

Towards a pro-poor service-centred public service: The case of delivery to Indigents in Two
Western Cape municipalities: attitudes, practices and policies among municipal officials

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Key words

Matzikama Municipality, Cape Agulhas Municipality, indigents, street-level bureaucrats, public service motivation and ethics, Batho Pele and service orientation, free basic services.



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Abstract

The problems of the predispositions of municipal public officials and the professionalization of the public service have in the recent past come into the spotlight in service delivery protests involving poor people and unemployed youth. The criticism levelled at bureaucrats within the public service relates to administrative systems, bad policies as well as unresponsive attitudes among frontline staff. The existing perception is that South African street-level bureaucrats are lazy, uncaring, self-serving, unethical, and conceive of the poor in derogatory terms. They are generally only in public service because it is a means of employment or enrichment. Most recent literature on municipal water and free basic services focused on exposing the cost recovery drive of the state and its associated forms of oppressive neoliberal surveillance of the poor. The research sought to primarily understand the attitudes of street-level bureaucrats (SLB's) within two B-category municipalities in the Western Cape, South Africa. This was done by identifying what motivates them to work in the public sector, how they see and interact with identified poor members of the public (usually defined as municipal indigents), what their value orientations are, and if and how principles of Batho Pele are understood by frontline workers. It explored how these principles are applied when interacting with indigent citizens in their everyday work environment. Additionally, the research explored how poor citizens view their experience of interacting with the state. A qualitative study, using semi-structured questionnaires, was conducted in the Cape Agulhas municipality which is the most southern municipality and the Matzikama municipality which is the most northern municipality of the WC on the west coast. Interviews with frontline municipal employees, senior bureaucrats and residents were conducted. The interviews were conducted, to obtain three different views on the problem, with a total of 71 participants. The participants comprised of 15 street-level bureaucrats, 8 senior staff, with a minimum of 5 years' tenure, and a total of 43 indigent citizens. Given the sample size, composition and the demographics relating to these municipalities, the research is not generalizable. The public workers in the case studies, I found, cared deeply for the community and the community in turn are very appreciative of this. I also found that indigent citizens were not ashamed of their indigent status although there were those who outright denied being indigent and therefore were not interviewed.

Declaration

This mini thesis is a submission in partial fulfillment for the degree of Masters in Public Administration (MPA).

I declare that “Towards a pro-poor service-centred Public Service: The Case of Delivery to Indigents in Two Western Cape municipalities: attitudes, practices and policies among municipal officials” is my own work, that it has not been previously submitted to any other university, and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged as complete references.



Belinda du Plessis

Signature.....

Acknowledgements

The journey to completing my masters has often time been a difficult experience especially since it has taken me so long to complete. Being able to finally complete my masters journey can only be attributed to God's grace. He has blessed me with some exceptionally amazing people.

The first of these is my supervisor, Professor Gregory Ruiters. I will forever be indebted to Prof Ruiters for his support, encouragement, patience and assistance. Without his continued encouragement, guidance and "it's easy" approach I may very well have given up on completing my thesis.

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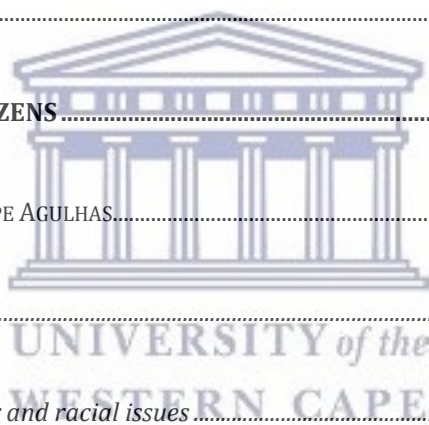
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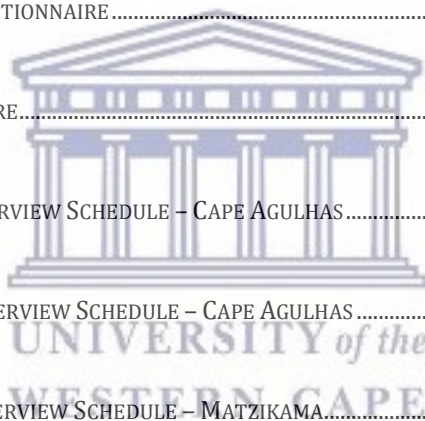
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Chapter One: background to the study

South Africa has, since its democratisation in 1994, struggled with its service delivery strategies and a professional ethical culture. It inherited a racist and fragmented administrative system with Bantustans and separate local authorities for different “races” (Bardill, 2000). It embarked on a transformation strategy, which, amongst other aims, sought an integrated, more representative civil service with improved conditions of employment and an improved public ethos. Although it followed broadly New Public Management precepts (Bardill, 2000), much of this was not fully implemented (Cameron, 2009). Local Government, a third sphere of the state, has continued to struggle with issues of efficiency, effectiveness, governance and a professional service ethos. The work of scholars such as David McDonald, John Pape, Greg Ruiters, Prishanee Naidoo and Von Schnitzler for example exposed the structural anti-poor bias of policies, inequitable tariff systems and the punitive drive to recover costs and commodify water. Ruiters (2018) looked at various ways in which citizenship was being eroded through means tested free basic services, which he argued was a way to manage the poor.

Public servants in South Africa are required to abide by the Public Service Act of 1994 and specifically to Section 22 (RSA, 1994) which requires that public servants serve *all* members of the public in a non-partisan, fair, and impartial manner whilst being efficient and career-oriented, loyal in executing the policies of the governing party of the day and performing their duties within the parameters of the law. This broadly conforms to the Weberian ideal type of an effective bureaucracy (Beetham 1987). Yet the splitting of citizens into categories

such as “indigent”, non-paying as well as those deemed to have a “lack of culture” when it comes to paying for services suggests that all are not treated the same.

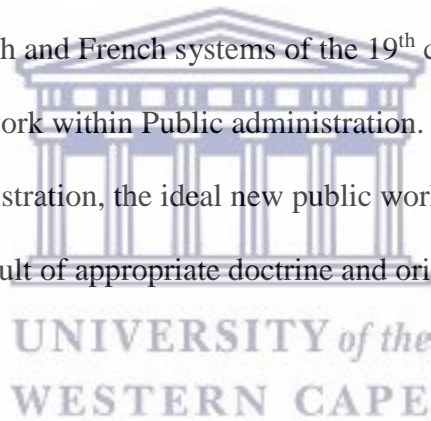
In the new South African public service, public servants in the category of “general staff” are required to attend a two-day Public Service Induction course aimed at orienting staff on aspects such as the different spheres of government, understanding the prescribed Public Service rules, ethics, Batho Pele principles and become inspired by and committed to the public service (Palama, 2012) . The eight Batho Pele Principles are aligned with the Constitutional ideals of high professional ethics, fair and unbiased service provision, effective and efficient use of resources, accountable, transparent and development-oriented public administration and being responsive to the citizens/customers’ needs through public participation in policy making. The use of NPM market language for example “customer” is combined with traditional high-minded ethics.



However, Mogoro’s 2003 report on Batho Pele raised the alarm that it was not ingrained in the daily activities of public officials; that the public service does not have a people-centred culture; and that many front-line public workers are not included in service delivery capacity development programmes (Mogoro, 2003). A great deal of effort has been targeted at instilling ethics into public workers in South Africa since Mogoro’s critique. According to Minister Mutambi (DPSA, 2017) Public Service Month is commemorated in September. The commemoration aims to instil the Code of Conduct, the ethos of *Batho Pele*, public service

efficiency, public participation and a recommitment to serving the public. It is also used to acknowledge those public servants who personify these characteristics.

The commitment to improve the public service, in 2015, culminated in the transformation of the Public Administration Leadership and Management Academy (the state's civil service training centre) into a National School of Government (NSG). The purpose of the NSG is to train public servants for greater efficiency and to drive the developmental agenda of the country. This, together with the then Minister Sisulu's statement that government will recruit and train the best administration for greater efficiency, success was likened to Spain's *cuerpos* or the Japanese, British and French systems of the 19th century whereby the best candidates were recruited to work within Public administration. According to Sisulu, Minister for Public Service and Administration, the ideal new public worker will possess a determination to serve as a result of appropriate doctrine and orientation (Sisulu, 2013).

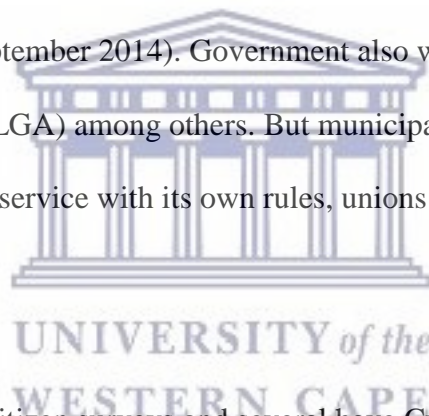


Trevor Manuel, during his term as Minister in the Presidency of South Africa, was concerned that senior civil servants in South Africa are only interested in enriching and empowering themselves (RSA, 2012). However, local cultures with functional bureaucracies might differ and some offices in certain provinces may be well-run compared to others. In his 2013 National Planning speech, Trevor Manuel also made clear his opinion on monetary reward in relation to public service when he said “.... *public service is a calling and a responsibility. It is a choice exercised. We choose to serve and accept that we will be comfortable or we enter*

the private sector in pursuit of wealth – we cannot do both!” (RSA, 2012) Similarly, the then Minister of Public Service and Administration, Lindiwe Sisulu, in her speech in May of 2013 stated that public service should be a career of choice (Sisulu, 2013).

A lack of a service orientation, lack of capacity, underspending, irregular spending, corruption and many other leadership problems exists within the local government arena (evidenced in the 2013 agreement between government and public service representatives).

To address these problems government has employed various strategies such as the “Turnaround” strategy to the most recent “Back to Basics” strategy (Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs 18 September 2014). Government also works with the SA Local Government Association (SALGA) among others. But municipalities remain a third sphere of the state in a fragmented civil service with its own rules, unions and bargaining systems.



Most municipalities conduct citizen surveys and several have Customer Charters. The results of the City of Cape Town’s annual Community Satisfaction Survey from 2008/09 to 2013/14, for instance, reflect a consistent improvement in the level of satisfaction with regards to interaction by residents with the City of Cape Town and the conduct of councillors and staff (Small, 2009; 2014). The report also reflects significant improvement in relation to staff being “friendly and helpful”. It must be noted that the report only relates to Cape Town and in South Africa there is a pervasive concern that civil service is about politically connected

“cadres” who capture the state in order to accumulate financial and political power (Southall, 2014).

Using insights from both local and international scholars I have conducted interviews with municipal SLB’s, senior career bureaucrats and indigent citizens to gain an insight into the attitudes of public workers in two rural municipalities in the Western Cape, South Africa.

Problem statement

Public administration and the professionalization thereof have in the recent past come into the spotlight, given the criticism levelled at bureaucrats within the public service. There is a perception, in South Africa, that street level bureaucrats (SLBs) are lazy, uncaring, useless, rude and generally only in public service because it is a means towards permanent employment or even corruption (Abrahams, Fitzgerald and Cameron, 2009). Public workers are said to be too bound by red tape (traditional Weberian ethos), on the one hand and are too rigid and unresponsive while customers expect “choices” and better outcomes not rule-governed behaviour (the new NPM ethos). There is also a view that they break all the rules of honesty and accountability when it comes to tenders and bribes (Vegtor, 2012). Recent reports by the Auditor General stress that a lack of leadership in government and a culture of impunity are central problems (Newham 2014; AG, 2016). There is also the real problem of policy churning (changing policy every few years), changing implementing agencies, privatising, decentralising and then re-centralising which may demoralise public servants (Newman 1996). Poor translation of national guidelines into local policy has also proved to

be a problem (Abrahams, Fitzgerald and Cameron, 2009). There are thus a number of possible reasons for the malaise including historical factors which explains the context and contradictory dynamics and demands civil servants face.

Research aims and objective


This research sought to understand the motivations and attitude of street-level bureaucrats (SLB's) or frontline municipal officials within two municipalities in the less urban parts of the Western Cape, South Africa. The less urban areas have strong legacies of ill treatment of farmworkers and poor attitudes to the rural poor.

The following research questions were investigated:

- 1) What indicators of public service motivation do street-level bureaucrats (SLBs) in the two municipalities display?
- 2) What attitudes do SLBs have towards the poor/indigent and how do they see the problems of the poor in their municipality?
- 3) Is there a race, class or gender element in dealing with citizens?
- 4) What is the ethos and culture espoused by municipal leaders and councilors?
- 5) Do street-level bureaucrats understand and practice the *Batho Pele* principles?
- 6) What is the “service orientation” toward citizens?

I have explored what motivates SLB's or frontline municipal officials to work in the public sector, how they see and interact with identified poor members of the public (usually defined as municipal indigents), what the local public service ethos and culture is, what their service orientation is, and if and how principles of *Batho Pele* are understood by frontline workers and how they are applied to different categories of citizens in their everyday work environment. Additionally, the research explored how citizens view their experience of interacting with the state, specifically poor people (indigents). The research also draws on a well-established field of scholarship in "public service motivation" (PSM) and ethics in public administration (Cooper 2004).

Research methodology



Primary data was collected, using semi-structured questionnaires, by interviewing street-level bureaucrats (SLB) and senior career bureaucrats with at least 5 years work experience. A total of 7 SLBs, 4 senior career bureaucrats and 1 councillor were interviewed in Cape Agulhas. In the Matzikama municipality a total of 8 SLBs and 4 senior career bureaucrats were interviewed. The sample included men and women of varying ages. The respondents are located in various towns within the municipality as well as the main municipal offices. In the Cape Agulhas municipality citizens who reside in Arniston, Bredasdorp, Napier and Struisbaai and SLBs who work in these municipal offices were interviewed. Matzikama interviews with citizens and SLBs were conducted in Klawer, Lutzville, Vanrynsdorp and Vredendal.

The officials were selected based on a purposive sample. This sample technique is also known as nonprobability, purposeful or qualitative sampling (Teddie and Fen Yu, 2007). In other words, a deliberative and non-random set of individuals were identified. It ensured that only those senior bureaucrats and SLB who met the criteria set out for the study i.e. career bureaucrats and street level bureaucrats who interact with citizens and who have at least 5 years work experience were interviewed. The indigent citizens were randomly selected from the indigent lists provided by the municipalities. Random sampling is when any person from a particular population has a chance of being selected. Thanks to the UWC School of Government, which has a good relationship with municipalities in the Western Cape, access to these sites were secured.



Respondents were drawn from two departments where most “frontline” interactions occur (where poor citizens interact with the local administration). These were treasury/finance and housing which were determined by the local context. Revenue/finance department deals with the indigent, debt and cut-offs whereas the housing department looks at the housing needs of the community and the allocation thereof.

Matzikama is the most northern municipality on the west coast and Cape Agulhas is the most southern municipality on the garden route of the Western Cape.

FIGURE 1: MAP OF MUNICIPALITIES WITHIN THE WESTERN CAPE

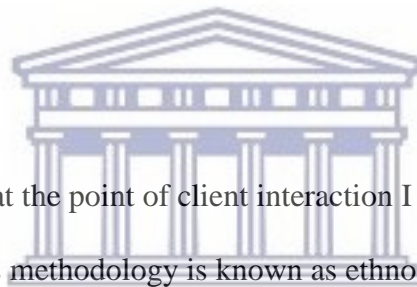


Source: <https://www.westerncape.gov.za/general-publication/municipalities-western-cape>

The case study approach employed in the research design allows for an examination of why and how things happen and provides rich information to compliment a quantitative approach (O’Sullivan, 1995). The two cases (Matzikama and Cape Agulhas municipalities) provided for comparative insights and an opportunity to speculate on the reasons for differences where and if these are significant.

Employing the qualitative research approach and the use of the semi-structured questionnaires provides an understanding of the reality depicted by individuals’ lived

experiences of working in the public service and those of the citizens who interact with the SLBs (Brower, et al., 2000; Ospina and Dodge, 2005; Creswell, 2008). Interviewees are able to expand on particular experiences which cannot be gleaned through quantitative methods (Ospina and Dodge, 2005). The justification of the in-depth semi-structured interview method is to allow for the richness of explanation and the voice of the interviewee to emerge (Brower, Abolafia and Carr, 2000). Narrative enquiry gives insight not necessarily obtained through traditional research such as questionnaires or quantitative research as it provides an opportunity for the researcher to access experience and knowledge specific to the context (Ospina and Dodge, 2005). This interpretive methodology does not only explain behaviour but instead attempts to understand the intention and action.



By conducting the interviews at the point of client interaction I got the opportunity to witness the interaction first hand. This methodology is known as ethnography. The latter phase of the research method is known as selective observation and the research focus is to find evidence to support the research questions. Although ethnography uses data collection as a secondary method in this research the data is the primary and ethnography is the secondary method used to verify the data (Flick, 2009).

Ethical considerations

All the respondents who were selected to participate in the study were provided with the research ethics document information and where requested, an explanation of the research was provided to them. All participants provided informed consent to participate in the study. All participants were informed they could withdraw from the study at any time and only data collected from respondents who voluntarily provided it was used in my report.

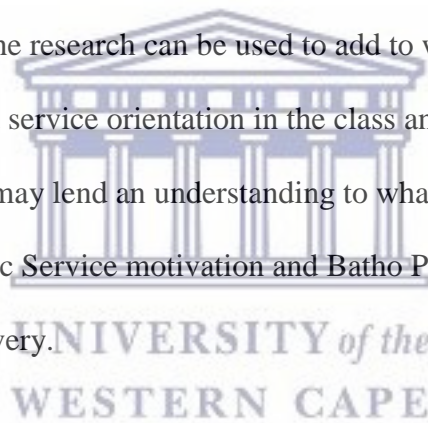
Public service participants were interviewed at their place of work, during office hours whilst the citizens were interviewed in their homes. To ensure anonymity, I have not disclosed any participants' identities and have allocated numbers and digits to each respondent's interview. The allocation of the digits and numbers are indicated in Appendix D for public servants in Cape Agulhas, Appendix E for Cape Agulhas citizens, and Appendix F for Matzikama public servants and Appendix G for Matzikama citizens.

My research was conducted with the highest integrity and impartiality and all information shared by the participants was treated with the greatest confidentiality.

Significance of the study

The discourse on public service motivation, culture, ethics / ethos and service orientation has emerged strongly in the 1980's when "bottom up" theories developed showing just how crucial implementation is in policy. At this time, Michael Lipsky (1979) coined the phrase "Street-level Bureaucrats" to describe front-line public service workers. Yet not much work has gone into seeing differentiated attitudes among SLBs to the perceived poor versus wealthy or to women versus men citizens.

It is hoped that the results of the research can be used to add to what is a scant literature on Public Service Motivation and service orientation in the class and racial and rural South African municipal context. It may lend an understanding to what challenges need to be addressed with regard to Public Service motivation and Batho Pele in the context of South Africa's pro-poor service delivery.



Limitations of the study

The sample size of the study, although 71 in total, is small, was conducted in two predominantly "coloured" communities with relatively strong service delivery infrastructure and does not delve into the historic race relations and the impact thereof on the ethos of the public servants. Resource constraints prevented the exploration of further case studies in municipalities with varying community compositions and levels of service delivery infrastructure. The research was exploratory and looked at gaining an understanding of the

issues but more refined research which considers these dynamics will assist in providing better insight and an opportunity for generalisation and possible suggestions for improvement in the manner in which the public sector interacts with citizens and especially the indigent citizens.

Organisation of the study

The structure of this thesis is set out as follows: Chapter one provides the reader with the background to the topic, the research aims and objectives, the research questions investigated, the research methodology employed, ethical considerations and the significance of the study.

In chapter two I take a considered look at the existing scholarly work and grey literature covering key words such as indigents, protests, street-level bureaucrats; discretion, public service motivation (PSM); culture, ethics and ethos, Batho Pele and service orientation, indigence and free basic services.

Chapter three provides information on the municipalities where the research was conducted as well as the indigent policies used in these municipalities.

In chapter four the data collected during the interviews with the SLBs, senior managers and the indigent citizens in Matzikama and Cape Agulhas municipalities is presented by themes.

Chapter five presents the data on the Indigent citizens' responses and the final chapter, chapter six, the findings, recommendations and conclusion are presented.

Chapter Two: literature review

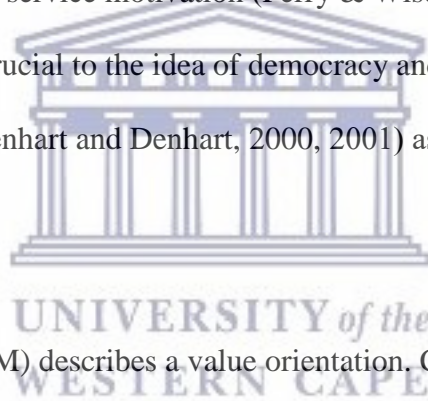
This literature review chapter provides a review of the key concepts and theories employed in the study. The concepts under discussion are street level bureaucrats, public service motivation, ethics and ethos, service orientation, Batho Pele, cost recovery and the indigent citizen and free basic services.

Public Service Motivation

“Ethics is concerned with the development of human behaviour according to certain moral norms.....It strives towards a certain level of integrity within the human being - a development of a sense of what is right and wrong” (Stone and Cameron, 1995, p. 75). Ethics in public sector are shaped by the interplay of individuals, social, cultural and economic factors (Cooper 2004). For Weberians, it means acting according to norms of bureaucratic behaviour; for path dependency theory (Christensen & Laegreid, 2011) historical-cultural norms, values and organisational legacies are primary. Recent literature (Pollit, 2000) stresses the gaming aspects of ethics—being seen to be ethical is more important (in other words, don’t get caught). Others stress that the state generally has shifted from an ethos of social solidarity to accumulation without limit for a few and it has become more crudely instrumentalised as Marx had originally suggested (Harvey 2005). Along the neoliberal way, citizenship has been individualised, splintered and polarised with increasing emphasis on responsible choices by sovereign individuals cast as “customers”. Neoliberal managers claim

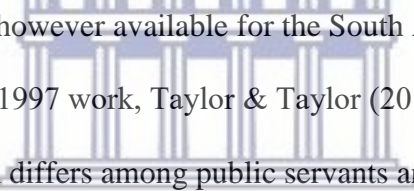
that they do not serve the public or society in general since the term “public” and society do not refer to real entities (Newman 1996).

Perry & Hondeghem (2008) state that public service motivation positively impacts ethical behaviour or role performance. The international literature (Crewson 1997, Perry 1997, Caemmerer and Wilson 2011) suggest that in general people join the public service because they are genuinely motivated to help citizens and in doing so, make a positive contribution. Perry & Porter (in Bright, 2005) also argue that people servants with high levels of public service motivation are more likely to join the public organisation because they have an opportunity to do public service work but that it cannot be expected that all public servants will have high levels of public service motivation (Perry & Wise, 1990). These “knights” have long been identified as crucial to the idea of democracy and public spiritedness expected of citizen-centred services (Denhart and Denhart, 2000, 2001) as opposed to “knaves”.



Public service motivation (PSM) describes a value orientation. Crewson (1997) posits that research into public service motivation emerged in the 1960’s, stagnated and was revived in the 1980’s. Public sector employees are said to be motivated by both intrinsic factors and the use of extrinsic incentives can result in lower motivation (Perry & Hondeghem, 2008). It could also result in intrinsic rewards no longer being able to motivate good behaviour. When extrinsic incentives linked to performance are seen as supporting or acknowledging work effort, it could possibly have the opposite effect (Pollitt, 2000; Taylor & Taylor, 2011).

Perry & Hondeghem (2008) analyse public service motivation under five themes namely: constructs, incidence, antecedents, outcomes and organisational systems. What was of importance to these authors was specifically the socio-demographic antecedents of education, gender and age among public servants. In addition, Perry et al (2008) noted the role played by parents, professional organisations and religious institutions in the socialization of civil servants. The work environment also aided in developing and supporting the public service motivation. The authors posit public service motivation to be “*individual motives that are largely, but not exclusively, altruistic and grounded in public institutions*”. Altruism reflects the possession of a self-sacrificing characteristic.



Little research into the topic is however available for the South African context (Cameron 2009). Referring to Crewson’s 1997 work, Taylor & Taylor (2011) state that levels of public service motivation and altruism differs among public servants and that Public service motivation and altruism of clerical and custodial staff or street-level bureaucrats appears to be lower than those who occupy higher positions such as at managerial levels.

Similar views from Gabri and Sumo (as referenced in Bright, 2005) are that not all public servants have altruistic motives for working in public service. They argue that public servants at lower levels of the organisation, unlike their colleagues who work at higher levels within the public service, do so because work is a necessity and not because they are attracted to public service. Those at the higher levels are more likely to work in public service because of their altruism. The unionisation of public servants might also affect their attitudes and professional behaviour (such as nurses going on strike).

Crewson (1997) and Taylor & Taylor (2011) are of the view that direct economic reward is not the most important motivator for public servants as may be the case for those employed in the private sector. Other issues such as job security and serving the nation might be important as are factors related to the “bureaucratic personality” (Perry, 1996). Public servants who exhibit high levels of public service motivation had a lower desire for monetary rewards, have greater levels of education, are in management positions and most likely to be female. The author does however state that the male population sample was too small (Bright, 2005).

Another insight comes from Lipsky whose “Street-level bureaucracy” (Hupe & Hill, 2007: 24) are identified as “*teachers, nurses, police officers and other law enforcement personnel, social workers, and many other public officials who grant access to government programs and provide service within them*”. At a municipal level, those who work on the front line of public services might include the speaker of council, mayors, councillors, ward committees as well as clerks receiving municipal payment, media officers and community development workers. This ‘frontline’ metaphor has an unpleasant connotation which brings forth images of people going off to battle, which suggests an attacking attitude. Instead, it should bring forth images of people going off to serve the public – public service by public servants. Rowe (2012) describes street-level bureaucrats as public service employees who have and use significant discretion in the execution of their work when interacting with citizens.

Discretion is thus a key attribute as it can be used for good or bad. As Hupe & Hill (2007) stress discretion and rules are interrelated, and discretion is always embedded in rules and policies. This, they say, allows the street-level bureaucrat to choose the approach to their action or inaction. Given the rule structure and standard operating procedures for public servants, street-level bureaucrats seek ways within which to manage their work since typically, Lipsky suggests, they are overworked and under-resourced. The street-level bureaucrats often view themselves as “professionals” (and might have been trained that way to imbibe certain ethics). DiMaggio and Powell (in Hupe and Hill, 2007) describe a profession as “*an occupation whose members have managed to define the conditions and methods of their work and to establish a cognitive base and legitimation for their occupational autonomy*”.



Batho Pele

Batho Pele which means “people first” is a government programme meant to improve the public service (Raga, L and Taylor, D, 2005) which is centred on its people (Mpehle, 2012). Key principles of the South African constitution and the basis for Batho Pele are high professional ethics together with effective and efficient resource management, fair and unbiased service provision, accountable, transparent and development-oriented public administration and being responsive to the citizens’ needs through public participation in policy making.

Batho Pele consists of eight principles namely:

1. *Consultation* – refers to the level and quality of services and where possible the public should be given a choice in the services offered
2. *Service standards* – refers level and quality of services to expect
3. *Access* – refers to access to equal services
4. *Courtesy* – refers to how they are treated
5. *Information* – refers to accurate information which they are entitled to receive
6. *Openness and transparency* – refers to the by whom, how and at what cost government is run
7. *Redress* – refers to explanation, apology, speedy remedy, positive response for not meeting service standards or when complaints are made
8. *Value for money* – refers to cost effective and efficient public services

KwaZulu-Natal provincial government has however included two additional principles (more NPM styled) -- making a total of ten principles. These additional principles are:

9. *Innovation and Reward* – innovative and creative ways of doing things better and rewarding staff who "go the extra mile" in making it all happen.
10. *Customer impact* – links the nine principles to show improvement in overall service

As reflected by Kroukamp (1999), improving public service delivery is an on-going process and that as standards are met these standards have to gradually be raised.

These principles are all enshrined in Section 195 of the Constitution of South Africa which deals with “Basic values and principles governing public administration” as well as Section F, 2.1 of the White paper on transforming the public service which deals with the principles for service delivery. Despite this, Batho Pele is not imbedded in the actions and attitudes of public servants (Mogoro, 2003) and departments require assistance in the application of Batho Pele (Public Service Commission, 2000, in Russel, EW and Bvuma, DG, 2001).

Kroukamp (1999) argues that there are certain preconditions which should be complied with for Batho Pele implementation to be a success. These preconditions are changing attitudes and behaviour, understanding transformation and cherishing educational opportunities. For changing attitudes and behaviour the author argues that public managers need to be orientated and re-orientated to understand, be sensitive to and respect the value systems, cultural diversity and inter-cultural relations of their fellow citizens and to understand themselves. Understanding transformation requires managers who are willing, able and prepared to find innovative ways to bring about change. Former apartheid bureaucrats for example would have to change embedded racist attitudes to black citizens and so on. Black public servants would also have to treat all the same, even though affirmative action principles mandate a politics and ethics of difference. Cherishing educational opportunities speaks to educating the members of the community on their role as active citizens. Citizens should make use of all education opportunities. For this private enterprise, community based and non-governmental organisations together with the state have a role to play.

The South African government holds an annual commemoration of public service month which occurs in September. Every commemoration has a particular theme. The 2012 commemoration for example included instilling the Code of Conduct, the ethos of *Batho Pele*, and discussing an anti-corruption campaign as some of the themes whilst the 2017 commemoration focused on a recommitment to serving the public, public service efficiency and public participation.

Service Orientation

The “new public management customer orientation”, which is a private sector orientation, has more recently found its way into the public sector discourse due to changes in government approaches such as outsourcing, cost-cutting, efficiency and the effectiveness of public servants, performance management and measurement. The aim of this development is to create a public sector which is externally focussed – with the focus being on the customer or citizen. Given the diversity of stakeholders and the complexity of public sector organisations this business approach has become complicated (Caemmerer & Wilson, 2011; Newman 1996). Caemmerer & Wilson’s 2011 research reflects the existence of a discrepancy or a mismatch between the individual service orientation and the organisational service orientation. This mismatch is known as a service orientation discrepancy. There are two service orientation discrepancies.

The first kind of service orientation discrepancy is where public servants feel the organisational service orientation is lower than their own and thus not supportive of their individual service orientation. These employees are determined to improve service delivery to the customers and fulfil the organisational mandate but are hampered by the organisational structures or environment.

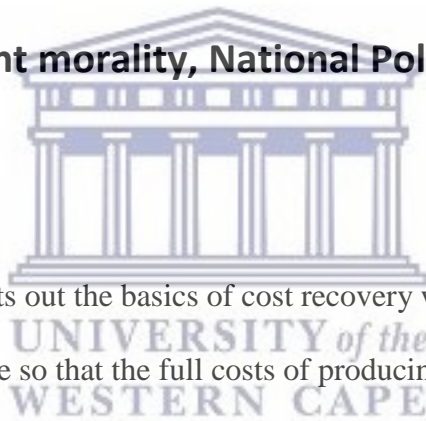
The second service orientation discrepancy is where the organisational service orientation is higher than the individual service orientation. In these instances, it may be difficult to motivate employees to improve their service (Caemmerer & Wilson, 2011). Stewart and Clarke (1987) argue that having a Public Service orientation requires that the public servant's primary focus is on delivering services *for* the public and not delivering services *to* the public. The emphasis is accordingly on the public and not on the service. Denhardt and Denhardt (2000) are of a similar view in their proposal of a New Public Service (as opposed management) which is focussed on empowering the citizen and serving (not managing) the public.

Service-oriented public service employees are more committed to the operations of the institution than those with an extrinsic or economic orientation. Crewson (1997) argues that the public sector organisations will be dominated by service-oriented employees who are more productive than economically oriented employees. This does however not mean that

monetary rewards are unimportant or irrelevant to public service employees (Taylor & Taylor, 2011).

Central to all of this is a positive staff policy which is reinforced often (Stewart and Clarke, 1987). Conditions within which the public servants operate are also crucial as are organisational processes and design which should support the street-level bureaucrat in delivering services for the public (Walker and Gilson, 2004).

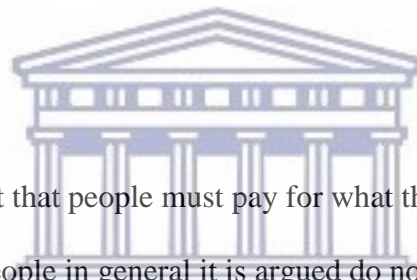
Cost recovery, payment morality, National Policy, Indigents and free basic services



McDonald (2002, pp18-20) sets out the basics of cost recovery when he argues that it involves, ring-fencing a service so that the full costs of producing, delivering and maintaining that service are recovered as “fully” as possible since “*in reality the actual costs of service production is seldom known*”. Cost recovery is enforced by shutting off or limiting supply of water. More sophisticated forms of recovery involve collateral punishment i.e. the municipality takes outstanding money for a water bill from a citizen’s electricity purchases since most citizens have been switched to prepaid electricity (Ruiters 2011). Cost recovery is seen by some as pro-poor since financing the network’s expansion to reach the poor cannot be sacrificed. The state has adopted the slogan that some water for all for ever means responsible fiscal policies. At the same time as McDonald points out the macro-economic

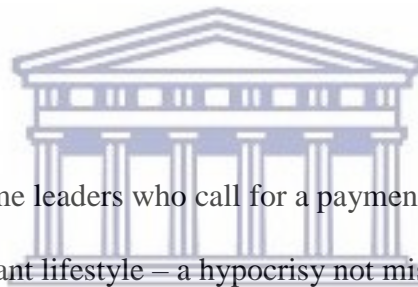
policies of the state defend the rights of property owners and the “*danger*” of them being charged high rates meaning that “*local government is unable to increase its own revenue pool*” (2002, p.22)

The cost recovery approach treats water as a commodity and undermines the overall benefits of good water supply to citizens as a social right of citizenship. Ring-fencing undermines possible cross subsidies between services and encourages a managerial as opposed to a political and social approach. McDonald argues that block tariffs and limited services to indigents does not violate cost recovery.



There is also a moral argument that people must pay for what they get as a principle of good and responsible citizenship. People in general it is argued do not appreciate free things. In 2003, President Mbeki forcefully appealed that; “*We must treat local government as the front desk in our system of governance, the point at which we achieve customer satisfaction*” (Cited in ‘Overstretched municipalities’ *Business Day*, 28 March 2003). The state’s moral ideology of public services actively sought to “*wean the people from a ‘victim culture’ to becoming modern customers*”. Mbeki set the tone for a NPM liberal approach, even though it was already being criticised globally.

In 2004, at the third *International Mayoral Conference* held in Durban, eThekweni mayor Obed Mlaba called on the country's embattled municipalities to be run like 'smart businesses' for them to effectively deliver on their mandate. *"They ought to keep in mind the need to keep their customers, the citizens, satisfied. Municipalities were at 'crossroads' and a new approach to running them needed to be adopted"* (Obed Mlaba, 2004, cited in *Bua News*, 26 March 2004). The NPM approach taken by Cape Town Unicity, reflects the tendencies of other major metropolitan authorities in South Africa. New knowledge areas that will be required by employees included 'change management, partnership working, contract management, customer relationship management, e-government and ensuring that the new capabilities are developed' (The Unicity Commission, Cape Town 2000, p.18).

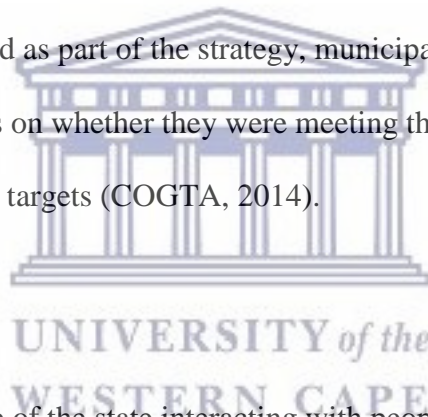


Paradoxically, many of the same leaders who call for a payment culture do not pay for services and pursue a flamboyant lifestyle – a hypocrisy not missed by angry citizens. The Minister (Pravin Gordhan) said, meanwhile, that there was also a disturbing practice among municipal officials themselves of not paying for their services.

"We equally recognise that there has been some manipulations of indigent lists, meaning where indigent individuals are entitled to services in terms of government services, we find civil servants, business people, and politicians entering their names on the indigent lists which means that they then become exempt from payments of what they should be paying for. That kind of irresponsibility surely must be unacceptable".

More fundamentally the service delivery system, as it exists, is inequitable from the standpoint of the ability of the poor to pay. As a percentage of income the poor are burdened with vast social reproduction costs compared to the wealthy. As McDonald points out “*the poor pay 25 to 40% of income on basic municipal services*” (2002, p. 28).

To strengthen the monitoring of service delivery and cost recovery, President Jacob Zuma launched ‘Back to Basics’, a strategy where the Cooperative Governance Department would focus on a number of issues – including listening to residents to get feedback on service delivery, getting refuse collected and potholes filled and including governance and financial management. The Minister said as part of the strategy, municipalities now reported to his department on a monthly basis on whether they were meeting their key performance indicators as per their delivery targets (COGTA, 2014).



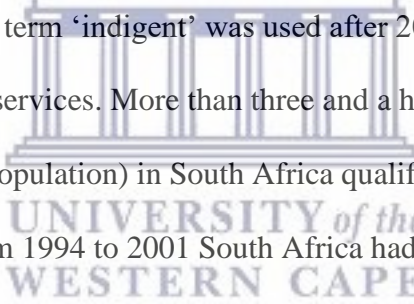
Municipalities are the first line of the state interacting with people/citizens on a daily basis. For some municipalities, cost recovery is an absolute and the poor are sometimes seen as feckless shirkers wanting everything free.

Smith and Vawda (2003) however, caution against a too rapid ‘shift from the citizen to the customer’ arguing for a more paternalistic view. Since “*black South Africans lack consumer skills*”, it will take time to educate them before customer-citizenship can become feasible:

“The historical experience of black South Africans in being treated as subjects has put them at a disadvantage in negotiating their rights

associated with liberal citizenship. ...apartheid rule negated individual, let alone consumer rights, for black South Africans. The notion of a customer rel(ies) on the premise that the paying customer is aware of his or her contractual rights and responsibilities” (ibid., p.34)

They suggest that municipalities engage low-income users in two phases: “*first build a collective sense of citizenship engagement.... This sets the foundation for building an individual notion of citizenship,*’ leading to ‘*the poor acquiring the skills to integrate ... with the city*” (ibid., p 27). Smith and Vawda thus advocated a ‘stagist’ approach to integrating citizens as customers.



As Ruiters (2018) explains the term ‘indigent’ was used after 2001, when municipalities started to introduce free basic services. More than three and a half million mainly black poor households (25% of the total population) in South Africa qualified as indigent in 2014 (RSA, 2015). It is significant that from 1994 to 2001 South Africa had no free municipal services for the poor and a coercive approach was used. All services had to be paid for by all households (rich and poor). Non-payment could result in total cut-offs of services; and tariffs were set to allow municipalities to recover the full operating costs of supplying water (McDonald 2002).

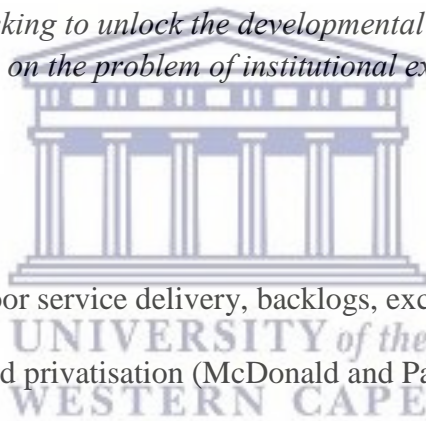
As Atkinson argued,

“In the past, most municipalities have used a coercive approach to securing payment. This involves cutting off water or electricity supplies ... However; there are many implementation problems with regard to coercive approaches: Cutting off water often does not always lead to payment of arrears. Defaulters may simply steal water, or install illegal connections.

Many Councillors are reluctant to take strong political measures”.
(Atkinson, 2002, p. 39)

A standard government argument has been that the new state is delivering but needs to be more targeted, developmental and speed up its ‘pro-poor development policies’. Beall et al. argued that the entire South African delivery framework has a ‘solidly pro-poor orientation’ and that the major dilemma for the state is containing contradictory demands (Beall et al, 2001, p. 119). Parnell noted that, despite democracy and the massive extensions of physical and social services, there are still unacceptable levels of urban poverty

“... a government seeking to unlock the developmental potential of its citizens ... must focus on the problem of institutional exclusion” (2005, p. 21).



Much criticism exists about poor service delivery, backlogs, exclusions, cut-offs and harsh forms of commercialisation and privatisation (McDonald and Pape, 2002; Ruiters 2018), but this literature does not sufficiently look at inner workings of the state and its personnel and the forms of administration and terms of *inclusion* in service delivery. The micro-links between services and citizenship have explored international social policy and welfare state literature (Blakemore 1998) but less in South Africa.

Like McDonald and Pape (2002), Fjeldstad’s research (2004) rejects the “culture of non-payment” argument. He argues payment levels vary within and between poor communities

and thus it cannot be a purely economic explanation for why people don't pay. He suggests that citizens lack trust in the municipality. This may be as important as inability to pay and or the unwillingness to pay (active rejection of the state). Yet if we see the state as potentially constructive player trust has to be rebuilt and citizens ought to be empowered to hold the state accountable (Ingram and Schneider 2006).

Naidoo (2007) argues that the ANC government introduced Project Masakhane (an attempt to promote conformist market payment culture) just as the effect of the neoliberal policies were being experienced and the cost recovery was introduced. Many citizens were unable to pay their accounts which resulted in the accumulation of household debt, widespread disconnections and a demand for the right to free water and electricity. The author further argues that municipal policies have changed to deal with the citizen protests and resistance and resulted in the introduction of prepaid technology which places the onus on the citizen to ensure they have paid for services and removes the responsibility from the state for cut-offs.

Von Schnitzler (2008) suggest that within ten years of the end of apartheid more than five million South Africans were burdened with prepaid technology. Ruiters (2018) suggest a figure of three million, two hundred thousand prepaid meters that self-disconnect the poor. Von Schnitzler suggests that although the prepaid technologies are presented as efficient administrative tools they are "*inscribed with political histories and have become central to the reformulation of political subjectivities*" thus she contends that "*the prepaid meter acted*

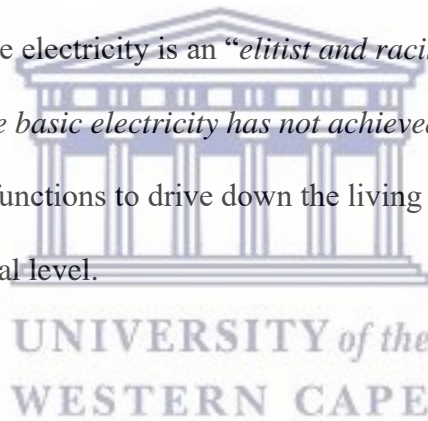
as a political technology". The technology removes the accountability from the state as it automatically disconnects in the home when the credits are depleted. This method does not provide for an opportunity to negotiate with or protest the disconnection. As opposed to first receiving the service and then paying, the technology demands payment prior to any provision of services forcing the citizen to learn how to "manage" their water and electricity consumption. I will show that much of Von Schnitzler's theory of "distanciation" is not borne out in my case studies and services remain deeply political (as seen in direct action and protests) and citizens seem to have intimate contact with bureaucrats.

Among water policy elites, FBW policy was as Muller argued, "*an innovative approach that will enable us to separate the 'can't pays' from the 'won't pays'*" (Muller 2001a: 14). Muller (2001a: 38), a senior state official, argued that "*the key issue is that the programme is designed and implemented as part of a larger process of building local government' and identifying 'free riders'*". He argued that "While the free basic water policy was heresy in some water circles, its implementation is already helping to promote accountability and good financial management in local government. The distinction between the 'can't pays' and the 'won't pays' is clarified and 'free-riders' with higher than basic levels of service usage are more easily identified. (Muller, 2001b). His managerialist impulse is clear enough.

Naidoo (2006: 8) has suggested that the 'real aim' of indigent services is to trap the poor into "*binding agreements to pay for their services*". In other words, it is all about cost recovery.

However, there seem to be several rationales behind free basic services and the indigency system – such as dividing the very poor and the poor and the working class.

Ruiters (2011) calculates what a household can do with the 50 kWh of free electricity provided and clearly it is insufficient to provide for the dignified basic living needs of a fridge and daily cooking on a hotplate. He argues that the minimalist provision is not developmental as it keeps the poor in poverty and forces them to continue using dangerous forms of energy. Many households thus use electricity only for lighting and not for cooking. The majority of African households still used wood, paraffin or coal for cooking. According to the author the 50kWh of free electricity is an *“elitist and racist construction of what poor people need”* and that the *“free basic electricity has not achieved its stated aims”*. Similarly, the 6 kl of free “basic” water functions to drive down the living standards of the poor to basic subsistence or sub-civilizational level.



In recent years there have been numerous service delivery protests in informal settlements by communities who do not have access to basic services (Mail and Guardian, 18 May 2016). These protests often took the form of burning tyres, blockading major roads and sometimes became violent with protesters stoning travellers or damaging municipal property. According to Municipal IQ, service delivery protests in, South Africa, were on an upward trajectory for the beginning of 2016. It was expected to exceed the 2014 total of 191 if it continued at the current rate. Municipalities in the Western Cape are the best run in the country with 9 out of

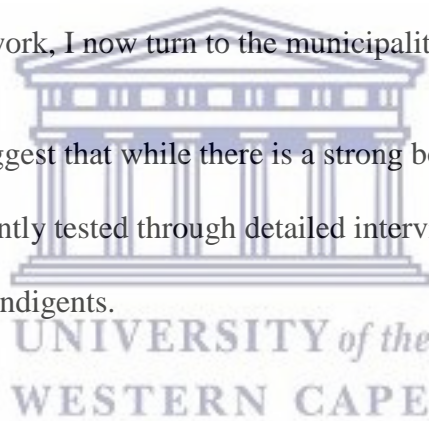
the top 10 and 15 out of the top 20 (City Press, 28 February 2016). The Western Cape experienced 11% of the protests (Mail and Guardian, 18 May 2016). Even though there have been protests in recent years, these have not necessarily been about people rejecting the category of indigency.

Conclusion

This chapter explained the concepts of street level bureaucrats, public service motivation, ethics and ethos, service orientation, Batho Pele and the indigence and free basic services.

With this in mind, as a framework, I now turn to the municipalities in the cases studied.


To conclude this chapter, I suggest that while there is a strong body of critical literature, this has too often not been sufficiently tested through detailed interviews with street-level bureaucrats and the so-called indigents.



Chapter Three: Cape Agulhas and Matzikama Municipalities

Section 151 of the Constitution of South Africa states that local municipalities have executive and legislative authority to govern the local government affairs of its community without impediment or compromise from provincial or national government. Section 153 (a) further states that

“...municipalities must structure and manage its administration and budgeting and planning processes to give priority to the basic needs of the community and to promote social and economic development of the community”.

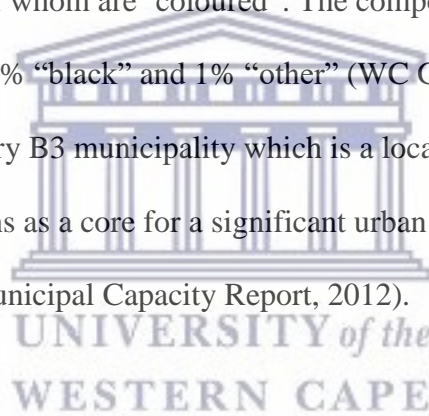


Municipalities fall under the ambit of the South Africa Local Government Association (SALGA). Local government have their own rules, bargaining councils and trade unions (e.g. SAMWU, IMATU). The Municipal Systems Act provides, amongst others, a framework for local public administration and human resource development to ensure all local communities have access to affordable essential services so as to enable social and economic upliftment of all local communities. Schedules 1 and 2 of the Act lay out the code of conduct for councillors and for municipal staff members. It requires that members for example act impartially and treat all people fairly, foster a culture of serving the public and promote and implement the basic values and principles of public administration. Training of municipal members was previously arranged through SALGA but, since its establishment, the National School of Government (NSG) has taken over this function.

Consequently, the appointments are governed by different codes of conduct, they have different conditions of service, levels of remuneration, and they belong to different pension funds and have different labour bargaining processes (SA Government news agency, 2012). There have been discussions and a drive to create a single public service with a Single Public Service Act but to date there is only a Single Public Service Bill (personal interview Khaile, T. 31 August 2017, Bellville, Cape Town).

Research Site One: Cape Agulhas Municipality

Cape Agulhas municipality is the southernmost municipality in Africa (see map above) with a population of 34 373 66% of whom are 'coloured'. The composition of the remaining population is 22% "white", 12% "black" and 1% "other" (WC Government Provincial Treasury, 2015). It is a category B3 municipality which is a local municipality with several small towns and no large towns as a core for a significant urban population and relatively small populations (State of Municipal Capacity Report, 2012).



There are 6 wards with Bredasdorp as the seat of the municipality. The primary economic activity in the municipality is agriculture (crop and livestock). About 56% of the population are employed with 79% being in the formal sector. The average annual income is R57 300 with 23% earning between R20k and R40k per annum; 13% earn between R10k and R20k and 20% earn between R40k and R75k. The education levels are low and only 34.5% have completed matric or higher. 33.7% have internet access with 44% of this being at home. With regards to service delivery only 90,6% of the population obtain water from regional or local

service providers, 97,2% have access to electricity and 90,7% have access to toilet facilities (flush or chemical) and 4,6% don't have access to toilets (RSA Census 2011).

Cape Agulhas achieved an annual employment growth of 1.0% for the period 2005 – 2013 which exceeded the district average of –0.8%. The largest employers are general government at 35% and commercial services at 33% whilst agriculture, forestry and fishing were at 12%, construction at 11% and manufacturing at 8%. The demand for highly skilled and skilled labour increased and the demand for labour in the informal sector grew by 4.3% whilst that of semi and unskilled labour contracted by 1.8% for the same period for the agriculture and construction sectors. (Ibid)

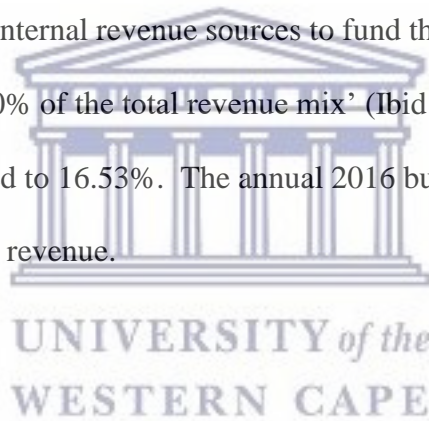


The population of 34 373 is expected to grow moderately to 35 934 by 2020. In relation to age distribution within Cape Agulhas, the working age segment of the population accounts for 67%, children account for 23% and the aged the remaining 10%. The dependency ratio is therefore at 48.6% which puts a strain on the working age category to provide for and support the children and aged (AM, 2017). In 2011 the literacy rate in the Cape Agulhas was 81.1% whereas the Western Cape average was 87.2% and the country as a whole 80.9%. The average dropout rate of 37.9% in 2012 and 23.7% amongst Grade 10 and 12 learners at the start of 2015 should be of concern for future literacy rates, employment and economic stability (Ibid).

In 2014 the municipality failed to collect R1.5 million. Its credit control policies were held to be sound. A significant issue was that basic services for the poor living on farms was not catered for (CAM MTREF, 2016)

“Based on population size, Cape Agulhas Municipality is one of the smallest municipalities in the Western Cape. Thus, the municipality have a limited consumer base from which to recover the cost of providing these high quality services. It is of paramount importance that the municipality incorporate the following principles into policies and procedures of the municipality: - Avoid excessive increases in rates and tariffs. Excessive increases will not necessarily lead to a significant increase in revenue due to the limited consumer base. On the contrary, excessive increases could potentially lead to a decrease in the recovery rate of receivables which is currently very healthy at 97.1%”. (Ibid)

The municipality depends on internal revenue sources to fund the budget, with equitable share making up only about 10% of the total revenue mix’ (Ibid p 26). By 2017 money from National Government increased to 16.53%. The annual 2016 budget of R280 million with R22 million collected in water revenue.

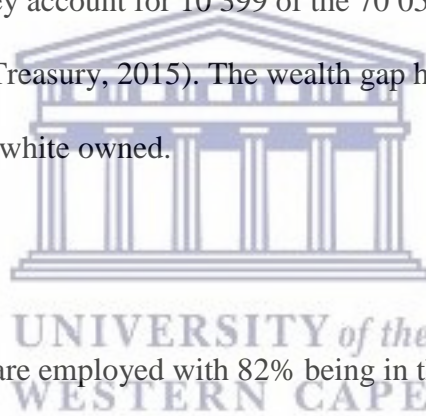


The Municipal Council has nine Councillors, five of whom are Ward Councillors and four of whom are Proportional Representation (PR) Councillors. The Municipal Council is led by an ANC / Independent coalition.

Research Site Two: Matzikama

Matzikama Municipality is in the north of the Western Cape with a population of approximately 70 052 people most of whom are ‘coloured’¹ farmworkers. It is a category B municipality with Vredendal as the seat of the Municipality.

There are 8 wards with the poorest being Ward 8 which consists of 7 villages with a population of approximately 7000 people. Coloureds, the largest population group of 52 356 (74.7%) earned 42.27% of the total personal income in Matzikama (MM 2016). Whites make up 10% of the pop and are mainly wealthy farmers. But they earn more than 55% of the total personal income given that they account for 10 399 of the 70 052 population in Matzikama (WC Government Provincial Treasury, 2015). The wealth gap however is higher since most of the well irrigated farms are white owned.



About 53% of the population are employed with 82% being in the formal sector (MM 2016).

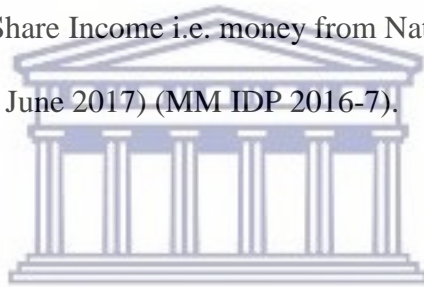
There is thus an increased need to address the socio-economic and broad economic challenges within the Matzikama region going forward. The literacy rate in the Western Cape is 87.2 per cent which is higher than the literacy rate in the country as a whole of 80.9 per cent.

¹ The use of terms such as ‘coloured, black and white’ are erstwhile official apartheid categories which were used to colonise and divide South Africans. These have no scientific or other value. However, these categories are still used by the post-apartheid state statistics and hence I am compelled to use them. The terms are dynamic and in flux since their meanings are socially and politically constructed.

The municipality is feeling the effects of the downturn in the economy as well as the drought which has impacted disposable income, un/employment and growth prospect for the area (MM MTREF, 2016).

“The effects of continuously rising costs in inputs such as fuel and electricity amongst other with the resultant multiplier effect on our expenditure (outflow of cash) requirements, have culminated in increased costs to provide basic and community services, making the achievement of the service delivery objectives so much more difficult and an even greater challenge”taking cognizance of the economic conditions, the resultant low employment levels and levels of disposable income, it was important to keep services affordable by critically looking at the costs associated with providing the service and the effect on future service charges.....” (Ibid p. 8-10).

Local Government Equitable Share Income i.e. money from National Government made up 23.3% of revenue (July 2016 - June 2017) (MM IDP 2016-7).



Local Indigent Policies UNIVERSITY of the WESTERN CAPE

While there is a national guideline document on indigent policies, they do vary from place to place. In the Cape Agulhas municipality, the indigent policy is locally known as the “Masakhane” and in Matzikama it is only known as the “Indigent Policy”. The “old” Maskhane was a programme which was rolled out by the ANC in the late 1990s. The aim of that programme was to get citizens to pay for their basic services. This was in an attempt to change citizen behaviour from a “culture of non-payment” which was prevalent during the latter stages of apartheid to “responsible” citizens which was based on a logic of commodification (Naidoo, 2007).

According to Cape Agulhas municipal documents,

“The social package assists households that are poor or face other circumstances that limit their ability to pay for services. To receive these free services, the households are required to register in terms of the Municipality’s Indigent Policy. The cost of the social package of the registered indigent households is financed by the municipality self and largely by utilising the municipality’s unconditional equitable share grant, allocated in terms of the Constitution to local government, and received in terms of the annual Division of Revenue Act. The cost associated with indigent subsidies amounts to R7.702 million in 2016/17. These figures do not include the 50 kWh electricity provided to indigents”. (CAM MTREF 2017 p. 34).

Each municipality has its own criteria and income thresholds for indigent qualification. The Agulhas municipality for example has 2 categories of households that qualify for assistance namely “Indigent” and “Poor”. A combined total income (breadwinner and spouse) of below R3 040.00 per month qualifies for indigent benefits and in the case of a poor household the combined total income is between R3 041 and R4 220.

Matzikama Indigents

On the other hand, the Matzikama municipality threshold is a combined total monthly income of R4 750.00 for indigent households only. Thus, the Matzikama policy can be seen as generous compared to Agulhas since more households might qualify given the higher threshold. Matzikama’s policy is not clear on whose income makes up households income. For example if three pensioners constitute a households they would not qualify as indigents.

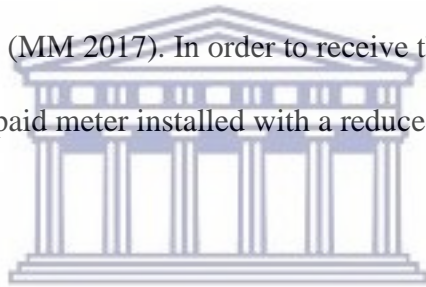
In order to qualify for the free basic services, indigent households have to apply for relief by completing and submitting an application to the local municipality. It appears that municipal workers assist the poor to fill in forms. The municipality has also resorted to ‘drives’ to register indigents (Author Interviews, August 2017) since it is evident that the number of registered indigents is much lower than the number of poor.

These applications then undergo a verification process and on approval the household is included in the financial system and receive the indigent benefits. Municipalities have differing approaches to dealing with these applications. In some municipalities applications are accepted as being completed truthfully and in other municipalities households are visited every year by municipal officials to ensure no fraudulent claim of indigent status is made. This is to ensure that those in a position to pay do not abuse the system (Arntz, Bekker and Botes, 2003). Indigent households must inform the municipality should their indigent status change. The policies in MM and CAM make it clear that dishonesty will result in disqualification of application and for those who are already beneficiaries, removal from the Indigent Register.

Benefits commence on the 1st of July and end on the 30th of June the following year - a period of 12 months. This is not necessarily always the case as there are also instances where the period is shorter for example when there is a temporary loss of income due to illness or loss of employment and can be extended, if necessary. Qualifying indigent residents in Agulhas

receive 50kWh of electricity and 6 kl of water. In addition to the free water and electricity, 80% credit (a discounted rate) is also given on the water, refuse and sanitation account of indigent residents. For the “poor household” category, the credit on these municipal services account is 50% of the free benefits (CA 2017).

Indigent households in Matzikama, however, receive 50kWh of electricity and a bit more water: 10kl of water free. Any usage over and above the free supply is for the resident’s account with a reduced rate on electricity consumption up to 150kWh per month. This municipality also provides free gravesites to children under 12 and discounted gravesites to households on the indigent list (MM 2017). In order to receive the free electricity qualifying households have to have a prepaid meter installed with a reduced voltage.

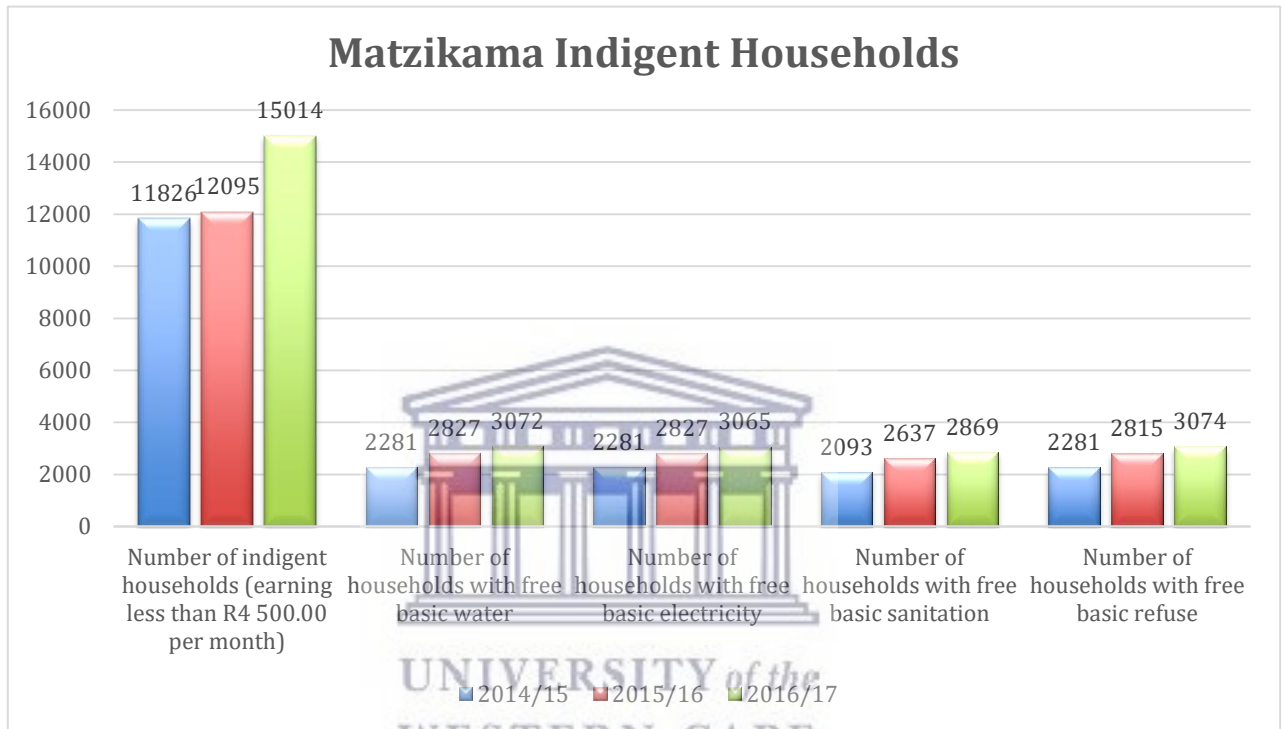


At the end of August 2017 the Matzikama municipality had a total of 2 061 indigent households on their register and it was expected to increase to approximately 3 200. The total number of households for 2016 was 20 821 (WC, 2018). The 2 061 indigent households represents only 9.89% of the total number of households and the projected 3 200 would represent 15.36%.

The number of indigent households receiving FBS in 2014 was 1 921 and this has increased by 39.5% to 2 679 in 2015 and again by about 9.25% to 2 926 in 2015 and an expected

increase of approximately 9.35% to reach the 3 200 expected total. Although there was a huge increase in the number of indigent households from the 2014 to 2015, the increases from 2015 to 2016 and 2017 appear to stabilise year on year at just above 9%.

FIGURE 2: INDIGENT HOUSEHOLDS WITH SELECTED FREE BASIC SERVICES – MATZIKAMA



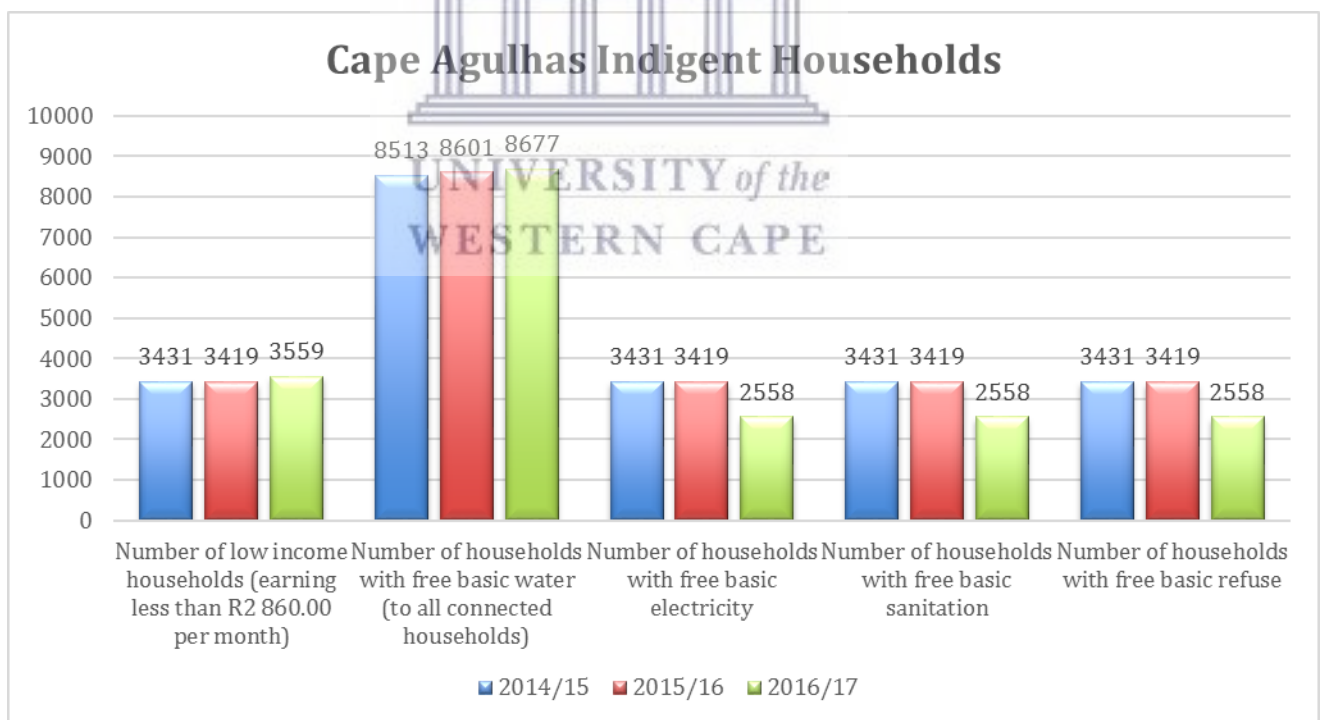
Source: Matzikama Municipality Annual Report

Cape Agulhas

The Cape Agulhas municipality had a total of 11 321 households in 2016 (WC, 2018) and 3485 indigent households at the end of May 2017 (CAM, 2017) who received assistance with free basic services and rebates on municipal accounts. This means that indigent households comprise 30.78% of all households in this locality. In other words one in three households is on the indigent list. This means it has a much higher up-take of indigents than MM (10%).

CAM for the period 2014-2015 had 3 431 registered indigent households which decreased by 0.35% to 3 419 in the 2015-2016 period and then increased marginally by 1.95% for the 2016-2017 period to 3 485 (CAM 2018). With a projected increase of 1.95% the 2017-2018 figures will increase to 3 553. As the municipality also offers rebates to “poor households” it would be useful to see corresponding information on these households. The data on the poor households would provide better contextual data on the benefits provided to alleviate poverty. This is especially important since the low income or poor households, earning less than R4 166 per month, constitute 49.1% of the households in the municipality (MM, 2017). Based on the 2016 household income figures, one can infer that if the indigent households make up 22.94% then the poor households should be at 26.16%.

FIGURE 3: INDIGENT HOUSEHOLDS WITH SELECTED FREE BASIC SERVICES - CAPE AGULHAS



Source: Cape Agulhas Annual Report

The table below shows the indigent figures for both municipalities as well as the percentage increase from 2014 to 2017. It is interesting that the Agulhas municipality started with quite a high number of indigent households, compared to Matzikama and that this has only increased by approximately 100 households over the period 2014 to 2017. A significant increase of 1 270 is however seen in the Matzikama municipality, for the same period, with the projected total number of indigent households being very similar to that of Agulhas. This is interesting considering that the number of households in Cape Agulhas is only 11 321 which is 9 500 households less than in the Matzikama Municipality. It should be noted that the Cape Agulhas municipality also has an additional “poor household” category which increases the total number of households who receive assistance albeit that the benefit is less and that the category does not fall within the scope of the research as it only focusses on indigent households.



TABLE 1: MUNICIPAL INDIGENTS

Municipality	2014	2015	2016	2017
Agulhas	3 431	3 419	3 485	3 553 (estimate)
Percentage Increase		-0.35%	1.95%	1.95%
Matzikama	1 921	2 679	2 926	3 200
Percentage Increase		39.5%	9.25%	9.35%

Source: Cape Agulhas IDP & Matzikama IDP

This chapter discussed the case study sites where the research was conducted. In the next chapter I will present the data collected in the two municipalities.

In conclusion, the number of indigent households for CAM (30%) and MM (10% for 2016 and 15% for 2017 on projected figures) raise a number of questions about whether municipalities understand the gravity of the plight of the most vulnerable, why MM indigent numbers were so low (2014) given the number of households and the socio-economic conditions within the municipality and how the indigent policies were viewed and implemented.



Chapter Four: Indigent citizens

This chapter will provide insights into the experiences of “indigent” citizens in dealing with the public servants in the selected municipalities. In part two of this chapter, I will explain and reflect on the “ethnographic” observations made before, during and after the interviews in the workplaces that were studied.

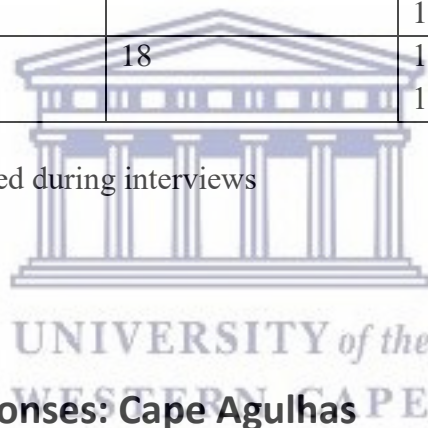
This section of the analysis provides an opportunity to hear the citizens’ perspective of the kind of services provided by the public servants with whom they interacted when dealing with the municipality. Based on the indigent citizens’ responses of their experiences when dealing with the municipality, it can be determined if the public servants provide the services, interact with and relate to citizens in the manner the public servants claim to.

Citizens who were interviewed in the Cape Agulhas municipality reside in Arniston, Bredasdorp, Napier and Struisbaai. Interviewed citizens in Matzikama reside in Klawer, Lutzville, Vanrynsdorp and Vredendal. I interviewed 43 indigent citizens. Of these 9 were males and 34 females. The age ranged from 34-85. Significantly, the majority were pensioners.

TABLE 2: INDIGENT CITIZEN'S DEMOGRAPHIC DATA

	Gender	Age Range	No of respondents	Race (Self-designated)
Cape Agulhas	Male	51-77	4	3 "Coloured" 1 no response
Cape Agulhas	Female	35-80	16	"Coloured"
Matzikama	Male	48-72	5	1"Black" 1 SA Citizen 2 "Coloured" 1 Khoisan / Griekwa
Matzikama	Female	34-85	18	17 "Coloured" 1"White"

Source: Author's own collected during interviews



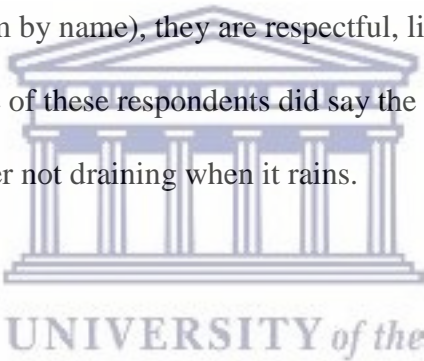
Indigent citizens' responses: Cape Agulhas

I interviewed 20 "indigents" in CA. Education levels of the Cape Agulhas indigent residents ranged from minimal to grade eleven. None of the respondents have a matric or higher education. They visit the municipal finance department either for payments, application or inquiries on the Indigence /Masakhane (We are building) benefit scheme and for advice on their municipal accounts.

Treatment by officials

When asked about the treatment they receive when visiting municipal offices and if the staff go the extra mile to assist only one of the twenty respondents said the treatment was very bad. The reason the respondent provided for why the treatment was regarded as very bad was because of a flood seven years prior. According to the respondent no repairs had been done to the house, except for the repairs to the roof, since the flood. Five respondents said the treatment they received was very good. The reasons provided ranged from being very helpful in explaining, friendly, full of love, accommodating, respectful, etc. The remaining fourteen respondents said the treatment they received was good because they have good relationships with the SLBs (they know them by name), they are respectful, listen, provide good advice, they are eager to help, etc. One of these respondents did say the service was poor because of a ten-year problem with the water not draining when it rains.

Respondent LA:



“They treat you very well but the services are poor. I have a problem with flooding when it rains and for 10 years nothing has been done. I’ve been in and out of the offices....they don’t do their duty...”

Respondent LL:

“They treat you very well. They’re very thoughtful, loving, I have no complaints.....everyone that works there, the coloureds and the whites....”

As to the staff going the extra mile the citizens were divided in their responses. Two respondents did not think they particularly went out of their way, six said they did not go out of their way and the remaining twelve said they do go out of their way, they care, they call head office on their behalf and even go so far as to provide advice on how the citizens can save on their electricity costs.

Respondent LE:

“Not particularly...”

Respondent LF:

“No, not really....”

Citizens were asked if personnel were knowledgeable on the issues they have, if they ask their colleagues for assistance and how their colleagues respond to these requests for assistance.



One respondent chose not to answer this question, four respondents thought staff were only slightly knowledgeable and fifteen thought they were very knowledgeable. The respondents said they did not ask or did not know if they ask their colleagues for help. Only one respondent said the staff asked colleagues for assistance and the colleagues were helpful.

Respondent LC:

“...they don't seem qualified to do the job....”

With reference to how they deal with complaints they may have or if they are not happy with the service they received, citizens either do nothing, call, go to head office or report the problem to the ward councillor. In general, the citizens feel that the reported problems are adequately addressed and the problems resolved but there are six respondents who did not agree with this. These six respondents feel that their complaints were not addressed, were not addressed to their satisfaction, the housing office was very unprofessional and they receive poor service from the department responsible for waterworks.

Respondent LA:

“The best thing is to go to Bredasdorp. If you go to the office here you’ll wait for 5 years....”

Respondent LB:

“I just call “Sarah” (not real name) and she tells me what I need to do.... Good. They send out people if you have problems with water....for disconnections I just call “Justine” (not real name) and she helps me...”

Respondent LC:

“...I haven’t received feedback....most of the time you don’t know who to go to at this municipality...”

Treatment of rich versus poor and racial issues

Just under half of the respondents believed they are being treated differently because they are poor. They however do not feel that they are being treated differently since being on the Indigent/Masakane list. Some of these respondents feel that if they were white and had these

complaints their complaints would be addressed because white people get preferential treatment.

Respondent LS:

“I can't say.... I'm very happy with what they do for me...”

Respondent LC:

“Yes, rich people come first. You can see the difference...”

State surveillance

To inform the community of the Indigence / Masakhane benefit the Cape Agulhas municipality sends letters and notices to the community. All the respondents receive benefits because of this intervention. Questions were asked to determine if the process of obtaining the Indigent benefit required certain steps as described in the literature.

None of the applicants that were interviewed have ever had to talk to a social worker as part of the application process and only two residents were visited by council members /municipal representatives in relation to the benefit. These visits were however not part of a punitive application process but rather to assist the citizens by informing them that they could apply for the benefit.

Seven of the 20 respondents indicated that they needed to have the required documentation certified at the police station and three of these seven respondents indicated it was only required with the first application. Thirteen of the respondents indicated they were not required to have documents certified. According to residents the municipality accepts your word and guides you on what to do when making application.

Overall value of FBS

Indigent residents, especially the pensioners, are very appreciative of the Indigent benefit albeit that there is a general feeling that it is very little. There are also still residents who cook on outdoor fires in order to conserve and stretch the electricity that, they receive as indigent beneficiaries, until they receive their next allocation. To the indigents it is a huge help given their circumstances and with everything being so expensive, especially electricity.

Respondent LP:

“It helps when you’re struggling...”

Respondent LN:

“It’s a good thing. You can at least make arrangements. With a pension you can’t always afford to pay because you have other things also to pay...”

When asked what government could do to improve the situation respondents were of the view that government needs to create more employment opportunities and the police need to do more to address the problem of drug abuse in the area.

Respondent LP:

“Electricity is so expensive....the units reduce the further into the month you are....”

Respondent LO:

“Don’t know. I’m really struggling with the small disability that I get”.

Respondent LL:

“Drugs need to be eradicated. There’s no more respect.... Police need to intervene....”

Respondent LI:

“Government doesn’t do a good job of running this country.... They promise the poor will benefit but nothing happens, you don’t see anything”.



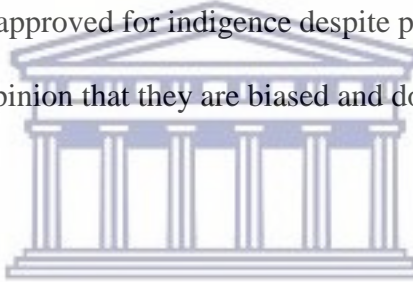
Indigent citizen responses: Matzikama

I interviewed 23 “indigents” in the Matzikama municipality. Although the education levels of the indigent respondents in Matzikama municipality are better than those in Cape Agulhas municipality (there are more respondents with at least high school education, one with a matric qualification and one with qualifications from a technical school), there are also more respondents with no education at all in the Matzikama municipality. They visit the municipal offices to make payments, application for indigence and for queries.

Treatment by Officials

When asked about the treatment they receive when visiting municipal offices and if the staff go the extra mile to assist three of the Matzikama respondents felt the treatment they received was very bad. The explanation provided by one resident was that the officials are “corrupt” because they wanted to charge R25.00 to print a statement without providing a receipt for the payment because government wants to be part of a “small farming venture” they’ve been struggling to get approval for since 1996. The other two respondents felt they had been treated unfairly in relation to the indigent benefit. Benefits were taken away from the one respondent when he was away from home and his granddaughter looked after his house. The other respondent has not been approved for indigence despite providing all the relevant documentation. He is of the opinion that they are biased and do not believe him.

Respondent MT:



“Very bad sometimes. Last year I visited my daughter in Cape Town and my granddaughter watched the house and on my return my indigence was taken away and I had to pay my accounts all overother people told the municipality there are too many other people living in my house”.

Respondent MA was angry:

“Very bad...they don’t care...no assistance despite providing all the information, still not receiving benefit....I think they think that I am lying”.

On the other hand, two respondents felt the treatment they receive is very good because the SLBs are friendly, provide feedback, they are helpful, they listen and are respectful and for

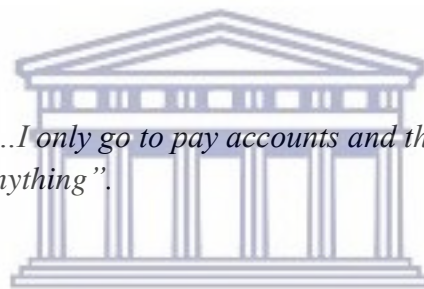
the way in which they receive him when visiting the offices. One respondent rated the service as good despite complaining that there are certain things that they do not do and that he struggles to get hold of particular officials because “they are never available”. The remaining seventeen indigent respondents also feel the treatment is good because the staff are friendly, respectful, always helpful, explains things, never rude, know the clients and helps immediately.

Respondent MB:

“Very good. Their attitude and how they receive me is what makes them very good”.

Respondent MI:

“They treat you well...I only go to pay accounts and they’ve never been rude, unfriendly or anything”.



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The majority of the respondents believed that the public servants are knowledgeable on the issues that the citizens have and that they know what they are doing and therefore do not need to ask their colleagues for assistance. There is however one respondent who feels they are not knowledgeable at all but the respondent does not know if they ask colleagues for assistance.

Respondent MH:

“They know what they are doing”.

Respondent MG:

“Yes but they take their orders from Vredendal”.

When asked what they do when they have complaints the respondents who did have complaints said they go to the head office in Vredendal, they phone the office, they complain to the councillor, they raise issues in ward meetings or they write letters. Mostly the respondents are satisfied that their complaints were dealt with speedily.

Respondent MF:

“Call or go to the offices”.

Respondent ML:

“Go to the municipality”.

Respondent MT:

“Complain at municipal offices or to ward councillor”.



Treatment of rich and poor

In response to whether poor people are treated differently to rich people the majority of the respondents said they did not know if they were treated differently to rich people. As to whether they are being treated differently as indigent citizens the respondents said they were in that they now received benefits and their accounts were lower and for some affordable.

One respondent even said the staff are now friendlier. One respondent says there is a perception that rich people are treated differently and another that there is more respect for rich people.

A third respondent felt that rich people are being treated differently because an annual festival has been moved to elite area, Strandfontein which is not accessible to the poor because of the distance.

Respondent MC:

“I don’t know but rich people are not dependent on government but poor people are”.

Respondent MD:

“I think so. For example, the festival has always been hosted locally but now it’s been moved to Strandfontein and we can’t afford to go there...its rich man’s ground”.

Respondent MU:

“Yes. There is a difference in the pension payment”.



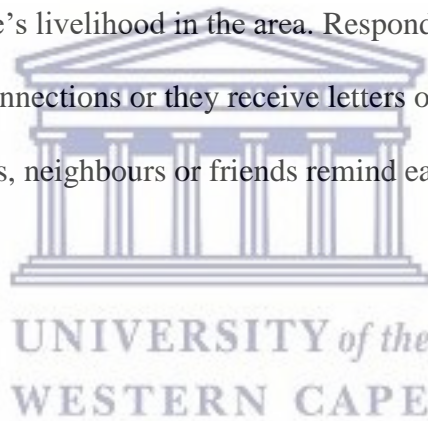
State surveillance and disconnections

None of the respondents have had to speak to a social worker about their indigence application. Those who have had to certify documentation only did so with the first application. Of all the respondents in Matzikama only one was visited by municipal officials to enquire about the number of occupants.

Respondent MB:

“There have been a few white women to check how many occupants in the house.... getting information on the people in the country”.

Where municipal services have been disconnected it has only been electricity disconnections and these are restored once respondents apply for indigence status. One respondent also feels that electricity should not be blocked and the water should not be put on the trickle system. There is also an immense consciousness around saving water because of the drought as the effects of the drought is so evident in the dryness of the crops on all the farms in the area. This greatly impacts on people’s livelihood in the area. Respondents apply for indigence either because they have disconnections or they receive letters on the indigence benefits and applications. In some instances, neighbours or friends remind each other to make application.



Overall value of FBS

For all the respondents the indigence benefit is helpful. There are those who do not feel there is a huge difference because of the small percentage discount they receive. However, on the whole the respondents feel grateful that their burden is lighter and for some the burden is lifted. Despite the assistance there is one respondent who does not have electricity because the water account is in arrears so they work by candlelight and cook on the fire.

Respondent MP:

“Big help. Glad that there is indigence helps to get back on your feet”.

Respondent ME:

“No difference.....never had big account so no difference”.

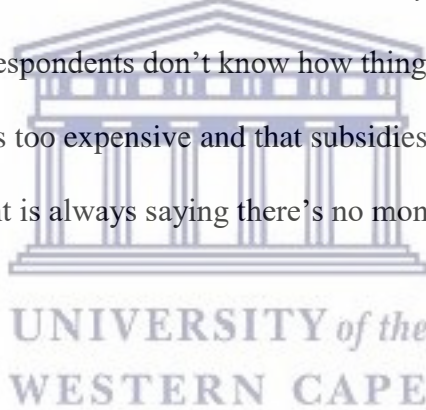
Respondent MS:

“Doesn't help much”.

Respondent MK:

“It's made a big difference now that I'm on the subsidy”.

Although the majority of the respondents don't know how things can be improved there are those who feel the electricity is too expensive and that subsidies can be increased although they are aware that government is always saying there's no money in the budget.



Respondent MB:

“People need to go back to being a community”.

Respondent MM:

“More electricity would be good”.

Respondent MJ:

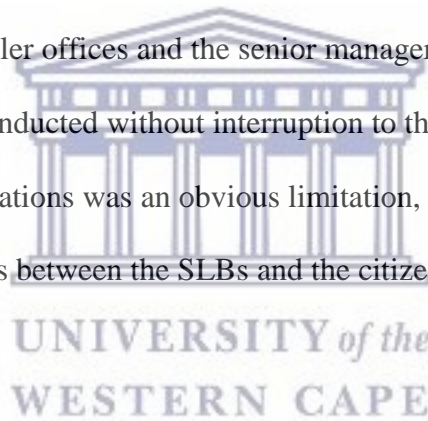
“The benefit could be increased on the electricity and water”.

Respondent MN:

“I don’t know. Water is scarce...”

Ethnographic Observations (non-participant observation)

I interviewed several of the SLBs on the job because the municipal managers in both Cape Agulhas and Matzikama had given permission for the interviews to be conducted during office hours. There were a few SLBs in Cape Agulhas municipality who work in treasury who were only interviewed after they had closed their offices to the public. In these instances the SLBs were located in smaller offices and the senior manager responsible for treasury requested the interviews be conducted without interruption to their work. While conducting interviews during normal operations was an obvious limitation, the advantage was that I was able to observe the interactions between the SLBs and the citizens.

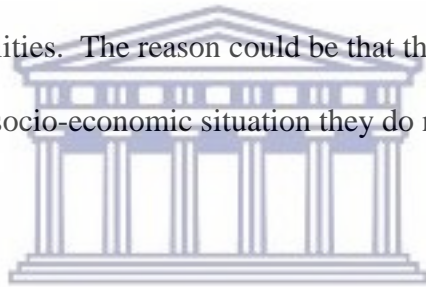


The SLB in the Cape Agulhas main municipal offices who is responsible for and directly involved with the indigent process speaks about the community with much passion. There is no doubt about the care and concern for the indigent citizens and their situations. The SLB in the Matzikama main municipal offices, in the same portfolio, does not display the same kind of passion. There are however other SLBs who are also involved in the indigence process who do appear to care. During an interview a SLB received a telephone call from a

client and the patience and familiarity with the client and the issue during the telephone conversation reflected the SLBs care for the client's particular situation.

In another instance a client walked into the office to purchase electricity and the attitude of the SLB was very abrupt and abrasive. It could be that this is normal behavior and just the way in which people talk to each other in the community but this interaction took me aback as I am not accustomed to seeing this kind of interaction and did not think it appropriate.

There is a sense of superiority by SLBs toward the indigents in some local offices in both Cape Agulhas and Matzikama. This is in contrast to how indigent citizens are treated at the main offices of both municipalities. The reason could be that they are so far removed from the main office and given the socio-economic situation they do not realize how they behave.



On the other hand, I witnessed how one SLB in particular avoided seeing clients. For three days I visited this particular office for interviews with an SLB and a senior manager. The senior manager had meetings and other urgent issues to attend to and the SLB kept postponing the interview. Despite claims of being too busy to see clients my observations were that she was just avoiding having to deal with the clients and me at the time. She confirmed avoiding me after we conducted the interview claiming she was not really as busy and quite anxious about what the interview would be about. From this I deduced she avoided the customers too because she may not have addressed their problems and could not provide them with answers to their questions.

Another SLB in the housing department of the Matzikama municipality has a very different attitude. She is very friendly, kind, patient and treats the clients with such warmth and compassion when they enter the office. She assists as far as she is able to and follows up with telephone calls. She does all of this despite the department having moved offices, being responsible that the office is properly organized and having to deal with municipal staff who are installing and fixing a host of things in the office.

Although the general observation is that SLBs care for the indigent community and trust the evidence of indigence provided, there are a few SLBs who work in local offices who are not so trusting. In particular, there is a SLB in a local office in Matzikama municipality and a SLB in the housing department in the Cape Agulhas municipality who are very suspicious of people who apply for or who are on the indigent list.

Some of the “white” SLBs working with indigent citizens appear to be irritated and angry with the current situation with the indigents. This behavior is however not restricted to only “white” SLBs. This has a negative impact on how indigents are dealt with. For the “white” SLBs there is also the issue of promotions which they are excluded from because of the municipality’s equity plans.

The most interesting observations were of the senior managers. Despite their positions being very demanding they are very accessible to the community. Whilst waiting to see the particular manager in Cape Agulhas a couple walked in with a query. As far as I could tell they did not have an appointment. They were informed the senior manager was not available and they were welcome to wait for him. They were not sent away having to come back at an appointed time. On his arrival he immediately listened to their problem, knew exactly what they were concerned about and could explain the process and the implications for all concerned. They left the office satisfied that their issue was dealt with. Similarly, the Matzikama senior manager had a number of calls on his cellphone and he responded to their queries immediately or suggested they come down to his office for a discussion.



Chapter Five: Unpacking the pro-poor, service-centred public service in Cape Agulhas and Matzikama Municipalities

This chapter deals with the data on municipal public workers/servants I collected during my fieldwork. I will present the public servants data followed by the presentation of the interview data of public service motivation (PSM), Batho Pele and service orientation.

This section of the analysis reflects the elucidations of the SLBs and senior managers on aspects of PSM, exposure to, knowledge and implementation of Batho Pele and the service orientation these public servants possess.

Public servants; SLBs and senior managers interviewed in Cape Agulhas Municipality (CAM) work in Arniston, Bredasdorp, Napier and Struisbaai. The Matzikama public servants reside in Klaver, Lutzville, Vanrynsdorp and Vredendal. In order to validate or negate the responses from both citizen and public servants, the interview sites are the same. So if public servants were interviewed in Vredendal the indigent citizens in Vredendal were also interviewed.

A total of 3 senior managers, 1 councillor and 8 SLBs were interviewed in Cape Agulhas and in Matzikama 4 senior managers and 7 SLBs were interviewed. Senior managers (aged between 42 and 66) were all male and SLBs (aged between 26 and 58) were 94% female with only one of the 15 male.

Public Service Motivation

As noted earlier, Perry developed a criteria and a scale to measure PSM. The PSM section of the questionnaire used in this research was developed based on Perry’s model. The section below addresses a few of the key aspects of PSM. The first section concerns the socio-demographic antecedents and the role played by influencers in the socialization of public servants (Perry & Hondeghem, 2008). Questions were posed to understand who influenced on and impacted the respondents during their formative and early adult years. These influences and impacts may have resulted in the respondent’s decision to enter public service.

All the senior management respondents (L1 to L3) in the Cape Agulhas municipality, at various points in the careers, elected to serve in the public service over employment in the private sector. Each has served the public in excess of twenty years. L1 had worked in the private sector and has been in the public sector for twenty-two years. L2 and L3 started their careers in the municipal sector twenty-five and twenty-seven years ago respectively.

TABLE 3: PROFILE OF SENIOR MANAGER INTERVIEWEES

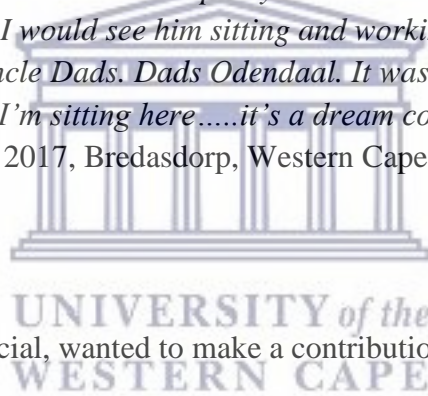
	Senior Man	Councilor	Gender	Age Range	Race (self-designated)
Cape Agulhas	3	1	M	49-66	1 “Coloured” 3 “White”
Matzikama	4	0	M	42-60	2 “Coloured” 2 “White”
Total	7	1			8

Source: Author’s own collected during interviews

As is evident from Table 3, the senior managers are all male. Of the eight officials 5 were white (62%) and were all over 49. Both revenue managers are white, aged 53 and 60 respectively. The manager for community services (housing) is a coloured male aged 42 and the councillor is a white male aged 66.

Respondent L2 was motivated during his childhood to serve the public not by interactions or discussion with any particular individual but by an indelible impression left by observing a public servant at work.

“There was a treasurer at the municipality in Heidelberg and when I walked to the library I would see him sitting and working. I would say that I want to work like uncle Dads. Dads Odendaal. It was an image that stayed with me. Now I’m sitting here.....it’s a dream come true”. (Personal Interview, 14 August 2017, Bredasdorp, Western Cape, South Africa).



The councillor, an elected official, wanted to make a contribution and work with and for the community. He sold a successful business and went on early retirement, from the business arena, to contribute time and expertise in the municipality. To be eligible to stand for election, as councillor, a candidate must be a registered voter in that particular municipality. At a local municipal level the councillors comprise of 50% ward councillors. These can be nominated by a political party or be independent candidates. The remaining 50% party representatives. At the district municipal level the 40% are party representatives and 60% of councillors from local municipalities within the district. Metropolitan municipalities have

50% ward and 50% party representatives. Party representation is proportionate to the parties participating in elections (COGTA, 2016).

In respect of the senior managers these choices were made despite the fact that they had not been exposed to discussions on public service or been influenced by interactions with individuals during their formative and earlier adult lives to enter the public service arena.

The senior managers in the Matzikama municipality (respondents M1 – M4), like those in Agulhas, elected to work in public service despite private sector opportunities. As is the case with Agulhas, in respect of the senior managers these choices were made despite the fact that they had not been exposed to discussions on public service or been influenced by interactions with individuals during their formative and earlier adult lives to enter the public service arena. Respondent M3 studied medicine and chose to switch to public service to be in the diplomatic service.

“I had a close friend at school and one of my girlfriends at school and her dad was an ambassador and I saw the life that they were living and I was quite taken by that and that was what I wanted to do”. (Personal Interview, 18 September 2017, Vredendal, Western Cape, South Africa).

Of the seven SLB respondents in Matzikama (respondents MA1 – MA7) three respondents chose to work in public service, three respondents had no other options and one moved from

the private sector in an attempt to avoid the pressures of sales which was a determinant for promotions in the particular sector the respondent had previously worked in.

The respondents in Agulhas (respondents LA1 – LA8) are very similar in that four respondents chose to work in public service, three had no other option and one chose public service for the convenience of the proximity of her job to her home.

SLBs

Table 4 shows that of the 15 SLBs 14 are female and only 1 male. The gender picture has thus more or less completely reversed when compared with table 3. The sample of SLBs comprises 66.67% coloured SLBs, 20% white SLBs, 6.67% black and 6.67% Khoisan. The coloured male is aged 58 and the white females are aged 50 and 52, the black female is aged 26, the khoisan female 49 and the coloureds females ages range from 36 to 52.

TABLE 4: PROFILE OF SLB INTERVIEWEES

	SLB	Gender	Age Range	Race (self-designated)
Cape Agulhas	8	7 Female 1 Male	36-52 58	2 "White" 1 "Khoisan" 5 "Coloured"
Matzikama	7	Female	26-52	5 "Coloured" 1 "Black" 1 "White"
Total	15	14 Female 1 Male		

Source: Author's own collected during interviews

None of the SLB respondents were particularly exposed to discussions about public service in the household and of the fifteen SLB's interviewed only five were influenced to enter public service. Although respondent MA5 had been encouraged to enter public service, the respondent did not necessarily choose public service but instead was forced to join the public service as there were no other employment alternatives available.

Respondent LA3 had been encouraged by a teacher as well as the church pastor to enter public service and in particular a finance field because of her nature and acumen.

“I was taught Economics by Carol Swarts and I was very good at Economics. I was one of her best students. She always told me I have to work in a finance department because I am very good at figures and I'm very spontaneous and can communicate with anyone. I can fit in anywhere. She motivated me to do this type of work..... Pastor Louw Ronquest told me I could make a difference in many lives because of my personality”.
(Personal Interview, 14 August 2017, Bredasdorp, Western Cape, South Africa).

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The literature suggests that public servants join the public service for altruistic reasons indicating they have self-sacrificing characteristics and are truly driven to help citizens. The dominant perception of South African public servants is however not of public servants who want to help but rather of public servants who do not care and are only in public service as a means of employment. From the above responses it can be inferred that this is the case for almost half of the public servants (46.67%). Public servants in senior positions are more likely to be in public service because of altruistic reasons and not for financial reasons, more

so than those at lower levels of bureaucracy (SLB) (Taylor and Taylor, 2011 and Bright, 2005). Senior managers could earn more in the private sector but choose to remain in public service and even opt to move from private sector to the public sector in a bid to contribute. In addition, senior managers serve at the behest of the ruling party within the municipality thus their employment is not guaranteed.

Notions of the Public

Respondents were asked to say what came to mind when they heard the words “The Public”, “Service” and “Public Servant”. The below table shows the responses from senior managers

TABLE 5: RESPONSES TO KEY WORDS BY SENIOR MANAGERS - CAPE AGULHAS

Words Respondent	The Public	Service	Public Servant
L1	Community that we serve	Services the municipality needs to provide	Serving communities
L2	Service	Work	Service
L3	Put the public first within legislative framework	Strive for excellence, maximize	You become humble. Work for them. Support them as partner & role-player
L4	The public is very divided	Lack of service	Unmotivated, demotivated motivated not to do

Source: Author’s own collected during interviews

It is clear that the senior manager respondents in the Cape Agulhas municipality have the public and their needs in mind and that they understand that as public servants they are there to serve. On hearing the words “the public” the Cape Agulhas the first thoughts that come to mind for senior managers are of serving the public. The word “service” elicit thoughts of the services that need to be provided and the quality of the services to be provided. The words “public servant” brings forth thoughts of serving the community for whom they work. Respond L4 had a very different perspective in that he is focused on what is wrong in relation to the public servants and the service provided to communities. The difference in the response could be due to a business background where identifying and correcting problems related to service is important in terms of business profitability. This does not reflect that the public is not important but rather that the councilor is more focused on what is wrong.



TABLE 6: RESPONSES TO KEY WORDS BY SENIOR MANAGERS - MATZIKAMA

	The Public	Service	Public Servant
M1	Poorest. Municipality geared to help them. Makes job special	Basic services: water, electricity, refuse	Self
M2	People	Work for the people	Work for the people
M3	Needs	Excellence	Honesty, integrity
M4	Those paying my salary	Public	Self

Source: Author’s own collected during interviews

Similar to the senior manager respondents in the Cape Agulhas municipality, those in Matzikama have the public and their needs in mind and understand that as public servants they serve the community. On hearing the words “the public” the senior managers think how they can help the people in the poorest municipality with their needs. The word “service” brings thoughts of working for the people to provide basic services with excellence. Finally, “Public servant” brings thoughts of themselves, working for the people with honesty and integrity.

TABLE 7: RESPONSES TO KEY WORDS BY SLBS - CAPE AGULHAS

Words Respondent	The Public	Service	Public Servant
LA1	Patience in working with the public	Must deliver service	Must always help
LA2	The people outside/clients	What I deliver	Always provide best service
LA3	Service delivery	Pay	Communication
LA4	Those paying my salary-go out of way to help	Extra mile	To be there for all in need
LA5	Friendly-show respect to all	The best I can give-go the extra mile	Positive. Accommodating
LA6	You’re identified by where you come from. You’re placed in boxes and treated accordingly	Improving people’s lives. Providing free housing creates further poverty. Instead teach them to be able to fend for themselves	I am a public servant. You become everything, marriage counselor, advisor, etc.
LA7	The people at the counter	Complaints	Everyone
LA8	Housing	Housing allocation	Humility

Source: Author’s own collected during interview

The Cape Agulhas SLBs generally think of how they treat the public, those who pay their salary, housing and service delivery when they hear the words “the public”. On hearing “service” they think about the services they must deliver, going the extra mile, improving people’s lives and complaints. Hearing the words “public servant” gained responses which included how people are treated, always helping all in need, communication and humility. Respondent LA6 however thinks of how the public treats him/her when hearing the words “the public and although thinks of improving people’s lives when hearing “service”, the respondent feels that people should be taught to be self-sufficient.

TABLE 8: RESPONSES TO KEY WORDS BY SLBs - MATZIKAMA

Words Respondent	The Public	Service	Public Servant
MA1	Needs	Community	Respect
MA2	Poverty	Joblessness	Police
MA3	Problems	Service delivery	Problems
MA4	People	To people	Service
MA5	Helpful toward them	Good service	Courteous
MA6	Difficult	Give your best	Give your best
MA7	Difficult	Challenging	Interesting

Source: Author’s own collected during interviews

The Matzikama SLBs think of the poverty, problems and needs of the people, that the public are difficult and that they should be helpful toward the public when they hear the words “the

public”. On hearing the word “service’ respondents think of the community, giving their best, joblessness, service delivery to people and good service. The words “public servant” produces thoughts of problems, respect, service, giving your best, and police. Some of the SLBs do not view themselves as public servants. Notably the Matzikama SLB’s thoughts are very focused on the problems or the difficulties in relation to the public, service and public service.

From the above tables it is clear that there are mixed views. It is heartening that the majority of SLB respondents, although most are from the Cape Agulhas municipality, were focused on the public. However, of the fifteen respondents, three (20%) respondents had negative responses when hearing the words “The public” and “Service”. The same three respondents did not appear to understand that they themselves are public servants.

This is disconcerting because the very term public servant reflects having to serve the public. It is problematic if the respondents do not understand that the positions they occupy requires them to serve the public.

This problem is a result of staff appointments differing between the various spheres of government. Currently South Africa operates with a dual public service where staff appointed at a municipal level are appointed in terms of the Municipal Systems Act whilst those appointed at provincial and national levels are made in terms of the Public Service Act.

Respondents were asked about their interest in policies that affect their work and their relationship with the public. All the senior managers were very interested in policy. They understand the importance thereof and feel they have good policies in place. Despite this, respondent M1 did find it challenging because as the respondent says:

“It clashes with your emotions. Every day people come to your office who are in need, they scream and cry.....you have to enforce the decisions made by council.....you put on a mask in front of them but when they leave you become human again and you feel extremely sad...”. (Personal Interview, 21 September 2017, Vredendal, Western Cape, South Africa).

The majority of the SLB respondents are only interested or slightly interested in policy because it is a requirement for their work. Those respondents who are very interested have the following to say:

Respondent MA1:

“It spells out how to do your job. If you follow policy then there’s no problems. If not corruption and other issues arise. It protects the worker”. (Personal Interview, 22 September 2017, Vredendal, Western Cape, South Africa).

Respondent MA5:

“...to be knowledgeable when serving the people”. (Personal Interview, 18 September 2017, Vredendal, Western Cape, South Africa).

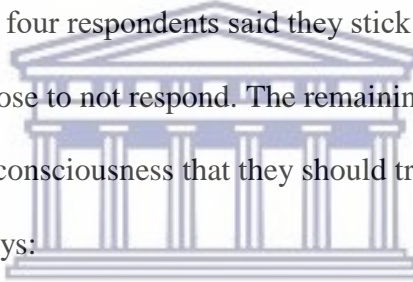
Respondent LA3:

“If there’s no policy in place everybody will do as they please so I believe there has to be policy according to which you handle your work”. (Personal Interview, 14 August 2017, Bredasdorp, Western Cape, South Africa)

On discretion among SLBS and senior managers

On the issue of discretion in relation to policy implementation the senior management are all in agreement that policy should be implemented uniformly. They are also in agreement that not all circumstances are the same and these differences can be accommodated through council or committee decisions where the differences are explained and if these are justifiable.

SLB's however will use their discretion in how and for what they will "bend the rules". Of the 15 SLB's interviewed only four respondents said they stick to the rules or refer the issue to their senior and one SLB chose to not respond. The remaining 10 (66.67%) respondents used their discretion despite a consciousness that they should treat all uniformly because as Respondents LA4 and MA2 says:



"It makes me feel good". (Personal Interviews, 16 August 2017, Bredasdorp and 20 September, Vredendal, Western Cape, South Africa).

A range of questions were asked to understand how public servants viewed or perceived policy, its implementation and service in relation to the public as well as their involvement in community organisations and their view of the public they serve.

Senior managers in both Agulhas and Matzikama are very involved in and aware of the macro and micro realities of their communities. They understand why people are poor and fully comprehend the diversity of needs in their community. Despite feeling empathy for the poor people in the community they also understand that all should be treated equally. Their priority focus is therefore on ensuring that all their constituents have the basic needs. Civic duty is a moral obligation and duty not just because of their jobs but also because of their passion for, sense of responsibility and desire to help the people in their communities.

Respondent L2 verbalized it strikingly:

“That is why I am in this position, it is part of my humanity, service delivery, serving the poor, and it’s a huge part of my being”. (Personal Interview, 14 August 2017, Bredasdorp, Western Cape, South Africa).

And Respondent L4:

“For sure. I live in the community, I have children who would want to live here one day and it’s my duty to make sure that the atmosphere is such that we would want to live here and in close existence with all”. (Personal Interview, 14 August 2017, Bredasdorp, Western Cape, South Africa).

Respondent M3:

“The moral obligation is to set an example at all times. My word is my honour what I say to people they can test. I will always be honest with them.....I’m over protective of the municipality.....they can’t say we are abusing our powers.....if you entrust us with your money we will spend it wisely.....we appoint the best person irrespective of the political party you represent....we say to people you can work here irrespective of who you vote for as long as you do your job well”. (Personal Interview, 18 September 2017, Vredendal, Western Cape, South Africa).

SLB in the main do not participate in community engagements unless they need to do so as a requirement in terms of their work. Those who do not participate because of their work have no desire to participate either. The majority of the participants feel it is their responsibility to help solve the problems but only in so far as it is linked to their work. Those who regard it as a moral obligation and their responsibility have the following to say:

Respondent LA4:

“I love to help people”. (Personal Interview, 16 August 2017, Bredasdorp, Western Cape, South Africa).

Respondent LA6:

“.....It is my duty firstly as a citizen of South Africa and secondly as a public servant..... even if you're not in public service, if you're a homemaker there are things we can do to improve people's lives. There are things we see daily that we can do something about but many of us choose to not get involved and that's our biggest problem, that's why things are the way they are, because we don't want to get involved”. (Personal Interview, 17 August 2017, Bredasdorp, Western Cape, South Africa).

Respondent MA7:

“I'm working.....it can't be that it's just because of a salary”. (Personal Interview, 20 August 2017, Lutzville, Western Cape, South Africa).

The SLB respondents generally agree that all citizens must be treated equally but there are a few who feel differently when dealing with poor people for varying reasons such as not being able to identify with rich people, the rich don't need anything, etc. There are also a host of

reasons provided for why people are poor for example historical poverty, illiteracy, apartheid, substance abuse, laziness, they don't want to improve their lives and they choose to live in poverty.

It must be noted that two of the three respondents who blamed poverty on the citizens themselves, by attributing their poverty to laziness and not wanting to improve their lives, may not be able to identify with the citizens. This may be as a result of the following:

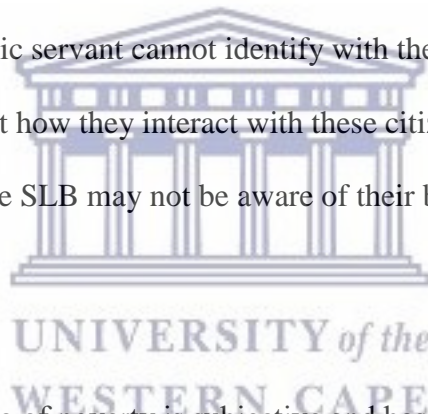
Firstly, the two respondent are white and old enough to have been in the apartheid civil service and this could explain why they are less able to identify with the challenges, history and or the context these citizens may be living in and with.

Secondly although one of the white respondents grew up in a poor family the experience of poverty for white citizens are very different from those of black citizens because of the historical injustice of the apartheid policies and practices in South Africa. One may go so far as to say that poverty for white South African's would be regarded as a life of luxury by those poor black citizens due to these apartheid policies and practices. Poverty and inequality in South Africa result from a complex history and as such cannot be understood without reference to the impact of race and racism (SPII, 2007).

The third respondent, although growing up in a poor Khoisan family, thinks of poverty as a situation where a person is completely destitute, with no home, not even a shack and no food, not even a slice of bread. In this respondent's opinion if one has a "roof" over one's head and something to eat, even if only a slice of bread then you are not poor. One would need to

consider this respondent's background to gain an understanding of the respondent's opinion. Having started work within the municipality as a cleaner, obtaining a junior clerical position and eventually becoming a senior officer within a particular department is the basis for the opinion. A perspective that the respondent had moved from poverty to a place of comfortability and therefore all citizens can do the same does not take into consideration the historic or current macro or micro realities of the individual, the community or the country.

STATS SA indicate there are different degrees of poverty. They indicate that the 2017 food poverty line has increased from R441.00 per month in 2015 to R531.00 in 2017. It is therefore a concern that a public servant cannot identify with the citizen in terms of poverty or indigence which will impact how they interact with these citizens. Consciousness need to be created regarding bias as the SLB may not be aware of their bias.



People's view or understanding of poverty is subjective and based on their context and experiences. As Noble and Wright (2006) noted regarding relative versus absolute poverty, people would view their relative standing in the context of those around them which could be influenced by amongst other things access to food, services, healthcare, employment, land and clothing. They would thus consider how well their basic needs are met to determine their level of poverty.

Attitudes to the Poor and to their plight

When asked how they felt about the poor, how they should be treated and what they should pay for services the responses from senior managers were as follows:

Senior managers in both municipalities feel sad for the plight of the underprivileged. The consensus is that more needs to be done.

Respondent L1:

“We have an obligation and duty to be aware of and look after those less fortunate. We need to understand the need, how we can change and diminish the need”. (Personal Interview, 14 August 2017, Bredasdorp, Western Cape, South Africa).

Respondent L3:

“...have to find ways to improve their lives, get investment, educate, and provide skills, etc. so they can become productive citizens”. (Personal Interview, 14 August 2017, Bredasdorp, Western Cape, South Africa).

Respondent M1:

“...they should get opportunities to be part of the economy. Inequality should be stopped”. (Personal Interview, 18 September 2017, Vredendal, Western Cape, South Africa).

Respondent M2:

“...many live in very terrible conditions. It is a crime by government that they live like that. Corruption has to be addressed to ensure basic services

for all". (Personal Interview, 18 September 2017, Vredendal, Western Cape, South Africa).

Respondent M3:

"....we should take care of and help others. How can we ask God for blessings, we should be a conduit of blessings". (Personal Interview, 18 September 2017, Vredendal, Western Cape, South Africa).

All of the senior managers are of the view that the poor should only be treated differently in terms of the provision of basic services and opportunities.

Respondent L1:

"You need to have much more empathy with them and you need to understand. Without these services it would affect their basic health". (Personal Interview, 14 August 2017, Bredasdorp, Western Cape, South Africa).



Half of the senior managers feel that the poor people should not pay for services but they understand that this is not always possible because of the impact it will have on the municipal finances.

Respondent M3 asked the below question in response to poor people having to pay for services:

".....how can they?" (Personal Interview, 18 September 2017, Vredendal, Western Cape, South Africa).

The responses from SLB's when asked how they felt about the poor, how they should be treated and what they should pay for services were as follows:

Cape Agulhas SLB's generally feel sad about the plight of the poor and people in distress especially where children are involved. There are however two respondents who feel differently.

Respondent LA7:

"I feel apathetic. The plight of a lot of the underprivileged are of their own making because a huge portion of them, if they had not given themselves up to drugs and alcohol abuse, they may not have been underprivileged. They have, currently, exactly the same opportunities as any other child".

(Personal Interview, 14 August 2017, Napier, Western Cape, South Africa).

Respondent LA4:

"Many of them can change their circumstances. You can rise above your circumstances you just have to make that personal decision. There's quite a bit available in the schools and community. We have for example a huge problem with drugs but it's up to you to change that". (Personal Interview, 16 August 2017, Bredasdorp, Western Cape, South Africa).

SLBs in Matzikama all feel sad about the plight of the poor and concern for the community and do what they can to assist.

Respondent MA5:

"We shouldn't let our emotions run away with us. We need to identify the need and address it. Teach a man to do something to relieve his need or you relieve it and it becomes your responsibility to always resolve the

need.....teach a man to fish". (Personal Interview, 18 September 2017, Vredendal, Western Cape, South Africa).

Should the poor pay for services?

TABLE 9: RESPONSES TO "SHOULD THE POOR PAY FOR SERVICES"

Should the poor pay for services?	Cape Agulhas	Matzikama
Sometimes		1
Help them not free	1	1
Yes	2	4
No	5	1

Source: Author's own collected during interviews

Those who feel the poor should not pay for services feel so because they understand that some people really cannot afford to pay. Those who feel that the poor should pay say so based on the poor receiving subsidies hence two of the respondents saying poor people should be helped and not receive services for free. As with the senior managers, the SLBs are all of the view that all citizens should receive the same treatment and the only differences should be in regards to indigent citizens receiving the indigence benefits.

Questions pertaining to self-sacrificing traits elicited the following responses:

Senior managers all want to contribute to society and even see it as a duty once they've achieved financial security or reached a certain age as reflected by their responses.

TABLE 10: PERSONAL ACHIEVEMENT VS MAKING A DIFFERENCE IN SOCIETY - SENIOR MANAGERS

Is it more important to for you to have personal achievement or making a difference in society?	
Cape Agulhas	
L1	One needs to look after one's self first before one can make a worthwhile contribution to society.....once you've achieved its an obligation, it's a duty to make a contribution to society
L2	Personal achievement, no. To make a difference in society, that's why I work, I do my work, that's it
L3	It's nice if you know you could assist someone or making their lives a little better even if it's just a small contribution. It makes you feel better. I'd rather see someone else happy.
L4	At my age it is to make a difference
Matzikama	
M1	If you make a difference in society you automatically excel....it could help to change someone who may have seen what you do and now want to emulate your character
M2	It is so nice to be able to make a difference in the community you come from, not to say that it's not nice to make a contribution in the community you find yourself in. It always comes back to the basics things that we should do as human beings, to give to your fellow man. I know where I come from..... It feels good to help others because I was helped
M3	When I was younger it was the personal.....you get older.....you discover it's not all about you. My whole viewpoint in life changed.....
M4	I'd much rather make a difference

Source: Author's own collected during interviews

Except for one, all the SLBs want to make a difference in society. The SLB who would rather have personal prestige comes from a poor background and is relatively young and

ambitious which could be the reason for the focus being on the personal rather than societal needs.

TABLE 11: PERSONAL ACHIEVEMENT VS MAKING A DIFFERENCE - SLBS

Is it more important to for you to have personal achievement or making a difference in society?	
Cape Agulhas	
LA1	Only to make a difference
LA2	It's sad but to have personal prestige
LA3	No. I want to make a difference in society. That's what I believe I should do else I'm just sitting here earning a salary
LA4	Make a difference in society
LA5	No. I just want to make a difference. I don't want a pat on the shoulder
LA6	Definitely to make a difference in society
LA7	I'd rather walk the journey with someone if they appreciate it but if they're not interested in improving then I don't want to walk with them
LA8	To make a difference
Matzikama	
MA1	To make a difference, to make people happy
MA2	To make a difference in society
MA3	I'd rather make a difference
MA4	It's probably to make a difference
MA5	To do good in the community
MA6	To make a difference
MA7	To make a difference

Source: Author's own collected during interviews

Duty is important to the senior managers and they make sure they fulfill their duties. One senior manager in Agulhas however says he ensures that his duty does not impact on his

family and one senior manager in Matzikama admits his duty mostly comes before himself but there are times when it does not.

TABLE 12: RESPONSES TO PUTTING DUTY BEFORE SELF - SENIOR MANAGERS

Would you put duty before yourself?	
Cape Agulhas	
L1	Yes
L2	Under certain circumstances but I try to have a clear distinction between work and home...I have work and I have a family
L3	Yes, definitely.
L4	Yes
Matzikama	
M1	Yes. No doubt
M2	I come from a background where I learnt to manage my time. I know the importance of time management and doing your duty.
M3	Yes. Before I go to bed all work must be completed for the day. Even on weekends, I clear everything, my emails, and all my tasks. I live by it.
M4	I'm not sure. Often times yes but sometimes no

Source: Author's own collected during interviews

Duty for the majority of SLBs comes first as Respondent MA3 quipped: “*Duty before pleasure*”. The respondent does however prefer not to answer the question due to uncertainty of the response should such a situation arise.

TABLE 13: RESPONSES TO PUTTING DUTY BEFORE SELF - SLBS

Would you put duty before yourself?	
Cape Agulhas	
LA1	My duty comes first
LA2	I'd probably do it yes
LA3	Yes, I am like that
LA4	Yes, I do that
LA5	Yes
LA6	I'm already doing it
LA7	Yes
LA8	Yes
Matzikama	
MA1	Yes
MA2	Yes
MA3	Duty before pleasure.....can't answer now
MA4	Yes
MA5	Yes
MA6	Yes
MA7	No



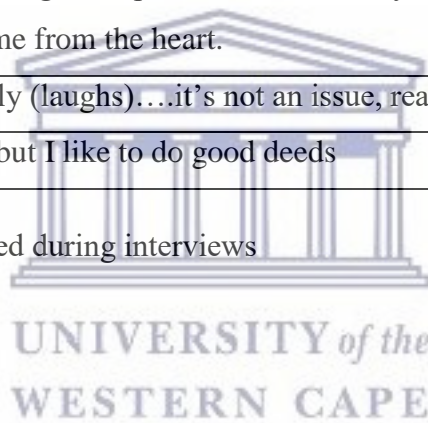
Source: Author's own collected during interviews

Senior Managers feel that doing good deeds is more important than doing well financially but being in a good financial position assist with the ability to do so as respondent L4 points out.

TABLE 14: FINANCIAL PROSPERITY VS DOING GOOD DEEDS - SENIOR MANAGERS

Is it more important to you to do well financially than to do good deeds?	
Cape Agulhas	
L1	Good deeds always comes back....
L2	Good deeds, for me it's about what I can do...
L3	Material things don't matter to me. I have to earn a salary and have the basic things...
L4	I've been doing well financially and now I want to do more things to alleviate and help others
Matzikama	
M1	It's important to do financially well then I will do good deeds
M2	We all want financial stability so we can have good lives but in the same breath I want to say I'd do anything to help others if I can but you need finances for that. Good deeds should come from the heart.
M3	I'm buggered financially (laughs)...it's not an issue, really
M4	To do financially well but I like to do good deeds

Source: Author's own collected during interviews



SLBs, like senior managers would rather do good deeds than do financially well.

TABLE 15: FINANCIAL PROSPERITY VS DOING GOOD DEEDS - SLBs

<i>Is it more important to you to do well financially than to do good deeds?</i>	
Cape Agulhas	
LA1	I'd rather do good deeds
LA2	Good deeds
LA3	I'd rather do good deeds because God blesses me in other ways
LA4	Rather good deeds
LA5	Yes, I'd rather do good. Money's a devil
LA6	Good deeds but the finances would help
LA7	Good deeds are probably more important
LA8	Good deeds
Matzikama	
MA1	Good deeds. Money is not everything
MA2	Good deeds
MA3	Good deeds but you also need to be able to put food on the table
MA4	To do good deeds
MA5	To do good deeds
MA6, MA 7	Good deeds

Source: Author's own collected during interviews

The senior managers in Agulhas municipality would rather remain in the public service despite being offered more money in the private sector. The senior managers in Matzikama would leave for the private sector although it may not be for financial gains. Some of the reasons offered are passion, better life for family and stability.

TABLE 16: LEAVING PUBLIC SERVICE FOR PRIVATE SECTOR - SENIOR MANAGERS

Would you leave public service if you were offered more money in the private sector?	
Cape Agulhas	
L1	Most probably not
L2	No
L3	I made a career choice. I won't really fit in the private sector
L4	No. Too old. If I was younger yes. The public sector is not only about serving the people, it's a boring mundane, don't go out of the box environment whereas in the private sector it's exciting.....so in that context....
Matzikama	
M1	One doesn't go for money but because you love what you do
M2	Yes. If I can provide a better life for my family. I'd also consider if I've done what I wanted to do here....
M3	Yes. It may go against everything I've said but the only reason is that the career of an XXX is no longer the career of choice....it's become a contract position and you serve at the pleasure of the mayor..... your employment is a political decision.
M4	No, not at this stage

Source: Author's own collected during interviews

Only one of the SLBs in Agulhas municipality would leave the public sector for more money. A Matzikama SLB would leave for more money and another if the money helps to increase the contribution the SLB is able to make in the community. Generally, the responses reflect a love for what they do, being happy in their jobs, being able to make a difference in the community and for one it was about convenience.

TABLE 17: LEAVING PUBLIC SERVICE FOR PRIVATE SECTOR - SLBS

Would you leave public service if you were offered more money in the private sector?	
Cape Agulhas	
LA1	I'd rather stay in public service unless I know exactly what it will be like and how things are done. I wouldn't leave if I might be unhappy...
LA2	Yes
LA3	No. It depends if I can work with and serve people because it's not about the money but the difference I can make in the community
LA4	No
LA5	It's not about the money for me. I rather want to be happy
LA6	Initially I was very skeptical when I started working here but I don't think I would leave
LA7	At this stage of my life, no.
LA8	No. It's not about money else I would have gone to work elsewhere a long time ago
Matzikama	
MA1	I would go but it is because I would be able to contribute more to the community
MA2	No
MA3	No. At the moment I'm fine here. I've been here for 17 years, I walk to work, and I don't have to make an effort to get to work. I'm happy in my work even if it is more money
MA4	Yes. Everyone goes for money
MA5	No. I'm not a private sector person
MA6	Not easily. We all need money to survive but to make a difference in someone's life is more important
MA7	I'm so happy in my job I wouldn't exchange money for my happiness.... It's not stressful all the time, you work with the community.....

Source: Author's own collected during interviews

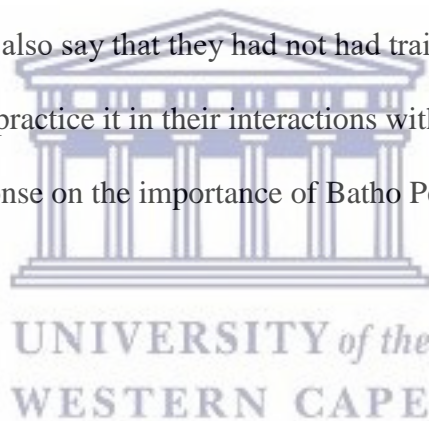
Batho Pele

The principles of Batho Pele is a people oriented guide on how public servants should interact with, treat and provide services to the public and what the public can expect from the public service and the steps they can take for redress.

Senior managers in the Agulhas municipality admit that they do not sufficiently communicate the importance of Batho Pele through the organisation. They have an understanding of what Batho Pele is but have had little to no training on it. According to them they do practice the principles in their interaction with the public.

Matzikama's senior managers also say that they had not had training on Batho Pele but understand the principles and practice it in their interactions with the community. They are however divided in their response on the importance of Batho Pele being communicated to staff.

Respondent M2:



“I live it out and through what I do every day and it filters to the staff and it is a practice in our activities” (Personal Interview, 18 September 2017, Vredendal, Western Cape, South Africa).

Half of the SLB's in Matzikama have a general idea of what Batho Pele is and believe they practice it in their interaction with the community despite not having had training. The importance of Batho Pele is also not being communicated to them by management. Only two (6.67%) of the seven respondents say that management does communicate the importance

thereof. Two (13.34%) of the SLB's have no idea what Batho Pele is and as a result don't practice the principles.

Similar to Matzikama some of the Agulhas SLB's have a general idea what Batho Pele is and believe they practice it in their interaction with the community despite not having had training. They too feel that management have not and do not communicate the importance thereof.

Respondent LA6 describes Batho Pele as:

“Don't do unto others that you don't want others to do unto you. That's where everything else comes in like treating others with respect”. (Personal Interview, 17 August 2017, Bredasdorp, Western Cape, South Africa).

The failure of Batho Pele is widely known which begs the question: If Batho Pele spells out how public servants interact with the public and it's known that implementation has been a failure, why is nothing being done to address the failure. Management has acknowledged that they are not doing enough to communicate the importance of Batho Pele.

Although financial constraints, for training, in municipalities has been mentioned there are other methods that could be employed to make staff aware of the principles of Batho Pele. It could start as simply as managers taking the initiative in their area of responsibility to educate

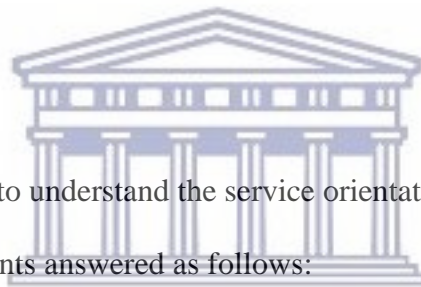
the staff by drawing attention to the posters that are stuck on walls, where nobody pays attention to it. As is the case with respondent L3 who say:

“It’s your responsibility....if you pick up things or how people sometimes behave or react to a specific situation then I will be the one who goes and address it”. (Personal Interview, 14 August 2017, Bredasdorp, Western Cape, South Africa).

Twenty years on from the release of the White Paper on Transforming Service Delivery (Batho Pele) was introduced and still there are frontline staff who have absolutely no idea what it is and in some instances have never even heard of it. This, despite efforts by the Department of Public Service and Administration (DPSA) to provide support in the implementation of Batho Pele and running induction programmes on large scales. According to a report by the DPSA various aspects of Batho Pele have been implemented over time, including amongst other, mainstreaming Batho Pele, the provision of support in developing Service Delivery Improvement Plans (SDIP) and instilling the belief set among public servants. These efforts are directed toward a Single Public Service initiative. So the issue of a dual administration comes to the fore and the impact thereof are experienced by citizens.

Service Orientation

The “new public management customer orientation”, a private sector orientation, has recently found its way into the public sector discourses due to changes in government approaches such as outsourcing, cost-cutting, efficiency and the effectiveness of public servants, performance management and measurement. The aim was to create an externally focused public sector, a public sector which is focused on the customer or citizen. Caemmerer & Wilson’s 2011 research reflects the existence of two service orientation discrepancies. The service orientation discrepancies speaks to a mismatch between the individual service orientation and the organisational service orientation.



A set of questions were asked to understand the service orientation that public servants have toward citizens. The respondents answered as follows:

The senior managers in both municipalities are willing and happy to assist both colleagues and customers even if it is not directly related to their duty.

Respondent L3:

“If you can do something to assist and make their job easier then you do it.....I encourage it in my department because we are a support service”.
(Personal Interview, 14 August 2017, Bredasdorp, Western Cape, South Africa).

Respondent M4:

“I’d help them with anything at any time. My predecessor believed in making yourself irreplaceable but I believe in empowering. The more they can do, the less I have to do...” said with a chuckle (Personal Interview, 18 September 2017, Vredendal, Western Cape, South Africa).

Similarly all the SLBs in both municipalities are willing to assist both colleagues and customers where they can and in cases where they don’t have the knowledge to assist, they will make enquiries and provide appropriate direction.

Respondent MA2:

“I go out of my way to help”. (Personal Interviews, 16 August 2017, Bredasdorp, Western Cape, South Africa).

Providing the correct service is important to all the public servants interviewed in both the Agulhas and Matzikama municipalities.



Senior managers understand what ethical behaviour means but the same cannot be said about some of the SLBs.

A remarkable description of what ethical behaviour means was provided by Respondent L1 who said

“...doing the right thing when no-one is looking....”. (Personal Interviews, 14 August 2017, Bredasdorp, Western Cape, South Africa).

The questions on compliance with rules, if it hampers work or is frustrating elicited varying responses from the senior managers. Although the managers understand the necessity of rules and generally comply by them it does become frustrating for some of them when it hampers their work. Some of the managers have become accustomed to the rules and others feel that they are over-regulated and cumbersome albeit that they are necessary. The majority of the SLBs say they try to always comply whilst the remainder admit that they don't always comply. Although they are aware that they could get into trouble for not obeying the rules they justify why it is necessary to occasionally bend or break the rules. Very few of the SLBs don't think that the rules hamper their work or that it is frustrating.

Senior managers and SLBs all feel competent that they are able to do what is needed in their role, are interested in learning new processes and enroll for training if it relates to their work, is needed and is provided.




Senior managers know that acknowledging the SLBs is important and that the acknowledgements help to boost morale. In both Matzikama and Cape Agulhas the SLBs and managers are acknowledged for their work through messages and thanks from council, managers and through other means. Not all the SLBs feel they are acknowledged and it is especially the SLBs who are not situated in the central offices who feel so. Not a single public servant, who participated in the interviews, expects to be paid for providing assistance, over and above their salaries.

One of the senior managers in Cape Agulhas feels that there are those, especially at the lower levels of management, who are not committed to serving the public and another who feels there are incompetent managers and as a result the competent managers become overburdened, tired and the morale becomes low. Despite two SLBs being of the view that there is no commitment and support from head office, the majority of the of the public servants feel management is committed to and promote serving the public throughout the organisation.

Matzikama senior managers and SLBs interviewed all agree that management is committed to and promote serving the public throughout the organisation.

Respondent M2



“Hundred percent. That’s how we operate, that’s why we sit here after hours and work weekends and our phones are never off because we are committed”. (Personal Interview, 18 September 2017, Vredendal, Western Cape, South Africa).

Respondent M4:

“It’s our job. We are appointed by the community for the community”. (Personal Interview, 18 September 2017, Vredendal, Western Cape, South Africa).

Respondent MA1:

“Everything starts with management and the structures ensures services are provided to the public”. (Personal Interview, 22 September 2017, Vredendal, Western Cape, South Africa).

Chapter Six: Findings, recommendations and conclusions

In this chapter the research findings will be presented, recommendations put forward and the conclusions provided. The finding will be discussed according to the themes presented in the interview data of the public servants and the indigent citizens. The themes being public service motivation, Batho Pele and service orientation. These findings will be followed by the recommendations and the conclusion.

To understand the attitude of SLBs and senior career bureaucrats in public service the research used an abridged version of Perry's 1996 public service motivation scale. The questions covered attraction to policy making, commitment to the public interest, civic duty, compassion and self-sacrifice. The research also explored the understanding and implementation of Batho Pele by the SLBs and senior bureaucrats in addition to understanding their service orientation. Indigent citizens were interviewed to understand their experiences and views of their interaction with the public servants.

Findings

The study started with the need to explore the perception that SLBs are lazy, uncaring, and rude and in public service only as a means of employment or self-enrichment. It thus needed to explore how public servants interacted with the public, specifically the poor or "indigent" citizens and sought to understand the attitude of SLBs and senior career bureaucrats within

two more “rural” municipalities in the Western Cape. To gain a balanced view, the research explored how the indigent citizens view their experiences of interacting with the state through these SLBs and career bureaucrats when they access services, specifically indigent services.

To formulate the research questions, with Lipsky’s 1980 theory of SLB as a starting point, the research used the dimensions of Perry’s 1996 PSM scale. The research questions also looked at the understanding and use of the Batho Pele principles and the service orientation of SLBs and senior career bureaucrats.

Public Service Motivation

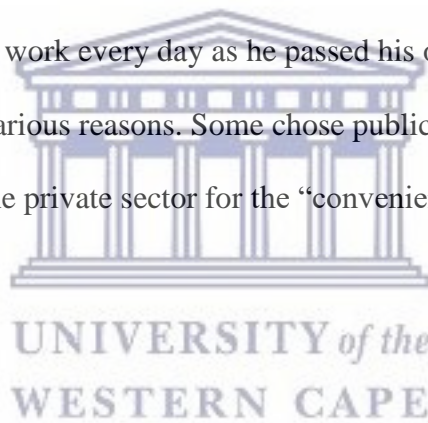


All of the senior career bureaucrats interviewed in this research were middle aged males with post matric qualifications such as diplomas, honours, chartered accounting and master’s degrees. They displayed clear PSM traits of commitment to policy, public interest, civic duty, compassion and self-sacrifice. The research also found that they were all religious, compassionate and support programmes that assists the community.

Of the fifteen SLBs interviewed only one was male. Their education levels range from matric, certificates, diplomas, undergraduate degree and two are busy with further education in public administration. SLBs display varying levels of PSM traits such of compassion, self-sacrifice, commitment to public interest but are not particularly interested in policy except as far as they have to be to do their work.

The above findings confirm Perry & Hondeghem's (2008) argument that the strongest antecedents of PSM are age, education and gender and is sustained by religious and professional socialization. It also supports Bright's (2005) finding that levels of PSM of public service managers are higher than that of those in non-managerial positions.

None of the senior career bureaucrat respondents were drawn to public service as a result of discussions in the home, with influencers in their formative years or early adulthood. Two were determined to join the public service because of indelible imprints left by public servants when they were at school. One by the glamorous life of an ambassador and another by noticing a public servant at work every day as he passed his office. SLBs in the research joined the public service for various reasons. Some chose public service, some had no other prospects and yet others left the private sector for the "convenience" of working in the public service.



This supports the argument put forth by Gabris and Simo (in Bright, 2005) that most of the lower level public service workers work in public service because of survival needs instead of an attraction to public service. Bright (2005) suggests two possible reasons for the difference. The first considers Maslow's hierarchy of needs where the lower level of physiological needs have to be met before the higher level psychic needs can be met. Thus the difference in income levels of managers and SLBs could be the reason for the different levels of PSM. The second reason, also proposed by Perry & Hondeghem (2008), is the difference in the years of

work in the public service between managers and SLBs. Managers are thus socialized as a result of their years of public service.

A disconcerting finding is the anger from white SLBs about not being eligible for promotion because of their race and not understanding why people are poor. They seem to think that poverty is of their own making and that poor people are happy to remain poor. They are however not the only ones who think so. A SLB who has worked her way up from being a cleaner to now having a position in the housing department also feels that poor people do not do enough to get themselves out of poverty. If the very people who must assist indigent citizens cannot empathise or identify with the citizen what kind of service do they provide to these citizens?

Batho Pele



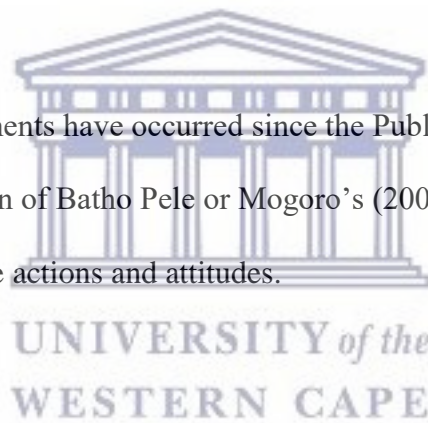
Despite Batho Pele being a people oriented guide on the treatment and provision of services and what the public can expect from the state and what steps the public can take for redress, the implementation thereof has been a complete and utter failure in the public service.

Senior managers in both municipalities have had little to no training on Batho Pele. These career bureaucrats have an understanding of Batho Pele and they practice it in their interactions with the community. They acknowledge that they do not sufficiently

communicate the importance of Batho Pele through the organisation. There are however some managers who feel they do communicate the importance thereof to their staff.

These claims are nonetheless not corroborated by SLBs who feel that management does not communicate the importance of Batho Pele. Despite not having any training on and practically no communication from management about the importance of Batho Pele, half of the SLBs claim to have some idea of what Batho Pele is and feel they do practice it in their interactions with the community.

It is obvious that no improvements have occurred since the Public Service Commission's call for assistance in the application of Batho Pele or Mogoro's (2003) criticism that Batho Pele is not imbedded in public service actions and attitudes.



If both managers and SLBs have not had training and 13.34% of the SLBs have absolutely no knowledge of Batho Pele the efforts by the DPSA to provide support in implementation, running large scale induction programmes, mainstreaming, instilling a belief set among public servants and providing support in developing service delivery improvement plans has miserably failed.

Of concern here is that SLBs as well as senior managers do not view themselves as public servants and the drive by the DPSA on Batho Pele is missing its intended target. The dilemma is that public servants employed at a municipal level and those appointed at provincial and national levels are appointed under different acts. At the municipal level staff are appointed in terms of the Municipal Systems Act but those appointed at provincial and national levels are appointed in terms of the Public Service Act.

The two constituencies have their own bargaining councils, payment structures and thus South Africa operates with a dual public service and given the inconsistency it is inevitable that certain policies would fail.

Service Orientation



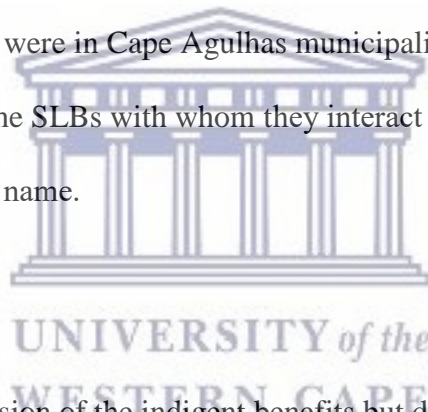
Service orientation or as it is known in the public sector, “new public management customer orientation”, was investigated to determine if public servants in the case studies possessed a service orientation and if there was a service orientation discrepancy.

It would appear that there is a discrepancy between the organisational and public service orientation. This is especially so for SLBs who do not work in the seat of the municipality and feel they are not recognised by the municipality. SLBs in the main offices do not feel the same and say they are acknowledged by their managers and other senior managers either by mail or by other means. Public servants in general feel the rules are too cumbersome and frustrates them in their work albeit that managers understand the need for these. The

interviewees would attend training if it is provided and related to their work but it appears the municipalities have financial challenges in providing training. The White Paper on Transforming the Public Service highlight the importance of empowering front-line workers through training and reskilling.

Indigents

Indigent citizens are for the most part satisfied with the service provided by the respective municipalities and of the 43 indigent households interviewed only 3 (6.9%) were unhappy with the service. Two of these were in Cape Agulhas municipality and one in Matzikama municipality. They describe the SLBs with whom they interact as “loving, caring and respectful” and know them by name.




They are grateful for the provision of the indigent benefits but despite this many still have to resort to cooking on fires or alternatives to electricity as the provision was hopelessly insufficient. Citizens say they have learnt over time and with guidance and assistance from the municipality how to use electricity economically. For some indigent citizens who have low income, the free electricity is the only electricity they have as they cannot afford to purchase any. This dispels the rhetoric of a culture of non-payment and reinforces McDonald’s argument of the inability to pay (McDonald and Pape, 2002).

The research could not determine the satisfaction with the provision of water as a result of the drought. Because the drought is so evident to these farming communities they are extraordinarily conscious of using as little water as is humanly possible. The general response to the question of free basic services is “we know we can’t use water because of the drought”.

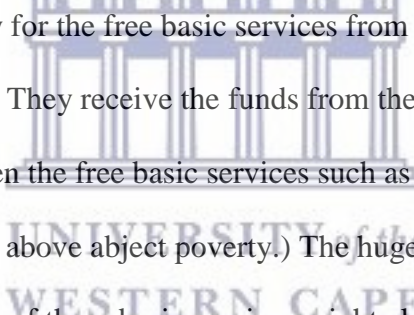
Indigent citizens who were interviewed did not display any shame about receiving indigent benefits or being known as indigents except for one woman who claimed to have been a recipient years prior. The indigent register however showed her as a beneficiary for the period within which the interviews were conducted. There were also a very few citizens whom I spoke to who denied being indigent.

Recommendations

The logo of the University of the Western Cape, featuring a classical building with columns and a pediment, with the text "UNIVERSITY of the WESTERN CAPE" overlaid.

This research was conducted in more “rural” municipalities where the population is much smaller as compared to big towns and where previously disenfranchised people faced multiple humiliations from local white farmers and the apartheid state. There is however much to be learnt from how the post-apartheid SLBs and senior managers interact with indigent citizens in these two locations. Further research which is more refined could assist in providing valuable information as to how these municipalities are able to deal with the indigents with so much care. This information could be used for a reorientation of the staff at the local government sphere.

The current provision of the free basic services falls short of achieving dignity and good health since the provision of free basic services does not grant indigent citizens enough support to get out of a state of poverty and dangers such as indoor pollution and fire risks. In fact, the current provisions ironically may be exactly what ex-president Thabo Mbeki noted when in his 2004 *State of the Nation Speech* he said dependency should not increase as a result of free services and social grants. The state however creates the problem with insufficient services. Ruiters (2018) argues that service delivery should not focus on controlling citizen behaviour, criminalizing and exiting the indigent citizens instead of empowering them.



Most municipalities do not pay for the free basic services from the income they generate (although they often claim so). They receive the funds from the fiscus and surely if the aim is to be development-oriented then the free basic services such as water and electricity can be increased to ensure people rise above abject poverty.) The huge differences between municipalities on the provision of these basic services might also be addressed (Ruiters 2018). Some municipalities offer up to 12000 litres of water per month and 100kwh electricity. Municipalities can revisit their indigent policies and find ways of increasing the benefit to the most vulnerable of citizens, the indigents. The municipality might consider a sharper rise in the block tariffs beyond 25 kl of water since amounts in excess of this could be considered hedonistic (McDonald and Pape, 2002; also see table 18 in this thesis).

Tariffs for water are determined by the municipality and the steps and charges differ quite significantly from one to the other even in smaller municipalities. Table 18 indicates the

water block tariff charges (inclusive of VAT) for households and business in the respective municipalities in the research.

Households in both municipalities pay a higher rate for water as compared to businesses.

There is also a difference in rates between municipalities for both business and households.

Matzikama residents will be charged R17.02kl for water consumption in excess of 60kl while

a business will pay R9.95kl for water consumption from 61-80kl whereas Cape Agulhas

residents are charged R11.52 from 61-80kl and business R8.07 for 51-100kl of consumption.

Table 18: Block water tariff charges

Cape Agulhas Block	H/hold Water Tariff	Block	Business Water Tariff	Matzikama Block	H/hold Water Tariff	Block	Business Water Tariff
1-6 kl	0	0-50 kl	7.90	0-6 kl	0	0-6 kl	6.82
7-20 kl	7.71	51-100 kl	8.07	7-12 kl	7.00	7-20 kl	7.60
21-40 kl	7.94	101-150 kl	8.58	13-20 kl	7.74	21-40 kl	7.94
41-60 kl	9.73	151-200 kl	9.10	21-40 kl	8.65	41-60 kl	8.28
61-80 kl	11.52	201-300 kl	10.17	41-60 kl	13.56	61-80 kl	9.15
81-100 kl	15.59	301-400 kl	11.71	61+ kl	17.02	81-100 kl	9.95
101 kl +	24.76	401-500 kl	15.50			101-1000 kl	11.90
		501-3000 kl	20.65			1001+kl	37.24
		3001+ kl	23.43				

Source: Municipal data sent via emails from Revenue sections: and Annual Report of

Matzikama

Batho Pele can only work if all public servants, regardless of how or where they are employed, regard themselves as such. Lipsky coined the phrase “street level bureaucrat” to describe front-line public service workers. Thus if you work for government institutions and you work on the front-line providing services to the public then it is understood that you are a public servant and in particular a street level bureaucrat.

Conclusion

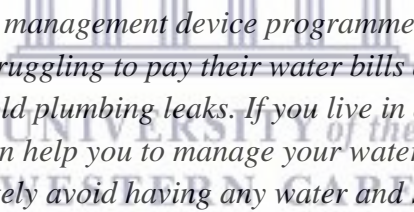
The perceptions of public workers which are stereotypically uncaring, lazy, and rude and in public service only as a means of self-enrichment is not borne out by my research. In fact, this research which focused mainly on how public servants dealt with indigent citizens and how the indigent citizens experienced their interaction with the state showed the opposite.

The overwhelming sense one gets from the indigent interviews is that they’ve resigned themselves to things being the way they are as well as a sense of hopelessness that despite the free basic service provision, their lives have not improved as these allocations are insufficient.

Although the research did not set out to interrogate the indigent policies but rather to link the policy to the treatment, the responses did provide the research with many questions on the value of the free basic services.

Ultimately one can only conclude that despite an appreciation of these services, the allotted provision does not make a real difference in the lives of the indigents as many still remain in abject poverty. The fact that people have electricity does not mean that they have working electricity. For some the electrification means no more than merely having the lights on. These citizens are forced to work economically to ensure the free electricity provided lasts until they receive their next allocation. For many of these households cooking is still mainly done outside on fires as they cannot afford to purchase additional electricity.

Similarly, the provision of water is hopelessly inadequate for a household's consumption needs which again forces citizens to economize. In addition, there has been a forceful drive to move households to water management devices as explained by the City of Cape Town:

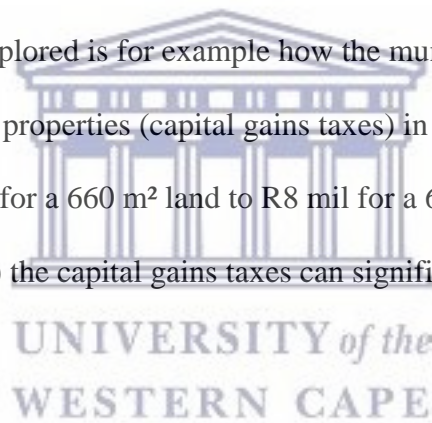


“We started the water management device programme to help indigent households that are struggling to pay their water bills and to manage water wastage from household plumbing leaks. If you live in an indigent household, a WMD can help you to manage your water consumption and, in most cases, completely avoid having any water and sanitation charges” (CCT).

In the event that water had been depleted the households have to wait for their allocated supply to be restored the following day. McDonald and Pape (2002) calls this “*a violation of human rights and go against the South African Constitution which guarantees access to these services*”.

Although both of the research sites are challenged in terms of increasing their own revenues, these municipalities have to find a mechanism to increase the lifeline support provided to households as the allotted amounts (50kWh electricity per month and 25litres per person per day) are hopelessly insufficient. Block tariff charges for the provision of water to households and business need to be reconsidered especially since the discrepancy in pricing for these categories of consumers is so vast. Another option would be an increase in taxes on upper-income households but McDonald's research reflects a resistance by upper-income communities to free basic services or cross- subsidization (Ibid).

Other options that could be explored is for example how the municipalities can benefit from the sale of luxury, high priced properties (capital gains taxes) in their municipalities. With the prices ranging from R1, 8 mil for a 660 m² land to R8 mil for a 6 bedroom home in Arniston, CAM (Private Property, 2018) the capital gains taxes can significantly contribute to the cost of free basic services.



If any significant improvements in the provision of FBS is to be made government has to take a closer look at the suggestions to provide services for the public and *by* public means (Denhart & Denhart, 2000).

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Abbreviations

AG: Auditor General

CAM: Cape Agulhas Municipality

COGTA: Cooperative Governance & Traditional Affairs

DPLG: Department of Local Government

MFMA: Municipal Finance Management Act

MM: Matzikama Municipality

MSA: Municipal Systems Act

NPM: New Public Management

NSG: National School of Government

SALGA: South African Local Government Association

SLB: Street Level Bureaucrats



Appendices

Appendix A: Consent Form

CONSENT FORM

RESEARCH TITLE: Towards a pro-poor service-centred Public Service: The Case of Delivery to Indigents in Two Western Cape municipalities: attitudes, practices and policies among municipal officials

I have read the information presented in the information letter about a study being conducted by Belinda du Plessis towards the Masters Programme at the School of Government (SOG) at the University of the Western Cape.

This study has been described to me in a language that I understand and I freely and voluntarily agree to participate. My questions about the study have been answered.

I understand that my identity will not be disclosed and was informed that I may withdraw my consent at any time by advising the student researcher.

With full knowledge of all foregoing, I agree to participate in this study.

Participant Name : _____

Participant Signature : _____

Date : _____

Place : _____

Student Researcher : Belinda du Plessis

Student Researcher Signature : _____

Student Number : 2869424

Mobile Number : 082-775 6207

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I am accountable to my supervisor: Prof. G. Ruiters

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Appendix B: Public Servant Questionnaire

Towards a pro-poor service-centred Public Service: The Case of Delivery to Indigents in Two Western Cape municipalities: attitudes, practices and policies among municipal officials.

INTRODUCTION

Hello and thank you for taking part in this interview. I am going to ask you questions relating to your motivation to work in the public sector, public service ethos, the principles of Batho Pele and about your service orientation. I also want to find out how you see the poor in your municipality. Our discussion will take about half an hour. I am interested in hearing your experiences in relation to the above issues. I would like you to talk freely and spontaneously about these experiences.

If you prefer not to answer a particular question, let me know and we can skip the question. If you want me to repeat or explain any of the questions, I will gladly do that.

Do you have any questions before we start?

We are going to begin with a few specific questions about your background before we start our discussion.

Background Information	
What is your full name	
Landline phone & Cell numbers	
What is your gender?	
What is your birth date or age?	
By what race do you classify yourself?	
What is your highest level of education?	
Did you grow up in a poor/middle class or rich family?	
How many siblings do you have?	
Any strong religious traditions (which church/denomination do you follow)	
What department do you work in?	
How long have you worked in public service?	
How long have you worked in this job?	
What is your job title?	
What grade or notch are you on?	
Do you think there are promotion prospects for you? Explain briefly	

We are going to begin with why you chose or decided to work in municipality.

- Why did you choose to work in public service and what other options did u have at the time.
- Growing up, were there discussions in your household about working in the public service?
- Was there an individual in your community or church who had an impact on your decision to work in the public service?
- Was there an individual (relative, school teacher etc.) who had an impact on your decision to work in the public service during your primary and secondary school years?
- Was there an individual who had an impact on your decision to work in the public service during your tertiary years?
- What is your personal experience of poverty?

- Can you tell me what springs to mind when I mention the following words.
 1. The Public
 2. Service
 3. Public servant
- Please tell me how you feel about the municipal policies that affect your work and your relationship with the public
 1. Not interested
 2. Somewhat interested
 3. Interested
 4. Very interested

- Tell me why or kindly elaborate a bit ...
- Policy implementation is based on rules but sometime it is flexible and can be bent. It allows you some leeway or room to help people or go the extra mile. How do you feel about that situation and how do u respond to such opportunities for helping people
- Provide examples
- Do u explain people's rights if the occasion for doing so arises...
- Give examples
- Do you belong to any civic organisations?
- Do you attend council meetings?
- If so, is it in your personal or work capacity?
- Would you attend in your personal capacity (only ask if they attend in work capacity)
- Do you think the community that you serve has the same or similar needs?
- How do you see the needs of the poor in this municipality?
- How do you see the needs of the rich in this municipality?



- Why are they poor?
- Do you believe they should pay for services?
- Do they report problems to your office? (eg. leaking water, wrong billing)
- How can you help them?
- How can the government help?
- Do you feel different about assisting the poor than you do the rich?
- Do u think people understand the idea of civic duty (for example not stealing electricity, water, reporting a crime paying bills regularly etc.)?
- Do u think rich people should pay more and subsidize the poor? (social solidarity?)
- What do you think about public service as a civic duty?
- Do you feel it is your responsibility to help solve these problems?
- Do you feel a moral obligation to civic/public affairs? Why?
- How do you view a public service that serves the whole community

➤ Can you tell me how you feel about:

- The plight of the underprivileged
- People in distress
- The welfare of others
- People in need
- Are there social programs that you support or feel we can do without?
- Should the poor get free services?
- If not how much should they pay?
- Should the poor be treated differently from the rich in your municipality?

➤ Please share with me how you feel about the following and why

- Is it more important for you to have personal achievements or making a difference in society?
- Would you put duty before yourself?
- Is it more important to you to do well financially than to do good deeds?
- Would you serve the public even if you were not paid for it?
- Should people give back to society more than they get from it?
- Would you risk personal loss to help someone?
- Would you make sacrifices for the good of society?
- Would you leave the public service if you were offered more money in the private sector?

I'm interested in the public service culture and orientation.

- Can you explain what Batho Pele is about
- Have you had training on Batho Pele?
- Do you practice Batho Pele in you interaction with the public?

- Is the importance of Batho Pele being communicated by senior staff/managers?

The last section is on service orientation. Can you tell me?

- How do you deal with customers or colleagues who ask for assistance not related to your duty?
- How do you respond to colleagues who need assistance?
- Is it important to you that you provide the correct service?
- Describe what ethical behaviour means to you
- Do you always comply by the rules?
- Do the rules and process hamper your duties, if so explain how
- Does this frustrate you?
- Do you enroll for training when it is provided, if so what kind of training?
- Are you interested in learning new processes and procedures?
- Do you feel competent that you are able to do what is needed in your role?
- Do you expect to be rewarded for providing assistance to customers or colleagues?
- How are you recognised for providing excellent service (awards, bonus, etc.)?
- Do you feel management is committed to serving the public, why?
- Do they emphasise and promote serving the public throughout the organisation?

INDIGENT OFFICE interview

- How do you do indigence in your municipality (register, automatic etc.)
- What do you feel about the indigents?
- Are they exaggerating their poverty?
- Do they appreciate the service?
- What problems arise with Free Basic Services?
- How many indigents do you have in your municipality?



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Appendix C: Citizen Questionnaire

Towards a pro-poor service-centred Public Service: The Case of Delivery to Indigents in Two Western Cape municipalities: attitudes, practices and policies among municipal officials.

INTRODUCTION – Please read this out at the start

Hello and thank you for taking part in this interview. I am going to ask you questions relating to your experience when dealing with the municipality. Our discussion will take about 5 minutes. I would like you to talk freely and spontaneously about these experiences.

If you prefer not to answer a particular question, let me know and we can skip the question. If you want me to repeat or explain any of the questions, I will gladly do that.

Do you have any questions before we start?

Background Information (please gather this information prior to the interview or at the beginning of the actual interview)	
What is your full name	
Landline phone & Cell numbers	
Address (for follow-ups)	
What is your gender?	
What is your birth date or age?	
By what race do you classify yourself?	
What is your highest level of education?	
What municipal department do you visit?	
What do you go to the municipality for?	
Have you applied for indigent status?	

- How are you treated when you come to the municipal offices?

Very Bad	Bad	Good	Very Good
Elaborate:			

- Do the staff go the extra mile to assist you? If Yes say why or give example
- Are the staff knowledgeable on the issues you have?

Very	Somewhat	Not at all
------	----------	------------
- Or do they ask colleagues for assistance?

Yes	No	Don't Know
-----	----	------------
- If they do, are their colleagues helpful to them and you?
- What do you do if you have complaints or if you are not happy with the service?
- Give examples

- Have you ever been cut off or had restrictions
- How were your complaints dealt with?
- Are poor people treated differently to rich people?
- Have you applied for indigent status? (What was the process like)
- Have you been approved for indigent status (only ask if they have applied for indigent status)?
- Do they treat you differently now that you are on the indigent list (only ask if they have applied for indigent status)? Give an example
- Have u ever had to speak to a social worker about your indigent status
- Have you ever been to a police station to verify documents for indigency?
- Have any councilors or municipal official visited your home?
- Have neighbours spoken to you about indigency
- Do u share water with neighbours?
- What is life like with Free Basic Services and indigency?
- How can it be improved

How do u feel as an indigent citizen?



Appendix D: Public Servant Interview Schedule – Cape Agulhas

No.	Respondent #	Interview Place	Interview Date	Interview Category	Respondent Age	Respondent Gender	Years of Service
1	L1	Bredasdorp	14/08/17	Sen Man	49	Male	22
2	L2	Bredasdorp	14/08/17	Sen Man	53	Male	25
3	L3	Bredasdorp	14/08/17	Sen Man	54	Male	27
4	L4	Bredasdorp	14/08/17	Councillor	66	Male	6
5	LA1	Arniston	17/08/17	SLB	36	Female	8
6	LA2	Struisbaai	17/08/17	SLB	36	Female	9
7	LA3	Bredasdorp	14/08/17	SLB	42	Female	12
8	LA4	Bredasdorp	14/08/17	SLB	50	Female	33
9	LA5	Napier	15/08/17	SLB	50	Female	12
10	LA6	Bredasdorp	18/08/17	SLB	50	Female	17
11	LA7	Napier	15/08/17	SLB	52	Female	25
12	LA8	Bredasdorp	18/08/17	SLB	58	Male	35

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Appendix E: Indigent Citizen Interview Schedule – Cape Agulhas

No.	Respondent #	Interview Place	Interview Date	Interview Category	Respondent Age	Respondent Gender	Years of Service
1	LA	Arniston	17/08/17	Indigent	46	Female	Citizen
2	LB	Napier	15/08/17	Indigent	49	Female	Citizen
3	LC	Bredasdorp	16/08/17	Indigent	51	Female	Citizen
4	LD	Bredasdorp	16/08/17	Indigent	57	Female	Citizen
5	LE	Struisbaai	17/08/17	Indigent	65	Female	Citizen
6	LF	Arniston	17/08/17	Indigent	51	Male	Citizen
7	LG	Bredasdorp	16/08/17	Indigent	59	Male	Citizen
8	LH	Napier	15/08/17	Indigent	77	Male	Citizen
9	LI	Napier	15/08/17	Indigent	62	Male	Citizen
10	LJ	Struisbaai	17/08/17	Indigent	80	Female	Citizen
11	LK	Struisbaai	17/08/17	Indigent	76	Female	Citizen
12	LL	Struisbaai	17/08/17	Indigent	74	Female	Citizen
13	LM	Napier	15/08/17	Indigent	74	Female	Citizen
14	LN	Bredasdorp	16/08/17	Indigent	59	Female	Citizen
15	LO	Arniston	17/08/17	Indigent	56	Female	Citizen
16	LP	Bredasdorp	18/08/17	Indigent	52	Female	Citizen
17	LQ	Napier	15/08/17	Indigent	35	Female	Citizen
18	LR	Napier	15/08/17	Indigent	43	Female	Citizen
19	LS	Arniston	17/08/17	Indigent	48	Female	Citizen
20	LT	Bredasdorp	18/08/17	Indigent	58	Female	Citizen

Appendix F: Public Servants Interview Schedule – Matzikama

No.	Respondent #	Interview Place	Interview Date	Interview Category	Respondent Age	Respondent Gender	Years of Service
1	M1	Vredendal	21/09/17	Sen Man	42	Male	12
2	M2	Vredendal	18/09/17	Sen Man	43	Male	10
3	M3	Vredenal	18/09/17	Sen Man	54	Male	27
4	M4	Vredendal	18/09/17	Sen Man	60	Male	37
5	MA1	Vredendal	22/09/17	SLB	26	Female	6
6	MA2	Vredendal	21/09/17	SLB	40	Female	5
7	MA3	Vanrhynsdorp	21/09/17	SLB	42	Female	17
8	MA4	Vredendal	18/09/17	SLB	44	Female	7
9	MA5	Vredenal	18/09/17	SLB	48	Female	15
10	MA6	Vredendal	18/09/17	SLB	50	Female	25
11	MA7	Lutzville	20/09/17	SLB	52	Female	32

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Appendix G: Indigent Citizen Interview Schedule – Matzikama

No.	Respondent #	Interview Place	Interview Date	Interview Category	Respondent Age	Respondent Gender	Years of Service
1	MA	Lutzville	20/09/17	Indigent	56	Male	Citizen
2	MB	Lutzville	20/09/17	Indigent	64	Male	Citizen
3	MC	Vredendal	19/09/17	Indigent	64	Male	Citizen
4	MD	Vredendal	19/09/17	Indigent	72	Male	Citizen
5	ME	Klawer	19/09/17	Indigent	34	Female	Citizen
6	MF	Lutzville	20/09/17	Indigent	44	Female	Citizen
7	MG	Vredendal	21/09/17	Indigent	48	Male	Citizen
8	MH	Vanrhynsdorp	21/09/17	Indigent	57	Female	Citizen
9	MI	Vanrhynsdorp	21/09/17	Indigent	60	Female	Citizen
10	MJ	Lutzville	20/09/17	Indigent	60	Female	Citizen
11	MK	Lutzville	20/09/17	Indigent	62	Female	Citizen
12	ML	Lutzville	20/09/17	Indigent	64	Female	Citizen
13	MM	Vanrhynsdorp	21/09/17	Indigent	66	Female	Citizen
14	MN	Klawer	19/09/17	Indigent	74	Female	Citizen
15	MO	Klawer	19/09/17	Indigent	68	Female	Citizen
16	MP	Lutzville	20/09/17	Indigent	71	Female	Citizen
17	MQ	Klawer	19/09/17	Indigent	76	Female	Citizen
18	MR	Vredendal	19/09/17	Indigent	35	Female	Citizen
19	MS	Vanrhynsdorp	21/09/17	Indigent	78	Female	Citizen
20	MT	Vredendal	19/09/17	Indigent	79	Female	Citizen
21	MU	Vredendal	19/09/17	Indigent	80	Female	Citizen
22	MV	Klawer	19/09/17	Indigent	83	Female	Citizen
23	MW	Vanrhynsdorp	21/09/17	Indigent	85	Female	Citizen