

Appendix

Table A.1: Overview Variables (for municipalities won by the African National Congress in 2006)

Variable	Definition	Source	N	Mean	SD	Min	Max
<i>Dependent Variables</i>							
<i>Wr</i>	Share of 2006 Ward Councillors re-nominated in 2011	Names of 2006 Councillors & Names of 2011 Electoral Candidates, Independent Electoral Commission (IEC)	192	0.47	0.22	0	1
<i>Pr</i>	Share of 2006 PR Councillors re-nominated in 2011	Names of 2006 Councillors & Names of 2011 Electoral Candidates, IEC	192	0.46	0.27	0	1
<i>HSr</i>	Share of 2006 Councillors re-nominated for high status positions in 2011 (as PR or DC councillors)	Names of 2006 Councillors & Names of 2011 Electoral Candidates, IEC	192	0.32	0.16	0	0.88
<i>Explanatory Variables</i>							
<i>chgV</i>	Vote Share 2009 minus Vote Share 2004 (as % of registered Voters)	Electoral Results 2009 & Electoral Results 2006, Independent Electoral Commission	192	-0.05	0.09	-0.19	0.27
<i>chgEl</i>	2011 Log of Households using electricity as main source of lighting minus 2007 Log of Households using electricity as main source of lighting	Census 2011 & Community Survey 2007, Statistics South Africa	192	0.32	0.27	-0.40	1.37
<i>chgWa</i>	2011 Log of Households with access to tap water inside their house minus 2007 Log of Households with access to tap water inside their house	Census 2011 & Community Survey 2007, Statistics South Africa	192	0.23	0.27	-0.46	1.82
<i>chgSa</i>	2011 Log of Households with flush toilets minus 2007 Log of Households with flush toilets	Census 2011 & Community Survey 2007, Statistics South Africa	192	0.26	0.35	-0.52	1.89
<i>aud</i>	Audit rating 2010	Auditor General South Africa	192	2.23	1.50	0	4
<i>comp</i>	Margin of Victory in 2006 <= 0.25	Electoral Results 2006, Independent Electoral Commission					

Control Variables

<i>Ash</i>	Share of African households in municipality	Census 2011, Statistics South Africa	192	0.73	0.31	0.01	1
<i>Csh</i>	Share of Coloured households in municipality	Census 2011, Statistics South Africa	192	0.11	0.09	0	0.41
<i>Wsh</i>	Share of White households in municipality	Census 2011, Statistics South Africa	192	0.16	0.26	0	0.92
<i>pop</i>	Population size municipality	Census 2011, Statistics South Africa	192	149405	151507	700375520	0
<i>prov</i>	South African Provinces		9				

Table A.2: *Correlation Matrix*

	<i>chgV</i>	<i>chgEl</i>	<i>chgWa</i>	<i>chgSa</i>	<i>aud</i>
<i>chgV</i>	1				
<i>chgEl</i>	0.114	1			
<i>chgWa</i>	-0.058	0.5356	1		
<i>chgSa</i>	-0.0028	0.5294	0.4746	1	
<i>aud</i>	0.2839	0.0225	0.002	0.0316	1

Table A.3: OLS Regression of Re-nomination on Changes in Access to Electricity

	Ward Council. (2006) share re- nominated in 2011	PR Council. (2006) share re- nominated in 2011	All Council. (2006) share re-nominated for High Status Jobs in 2011
Evolution Access Electricity	0.103 (0.080)	0.051 (0.089)	0.064 (0.058)
Observations	192	192	192
F	1.634	1.455	2.158
Prob > F	0.081	0.138	0.013
r ²	0.094	0.088	0.122

Note: Each regression with provincial fixed effects and controls for population group shares and log of municipality population.

Robust standard errors in parentheses.

Significance levels: *p<0.1 ** p<0.05 *** p<0.01

Table A.4: OLS Regression of Re-nomination on Changes in Access to Sanitation

	Ward Council (2006) share re-nominated in 2011	PR Council (2006) share re-nominated in 2011	All Council (2006) share re-nominated for High Status Jobs in 2011
Evolution Access Sanitation	0.115*** (0.041)	0.094* (0.057)	0.073** (0.032)
Observations	192	192	192
F	2.126	1.743	2.480
Prob > F	0.015	0.056	0.004
r ²	0.115	0.100	0.139

Note: Each regression with provincial fixed effects and controls for population group shares and log of municipality population.

Robust standard errors in parentheses.

Significance levels: *p<0.1 ** p<0.05 *** p<0.01

Table A.5: OLS Regression of Re-nomination on Access to Electricity with Competitiveness

	Ward Counc. (2006) share re-nominated in 2011	PR Counc. (2006) share re-nominated in 2011	All Counc. (2006) share re-nominated for High Status Jobs in 2011
Access to Electricity	0.082 (0.082)	0.033 (0.089)	0.026 (0.060)
Electricity X Competitive	0.013 (0.209)	0.373 (0.286)	0.436*** (0.140)
Competitive	-0.193* (0.102)	0.045 (0.131)	-0.102 (0.065)
Observations	192	192	192
F	1.847	1.634	3.165
Prob > F	0.032	0.069	0.000
r ²	0.132	0.112	0.165

Note: Each regression with provincial fixed effects and controls for population group shares and log of municipality population.

Robust standard errors in parentheses.

Significance levels: *p<0.1 ** p<0.05 *** p<0.01

Table A.6: OLS Regression of Re-nomination on Access to Sanitation with Competitiveness

	Ward Counc. (2006) share re- nominated in 2011	PR Counc. (2006) share re- nominated in 2011	All Counc. (2006) share re-nominated for High Status Jobs in 2011
Access to Sanitation	0.105** (0.043)	0.094* (0.055)	0.065** (0.031)
Sanitation X Competitive	-0.020 (0.235)	0.216 (0.345)	0.221 (0.175)
Competitive	-0.181** (0.091)	0.109 (0.125)	-0.026 (0.073)
Observations	192	192	192
F	2.406	1.811	2.410
Prob > F	0.003	0.036	0.003
r ²	0.150	0.118	0.149

Note: Each regression with provincial fixed effects and controls for population group shares and log of municipality population.

Robust standard errors in parentheses.

Significance levels: *p<0.1 ** p<0.05 *** p<0.01

Table A.7: *Mean Margin of Victory in competitive vs uncompetitive municipalities*

	Competitive Municipalities	Uncompetitive Municipalities
Mean Ward Margin of Victory	34%	65%
Mean Municipality Margin of Victory	11 %	60%

Table A.8: Re-nomination, Voter Signals and Closeness of Electoral Race

	Ward Counc. (2006) share re-nominated in 2011	PR Counc. (2006) share re-nominated in 2011	All Counc. (2006) share re-nominated for High Status Jobs in 2011
Difference Vote Share 0409	1.053* (0.632)	-1.581** (0.688)	-0.465 (0.462)
Difference Vote Share 0409X	-0.231 (0.981)	3.778*** (0.989)	1.118* (0.650)
Closeness of Elections	-0.298 (0.185)	0.002 (0.180)	0.024 (0.132)
Observations	192	192	192
F	1.566	2.389	2.084
Prob > F	0.087	0.003	0.012
r2	0.120	0.146	0.132

Note: Each regression with provincial fixed effects and controls for population group shares and log of municipality population.

Robust standard errors in parentheses.

Significance levels: *p<0.1 ** p<0.05 *** p<0.01

Table A.9: Re-nomination, Access to Water, and Closeness of Electoral Race

	Ward Counc. (2006) share re-nominated in 2011	PR Counc. (2006) share re-nominated in 2011	All Counc. (2006) share re-nominated for High Status Jobs in 2011
Access to Water	0.072 (0.118)	0.134 (0.140)	-0.067 (0.088)
Water X Closeness of Elections	0.001 (0.333)	-0.021 (0.419)	0.464* (0.238)
Closeness of Elections	-0.140 (0.189)	0.099 (0.209)	-0.065 (0.135)
Observations	192	192	192
F	1.424	1.611	2.603
Prob > F	0.141	0.074	0.002
r ²	0.096	0.102	0.155

Note: Each regression with provincial fixed effects and controls for population group shares and log of municipality population.

Robust standard errors in parentheses.

Significance levels: *p<0.1 ** p<0.05 *** p<0.01

Table A.10: Re-nomination, Financial Management, and Closeness of Electoral Race

	Ward Counc. (2006) share re-nominated in 2011	PR Counc. (2006) share re-nominated in 2011	All Counc. (2006) share re-nominated for High Status Jobs in 2011
Audits problematic	-0.138 (0.097)	-0.193* (0.111)	-0.090 (0.061)
Audits good	-0.061 (0.088)	-0.077 (0.101)	-0.114* (0.059)
Aud.problemXCloseness of Elections	0.335 (0.234)	0.437 (0.311)	0.157 (0.159)
Aud. goodXCloseness of Elections	0.173 (0.199)	0.213 (0.231)	0.250* (0.130)
Closeness of Elections	-0.259 (0.203)	-0.053 (0.233)	-0.090 (0.140)
Observations	192	192	192
F	1.338	1.339	1.879
Prob > F	0.174	0.173	0.022
r2	0.105	0.106	0.145

Note: Each regression with provincial fixed effects and controls for population group shares and log of municipality population.

Robust standard errors in parentheses.

Significance levels: *p<0.1 ** p<0.05 *** p<0.01

Table A.11: OLS Regression of 2011 Re-nominations on Voter Signals, Data Winsorized at 10th percentile

	Ward Council (2006) share re-nominated in 2011	PR Council (2006) share re-nominated in 2011	All Council (2006) share re-nominated for High Status Jobs in 2011
Evolution vote share 0409	0.468 (0.331)	0.415 (0.432)	0.178 (0.246)
Observations	192	192	192
F	1.993	1.595	2.097
Prob > F	0.023	0.090	0.016
r ²	0.122	0.091	0.107

Note: Each regression with provincial fixed effects and controls for population group shares and log of municipality population.

Robust standard errors in parentheses.

Significance levels: *p<0.1 ** p<0.05 *** p<0.01

Table A.12: OLS Regression of Re-nomination on Changes in Access to Water, Data Winsorized at 10th percentile

	Ward Council (2006) share re-nominated in 2011	PR Council (2006) share re-nominated in 2011	All Council (2006) share re-nominated for High Status Jobs in 2011
Evolution Access Water	0.066 (0.057)	0.129** (0.064)	0.086** (0.041)
Observations	192	192	192
F	1.855	1.719	2.302
Prob >F	0.038	0.060	0.007
r ²	0.114	0.100	0.125

Note: Each regression with provincial fixed effects and controls for population group shares and log of municipality population.

Robust standard errors in parentheses.

Significance levels: *p<0.1 ** p<0.05 *** p<0.01

Table A.13: OLS Regression of Re-nomination on Audit Outcomes 2010, Data Winsorized at 10th percentile

	Ward Council (2006) share re-nominated in 2011	PR Council (2006) share re-nominated in 2011	All Council (2006) share re-nominated for High Status Jobs in 2011
Audits problematic	-0.008 (0.042)	-0.015 (0.052)	-0.029 (0.029)
Audits good	0.000 (0.039)	0.012 (0.058)	-0.005 (0.025)
Observations	192	192	192
F	1.524	1.288	1.931
Prob >F	0.106	0.218	0.025
r ²	0.108	0.087	0.109

Note: Each regression with provincial fixed effects and controls for population group shares and log of municipality population.

Reference (Omitted) Category: Disclaimer. Audits problematic: Adverse Opinion and Qualified Opinion. Audits Good: Unqualified Opinion

Robust standard errors in parentheses.

Significance levels: *p<0.1 ** p<0.05 *** p<0.01

Table A.14: OLS Regression of Re-nomination on Voter Signals with Competitiveness, Data Winsorized at 10th percentile

	Ward Counc. (2006) share re- nominated in 2011	PR Counc. (2006) share re- nominated in 2011	All Counc. (2006) share re-nominated for High Status Jobs in 2011
Difference Vote Share 0409	0.557 (0.368)	-0.308 (0.431)	-0.088 (0.266)
Difference Vote Share 0409X Competitive	0.565 (0.400)	2.333*** (0.503)	0.932*** (0.232)
Competitive	-0.208*** (0.063)	0.004 (0.088)	-0.025 (0.047)
Observations	192	192	192
F	2.263	3.456	3.523
Prob > F	0.006	0.000	0.000
r ²	0.168	0.188	0.156

Note: Each regression with provincial fixed effects and controls for population group shares and log of municipality population.

Robust standard errors in parentheses.

Significance levels: *p<0.1 ** p<0.05 *** p<0.01

Table A.15: *OLS Regression of Re-nomination on Access to Water with Competitiveness, Data Winsorized at 10th percentile*

	Ward Counc. (2006) share re-nominated in 2011	PR Counc. (2006) share re-nominated in 2011	All Counc. (2006) share re-nominated for High Status Jobs in 2011
Access to Water	0.071 (0.060)	0.120* (0.065)	0.070 (0.043)
Water X Competitive	-0.003 (0.226)	0.076 (0.407)	0.248* (0.149)
Competitive	-0.156** (0.079)	0.114 (0.148)	-0.023 (0.059)
Observations	192	192	192
F	2.142	1.740	2.506
Prob >F	0.010	0.047	0.002
r ²	0.143	0.112	0.137

Note: Each regression with provincial fixed effects and controls for population group shares and log of municipality population.

Robust standard errors in parentheses.

Significance levels: *p<0.1 ** p<0.05 *** p<0.01

Table A.16: OLS Regression of Re-nomination on Audit Opinions with Competitiveness, Data Winsorized at 10th percentile

	Ward Counc. (2006) share re-nominated in 2011	PR Counc. (2006) share re-nominated in 2011	All Counc. (2006) share re-nominated for High Status Jobs in 2011
Audits problematic	-0.038 (0.042)	-0.045 (0.050)	-0.033 (0.031)
Audits good	-0.029 (0.039)	0.009 (0.061)	-0.026 (0.027)
Aud.problem.XCompetitive	0.226 (0.155)	0.338 (0.242)	0.048 (0.085)
Aud. goodXCompetitive	0.143 (0.111)	0.146 (0.160)	0.115 (0.075)
Competitive	-0.249*** (0.085)	0.036 (0.160)	-0.041 (0.070)
Observations	192	192	192
F	2.308	1.638	1.793
Prob > F	0.003	0.059	0.032
r2	0.154	0.119	0.126

Note: Each regression with provincial fixed effects and controls for population group shares and log of municipality population.

Reference (Omitted) Category: Disclaimer. Audits problematic: Adverse Opinion and Qualified Opinion. Audits Good: Unqualified Opinion

Robust standard errors in parentheses.

Significance levels: *p<0.1 ** p<0.05 *** p<0.01

Table A.17: *Service Delivery and Electoral Competitiveness*

	Evolution Electricity	Evolution Water	Evolution Toilets
Competitiveness (margin of victory below 25%)	-0.001 (0.053)	0.081 (0.085)	-0.041 (0.085)
N	192	192	192

Notes: Provincial fixed effects and controls for population group shares and log of municipality population

Robust standard errors in parentheses.

Significance levels: * $p < 0.1$ ** $p < 0.05$ *** $p < 0.01$