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Richard Kerley, Joyce Liddle, Pamela T. Dunning

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Ann Marie Bissessar
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THE POLITICAL SALIENCE
OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT
IN A SMALL STATE

Ann Marie Bissessar

Introduction

The basic premise of any democratic society is to expand the ‘voice’ of its population and to allow citizens, irrespective of race, gender, religion or other differences, some measure of participation in decision making within that society. In other words, the extent of ‘democracy’ within a society hinges upon the tools or mechanisms introduced in that society to allow for consultation and collaboration. While there is an extensive literature on collaboration in the policy process (Keane 2009; Habermas 1984). Holmes (2011: 1) argues that:

Genuine engagement in the ‘co-production’ of policy and services requires major shifts in the culture and operations of government agencies. It demands of public servants’ new skills as enablers, negotiators and collaborators. It demands of citizens an orientation to the public good, a willingness to actively engage, and the capabilities needed to participate and deliberate well. These are tall orders, especially if citizens are disengaged and certain groups within the population are marginalised.

In order to foster greater participation and collaboration in decision-making, one mechanism that has been introduced by many developed and developing countries, were systems of local government.

In former colonies of Britain, local government, or ‘district or ward administration’ as it was then referred to in the early 1900s, focused primarily on the delivery of administrative services and the maintenance of limited infrastructure to areas which were often isolated because of lack of connective structures such as roads and transportation (Bissessar 2003). Later, in the 1960s, as these various colonies attained independence, the system of district administration was conceptually broadened into a system of local government. Included in that system were clear lines of geographical demarcation which later became known as ‘boundary lines’. These ‘lines’ defined the voting constituencies. However, as the concept of local government widened to include not only expanded administrative services that were adaptive to a particular community, but also to include the local population in community as well as central decision-making tensions became apparent. Rather than bringing the population together in a collaborative effort at ‘national’ decision-making, the boundaries set up under the system of local government
established communal territories. It further reinforced the racial divisions within this society. To a large extent, then, in the case of Trinidad and Tobago, local government has remained in a suspended state, one in which a limited measure of ‘administration’ is the primary focus. Local government has therefore been confined to de-centralisation of basic services at the local level. As it relates to the twin-goals of educating and empowering citizens this has not been achieved. Rather the fragmentation within this society continues to promote the syndrome of ‘we’ versus ‘them’. This communal pull has largely prevented local government from achieving wider goals of participation, collaboration and consensual decision-making. The discussion which follows will accordingly present a brief overview of the county and later discuss the attempts at reforming local government from the 1960s onwards.

Trinidad and Tobago: establishing a society from transplanted groups

In ex-colonial societies such as Trinidad and Tobago, the population is largely a ‘transplanted’ society comprising mainly of ex-slaves brought from Africa and indentured labourers, the majority of whom were brought from Kolkata, India. The assimilation of these ethnic groups or communities was initially based on the need of the plantation owners for cheap sources of labour. However, with the abolition of slavery, the former slaves, now freed men and women, migrated from the plantations and moved to the townships where they were employed as petty artisans, carpenters or on the railways. The East Indians, on the other hand were mainly domiciled on the cane plantations. While this pattern of settlement of ‘groups’ existed in many of the ex-colonies, a major difference in how the groups were located was also based on the size of the countries. It is reasonable to assume, for instance, that in large countries where there are many ethnic communities, the method or mechanism for assimilation varied; for example, in the case of Guyana, the African population settled in the coastal areas while the East Indians settled in the interior. In the larger countries, because of the vast geographical distances between the groups, the potential conflict between these groups was understandably limited. In the small countries, however, where the potential for conflict existed, the mechanisms for assimilation of these groups had to take into account the views and expectations of the various ethnic communities and accordingly translate them into what may be reasonable policies for the country as a whole. In other words, the governments had to take a more position that emphasised policy compromise. In doing this, the perceptions a community may have of others was critical in determining the nature of a particular policy or mechanism.

These perceptions of the ‘other’ may well be what Tonnies (1940) described in his 
\[\text{gemeinschaft}\] and \[\text{gesellschaft}\] relationships. According to Tonnies, \[\text{gemeinschaft}\] relations are essentially identified with kinship and biological ties, sharing of place, as well as common values, ideals and bonds that are expressed through sacred beliefs and represented by sacred places and worshipped deities. \[\text{Gesellschaft relationships}\], on the other hand, are best represented in states where convention, contract, legislative law and public opinion provide the bases for law, order and morality. In many societies, particularly ex-colonial societies, \[\text{gemeinschaft relationships}\] seem to be the order of the day. It should be recalled, though, that the perception of ‘we-ness’ as opposed to ‘they-ness’ were constructs that were virtually imposed by the colonial administrators. The policy of what of what has been described as a policy of divide and rule was deliberate in order to erect barriers to foster the assimilation of these groups. To further ensure the separation of these groups, in a number of colonial territories, as was noted in the case of Trinidad and Tobago, groups were allocated separate and distinct geographic \[\text{spaces}\]. In some countries, as well, the imposition of colonial political structures, systems and institutions further served to maintain the separation
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of the various communities. The nature of the accommodation of the various groups is perhaps appropriately summed up by Stavenhagen (1996: 61). He observed that colonial domination created varied different patterns in societies where foreign peoples were brought in, either as slaves or indentured servants or simply as plantation labour. One similarity, he pointed out, was that the struggles that emerged in later years involved ethnic groups whose identities were not linked to early territorial claims (as in Fiji) in regional concentration (as in Nigeria) or to ancient historical markers (Burundi). Rather, these groups or communities were linked to more recent and more visible ethnic markers such as race, religion, and culture and directly related to political competition over the resources of the state.

In the case of the twin-island republic of Trinidad and Tobago, the experience was no different. Even though Trinidad and Tobago are relatively small geographies, the demarcation of the country into divisions, while it did promote awareness of local concerns, led to the establishment of communal territories and erected communal markers. To a large extent, this communal separation has largely been retained and is reflected in the voting trends from 1956 to present. This separation and its continued reinforcement by the two major political parties has been largely responsible for the population perceiving the country along ‘communal’ rather than national lines. Furthermore, it has led to a major weakness in the management of local government systems within the country.

Independence and the reform of local government

With the limited resource and the wide expanse of territory, under colonial administration, the mandates of the former administrators were limited to law, order, and the maintenance of basic infrastructure. As a result, the mechanism of district administration, the forerunner of local government was limited as well. However, when ministerial government was introduced in 1956 and later in 1962 as the country attained independent status, the newly established government of the People’s National Movement (an African-based party) sought to introduce a number of development initiatives. Among these initiatives was a five-year plan, including proposals to decentralise the health systems along with mechanisms to improve the systems of local administration. Accordingly, one local newspaper observed in its editorial:

The purpose of the extension of local government responsibilities in the counties is to decentralize administrative functions and to provide local people with experience suitable incentives in the management of their affairs.

(Sunday Guardian, 15 March 1959: 9)

Singh (1970), an early critic of the systems of local government in the Caribbean, suggested however, that what was actually introduced was a de-concentration of power, rather than decentralisation. He argued that in transplanting local government institutions, even during its inception, the Governors in all the British colonies had ‘busied themselves with applying the British forms but failed to give much attention to the spirit and content of political institutions as to their constitutional façade’ (Singh 1970: 22). He argued that later attempts to foster the success of this system were thwarted by ambitious and impatient politicians who viewed political power, not training as their aim. To a large extent, this statement has been supported by the minimal reforms attempted to date even though a number of reform committees were established overtime.

For example, in 1965, recommendations for appropriate measures to allow for the shift in local administration away from the former ‘ward or district administration’ were delegated to
a committee, the Sinanan Committee. The head of this committee was Dr Eric Williams, the political leader of the People’s National Movement party. The mandate of this Committee was to recommend measures to allow for decentralisation from the central government particularly and to allow for greater empowerment of the local communities. One of the recommendations of this Committee was that the system of Local Government should become one of the major mechanisms to improve democracy within the country. It was believed, in principle, that this introduction would also assist with the movement towards self-determination. In other words, the underlying philosophy was that the country had to be developed by people who lived in the respective communities. The committee gave little attention to the assimilation of the various groups.

Emerging from the recommendations of the Sinanan Committee was the introduction of the County Council Act of 1967. This Act separated local government control into seven distinct and named countries; St Patrick, Victoria, Nariva/Mayaro, St George, St Andrews/St David, Caroni and the smaller island of Tobago. A number of other critical recommendations of the committee were however, ignored and instead of measures to allow for the decentralisation of key functions to local governments in the communities, many of the functions and responsibilities under the control of the municipalities were centralised. For example, the Water and Sewerage Act (1965) established a Statutory Corporation, the Water and Sewerage Authority (WASA), which was given the monopoly position of water sourcing and distribution. Additionally, legislation such as the Statutory Authorities Act (1965) and the Civil Service Act (1966) allowed that the authorities established under these differing pieces of legislation to become the principal agencies with responsibility of staff appointments, transfers and disciplines. The nature of this centralisation, which also included financial centralisation as set out under the Exchequer and Audit Act (1965) seemed counter to the remit of a system of local government. Indeed, the introduction of these authorities and the financial impositions on the county councils were clearly not in keeping with the intent of systems of local government, which by its very term suggested empowerment of the citizenry at the local levels. In interrogating the basic, first level tenets of a system of local government or decentralised administration, it should be noted that this is a broad concept which comprises institutions, systems, processes but essentially focuses on the empowering of its citizenry.

As Shah (2007) observes, local government is usually defined as the formulation and execution of collective action at the local level. Thus, it encompasses the direct and indirect role of formal institutions of local government and government hierarchies as well as the roles of informal norms, networks, community organisations and neighbourhood associations in pursuing collective action by defining the framework for citizen–citizen and citizen–state interactions, collective decision-making and the delivery of local public services. The bottom-line though, is that local government is about ‘self-governing’ communities. In many countries around the world, local government systems have a number of functions which include planning and monitoring, service delivery at the local level, law-making and enforcement, policy development, representation and advocacy. In other words, the role of the central as opposed to the local government systems are clearly established with the central government having responsibility for policy development as well as for the determination of standards of service and performance while service delivery was to be provided at local government level. Essentially, it was a two-tiered system of administration with policy being determined at the centre and delivery at the peripheries. The advantages to be obtained from this kind of arrangement were numerous and included a closer link to customers, timeliness in the delivery of services, and cost effectiveness for the payment of these services. This method of administration also ensured that the voice of the citizen would be heard.
Yet, while the perception from the outside was that Trinidad and Tobago was a consolidated country subdivided into this two-tiered central and local government structure, within the country it was evident that the country was fractured by two main groups each vying for political power, namely the African-descended population and the East Indian descended population. While it was true that there were other groups within the population, these groups tended to consolidate their power in the business sphere rather than vie for power in the political arena. Thus even before the country attained independence, it was evident that the battle line was drawn between the two majority groups and this was clearly visible from the 1968 local government election results (see Table 8.1).

That it was a two-party race was clear. The People’s National Movement (with much of its support drawn from the African-descended population) captured 49.4% of the votes or sixty-eight seats while the East Indian party, the Democratic Labour Party captured 40.0% of the vote or 28 seats.

Given the high level of distrust between the two groups and the contest for power the local government systems in Trinidad and Tobago became confined to the delivery of basic services such as the maintenance of government buildings, the maintenance of public cemeteries, markets, and the maintenance of basic infrastructure.

It is not clear why, even at inception, limited powers were actually given to the administrators and local government councillors. Perhaps, one explanation is that offered by Mills (1977). He argued that ‘older officials’ conditioned by the colonial system and some as heads of departments and who were accustomed to performing roles as policy makers resented the intrusion of elected political heads and found difficulty in adjusting to their new subordinate status. On the other hand, he observed that the ministers were conscious of their newly acquired powers and were determined to dispel any suggestions of inferiority. If his opinion is correct, then perhaps, one of the challenges during this period may have been due to the reluctance of the newly elected and appointed ministers to delegate powers. This suggestion is also supported by Ryan (2002).

Yet other factors may also have been influential. In a newly independent country, issues such as lack of trained staff, inadequate systems to monitor and evaluate agencies, as well the lack of enthusiasm on the part of the general citizenry could also have been relevant to the decision to allow many of the key responsibilities of government to be remain centralised. One salient factor also would have been ideological. While much of the current literature on local government relates to the empowerment of citizenry, it should be recalled that during the period 1960s to 1970s, the focus of governments around the world was primarily on decentralisation as an administrative approach for local-level governance in the post-colonial era. Cohen and Peterson (1996) suggested that during this period the focus was largely on administrative aspects of decentralisation, with particular concern with the legal organisation of centre-field office relationships and the role of local authorities or municipalities within a centrally managed government.

*Table 8.1 Results of the local government elections, 1968*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Seats won</th>
<th>Votes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>People’s National Movement</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>49.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democratic Labour Party</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>40.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Country Group, St Andrew-St. David</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independents</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rejected</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One argument that has never been proffered in an examination of the challenges in delegating power to local government authorities in the case of Trinidad, though, has been the conflicts between the two political parties. Yet, political conflicts between the two majority racial groups cannot be discounted in any discussion about the extent to which power is disbursed in a country or the level of empowerment one allocates to its citizenry. In discussing conflict, perhaps the criteria advanced by Kreps and Wenger (1973) are pertinent. They enlisted four levels of conflict, namely:

- The greater the scope of the conflict, the greater the issues.
- The greater the scope of the conflict, the more important the issues involved in the process.
- The greater the scope of the conflict, the greater the societal polarisation.
- The greater the scope of the conflict, the greater the progress of the partisan and leadership.

In the case of Trinidad and Tobago, the two latter points seem to be extremely relevant. An examination of the composition of the society within specific constituencies would for instance reveal that these formed the bedrock of one of the two major racial groups. Thus, while the constituencies who supported the government virtually enjoyed the ‘spoils’ those who supported the opposing party complained that they were discriminated and polarised. The idea of ‘empowerment’ of the rank and file of the citizenry therefore would not have been beneficial to any ruling party at this time. Factors such as the reluctance of the early politicians to delegate power, the lack of capacity, limited resources and racial considerations were undoubtedly responsible for the decisions taken by the government as it related to power-sharing between the centre and the peripheries. In addition, it should be recalled that whenever a party assumes power, it is often accompanied, particularly in societies which are divided along racial lines, with patronage. The creation of authorities, ministries and numerous departments therefore facilitated a number of ‘partisan’ relationships during the post-independence period.

**Further attempts to reform local government**

The second attempt at reform of the system of local commenced in 1974 with the appointment of the Hugh Wooding Constitution Commission to address the issue of Constitutional Reform, both at the local and central government levels. Accordingly, This Commission recommended the devolution of significant powers and authority to local governments. These included responsibility for maintenance of schools, specified public buildings, cleaning of beaches, providing facilities for fisheries and greater autonomy to control funds appropriated by Parliament. The central government implemented the recommendation to extend Local Government boundaries, which resulted in the division of County St. George into East and West in 1980. Among other enquiries at this period were the following reports:

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Many of the recommendations of these various committees were purported to be incorporated in the revised County Council Act No 26 of 1977. A third attempt at reform of the local government system was undertaken with the enactment of the Tobago House of Assembly (THA) Act and subsequent operationalisation of the Assembly in 1982. The THA was in essence a County Council with expanded functions and powers.

During the period 1968–1977, it was evident that the management of local government was one in which the central government assumed the leading role. Local governments within the various constituencies continued to offer basic services. While it was true, that local government boards comprising local councillors or administrators were established in each constituency, to a large extent, if not in nearly in all cases, the racial and political affiliation within the particular constituency reflected either the ruling political (racially based) party or the opposition party. Indeed, the outcome of both the local as well as the general elections were predictive with constituencies, according to ethnic groups, voting for their choice of party and leader (see Table 8.2).

As Table 8.2 indicates, 51.1% of the votes were in favour of the Afro-dominant political party the People’s National Movement (PNM) while the East Indian votes were split between the Democratic Action Committee (DAC), Democratic Labour Party (DLP) and the newly formed United Labour Front (ULF) all Indo-based parties.

By the latter half of the 1970s, however, there appeared a shift in the ideological basis of local government to include the citizenry as a primary focus. Thus in 1983, there was a fourth attempt at local government reform by the PNM administration, under the Honourable George Chambers. A Draft Policy Paper on Community Development and Local Government Reform was published for public comment. The language had changed. The manifesto of local government articulated that Local Government Authorities would be a ‘partner’ in the national development process, through enhanced participation in national policy making, community development and development planning. It also proposed a National and an Area Advisory Committee should be established to accomplish these objectives. However, the plans did not elaborate on meaningful mechanisms to promote greater autonomy of Local Government Authorities, nor did it suggest mechanisms for including all citizens into the decision-making process. No doubt, what the government, under a new leader, had sought to do was to try to appeal to the populace as a way of maintaining some level of stability. Indeed, during the period 1981–1990 the country had experienced an economic downturn as a result of the fall in oil prices, the countries major source of income. The period 1981–1983 was therefore extremely unstable with the threats of shut downs and protests. As it stood, though, the ‘good’ intentions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Seats won</th>
<th>Votes</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Democratic Action Committee</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People’s National Movement</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>51.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Labour Front</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>37.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democratic Labour Party</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tapia House Movement</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independents</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rejected</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Catón (2005)
never materialised as this government lost elections after one term in office and plans to reform local government during the period 1983–1990 was once more deferred.

In 1990, the Municipal Corporations Act was passed. The main achievement of this Act was the splitting of the existing eight counties into 14 municipalities. By the 1990s, it was apparent that although an Act had been introduced very little had changed. Power remained centralised and the local government system exhibited little change from the model that had been introduced in 1965 under the Country Council Act. Accordingly, as part of protest action on the part of a number of groups, a major local government conference was held in 1990. The following weaknesses were identified by the various conference presenters:

- inadequate funding;
- weak management;
- control and discipline of staff;
- tenure of the life of the council;
- remuneration and conditions of service of the representatives;
- interaction between council and other government agencies;
- tendering procedures;
- lack of equipment;
- non-delivery of powers to the Councils as made out by the County Councils Act (e.g. street lighting and school feeding).

Yet even this open display challenging the status quo as it related to the lack of initiatives relating to local government reform did nothing to break the inertia. Reforms were not introduced. Rather, it appeared that the system of local government continued to serve as it did in the 1960s with very few changes. By the end of 2016, then, very few reforms had been introduced in the local government authorities although numerous consultations were held to arrive at mechanisms to allow for reforms. Thus the basic functions of local government continued to be limited.

As it related to the community services these included:

- Provision, maintenance and control of public parks, recreation grounds and other public spaces.
- Provision, maintenance and control of public burial grounds, crematoria and cremation sites.
- Maintenance of state property.
- Provision, maintenance and control of all municipal buildings (such as town halls and community centres).
- Erection and provision of stages and platforms for community events.
- Provision, maintenance and control of public retail markets.
- Distribution of truck-borne water to areas without pipelines.
- Coordination of trade fairs, athletic events, cultural displays and entertainment.
- Management of disaster relief efforts, establishing disaster relief centres, clearing roadways and waterways.

**Challenges of local government reform in a small island state**

After nearly fifty-five years of stable democratic rule, albeit with oscillation between the two major race-based, political parties, what emerges is that the power relationship between the central government and local government has experienced little or no significant shifts. Policy prescriptions, staffing, funding, and approvals for projects continue to be administered from the
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Central ministry. Further to this, with few exceptions, even the collection of taxes is channelled through the government’s central fund. In other words, the relationship and the scope of the two agencies of central and the local government remain static.

What accounts for the adherence of this relationship is difficult to unravel since very few data are publicly available as it relates to customer perception of local government, funding irregularities, achievements or lack thereof. What appears from the data, though, is that voter participation at the level of local government continues to be below 50% (Table 8.3).

**Conclusion**

In the case of Trinidad and Tobago, the challenges first highlighted in the 1960s and 1970s to account for the reluctance to realign the arrangements between the central government and the local government are no longer relevant. Factors such as the lack of capable staff, lack of funding, and general distrust between the newly appointed ministers and civil servants can now be discounted. One factor, however, persists and continues to dominate the discussion, namely the racial composition of the society resulting in polarisation at the levels of the political parties. Again, Kreps and Wenger’s (1973: 169) analysis may assist in finding an explanation, from a broader understanding of societal conflict. According to the authors, a number of factors can either facilitate or impede conflict within the community, in this case a small country. The factors identified include:

- a participative political structure;
- the degree of pluralism in the power structures;
- the past history of conflict within the community;
- the degree of structural integration.

Unlike its neighbours such as Suriname or Guyana, in Trinidad and Tobago there is little disturbances during elections, yet it is clear that each government during its term in office has been reluctant to introduce reforms as it relates to local government or to interfere with the existing power-sharing arrangement. While some may suggest that it is due to the lack of political will, this seems a feeble explanation, particularly since there have been many occasions when the respective governments obtained windfalls in their economy.

Rather, what is emerging is that each government, whether African-based or East Indian-based, has paid token attention to decentralisation. Some may suggest that these governments preferred to retain centralised power and exercise control, what some writers may proffer to be a principal–agent arrangement. Yet, another explanation may be, that if further decentralisation or de-concentration of authority was introduced by a government, all groups, irrespective of

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2016</td>
<td>34.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2013</td>
<td>43.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>39.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>37.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>38.7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

their race or political affiliation would directly benefit from state resources. Understandably, this new arrangement would result in a major re-alignment in the power relationship between the political directorate and its citizenry.

In a sense, then, one can argue that in keeping the present centre-local arrangement, the principal, in this case, the governing party stands to benefit tremendously not only in the disbursement of funds and resources to those constituencies that support them, but at the same time by creating central agencies they can place their supporters in top and critical decision making positions. In other words in small societies such as Trinidad and Tobago, the avenue for clientelism prevails. As (Brinkerhoff and Goldsmith 2004) suggest, clientelism refers to a complex chain of personal bonds between political patrons and their individual clients or followers. The bonds, they observe are founded on mutual material advantage: the patron furnishes excludable resources to dependents or accomplices in return for their support and cooperation. But as Schedler (undated) notes, and his observation is relevant in the case of Trinidad and Tobago, clientelism is not a blind personal loyalty that creates bonds between patrons and clients. There is rational economic calculation in building this dyadic relationship. To reinforce the concept, Clapham (1985: 56) cites the Mexican case where voters came up with an impressive list: cash, pencils, lighters, bags of basic foodstuff and so forth for the electoral support that the party leaders wanted from them. He summarises the phenomenon as follows:

\[
\text{Political party leaders at the national level look around for local leaders who command appropriate support within their own areas. They offer the local leader . . . a place in the party, perhaps a candidate in his home constituency. The local leader gets out the vote, essentially through his own contacts and authority, and delivers it to the national party. The national party in turn assuming that it wins power delivers benefits to its local representative, in the form either of economic allocations from the centre to the constituency . . . or of a purely personal pay-off, or of central government support in local political conflicts. (Clapham 1985: 56)}
\]

Essentially, then, this also applies in the case of Trinidad and Tobago. The challenge, therefore, is the extent to which the existing relationships between the central body and the local government level can be configured to allow for greater participation by the citizenry. Obviously, the challenge is multi-faceted. Firstly, political and constitutional reform may be necessary since the two party systems have overtime established the polarisation of political parties on lines of race. Secondly, the settlement patterns of the various groups are distinct and thus the separation of the two majority groups remains intact. Finally, one major challenge is the apathy of the citizenry. In the case of Trinidad and Tobago, therefore, it is fair to suggest that the implementation of a system of local government is still to be attained.

References


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