TO MAKE A BETTER LIFE HAPPEN WHERE PEOPLE LIVE: EVIDENCE FROM THE SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNITY SURVEY 2007

by

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Abstract:
In 1994 the newly elected ANC-led government in South Africa adopted the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) as its socio-economic policy framework and spelled out key pillars of delivery, including meeting basic needs and developing human resources. Since then great strides forward have been made to redress past social inequalities and meet the RDP commitment. However, analysis of these successes have been limited to that of national or provincial aggregates, when much of the responsibility for meeting the RDP commitment lies at the local government level. The Constitution recognizes local government to have a developmental as well as a service role in meeting the basic needs of communities and improving living conditions. Yet, until recently, only 2001 Census data were disaggregated sufficiently to allow for analysis of the performance of a local government to meet the basic needs of its community. The need for closer investigation is nonetheless clear from continuing protests over poor service delivery. This paper aims to shed more light on delivery at a local level by using recently released data from the Community Survey 2007. The analysis involves the construction of a service delivery index for each municipality and a cross-section regression model is used to explain the changes in service delivery over the period 2001 to 2007. The results show that mean access to basic services showed marked improvement, but that variation of access to basic services between places, increased. Lower initial density, lower initial GDP and higher initial poverty are significant predictors of the municipalities that have been catching up and improving access to basic services.

Key words: Delivery, basic services, community survey, local government, South Africa.

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1. Introduction

In 1994 the newly elected ANC-led government adopted the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) as its socio-economic policy framework and spelled out key pillars of delivery, including meeting basic needs and developing human resources. Since then great strides forward have been made to redress past social inequalities and meet the RDP commitment. The findings of the 2007 Community Survey show that 70 per cent of households now live in formal dwellings, up from 65 per cent in 1996 and 68 per cent in 2001. The percentage of households with access to piped water increased from 84 per cent in 2001 to 88 per cent in 2007. The use of electricity as the main energy source for lighting increased from 57 per cent in 1996 to 80 per cent in 2007. There were also substantial improvements in access to refuse removal and sanitation services (StatsSA, 2007:6). However, the 2007 Community Survey presents these successes only in the form of provincial or national aggregates. In fact, much of the responsibility for meeting the RDP commitment lies at the local government level. The Constitution recognizes local government to have a developmental as well as a service role in meeting the basic needs of communities and improving living conditions (Harris, 1999).

Appraisal of the performance of local governments to meet basic needs has however been limited to analysis of earlier October Household Surveys (see for example Hirschowitz & Orkin, 1997, Budlender, 1999 and Ngwane *et al.*, 2003) and a range of case studies (see Burger, 2005 for an overview). Until recently only 2001 Census data were disaggregated sufficiently to allow for analysis of the performance of a local government to meet the basic needs of its community. The need for closer investigation is nonetheless clear from continuing protests over poor service delivery (Botes *et al.*, 2007). This paper aims to shed more light on delivery at local level.

The analysis involves the construction of a service delivery index for each municipality and a cross-section regression model is used to explain the changes in service delivery over the period 2001 to 2007. The contribution is two-fold: (1) it is the first time that data from the 2007 Community Survey are used to examine basic services delivery at the level of local municipalities, (2) it is also the first study at sub-national level in South Africa that uses a measure of the quality of local governance as one of the predictors of changes in service delivery.

The results from the analysis indicate that mean access to basic services showed marked improvement, but that variation of access to basic services between places, increased. Lower initial density, lower initial GDP and higher initial poverty are significant predictors of the municipalities that have been catching up and improving access to basic services.

The paper is structured as follows. The following section presents a brief overview of earlier studies of the delivery of basic services in South Africa. Section 3 presents the

results of the 2007 Community survey and compares the delivery of water, electricity, sanitation, refuse removal and housing with the 2001 Census data. An aggregate service delivery index is constructed for each municipality. Section 4 contains the analysis of changes in services delivery over the period 2001 to 2007. A cross-section regression model is used to explain the changes in the delivery index in terms of measures of the service environment and the quality of local governance. In the final section, a number of conclusions are drawn and recommendations made.

2. Literature overview

Earlier analysis of how the South African government has been able to deliver basic services and meet the RDP commitment has followed a number of approaches. There are studies that have used national level databases to examine development indicators. Hirschowitz and Orkin (1997) analysed living conditions according to race, gender, urbanisation and employment. The 1994 October Household Survey was used and the findings showed stark contrasts between different groups. Africans, who constitute 76 per cent of the population, were more likely to be affected by inequality and relative deprivation. Africans were found to be more likely than other population groups to live in shacks in urban areas and in traditional dwellings in non-urban areas, and to have less access to domestic infrastructure such as water, sanitation and electricity. Budlender (1999) examined access to basic services across ten deciles of households defined on the basis of income. She used the 1995 October Household Survey and Income and Expenditure Survey and found that access to household services is closely correlated with income. For example, in the bottom decile, 18 per cent of households relied on water sources which are situated more than a kilometre from their dwelling, where in the top three deciles this was the case for less than one percent of households (Budlender, 1999:205). Her conclusion was that a household that has poor access to basic services will enjoy lower levels of well-being and have fewer opportunities of earning income (Budlender, 1999:218). Ngwane *et al*. (2003) examined deprivation in terms of basic needs by comparing the progress in services delivery at the provincial level between 1995 and 1999, using the October Household Surveys. They found that nationally, the lack of formal housing seemed to be on the increase, while the proportion of households deprived from safe water was unchanged over the period (Ngwane *et al*., 2003: 556). The analysis again highlighted disparities between rural and urban areas in South Africa. An example is the differences in the use of electricity as an energy source for heating: in 1999, approximately 77 per cent of households in urban areas were using electricity, compared to 16 per cent in rural areas (Ngwane *et al*., 2003:560). The comparisons of provincial progress also showed the more rural provinces to be at a disadvantage, for example, a relatively high proportion of households in the Eastern Cape and Limpopo Province still did not have any toilet facility. Le Roux Booysen (2003) examined the progress that the provinces have made in delivering the RDP through the use of reconstruction and development indices. The analysis employed data from surveys by the Development bank of Southern Africa, the Advertising Research Foundation, the Institute of Race Relations, the Health Systems Trust, the Election Task Group, the South African Policy Service and the 1996 Census. He found that provinces that are more urbanised have advantages in the delivery of infrastructure, the facilitation of demographic transition and the improvement of standards in secondary

education, over the more rural provinces (Le Roux Booysen, 2003:42). The most recent analysis is that of Leibbrandt *et al*. (2006) that examines patterns of access poverty and inequality with a comparison of 1996 and 2001 Census data. They find that in both 1996 and 2001 almost two thirds of households occupied formal dwellings. In the inter-censal period the proportion of Africans in formal dwellings increased from 53 per cent to 60 per cent. The proportion of households in formal dwellings increased in all provinces, especially in Limpopo. As regards other basic services Leibbrandt *et al*.'s (2006) results show improvements in access to water, electricity, sanitation and refuse removal, specifically for the Black population and across all provinces.

A related strand of research includes the studies of perceived quality of life, or happiness, that use national level surveys which include a life satisfaction question. Examples include Powdthavee (2003) who uses cross-sectional data from the 1993 SALDRU survey to examine the relationship between subjective wellbeing and socio-economic variables. He finds that wellbeing rises with income, unemployment is detrimental to wellbeing and happiness is U-shaped with age. In a similar fashion Møller and Devey (2003) used the October Household Surveys of 1995 and 1998 to examine trends in living conditions and satisfaction among poorer, older South Africans. They found again that access to services is strongly correlated with income, but that over the period 1995 to 1998 poorer and older households did record gains in access to clean water, electricity and home ownership (Møller & Devey, 2003:468).

In all of the above cases, however, the level of geographical disaggregation was limited to study of urban-rural divides or comparisons of provinces. The analyses did not allow for further distinctions of the performance of local governments in meeting the basic needs of their communities.

For a more local perspective, a third strand of research comes from specific surveys of so-called quality of place. An example is Human Sciences Research Council survey of 5700 South Africans' perceptions of service delivery in 1995 (Møller & Jackson, 1997). Within this line of work it is also possible to distinguish between urban and rural settings. With focus specifically on cities, Møller (2001) reported on the quality of life in the case of Durban. She found that background factors, such as access to formal housing and access to services accounted for only 10 per cent of variance in life satisfaction. However, general neighbourhood satisfaction (including satisfaction with dwelling, disinclination to move from the neighbourhood/Durban, perceived improvements in the neighbourhood over the preceding year and changes in the crime situation) along with the background factors, explained 33 per cent of variance in life satisfaction (Møller, 2001:233-234). More recently, Westaway (2006) reported on the satisfaction with personal and environmental quality of life in the informal housing settlement of Doornkop in Soweto and Naudé *et al*. (2006) developed indicators of the quality of life in South Africa's metropolitan cities. Studies of the quality of life in a more rural setting include Sotshongaye and Møller (2000) who examined self-assessed development needs among rural women in Ndwedwe in KwaZulu-Natal. Here the women from the better serviced Mavela ward cited piped water and electricity in the home as important development needs. In the more remote Cibane ward the women indicated that more basic needs such as safe water, housing and access roads were priorities (Sotshongaye & Møller, 2000:117). Clark (2003) reported on concepts and

perceptions of wellbeing from a comparison of a rural village called Murraysburg and an urban township known as Wallacedene in the Westen Cape province. The three most important aspects of the good life in both these locations were given as jobs, housing and education. A particularly high premium was placed on jobs and housing in Wallacedene. More emphasis was placed on education in Murraysburg (Clark, 2003:180).

Finally, a fourth line of enquiry has been to examine cases where poor service delivery has lead to protests and unrest. The Centre for Development Support (Botes *et al*., 2007) at Free State University has published four cases studies of failures of delivery and protests in Phumelela, Khutsong, Phomolong and Nelson Mandela Bay municipality. They found that deficient service delivery has been caused by poor governance, individual political struggles within local government, a lack of communication, an ineffective client interface, inefficient management and issues of affordability and unfunded mandates.

In sum, it is difficult to draw conclusions about such a substantial and wide-ranging body of research, but based on the brief overview above, this paper would like to put forward a number of propositions. First, national level databases show improvements in basic service delivery in accordance with the RDP commitment made in 1994. Interesting variation between communities may however be hidden by the level of aggregation and the studies typically show that the rural areas lag behind. Closer inspection at local level is required. Second, the survey studies underscore the point of variation in delivery at local level. In urban areas access to basic services may be a weak predictor of the quality of life, whereas access to clean water is an important development need in rural areas. The following section examines these propositions more closely through the results of the 2007 Community Survey conducted by Statistics South Africa.

3. The delivery of basic services then and now

In 2007 Statistics South Africa conducted a large-scale community survey to gather demographic and socio-economic data at municipal level. The results show that the population increased from 44.8 million in the 2001 Census to 48.5 million in 2007. The fastest rates of increase in the population were recorded in the Western Cape and Guateng Provinces (StatsSA, 2007). Access to basic services improved across the board: approximately 80 per cent of households use electricity for lighting, 88 per cent of the population enjoyed access to piped water, and 60 per cent of households had access to a flush toilet. Typically, the urban provinces of Gauteng and the Western Cape lie above the national averages and the rural provinces like the Eastern Cape, KwaZulul-Natal and Limpopo tend to lag behind (StatsSA, 2007). Such a high level of spatial aggregation, however, obscures interesting variation between communities as may be seen in figure 1 below.

The analysis is of households' access to basic services per local municipality. Access is measured as:

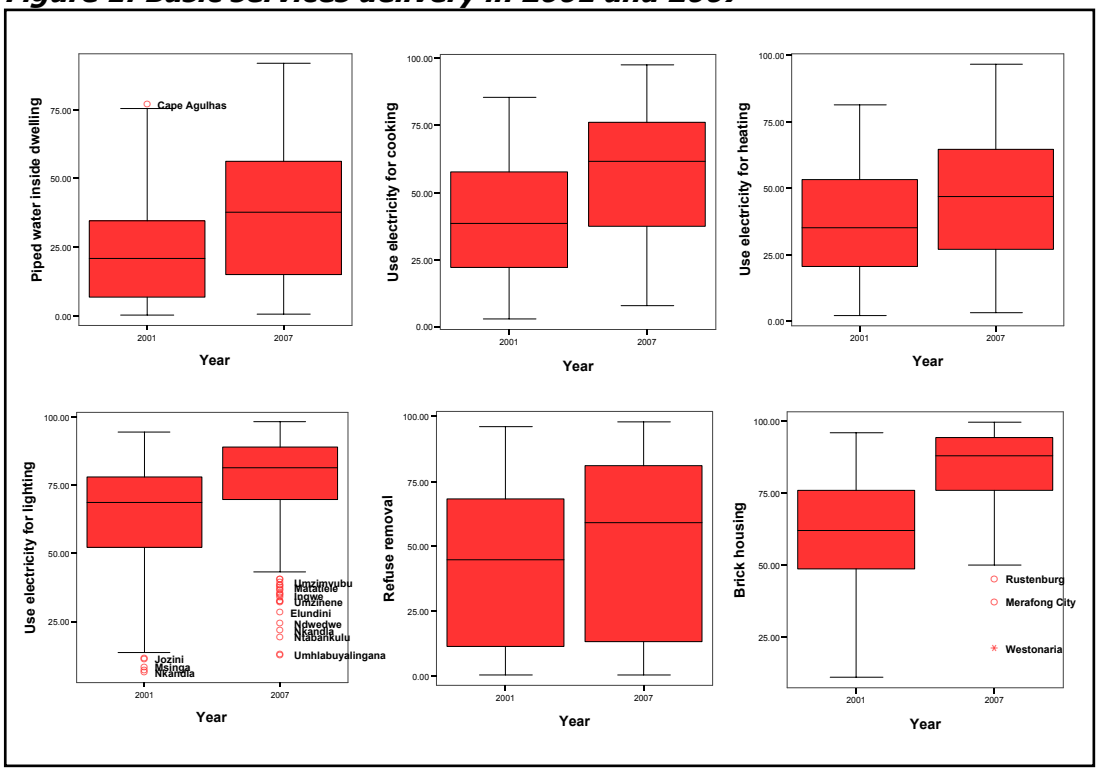
- the percentage of households with piped water inside the dwelling,

- the percentage of households that use electricity for cooking, heating and lighting,
- the percentage of households with a flush toilet,
- the percentage of households whose refuse is removed by the local authority, and
- the percentage of households that live in a brick dwelling.

The focus is on the level of local municipality, of which there are 231. This excludes six metropolitan municipalities and twenty district municipalities, which are outliers likely to bias the results of later analysis. The metropolitan municipalities are excluded for their sheer size and diversity. Cities such as Johannesburg and Cape Town are populous and urbanised but aggregation of data at the metro level does not allow one to distinguish between some of the best and the worst that the country has to offer. The district municipalities are excluded for their lack of size and diversity. These cover large, sparsely populated rural areas with limited delivery of basic services. Both the Census and Community Survey data are presented in accordance with 2005 boundaries.

Figure 1 shows box plots of households' access to basic services in 2001 and 2007. The plots reflect the successes described by national and provincial aggregates. Between 2001 and 2007 mean access to piped water inside the dwelling increased from 24 per cent to 37 percent. An average of 63 per cent of households used electricity for lighting in 2001 and this improved to almost 76 per cent in 2007. Similarly, the households with access to flush toilets and refuse removal also increased. The proportion of households that live in brick dwellings increased substantially. One should however keep in mind that improvements in mean access are only part of the story. Figure 1 shows that save for the cases of the use of electricity for lighting and access to brick housing, the variation of access to basic services between places, increased.

Figure 1: Basic services delivery in 2001 and 2007



This widening of the distribution of access to services raises the questions of which places are forging ahead and which are falling behind, and what are the predictors of improved service delivery? Further analysis per type of service would however be cumbersome and this paper therefore proposes the construction of a basic services delivery index per local municipality.

The construction of the index follows Zietsman *et al*. (2006). First, standardised values are calculated per type of service, for example, access to piped water inside a dwelling. These standardised z-scores are then summed per place to derive the compound index of service delivery. Standardised z-scores are computed by the formula:

$$z_{ik} = \frac{\left(x_{ik} - \bar{x}_{ik}\right)}{\sigma_k}$$

where x_{ik} is the raw value of variable k for the local municipality i; $\bar{x}_k$ is the mean value of variable k for all local municipalities and σ_k is the standard deviation of the variable k. The z-score of variable k has a mean value of zero and a standard deviation of one. The result is that local municipalities that have values above the national average for a particular type of service have positive z-scores. Local municipalities that have negative z-scores have values below the national average. The z-scores of the different variables are comparable and are added together to create the service delivery index. Figure 2 shows a scatter plot of the aggregate service delivery indices for 2001 and 2007.

Figure 2: Service delivery indices in 2001 and 2007

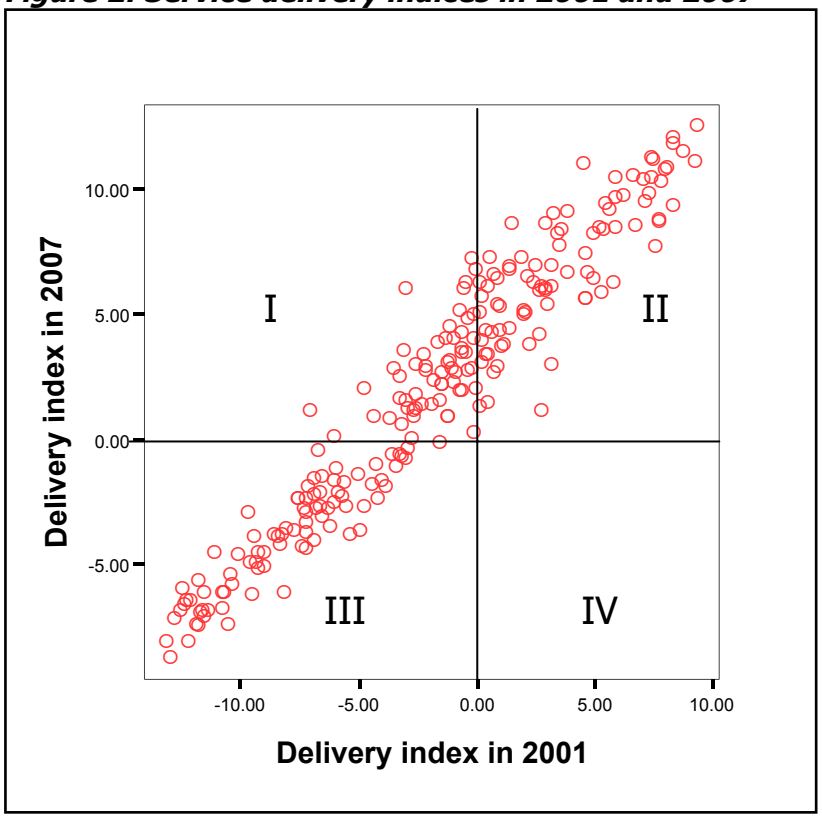


Figure 2 shows a strong positive relationship between the levels of service delivery in 2001 and 2007. Due to the networked nature of basic services, the level of delivery in 2001 explains 92 per cent of the variation of the level of delivery in 2007 from its mean. Dividing the scatter plot into four quadrants aids the interpretation as follows. Local municipalities in quadrant 3 provided below average access to basic services in 2001 and 2007. Local municipalities in quadrant 2 provided above average access to basic services in 2001 and 2007. However, the places in quadrant 1 are of particular interest. These municipalities provided below average access to basic services in 2001, but improved to provide above average access in 2007. The table in Appendix A provides a list of the different places in the three categories.

Using the classification in table A, it is possible to present more detailed profiles of each of the municipalities that provided below or above average access to basic services in 2001 and 2007 and of those that managed to improve access. However, of more general interest would be to determine the predictors of changes in service delivery over the period. The following section presents a cross-section regression model used to explain the changes in the delivery index in terms of measures of the service environment and the quality of local governance.

4. The predictors of service delivery

The previous section showed that levels of service delivery are highly persistent over time, but that there were municipalities that were able to improve the access that their communities have to water, electricity, sanitation, refuse removal and housing over the period 2001 to 2007. More knowledge about the drivers or predictors of these improvements may aid policymakers in the places that are still lagging behind the national average of service provision. This section presents a cross-section regression model to explain the changes in the delivery index in terms of measures of the service environment and the quality of local governance.

The basic estimating equation for identifying the predictors of improvements in service delivery across local municipalities can be written as

$$y_{it} = x_{it}\beta + c_i + u_{it} \qquad (2)$$

For i = 321 local municipalities and t = the period average for 2001 to 2007. In equation (2), y_{it} = the change in the delivery index for municipality i in period t; x_{it} = a $1\times K$ vector of explanatory variables; c_i = unobserved heterogeneity with variance σ_c^2. It can be viewed as unobserved locality characteristics that are constant over the time period, and influence y_{it}; and u_{it} = an idiosyncratic error term with variance σ_u^2 with the usual properties.

The explanatory variables include measures of the service environment in 2001 and over the period 2001 to 2007. The initial values of population density, GDP per capita, the unemployment rate and the percentage of people living on less than $2 per day describe the service environment. The hypothesis is that municipalities with higher population densities and greater GDP per capita should be able to provide better access to services. Those with higher levels of unemployment and more people in poverty are more likely to face greater backlogs in service delivery. Thus, the municipalities that were able to improve service delivery over the period 2001 to 2007 are likely to have been the ones that were less densely populated, with lower GDP per capita and higher unemployment and poverty rates. To measure changes in service environment over the period the growth of the number of households and the economic growth rate are used. Here the expectation is that increases in population will reduce the level of service provision, but increased density would favour it. Economic growth would aid the local community's ability to pay for services. All these variables are derived form 2001 Census data and sourced from Global Insight's Regional Economic Explorer database.

The correlation matrix in table 1 below bears out many of the expectations above. It shows a negative and significant relationship between changes in delivery and the level of service delivery in 2001. This indicates that it were places with lower levels of service delivery that caught up over the period 2001 to 2007. This is supported by the negative relationships between improvements in service delivery and initial population density and GDP per capita. Thus, the less densely populated municipalities with lower GDP per capita were more likely to improve service delivery. Improved service delivery is also positively associated with higher initial unemployment and poverty rates. Over the period 2001 to 2007, improved service delivery was negatively associated with growth in

the number of households and with increased population density. It was positively, but not significantly associated with economic growth.

Table 1: Correlations of service environment variables

	Change in delivery of basic services 01-07	Delivery index in 2001	Population density 01	GDP per capita 01	Unemployment rate 01	% of people on less than $2 per day	% growth of no of households 01-07	% change in population density 01
Change in delivery of basic services 01-07	1							
Delivery index in 2001	-.401(**)	1						
Population density 01	-.110	-.034	1					
GDP per capita 01	-.193(**)	.453(**)	-.024	1				
Unemployment rate 01	.152(*)	-.722(**)	.155(*)	-.414(**)	1			
% of people on less than $2 per day	.302(**)	-.803(**)	.041	-.511(**)	.632(**)	1		
% growth of no of households 01-07	-.164(*)	.243(**)	.006	.135(*)	-.545(**)	-.091	1	
% change in population density 01	-.190(**)	.386(**)	-.030	.193(**)	-.633(**)	-.211(**)	.978(**)	1
Economic growth 01-07	.010	-.078	.058	-.018	.269(**)	-.133(*)	-.485(**)	-.510(**)

Note that the correlation matrix shows a strong positive relationship between the change in population density and the percentage growth of the number of households over the period 2001 to 2007. This means that the two variables may not be included together in a regression equation. The positive relationship between unemployment and poverty in 2001 may be a similar cause of concern.

Along with the measures of the service environment, the explanatory variables also include measures of the quality of local governance. These measures of the capability of local government to supply basic services include the ratio of vacant positions to total budgeted staff, capital spending as a proportion of the total budget as well as the ratio of grants income to rates income. The data are sourced from the National Treasury, but is unfortunately only available for the 2005/06 financial year. The hypothesis is that local municipalities with fewer vacant positions, with a greater share of capital spending in total spending and with more rates income relative to grants income will have the ability to improve basic services delivery. Table 2 shows the correlations of these indicators of the quality of local governance.

Table 2: Correlations of local governance variables

	Vacancy ratio	Capital to total budget	Spending on goods and services to capital spending	Spending on goods and services to operating budget
Vacancy ratio	1			
Capital to total budget	-.014	1		
Spending on goods and services to capital spending	-.045	.257(**)	1	
Spending on goods and services to operating budget	.016	.281(**)	.039	1
Grants to rates income	-.011	.117	.128	.239(**)

As expected, a greater vacancy ratio is negatively associated with capital spending and own income. However, more grants income relative to rates income is positively associated with capital spending and spending on goods and services. For the estimation of the regression model, the vacancy ratio, capital spending as a proportion of the total budget, as well as the ratio of grants income to rates income were also combined to form a single capacity index using the same method as for the construction of the delivery index.

With these explanatory variables, equation 2 was estimated in different specifications with a regular OLS estimator. The results are presented in table 3 below. Model 1 presents only the measures of the service environment as predictors of changes in service delivery. There is a negative and significant relationship between initial population density and improved delivery. Changes in delivery are negatively associated with initial GDP per capita, but the coefficient is small and insignificant. The initial level of poverty and the growth of the number of households have the expected signs and are significant. There is an unexpected negative (though insignificant) relationship between improved services delivery and local economic growth. In all, the model explains approximately 12 per cent of the variation of changes in service delivery across the 231 local municipalities. Model 2 employed only the three measures of the quality of local governance, but it is badly specified. The vacancy ratio and the grants-to-rates income variable have unexpected positive and insignificant coefficients. The model explains very little of the variance of changes in service delivery. Model 3 includes the service environment and institutional quality variables. Again, the initial population density, initial poverty and the growth of the number of households have the expected signs and are significant predictors of improvements in service delivery. The economic growth coefficient now has the expected positive sign, but it is insignificant. The measures of institutional quality are again insignificant.

Table 3: Regression results

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
(Constant)	3.635	3.684	3.627	3.681	6.560
Population density 01	-.002 (-1.919)*		-.002 (-2.059)**	-.002 (-1.983)**	-.009 (-1.576)
GDP per capita 01	-4.18E-006 (-.529)		-6.99E-006 (-.820)	-7.27E-006 (-.855)	-5.31E-006 (-.450)
% of people on less than $2 per day	.040 (3.668)**		.044 (3.659)**	.041 (3.448)**	-.020 (-.506)
% growth of no of households 01-07	-.026 (-1.944)*		-.032 (-2.159)**	-.029 (-1.937)*	-.070 (-1.921)*
Economic growth 01-07	-.013 (-.221)		.013 (.205)	.017 (.264)	-.163 (-1.233)
Vacancy ratio		.206 (1.325)	.237 (1.621)		
Capital to total budget		.805 (1.418)	-.042 (-.075)		
Grants to rates income		.001 (.785)	-.001 (-.499)		
Local capacity index				.039 (.632)	.191 (1.704)*
R^2	.126	.023	.170	.159	.186

Dependent variable: Change in delivery of basic services 01-07
t-ratios in brackets, * significant at the 10% level, ** significant at the 5% level

Model 4 is similar to model 3 but the local capacity composite indicator is used in the place of the three separate measures local governance. The results are very similar to that of model 3 and the local capacity index coefficient has a small positive but insignificant coefficient. The final model 5 is a restricted version of model 4. Here only the 53 local municipalities that showed improvements in service delivery were used. Improved service delivery from below average to above average was a negative function of all the service environment controls and a positive function of local capacity. Throughout, the coefficients are small and insignificant and the model explains only 18 per cent of the variation in improved service delivery.

5. Conclusions and recommendations

At the start this paper set out to analyse the progress made in the delivery of basic services across local municipalities in South Africa. This involved the construction of a service delivery index for each municipality and estimation of a cross-section regression model to explain the changes in service delivery over the period 2001 to 2007. The results show that mean access to basic services showed marked improvement, but that variation of access to basic services between places, increased. This raised the questions of which places are forging ahead and what are the predictors of improved service delivery?

The construction of a basic service delivery index showed a strong positive relationship between the levels of service delivery in 2001 and 2007. However, 53 municipalities were identified that provided below average access to basic services in 2001, but improved to provide above average access in 2007. To explain these changes in the delivery index a cross-section regression model was used. In all the results showed:

- a negative relationship between improvements in basic service delivery and initial population density;
- a negative relationship between improvements in basic service delivery and initial GDP; and
- a positive relationship between improvements in basic service delivery and initial poverty.

It should not be seen that lower initial density, lower initial GDP and higher initial poverty determines or causes improved delivery. Rather, the results may be seen to indicate the characteristics of the municipalities that have been catching up and improving access to basic services.

As it stands, the measures of the quality of local institutions have proved to be insufficient. It may be that the variables used do not measure this construct of capacity to deliver. The data are also a source of concern: a single observation per municipality in the middle of the period under analysis leaves much to be desired. Future research into this topic may take two directions: (1) improvements of the sharpness of the tools at the level of all municipalities, with more measures and more observations across time, and (2) case studies of the successes and failure of delivery employing surveys and analysis of community profiles.

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Table A: Local municipalities by delivery category

Below average delivery 2001 and 2007	Above average delivery 2001 and 2007	Improved delivery between 2001 and 2007
Mbhashe	Matzikama	Kamiesberg
Mnquma	Cederberg	Mier Local
Great Kei	Bergrivier	!Kheis
Amahlati	Saldanha Bay	Dikgatlong
Ngqushwa	Swartland	Blue Crane Route
Nkonkobe	Witzenberg	Makana
Tsolwana	Drakenstein	Ndlambe
Intsika Yethu	Stellenbosch	Sunday's River Valley
Emalahleni	Breede Valley	Nxuba
Engcobo	Breede River/Winelands	Inkwanca
Sakhisizwe	Theewaterskloof	Lukhanji
Elundini	Overstrand	Maletswai
Senqu	Cape Agulhas	Mohokare
Mbizana	Swellendam	Naledi
Ntabankulu	Kannaland	Mantsopa
Qaukeni	Hessequa/Langeberg	Masilonyana
Port St Johns	Mossel Bay	Tokologo
Nyandeni	George	Tswelopele
Mhlontlo	Oudtshoorn	Nala
King Sabata Dalindyebo	Bitou/Plettenberg Bay	Setsoto
Vulamehlo	Knysna	Dihlabeng
Umzumbe	Laingsburg	Nketoana
uMuziwabantu	Prince Albert	Maluti a Phofung
Ezingoleni/Izingolwe	Beaufort West	Phumelela
uMshwathi	Richtersveld	Mafube
Impendle	Nama Khoi	Mooi Mpofana
Mkhambathini	Hantam	Emnambithi-Ladysmith
Richmond	Karoo Hoogland	Umtshezi
Indaka	Khai-Ma	Mandeni
Okhahlamba	Ubuntu	Msukaligwa
Imbabazane	Umsobomvu	Mkhondo
Nquthu	Emthanjeni	Pixley Ka Seme
Msinga	Kareeberg	Lekwa/Standerton
Umvoti	Renosterberg	Dipaleseng
Emadlangeni	Thembelihle	Delmas
Dannhauser	Siyathemba	Thaba Chweu
eDumbe	Siyancuma	Mbombela
uPhongolo	!Kai! Garib	Umjindi
Abaqulusi	Khara Hais	Musina
Nongoma	Tsantsabane	Polokwane
Ulundi	Kgatelopele	Thabazimbi
Umhlabuyalingana	Sol Plaatjie	Mookgopong
Jozini	Magareng	Modimolle
Umzinene	Phokwane	Mogalakwena
Hlabisa	Camdeboo	Moretele

Table A: Local municipalities by delivery category

Below average delivery 2001 and 2007	Above average delivery 2001 and 2007	Improved delivery between 2001 and 2007
Mbonambi	Ikwezi	Madibeng
Ntambanana	Baviaans	Rustenburg
uMlalazi	Kouga	Kgetlengrivier
Mthonjaneni	Kou-Kamma	Moses Kotane
Nkandla	Buffalo City	Tswaing
Ndwedwe	Inxuba Yethemba	Mafikeng
Maphumulo	Gariep	Ditsobotla/Lichtenbu
Albert Luthuli	Letsemeng	Mamusa/Schweizer-Reneke
Thembisile	Kopanong	Ventersdorp
JS Moroka	Mangaung	Maquassi Hills
Nkomazi	Matjhabeng	Kwa Sani
Bushbuckridge	Moqhaka	Greater Kokstad
Greater Giyani	Ngwathe	Ga-Segonyana
Greater Letaba	Metsimaholo	
Greater Tzaneen	Umdoni	
Maruleng	Hibiscus Coast	
Mutale	uMngeni	
Thulamela	Msunduzi	
Makhado	Endumeni	
Blouberg	Newcastle	
Aganang	Mtubatuba	
Molemole	uMhlathuze	
Lepelle-Nkumpi	KwaDukuza	
Lephalale	Govan Mbeki	
Ratlou/Setla-Kgobi	Emalahleni	
Ramotshere Moiloa/Zeerust	Steve Tshwete/Middelburg	
Kagisano	Emakhazeni	
Greater Taung	Ba-Phalaborwa	
Molopo	Bela-Bela	
Ingwe	Naledi	
Ubuhlebezwe	Lekwa-Teemane	
Umzimkhulu	Tlokwe/Potchefstroom	
Matatiele	City of Matlosana/Klerksdorp	
Umzimvubu	Merafong City	
Moshaweng	Emfuleni	
Greater Marble Hall	Midvaal	
Elias Motsoaledi	Lesedi	
Makhuduthamaga	Gamagara	
Fetakgomo	Nokeng tsa Taemane	
Greater Tubatse	Kungwini	
	Mogale City	
	Randfontein	
	Westonaria	