified. This observation is contrary to the results obtained from the quantitative data and contradicts contributions to the literature which suggest that good public sector employers ought to be committed to pay comparability, equality of opportunity and fair treatment (Bewley, 2006).
Great concern was expressed as to how the Establishment Department dealt with matters pertaining to non-established and established workers.

*The Establishment Department lacks the devolution of authority, since the whole established system has to await all its decisions in relation to the established workers. The non-established workers’ continuous abuse of the system makes management difficult. Some functional review exercises were conducted on the public sector, but the political will is not there to drive the changes that are needed.* (Naco. M. 10)

Well, as far as I see, and from doing business with the public sector and interacting with the many workers who come here as students, the Establishment Department have no clear policy, especially when they are recruiting workers. First the jobs are not advertised, and this allows the recruitment process to be arbitrary. Workers come into the system because of nepotism. (Choba. F.11)

Some other thoughts were expressed as follows.

*Politicians use the non-established process to bring in skilled and unskilled workers. The rigidity of the established recruitment process and the regulations which governs them, the politicians, rather than reforming the sector to bring skilled workers and reward them, they opted for a system to attract people of a lower skill level and low marketability.* (Cancan. M.7)

*The policy for the establishment of these workers was deliberate and to the advantage of the politicians, since they are seen as political appointees. This behaviour has an effect on the budget. After five years the political appointees are severed, and may be rehired if the party gets back in office.* (Lano. F.3)

This system, as it unfolds, has indicated that the process of recruiting non-established workers was in no way scientific in its approach. The responses show that there is a genuine problem with how non-established workers are recruited and selected for the Antiguan and Barbudan public service. The hiring of non-established workers is unconstitutional, yet it is perpetuated and maintained by politicians because they use this practice to benefit themselves and their supporters. For these workers, there is no salary scale. Salaries are set by the minister involved in the hiring of workers, who are not allowed to follow a procedure that the established workers follow.

Despite the process, the non-established workers were seen as valuable to the service in some respects:

*I see the non-established workers playing a pivotal role in the success of my department. At the moment I am not experiencing any fragmentation, because I know what both sets of workers have to do.* (Biggs. F.16)

Heads supported this argument:
The non-established workers play a supportive role to established workers, especially where there is technical work to be done. (Heads. M.19)

If these workers are as valuable as pointed out by a number of established workers, why are they not transferred to the established sector? The following comment by a non-established employee is relevant here:

Many persons prefer to remain non-established because they can negotiate salary increases. As a non-established worker I feel that the established workers are too pompous in their behaviour, and think that they are better than the non-established workers, because they have more rights. These are reasons why non-established workers are not interested in becoming established. (Gem. F.25)

Despite the lack of interest in becoming an established worker, one interviewee noted the following:

The non-established persons have their role to play. We probably need them because some have more common sense than some of the civil servants. (Queen. F.14)

When she was asked about the statement on common sense, this was her response:

Somehow, the non-established workers that I have worked with are established material, and many of them work hard, with good work ethics, than the established workers. In terms of good ideas and getting a project completed, I can count on them. (Queen. F.14)

We are now challenged to ask ourselves: is there a reluctance in non-established workers to crossing over to become established workers? This researcher, while interviewing the participants, was informed that a person cannot just wish to become established. This is what was captured in one interview:

The non-established workers can be transferred, but there must be a need for a specific skill in an area requested for this to happen. If there are issues relating to personality conflict with the non-established worker and the permanent secretary, the worker can and may express a desire to be considered for transfer. If this is accepted, a formal application is made by the PS to Cabinet for its consideration. (Gobi.F.23)

Thus, although non-established individuals may request to be transferred to the established side, there must be a specific need to be fulfilled. It is to be noted, however,
that established workers also expressed the need to become non-established, as one participant noted:

*If an established worker expresses the desire to become non-established provisions are made for that person whether there is an opening or not. Hence it is easier for an established person to become non-established. All the person does is to notify the Permanent Secretary of their desire, resign from being established, the matter is taken to Cabinet and approval is given.* (Jasper. F.27)

Further questions were asked in this area. Why would an individual who has accumulated years of service as an established worker resign from their position to become non-established? This question drew a number of responses:

*To get more money. The salary on the non-established side is better. Why work for less and you can work for more doing the same job?* (Gem. F.25)

*Some people sacrifice their long-term benefits for short-term gain. So they simply go on the other side to have a greater financial gain.* (Jamo. F.26)

*Established workers sometimes envy the freedom that some non-established workers have. So they come over as non-established workers and negotiate more salary than they were making as an established worker. The sad thing about this is that there is nothing in place to stop this movement. From the non-established side it can be controlled, but not from the established side.* (Heads. M.19)

When interviewees were asked about gains other than financial ones, the responses were as follows:

*To tell you the truth, I am working with a colleague that was established like me and became non-established. When I asked her why that move, she indicated to me that as an established worker, the time is too lengthy for salary increase. If one becomes non-established they can always negotiate better pay. However, the main thing is that as a non-established worker it allows greater flexibility for the individual to do other things on the side, and they have a little more time off.* (Apex. F.17)

Choba had this to say:-

*The attraction to the other side has to be weighed out by the other person, but the move has to do with economics. If you are paid more money to do the same job on the non-established side, then why not take it? The point is made that an individual will gravitate to more money even if they have to forfeit years.* (Choba. F.11)
These responses indicate a perception of a laissez-faire culture where there is accommodation for a change of category. The process is one that creates some concerns about the ability of the sector to craft its own unique culture, especially if the workers from one sector can be depleted to build another.

In addition, a number of quantitative questions were asked of both sets of workers in relation to their recruitment and their interaction with supervisors. These will be addressed subsequently.

4.4 Compensation among established and non-established workers

The reality of compensation within the public sector among the established and non-established workers is now examined from the respondent’s perspective.

The process of remunerating workers according to their skills and abilities was said to apply only to non-established workers:

The non-established workers are paid better wages than the established. There is no formal procedure for the salary increase among non-established workers. If a worker works well, a case can be made and brought to Cabinet for an increase. In contrast, the established worker has to wait for an increase to be applied to the whole service in order for this category of workers to get an increase in salary. Promotion for the non-established worker comes by recommendation and not by qualification. (Biggs. F.16)

This was compounded by the fact that politicians could negotiate salary increases:

Certain positions in non-establishment will attract higher pay, but in reality the majority of the non-established staff are usually paid more than the established workers, at their respective levels. They can get a raise of salary if the minister negotiates it or if Cabinet decides to do so. (Polo.F.13)
As shown in Figure 4.6, the quantitative aspect of the study revealed that almost half (46%) of the non-established workers sampled received over $2,000 monthly. By comparison, Figure 4.7(a) shows that approximately 60% of the established workers had salaries in this range. Figure 4.7(b) compares the two sets of data, indicating that the bulk of the non-established workers sampled earned between $500 and $2,000 monthly, while the bulk of established workers received over $2,000.

One of the quantitative questionnaire items concerned satisfaction with salaries. The data in Figure 4.8 were gathered in response to the question: How satisfied are you with your benefits?
In both categories, a third of workers were moderately satisfied with their benefits. However, it is also worth noting that approximately a quarter of established workers were extremely dissatisfied with their benefits, as compared to 16% of the non-established workers. This shows that there was dissatisfaction within both groups concerning benefits, but this was overshadowed by the responses for both groups showing moderate satisfaction.

Figure 4.9 illustrates responses to a related question on pay: *Considering your skill, how well are you paid?*

Here, almost three quarters of the sample of non-established workers (73.17%) indicated that they were moderately well paid, in comparison to less than half of the established workers. However, a higher percentage of established workers (30%) felt
that they were not well paid at all. In the researcher’s view, the respondents were very moderate and seemed to approach this question with much uncertainty.

4.5 Qualifications

One area that was highlighted in this research was the issue of qualifications and its importance among established and non-established workers. The discussion of qualifications began with salary as the focal point:

*These non-established workers need to appear with salary grading that will reflect their knowledge, skills, behaviour and attitude.* (Locks. F.18)

While this sentiment was expressed by one participant, many others stated another view:

*There are people in the non-established sector without a degree making more money that those in the established sector with a degree. This alone lowers morale, has a demoralizing effect and affects culture. The PSs are not motivated to change, and control of the non-established workers is just not there.* (Locks. F.18)

*Pure politics has brought on the non-established workers. They overrun and outweigh the established workers. The majority hardly work, yet they are well paid, and cannot be controlled.* (Queen. F. 14)

Another had this to say:

*The established workers are more qualified and exposed to or familiar with a variety of skill sets than the established worker who has no educational background or exposure to training. One can tell if the person is a non-established worker or not by how they function.* (Heads. M.19)

For two other respondents, qualifications were important:

*Qualifications are important and those who are qualified and established feel worth less. The bulk of the non-established workers have no formal qualifications, but they are paid more than their counterparts.*

One reason given as to why non-established workers were paid more had to do with the lack of job security:

*The established position is really one of comfort, but the non-established workers are less secure in their position. They are at the high end of the salary scale. Automatically there are immediate rewards, since the terms and conditions are set by the minister. Some non-established workers make more*
money than the people they report to. This has implications for both management and staff and the culture that will prevail. (Apex. F.17)

It is to be noted that persons without a bachelor’s degree are making the same salary as persons who have a degree. (Locks. F.22)

Yet another respondent weighed in on the importance of education in respect to personal and organizational job fit:

*Education and discipline are important. Education because the workers must know why they are doing certain things. The discipline side should affect their attitude towards work and how they are governed. The public service is slow because people who work in the established sector work hard but they are paid far less than those in the non-established sector. There are too many square pegs in round holes in the non-established sector. Promotion is based on years of service in the established sector, rather than performance. The qualified persons are not treated fairly. Qualifications are important, yet those who are qualified feel worthless. (Hassle. M.8)*

Figure 4.10 is a graph of the qualification status of the interview sample.

The graph shows that of the thirty interviewees, more than a third had a master’s degree, while 80% in total were university graduates, leaving only a fifth whose highest qualification was a high school diploma.

This analysis contrast with that of the quantitative data gathered in relation to qualification levels among the larger sample of 116 established and non-established workers (Figure 4.11).
It can be seen that more than 40% of non-established workers were high school graduates and approximately a quarter were university graduates. Among the established workers, almost half had completed university, graduates while less than 30% had progressed no further than high school. No one in the entire sample had failed to complete formal secondary education. A strong contrast in the figures is that a clear majority of university graduates in the sample were established workers, while many more non-graduates were in non-established than established posts.

In reference to qualifications, this conclusion was drawn by one of the respondents:

*For the service to have a better standing, the non-established workers should improve on their qualifications.* (Hassle. M.8)

### 4.6 Work environment and behaviour of established and non-established workers

The areas of worker behaviour and work environment were discussed to obtain a perception of how both groups of workers interacted on a daily basis. For example, the Joker spoke in depth about the difference in work behaviour of established and non-established workers:

*The non-established workers are very irregular in work attendance and not monitored. Their promotions should be based on qualifications, but they are not, which may indicate that in each ministry there is need for a human resources department. ... The established workers are monitored to some extent and because of their classification, they cannot be promoted unless they are qualified, and have served in their specialized area. A non-established worker can be recommended by the minister for more money, without any sort of evaluation, and they will easily get it.* (Joker. M.9)
It was stated that the relationship between the two groups was tense because the non-established workers were less well qualified than the established workers but were earning more than them:

*You see there is resentment for non-established workers at the top because they earn more money than their established counterparts. The relationship between the two groups is uneasy and this creates tension. Persons come into the system because of politics and no one can touch them. They become inefficient and are low on being productive.* (Choba.F.11)

The data gathered from the questionnaires, however, did not reflect this tension that was highlighted during the interviews. Figure 4.12 is a graph of responses to the question: *How well do your co-workers get along with other employees?*

![Graph showing work with other employees](image_url)

**Figure 4.12: Chart showing how well co-workers got along**

Despite the alleged tension among established and non-established workers, the data indicate that 45.9% of employees and their co-workers got on moderately well. In other words, almost half of the population sampled was comfortable working with other employees. In like manner, more than half of the non-established staff said that they got on moderately well with other workers.

Figure 4.13 shows responses to another question in relation to work attitude: *How would you describe the work attitude of your colleagues?*
Again, differences between the two groups were not large. Almost two thirds of established workers saw the work attitude of their colleagues as fairly positive, more than a quarter as positive and very few as extremely positive. In the non-established sector, just over 60% said that a fairly positive attitude existed, while almost 30% were positive or extremely positive. Thus, 90% of the non-established group gave positive assessments, while among the established group the figure was above 80%.

Another apparent reason for tension between established and non-established workers, based on the data collected, has to do with how salary increases were awarded to the non-established employees, as these interview extracts make clear:

There is a scale for established workers and we refer to that scale, based on the law. For the non-established, the pay will depend on knowledge (or lack thereof) of the individual, the allegiance to the party in power, and the extent to which one is involved in campaign activities just before the election. (Polo.F.13)

In recent times we find that non-established workers are given promotion, but it is not based on merit. Promotion is based on favouritism, not on knowledge or qualifications. … If the salary of a non-established worker is to increase, a case is made and brought to the Cabinet, who makes a decision. The established worker, however, has to wait until the whole service gets an increase for them to be affected…. The whole idea of how they came in and are paid has a negative effect on the other sector. Imagine you go away and study and when you come back qualified you work for less money than someone who works beside you, who is not as qualified as you. That would do something to your morale. It makes those who are qualified feel worthless. Have a proper system of remuneration, and this will change the culture. The salary scale must be applied by one body, an independent body, based on qualifications. (Hassle.M.8)

Yet it appears that efforts were made to ease the tension within the service:
The birth of the Civil Service Association in 1968 was a way to try and bring the service back together. The non-established workers are politically based and they undermine the established workers. In some instances there is a duplication of the service. The non-established workers was a strategy used to weaken the established sector. You see, no one wants to bell the cat in terms of challenging the system, since all the politicians do benefit from its working. Some non-established workers are even referred to as henchmen in some instances, when they are seen carrying out the directives of the politicians.

Information received quantitatively in relation to the work environment is likely to shed light on the behaviour of workers. Figure 4.14 shows graphically the responses to the following question: How comfortable is your work environment?

![Figure 4.14: Chart showing responses on work environment comfort](chart)

Over half (52%) of established and slightly more (59%) of non-established workers reported that their work environment was moderately comfortable, while less than a fifth in both groups indicated that they were not at all comfortable with it. This small group supports the qualitative argument for tension, given that only 2% of non-established workers and no established workers said that they were extremely comfortable. Perhaps this is indicative of a culture of disgruntled individuals who would like to see some improvement in their workspace, although the greater percentage of the workers in both groups indicated that they were comfortable with their work environment.

Figure 4.15 shows responses to questionnaire item 6, which asked respondents to rate their work environment on a scale from ‘extremely positive’ to extremely negative’.
Over 60% of non-established and almost half of established workers described their work environment as moderately positive, which was the predominant response. Less than 15% in both groups responded negatively, while about a fifth of established and one in ten non-established workers gave a neutral response. Thus, three quarters of non-established and almost two-thirds of established workers gave a positive response, indicating general satisfaction with the work environment.

Although the qualitative data do indicate that non-established workers were better compensated than their counterparts and that this may have caused tension in the public sector, these tensions seem not to be obvious in the responses to quantitative questions. To be more specific, the quantitative responses seem to indicate a fairly positive and comfortable work environment in which the attitude of work colleagues was also perceived as fairly positive. Qualifications were lacking within the non-established sector, but salaries and wages were negotiated by a government minister. Salary increases were also open to negotiation as politicians fought to reward their supporters.

4.7 Discipline within the sector

This section of the analysis explores perceptions of the disciplinary process experienced by workers in the performance of their duties. This is important, since the way that infractions of rules are handled reflects the relationship between workers and their supervisors.

When interviewees were asked about the process of disciplining established and non-established workers in the sector, the following responses were given.
The non-established workers are somewhat ill disciplined and sometimes uncontrollable. They cannot be disciplined by the PS if they don’t carry out a directive. (Biggs. F.16)

The non-established work ethics are poor. A few work well, but supervision is lacking and the PSs don’t want to offend anyone. The minister is in charge of the ministry, but it’s the PSs who supervise the ministry. There is a disciplinary problem among these group of workers, and there is no clear-cut way of disciplining these group of workers. There is no procedure and regulation is needed. The Labour Code should be reviewed and a committee instituted to handle discipline. (Hassle. M.8)

At the established workers’ level, there was strong advocacy for discipline, but again constraints were recognised:

Initially the government thought that reform was needed in the area of discipline and promotion, but are constrained by a culture of seniority, and the permanent secretaries have to work with what they are given. The PS cannot go outside of the service and get someone from the private sector. The PSC does not function as an independent body. They are heavily influenced by the prime minister. This body itself needs reform. (Publisher. M.15)

This response contrasts with one given by another participant:

When an established worker makes an infraction, the permanent secretary usually recommends leave without pay while the matter is being investigated. Serious offences are transferred to the Legal Department, who is the authorized body to handle civil matters. At this stage the police gets involved. Subsequently, the person will be summoned to appear before the Public Service Commission. Depending on the seriousness of the offence, and there is a conviction, the individual may be terminated from the service, dismissed from the service, or asked to pay a fine. (Gobi. F.22)

For the non-established worker, however, the procedure was not as simple. This was a declaration made by one participant who had observed the process while working:

Except for contract workers, there must be a hands off approach. (Lano.F.3)

Another participant further noted that non-established workers

... are recruited because of their political activity and the permanent secretaries cannot touch them. This causes tension, inefficiency and little or no productivity. .... They become untouchable. (Choba. F.11)

This ‘untouchable’ status was highlighted in another response:
If the permanent secretary tries to discipline a non-established worker from his ministry, that worker will contact the minister, who in many cases is their parliamentary representative, and the minister will tell the permanent secretary to back off. (Heads. M.19)

In the interview responses, reference was made twice to the judgment handed down by Chief Justice Reme, in a landmark case involving a the permanent secretary and a non-established worker in a disciplinary procedure. The judgment indicated that the PS did not have the power to discipline a non-established worker, this power being left to the minister at the head of the ministry concerned. The following contribution offers a description of the behaviour of non-established workers in relation to discipline and an analysis of the legal and political background:

A bunch of these (non-established) people constantly call in sick, but at the end of the day they are still rewarded. They got more ammunition when Justice Reme handed down her judgment. I think that the judgment should have been appealed. She went too far. What she did was to take the power of discipline away from the permanent secretaries who are in charge of the ministries and give it to the minister. That was a bad signal. You see, although the politicians make the policy, it is the civil servants, the permanent secretaries, who have the experience and should guide the minister’s action. (Hassle. M.8)

Similar thoughts were expressed in this response:

It is cumbersome to discipline employees, since they are not accountable to anyone. They are seen as a bunch of loose individuals who do as they see fit. (Publisher. M.15)

Thus, a double standard was perceived to exist in the system where discipline was concerned. Having a system where there are two different procedures for disciplining workers is a matter which needs consideration, because disciplinary procedures are important and mixed procedures may cause workers to feel discriminated against.

Disciplinary matters relating to the established workers are dealt with by the Public Service Commission, while disciplinary matters in relation to the non-established workers are dealt with by the permanent secretaries. There are no rules and regulations to govern the conduct of non-established workers. They come into the system whether they are suitable or not, and with very little or no supervision. The non-established workers are loyal to political parties and not willing to go along with their boss, who is the permanent secretary. Whenever there is an infraction the minister refuses to deal with the issue, hence discipline goes out the window. However, a non-established worker can be terminated immediately for misconduct. (Polo. F.13)
The labour laws, however, were seen to favour one group over the other:

*The labour laws protect the non-established workers more than the established workers. One example is that the non-established workers have more leave time than the established workers.* (Bigge. F.16)

Work attitude and behaviour among non-established workers were reflected in a number of ways:

*Their attitude towards work is reflected in leave (absences and sick). This behaviour has to do with their mindset.* (Lano.F.3)

*Ill-disciplined behaviours are manifested throughout the service by acts of disrespect, poor work ethics, and frustration because of pay arrangements, inequality, instability and supervision is lacking. There is no evaluation of non-established workers and established workers are only evaluated when it is time to promote an individual. What is needed is educational activities to train newcomers so that they can make a meaningful change to the system. A lot has to do with personnel and personality.* (Jasper. M.5)

As much as disciplining might involve termination of non-established and established workers, this was reported to happen only rarely:

*In recent times if persons are found misappropriating funds, they are transferred to another ministry, instead of being dismissed. This is to ensure that that individual keep their job, instead of solving the problem by dismissing the person.*

In relation to discipline, one non-established interviewee had this to say:

*The established workers have protection because of the disciplinary procedure. The non-established has no protection. At least the established worker has a body that will look after their interest. In fact they need to be pulled up in the areas of tardiness, dress code and work attitude.*

*The ministers put people where they can have a say in what is been done. There is a lot of nepotism and this affects the disciplinary procedure and the work culture because non-established workers get away with a lot of infractions. There are a lot of square pegs in round holes. The problem is that there is a disciplinary problem in the service; and where the permanent secretary should handle the matter, the minister intervenes. When this is done it undermines the position of the permanent secretary. But the reality is that the minister has to protect his votes, and in doing so the worker must be protected.* (Jamo.F.26)
Disciplining workers in the sector appears to have presented a number of challenges, especially among non-established workers, because of their loyalty to politicians. The fact that two different disciplinary procedures governed different sets of workers seems to have created anxiety among workers.

Despite the strong indication that there ought to be concerns about the disciplinary procedure among non-established workers, respondents to the quantitative questionnaire were asked about their jobs and their meaning to them as workers. These questions were asked to assess the value of the participants’ jobs and the nature of their supervision. Figure 4.16 is a graph of responses to the question: *How often are you supervised at work?*

![Figure 4.16: Chart of responses concerning frequency of supervision](image)

Moderate supervision was reported by around a third of both groups, with a slightly lower percentage for non-established than established workers. A further third of both groups reported frequent or very frequent supervision, whereas only 14% of established and 10% of non-established respondents said that they were not supervised at all often. These results indicate that there was frequent supervision and may also reflect the level of communication among workers. Hence, another question relating to interaction was asked, to clarify any doubt: *How often do you interact with your supervisor?*
Figure 4.17: Chart showing frequency of interaction with supervisor

Figure 4.17 shows that frequent contact was reported to have been made with supervisors and communication seems to have been high within both sectors, with more than half of the sample in both cases reporting that they interacted very often or extremely often. More established than non-established workers reported interacting extremely often with their supervisors, but this group was also more likely (by the same margin) to report that they did not often interact.

Thus, the qualitative data indicate the existence of a problem in relation to the disciplinary process applied to non-established workers. Respondents also outlined the way established workers were disciplined and gave a number of reasons for the apparent ill-discipline within the public sector. Despite this, the quantitative data seem to indicate close supervision and frequent interaction between workers and their supervisors.

4.8 Retirement arrangements

This section analyses responses regarding the legislation governing the separate retirement arrangements for established and non-established workers, and explores the possible reasons for their development.

*A non-established worker must work ten years before they become pensionable. The Public Service Commission can employ individuals on a contract with the understanding that a gratuity will be paid at the end of the service.* (Lucy. F.6)

*In terms of pension, there is a new Pensions Act which is in place to ensure that workers get a pension. Pension will be based on the pay package of the non-*
established or established worker, and tends to vary because of this factor. (Polo. F.13)

The policy in relation to retirement indicates that the established worker must work for a period of thirty-three and one third years, while the non-established worker can work for ten years and receive pension benefits. The established worker must retire at sixty years, while the non-established worker can retire at fifty-five years of age. (Heads. M.19)

For the non-established worker, there is no limit for the number of months worked to receive a gratuity. For the established worker, once one has worked for thirty-three and a third years, the computation for gratuity stops. If an established worker is re-hired at sixty years, he or she will be placed on contract. However, if the non-established worker is hired after they have retired, the years worked will be added to their years of service. This does not happen in the case of the established worker. (IRS. M.4)

When questioned about this practice, one participant said:

The established position is really one of comfort, but the non-established workers are less secure. They are at the high end of the salary scale. Automatically there are immediate rewards, since the terms and conditions are set by the minister. Some non-established workers make more money than the people they report to. (Apex. M.17)

Another participant had this view:

The non-established worker has the advantage in being able to retire at 55 years while the established retire at 60 years. The established workers can work for ten years, receive full pension, but the established worker has to work for 33 and a third years for them to receive a pension. (Naco. M.5)

When asked about the reasons for this inequity, Biggie replied:

There are set rules for retirement ... full pension and long leave. This policy reflects a political culture where party members expect to be given jobs. When a party loses power there is a strong possibility that these workers will go, or lose their jobs. If they stay they are resented. (Biggie. F.16)

Another reason given for retirement was marriage:

A person can retire on the grounds of marriage. This is a process in which a female worker [who marries a person living overseas] makes an application to the Public Service Commission through the Establishment Division. In this instance, if approved, and under this arrangement, the applicant would receive
salary for one year. If a person, established or non-established, wishes to retire between ages 50 to 54 years, this must be approved by the Cabinet of Antigua and Barbuda. If they wish to retire between 55 and 60 years, then the Public Service Commission makes the decision. A person who wishes to work beyond 60 years must apply to the Public Service Commission, who then directs the Chief Establishment Officer to submit the application to Cabinet for approval. (Gobi. F.23)

There is a strong reflection here of obvious inequity in the different approaches taken to retirement arrangements, which in turn indicates the need for reform of the existing policies. The perceptions of workers in relation to retirement arrangements need to be known in order to measure their level of satisfaction. Hence, the following question was asked via the quantitative questionnaire: *To what extent are you satisfied with your retirement arrangements?*

![Figure 4.18: Chart of satisfaction with retirement arrangements](image)

Figure 4.18 shows that very few respondents in either group were very satisfied or extremely satisfied with their retirement arrangements, whereas about a quarter were not at all satisfied and almost a fifth were merely slightly satisfied. Nonetheless, just under half of established workers and two fifths of non-established ones described themselves as moderately satisfied. Thus, while moderate satisfaction was the most frequent response, satisfaction with retirement arrangements was weak overall and there were no clear differences between the established and non-established groups on this question. It is to be noted however, that only 1.43% of established workers were extremely satisfied, as compared to 7.31% of non-established ones.

There was evidence in the interview data of a strong belief among non-established workers that once the government changed, their jobs could be in jeopardy. Clearly, the
retirement arrangements had created some advantages and disadvantages among the two groups. However, these do not appear to have impacted on the responses given to the corresponding items in the quantitative survey.

4.9 Culture

The concept of culture is integral to this study because of the focus of the research question. This section considers what the participants thought about the culture of the public sector.

Because the recruitment policies were seen to differ, this was perceived to impact the culture:

_The overall culture of the service is affected because of how the policies diverge from each other. It is noted in many instances that the permanent secretaries who supervise the technicians earn far less than the technicians. The policy governing established and non-established workers stands out because of its abnormality and anomalies. In other countries there is a framework, but this is absent in Antigua. Although the non-established and established workers exist within the same sector, the terms and conditions of employment differ. The bargaining agreement of 2002 gives non-established workers a legitimate expectation of continuous employment. From this perspective there is a sense of security._ (Jazz. F.2)

_Morale and motivation are affected, since established workers are more qualified than non-established workers, but receive less pay at the same level._ (Polo. F.13)

The presence of the non-established workers seemed to create discomfort among established workers:

_The culture of the public sector until now was one in which the people wanted to be the best that they could be and they were committed to the development. The influx of the non-established workers changed the quality of service given in the public sector. This caused tension between the two groups of individuals in that sector._ (Queen. F.14)

Among the established sector, this was noted:

_The culture of the established worker is one that reflects demoralization. Conditions for empowerment are poor and the rate of pay itself is very poor._ (Publisher. M.15)
Many persons are overlooked in the established arena, because of the excessively large bureaucracy, its underdevelopment, its underutilization of staff, its under-productivity and the absence of good work ethics. People are therefore not working to their full capacity, but are there to do a job. Non-established workers experience very little or no training, and there is no instrument to measure productivity. They do complete their tasks but it is not efficient. (Choba. F.11)

Different views were expressed when respondents were asked about the non-established workers:

The culture among the non-established workers is one where there is a lot of ill-discipline in relation to work ethics, punctuality, and work behaviour. Some non-established workers are good workers, quiet manners, able and progressive. The established workers feel demotivated because they know of persons who are not as qualified as they but work for more money.

Two further views that were expressed on the topic of culture were as follows:

Due to the political culture, party members are expected to be given jobs. When the party loses power there is a strong possibility that the non-established workers will lose their jobs. If they stay on the job, this causes tension as they are resented, because their party is not in power. This behaviour impacts negatively since non-established workers feel that they don’t have to work. (Choba. F.11)

The culture of both [groups of] workers seems to be different, since one environment demands more professionalism than the other. (Heads. M.19)

Cultural behaviour was also examined as it related to how each group felt about their jobs and the value of their jobs. The remainder of this section analyses the responses to the relevant questionnaire items. First, Figure 4.19 charts responses to the question: How much do you like your job?
Just over 40% of the established workers sampled stated that they liked their job a lot, which was almost twice the percentage among non-established respondents. However, there was an even greater contrast in expressions of moderate liking for the job, where the non-established workers predominated over the established ones. Overall, it can be said that the strength of liking for the job differed relatively little between the two groups, although established workers did express greater liking. This question can be seen to lie at the heart of the commitment to the job and the apparent value attached to it. This is important because the responses may be indicative of the type of culture in existence.

If individuals love their work and are positive about it, it will be meaningful to them. The second question on the theme of how respondent felt about their jobs was thus: *How meaningful is your job to you?*
Figure 4.20 shows that the majority of both established and non-established workers felt their jobs to be meaningful. Only twelve percent of non-established workers and four percent of established workers rated their jobs as slightly or not at all meaningful, whereas around three quarters thought them very or extremely meaningful.

The process of receiving feedback is an exercise in which the supervisor actively interacts with the workers. This is important to any job in which there is frequent communication with supervisors and managers. Hence, the following question was asked: How often does your supervisor give you feedback about your work?

As Figure 4.21 shows, some individuals indicated that feedback was given moderately often, representing 22% and 32% of non-established and established workers respectively, while the equivalent figures for ‘very often’ were 22% and 27%. The two groups tended to give broadly similar responses, with those for the established workers being somewhat more positive overall. Thus, one can say that supervisor feedback was constant and quite meaningful. These responses also suggest some level of satisfaction in the workplace.

![Figure 4.21: Chart showing frequency of feedback](image)

The question of how challenging the job was perceived to be in light of the existing culture needed to be addressed if a picture of how public sector workers functioned was to be produced. Thus, question 16 asked: How challenging is your job?
As Figure 4.22 shows, fewer than a fifth of non-established workers thought that their jobs were extremely challenging, in comparison to a quarter of established workers. The strongest response from both groups was that their jobs were very challenging: just under 30% and almost 37% respectively. Overall, the established workers saw their jobs as more challenging than did the non-established workers, more than a quarter of whom saw them as no more than slightly challenging.

Job satisfaction is one of those cultural issues that is of importance in assessing a worker’s comfort in the job. The question of job satisfaction is directly linked to the behaviour of workers on the job and ultimately to the culture of the workplace. Hence, question 15 asked: *To what extent are you satisfied with the work that you do?*

Figure 4.23 indicates that about half of each group were very satisfied with the work that they did and that there was no great difference in the overall responses between...
established and non-established workers. Training is an integral part of establishing a performance culture in the public sector, so respondents were asked: *What amount of training have you received on the job?*

![Figure 4.24: Training received on the job](image)

The responses graphically displayed in Figure 4.24 reveal that moderate training was received by 44% and 38% of non-established and established respondents respectively, compared to only about ten percent who said that they had had no training at all and similar numbers who had had a great deal.

Question 18 concerned promotion opportunities: *How many opportunities do you get for promotion on your job?*

![Figure 4.25: Responses as to opportunities for promotion](image)
It is immediately clear from Figure 4.25 that perceptions of promotion opportunities were negative in both groups, with three quarters of respondents saying that they had few or none at all. Of the two groups, responses were considerably more negative among the non-established, 46% of whom reported having no opportunity for promotion on the job, which may suggest some stagnation of the group. Only 7.31% reported that a great deal of promotion opportunity was available to them. The overall lack of reported opportunities may indicate the need for succession planning that may be absent from the culture of the sector, and the need for reform so that greater opportunities can be available to workers. Reform in this area might help in defining the culture of the current public sector.

Question 24 was intended to further assess the work environment by exploring perceptions of workplace morale: *How would you describe the morale of your workplace?*

![Figure 4.26: Chart showing responses on workplace morale](image)

Workplace morale was assessed as high or moderately high by more than half of both groups, as Figure 4.26 shows. Around 45% described it as low or moderately low, with little overall difference between the two groups.

There was even less difference between established and non-established workers in their responses to the final questionnaire item: *How would you describe your work culture?*
Figure 4.27 indicates that around 60% of both established and non-established workers thought that the work culture was moderately high, while only about a third considered it to be low or moderately low.

The quantitative data analysed here show a quite moderate perception of the culture among non-established workers, despite the qualitative evidence of tensions between the two groups. It could be said that the reason for this moderation may be the willingness of both groups to get along, despite disparities in remuneration, discipline and recruitment. At the end of the day, the interactions between supervisors and workers, and among workers themselves, can be seen as critical to the development of the sector. A review of the culture of the public sector shows that an opportunity exists for its definition, based on the results and findings drawn from the data.

4.10 Policy impact

The purpose of this section is to analyse interviewees’ perceptions of the impact of policy on the sector and the workers on a whole. From the assessment of the data gathered it is hoped that there will be a clear indication of the way forward.

Interview responses suggest that many of the key public sector personnel did not know the intention of the policy in relation to established and non-established workers. These were some of the relevant responses:

*I do not know the intention of the policy. The non-established workers are under the strict supervision of the permanent secretaries. The permanent secretaries hire based on a cabinet decision that has the names of the individuals and their start date. The cabinet makes all the decisions in relation to the compensation to be further approved by finance. For example, when inspectors were wanted in a*
particular area of government, the minister sent prospective candidates to be
interviewed by cabinet. Cabinet later sent the names of the individuals to be
hired and their salaries. This process creates frustration, since any position can
be created for a non-established worker. Compensation for established workers
are set out by the law based on the established salary scale that reflect their
positions. Potential workers in that sector can know in advance what their
salaries will be.

I do not know the official rationale for the policy, but I believe that it is an easy
way to employ, since the individuals do not have to go through the Public
Service Commission. These individuals come in with little or no qualifications.
Yet still it is a way to support the party in power to be rewarded. This was quite
evident under a former Labour minister [deceased] whose ministry was fully
staffed with the members of his constituency. (Heads. M.19)

When asked about convergence and divergence of the policies, the same interviewee
stated that both sets of policies diverged in all four areas:

The policies diverge at the levels of recruitment, compensation and retirement.
The Labour Code sets the parameters of operation for the non-established
workers and the Civil Service Regulations for the established workers. The
difference in the policies is that one is used as a political tool to provide jobs for
people who have no qualifications, and very little to do. Jobs are given for them
to be loyal to the politician who they vote for so that they can continue to benefit
the way that they are. (Heads. M.19)

When asked why the policies diverged, another interviewee said:

The policies diverge at this point because most of the non-established workers
are not qualified. They have no qualifications and there is no screening for their
personal job fit to the position. (Choba. F.11)

The impact of the policy was also highlighted by Cancan:

This policy created an imbalance in the public sector to the extent that the non-
established workers are more in numbers than the established workers. In many
of these cases the non-established worker working beside the established worker
was receiving a better pay and travelling allowance than their established
counterpart. (Cancan. M.7)

However, Lano had a different view:

The policy for the establishment of these workers was deliberate and to the
advantage of the politicians, since they are seen as political appointees. This
behaviour has an effect on the budget. After five years the political appointees
are severed, and may be rehired if the party gets back in office. (Lano.F.3)
This imbalance has impacted the culture, where an emerging culture may not be as educated and equipped to manage the developmental process of the sector. If the practice is, as it appears, one of rolling over workers every five years because of the potential growth of the sector with non-established workers, then it may become difficult to define the culture of the public sector. As it stands, the current practice is likely to extensively impact on the budgetary process, thereby stifling the growth of the sector.

4.11 The future of the sector

This section of the analysis looks at the future of the Antiguan public sector through the responses of the interview participants. Their views differed in many ways, but there was general agreement that reform was needed.

_The public sector needs to be reformed. An assessment is needed because there are highly qualified individuals, but they are underpaid. As a result many have second jobs. If they remain employed they will not give of their best._ (Joker. M.9)

This statement is seeking to qualify the need to look at the work effort and output of a group of people if they are not challenged to give of their best. Among the detailed suggestions which were made were these contributions:

_Initially the government thought that reform was needed in the area of discipline and promotion, but are constrained by a culture of seniority, and the permanent secretaries have to work with what they are given. The PS cannot go outside of the service and get someone from the private sector. The PSC does not function as an independent body, since the body is heavily influenced by the prime minister. This body itself needs reform._ (Publisher. M.15)

_The politicians should be able to ask the non-established workers to re-apply. They should be bold enough to say I cannot do it because the law does not permit me to do it. If the non-established worker on contract is not favoured their contract will not be renewed. Politicians should be advised of an alternative. A policy should be formulated that will permit them to. There will be obstacles along the way to solve the problem. It will not be easy but it is something that needs to be resolved. The whole idea is to have an independent efficient service not motivated by politicians and allegiance to political parties. It is a service to the country. Politicians serve in a government no matter their allegiance._ (Hassle. M.8)
There is clear evidence from these responses that in terms of the research question, the interviewees perceived a need for reform of the policies in the areas discussed thus far. The reform strategy suggested by some was in the form of combining the established and non-established groups into one service, as expressed in these words:

What needs to be done is to bring the service under one umbrella. The politicians will not like it but it has to be done. The politicians are not prepared for this. They know that people want jobs and they depend on the politicians for these jobs. If the politicians cannot give those individuals jobs they will not vote for them. (Hassle. M.8)

The government needs to find a better system instead of this dichotomy. One service is needed. The problem that exists is that the governance of the public sector hinges on two separate and distinct pieces of legislature, the Civil Service Regulation and the Labour Code. These affect the standards that they should adopt while working in the same work space. The non-established worker policy allowed for the ministers via the permanent secretaries to hire anyone. Politican are flexible and not constrained by law. Non-established workers cannot be promoted; they stagnate the system and established workers use that scenario to resign from their established position and become a non-established worker. (Publisher. M.15)

But others considered this to be wishful thinking. While a merger of the two parts of the service was desirable, it would not be easy to accomplish, since the problem lay much deeper:

The idea of having one service is pie in the sky. The problem of remuneration will be critical, since many non-established workers are paid more than established. What is required is the merging of the service, but it will not come in the near future. Public sector reform is needed. Pure politics has brought on the non-established workers, but it is difficult to regularize since the non-established workers outweigh the established workers. (Queen. F.14)

Others were not for the merging of the two groups per se, preferring the abolition of most non-established posts.

The whole idea of the non-established workers should be scrapped except for the top with limited contractual arrangement. I cannot see the need for non-established workers when the guidelines are clear for established, unless when persons are needed in a hurry and this should be a short-term arrangement. Non-established workers are an advantage to the politicians. The work system do not benefit except that this arrangement pleases the politicians. Yet, we may not be able to get rid of the non-established workers. (Choba. F.11)
An alternative way of developing a single service was this:

The intention of reform in Antigua is to develop a single service, but this does not mean one entity. What one wants is one rule book based on legislation. We have been looking at a model used in Canada and Australia for cabinet consideration. Four areas are identified: (a) career civil servants (b) specialists or consultants (c) casual workers (d) political appointees. (Locks. F.18)

The ultimate goal was expressed by one participant who preferred to look beyond merging the service:

The whole idea is to have an independent efficient service not motivated by politicians and allegiance to political parties. It is a service to the country. (Hassle. M.8)

The reason for this was expressed in terms of the need for full employment:

People look to government to be the major employer. Any government that comes into power and does not provide jobs for its people or supporters will not survive. The party will lose power and its supporters, who may be skilled, are swept out of the service. Presently there is continued corruption, stagnation and inefficiency.

It was noted further that the government had to make tough decisions in order for changes to be made to the sector:

The government had to make a tough decision in the interest of the nation, not in the interest of politicians, bearing in mind that a government who makes these tough decisions has to look towards the next election. The non-established workers are less qualified, but they receive more pay. Their arrangement and terms of conditions differ. The task is going to be herculean.

First a needs assessment ought to be undertaken within the whole service, then a question asked – can work be done efficiently without these people? For them to be more effective, a realistic job description is needed, along with a decision to streamline workers based on the best job fit. To merge the system into one, finance is needed and in doing so the terms and conditions of employment for the non-established workers will be changed. (Heads. M.19)

Two other contributors warned that a merger would either not be possible or would not have the desired outcome:

Merging the service is not going to happen. Serious decisions will have to be made. There has been too much talk about growth, productivity, efficiency and effectiveness. ... To improve the public service there is need to let individuals
become specialists in their position. Make all the NEW workers be contractual. If they do not perform, their contract will not be renewed. Succession planning should be instituted for persons who would take a higher position. (HP. F.1)

I would like to see a public service where there is high efficiency, and where eighty-five percent of those recruited having a sound educational base. I want to see a more defined path for upward mobility among civil servants. If the service is merged it will not make a difference, since many persons will remain unqualified and their salary will remain the same. (IRS. M.4.)

Finally, some respondents indicated that there was a need to retain the non-established workers:

We cannot get rid of the non-established workers although they earn more than the established workers. The current government tried a voluntary separation package that cost the government 250 million dollars, yet many of them still remain. The government should not get rid of the non-established workers because there will always be a need for people to do things that the civil servants will not want to do. (Mini. M.20)

The public sector in Antigua and Barbuda has faced a number of challenging issues in relation to its growth and development. These challenges must be addressed in order to improve the functioning of the sector. It is evident that much reform is needed in the sector. The next chapter discusses this need and other themes emerging from the empirical data and literature review.
Chapter Five

Discussion

This chapter presents a discussion of the data analysed in Chapter Four, in the light of the relevant contributions to the literature reviewed in Chapter Two. The discussion is organised under the four themes identified in Chapter One: recruitment, compensation, discipline and retirement. The final section then considers policy impact and public sector reform.

5.1 Recruitment

As noted in Chapter 2, Greenhaus et al (2010) contend that most theories of organizational choice argue that “a person consciously or unconsciously chooses an occupation that matches his or her unique sets of needs, motives and talents; identifies his or her abilities, needs, interest and values; selects an appropriate career goal; and then chooses an occupation thought to be most compatible with these goals” (p.160). This was not reflected in the Antiguan and Barbadan situation with the non-established workers, as in order to get work, many aligned themselves with a trade union linked to the party in power.

Fisher et al (2006) assert that a firm’s recruiting activities should be matched to its strategies and values. However, there seemed to be no strategy, real or imagined, behind the recruitment of either established or non-established workers, but rather a practice of filling vacancies instead of hiring for long-term careers. This approach, according to Fisher et al (2006), does not attract the best candidates to feed the pipeline of management for the future, but views the applicants as commodities to be wooed, while failing to respect the due standards of fairness and honesty. Thus, the approach used in the Antiguan and Barbadan situation seems not to be beneficial, for while the process will attract candidates, it would not attract the brightest and the best at all levels. It also seems contrary to the aim of developing a strategic approach to the planning and development of human resources in the public sector.

The data gathered during the interviews shows no clear evidence of a coherent policy behind the recruitment of non-established workers. The responses indicate a perception that public management operated in a sensitive environment fostering political patronage (Khan, 1982). A question about recruitment in the public sector which is
pertinent here is that of Berman (2010), who alludes to a distinction between recruitment that is open, politically neutral and skill based, and a practice that is personalistic and secretive. The administrative process of public sector management reflects a strong relationship between public management and politics, as noted by Bissessar (2001), a process where politicians are more concerned with their survival than with development, a reality which she sees as counterproductive. This approach to recruitment allows the minister concerned to be the main negotiator, which creates more problems, since two ministers might negotiate two different compensation packages for the same job. This scenario, described by Bissessar (2001), reflects a true picture of the Antigun and Barbudan situation, where recruitment of non-established workers is political, personal and sensitive, and a situation in which patronage is rife. This process, in which ministers are the chief negotiators for non-established workers, runs counter to the need to attract appropriately qualified personnel to the public sector, with the aim of sustaining its activities.

In the public sector, the recruitment process can become subjective once other factors are seen to influence it. The data analysis reflects a strong alignment of workers with the Workers’ Union and the political party in power. Government ministers seem to continue this practice because of their desire to exercise power. Rush (1992) highlights the use of political power as a dominant force to serve individual or collective ends, whether political, economic or ideological.

This reflects the practice of recruiting non-established workers to the Antiguan and Barbudan public service, where politicians, specifically government ministers, are the main recruiting agents seeking to organize and dominate the human capital resources of the society. Although economic and ideological power may not be used for political purposes, it is clearly evident that this does happen in Antigua and Barbuda.

The alignment of workers with political parties may be a result of how they are politically socialized, or how they become acquainted with the political system, form their perceptions of politics and react to it. Richards (1967) notes the impact of trade unions and their activities on the lowliest of workers, recounting the struggles that were undertaken to achieve social and economic status, and the relationship that needs to be maintained between them. This has apparently been one of the highlights of the ideology passed on by the unions in their quest to represent and serve the interests of
their members. This seems to be manifested through the current activities of politicians in power in Antigua in relation to the process of recruitment.

The absence of regulations and statutes governing the hiring of workers by ministers makes it unconstitutional, but the practice persists. Despite knowing that it is unlawful, government ministers and members of the ruling party are prepared to circumvent the established process and pursue their methodology of giving jobs for votes without analysing the long-term impact on the quality and productivity of the human capital recruited. From the data analysed in Chapter 4, it is evident that this impacts heavily on the relationships and camaraderie among workers in the public sector. The interviews also produced evidence of problems of the kind dealt with by personality-job fit theory, which argues that “satisfaction is highest and turnover lowest when personality and occupation are in agreement” (Robbins & Judge, 2011, p.151). Similarly, there should be a fit between the person and the organization: “people are attracted to and selected by organizations that match their values, and leave organizations that are not compatible with their personality” (ibid). Research has indicated that person-organization fit and the culture of the organization are predictors of job satisfaction and commitment to the organization. Despite this, the data indicate that the Antiguan and Barbudan public service was perceived to be characterised by ‘square pegs in round holes’ and that there was very little or no assessment of potential recruits’ fit with either the organization or the job. Nevertheless, there seemed to be very little turnover of personnel in the sector, contrary to what the theory would predict. Perhaps this is because of a limited choice in relation to employment, or the lack of entrepreneurial skills among the potential workforce. Here, the question posed by Berman et al (2010) is particularly pertinent:

Is recruitment a politically neutral, skilled-based process, as it purport to be, or is it frequently a personalistic ‘underground’ hiring system with ‘wired’ jobs subject to subtle, modern-day patronage? ... The public sector was once largely based on patronage; even today patronage positions are among the most influential in government. The bulk of those senior positions, however, are supposed to be based strictly on technical merit; nonetheless, the influence of ‘political’ or personal factors is common (p.81).

This description would seem to fit closely the practices in the Antiguan public sector as perceived by the interviewees.

In a sound and rational recruitment process, “a person would be expected to identify his or her abilities, needs, interests, and values; select an appropriate career goal; and then
choose an occupation thought to be most compatible with these goals” (Berman et al, 2010, p.81). This, however, is not reflected in interviewees’ perceptions of the public sector in Antigua and Barbuda, as they reported no systematic approach to career planning or career goals. What they had experienced was an ad hoc approach that rendered the policy unequal and left workers in the sector confrontational.

5.2 Compensation

A compensation system in any organization should aim to align members with the organization and its objectives (Berman et al, 2010). Individuals ought to be fairly compensated as a right, or to ensure that they are productive. According to Abdelhamid and El Baradei (2010), “to be effective, a public sector pay system needs to satisfy the needs of both employer and employees” (p.59). Compensation is also linked to experience, knowledge, skills and attitudes, along with the requisite qualifications that have been acquired in the process of a person’s job development and experience.

From the data collected it was evident that established workers could enter the service with minimal qualifications, while non-established workers could do so with few qualifications or none at all. The former would be subject to a set salary scale, while the salaries of non-established workers were said to be negotiated by the minister, who was given the latitude to set the parameters of remuneration according to party alignment, campaign promises or historic affiliations with the party. The established workers had to wait for nominal increases decided by the government, while ministers were able to negotiate substantial raises for the non-established workers in their respective ministries.

Berman et al (2010) advocate a value-added remuneration system which should be able to strike a balance between “institutional constraints and personal expectation by creating value for both the organization and its members” (p.200). The analysis shows that this balance was sadly lacking, as reflected in comments to the effect that individuals with a lower level of qualification were earning more than others doing the same work who were better qualified to do it. This was blamed on ‘pure politics’, but some participants suggested that what lay behind this practice was a job security issue.

The bulk of senior positions in the established sector were said to be allocated strictly on merit; nonetheless, the influence of political or personal factors was perceived as widespread. This practice is embedded in the psychological disposition of a people
having emerged from slavery, dependency and underdevelopment, with a lack of economic security, supported by a trade union movement that seeks to promote collective bargaining as its main activity.

The importance of economic security via jobs in society must be underscored, since it forms the basis for quality of life and development (Newman et al, 1967). Nam (1994) sees economic security as going “beyond having work and acquiring sufficient income and wealth” (p.363). Hence, economic security is manifested through the acquisition of a job, as a need that ought to be fulfilled. This is aligned with security needs as identified by Maslow (1943) in his hierarchy of needs.

The literature reveals that governments tend to be guided in their approach to pay more by political considerations—which relate to their survival—than by economic considerations, to a greater extent even than trade unions; according to Abdellhamid and El Baradei (2010), this might be allowed because of the practice of collective bargaining. Despite this practice, the non-established workers seem to have been able to place ministers under pressure, according to the crisis-driven model, whereby government reacts and makes adjustment to pay under pressure (Kiragu and Mukandala, 2003), instead of following the egalitarian option under the political model, where equity is sought in allocating the wage bill. In contrast, the rational model holds that the only way to achieve effective and efficient pay reform in the public service is to depoliticize remuneration. Although the extent of the reform has not been identified, the use of this approach in the Antiguan and Barbudan situation has the potential to cause political suicide. This suggestion, by Kiragu and Mukandala (2003), may not be applicable in the Antiguan and Barbudan setting, since the interview data show that ministers were perceived as playing a central role in the arrangements for remuneration and pay increases.

However, the finding that non-established workers were earning more than their established counterparts doing the same job at the same level suggests that non-established workers may have been being paid above the market rate, which in time might prove to be unsustainable. This claim was nonetheless not substantiated or supported by the quantitative results. This may indicate that interviewees overstated the perception that non-established workers were generally paid more than established ones. If this perception, albeit ill-founded, were permeated throughout the whole public sector, it would no doubt have a damaging effect on the working relationships between these two groups of workers, and ultimately on the morale and culture of the sector.
The literature indicates that a pay-for-performance strategy was introduced in OECD countries in order to reward public sector workers for outstanding performance. The applicability of this practice in Antigua and Barbuda may not be practical, since it has been indicated that very little evaluation has been done, so there is no systematic approach to rewarding outstanding work, as indicated by two participants:

*The non-established workers in the ministries are not evaluated. The politicians will tell the permanent secretary to leave them alone.* (Biggs. F.16)

*There is nothing in the system to measure the productivity of established or non-established workers on a continuous basis, so there is no monitoring of these workers or strategy devised in any way to measure what they produce. However, for the established worker an evaluation is done immediately before a proposed promotion.* (Heads. M.19)

At this time, the pay for performance model may not be the best approach to reforming pay in the public sector. It was also noted that there was no other form of compensation offered to either established or non-established workers, other than remuneration. Promotion of non-established workers was found to be based not on qualifications and merit, but on negotiation by the minister concerned.

### 5.3 Discipline

Berman et al (2010) point out that matters relating to discipline will arise in organizations, but “the test of a well-managed agency is not how many personnel problems arise, but how effectively they are addressed” (p.322). Wise, Clemow, Murray, Boston and Bingham (2005) note that the term ‘discipline’ reflects orderly conduct and behaviour that are deemed appropriate for the workplace and can be achieved by “self-control and respect for company rules” (p.181). When performance problems or misconduct issues occur, “the personnel and/or disciplinary systems may be utilized to improve performance” (ibid). The data indicate the existence of a serious disciplinary problem in the public sector among non-established workers, which may be consciously or unconsciously linked to existing recruitment policies. When a government minister becomes involved in the disciplinary process and prevents the PS responsible for personnel matters in a particular ministry from carrying out this part of his duties, it impacts on the relationships between workers and PSs. Despite this, workers in the sector seem to have adjusted to the tension between them and to have learned to coexist. The findings also reveal that culturally, both groups exhibited
moderate behaviour in their work and moderate views regarding the value of their jobs, with no significant cultural difference between their two groups in this respect. It was also found that PSs were perceived to work in a very hostile environment where they were not allowed to carry out their duties, especially in the area of disciplining the workers for whom they were responsible. Based on the Literature, the approach used by Bohlander and Snell (2007) which highlights progressive discipline should be used to correct behaviours among workers.

The judgment handed down by Justice Reme appears to have sent a clear signal to workers and provided them with the necessary latitude to strengthen their positions, so that they could challenge decisions made by the permanent secretaries. This would not be likely to have improved relations between PSs and workers, especially non-established ones, with the additional risk of contaminating relations between PSs and established workers when issues arise affecting them, since the same permanent secretaries would be required to handle the situation.

5.4 Retirement

The data under review reveal differences between the retirement policies applied to established and to non-established workers, indicating some degree of inequity. To be eligible for a pension, it was found that established workers must work for 33⅓ years or until the age of 60 years, whereas non-established workers would be eligible after a minimum of ten years. A non-established worker could leave the service and return without affecting his/her eligibility, while for established workers only continuous service was taken into consideration. Although this may not have had a visible cultural impact, it appears that established workers perceived a certain level of inequity to exist. This seemed to have implication for cultural undertones which are likely to silently and slowly creep into the service, once individuals are aware of their retirement arrangement.

5.5 Policy impact and public sector reform

It is evident from the data that there is no short-term solution to the nature of the problems caused by the institutionalization of the policies governing established and non-established workers. This researcher advocates that if meaningful reform is to be realized in the public sector, it has to commence with recruitment policy, since it is at this level that an assessment can be made of the knowledge, skills and abilities of the
potential worker. Clearly, the sector needs to be reformed in the areas discussed to bring it into line with current management and organizational procedures that would attract the brightest and best talents to the sector, making it a choice of first resort instead of one of last resort.

As noted in the literature review, Therkilsden (2001) sees reform as changing the power relationships between politicians and bureaucrats and between organizations and government, so that such reform goes to the heart of who governs. If any meaningful reform is going to take place in the Antiguan and Barbudan case, there must be the political will and there ought to be a cordial relationship between politicians and permanent secretaries.

There is much distrust between the permanent secretaries and the ministers in the respective ministries. Since the ministers do not trust the permanent secretaries, they tend to micromanage in the ministries. The permanent secretaries should be committed to implementing the policies that have been developed even if they are not in agreement with them. The political will is not there to drive the changes that are needed. (Naco. M.10)

Similar sentiments were expressed by another interviewee:

For reform to be successful, the political will is necessary. This permanent secretary believes strongly in education and that they have the responsibility to elevate people to become productive citizens, or the situation will deteriorate further. (Joker. M.9)

The work of the PS becomes challenged when there is constant shifting of policies due to changes in government. A greater challenge is presented when they are distrusted by the politicians with whom they work. If there is going to be any real reform in the public sector it will be necessary for relationships between all parties to improve.

The literature review in Chapter 2 discussed the search for new strategies to reform public organizations within OECD member countries and to enhance their competitiveness, by recruiting highly qualified personnel. This process of reform is what is required in the Antiguan and Barbudan situation, where the recruitment of more highly qualified and skilled personnel is advocated. The next chapter concludes the study and makes some specific recommendations.
Chapter Six

Conclusion and Recommendations

6.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the main areas of the study and summarizes the overall findings in light of the aims and objectives set out in Chapter One:

Aims

1. To examine and analyse the current developmental policies (on recruitment, compensation, discipline and retirement) and their impact on the current public sector culture in Antigua and Barbuda.
2. To suggest reforms in light of the findings.

Objectives

a. To highlight the operationalization of the developmental policies governing established and non-established employees within the Antiguan public sector

b. To identify the existing challenges facing established and non-established workers and to suggest improvements in the light of public sector reform.

c. To propose a list of recommendations suggesting changes to the recruitment, compensation, disciplinary and retirement policies in light of reforming the culture of the public sector

The findings will be interpreted in light of the literature reviewed, then related to the reform process.

6.2 Summary of findings as related to the study aims

The first aim of the study was to examine and analyse the current developmental policies on recruitment, compensation, discipline and retirement, and their impact on the current public sector culture. The approach to achieving this aim was to conduct a series of semi-structured interviews with thirty participants drawn from the senior, middle and junior levels of the public sector (established workers, non-established workers and retired civil servants). They were questioned on their perceptions regarding
established and non-established workers, their behaviours and the policies in place in relation to recruitment, remuneration, discipline and retirement. In addition, a quantitative study was conducted in which 116 persons from the population of public sector workers, both established and non-established, responded to 25 multiple-choice questionnaire items.

The results indicate the clear existence of a number of challenges facing the management of the public sector in the areas under study. There appeared to be considerable inconsistency among participants as to their perceptions of differences in pay between established and non-established workers, with many interviewees expressing the view that the latter were generally better paid than the former, whereas this perception was not convincingly supported by the evidence of the quantitative survey. It may be concluded that any such disparity in pay may have existed in isolation, or in some areas where jobs are similar, but that it does not fully define the general perception of the sector. The clear advantage in pay terms that the non-established workers were found to have was someone to negotiate their salary. This perception was expressed by a number of participants; for example:

*The politicians negotiate with the cabinet and set the level of compensation for the non-established workers. The established worker is remunerated based on a compensation scale set by the established division and negotiated for with a trade union.* (Naco. M.10)

Salary is one aspect of the process of remuneration that has been presented here. However, there may be other facets of the general operation of the public sector remuneration process that have not been highlighted but which may be referred to in concluding that non-established workers were compensated better than established ones.

The matter of education and qualifications as it relates to recruitment came to the fore in the interview responses, the general perception being that non-established workers needed to be better qualified in order to improve the service, especially where individuals were seen as ‘square pegs in round holes’. A strong perception was conveyed that well qualified established workers seemed to be marginalized in favour of non-established workers who were more supportive of the party in power. This reported phenomenon seems to have had its roots in the socioeconomic and political behaviour of workers who had aligned themselves with the Workers Union. It was also clear that the process of recruiting non-established workers was unconstitutional, being in breach
of the provisions governing recruitment to the public sector. This fact was apparently either ignored by the political directorate or wilfully embraced to strengthen the power of government ministers. The process by which non-established workers were reported to be recruited to the public sector in Antigua and Barbuda would appear to correspond to the analysis of Almond and Verba (1980, cited in Rush, 1992) whereby a participant political culture, characterised by high levels of awareness, expectations and participation, is institutionalized and shaped by the historical development of the public sector. Similarly, Hayward and Kemmelmeir (2007) cite Marx (1867) as stating that:

Society’s culture and prevailing ideology are primarily a reflection of its material foundation. According to this view, the pattern of economic relationship as well as the distribution of power and resources of a given society helps to shape the dominant values held by that society (p366).

The public sector culture reflected in the recruitment non-established workers shows a pattern of economic relationship which can be seen as damaging to the fiscal operations of the sector. Thus, political patronage and political leadership took centre stage instead of a system reflecting the concept of a model employer.

There was a general perception of organizational inequity because of the contrasting methods of recruitment of established and non-established employees. In particular, inadequate attention was paid to the issue of personal job fit when hiring non-established workers. The absence of a rigid screening process to capture the knowledge, skills and abilities of the candidates, especially at the low and middle levels, was seen to leave the policy open to scrutiny and challenge, and in need of reform. The process did in some respects assist in defining clearly the present culture of the public sector. There was evidently a lack of a systematic approach to assessing personal-organizational fit, a key feature that has been established and practiced by managers in organizations today.

The research also identified a problem with the disciplinary process among established workers if they should refuse or resist correction by the permanent secretaries responsible for the administration of their respective ministries. Interviewees argued that the hands-off approach seemed to have damaged the relationship between the PSs and the non-established workers. This damage may also have been exacerbated by the ruling of Justice Reme in the case between a PS and a non-established worker attached to the Immigration Department (Appendix 6, Interview with Hassle). Notwithstanding the judgment, a cordial relationship appeared to exist between supervisors and workers of both types, with regular communication and feedback. Interviewees’ perceptions of
tension within the sector may have been related to a widespread belief that there was a significant disparity in salaries in favour of non-established workers. However, the existence of such tension was not substantiated, since the quantitative survey found evidence of moderately high morale and moderately high culture in both groups. In other words, there was very little distinction between established and non-established workers as to their work culture. According to Fisher et al (2006), this reality may be in line with the dimensions of culture as identified by Hofstede (2004):

History is important in determining our present actions. Our actions should focus on the present, and the current situation should determine what we do. Or our actions should focus on the future and the attainment of future goals (p.744).

Perhaps the consciousness of the past struggles of public sector development made workers willing to make the current system work to their benefit, ensuring cultural stability. The present situation may present some challenges relating to reform of the disciplinary process; if the judgment handed down by Justice Reme goes unchallenged, it is likely to continue to erode the confidence of the permanent secretaries and to weaken their existing relationships with workers.

6.3 Policy reform implications

The second aim of the study was to suggest reforms in light of the findings. The analysis of empirical data has revealed a concern for review of the policies governing the recruitment, compensation, discipline and retirement of established and non-established workers. In Chapter 2, reference was made to the process of policy review and how policy shapes our disposition towards the values in society. In the attempt to develop cultures that are mission driven instead of rule driven, the focus ought to be on cultural change involving management, to get workers to accept values, goals and objectives that reflect a strategic process (O’Donnell, 1996). Thus the commonality of interest between labour and capital that creates what O’Donnell (1996) refers to as “superficial adversity” will be replaced by a corporate culture which will “overlook the potential for conflict” to exist between management and labour (p.247). In order for policy improvements to take place, there is a need to address the concept of smallness, which Khan (1982, p.50) sees as a determining factor in governance, where “personalism becomes a major force in determining social relations”.

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The merging of the two parts of the public service, as advocated by some participants, would be likely to present some human resource challenges and some fiscal problems. The recruitment, remuneration and disciplinary processes would have to be addressed at the same time in order for a comprehensive cultural impact to be achieved. For this to be possible, this researcher would like to advocate a model of integrated governance as developed and discussed by Halligan (2007, p.219): “This model of reform has two purposes: renewing the public sector to improve capacity; and resetting and refocusing on the core public service to increase performance.” Integrated governance, according to the literature, reflects the strong impulse to integrate, recognising its attendant features: whole-of-government coordination, including the roles of central agencies and line departments; autonomy and governance of public bodies; delivery and implementation; and the performance focus. This can be achieved in the Antiguan and Barbudan situation, but the political will is necessary, because “policy is political [and] it is about the power to determine what is done. It shapes who benefits, for what purpose, and who pays” (Stevenson and Bell, 2006, p.9). With this observation, a cautious approach to reform is suggested, since any change of policy is likely to have a “real and anticipated impact on any society” (ibid).

In the area of fiscal challenge, a collaborative relationship is advocated, as demonstrated in South Africa. This aspect of the whole-of-government approach would “set the tone for policy direction, devolution through strategy”, by “rebalancing the positions of centre and line agencies” (Halligan, 2007, p.220). This approach is critical, especially because government is seen as the main employer, and based on its hiring practices, it will need to reform the compensation system by reducing the number of surplus civil servants, reform their recruitment procedure by fitting jobs to skills and abilities, and become a model employer. This would mean showing “commitment to the principle of pay comparability, equality of opportunity and fair treatment, joint regulation of employment relationships, stability and security of employment, training, career development and the provision of sick pay, annual leave and occupational pensions” (Bewley, 2006, p.351). Such an approach to reform would be likely to produce the desired results and pave the way for sustainability in the sector.

Policy reform in recruitment is necessary if the Antiguan public service is to recruit a high calibre of workers, equipped with the requisite knowledge, skills and abilities to ensure not only a good person-job fit, but person-organizational fit. The findings have shown that there needs to be a more strategic approach to the recruitment process.
A review of the compensation arrangement will be necessary if there is going to be a merger of the established and non-established parts of the service. The policy reform will have to consider the need for non-established workers to improve on their qualifications in a given time to be allowed to be transferred to the merged sector. It will be necessary to revisit the ruling by justice Reme and make policy decisions that will clearly articulate the disciplinary process for public sector workers. Recent reforms in the retirement policies did not seem to reduce the reported inequity in retirement arrangement. It is strongly recommended that this area be considered for further review. If these areas are fixed, this researcher is convinced that the public sector of Antigua and Barbuda will develop a definitive culture that is unique and can be used for benchmarking.

6.4 Recommendations for policymakers and government

The current public sector culture can be defined as one in which there is a heavy influence of nepotism and political connection among workers. The existing two parallel systems creates an anomaly which promotes inequity among workers. It also affects productivity and stifles talent.

This research has implications for the development of human resources in the Antiguan and Barbudan public sector. In light of the findings, the following recommendations are made.

• A comprehensive approach ought to be undertaken to review the process used to recruit both established and non-established workers, implementing modern management practices.

Both established and non-established workers suffer because of the recruitment process. A modernized approach is suggested with changes in the composition and skills set of the recruiters. The current process allows politicians to recruit whomever they desire. The new approach will engage only individuals who are qualified for the position. Modern human resource management practices and processes that advertise vacancies and the requisite job descriptions should be made available to all potential candidates. Since it is advocated for the public sector to become one entity, recommendation would suggest that jobs are classified according to levels with clear indicators of separation based on qualification and tasks. Qualifications and experience should be the driving force for jobs which should be grouped together. Changes can be realized within a time frame of approximately three to four years.
• An appropriate exercise must be conducted to ascertain the possibility of merging the two parts of the workforce and the cost of doing so, even if it means calling on other regional agencies or the World Bank for assistance.

There is need for the establishment of a Human Resources Management Unit within the public sector to address issues relating to strategies towards the merging of the sector. An appropriate exercise ought to be conducted along with the Ministry of Finance and the Establishment Department along with the input of various stakeholders such as the Chamber of Commerce and the Employer’s Federation for a clear understanding of the process and how it will be implemented. Cultural dynamics and its effect within the public sector is an area that should be under continuous review since culture is likely to shift based on new approaches and processes in completing work and establishing procedures. A phased-in approach is suggested over a period of two years for the merging process to begin to unfold. A significant amount of resources will be necessary to enhance and effectively manage this type of change.

• A strategic human resource system should be implemented and managed by a central human resource commission with powers to recruit, guide and discipline, and also to improve the legislation relating to compensation and reform.

The critical function of Human Resources Management and its development ought to be the main reason for the establishment of a Human Resources Commission and the implementation of a Strategic Human Resources Management System. The Human Resources Commission should be legal, and equipped with the power to recruit, guide and discipline workers along with the zeal to handle matters of transferring staff from one ministry to another. Plans for career development ought to be embraced by this body to ensure that when the brightest and best arrive, they are given the opportunity to become professional public sector workers, irrespective of their field of expertise.

• Involvement of government ministers in the hiring of public servants should be reduced significantly and phased out.

A time frame ought to be agreed on by all stakeholders, both private and public to begin public consultation and Town Hall meeting where the general public will be afforded the opportunity to weigh in on the matters relating to the merging of the public sector to one entity. During these meetings, a time frame (within two years) ought to be established to direct the public.
• There is a need for the establishment of pay scales to reflect the realities of a progressive society, where salary adjustments are tied to training and performance.

The importance of pay must be underscored as it signifies the real worth of the individual in terms of his/her knowledge, skills and abilities. A committee to review all public sector workers’ salary should be instituted with the aim to develop a salary scale which will be reflective of the current economic climate. This scale is expected to detail the qualification and experience needed for each level and the manner of compensation, and how bonuses and increments will be given, along with the level of merit increase. Within one year, this can become a reality.

• Workers’ performance must be improved through realistic incentives that are attainable through continuous training and appropriate to the type of work.

A system to evaluate the work performance of public sector workers should be instituted to measure the work done throughout the sector. Senior and Middle management within the sector should be trained in the process of evaluating all staff. Feedback as it related to training will be used to assess weaknesses and make recommendations for worker improvement.

• Where possible, the government should encourage specialization and build capacity to foster the development of leadership skills and qualities within the public sector. This has implications for transitioning and continuity, which from time to time become inevitable.

The type of work one does is important in the sector. Specialization is important in building capacity among workers especially leaders who should be equipped with the knowledge and skill necessary to improve the culture of the sector. Specialization in change management and strategic management will provide leaders with the opportunity to rotate from one ministry to the other and do it effectively. The changing of the culture within the sector from dependence on political leaders to dependence on self will come with the correct approach to leadership and governance of workers in the public sector.

For changes in the public sector to become a reality an all-inclusive approach is recommended, where stakeholders play an integral part. The government,
administrators, policy-makers, the business community and members of civil society need to be a part of the process.

6.5 Suggestions for future Research

A similar study of this nature is suggested to determine the views of policymakers on the question of making the public sector a unified entity. It would be interesting to identify the steps that would be taken to make this a reality.

It is also suggested that a similar study be conducted on a neighbouring island to compare the results. This study has revealed that reform of the public sector in the critical areas of recruitment, compensation, discipline and retirement is critical to the continued cultural development of the public service.

6.6 Original contribution of the research to knowledge.

The aims of this study have been achieved through a number of methodological approaches. The study found that the Antiguan public sector is unique in its origin and that its workers have strong ties to government ministers. An in-depth analysis has revealed that despite the perception of tension and the disparities between established and non-established workers in the areas of recruitment, compensation, discipline and retirement, the two groups were willing to work together within the sector. Hence, no difference of work culture was found between the two groups of employees, despite their being governed by two different pieces of legislation.

This study assessed the state of the Antiguan public sector that emerged from colonialism where there were very little opportunities for people to develop themselves. The coming of the Trade Unions where its leaders became state administrators created a cadre of workers which created an anomaly in the public sector (established and non-established). The established workers are tenured but the non-established workers whose presence has been influenced by politicians, and political activities, are less qualified, but have been better remuneration. The established workers enjoy a great level of security and career succession, unlike the non-established workers, who are able to negotiate better wages than their counterparts, and find themselves in a better position.

Developments within the Antiguan and Barbudan public sector have been heavily influenced by colonialism, trade union activities, nepotism, political connection and
corruption. Globalization and the demand for a new approach to public sector governance, coupled with public sector reform are forcing governments to critically revisit its approach to public sector development. Small Island Developing States in the Caribbean while embracing the theme of new-public management should not commit themselves to any one model of public sector reform. The need for public sector cultural reform and the “new managerialism”, using the concept of the New Public Management where private sector values are incorporated towards greater productivity and more meaning measurable outcomes, ought to be embraced. Each state may find it more rewarding to tailor its reform strategies based on its developmental policies, short-term and long-term goals.

The models researched thus far have critically examined the systems and processes of the new public sector, but very little work has been done in examining or changing the culture of the public sector.

This study examined the existing culture from a policy perspective and found that the changes ought to be made in the policies of recruitment, compensation, discipline and retirement. It further contends that the interface between the Colonial bureaucracy and the demands of the market are likely to drive individuals to become independent of politicians, in their desire to create value in the sector and survive in an atmosphere of professionalism, devoid of corruption and corrupt activities. The contribution to the debates on public sector reform is that Small Island Developing States ought to reform their existing culture before attempting public sector reform, and then tailor a reform model to reflect people and career development, fairness, equity and policies that will embrace change.
Appendix 1

Quantitative Questionnaire

Dear Participant, this questionnaire is given in order to obtain information about established and non-established workers. All responses will be confidential.

Do not write your name on the paper.

Questionnaire

Please respond to the information requested by ticking the appropriate box.

I am an Established worker [ ]  a Non-established worker [ ]  Sex:  M [ ]  F [ ]

Ministry of_______________________________

1. My age range is 18-29 [ ] 30-39 [ ] 40-49 [ ] 50+ [ ]

2. Tick the scale which best describes your monthly salary scale.
   500-1000 [ ] 1100-1500 [ ] 1600-2000 [ ] 2000+ [ ]

3. What is your level of qualification?
   High school [ ] College [ ] University [ ] other [ ]

4. How were you recruited for this job?
   Application [ ] other [ ] (please specify) ________________________________

5. How satisfied are you with your work environment?
   Extremely satisfied [ ] Very satisfied [ ] moderately satisfied [ ] slightly satisfied [ ]
   Not satisfied at all [ ]

6. My work environment is   Extremely Positive [ ]  Moderately Positive [ ] Slightly
   Positive [ ] Neutral [ ] Slightly Negative [ ] Moderately Negative [ ]
   Extremely Negative [ ]

7. How much training have you received for your job?
   A great deal [ ] A lot [ ] A moderate amount [ ] A little [ ] none at all [ ]

8. To what extent are you satisfied with your benefits?
   Extremely Satisfied [ ] Moderately Satisfied [ ] slightly satisfied [ ] Neutral [ ]
   slightly dissatisfied [ ] Moderately Dissatisfied [ ] Extremely Dissatisfied [ ]
9. Are you satisfied with your performance at work? Yes [ ] No [ ]

10. How often do you interact with your employer?
Extremely Often [ ] Very often [ ] Moderately Often [ ] slightly often [ ] Not at all [ ]

11. I like my job A great deal [ ] A lot [ ] moderately [ ] A little [ ] Not at all [ ]

12. How often are you supervised at work?
Extremely often [ ] Very often [ ] Moderately often [ ] Slightly often [ ] Not often at all [ ]

13. What level of interest do you hold for your job?
Extremely high [ ] Very high [ ] Moderately high [ ] moderately low [ ] None at all [ ]

14. To what extent are you satisfied with your retirement arrangement?
Extremely [ ] Very Satisfied [ ] moderately [ ] slightly [ ] Not at all satisfied [ ]

15. To what extent are you satisfied with the work that you do?
Extremely [ ] Very Satisfied [ ] moderately [ ] slightly [ ] Not at all satisfied [ ]

16. How challenging is your job?
Extremely Challenging [ ] Very Challenging [ ] moderately [ ] slightly [ ] Not at all challenging [ ]

17. To what extent do you think there is a distinction among established workers and non-established workers?
A great extent [ ] A moderate extent [ ] A little extent [ ] none at all [ ]

18. How many opportunities do you get for promotion on your job?
A great deal [ ] A lot [ ] A moderate amount [ ] A few [ ] none at all [ ]

19. How would you describe the work attitude of your colleagues?
Extremely Positive [ ] Positive [ ] Fairly Positive [ ] Not positive at all [ ]
20. Considering your skill, how well are you paid?
   Extremely well [ ] Very well paid [ ] moderately well [ ] slightly well [ ] Not well at all [ ]

21. How well do your co-workers work with other employees?
   Extremely well [ ] Very well [ ] moderately well [ ] slightly well [ ] Not well at all [ ]

22. How often does your supervisor give you feedback about your work?
   Extremely often [ ] Very often [ ] moderately often [ ] slightly often [ ] Not often at all [ ]

23. In comparison to the other category of workers in the public sector, to what extent do you feel adequately compensated?
   A great extent [ ] some extent [ ] very little extent [ ] no extent at all [ ]

24. How would you describe the morale of your workplace?
   Very High [ ] Moderate [ ] moderately low [ ] Low [ ]

25. How would you describe your work culture?
   Very high [ ] moderately high [ ] moderately low [ ] Low [ ]

Thank you for participating.
Appendix 2

Questionnaire Responses

1. Age Range

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Range</th>
<th>Non-Established</th>
<th>Established</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18-29</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>18.67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-39</td>
<td>27.50%</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-49</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>38.67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50+</td>
<td>7.50%</td>
<td>10.66%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Monthly Salary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Salary</th>
<th>Non-Established</th>
<th>Established</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>500-1000</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1100-1500</td>
<td>19.51%</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1600-2000</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>22.54%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000+</td>
<td>46.34%</td>
<td>59.15%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. Qualification Level

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Qualification level</th>
<th>Non-Established</th>
<th>Established</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High School</td>
<td>46.34%</td>
<td>28.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College</td>
<td>19.51%</td>
<td>22.70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University</td>
<td>26.82%</td>
<td>45.33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other</td>
<td>4.87%</td>
<td>4.00%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. How were you recruited for this job?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Method</th>
<th>Non-Established</th>
<th>Established</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Application</td>
<td>95.90%</td>
<td>86.40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>4.10%</td>
<td>13.60%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5. How comfortable is your work environment?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Work Environment</th>
<th>Non-Established</th>
<th>Established</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ext. Com.</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very Com.</td>
<td>14.63%</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mod.Com.</td>
<td>59%</td>
<td>52.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slightly Com.</td>
<td>9.75%</td>
<td>14.70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at all com.</td>
<td>14.63%</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
6. How positive is your work environment?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Positive Work Env.</th>
<th>Non-Established</th>
<th>Established</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ext. Pos.</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>5.40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mod. Pos.</td>
<td>60.98%</td>
<td>47%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slightly Pos.</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>10.80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>9.75%</td>
<td>21.60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slightly Neg</td>
<td>4.88%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mod. Neg.</td>
<td>2.42%</td>
<td>5.40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ext. Neg</td>
<td>7.32%</td>
<td>4.10%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7. How much training have you received for your job?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Training Rec.</th>
<th>Non Established</th>
<th>Established</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A great deal</td>
<td>9.76%</td>
<td>11.27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A lot</td>
<td>17.10%</td>
<td>21.13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moderate</td>
<td>46.34%</td>
<td>38.03%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A little</td>
<td>14.63%</td>
<td>19.72%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None at all</td>
<td>12.20%</td>
<td>9.85%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8. To what extent are you satisfied with your benefits?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Satisfied with Benefits</th>
<th>Non-Established</th>
<th>Established</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ext. Satis.</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mod. Satis.</td>
<td>31.58%</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slightly Satis.</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>11.11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>15.79%</td>
<td>13.89%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slightly Dis satis.</td>
<td>15.79%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mod. Dis satis.</td>
<td>5.26%</td>
<td>9.72%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ext . Dis satis.</td>
<td>15.79%</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9. Are you satisfied with your performance at work?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Work Perf.</th>
<th>Non-Established</th>
<th>Established</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>75.61%</td>
<td>81.10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>24.39%</td>
<td>18.90%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

10. How often do you interact with your employer/supervisor?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interact with Supervisor/Emp</th>
<th>Non-Established</th>
<th>Established</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ext. Often.</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>13.90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very Often.</td>
<td>48.78%</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moderately Often</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>23.60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Little Often</td>
<td>7.31%</td>
<td>15.30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at All</td>
<td>7.31%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

11. How much do you like your job?
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Non-Established</th>
<th>Established</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A great Deal</td>
<td>21.95%</td>
<td>26.80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A lot</td>
<td>21.95%</td>
<td>40.80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moderately</td>
<td>43.90%</td>
<td>19.70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A little</td>
<td>9.76%</td>
<td>9.90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at All</td>
<td>2.43%</td>
<td>2.70%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

12. How often are you supervised at work?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Supervision at Work</th>
<th>Non-Established</th>
<th>Established</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ext. Often.</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>6.90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very Often.</td>
<td>29.27%</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moderately Often</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>37.50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slightly Often</td>
<td>21.95%</td>
<td>12.50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Often at All</td>
<td>9.76%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

13. How meaningful is your job to you?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Non-Established</th>
<th>Established</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ext. Meanful</td>
<td>24.39%</td>
<td>24.70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very Meanful</td>
<td>43.90%</td>
<td>47.90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mod Mean</td>
<td>19.51%</td>
<td>23.30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slightly</td>
<td>12.19%</td>
<td>1.37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at All</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
<td>2.73%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

14. To what extent are you satisfied with your retirement arrangement?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Retirement</th>
<th>Non-Established</th>
<th>Established</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ext. Satisfied</td>
<td>7.31%</td>
<td>1.43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very Satisfied</td>
<td>7.31%</td>
<td>5.71%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mod Satisfied</td>
<td>39.02%</td>
<td>48.57%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slightly Satisfied</td>
<td>17.07%</td>
<td>18.57%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at All</td>
<td>29.27%</td>
<td>25.71%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

15. To what extent are you satisfied with the work that you do?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Non-Established</th>
<th>Established</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ext. Satis</td>
<td>7.50%</td>
<td>6.76%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very Satis.</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>51.35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mod. Satis</td>
<td>22.60%</td>
<td>33.78%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slightly Satis.</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>5.41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Satis.</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>2.70%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
16. How challenging is your job?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Non-Established</th>
<th>Established</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ext. Chall.</td>
<td>19.51%</td>
<td>26.03%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very Chall.</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>36.99%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mod. Chall.</td>
<td>21.95%</td>
<td>26.03%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slightly Sat.</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>2.74%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at all.</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>8.21%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

17. To what extent do you think that there is a distinction between established and non-established workers?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Difference</th>
<th>Non-Established</th>
<th>Established</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A great Ext.</td>
<td>43.90%</td>
<td>30.67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A moderate Ext.</td>
<td>24.39%</td>
<td>36.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A little Ext.</td>
<td>19.51%</td>
<td>22.67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None at all</td>
<td>12.20%</td>
<td>10.67%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

18. How many opportunities do you get for promotion on your job?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Promotion Opp</th>
<th>Non-Established</th>
<th>Established</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A Great Deal</td>
<td>7.31%</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Lot</td>
<td>2.43%</td>
<td>4.23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moderate Amt</td>
<td>14.63%</td>
<td>16.90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Few</td>
<td>29.27%</td>
<td>43.66%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None at All</td>
<td>46.34%</td>
<td>35.21%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

19. How would you describe the work attitude of your colleagues?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Work att.</th>
<th>Non-Established</th>
<th>Established</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ext. Positive</td>
<td>12.20%</td>
<td>2.78%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>22.22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fairly Positive</td>
<td>60.98%</td>
<td>63.89%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>11.11%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

20. Considering your skill, how well are you paid?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>How well Paid?</th>
<th>Non-Established</th>
<th>Established</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ext. well</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very Well</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>4.29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mod Well</td>
<td>73.17%</td>
<td>47.14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slightly Well.</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>18.57%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Well at all</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>30.00%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
21. How well do your co-workers work with other employees?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>How coll. Get Along</th>
<th>Non-Established</th>
<th>Established</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ext Well</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
<td>1.35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very Well</td>
<td>31.70%</td>
<td>31.20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mod. Well</td>
<td>58.54%</td>
<td>45.90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slightly Well</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
<td>17.60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Well</td>
<td>9.76%</td>
<td>19.20%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

22. How often does your supervisor give you feedback about your work?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sup. Feedback</th>
<th>Non-Established</th>
<th>Established</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ext. Often</td>
<td>2.44%</td>
<td>4.10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very Often</td>
<td>21.95%</td>
<td>27.40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mod. Often</td>
<td>21.95%</td>
<td>31.50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fairly Oft.</td>
<td>26.83%</td>
<td>17.80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Often</td>
<td>26.83%</td>
<td>19.20%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

23. In Comparison to the other category of workers, to what extent do you feel adequately compensated?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adeq. Compen.</th>
<th>Non-Established</th>
<th>Established</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A great Ext.</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some Ext.</td>
<td>62.50%</td>
<td>28.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very Little Ext.</td>
<td>12.50%</td>
<td>40.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Ext</td>
<td>25.00%</td>
<td>32.00%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

24. How would you describe the morale of your workplace?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Work Morale</th>
<th>Non-Established</th>
<th>Established</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>2.44%</td>
<td>8.11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mod. High</td>
<td>53.66%</td>
<td>45.95%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mod Low</td>
<td>24.39%</td>
<td>32.43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>19.51%</td>
<td>13.51%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

25. How would you describe your work culture?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Work Culture</th>
<th>Non-Established</th>
<th>Established</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>4.88%</td>
<td>7.04%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mod. High</td>
<td>58.54%</td>
<td>59.15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mod Low</td>
<td>17.07%</td>
<td>21.13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>19.51%</td>
<td>12.68%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Appendix 3

### List of Interview Participants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Years in Service</th>
<th>Active Service</th>
<th>Retired</th>
<th>Ministry</th>
<th>Public Officer</th>
<th>Est/Non-Est Qualifications</th>
<th>Gender</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HP</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>PM</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>E BSc</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jazz</td>
<td>32</td>
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Dear Participant,

My name is Fitzmore Burns a Doctoral Student at the Centre for Labour Market Studies at the University of Leicester where I am conducting a research on the culture of the public sector in Antigua. My focus will be to examine the policies that exist governing the Established and Non-established workers, how these workers are recruited, compensated, and the provisions that are made for retirement.

The aim of the intended research is to explore the effectiveness of the policies as it relates to both sectors. In doing so I wish to ‘tap’ into the experiences and knowledge of senior government Managers on the implementation of the policies governing both the Established and Non-established sectors.

In order to acquire data and uncover the various facets of how the policies work in practice, I am seeking access to those who have worked in the Public Sector and who may be still be working in the Sector. Since the acquiring of this data will be on a qualitative basis, face-to-face interviews will be conducted. To this end I wish to conduct an interview at you earliest convenience.

You will be issued a participant information sheet and will be required to sign a participant consent form. Your anonymity and confidentiality will be assured. Should you agree to take part in this study, I will agree to set a time for an interview.

The information gathered whether in writing or electronically recorded will be secured. The source of the data will remain anonymous, and any published findings will not be attributable to any individual. Once the data has been analyzed it will be destroyed.

Please feel free to call, 764-8697 or E-mail fburns@auamed.net if you have queries, or concerns.

Thanks for your consideration.

Kindest Regards,

Fitzmore Burns
Informed Consent Letter

Date: __________________
Name: __________________
Address: ________________

DATA PROTECTION/INFORMED CONSENT LETTER

Dear ________________

Thank you very much for agreeing to take part in this research on (Defining the culture of the Antiguan Public Sector, investigating the policies which govern Established and non-established workers in the area of recruitment, compensation and retirement).

I greatly appreciate you giving up your time in order to help me. I am undertaking this project as a part of a Doctorate degree which I am studying with the University of Leicester. The project I am working on is to examine the policies which govern both sets of workers. You were selected to take part in this research because of your in-depth knowledge and experience of the public sector.

You can withdraw from the study at any time if you feel that is necessary. If you are happy to take part in the research, however, I will ask you to sign a consent form giving your agreement. You can still withdraw from the research after signing the form.

The interview will last for approximately one and a half hours. I will ask you a series of questions and will give you the opportunity to ask questions you may have. I would like to reassure you that the information which you provide in the course of the interview will be treated in the strictest of confidence. All data collected will be treated in accordance with ethical codes set out in the British Sociological Guidelines (or other appropriate ethical guidelines such as the Data Protection Act or other legislation relevant to your location). In addition, your answers will be unattributed to either yourself or to any organisation which you work for or have worked for.

The data gathered during the interview will only be used for my Doctorate thesis. Your own data will be completely anonymous and you will not be identifiable (you might like to add, where relevant, that data will be aggregated, so that no individual data are presented).

Once again, thank you very much for your participation. If you have any questions at any stage of the project please do not hesitate to contact me.

Yours sincerely,
INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Defining the culture of the Public Service in Antigua: An evaluation of the recruitment, compensation and retirement policies of established and non-established employees

I agree to take part in an interview as part of the above named project. The research has been clearly explained to me and I have read and understood the participant informed consent letter. I understand that by signing the consent form I am agreeing to participate in this research and that I can withdraw from the research at any time. I understand that any information I provide during the interview is confidential and will not be used for any purpose other than the research project outlined above. The data will not be shared with any other organizations.

If applicable: I agree that the interview can be audio taped by voice/tape recorder:

YES/NO Name: (please print) ....................................................

Signature:................................................................... Date: .............
Appendix 5
Interview Protocol

Lead questions for interview

1. What sex are you?
2. What is your highest qualification?
3. How long have you worked in the public sector?
4. What is your current position/job title?
5. How long have you worked in your current/former position?
6. Give a synopsis of your career path to date.
7. What level/type of training have you been offered?
8. What training have you undertaken?
9. What was the rationale for the non-established worker (NEW) policy?
10. What was the intention of the NEW policy?
11. Did the policy achieve its stated objectives?
12. How is the policy monitored?
13. How is compensation arrived at for a NEW?
14. How is compensation arrived at for established workers?
15. Outline the ways by which the NEW are recruited.
16. How does this compare to the way established workers are recruited?
17. Do these policies diverge or converge?
18. What qualifies an individual to be a NEW?
19. What qualifies one to be an established worker?
20. How was this policy institutionalized?
21. What makes this policy different from other policies?
22. How has this policy impacted on the culture of the public service?
23. Comment on the retirement policy of the established and NE workers.

24. How does the political culture impact on the NEW?

25. What training is provided for NEW?

26. How is productivity measured in the public sector among established workers?

27. How is productivity measured among NEW in the public sector?

28. What contribution do you think the NE workers have made to public sector development?

29. What do you think is the solution to this problem in the public sector?

30. What are the advantages and disadvantages of having both sectors in place?
Appendix 6

Interview Transcripts

Interview with Hassle

Fitz: Good afternoon Hassle. As you are aware, I am currently conducting a research on the Established and Non-established workers in the public sector looking specifically at the policies which govern them in the areas of recruitment, compensation, discipline and retirement. I want you to give me your honest opinion as much as possible while responding to the questions which I am about to ask you. I have a set of questions which I will ask, but they will follow a semi-structured format. This simply means that depending on your response, another question may be asked to clarify any issue (s).

Please tell me a little bit about yourself, your highest level of qualifications and your work in the public sector.

Hassel: I have been in the Legal profession for over 40 years. I have worked in the public sector for over 40 years. 26 years in Antigua and over 29 years in Ghana. In addition I have worked as an Assistant State Attorney, a Principal State Attorney and Parliamentary Counsel.

Fitz: As we focus on the non-established policies of recruitment, compensation discipline and retirement, what have you learnt from this group of people?

Hassel: These people are slow. Too many square pegs on round holes. The established workers in my opinion and from experience work hard and are paid less than the non-established workers, Promotion is based on years of service than on performance. The non-established work ethics are poor. A few works well, but supervision is lacking and the PS’s don’t want to offend anyone. The Minister is in charge of the ministry, but the PS’s is who supervise the ministry. There is a disciplinary problem among these group of workers, and there is no clear-cut way of disciplining these group of workers. There is no procedure and regulation is needed. The Labour Code should be reviewed and a committee instituted to discipline. Even how they enter the system is of concern. Another thing, the qualifications for entry to the public service is ignored.

Fitz: Could you elaborate for me?

Hassel: Qualifications are important and those who are qualified and established feel worth less. The bulk of the non-established workers have no formal qualifications, but they are paid more than their counterparts. The salary scale that exists for established workers should be applied to one body of workers.

Fitz: What do you mean?

Hassel: Merge the two entity if they have to. They can give the non-established workers a period to become qualified, or sever them. When they become qualified ask them to reapply after bringing the service into one entity. Decisions must be made.

Fitz: Why do you think that this category of workers was created in the first place?

Hassel: First they are unconstitutional.

Fitz: Meaning?
Hassle: Well there is nothing in the law that gives the politicians the right to practice this behaviour, yet at the same time is nothing in the law that prevents the practice from happening. It does not mean that it is correct.

Fitz: How do we correct this?

Hassle: I think that there should be one service. Let those that are in the service who are non-established be severed then let them reapply. The politicians will not like it, but that’s the way I see it. The other way is to place them on set contract with a performance clause. If they don’t perform, get the rid of them.

Fitz: How prepared are those in charge to let this happen?

Hassle: They are not prepared. People want jobs. They know they are not qualified, but if he politicians do not give them a job, then they will not vote for them. The politician should say, I cannot do this because the law does not permit me to do it. However the non-established workers are less concerned. Those who are on contract will get them renewed if they are preferred and if the politicians think that they are not been sabotaged.

Fitz: What is your take on the way forward?

Hassle: There should be a new policy framed so that the law that permit politicians to implement this alternative- to make the service one.

Fitz: Which alternative are we talking about?

Hassle: The one that deals with recruitment. They need to just let workers know that there is a new way and explain why the old policy cannot be enforced. There will be obstacles on the way to solve this problem, but it has to be done. It will not be easy, but it is something that needs to be resolved. The whole idea of the public service is to have and independent and effective one, not motivated by politicians and allegiance to political parties. It is a service to the country. Politicians serve in a government no matter their allegiance. The non-established workers ought to be more committed to nation-building, but are more inclined to be committed to the party in power.

Fitz: There has been resistance from the union on this merging happening because it will erode their financial base? What is your take on this?

Hassle: The question of the Union’s financial base been eroded is irrelevant and should not be entertained.

Fitz: Why?

Hassle: There is no real basis for this argument. If the union is as strong as it think it is, it will survive, ever after the service becoming one. They should be asking themselves, is this the right thing to do? Then if it is, do it!

Fitz: How would you describe the current culture in the public sector?

Hassle: Fragmented, because of the lack of unity between the two categories of workers. Again the whole idea of how they came in and are paid have a negative effect on the other sector. Imagine you go-way and study and when you come back qualified you work for less money than someone who works beside you, who is not as qualified as you. That would do something to your morale. It makes those who are qualified feel worthless. Have a proper system of remuneration, and his will change the culture. The salary scale must be applied by one body, - an independent body, based on qualifications. You see Education and discipline are important. Education because the
workers must know why they are doing certain things. The discipline side should affect their attitude towards work and how they are governed. For example, a bunch of these people constantly call in sick, but at the end of the day they are still rewarded. They got more ammunition when Justice Reme handed down her judgment. I think that the judgment should have been appealed. She went too far. What she did was to take the power of discipline away from the PS’s and give it to the Minister. That was a bad signal. You see, although the politicians make the policy, it is the civil servant, the PS who has the experience and should guide the Minister.

There should have been an independent civil service, so if government does not exist the sector can continue, based on the rule of Law.

Fitz: Why is that so?
Hassle: Because people are not made accountable for their actions. Even supervisors should be made accountable for their actions.
Fitz: Could you elaborate on this some more?
Hassle: With the established workers, we have strict discipline. With the non-established workers discipline goes out of the window. In recent times we find that non-established workers are given promotion, but it is not based on merit. Promotion is based on favouritism, not on knowledge or qualifications.
Fitz: Can you give me an example?
Hassle: Until recently, remuneration among the non-established workers was less than $5,000 monthly. Now they are getting much more? In some instances up to $15,000 monthly, and to do what? Nothing! The politicians think they can pay and they do. When the government of the day make these decisions the people grumble, but nothing is done, and this cannot be sustained.
Fitz: How do we get out of this?
Hassle: It takes time. It will be gradual. Persons coming into the service, and getting promoted and so on, must come in qualified, take an exam and follow up with an interview. They have to get strict with this. If they do this it will change the whole image and perception of the sector. Let people be qualified for their position, pay them fairly, hold them accountable and this will change the culture.
Fitz: As we conclude do you have any other comment?
Hassle: The sector needs fixing and you have made a start. Somebody need to address this serious problem with the non-established workers and I believe you have the right approach. Good luck.
Fitz: Thank you much sir I will do my best.
Interview with Locks

Fitz: Good afternoon Locks. As you are aware, I am currently conducting a research on the Established and Non-established workers in the public sector looking specifically at the policies which govern them in the areas of recruitment, compensation, discipline and retirement. I want you to give me your honest opinion as much as possible while responding to the questions which I am about to ask you. I have a set of questions which I will ask, but they will follow a semi-structured format. This simply means that depending on your response, another question may be asked to clarify any issue(s).

Fitz: Please tell me a little bit about yourself, your highest level of qualifications and your work in the public sector.

Locks: Good afternoon. I have a PhD in Organizational Development with a specialization in HR. I am a non-established worker, I have worked on a number of projects in the public sector. For example I have worked two years in the statistics division helping the department achieve some structure, but I have been both sectors Public and private together for over twenty-two years. I also worked at the Central Bank in St. Kitts for over 16 years, in St Lucia for four years, and presently working in Antigua for over two years.

Fitz: What is your connection with the public sector in Antigua?

Locks: Surveying the public sector. Trying to see if we can merge to a single service, which does not mean one entity.

Fitz: What do you mean?

Locks: Well we need to have one rule book, or legislative code, and get rid of labels?

Fitz: Labels?

Locks: Yeah! The ratio in Antigua is too high. About 2:3 Established to non-established. Right now we are looking at two models, one from Canada and the other from Australia. The intention is to have four categories of workers. 1. Career civil servants, 2. Specialists/consultants, 3. casual workers, and 4. Political appointees.

Fitz: Do you really think this will help?

Locks: Perhaps. Ministerial hiring we cannot get rid of. It is how it is implemented. The thing to do is to have one public service bill with specific quotas per sector. The operation will be costly but... that’s the way. At the moment about 55% of public workers are non-established, but this perspective is mine and not really supported by hard data. I am speaking from conducting the survey and by observation.

Fitz: What have you observed?

Locks: Of the 55% I just mentioned, 2/3 make up Security workers, cleaners and pensioners. Their highest level of qualifications is High School and some didn’t even finish. There is no structure within the non-established sector, and there is a call for more order.

Fitz: What you think should happen there?

Locks: We need reform in Finance, and Inland Revenue. More capacity building. He public sector need to be an employer of choice instead of last resort.

Fitz: Why is it now one of last resort?
Locks: There is an absence of a national plan like those in an industrialized societies. People don’t have that level of interest like those in other societies where there is a lot of planning. People are not interested in working in the public sector because it is not attractive enough. Too much politics. There should be equal work for equal pay.

Fitz: How can we make this attractive?

Locks: Reform the policies. We should always expect the public sector to be political, but in formulating policies, ensure that 80% of the information is rational. The evidence and analysis and information should be there as it relates to the policy, and we should be able to monitor its implementation. Presently there is no rigor and analysis. The policy should be properly outlined along with options and risk involved.

Fitz: What is your gut feeling about the public sector culture?

Locks: Culturally, there is no difference. Management is not willing to set an example for performance-base pay, quality of work and to ensure accountability. The feedback mechanism is weak. There is an absence of performance evaluation, and this makes it difficult to assess work, and there is too little compliance with the law.

Fitz: Which Law?

Locks: The OECS law which relates to compliance in the public sector in the areas of performance evaluation. I know geographically we are insignificant, but we need to do two things. 1. Improve policy and 2. Modernize HRM.

Fitz: What do you mean?

Locks: First we need a new public service bill that would provide changes, a functional review to determine what is needed in terms of skills, structure, training compensation and career path. We need new legislation.

Fitz: Why?

Locks: There is a big problem in the sector with the non-established workers. There is no order, no structure, and no salary scale. Everything is just arbitrary. They are just unconstitutional.

Fitz: Please elaborate?

Locks: Simple, the constitution does not recognize the non-established workers, but it is embraced by politicians.

Fitz: Then why is it embraced? What are you really saying?

Locks: It’s a convenient instrument for politicians. They use it to put people in positions and pay them well. What these workers need is a term of reference where work can be measured. There needs to be a plan where performance can be measured, and feedback ought to come from the tax payers who can monitor service delivery. Maturity is needed in the civil service.

Fitz: Maturity in terms of?

Locks: Culturally we are too laid back. We need a national plan to measure public service performance, and find some way of reducing the non-established workers. They are not career civil servants, they are too political.

Fitz: What do we do then?
Locks: Have functional reviews to determine what is needed. Whether it is skills, training, structure, career path, compensation.

Fitz: How will this help?

Locks: This will begin to put a structure in place, things would be orderly. Then begin to let people be accountable in the service. Change the legislature for these workers and review if we really need them.

Fitz: And if we don’t?

Locks: Then performance in the sector is likely to continue to slide. We cannot afford to take this risk or we will be left behind.

Fitz: Words of advice as we end?

Locks: The Caribbean is changing and we need to keep up with the times. I really believe that reforming the sector is the only way forward.

Fitz: Thanks for your time.
Interview with Mini

Fitz: Good afternoon Mini. As you are aware, I am currently conducting a research on the Established and Non-established workers in the public sector looking specifically at the policies which govern them in the areas of recruitment, compensation, discipline and retirement. I want you to give me your honest opinion as much as possible while responding to the questions which I am about to ask you. I have a set of questions which I will ask, but they will follow a semi-structured format. This simply means that depending on your response, another question may be asked to clarify any issue(s).

Fitz: Please tell me a little bit about yourself, your highest level of qualifications and your work in the public sector.

Mini: I worked in the public sector as a Foreign Affairs Officer for a number of years, actually since 2003. Prior to that I worked in the public sector since 1985. I hold a Juris Doctor Degree. My studies are in the areas of politics and law.

Fitz: Let’s talk about the public sector workers.

Mini: Let me start by saying that back then, people were needed to clean the streets, remove liquid and solid waste, and other short range activities that would spread over a period of time. The paradigm was borrowed from the British Civil Service, and readjusted by the Antigua Government. Non-established work started when the Civil Service came into being as early as 1836. It was not given the title of non-established back then. The workers were known as casual workers.

Fitz: How did they come on board? How did they get into the service?

Mini: The Constitution only spoke of one body that should do the hiring in Antigua and Barbuda and that is the Public Service Commission (PSC). Back then recruitment for the service was done by Civil Servants within the PSC. That changed after Independence in 1981, where the Ministers of Government have a great hand in recruitment.

Fitz: Why that policy?

Mini: The policy was intended for short-term contract workers and targeted the lowest and lowliest of workers who were excluded, because of status and education from becoming civil servants. This reflected a class consciousness as black-skinned people were kept out until the 1930’s when the Trade Union movement under the Antigua Trades and Labour Union (AT &LU) paved the way for workers to get certain jobs in the civil service. Before this, the white and brown skinned people got all the benefits—the blacks were left behind. The Trade Union movement came and ensures that this changed under V.C. Bird Sr.

Fitz: What should we do about the non-established workers?

Mini: We should not get rid of these sets of workers because they will always need people to do things, who will not be civil servants. Although they earn more than their counterparts in the established division, they did not receive a pension, until now when they could work for ten years and become eligible, and this is because of V.C. Bird and the Trade Union. In many instances they actually fear off better than the established people.

Fitz: How is that so? Could you elaborate a bit?
Mini: They work for good salaries, they have better negotiators and after working for a minimum of ten years they are eligible for pension, not forgetting that their salaries can increase under recommendation from the Minister, without any evaluation or proof of productivity.

Fitz: Do you think this has affected the culture?

Mini: All over the world people speak ill of the Public Sector and its employees. Although it does not pay a lot there is a pension, which means that you are earning more than it appears. Some are dedicated people but the majority are not because they are not fairly treated, especially in the established sector. It has affected the culture and we see it in the work ethics and attitudes of the established workers. You see the non-established workers come over as ungovernable because of political influence and affiliations.

Fitz: What in your estimation can be done to change this?

Mini: Maybe we don’t need to change it. I thing non-established workers should be encouraged because politicians are manager and they should be given, and have the right to hire, but it should be limited. There is no assessment of skill for these workers since it’s just to ensure that people have a job. Many are illiterate.

Fitz: Why is this encouraged then?

Mini: Politicians want to have control. One of the ways is to provide jobs for people, but they end up with square pegs in round holes. Despite this, I think that both sectors need to be kept in place. With a little modification among the non-established workers, they can change the culture.

Fitz: Modification in terms of what?

Mini: In terms of how they are oriented and disciplined. Non-established workers look to politicians. They behave as they like and many get away with it. That affects other workers negatively, and ultimately the culture. The current public sector has some dedicated workers, who are hired with the understanding that they should produce but they don’t. Non-established workers need to understand why they were hired.

Fitz: Any parting words?

Mini: Non-established workers are essential and valuable to the sector. We should keep them because the government will always need people to do menial jobs since they just may not become civil servants. Well, good luck to you and your project.
Interview with Apex

Fitz: Good afternoon Apex. As you are aware, I am currently conducting a research on the Established and Non-established workers in the public sector looking specifically at the policies which govern them in the areas of recruitment, compensation, discipline and retirement. I want you to give me your honest opinion as much as possible while responding to the questions which I am about to ask you. I have a set of questions which I will ask, but they will follow a semi-structured format. This simply means that depending on your response, another question may be asked to clarify any issue(s).

Fitz: Please tell me a little bit about yourself, your highest level of qualifications and your work in the public sector.

Apex: I started out in 1986 as a Job Developer in the Ministry of Economic Development. Then I moved to the Ministry of Finance as an Auditor/Bank Inspector. By 1999, I became a PS in the Ministry of Youth Empowerment and Culture. I was then transferred to Tourism, then back to Finance.

Fitz: Let’s talk about the Public Sector. What are your thoughts and impressions of the service especially the established and non-established workers?

Apex: The policy framework for the sector is weak. The budgetary impact is great because of the soft entry point of the non-established workers. The non-established policy is open to political intervention. It is easier to hide employment of the non-established workers because they aggregate under a lump sum head. The established workers are more detailed, and this detail is absent under the non-established.

Fitz: Why not detailed the non-established workers too?

Apex: No they would not do that because the non-established workers are paid more. In doing so they can hide the amounts because there is no guidelines for allocation.

Fitz: What impact does this have on the sector?

Apex: That itself has impacted on the motivation and the management of workers in terms of recruitment and discipline. At the moment qualifications need to be looked at in order for people to be considered for positions instead of years of service only.

Fitz: Philosophically, how do you compare the two sets of workers?

Apex: The established position is really one of comfort, but the non-established workers are less secure. They are at the high end of the salary scale. Automatically there are immediate rewards since the terms and conditions are set by the Minister. Some non-established workers make more money than the people they report to. This has implications for both Management and Staff and the culture that will prevail.

Fitz: What would you propose to solve this problem?

Apex: The political will is there to merge the service. It is a commonsense thing for it to happen. I think that here can be a common framework for the non-established and the established to operate. I don’t think that they should be totally eliminated, but accommodated for casual employment. The institutionalized duality has to go.

Fitz: What do you think of the level of productivity among public sector workers?

Apex: The expectation of these workers are not clearly articulated and since in this environment productivity is not a major concern coupled with the absence of an effective appraisal system, nothing really happens. The current appraisal forms need to be more objective, and need to measure what they were designed to do.
Fitz: What are the reasons for the low or no productivity?

Apex: Institutional motivation is lacking, there is a lack of accountability, the tools available to measure work are not embraced, and workers seem not to be able to make the connection with what they do and what they are paid to do. They take the least line of resistance.

Fitz: What do you mean by the line of least resistance?

Apex: Whatever is simple and less stressful, less challenging, they will follow that path. They will not rise to challenges.

Fitz: Is this the culture here?

Apex: Yes, I can say so. Part of it is because of how the labour Code is written and the impact of the union. The labour Code is written in favour of the workers and the Union protects the worker. At the moment I see the Union in a time warp with the labour code representing a millstone around its neck. The unions want increases, and since we have one of the most worker-friendly labour force and labour market flexibility, it’s very easy to hire but extremely difficult to fire. The workers feel vindicated and operate in a sense of malaise. So in some situations there is no order. The unions are more concerned with workers keeping their jobs than being productive. This is the culture we are faced with.

Fitz: How do we fix this cultural problem?

Apex: We need to have the right leadership. People need to understand what they need from government as a group of workers in the public sector. If they are going to fix this system, the politicians must make up their minds to work. We need to get the right people in and look about them properly.

Fitz: Any last words?

Apex: I think that serious thoughts should be given to merge the systems, but then again the political will has to be there.

Fitz: Sir I want to thank you for your time and the information you have provided.

Apex: And I wish you best of luck in your project.

Fitz: Thank you.
Interview with Choba

Fitz: Good afternoon Choba. As you are aware, I am currently conducting a research on the Established and Non-established workers in the public sector looking specifically at the policies which govern them in the areas of recruitment, compensation, discipline and retirement. I want you to give me your honest opinion as much as possible while responding to the questions which I am about to ask you. I have a set of questions which I will ask, but they will follow a semi-structured format. This simply means that depending on your response, another question may be asked to clarify any issue.

Choba: I am a retired Educator, having worked in Education for over 17 years. I have a PhD in Sociology from Brandeis University, having completed a Bachelor’s Degree in Economics and Sociology there. I taught for over twelve years in Nigeria at the Polytechnic school. I have been lecturing at the University of the West Indies. I am trained in the areas of Polytechnic and Instructional Design, with a specific skill to write Text Books for Distance Learning Students.

Fitz: Please tell me a little bit about yourself, your highest level of qualifications and your work.

Choba: Well as far as I see, and from doing business with the public sector and interacting with the many workers who come here as students, the non-established workers have no clear policy especially when they are recruiting workers. First the jobs are not advertised, and this allows the recruitment policy to be arbitrary. Workers come in the system because of nepotism.

Fitz: What would have been your connection with the Public Sector and the workers there?

Choba: What happens is that the policy is not laid-down in the statutes of the civil service and this is the root cause of the problem. I think that it was a way to just give people work to do without going through the formalities. For example where I was working, if I have a little work for someone to do, I will tell a staff and they will recommend somebody to work. They will not be on the official payroll, and will not be entitled to benefits given by the University. It will cost the University less than if they had to recruit someone. To hire someone the right way would have cost the university more. It will cost them less going that route.

Fitz: What do you think was the intention of the policy?

Choba: People can be recruited through favours and nepotism. It happens at the top and at the bottom. Bottom people are paid less and top people are paid more. Either way, there is no security of tenure.

Fitz: Did the policy achieve its objectives?

Choba: It did provide work for some people, so by far perhaps it did.

Fitz: How is the policy monitored?

Choba: There is no monitoring! When there is a change in the political arena, non-established workers lose their jobs, and another set come in. Some non-established
workers have more than one (1) job - ghost workers - recruited through political patronage in all levels of the government service.

Fitz: How is compensation arrived at for the non - established workers?

Choba: To tell you the truth, there is no compensation scale. At the established level there us a scale, but none at the non - established level.

Fitz: Outline the way the non - established workers are recruited as compared to the Established workers.

Choba: This is where the policies divert, because there is no real structured way that the non - established worker comes on board. There is no qualifications, no screening for suitability to the post and there is no personal job - fit.

Fitz: How was this policy Institutionalized?

Choba: This has been practiced so much and for so long that it becomes the norm. I am not too sure how the policy came about or the thinking behind the policy, but it affects the culture of the sector. You see there is a resentment for non - established workers at the top because they earn more money that their established counterpart. The relationship between the two groups are uneasy and this creates tension. Persons come into the system because of politics and no one can touch them. They become inefficient and are low on being productive.

Fitz: What makes this policy different from other policies?

Choba: There are set rules for retirement (331/3 years) full pension and long leave. This policy reflects a political culture where party members expect to be given jobs. When a party loses power there is a strong possibility that these workers will go, or lose their jobs. If they stay they are resented.

Fitz: How does this political culture impacts the Non - established workers?

Choba: This impacts negatively. People feel that they don’t have to work. They believe that they are untouchable. They even cause people to be overlooked in the Established arena since so much attention is shown to them.

Fitz: What training is provided for the Non - established worker?

Choba: Well since they seem to have created a problem with an excessive large bureaucracy, there is very little training. In fact many are underutilized, they are unproductive and people are not willing to work at their full capacity. Despite this, there is very little or no training.

Fitz: How is productivity measures within the public sector?

Choba: There are no instrument used to measure productivity.

Fitz: What are your feelings about having both groups of workers? Is there an advantage?

Choba: The Non - established worker should be scrapped, except at the top where there can be limited contracts. I cannot see the need for the Non - established workers, when the guidelines are clear for establishing a worker permanently. Unless persons are needed in a hurry, with short - term contracts, there may not be any need for the group of workers.

Fitz: The advantage?
Choba: Oh, the only advantage to have this group of workers is to the politicians. However, I don’t think that we can get the rid of the Non-established workers. When the voluntary separation package was offered, a number of skilled personnel left the service, both established and non-established. Yet there is continued corruption, stagnation and inefficiency. Despite this, any government which comes to power and do not provide jobs for its people will not survive.

Fitz: Anything else you want to add.

Choba: I hope you help these people to fix the sector. Boy they have some serious problems.

Fitz: I am hoping that out of this exe rise a start can be made.

Choba: Well, good luck!
## Appendix 7

### Coding Themes for Qualitative Data (EW)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Established</th>
<th>Compensation</th>
<th>Pension Arrangements</th>
<th>Recruitment Policy</th>
<th>Culture</th>
<th>Discipline</th>
<th>Way forward</th>
<th>Political Involvement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Recruited for permanent positions</td>
<td>salaries set by salary scale</td>
<td>set rule for pension</td>
<td>Recruit by PSC. Minimal qualifications 5 CXC subjects</td>
<td>Merit system</td>
<td>Disciplined by P.S. along with Permanent Secretary</td>
<td>make the public sector an employer of choice</td>
<td>political will needed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>minimum qualifications required</td>
<td>salaries cannot change except through negotiation</td>
<td>pension after 33½ years</td>
<td>Background checks necessary</td>
<td>promotion based on years of service</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>variety of skills</td>
<td>policies diverge</td>
<td></td>
<td>PSC does the appointment</td>
<td>evaluation done only when promotion is recommended</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mandatory retirement at 60 years.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Civil service regulation governs body</td>
<td>constrained by culture of seniority</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Background checks necessary
- Promotion based on years of service
- Evaluation done only when promotion is recommended
- Make the public sector an employer of choice
- Political will needed
- Merging will be difficult
- Let individuals become specialist
- A public service where there is greater efficiency
Appendix 8
Coding Themes for Qualitative Data (NEW)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-established</th>
<th>Compensation</th>
<th>Pension Arrangements</th>
<th>Recruitment policy</th>
<th>Culture</th>
<th>Discipline</th>
<th>Way Forward</th>
<th>Political Involvement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>policies used for jobs</td>
<td>salaries set by politicians through Cabinet</td>
<td>no set rules for pension</td>
<td>Recruitment by politicians. Qualifications not a requirement unless on contract</td>
<td>Double standard exist</td>
<td>Permanent Secretary cannot discipline</td>
<td>let the service be one</td>
<td>recruit party supporters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no minimal qualifications</td>
<td>politicians can arbitrarily increase salaries</td>
<td>pension after 10 years</td>
<td>Cabinet does the appointment</td>
<td>Ethics poor</td>
<td>Political intervention</td>
<td>Institute disciplinary committee</td>
<td>negotiate with cabinet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no defined skill required</td>
<td>No set pattern or scale exist</td>
<td>No clear policy</td>
<td>supervision lacking</td>
<td>morale and motivation comes into focus</td>
<td>P.S. take a &quot;hands off approach</td>
<td>merge the service is not going to happen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Difficult to remove</td>
<td>no system to measure productivity</td>
<td>Nepotism and patronage</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no framework</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>no security of tenure</td>
<td>no evaluation</td>
<td>Political will absent.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Influx of non-est. changed the service</td>
<td>rational for policy unknown</td>
<td>politicians recruit</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>NEW should be contract workers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>greater flexibility to negotiate salary</td>
<td>created imbalance-anomaly</td>
<td>III-disciplined workers exist</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Cannot get rid of NEW.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEW Workers at the top has greater flexibility and can negotiate salary</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hiring illegal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a puzzle</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX 9

THE EASTERN CARIBBEAN SUPREME COURT
IN THE HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE
ANTIGUA AND BARBUDA

CLAIM NO. ANUHCV 2012/0209

BETWEEN:

ANGELIQUE FORD
Claimant

AND

PERMANENT SECRETARY, MINISTRY OF NATIONAL SECURITY AND LABOUR
Defendant

Appearances:
Dr. David Dorsett for the Claimant
Mrs. Carla Harris Brooks for the Defendant

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2012: September 20

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RULING

[1] REMY J.: The Claimant is an Immigration Officer. The Defendant is the Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of National Security and Labour.

[2] By letter dated 28th September 2011, the Defendant advised the Claimant that she was "found to be in breach of the Antigua and Barbuda Criminal Act" and was suspended from her duties from 22nd September 2011 to 19th October 2011, "pending investigations into the matter." After completion of her suspension on 19th October 2011, she was not allowed to resume her duties.
By application dated 22nd February 2012, the Claimant applied for leave to apply for judicial review with respect to the continued suspension. Leave was granted on 4th April 2012. The first hearing was adjourned to 29th May 2012.

On 5th April 2012, the Claimant filed her fixed date claim form seeking among others, the following remedies:-

i). An Order of certiorari quashing the decision of the Defendant to suspend the Claimant from her duties from 22nd September 2011;

ii). A declaration that the decision of the Defendant to suspend the Claimant on account of a purported breach of the Antigua and Barbuda Criminal Act is illegal, irrational, and unfair; there being no such Act.

iii). A declaration that the Defendant is entitled to her full salary from the date of her suspension on 22nd September 2011.

iv). An order that the Defendant do pay all salary due to the Claimant following her suspension on 22nd September 2011.

v). A declaration that the Claimant is entitled to resume her duties as Immigration Officer Grade V.

vi). An order that the Defendant is restrained whether by himself, his servants, or agents, or howsoever otherwise from impeding, interfering, or otherwise hindering the Claimant from performing her duties as an Immigration Officer Grade V.

The Claimant also sought damages, interest and costs.

By letter dated 12th April 2012, the Defendant ordered the Claimant to report to duty on 16th April 2012. By a further letter dated the 12th April 2012, the Defendant requested that the Claimant provide a written report with respect to “an incident that occurred at the VC Bird International Airport.” The Claimant provided the report by memo dated 13th April 2012. By letter dated 4th May 2012 the Defendant preferred two charges against the Claimant and advised of a hearing scheduled for May 14th 2012 with respect to the charges.
On 11th May 2012 the Claimant filed a Without Notice Application seeking inter alia, an order that “proceedings brought by the Respondent (the Permanent Secretary) against the Applicant by letter dated 4th May 2012 be stayed until further order.” On 11th May 2012, the Court heard the application and granted the said Order. The return date was set for 29th May 2012.

In her Affidavit filed on 24th May 2012, Ms. Sharon Peters, Permanent Secretary within the Ministry of National Security and Labour (the Defendant) deposed inter alia that:

a) The Claimant is not a civil servant as defined in the Civil Service Act, Cap 87 but a non-established employee. “By instrument of appointment dated 16th December 2005, the Claimant was appointed by the Governor-General as an Immigration Officer effective 1st January 2005 on the advice of Cabinet.

b) Since the Claimant is a non-established employee, the Civil Service Act, Cap 87 and its Regulations do not apply to her. Her contract with the Government is governed by the Antigua and Barbuda Labour Code.

The Claimant filed an Affidavit in Reply on the 25th May 2012, in which she deposed as follows: -

1. “Whilst it is the case that by letter dated 17th May 2002 I was appointed by the Defendant’s predecessor as an Input Clerk, the reality is that by an instrument given under the hand of the Governor-General on 16th December 2005, I was appointed to be an Immigration Officer with effect from 1st January 2005.

2. Whilst it may be the case that the Permanent Secretary may have the “power to appoint and discipline non-established employees” the current state of affairs is that the power that appointed me is the Governor-General. As of now I have a singular appointment, and appointment by the Governor-
General. Non-established employees are not persons appointed by the Governor-General."

[10] When the matter came up for hearing on the 29th May 2012 (the return date), Counsel for the Claimant had not served the Affidavit of 25th May 2012 on Counsel for the Defendant. The Court made an Order inter alia that:-

a) The application filed on the 11th May 2012 was adjourned to 7th June 2012.
b) Respondent to file Affidavit in Reply within 14 days.
c) Counsel for Claimant granted leave to file Affidavit in Response within 7 days.
d) Parties to file and serve Statement of Facts, Issue and Law within 21 days thereafter.
e) The Matter (i.e. the hearing of the application for judicial review) was adjourned to 24th July, 2012 at 2 p.m.

[11] On the 7th June 2012, the hearing of the application filed on the 11th May 2012 came up for hearing before the Court and Counsel made oral submissions to the Court. Dr. Dorsett, Counsel for the Claimant submitted that the Defendant is not entitled to prefer any charges against the Claimant and to initiate disciplinary proceedings against her. Learned Counsel grounds his submission on the following:-

a. The Applicant's first appointment was by letter or Instrument of May 17th 2002; the Applicant was at that time a non-established person. Subsequent to this appointment as a non-established person, the Applicant later received an Instrument of Appointment under the hand of the Governor-General. This Instrument was granted under Statutory power, specifically, Section 3 (2) of the Immigration and Passport Act. By virtue of this appointment, the appointment of 2002 "lapsed and it ceased and is no more". So, as of the present time, the only appointment and the Applicant's current appointment is that of the Governor-General, a Section 3(2) appointment.
b. When one looks at the Immigration and Passport Act, one would see that only certain persons may be appointed to such an office, as that of Immigration Officer. An Immigration officer, as one reads Section 3(2) of the Immigration and Passport Act, is that of "a police officer not below the rank of a subordinate police officer."

c. There is no issue with the Respondent stating that she has the power to appoint and discipline non-established officers. Further, non-established officers fall under the Antigua and Barbuda Labour Code (the Labour Code). However, the Applicant is not a non-established employee as of now. When one looks at the Labour Code and the sections that define the persons covered and more particularly those who are not covered, the Applicant does not fall under the jurisdiction of the Labour Code.

[12] Mrs. Carla Brookes-Harris, Learned Counsel for the Defendant, submitted that it was important to establish whether the Claimant was an established employee or a non-established employee. Learned Counsel developed her submissions as follows:-

(i) The Claimant is a non-established employee and therefore the Civil Service Act, Cap. 87 of the Laws of Antigua and Barbuda and its regulations, do not apply to the Claimant. The Civil Service Act defines a civil servant. The Claimant is not an established employee; in the First Schedule to the Civil Service Act, the position of Immigration Officer is not mentioned in it at all. It is on this basis that the Respondent submits that the Claimant is not an established employee.

(ii) As a non-established employee, the Antigua and Barbuda Labour Code governs the Claimant's contract of employment within the Government.

(iii) Immigration Officers are no longer regarded as police officers and as such the ground on which the Claimant is stating that the Labour Code does not apply cannot stand. Since there's no doubt that the Claimant is a non-established
worker, the next issue to be addressed is whether the Permanent Secretary has the power to exercise disciplinary control over the Claimant.

(iv) Learned Counsel for the Claimant has conceded that if an individual is a non-established employee, then the Permanent Secretary has such power to exercise disciplinary control over non-established employees.

(v) By virtue of Section 80 of the Constitution, the Governor-General cannot act on her own to remove or suspend the Claimant.

(vi) By virtue of Section 78 of the Constitution, the Permanent Secretary is the Head of the Ministry under the direction of the Minister. The Permanent Secretary is therefore responsible for managing the day to day affairs of the Ministry and this would include investigation of alleged misconduct by employees within the Ministry.

(vii) Section 100 of the Constitution provides how and by whom an established employee is appointed. The Section provides that the Public Service Commission has the power to appoint persons to hold offices in the public service. The Claimant has failed to adduce any evidence that she was appointed by the Public Service Commission. It is clear from the documents exhibited to the Affidavit of Ms. Sharon Peters that the Public Service Commission had nothing to do with the appointment of the Claimant as an Immigration Officer.

[13] By way of rebuttal, Dr. Dorsett re-iterated that the appointment of the Applicant is an appointment by the Governor-General pursuant to statute. It is the submission of Learned Counsel that in the absence of any Section within the Immigration and Passport Act dealing with how the Applicant may be “dis-appointed,” then recourse must be had to Section 18 of the Interpretation Act. He contends that Section 18 does not vest directly or indirectly or by any circuitous route any power to the Permanent Secretary. There is no need to resort to other acts or other legislation. If the Immigration and Passport Act is silent, an act is on the books to fill in the gaps and that
Act is the Interpretation Act which is designed to interpret anything that may be missing from the Immigration and Passport Act as it relates to the appointment or dis-appointment of the Applicant.

THE LEGISLATIVE FRAMEWORK

[14] Section 78(1) of the Antigua and Barbuda Constitution Order 1981 (the Constitution) states:

"Where any Minister has been assigned responsibility for any department of government, he shall exercise direction and control over that department; and, subject to such direction and control, the department shall be under the supervision of a Permanent Secretary whose office shall be a public office."

[15] The Civil Service Act, section 3 states:

‘3. (1) The several public offices in the public service from time to time set out in the First Schedule are deemed to constitute the Civil Service of Antigua and Barbuda which is hereby established for the purposes of this Act.

(2) A public officer who holds a public office in the public service that by subsection (1) is deemed to be an office in the Civil Service shall be referred to as a Civil Servant.”

[16] The Antigua and Barbuda Labour Code (The Code) Cap. 27 defines “non-established employee” as:

"non-established employee” means a person who is employed by the Government whose wage or salary is paid from or out of funds other than personal emoluments included in the Official Estimates of Antigua and Barbuda;"

and defines “established employee” as:-

"established employee” means a Civil Servant or a person employed by the Government whose salary is paid from or out of personal emoluments included in the Official Estimates of Antigua and Barbuda.”
Section A 6(1) states:-

"A 6. (1) To the extent that provisions of this Code apply to employers, they shall apply to all employers of Antigua and Barbuda including the Government as the employer of its non-established employees; but they shall not bind the Government as the employer of its other employees."

Section A 6(2) states:-

"To the extent that provisions of this Code apply to employees, they shall apply to all employees of employers in Antigua and Barbuda including non-established employees of the Government; but they shall not apply to

a) established employees of the Government;"

[17] The Immigration and Passport (Amendment) Act, 1999 – No. 2 of 1999, amended section 3 of the Immigration and Passport Act Cap. 208 by repealing subsections (1) and (2) and substituting the following: -

'3 (1) Subject to the direction of the Minister, the Chief Immigration Officer shall administer and enforce this Act and shall control and supervise all persons employed to assist him in the administration and enforcement of this Act.

(2) There may be appointed a fit and proper person to be –

a) a Chief Immigration Officer; and

b) such other immigration officers as may be necessary to enforce the provisions of this act."

c) any appointment under this section shall, if the appointment is to be an office in the Public Service, be made pursuant to the Constitution, but otherwise shall be made by the Governor-General."

ANALYSIS

A - Is the Claimant an established worker or a non-established worker?

[18] In paragraph 3 (3) of her Affidavit filed on the 25th May 2012, the Applicant deposed inter alia that:-
i. "Having been appointed under section 3(2) of the Immigration and Passport Act as a matter of law I am to be regarded as a police officer not below the rank of a subordinate police officer,

ii. The Labour Code does not extend to members of the Police Force or other persons under an appointment by the Governor-General."

[19] The Claimant has undoubtedly failed to take into account that Section 3(2) of the Immigration and Passport Act was repealed and amended by the Immigration and Passport (Amendment) Act, 1999 – No. 2 of 1999. Pursuant to that amendment, and as correctly submitted by Learned Counsel for the Defendant Mrs. Harris, Immigration Officers are no longer regarded as police officers. I therefore endorse the submission of Mrs. Harris that "as such, the ground on which the Claimant is stating that the Labour Code does not apply cannot stand."

[20] The Claimant also contends that whilst the Permanent Secretary may have "the power to appoint and discipline non-established employees", since she was appointed by the Governor-General she cannot be considered as a non-established employee.

[21] The Claimant seems to be contending that, since she was appointed by the Governor-General, she is ipso facto, an established employee. The Court does not find merit in this submission. In the view of the Court, Section 3(2) (c) of the Immigration and Passport Act above does not lend itself to that interpretation. The sub-section makes a distinction between persons appointed to an office in the Public Service, i.e. public officers, and persons who are not appointed to public office. It follows logically therefore, that persons whose appointments under Section 3(2) (c) are made by the Governor-General are not public officers, as they are not appointed to public office. The Claimant is not appointed to public office; she does not fall within the definition of a Civil Servant as provided by Section 3 (2) of the Civil Service Act. She therefore cannot bring herself within the definition of an "established employee" either under the Labour Code or the Civil Service Act.
The Court finds further that the Claimant cannot invoke the aid of Section 100 of the Constitution to provide support for her contention that she is an established employee. While the Section does not make a distinction between an established and a non-established employee, it provides how and by whom an established employee is appointed. The Section provides that the Public Service Commission has the power to appoint persons to hold offices in the public service. I find merit in the submission of Learned Counsel for the Respondent that the Claimant has failed to adduce any evidence that she was appointed by the Public Service Commission. It is clear from the documents exhibited to the Affidavit of Ms. Sharon Peters that the Public Service Commission had nothing to do with the appointment of the Claimant as an Immigration Officer.

By letter to the Claimant dated 8th December 2005, the Claimant was advised of her appointment as Immigration Officer – Grade V effective 1st January 2005. Part of the letter to the Claimant dated 8th December, 2005 and signed by the Permanent Secretary, Office of the Prime Minister, reads thus:-

“Dear Ms. Ford,

I refer to communication dated April 26, 2002 appointing you as Input Clerk, Immigration Department.

I wish to advise that approval has been granted for your appointment as Immigration Officer - Grade V effective 1st January, 2005.

Your monthly emoluments will be as follows:-

........................................
........................................
........................................

Please be also advised that the terms and conditions of your employment remains.

Yours sincerely,

sgd........................................
Permanent Secretary
Office of the Prime Minister”
[24] The Instrument of appointment by the Governor-General reads in part thus:-

*By virtue of the power and authority vested in me under
Section 3 (2) of the Immigration and
Passport Act Cap 208

and of all other powers and authorities me therefore enabling, I do hereby

appoint you MS. ANGELIQUE FORD to be Immigration
Officer with effect from the first day of January, 2005

Given under my hand at Antigua the 16th day of December, 2005

Sgd, ....................................
Governor-General*

[25] The Court notes that the exhibits attached to the Affidavit of the Respondent and filed on the 12th June 2012, namely Exhibits SP2 to SP4, all refer to Salary Vouchers and Monthly Listings for various persons, inclusive of the Claimant. All the exhibits refer to same voucher number with respect to the Claimant Angelique Forde. Next to the Claimant’s name and voucher number is the description “Salaries Non-Est Staff”. It would therefore appear that the Claimant has been receiving her salary on the basis that she is a non-established worker or employee. There is no evidence that the Claimant has opposed this characterization. In fact, as is evident from paragraph 2 of her Affidavit filed on 5th July 2012, the Claimant relies on the above exhibits to “confirm her allegation” that she “was denied a portion of the salary due to her” in the month of November 2011. The Court is of the view that the Claimant is therefore estopped from now denying that she is a non-established worker.

B - Is the Defendant entitled to institute disciplinary proceedings against the Claimant?
[28] Mrs. Harris contends that "since there's no doubt that the Claimant is a non-established worker, the next issue to be addressed is whether the Permanent Secretary has the power to exercise disciplinary control over the Claimant."

[27] As stated above, during his oral submissions before the Court, Dr. Dorsett stated that "there is no issue with the Respondent stating that she has the power to appoint and discipline non-established officers."

[28] At first blush it would appear that, based on the above findings that the Claimant is a non-established employee, that the task of the Court in determining the above issue would be a relatively straightforward one. Dr. Dorsett however, strenuously denies the authority of the Defendant to conduct disciplinary proceedings against the Claimant. The Court has to decide whether the Defendant has power to discipline the Claimant, notwithstanding the finding that the Claimant is a non-established employee.

[29] In the "Claimant's Statement of Facts, Issues and Law" filed on the 5th July 2012, Dr. Dorsett submits that "the Defendant is not entitled to prefer any charges against the Claimant and to initiate disciplinary proceedings against her." He contends that the Claimant's appointment is an appointment by the Governor-General under the Immigration and Passport Act, specifically under Section 3 (2) (c) of the said Act.

[30] Dr. Dorsett contends that the Claimant's appointment "is not an appointment 'exercisable upon the recommendation or subject to the approval, consent or concurrence' of another authority, to adopt the language of section 18(1) of the Interpretation Act." He contends that the Claimant's appointment is not in any way conditional on the Defendant's recommendation, approval, consent or concurrence. He adds that, by virtue of section 18(1) of the Interpretation Act, since it is the Governor-General who has appointed the Claimant, it is the Governor-General, and not the Defendant, in whom is vested the power to remove or suspend the Claimant from her office, and, among other things, to "withhold the Claimant's remuneration in whole or in part during any period of suspension from office, and to terminate the Claimant's remuneration on her removal..."
from office.” Briefly stated, Dr. Dorsett submits that, since it is the Governor-General who has appointed the Claimant, it is the Governor-General who alone can dis-appoint the Claimant.

[31] Section 18 of the Interpretation Act reads thus:-

“18. (1) Subject to the Constitution, words in an enactment authorizing the appointment of a person to any office shall be deemed also to confer on the authority in whom the power of appointment is vested ----

a) power, at the discretion of the authority, to remove or suspend him, and

b) power, exercisable in the like manner and subject to the like consent and conditions, if any, applicable on his appointment –
   i. to re-appoint or re-instate him,
   ii. to appoint another person in his stead, or to act in his stead whether or not there is a substantive holder of the office, and to provide for the remuneration of the person so appointed, and
   iii. to fix or vary his remuneration, to withhold his remuneration in whole or in part during any period of suspension from office, and to terminate his remuneration on his removal from office;

but where the power of appointment is only exercisable upon the recommendation or subject to the approval, consent or concurrence of some other person or authority the power of removal shall, unless the contrary intention is expressed in the enactment, be exercised only upon the recommendation, or subject to the approval, consent or concurrence of that other person or authority.”

[32] Dr. Dorsett submits that section 18(1) of the Interpretation Act makes it clear that the decisions relating to the Claimant’s continuation in office and her remuneration “are matters that are solely matters to be determined by the appointing authority, the Governor-General.” He states that the Defendant in her letter of 4th May 2012 (Exhibit AF7, attached to the Claimant’s Affidavit of 11th May 2012) advised that if the Claimant was found guilty of “any of the above Charges the penalty of punishment imposed on you may be either dismissal from the service, demotion in grade and title, or suspension without pay for a fixed period.” Learned Counsel further submits that by that letter, the Defendant “is seeking to ascribe to herself and vest in herself powers that by virtue of section 18(1) of the Interpretation Act are vested solely in the Governor-General”. He
states that the power to appoint or disappoint the Claimant is clearly that of the Governor-General and not that of the Defendant and that the Defendant "is acting ultra vires the Interpretation Act."

[33] It is the further submission of Dr. Dorsett that section 2 of the Immigration and Passport (Amendment) Act 1999 clearly states that "the Chief Immigration Officer shall administer and enforce this Act and shall control and supervise all persons employed to assist him in the administration and enforcement of this Act." He contends that the Defendant is not the Chief Immigration Officer and accordingly, the Defendant "cannot act as one who is empowered to control and supervise the Claimant, a person appointed to enforce the provisions of the Immigration and Passport Act." He adds that "the Defendant can only act in accordance with positive law."

[34] I find merit in the above submission of Dr. Dorsett. The Permanent Secretary (the Defendant) is not endowed with any power or authority under the Immigration and Passport (Amendment) Act to initiate disciplinary proceedings against the Claimant. The Permanent Secretary is not the Chief Immigration Officer. It is the Chief Immigration Officer who is vested with the responsibility of "administering and enforcing the Act" and controlling and supervising all persons employed to assist him in the administration and enforcement of the Act. The Claimant is one such person employed to assist him. The Chief Immigration Officer is "subject to the direction of the Minister". He is not subject to the direction of the Permanent Secretary. Consequently, any decision to control and supervise persons, including, arguably, the decision to initiate disciplinary proceedings, would be the domain of the Chief Immigration Officer, either of his own accord or acting under the direction of the Minister.

[35] Learned Counsel for the Defendant, Mrs. Harris has submitted that by virtue of Section 78 of the Constitution, the Permanent Secretary is the Head of the Ministry under the direction of the Minister. She contends that "the Permanent Secretary is therefore responsible for managing the day to day affairs of the Ministry and this would include
investigation of alleged misconduct by employees within the Ministry." With the greatest of respect, I disagree with Counsel's submission.

[36] Section 78(1) of the Antigua and Barbuda Constitution Order 1981 (the Constitution) states:

"Where any Minister has been assigned responsibility for any department of government, he shall exercise direction and control over that department; and, subject to such direction and control, the department shall be under the supervision of a Permanent Secretary whose office shall be a public office."

[37] It is the Minister who is the head of the department of Government; in the instant case, the Ministry of National Security and Labour; not the Permanent Secretary "under the direction of the Minister," as Mrs. Harris contends. It is the Minister who is responsible for the department and exercises direction and control over it. The role of the Permanent Secretary is not one of control, but is a supervisory one. Further, the Permanent Secretary's supervisory role is circumscribed by the direction of the Minister. It is my view, therefore, that Section 78(1) of the Constitution does not authorize the Permanent Secretary to initiate disciplinary proceedings against the Claimant.

[38] The Court notes further that the Labour Code which makes the distinction between an "established employee" and a "non-established employee", does not contain any provision authorizing the Permanent Secretary to exercise disciplinary control over non-established workers.

[39] The letter addressed to the Claimant dated 4th May 2012 was to "notify" the Claimant that 2 charges "are preferred against her. The first "Statement of Offence" states that the Claimant "...an Immigration Officer did misconduct herself..." Particulars of the "misconduct" are spelt out. The second Statement of Offence states that the Claimant, "...an Immigration Officer" did "misconduct herself by failing to perform and or discharge her duties as an Immigration Officer." The letter, which was signed by the Permanent Secretary (the Defendant) ends by advising the Claimant as follows:-

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".....You are further advised that if you are found guilty of any of the above Charges the penalty of punishment imposed on you may be either dismissal from the service, demotion in grade and title, or suspension without pay for a fixed period."

[40] In the above letter, the Permanent Secretary, does not state that she is acting under the direction or authorization of the Minister; she does not state that she is acting under the supervision of the Chief Immigration Officer. There is no indication that these persons are even aware of her action, let alone whether they have given their stamp of approval. The Defendant has merely copied the said letter to the Minister and the Chief Immigration Officer (as well as to Mrs. Harris and Dr. Dorsett).

[41] Based on the above, I am of the view that the Defendant is not vested with the power or authority to prefer charges against the Claimant, or to exercise disciplinary control over her. She does not have the authority to conduct or direct disciplinary hearings against the Claimant with respect to the alleged "misconduct" referred to in her letter dated 4th May 2012. The Immigration and Passport Act gives her no such authority. Section 78(1) of the Constitution gives her no such authority; neither does the Civil Service Act nor the Labour Code. Whether or not the lacuna in the legislation is filled by Section 18(1) of the Interpretation Act – as submitted by Dr. Dorsett - is not an issue for determination by the Court.

[42] I endorse the submission of Learned Counsel for the Claimant that the Claimant is entitled to a stay of proceedings initiated by the Defendant against the Claimant by letter dated 4th May 2012 and an appropriate declaration.

[43] This brings me to the remaining issue, namely setting a date for the hearing of the application for Judicial Review. As stated above, the Order of the Court made on the 29th day of May 2012 was, inter alia, that the hearing of the Judicial Review was adjourned to the 24th July 2012. On that date, due to unavoidable circumstances, the said hearing did not take place. The Court now orders that the said hearing shall take place on the 25th day September 2012 at 2 p.m.
ORDER

My Order is as follows:-

1) The Court declares that the Defendant is not authorized to initiate disciplinary proceedings against the Claimant.

2) The proceedings initiated by the Defendant against the Claimant by letter dated 4th May 2012 are hereby stayed.

3) The hearing of the application for Judicial Review is set for the 25th day of September, 2012 at 2 p.m.

JENNIFER REMY
Resident High Court Judge
Antigua and Barbuda
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