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Eroding Support from Below: Performance in Local Government and Opposition Party Growth in South Africa

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Appendix A

Table 1. Refuse Model Including Lagged Levels of the Independent Variable

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | | |
|  | *Dependent variable:* | |
|  |  | |
|  | DA Vote Share | |
|  | (1) | (2) |
|  | | |
| Non-White Refuse | 0.012 | -0.009 |
|  | (0.016) | (0.017) |
|  |  |  |
|  |  | -0.003 |
|  |  | (0.010) |
|  |  |  |
|  |  | -0.007 |
|  |  | (0.010) |
|  |  |  |
|  |  | 0.051\*\*\* |
|  |  | (0.015) |
|  |  |  |
| Black (prop.) | -0.124\*\*\* | -0.173\*\*\* |
|  | (0.025) | (0.031) |
|  |  |  |
| Coloured (prop.) | 0.286\*\*\* | 0.233\*\*\* |
|  | (0.024) | (0.029) |
|  |  |  |
| White (prop.) | 0.626\*\*\* | 0.569\*\*\* |
|  | (0.021) | (0.028) |
|  |  |  |
| 1994 Development Level | 0.105\*\*\* | 0.107\*\*\* |
|  | (0.010) | (0.010) |
|  |  |  |
| Ward population (log) | 0.039\*\*\* | 0.036\*\*\* |
|  | (0.004) | (0.004) |
|  |  |  |
| Constant | -0.031 | 0.023 |
|  | (0.037) | (0.044) |
|  |  |  |
|  | | |
| Observations | 1,892 | 1,891 |
| R2 | 0.537 | 0.539 |
| Adjusted R2 | 0.535 | 0.537 |
| F Statistic | 363.854\*\*\* (df = 6; 1885) | 244.377\*\*\* (df = 9; 1881) |
|  | | |
| *Note:* | \*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01 | |

*Note:* Model 1 is a reproduction of the first-difference model of the *Refuse* variable. Model 2 contains lagged levels of the *Refuse* variable.

Table 2. Toilet Model Including Lagged Levels of the Independent Variable

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | | |
|  | *Dependent variable:* | |
|  |  | |
|  | DA Vote Share | |
|  | (1) | (2) |
|  | | |
| Non-White Toilet | 0.066\*\*\* | 0.065\*\*\* |
|  | (0.022) | (0.022) |
|  |  |  |
|  |  | -0.013 |
|  |  | (0.010) |
|  |  |  |
|  |  | -0.013 |
|  |  | (0.011) |
|  |  |  |
|  |  | 0.050\*\*\* |
|  |  | (0.015) |
|  |  |  |
| Black (prop.) | -0.110\*\*\* | -0.187\*\*\* |
|  | (0.020) | (0.030) |
|  |  |  |
| Coloured (prop.) | 0.290\*\*\* | 0.213\*\*\* |
|  | (0.019) | (0.029) |
|  |  |  |
| White (prop.) | 0.632\*\*\* | 0.553\*\*\* |
|  | (0.017) | (0.028) |
|  |  |  |
| 1994 Development Level | 0.094\*\*\* | 0.092\*\*\* |
|  | (0.010) | (0.010) |
|  |  |  |
| Ward population (log) | 0.039\*\*\* | 0.035\*\*\* |
|  | (0.004) | (0.004) |
|  |  |  |
| Constant | -0.076\*\* | 0.009 |
|  | (0.038) | (0.046) |
|  |  |  |
|  | | |
| Observations | 1,892 | 1,891 |
| R2 | 0.539 | 0.541 |
| Adjusted R2 | 0.537 | 0.539 |
| F Statistic | 366.977\*\*\* (df = 6; 1885) | 246.820\*\*\* (df = 9; 1881) |
|  | | |
| *Note:* | \*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01 | |

*Note:* Model 1 is a reproduction of the first-difference model of the *Toilet* variable. Model 2 contains lagged levels of the *Toilet* variable.

Table 3. Water Model Including Lagged Levels of the Independent Variable

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | | |
|  | *Dependent variable:* | |
|  |  | |
|  | DA Vote Share | |
|  | (1) | (2) |
|  | | |
| Non-White Water | 0.060\*\*\* | 0.036\* |
|  | (0.019) | (0.021) |
|  |  |  |
|  |  | 0.013 |
|  |  | (0.010) |
|  |  |  |
|  |  | 0.006 |
|  |  | (0.012) |
|  |  |  |
|  |  | 0.058\*\*\* |
|  |  | (0.016) |
|  |  |  |
| Black (prop.) | -0.208\*\*\* | -0.213\*\*\* |
|  | (0.037) | (0.038) |
|  |  |  |
| Coloured (prop.) | 0.202\*\*\* | 0.178\*\*\* |
|  | (0.036) | (0.037) |
|  |  |  |
| White (prop.) | 0.543\*\*\* | 0.515\*\*\* |
|  | (0.034) | (0.035) |
|  |  |  |
| 1994 Development Level | 0.105\*\*\* | 0.100\*\*\* |
|  | (0.009) | (0.009) |
|  |  |  |
| Ward population (log) | 0.036\*\*\* | 0.033\*\*\* |
|  | (0.004) | (0.005) |
|  |  |  |
| Constant | 0.032 | 0.059 |
|  | (0.043) | (0.045) |
|  |  |  |
|  | | |
| Observations | 1,892 | 1,891 |
| R2 | 0.539 | 0.543 |
| Adjusted R2 | 0.537 | 0.541 |
| F Statistic | 367.090\*\*\* (df = 6; 1885) | 248.653\*\*\* (df = 9; 1881) |
|  | | |
| *Note:* | \*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01 | |

*Note:* Model 1 is a reproduction of the first-difference model of the *Water* variable. Model 2 contains lagged levels of the *Water* variable.