

Deliverable five:
Pre-test Report

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Section I

Executive Summary

The current study, which was completed in the second half of 2002, provides an overview of the state of local government in 28 councils spread throughout South Africa. This includes category A, B and C Councils in both urban and rural areas.

24 of these councils are the recipients of USAID funded support grants, whilst 4 councils are not. The study will be repeated in two years time to determine the nature of the impact of the USAID support programmes.

Although the prime focus of the study was on the interaction between government and citizens, and on new institutional structures designed to improve this interaction, for example ward committees, the study was concerned also to understand the social, economic, administrative and technical parameters within which the local state operated.

Following the presentation in the body of the report, the findings of both the survey of public opinion and interviews with representatives of civil society, business and government, can be summarised under the following three categories.

1. Participation

- 1.1 Civil society in the local government sphere is relatively mobilised and participates extensively in community organisations. Unfortunately, many community-based organisations lack the capacity and strategic focus necessary for interfacing positively with the local government in order to influence the policy process. In the urban areas, the majority of the public has only a limited appreciation of the principles and mechanics of modern local governance. In the rural areas, political illiteracy is generally very low, and, in many cases, is manipulated by traditional leaders.
- 1.2 The institutional channels for mass political participation in the governmental process are in many cases underdeveloped, inchoate, or otherwise fragmented in a way that breeds high levels of social frustration across economic, racial and cultural barriers. Community participation in and ownership of the process of government remains an elusive objective.
- 1.3 Perceptions of the central state are shaped by contacts with local levels of government, which are frequently of a negative nature. While there are examples of effective communication between the government and the governed in a number of urban centres, over two-thirds of our 12,000 respondents expressed deeply negative sentiments about local government.
- 1.4 In many cases, local government is hampered by extreme financial and institutional limitations, which are themselves exasperated by extraordinary shortcomings in

human social capital. This is particularly the case in two of the Eastern Cape District Councils considered here, Alfred Nzo and Cacadu, as well as the West Rand District Council. These councils might be demarcated as crisis councils: the extent to which they are unable to deliver services effectively is such that their survival as organs of government, and, especially in the Eastern Cape, their ability to retain a monopoly of the instruments of social control, are in jeopardy.

- 1.5 Attempts to induce closer relations between local authorities and their constituents show some measure of success, but community-based institutions, such as the new ward committees, remain extremely fragile. The greater majority of ward committees are unrepresentative and dominated by sectional or party interests. Outside the major urban centres, few have the capacity to make any meaningful contribution to developmental governance.
- 1.6 There is deep dissatisfaction with the majority of councillors, who represent the primary “weak link” in the local government chain. In virtually all the local authorities, the most competent ward councillors have been incorporated into the ranks of the proportional representatives (elected by parties), or “re-deployed” into higher party or governmental ranks. With rare individual exceptions, those left behind are associated in the public mind with inefficiency, nepotism, lack of accountability, corruption and a general lack of civic interest.
- 1.7 Municipal bureaucrats enjoy a relatively higher level of prestige among the electorate, despite widespread concern about administrative independence on the part of business élites and other key stakeholders in most communities. With few exceptions, municipal institutions have been deeply disfigured by incompetent management of the transformation process that has resulted in a massive loss of specialist skills, the appointment of inexperienced personnel, internal conflicts and, as a consequence, deep demoralisation in municipal circles.

2. Services

- 2.1 Many rural municipalities have registered substantial gains in the delivery of bulk engineering services. Enhanced provision of electricity and reasonably efficient water delivery has, to a limited extent, bolstered the popular legitimacy of what are, in many cases, otherwise dysfunctional councils. Unfortunately, most of these improvements have occurred through the intervention of various national organisations and governmental agencies, and are not reflective of improvements in the local state’s ability to deliver.
- 2.2 Social housing has, to some extent, taken the edge off potentially violent conflict over the absence or slow pace of service delivery in many communities. Unfortunately, under pressures of growing urbanisation and the extensive illegal utilisation of land by new immigrants in most metropolitan areas, as well as the generally poor quality of infrastructure in the built environment, severe tensions over housing may develop in the near future.
- 2.3 Public health facilities are almost uniformly poor in the face of a lethal combination of the HIV/Aids pandemic, poverty, tuberculosis, malaria and other notifiable diseases. Most of the rural areas, even those abutting large towns and cities, lack even the most rudimentary facilities to manage a crisis of daily mounting proportions. In particular, councils are particularly ill-prepared to deal with the impact of HIV/Aids, either because they fear retribution from the President and ruling party for administering

anti-retroviral drugs, because they lack resources or, most likely of all, because they have yet to wake up to the scale of the problem as it affects local government.

- 2.4 Indicators on public education suggest reasonable levels of community satisfaction. Otherwise, indicators on policing, sports facilities and a number of other elements in the municipal service suite suggest widespread dissatisfaction. Ominously high levels of dissatisfaction were also registered on the state of unsanitary and rapidly over-populated cemeteries in most target areas.
- 2.5 Vastly enhanced credit control and cost recovery are clearly paramount for local authorities even though rigorous enforcement of policy could become a major site of struggle.

3. Development

- 3.1 Every local authority is deeply bifurcated by a relatively well-developed core or node abutting areas where mass poverty and structural unemployment are indicative of deep levels of under-development. Given the persistent correspondence of race and class cleavages throughout the country, this has tremendously negative social and political implications.
- 3.2 On the positive side, although personal income has been eroded by inflation, anticipation of future economic mobility remains high. Unfortunately, educational development is producing increasing numbers of employable yet politically conscious youth who are excluded from the labour market. This potentially unmatched expectation could result in considerable political tension in the near future.
- 3.3 Policies to promote development have almost entirely failed to address the key issues of unemployment, and much of the dissatisfaction with local authorities stems from this core problem. Integrated development plans have, with certain exceptions, been poorly formulated by under-capacitated officials, many of whose productivity is compromised by lack of technical skills and/or administrative experience.
- 3.4 Political factionalism or inter-institutional struggles between the various tiers of government have largely precluded the implementation of many development projects. A majority of black respondents see themselves as disempowered and marginalised, almost a decade after apartheid, whilst white respondents fear affirmative action and feel that they lack the political legitimacy needed to get their jobs done.
- 3.5 Many respondents envision more consistent interaction with local authorities in the development process. They see the local state as relevant to alleviating or improving their social conditions, and recognise the urgent need to address the capacity shortcomings in local government in order to meet this objective.
- 3.6 A lack of synergy between local government and civil society inhibits the optimal utilisation of scarce resources essential for community development.

Overview Analysis

Participation

INDICATORS								
public participation	yes	no	Satisfaction	bad	average	good		
1. Participation in community organisations	88.4%	11.6%						
2. Knowledge of local government issues	62.9%	35.0%	2.1 Assessment of the Municipality	37.9%	31.1%	31.0%		
3. Knowledge of Ward Committees	46.4%	53.4%	3.2 Assessment of Ward Committees	52.3%	18.7%	28.3%		
3.1 Participation into Ward Committee meetings	81.3%	17.4%						
4. Direct Dealing with Councillors	47.9%	51.2%	4.2 Assessment of Councillors	62.6%	17.8%	19.6%		
4.1 Feedback from Councillors	45.1%	54.3%						
5. Direct Dealing with Officials	41.5%	55.9%	5.1 Assessment of Officials	39.7%	25.1%	35.3%		

Table 1a Participation Indicators for the 28 Municipalities Included Controls

Civil society, as most other indicators, displays considerable variety in its relations with local government. Generally speaking however, these relations are shaped by levels of socio-economic and political development. In the metropolitans, civil society has spawned a diverse network of interest groups with stakes in the local government process; local government in places such as eThekweni (Durban), the City of Cape Town and Johannesburg, as well as the ‘aspiring’ municipalities of Msunduzi, Ehlanzeni, Buffalo City and Mangaung is shaped by a complex mixture of political and economic elites within a civil society framework which is alert, energised, interested and responsive to what takes place in municipal policy. By way of contrast, places, such as Xhariep, Bophirima or West Rand, lack a mobilised civil society other than a few specific interest groups who are, for the most part, relatively disorganised.

In these cases “community participation” is not necessarily lower per se, but rather diffuse and, in many cases, either misleading or misleading. In KZN, for example, community participation is frequently analogous to engagement in traditional structures rather than in “modern” institutions of governance. Many respondents in rural areas will also not readily admit to being non-participant because of the powerful social sanctions levied by tribal culture on those who fail to engage in community or collective institutions. In many dirt-poor and isolated communities such as those making up Xhariep or Bophirima, community, “participation” is often mere physical presence at meetings designed to alleviate the boredom of persistent unemployment among groups and individuals rather than genuine involvement with problems of developmental governance.

Across the target spectrum there is considerable diversity. Rustenburg, although far from metropolitan status at this point, displays many of the features of local government working within the context of an active civil society. The majority of the municipalities in Gauteng show a clear fragmented reality, with the multiplicity of civil society organisations too focused on small interests, racial policy, and short-term objectives. This has a negative impact on the potential of otherwise active community. Some other municipalities such as Ugu or Ilembe are, in effect, two societies and this is reflected in the pressure group network. In both these cases, local government is dominated by coastal elites along the developed fringe of the Natal seaboard while the interior regions are largely the preserve of tribal interests who reflect a seriously underdeveloped and rural economy. Throughout Natal, in fact, local government is unintelligible apart from the patterns of political consensus and conflict that occur between the ‘modern’ sector and the traditional authorities. In some Natal municipalities in fact, civil society and local governance is almost entirely under the thumb of the tribal components of

civil society who act discretely - and sometimes directly - to shape patterns of developmental governance. This is certainly true of Zululand and, to a lesser extent, Umzinyathi.

All of our target municipalities have taken some measures to politically conscientise, educate or mobilise communities in line with the strategic requirement on local authorities to maximise opportunities for grassroots participatory democracy. These measures range from major communications campaigns on a ward-by-ward basis in places such as Ethekwini, Johannesburg, and Mangaung, through outreach programmes to rural areas run by district municipalities in Natal, to reasonably regular mass meetings between councillors and their constituents in places such as Rustenburg and Emalahleni. Yet, a third of respondents (35%) still admit to limited cogniscence of the basics of local government. This is the result of both institutional and civil society constraints, which vary across the local government spectrum. In the more advanced metropolitan centres, such as Johannesburg and Tshwane, these participative measures have failed to sustain a constant communication flow with the community. This is because of the episodic and often informal nature of some of these interactions as well as the lack of an overall communication strategy, which includes the full variety of the existing civil society. Instead in “weaker municipalities” poor education, limited attention to public affairs brought on by poverty, HIV/Aids (or both), and, in the last analysis, the lack of coordination, dedication or technical expertise in seriously under-capacitated local governments in many cases play a major part.

The civil context for governance is also, in some instances, relatively ‘disconnected’ either because the local authorities have lost credibility with the indigenous interest group network. In such places, Sedibeng and Emalahleni for example, communications channels between government and civil society are relatively weak and interest groups tend to circumvent government in seeking to advance their sectional or developmental agendas. In other cases, civil society is so entirely lacking in capacity, expertise, interest and knowledge about local governance, that municipal bureaucrats can act with considerable autonomy and less reference to the civil context in the formulation of public policy. This is largely true of vast, sparsely populated and politically uneducated areas such as, once again, Xhariep and, to a lesser extent, Bophirima or crisis municipalities such as West Rand.

Community involvement in ward committees, for example, is also partially determined by general levels of local development, but is also clearly affected by other factors including a mixture of race and class considerations as well policies pursued by the local state.

We have already alluded to the more clear-cut cases where the community is, for the most part, simply ill-equipped to support an organised network of elites and to make an effective contribution towards public policy, either directly or through the institutional network, ward committees included. In our sample this would be characteristic of places such as Xhariep, Bophirima, or West Rand. In other cases however, community involvement in ward committees is largely determined by the access of social groups to local resources and their place on the scale of development more generally. Irrespective of whether a local authority is situated in a rural or metropolitan district, the most advantaged segments of the community tend to abjure ward committee involvement simply because the majority of their material needs have been satisfied - by local government or, in some cases by other private or public agencies. Nation-wide, however, the large masses of the deprived tend to drift to the new structures much more than their privileged counterparts because, in the last analysis, these new institutions offer one of the few avenues for the articulation of often-desperate development needs and participation in the processes of government. This is true of eThekweni as it is of Zululand, Buffalo City/East London, Johannesburg and many other contexts.

Government policy to induce citizen participation is, as we have intimated, also a critical variable nation-wide - in the case of ward committees no less. Where government has invested considerable time, money, energy and planning resources in securing popular participation - in eThekweni, Ekurhuleni, Mangaung or Msunduzi - there is, overall, a higher level of involvement in these new institutions than the many other cases where local authorities have simply invited the community into the ward committees and failed to follow up with policies and programmes to consolidate their membership. This is characteristic of places such as Emalahleni and, to a lesser extent, Rustenburg and Johannesburg. Sedibeng, by way of contrast is a case where local authority has been relatively vigorous in attempting to recruit communities into ward committees, but has achieved limited success because of public hostility towards local government, which is widely associated with a lethal mixture of corruption, nepotism and self-serving partisan interests. This situation can be found in other municipalities although in less serious stage. Indeed political attempts to mobilise ward committees for personal, political gains are often in place in areas characterised by internal-ANC disputes (for instance in Tshwane). The 53.4% of respondents who readily admit to know nothing about ward committees also incarnates the nation-wide reliance of local authorities on expensive consultants who often (but not always) proffer dubious “training” programmes to councillors on ward committee responsibilities, powers and procedures. While everyone associates with the rhetoric of “in-house” capacity, much of the public ignorance about ward committees stems from the fact that many councillors themselves neither know nor care about these community-based organisations.

In Natal, in particular, local government capability to extract community involvement for ward committee service is also heavily dependent outside urban cores on the subtle but always present relationship between the local and traditional authorities. Where relations are relatively poor - Ugu, Umzinyathi, for example - programmes to elicit ward committee membership have failed, not only in the deep rural sectors, but also in the urban or peri-urban areas where the local amakhosi still exercise considerable political influence. By way of contrast, Ilembe enjoys relatively good relations with its tribal chiefs and this creates space for communities to enter the ward committee system even in the tribal-dominated areas. In sharp contrast, Zululand is still very much a traditional preserve: here, community participation in ward committees at any level is almost entirely dependent on the whims and power of the senior chieftains. This, although to a far less extent, is also the case in Bohlabela, Ehlanzeni, Alfred Nzo, Cacadu and, oddly enough, in certain wards in the City of Cape Town.

The 81.3% of respondents who claim to know about ward committees appear to follow up on their information with vigorous engagement. Yet, here again, it is important to appreciate the political realities behind the statistics. There is almost universal support among councillors and ward committee members for the view that remuneration and organisational performance stand in direct proportion. This reflects the fact that many ward committees are composed partially or entirely of people seeking employment or access to project funding sometimes devolved down to ward level. Ward committees tend to totter when their members acquire some form of employment, or anticipate some form of paid employment. Other ward committees, from Rustenburg to Ugu, survive only so long as their members continue to anticipate some future access to financial rewards. Nation-wide, ward committee failure is widely associated with power struggles and internal conflicts, which emerge on the organisational landscape at the precise moments when resources, money and real status actually materialise.

The intensity and impact of communication/information strategies to promote community ownership of government through the ward committee system varies quite considerably from places such as eThekweni, Ekurhuleni, Johannesburg and Mangaung to other smaller, and

noticeably, less well-resourced municipalities. In the former, the communications function is normally apportioned between corporate services and the Office of the Speaker and is armed with considerable technology designed to both plan and disseminate information. In the small municipalities - Xhariep, Bophirima, Umzinyathi, West Rand, Zululand and others - there is an absence of internal capacity to support effective communication in relation to other more pressing developmental functions that form the mandate of the local authority.

The scale of local authority does not however determine the impact of municipal communication with its constituents. In the large municipalities, including the metropolises and the 'aspiring' metros, a substantial proportion of communications resources is creamed off to the external area. The emphasis, in these cases, is on investment marketing, tourism and other exogenous communication activities other than building links with the local population (this is quite evident in the power houses, such as Johannesburg and Ekurhuleni, where the devised communication strategy is biased towards key stakeholders, so increasing equity problems). In some cases, net communication capacity is diluted by struggles and mixtures of message emanating from district and local municipalities whose aggregate effect is to confuse the public and undermine the integrity of municipal institutions. This is partially true of Ugu, and lesser so of Umzinyathi. While Mangaung and Buffalo City have relatively well-established institutions for communications, their capacity to impact on public consciousness is often undermined by an urban bias, or, in the case of Buffalo City, a shifting and drifting population.

The City of Cape Town, the West Coast, Emalahleni, and West Rand and, to some degree, Rustenburg, have not developed a fully-fledged communications system at all. In the former case, struggles within the municipality largely preclude its effective entry into the community market of ideas; lack of resources, above all financial one, has fully constrained West Rand; in Rustenburg, communications strategy has been labelled as 'critical', but is still somewhat low on the municipal agenda. Bophirima has still to struggle with the physical, technological and geographic constraints of sending effective information to isolated communities over large areas of empty space. Ilembe, on the other hand, displays a number of examples of how community mobilisation can be positively addressed despite limited administrative, human and financial resources.

Within this context, councillor capacity for representative functions is determined by many factors, including the experience of councillors, their civic dedication, their respective loyalties to their parties and constituents and, once again, intervention by the municipalities to empower councillors in their professional capacity.

As a generalisation, councillors since the 2000 elections are - and are seen to be - a marked improvement on their predecessors. In most local authorities, officials, interest group leaders and other opinion-makers tend to concur that councillors are far better equipped to deal with the complex issues of local governance and that the current batch appears to be more immersed in the role of stimulating participation at grassroots level.

There are, nonetheless, grounds for concern that councillors may be the proverbial "weak-link" in the entire local government system. In many Natal municipalities, for example, councillors are locked into factional and party disputes, which undercut their time, energy and commitment to their community constituents. This is particularly true in both district and local municipalities where there is a fine line power balance between the three major political parties or, as in places such as Zululand or Umzinyathi where most councillors function under rigid IFP discipline. A similar constraint on councillor independence is also evident in other municipalities, such as Sedibeng or Emalahleni, where councillors spend most of their time in

factional intra-party disputes. Needless to say, party patronage in many places translates into power abuse and a general neglect for the needs of constituent communities.

Councillors, nation-wide, suffer varying degrees of incapacitation which may stem from lack of administrative experience, inter-personal failures, communication problems, lack of political and/or social education and/or a general inability to 'read' the community, assess its needs and transmit its developmental and policy requirements into municipal decision-making circles. All of this is especially noteworthy in local councils in districts such as Zululand, Xhariep, Bophirima and, to a lesser extent, the rural portions of places such as Ugu and Msunduzi. In many of these areas, the district tends to appropriate the best human skills or to filter the better councillors into PR seats where they can act with relative independence of the electorate. In Sedibeng, for example, most of the better councillors are of the PR variety and some of the weakest are representatives of the wards. This incapacitation reduces in the metro centres, such as Johannesburg, where experience, resources for training and monitoring mechanisms are more prominent. However, even in the more developed centres lot remains to be done to improve ward councillor performance.

Councillor capacity for representative work (and performance more generally) is often shaped by delivery and demand-making patterns in the community. Some councillors in places such as Rustenburg, West Rand, or Msunduzi are difficulty communicating with their constituents at any level because of profound popular frustration over the slow pace of service and developmental delivery. The issue of no-delivery for councillor-community relationships is also becoming more important in metropolitan centres. The overall 47.9% of respondents who report direct dealings with councillors represent a sizeable figure in where local government has limited capacity to mobilise people for public purposes.

Yet, this is not evidence per se of democratic consolidation in South Africa. In many committees - especially in the poorer communities - people are so desperate in the face of persistent poverty and unemployment that they will turn to virtually anyone who appears to be a potential source of influence and assistance. It is precise because of their ongoing powers of patronage that the KZN chiefs are able to capitalise on this situation in their ongoing struggle against ward committees, which are seen as the vanguard of representative democracy. In the many areas of Rustenburg, where the Bafokeng monarchy holds sway, hardly anyone bothers to deal with councillors - directly or otherwise - who are not within or proximate to the traditionalist network. In Sedibeng and Emalahleni, the large scale industrial and mining interests set the tone for the wider community to circumvent ward councillors and work directly with powerful PR councillors who head the portfolio committees and have the ear of senior officials and/or the mayoral/executive committees. The best councillors nation-wide are those, it seems, who can personally tap into effective delivery programmes which can then be turned to purposes of personal legitimacy. In these circumstances, which are often the exception rather than the rule, the ability of councillors to represent the various grassroots interests is substantially enhanced.

The more serious training programmes can, to an extent, compensate for some of the 'natural' disabilities of a great number of councillors. Ilembe, for example, has run a dense variety of workshops and training sessions for its councillors who are, at this point, a fairly adequate and representative group of persons. Training however seemingly cannot produce an authentic and independent-minded councillor in some cases where personal deficiencies are profound or, in Natal for example, where rural communities defy the local chiefs at their peril.

As we have suggested, the ward committee situation ranges from cases where the new institutions have not even been established to a minority of cases where ward committees have been emplaced as relatively sustainable structures for popular governance. Overall, the

situation is relatively dismal and not especially encouraging so far down the line from the emergence of enabling legislation.

Ward committees, per se, do not exist in eThekweni because of legal inconsistencies in this legislation that remain to be ironed out. In other parts of Natal - in Ugu, Umzinyathi and Zululand - ward committees either do not exist at all outside of an urban 'core' or they subsist on a fragile basis. In places, such as Msunduzi, ward committees are constantly challenged by older ward development committees, which stand outside the current legislation but have managed to capture the attention, energies and expertise of various key individuals. None of these have much incentive to transfer their resources and skills to the new structures. In other parts of Natal, the older ward development committees are mere sycophant institutions representing tribal power. In these places, the amakhosi have no incentive to see ward committees succeed precisely because they are mechanisms for representative government.

Outside Natal, there are a number of patterns. Mangaung is probably the prototype of people-centred community-based development in the country today and this is translated into ward committees that are not only relatively well-constituted but also play a key role in the development planning process. Ekurhuleni follows with well-organised and supported committees, which can co-operate with the institutional counterpart. Some municipalities display a fragile ward system but with some potential for further development. Finally, areas such as Emalahleni or West Rand, by way of contrast, are a relative disaster; ward committee members are seldom leaders of key interest groups in the community, there are constant conflicts within committees over procedure and access to resources and, in the end, popular support for the new institutions is on the wane. Much the same applies in Sedibeng where, despite training programmes initiated by the council, ward committees remain sites of vicious political struggles.

Nation-wide, ward committees have had to wrestle with the slow pace of delivery at a time of escalating public expectations. All local authorities have had to act to 'cap' popular perceptions of the developmental role of the new structures, but 'responsible' ward committees are the exception rather than the norm. As places such as Xhariep and Bophirima indicate, the more backward an area, the more is expected from its ward committees.

Many ward committees only continue to function in the historically disadvantaged areas because of vague public hopes that they can miraculously deliver, particularly on job opportunities. In many places, even in large metropolises like Durban, representatives on the 'ward committees' only remain in anticipation of future paid employment. In Xhariep most ward committee members attend through sheer boredom in an area where there are few other recreational outlets.

Msunduzi indicates that the success of a ward committee is dependent on the input of the councillor. West Rand also indicates that community commitment and resources are important. Where councillors are committed to principles of participatory democracy and are prepared to cultivate their committees, the new structures succeed if the community is active and some resources are allocated to the new structure. In other cases - some committees in Rustenburg are a case in point - ward structures are actually sabotaged by their councillors who are averse to being monitored and being held accountable to the community.

Service Delivery

INDICATORS Services	satisfaction							
	good	average	bad	non-existent		worse	the same	better
1. Electricity	70.6%	14.3%	9.2%	5.9%	12. Assessment of life in the area in the last 5 years			
2. Water	73.0%	12.6%	11.5%	2.9%				
3. Sanitation	52.6%	17.2%	26.3%	3.8%				
4. Housing	51.6%	23.1%	21.9%	3.4%				
5. Refuse	32.7%	13.7%	31.4%	22.1%				
6. Health	37.9%	27.5%	29.6%	5.0%		30.4%	36.6%	31.2%
7. School	59.0%	23.3%	12.1%	5.7%				
8. Policing	31.3%	26.6%	39.0%	3.1%				
9. Public Transport	52.5%	20.3%	23.0%	4.2%				
10. Sport facilities	23.8%	15.9%	25.6%	34.7%				
11. Cemeteries	26.0%	19.9%	51.1%	3.1%				

Table 2a Service Indicators for the 28 Municipalities Included Controls

The suite of service subjected to public assessment in the mass sample survey reveals two major deficiencies i.e. in the area of refuse collection and sports facilities (to which 22.1% and 34.7% of the sample reported no access respectively.) These are important problems in all target areas given the relationship between environmental degradation, public health, sport, recreation, and the pressures of unemployment that drive people to various forms of criminality. Most highly-populated “township” areas (especially informal settlements) are visibly filthy - partially because of the lack of environmental education but also because the local authorities often lack the expensive physical equipment to operate systematic and sustainable waste management systems. The issue is especially problematic in riverine areas such as those in most areas of Kwa-Zulu Natal.

Bulk service delivery of electricity and water represents one of the key achievements of the post-apartheid government. Only small proportions of the overall sample lack access to water (which may or may not be potable) or to electricity (which may or may not be safe, legal and relatively regular). Either way, the great majority who have access to these key services tend to rate them relatively highly (approximately 70 %). Reasonably average ratings are also accorded to schooling (59% of respondents), sanitation (52.6 %) and housing (51.6 %). This reflects the extension of primary education to embrace an unprecedented number of young learners, the spread of water-borne sewerage, and the combined impact of housing projects, initially under the RDP and now under the auspices of a number of private/public sector partnerships in various municipalities. Low returns on policing and public health services are a considerable source of concern given the high rate of violent crime and the prevalence of HIV/Aids, tuberculosis and other notifiable diseases in the registers of most local authorities. Insecurity and anxiety arising from these sources no doubt feeds the two-thirds of the sample (67.8%) who have not witnessed a marked increase in the quality of their existence over the last five years.

It is virtually impossible to generalise on service delivery across a multitude of local authorities. Here again, there are vast deviations, from municipalities who have moved beyond provision of the basic suite of bulk services (electricity, water and sanitation) to other local authorities who are still seeking to deliver potable water.

Service delivery problems are nevertheless, universal. The big metros, such as Johannesburg, Tshwane, Ekurhuleni, and eThekweni/Durban, for example, have a massively expanding population which strains the entire urban service grid despite major moves forward in recent

years to deliver basic and more advanced services. Mass housing, for example, remains problematic, as do many key public health programmes, particularly in combating Aids and other notifiable diseases. The same applies to Buffalo City, which is also experiencing massive immigration, an Aids pandemic, extensive poverty and massive unemployment.

Service delivery in most municipalities is severely fractured along developmental lines inherited from the old apartheid order. Be it Mangaung, Johannesburg, Sedibeng, or Rustenburg, the historically advantaged areas are relatively well-serviced and quite distinct from the less-privileged sectors which remain mired with poor infrastructure, erratic services and archaic facilities. Some communities - such as Ugu or Ilembe - represent two worlds of development with a relatively well serviced but narrow coastal margin representing the minority of the local population and a vast rural hinterland where shortfalls in electricity and water delivery are endemic.

Service delivery is often a site of political and policy struggles, particularly in the Natal municipalities where the division of roles and responsibilities between district and local municipalities still remains surrounded with confusion. Many services are simply not rendered because local authorities continue to work on a 'status quo' basis until such a time as the administrative ambiguities are clarified. In virtually all municipalities, service delivery has also been adversely affected by administrative discontinuities and intra-institutional conflicts arising from the process of municipal transformation. In some cases - Emalaheni - this has resulted in virtual paralysis in some sectors.

Cost recovery on services also remains very problematic in many areas, even in the more advanced metros. Currently, local government owes approximately R50b. Places such as Sedibeng are ravaged by a municipal debt of almost R1b most (but not all) of which arises from defaults and the 'culture of non-payment'. In many seriously under-developed municipalities such as Xhariep, indigency is so extensive that the local authorities are either having to provide water and electricity free or to surrender the entire delivery function to provincial and national authorities. In Msunduzi, on the other hand, municipal revenue is seriously threatened by the possibility of many bulk services being transferred from the municipality to province or other regional institutions. In the big centres, such as Ekurhuleni and Tshwane, cost recovery is necessary to match the service needs of a constantly increasing population.

Municipal bureaucracy has recently come through a nation-wide process aimed at transforming local government into efficient, representative and popularly legitimate organisations in the vanguard of the delivery process. Most municipalities have not come through this experience unscarred and, in some cases, remain to address problems associated with inexperienced staff, financial mala-administration and organisational demoralisation which undercut overall municipal performance across the range of social services.

Our research suggests a relative active level of citizen demand-making with which local government must deal on a daily basis. Yet, feedback from councillors and direct dealings with officials on service issues appear to be inversely proportional in many cases. An immeasurable proportion of the 41.5% of respondents who claim to have had official contacts of some sort are persons who have not received satisfaction from councillors who have lacked the power or interest to address the problems of their individual or collective constituents. By the same token, a portion of the 45.1% of the respondents who report positive feedback from councillors on service and other issues are people who have been discouraged by unhelpful and unapproachable officials (black or white), by inexperienced appointees who have ridden to office on the back of affirmative organisational transformation, or municipal bureaucrats who steer clear of public contacts because of their patent inability to do their job. A third

category of respondents are the numerous members of the electorate who approach nobody with their problems because they have long since despaired of any assistance in alleviating the ravages of joblessness, disease and endemic poverty.

Development

INDICATORS	Low	Middle	High		
	<R72,000	R72,001-132,000	>R132,000	None	Primary
1 Household Income	86.6%	9.0%	4.3%	Secondary	Matric
2. Education	8.4%	12.6%	22.3%	32.0%	24.5%
	Not enough	Enough	Don't know		
3 Job creation efforts from the council	90.0%	4.4%	5.6%		
	Down	The same	Up		
4. Income change in the last 2 years	24.3%	45.2%	24.3%		
5. Standard of living change in the last 3 years	32.7%	36.9%	30.4%		
6. Future Income change	21.7%	37.3%	41.0%		

Table 3a Development Indicators for the 28 Municipalities Included Controls

As is the case with participation and service delivery, developmental experiences across our spectrum of target municipalities varies quite substantially. All local authorities are obliged to take the lead in promoting local economic development, but not all do so with the same energy, similar resources or, in the last analysis, equal levels of success. Many municipalities have little independent capacity to assist their constituents in the short-term. In others - most notably Mangaung, Msunduzi, and eThekweni - very serious efforts have been made to promote people-centred development. Both Mangaung and eThekweni in fact deserve special mention for encouraging community or area-based organisations to become key stakeholders in their local development planning processes.

The articulation of development plans has also generated a diversity of experiences. Buffalo City is an example of a municipal area, which has made a genuine effort to generate an in-house IDP using the combined resources of the community and local administration, but other municipalities have lacked the capacity, organisation or conviction to depart from the practice of using external services and consultants. In most local municipalities, the IDP has been anything from a mild to unmitigated disaster and there are numerous instances - in the rural areas of Natal - where the IDP would not have emerged without considerable external assistance. This has involved either help from district or national agencies or, in some cases, the use, once again, of consultants. In the more economically advanced metros, mainly concentrated in Gauteng, the struggle has been to insure that all the main interests are harmoniously integrated in the city future plans so ensuring a balanced development. All in all, the ideal of generating internal capability for development planning at all levels of local governance still remains an illusive ideal.

Ultimately, the IDPs require implementation in such a way as to deal with the relatively common problems of joblessness; Aids and poverty which confront - to differing degrees - all municipalities; and equity. There are grounds for optimism in the case of such large metropolitans as Durban where the area-based system of developmental governance offers a potentially creative solution to at least some of the key issues of socio-economic development. Otherwise, it is difficult to envision effective implementation of the mass of projects and programmes generated in the combined IDPs of many municipalities without considerable external assistance.

In Emalahleni and Sedibeng, for example, the IDP was somewhat less than an inclusive exercise and this failure to secure community ownership is likely to spawn a variety of ongoing conflicts at the level of implementation. In most municipalities there is also a crisis of the essential political will required to take developmental initiatives to their logical conclusions. Ultimately, sustainable development for most municipalities depends on more money, more technical support, enhanced human capacity and, by no means least, higher levels of official civic commitment.

Nepotism is also rife in various Natal municipalities such as Umzinyathi and Zululand where it is difficult for most municipal bureaucrats to secure a position without local IFP backing. Corruption and other forms of undesirable activity are encouraged in these conditions to the detriment of both consumers of municipal services and those who anticipate future LED more generally.

Some of the small and isolated municipalities have, ironically, manifestly the best municipal performance on development issues because of the low base-line from which they have built up administrative capacity. Xhariep, for example, has been largely depleted of personnel until very recently: most of its posts are now filled and operational in the developmental arena, although the quality of official attracted to service in the deeper rural areas of most of the country remains a debatable issue. Indeed, in municipalities such as Ilembe and Bophirima there is a widespread concern about the ability of the more isolated municipalities to compete with the districts or the metropolitans in the market place of effective personnel to implement development policies.

Finally in the more developed metros in Gauteng, such as Johannesburg and Tshwane, the municipality is losing its battle on equity, while external market forces are leading the way with dangerous consequences for social stability.

Municipal performance is also linked to differing levels of institutional development. Inconsistencies and mistakes in public policy are generally less dangerous in the larger and more complex municipalities because there is a relatively wide margin for error. In the less institutionalised (and generally smaller local authorities) where a key line function is often dependent on a single person, errors or oversights can have major implications for policy outputs. This is also consequential for the performance of district and local municipalities. Most of the former are generally better resourced than their local components. In West Rand, Ugu, Zululand and Ilembe, for example, some local municipalities are almost devoid of any skills whatsoever. This means that they are essentially non-functional in carrying out their mandate to either govern or develop the territory within their jurisdiction.

The relationship between district and local municipalities is a source of tension in most places nation-wide - and this is consequential for the development process. Buffalo City is a notable exception in that the local district council has almost no powers - and hence there is no conflict. Otherwise, the division of roles and responsibilities between district and local authorities is an ongoing source of tension, competition and confusion in the policy process.

In Ugu, for example, the District Council and the Hibiscus Coast local municipality have little to no positive policy dialogue despite being literally situated within yards of each other. This is partially because of political differences and partially because of competition over funding from provincial sources. Much the same applies in West Rand, Umzinyathi and Zululand where the local municipalities resent the 'imperialism' of the district, its tendency to dictate and to impose development plans and priorities. The district authorities in both Xhariep and Bophirima complain of the difficulty of disseminating capacity-building initiatives because of stonewalling from local councils. Xhariep also complains of the tendency of province to

manipulate governance in its sphere or authority because of its control of the funding stream for development projects. Similar complaints over provincial hegemony are echoed in most other settings. In some cases, district councils simply circumvent the province and appeal directly to the line departments at national level for technical assistance and subsidies.

The triad of district-local-provincial relations is especially acute in some cases where one authority is in a position to exercise predominant power. Emalahleni tends to defy province because of its political base in the core of the Highveld mining economy. Sedibeng, in turn, is virtually incapable of controlling the Emfuleni local council because of the latter's centrality to the entire Vaal economy. Much the same applies in Rustenburg, which is able to be cavalier in its treatment of the North-West region as a result of its location at the heart of the international platinum mining industry. Similarly, Johannesburg or Durban can afford to take both provincial and national authority with the proverbial 'pinch of salt' because of the magnitude of its own internal resources.

Attitudes towards national authority tend to reflect the extent to which national line departments have (or have not) assisted local authorities with their key developmental problems. The three aspirant metropolitans - Mangaung, Buffalo City and Msunduzi - share the common complaint that they are treated as metropolitans in the apportionment of developmental responsibilities, but as mere large towns in the apportionment of finances. Tendency in the big metros is to see the province as a superfluous layer of local government. Development planners in locations like Ugu, Umzinyathi and Zululand frequently complain of the tendency of both provincial and national authorities to arbitrarily impose their own agendas and systems for monitoring development performance, but also express satisfaction at the work done by national agencies in the provision of bulk services. The very small local authorities - Xhariep, Bophirima etc - also tend to favour services for councillors and ward committee members.

Metropolitanism and development are not necessarily congruent nor proportionate. Durban/EThekweni has still to effectively deal with massive problems of poverty, unemployment, Aids and housing - despite the aura of affluence in the local economy. The same can be said of Johannesburg, Ekurhuleni and Tshwane. Both Msunduzi and Buffalo City - despite their existence on the verge of metropolitan status - have still to resolve similar problems, but with far less capacity than the powerhouse that is Durban. Mangaung, abutting a vast labour dormitory that has survived apartheid, has also to deal with a degenerated CBD and a massive excess of corporate business that seriously threatens the financial foundations of the city. By the same token, Ilembe, north of Durban, represents a singular example of what a progressive municipality can do with limited resources in order to generate sustainable development.

The outstanding problems of development are, at least in part, a reflection of the limited financial base from which local authorities must plan their interventions. Here, once again the situation is highly variable - ranging from Durban and Johannesburg whose municipal coffers are relatively affluent to Sedibeng or West Rand, which totters in a state of almost continual structural bankruptcy. In between, lie a number of cases - Mangaung, Ekurhuleni, Buffalo City, Ugu, etc. - where financial capacity is relatively stable but likely to sink into crisis in the face of developmental demands articulated at grassroots in the immediate future. In all of these instances cost recovery on services is one of the keys to generating a more long-term and sustainable position.

Development in all cases also requires institutional development and the improvement of internal administrative systems. In places such as Sedibeng or Emalahleni, ward committees require greater policy investment if they are to become conduits for popular participation;

and, in most municipalities far more remains to be done to ensure seamless and developmental governance by skilled and motivated personnel. Councils, in general, differ to the extent that they have weathered the transformation crisis and this is of great consequence for the development process in the immediate future. Various local authorities such as Johannesburg or Msunduzi have completed transformation in one form or another and now have relatively effective management teams in place to take forward development. Nonetheless, there are still internal conflicts over the extent to which transformation has been completed e.g. Mangaung and Buffalo City where a large proportion of senior officials and middle management still represent male, white and supposedly 'old guard' interests. eThekweni has followed a peculiar path where institutional reconfiguration was, until recently, largely completed; the death of its municipal manager has once more reignited bureaucratic struggles and Durban is now once more in the process of making changes in its organisational organogram.

In many local authorities there is still an objective imbalance on a gender and/or racial basis. Most senior management positions in district authorities tend to be appropriated by males and this is also true of major metropolitans like Durban. In virtually every municipality there are still difficult trade-offs between political orientation and accumulated experience. This is especially true of the middle to larger municipal organisations like Ekurhuleni, Rustenburg or Ugu where there are serious personnel gaps in key administrative positions because of the exodus of older, white personnel. By the same token, many senior new appointments are young black South Africans who have dedication and the appropriate political connections, but who lack a background or track record in local administration.

Conclusion

The overall assessment of municipalities, councillors and officials represents a mixed to negative bag of results with respondents divided almost equally between the "good", the "bad" and the "average". Public opinion on municipal performance conforms to this triad with only a third of the sample (31%) rating the local authorities positively. Councillors (62.6 % negatively assessed) tend to come out worse than officials (only 39.7%) - but behind all of this is considerable variation on both an inter- and intra-municipal basis.

Some targets, such as eThekweni, Johannesburg, Mangaung or Rustenburg are reasonable, if not unproblematic, examples of overall good governance with relative consensus between elites and mass publics that largely (if not entirely) transcend internal, class and cultural differences. Officials and councillors enjoy a relatively good relationship and some of these positive features spill over into the ward committee system. Others, Sedibeng, West Rand and Emalahleni, display considerably less of these features.

Still a third category precludes municipal-wide generalisation at all. Ugu, for example, has a centre of relative good governance in its Hibiscus Coast local municipality, which rapidly declines in quality as one moves towards the peripheral rural edges of the municipal system. Party political tensions are reinforced by an "old guard" municipal bureaucracy in Hibiscus Coast, and a "new guard" administration, which has built up considerable public management capacity at district level. In Zululand, governance and supportive human resources in Vryheid is an entirely different universe from local municipal administration in such local backwaters as Nongoma or Phongola.

Unemployment has increased since 1994 and it is inevitable that people will blame this on the least distant of state institutions i.e. local authorities. To most of the jobless "development" is synonymous with job-creation and it is therefore unsurprising that almost ninety percent of

the overall sample blame the municipalities for lack of economic opportunity. This, despite the fact that few respondents have any realistic, meaningful or informed opinions about how the municipalities can address these structural problems in concrete terms. A massive 86.6% of respondents are also made up of people living in low-income households where poverty is, in many cases, endemic. This is partially because in over two-thirds of cases (69.5%) income has remained static or has decreased in a two-year period characterised by substantial inflation.

There are, nonetheless, grounds for optimism and hope that South Africa's "miracle" has at least partially succeeded. Income, like job-creation, is commensurate in the public mind with "development" and, in this case two-fifths of the sample (41 %) anticipate improvement in the foreseeable future. Whether these anticipations will be realised depends to some extent on enhanced municipal performance, particularly in the area of developmental governance. It is upon this by no means "given" that the further consolidation of South Africa's still-tentative democracy depends.

Section II

Cluster 1

The following sections detail the key findings for the targets and the control group in cluster 1.

Alfred Nzo

The Alfred Nzo District Municipality is a small, very weak, and poorly capacitated Eastern Cape Council based on Mount Ayliff. It has extremely limited resources, both financially and in terms of fixed and human social capital, and must be considered a *crisis council*, in the sense that it is unable to meet any of its core governance or development responsibilities.

The district municipality consists of two local municipalities, Umzimkhulu and Umzimvubu, neither of which is able properly to function as independent organs of the local state. Very few households earn more than R18,000 a year, which points to an extremely limited revenue base for local government. There is little to suggest that either the District or Local Municipalities are able to facilitate development. Levels of public dissatisfaction reflect an administration in complete disarray, enormous political (and personal) tensions, and a provincial environment that is not conducive to good governance.

Participation

INDICATORS	public participation		Satisfaction		
	yes	no	bad	average	good
1. Participation in community organisations	87.5%	12.5%			
2. Knowledge of local government issues	62.4%	37.7%	2.1 Assessment of the Municipality	23.7%	21.7% 54.7%
3. Knowledge of Ward Committees	77.3%	22.7%	3.2 Assessment of Ward Committees	43.6%	7.2% 47.2%
3.1 Participation into Ward Committee meetings	64.8%	35.2%			
4. Direct Dealing with Councillors	26.3%	73.7%	4.2 Assessment of Councillors	65.1%	9.1% 25.8%
4.1 Feedback from Councillors	28.0%	72.0%			
5. Direct Dealing with Officials	34.5%	65.5%	5.1 Assessment of Officials	37.8%	9.9% 52.2%

Table 1b Participation Indicators for Alfred Nzo

The participation indicators underline the fact that public participation is high and mainly organized through informal channels. 87.5% of respondents participate actively in some type of civil society organizations. However, this civil society activity does not appear to engage constructively with local government institutions. With the exception of ward committees (77.3% of respondents have heard of the work committees, of which only 64.8% have attended ward committee meetings), the interaction between citizens and local government is low. Only 26.3% of respondents have approached their councillors with problems, while only 35.5% have dealt with officials. Furthermore, a high level of citizen dissatisfaction with

councillors characterizes Alfred Nzo. Indeed 65.1% of respondents believe that councillors are not doing a good job in representing their community.

Such high levels of participation are, in all likelihood, a residue of the highly politicised past and present environment of the Eastern Cape. It is therefore disappointing to find that this has not facilitated a constructive and mutually supportive relationship between councillors and the community. Interviews suggest that ward committee meetings, whilst well attended initially, were seen by residents as a vehicle to voice their opposition to council attempts to enforce cost recovery for services. Where development inputs were made, these took the form of unrealistic calls for higher levels of subsidy and an end to service charges, as opposed to constructive input into the IDP planning process.

This impression of an instrumental approach to ward committee meetings – i.e. where attendance is motivated purely by the hope of immediate reward, as opposed to a sense of civic commitment – is supported by the results of the survey, which point to very high levels of dissatisfaction with the political process in Alfred Nzo. Indeed, the fact that 65.1% of respondents believe that councillors are not doing a good job in representing their community, coupled to the fact that barely a quarter have ever approached their councillors directly with problems, suggests that ward committees are seen as alternative ways to capture or at least influence state power, as opposed to a supportive vehicle through which council-community participation can be channeled. This is a major problem that the District and two Local Municipalities will have to face.

Service Delivery

INDICATORS Services	satisfaction							
	good	average	bad	non-existent		worse	the same	better
1. Electricity	84.2%	13.1%	2.7%	0.0%				
2. Water	93.7%	4.2%	2.1%	0.0%				
3. Sanitation	68.1%	8.4%	23.3%	0.3%				
5. Housing	63.9%	19.1%	16.1%	0.9%				
4. Refuse	53.1%	1.5%	23.0%	22.4%	12. Assessment of life in the			
6. Health	30.7%	34.9%	34.3%	0.0%	area in the last 5 years	32.5%	31.4%	36.10%
7. School	45.1%	39.7%	11.0%	4.2%				
8. Policing	16.1%	41.8%	41.8%	0.3%				
9. Public Transport	43.3%	27.8%	29.0%	0.0%				
10. Sport facilities	3.9%	28.4%	32.0%	35.6%				
11. Cemeteries	1.2%	11.0%	87.5%	0.3%				

Table 2b Service Indicators for Alfred Nzo

The survey of community opinion suggests that Alfred Nzo is meeting its target for some basic services, since a high number of respondents are satisfied with the provision of electricity (84.2%), and water (93.7%). However, as noted elsewhere, these are largely services provided with extensive support from Provincial or National government, not on the basis of local government's own administrative capacity. In the case of water, Alfred Nzo receives considerable support from the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry, as well as the Mvula Trust.

Serious problems exist in relation to other key services such as sanitation, housing, refuse collection, and health service. Consumer dissatisfaction with this is underscored by the fact that only 36.10% of respondents believe that their life in the region has improved, while the majority think that either their life has not changed (31.4%), or that it has actually got worse (32.5%).

With the creation of the District Municipality, it was hoped that economies of scale might be pursued, and that more effective management systems might be introduced. As yet, this has yet to bear fruit.

Responsibility for service delivery remains a matter of concern, and is hampered by a lack of clear service agreements between the District and Local Municipalities. Policies such as “free basic water” are being implemented slowly, with extensive support from the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry, and funded by equitable share transfers from the national treasury.

Development

INDICATORS	<i>Low</i>	<i>Middle</i>	<i>High</i>		
	<i><R72,000</i>	<i>R72,001-132,000</i>	<i>>R132,000</i>		
1 Household Income	97.9%	1.5%	0.6%		
	<i>None</i>	<i>Primary</i>	<i>Secondary</i>	<i>Matric</i>	<i>Tertiary</i>
2. Education	13.8%	11.4%	22.2%	37.2%	15.3%
	<i>Not enough</i>	<i>Enough</i>	<i>Don't know</i>		
3 Job creation efforts from the council	91.9%	1.8%	6.3%		
	<i>Down</i>	<i>The same</i>	<i>Up</i>		
4. Income change in the last 2 years	34.2%	39.0%	26.7%		
5. Standard of living change in the last 3 years	32.9%	26.0%	41.0%		
6. Future Income change	27.8%	29.6%	42.7%		

Table 3b Development Indicators for Alfred Nzo

The high level of poverty in Alfred Nzo is a major barrier to development. The Local Municipalities are not able to collect money for services rendered, and therefore lack the resources to extend or improve these resources. Improved communication between council and community is unlikely to reverse the legacy of consumer payment boycotts, as most residents simply lack the resources to make meaningful payments to council.

Development efforts appear to move slowly in Alfred Nzo. A startling majority of respondents belong to the low-income group (97.9%). Furthermore, a significant percent of respondents have experienced a decline in their socio-economic status (34.2% of respondents in relation to income and 32.9% in relation to standard of living). It is therefore not surprising to learn that only 1.8% of respondents expressed their approval with council job creation efforts.

In addition to the extreme poverty, which restricts the development potential of Alfred Nzo, it is necessary to highlight the shortcomings in administrative and political capacity. On the whole, there is very little to suggest that the District Municipality is capable of fulfilling its developmental responsibilities. The council is itself highly politicised, and divided along ostensibly personal and racial lines. These divisions, not simply between politicians and officials, but between senior officials themselves, undermine seriously the capacity of the council.

Alfred Nzo has an ambiguous relationship to the Eastern Cape, which is coloured by the highly personal and continually shifting nature of political allegiances in the Province. The anticipated changes in the leadership of the Eastern Cape are likely to have a negative impact on Alfred Nzo’s ability to leverage support from province, and to result in greater pressures being applied on the council to enforce cost recovery and to limit social expenditure. This, whilst economically rational, is likely to heighten already tense political relations within the municipality.

Bomphirima

Bomphirima is a vast district council in the relatively arid region around Kimberley. It is overwhelmingly agricultural with the consequence that agricultural interests are the most important of elites alongside those working in the local government itself. In addition, COSATU is active, if weakly organised, in the protection of agricultural workers. There is a small business presence, mainly concerned with agri-business as well as a number of NGO's involved in capacitating and training.

Participation

INDICATORS	public participation		Satisfaction		
	yes	no	bad	average	good
1. Participation in community organisations	39.3%	60.7%			
2. Knowledge of local government issues	52.6%	47.5%	2.1	Assessment of the Municipality	62.2% 32.1% 5.7%
3. Knowledge of Ward Committees	39.3%	60.7%	3.2	Assessment of Ward Committees	80.4% 13.5% 6.0%
3.1 Participation into Ward Committee meetings	94.8%	5.3%			
4. Direct Dealing with Councillors	76.9%	23.1%	4.2	Assessment of Councillors	62.6% 20.9% 16.6%
4.1 Feedback from Councillors	52.8%	47.2%			
5. Direct Dealing with Officials	42.4%	57.6%	5.1	Assessment of Officials	67.8% 4.2% 28.0%

Table 4b Participation Indicators for Bomphirima

Civil society is relatively undifferentiated because of the essentially rural nature of the district. There are nonetheless, relatively intense political cleavages between the dominant ANC and the predominantly white (and mainly right-wing) agricultural interests. The agricultural lobby - as farmers readily admit - does not identify very strongly with the channels for official participation generated by local government - basically because many of its members are openly hostile to the entire new democratic order. As NGOs working the farms point out, this seriously limits participation of agricultural labour at community level. Some people drawn from the 53.7 percent of the population who have benefited from secondary or tertiary education are fairly well mobilised around issues of development and social change, especially in the few substantial towns of the municipal area. However, the greater majority of under-educated people (including 19.3 percent who have received a very rudimentary education) live outside these areas. Here, knowledge of local government is limited to 52.6 percent of the population and participation in community organisations of any type is (at 39.3 percent) extremely low.

Because of the barriers to participation raised by conservative farmers over the years, the ward committees have been widely welcomed by substantial segments of the rural community. Nonetheless, initial enthusiasm in many communities has fallen off because of the widespread (and mistaken) conception among many people that the new structures would quickly generate paid employment opportunities. Community involvement, as local officials point out, is also seriously limited by the lack of capacity and understanding of administrative and policy issues among the greater majority of ward committee members.

The district and local municipalities are committed to higher levels of public engagement. Councillors have been directed to establish maximum contact with their constituents and many have succeeded in doing so - through public meetings and road-shows in most parts of the district. A significant proportion of people (76.9 percent) appear to have had direct dealings with councillors and at least half (52.8 percent) have had some positive feedback about their concerns despite widespread problems of physical communication. On the other

hand, direct dealings with officials are far more limited (42.4 percent), partially because of the widespread perception of officialdom as uncaring and imperious. Positive communications between the local government and the governed remain impeded overall by the inability of the municipalities at all levels to make good on their promises of delivery and development. Hence the high level of generalised dissatisfaction with municipal authorities, councillors and officials. (See Table above).

Councillors are limited in their representative function by their own inexperience, lack of education and weaknesses in the field of mass communication. Many confuse representation with personal or party support-building. One inevitable consequence is that councillors tend to become mouthpieces for political interests rather than channels for facilitating community input into local policy processes.

Municipal-community interaction at all level is quite seriously impeded by demand-making on the part of the rural poor, which vastly supersedes the actual delivery capability of both the local councils and the district authority. It is for this reason that local government officials emphasise the importance of educating communities to exercise patience during the process of IDP implementation.

Ward committees call forth high levels of participation (94.8 percent) among those who know about the new system of participatory democracy. The great majority of farmers have, however, until recently, boycotted the ward structures in terms of an implicit policy of avoiding contact with government-initiated organisations. This has seriously undermined the representative character of ward committees and limited dissemination about the new structures amongst the large population of agricultural labour. At this juncture 60.7 percent of the overall municipal population appear to know little about the new structures. Since popular experience of government is historically negative on the part of disadvantaged groups, most tend to presume that all governmental institutions are malicious or badly intentioned. This is reflected in the fact that 80.4% of the sample define ward committees as “bad” despite widespread political illiteracy on issues of governance. Negotiations are now subsequently in place to make farmers more outward-looking, to provide assurances that local government is not the vanguard of a local Zimbabwe and, in general, to recruit the white agricultural sectors and their labour into the committee system. It is anticipated that at least some of the farmers will revisit their position of non-participation in the near future.

Councillors performance at district level is substantially better than at local level where personnel - both officials and councillors - are generally under-capacitated. This tends to create political space for the generally more conservative white councillors, many of whom have a fairly sustained experience of local government in places like Vryburg. Officials repeatedly emphasise the necessity for capacitation programmes to empower new councillors to more effectively understand the mechanics of local governance and better perform their designated functions.

Service Delivery

INDICATORS Services	satisfaction								
	good	average	bad	non-existent	worse	the same	better		
1. Electricity	79.6%	4.1%	2.4%	13.9%					
2. Water	51.0%	15.1%	31.2%	2.7%					
3. Sanitation	30.8%	17.8%	47.6%	3.8%					
4. Housing	47.6%	14.2%	32.0%	6.2%					
5. Refuse	3.6%	4.7%	34.3%	57.4%					
6. Health	57.1%	23.7%	10.1%	9.2%	55.6%	25.7%	18.6%		
7. School	51.3%	30.9%	16.0%	1.8%					
8. Policing	46.7%	12.4%	34.0%	6.8%					
9. Public Transport	51.5%	10.1%	37.3%	1.2%					
10. Sport facilities	7.1%	24.9%	31.1%	37.0%					
11. Cemeteries	44.0%	16.7%	39.0%	0.3%					

Table 5b Service Indicators for Bomphirima

Given the history of poor service provision for many years, the local authorities have moved assertively forward. Even their more hostile critics in local municipalities like Vryburg are obliged to admit that the rendering of bulk services like electricity and water has improved. Electricity provision, in particular, is highly rated with 79.6 percent of the sample expressing high levels of satisfaction with the service. Local government is now committed to the extension of these basic services to every house in the community but recognises that there are numerous other imperatives - such as the improvement of very poor roads and the development of community/multi-purpose halls where ward committees meetings and other public gatherings can take place. Improvement of sanitation services is clearly a priority (see Table above), while much more remains to be done to enhance sport and recreation facilities in an area where the masses of unemployed have little constructive to do on a daily basis.

While the quality of most councillors remains poor, that of officials involved in service delivery has substantially improved in the last two years. In Vryburg, for example, province has specifically deployed the better of its bureaucrats because of the national (and negative) image of the area. Internal communications within the local authority have been enhanced by the provision of better information technology, but this is less true in the other local municipalities, most of which display a combination of poorly trained officials, archaic IT and limited motivation. All of this is very problematic for reasonably efficient service delivery. In the circumstances, community leaders often bypass the local municipalities in their demand-making and tend to gravitate towards the district authorities.

Development

INDICATORS	Low <R72,000	Middle R72,001- 132,000	High >R132,000		
	1. Household Income	94.7%	3.8%	1.2%	
2. Education	None	Primary	Secondary	Matric	Tertiary
	3.6%	15.7%	26.9%	40.2%	13.5%
3. Job creation efforts from the council	Not enough	Enough	Don't know		
	94.1%	5.9%	0.0%		
4. Income change in the last 2 years	Down	The same	Up		
	23.6%	50.7%	25.7%		
5. Standard of living change in the last 3 years	39.8%	37.7%	22.6%		
6. Future Income change	39.4%	33.4%	27.2%		

Table 6b Development Indicators for Bomphirima

Most observers concur that relations between local municipalities and the district are relatively problem-free apart from infrequent tussles over the division of responsibilities and access to provincial funding. Relations between the district and province are considerably poorer, partially because of the power of the province to control the funding stream into the district in accord with its own agendas. Officials also complain of the “style” of provincial government: this refers to its heavy-handedness and its sometimes dismissive attitude on issues of development planning and project implementation. Relations with national authority e.g. the DPLG are good because of the ability of the latter to steer some smallish developmental grants into the area.

Opinion is roughly divided over whether life is improving in Bophirima. The great majority of people in the area (94.7 percent) fall into the low income category and most (94.1 percent) believe that the Council could do more to promote job-creation. While approximately three-quarters of the sample see their income has having remained the same or improved in the last two years, 39.8 percent of the sample detect a downward trend in their standard of living of detect current income restriction in the near future. Overall, few respondents in the sample (18.6 percent) see any significant improvement in their living conditions over the last five years and this needs to be addressed as a matter of urgency.

There is general consensus that more energy needs to be invested in agricultural diversification and the promotion of light-industry down-streamed from the agricultural sector in the process of generating employment. Given the political economy of the area this is widely seen to be the only short-term solution to generating jobs for a district where there is still widespread poverty and unemployment. Development, everyone concurs, is profoundly under-funded relative to the geographic size of the area and its general state of socio-economic backwardness.

The small elite is widely divided over development priorities and how to allocate public funding to various services and sectors. There is also evidence of some deep divisions of opinion over delivery mechanisms e.g. the role of community-based organisations and the non-governmental sector. At district level there is clear concern about the limited participation of local authorities in development projects, particularly the handful that have potential for job-creation. The review process of the recent IDP is specifically directed to raise the investment of grassroots energy.

Perceptions of municipal performance on development issues are fairly positive, but incline to the negative among members of the white farming community who remain to be convinced that the “new” local authorities have the capability to govern. Officials themselves are fairly self-congratulatory about what has been achieved by the municipal authorities in such key areas as bulk services, but recognise that considerably more remains to be done - both in the area of policy implementation and the building a greater cohesion between the different cultural groups in the district.

Bohlabela

The Bohlabela District Municipality is composed primarily of former “homeland” townships and administrative centres in Lebowa and Gazankhulu, and traverses the boundaries of Mpumalanga and Limpopo Provinces. Not surprisingly, the creation of the Bohlabela District Municipality has created tremendous administrative and institutional problems, problems that the largely inexperienced officials and councillors are battling to come to terms with.

There are two Local Municipalities in Bohlabela: Bushbuckridge and Maruleng. Under the new (post 2000) demarcation, the number of councillors has more than doubled, from 30 to 68, which means that the vast majority of current councillors have no previous experience in local government. This adds to the capacity problems in Bohlabela, and helps explain the council’s identification of councillor training as an immediate priority. Whilst necessary, this means that considerable resources are diverted from service delivery to *basic* human resource development, adding to the already onerous problems facing the Bohlabela District Municipality.

Like many former homeland areas, Bohlabela was created primarily as a settlement for “surplus” black labour, and lacks any viable economic basis. The generally poor quality of land, overcrowding, overgrazing, and a lack of capital investment hinder agricultural development. Coupled to this, the infrastructure inherited from the former “homeland” government is inefficient and restricted to core urban areas like Bushbuckridge.

Moreover, long-standing disputes as to whether parts of Bohlabela fall under the jurisdiction of the Limpopo or Mpumalanga Province underscore destructive internal-ANC party divisions in the area.

Participation

INDICATORS	public participation		Satisfaction		
	yes	no	bad	average	good
1. Participation in community organisations	92.2%	7.8%			
2. Knowledge of local government issues	41.8%	58.3%	2.1 Assessment of the Municipality	22.1%	34.3% 43.6%
3. Knowledge of Ward Committees	38.4%	61.6%	3.2 Assessment of Ward Committees	38.7%	21.0% 40.3%
3.1 Participation into Ward Committee meetings	88.8%	11.2%			
4. Direct Dealing with Councillors	47.6%	52.4%	4.2 Assessment of Councillors	60.3%	22.1% 17.6%
4.1 Feedback from Councillors	58.6%	41.4%			
5. Direct Dealing with Officials	38.8%	61.2%	5.1 Assessment of Officials	35.5%	31.5% 33.1%

Table 7b Participation Indicators for Bohlabela

Despite an active civil society (92%) there is a relatively low level of interaction with ward committees in Bohlabela. Only 38% know about the existence of these structures, whilst only 48% have interacted with Councillors and 40% with Officials. Public Satisfaction is low: only 40% are positive towards their ward committees, 18% towards Councillors, 33% towards Officials, and 44% towards the Bohlabela Municipality.

Civil society, such as it exists in Bohlabela, is a dominated by a curious mix of “traditional African” and evangelical Christian religious movements, local self-help and funeral societies, and the remnants of a once active civic movement. Traditional leaders have some influence, but this is minimal and restricted to a few areas. For the most part, civil society groups are very localised and issue-focused and, in contrast to the 1980s and early 1990s, do not seek actively to influence local politics.

Officially, ward committees have been established in all wards, although there is little evidence to suggest that this has actually occurred, and even less to suggest that the committees are actually functioning. Whilst councillors all claim to liaise actively with their ward committees, officials are largely dismissive of these claims. When councillors were first asked to form ward committees to find out more about opinion in their wards, many claimed that this was not necessary, as they were already aware of what people in their wards wanted.

Sadly, this knowledge does not appear to have been reflected in Bohlabela’s IDP planning process, which is amongst the most haphazard and badly defined in the country. The district IDP was only formulated at the last minute, and lacks any sense of a clear plan for the development of the area. The lack of capacity amongst councillors is more than matched by a lack of necessary skills amongst council staff, and the technical skills needed for IDP planning to work well are almost completely lacking, at *both* Local and District Municipality levels.

In some of the rural areas within Bohlabela, the ward committees grew out of existing Community Development Forums (sometimes called Village Development forums), which had been formed during the latter stages of the “homeland” era. These forums were village based, whereas ward committees are area based, and cover several villages. Many participants feel that this has created a bureaucratic structure removed from their local concerns. Moreover, as participants lack the resources to travel regularly, it is difficult to attend meetings outside their immediate place of residence. A constant theme in all interviews was the felt need for greater resources to fund travel expenses of ward committee delegates. This, in turn, undermines the very principle of voluntary political associations.

In some areas, traditional leaders have a limited presence in the ward committee system. In

INDICATORS Services	satisfaction							
	good	average	bad	non-existent	worse	the same	better	
1. Electricity	74.9%	19.4%	3.3%	2.4%				
2. Water	82.1%	8.4%	7.2%	2.4%				
3. Sanitation	74.9%	5.1%	16.7%	3.3%				
4. Housing	70.7%	14.0%	12.5%	2.7%				
5. Refuse	74.9%	4.2%	6.0%	14.9%				
6. Health	37.9%	38.8%	22.1%	1.2%	12. Assessment of life in the area in the last 5 years	22.0%	52.5%	22.0%
7. School	69.3%	15.8%	6.3%	8.7%				
8. Policing	42.1%	34.6%	22.1%	1.2%				
9. Public Transport	34.3%	29.6%	28.4%	7.8%				
10. Sport facilities	27.2%	20.0%	25.1%	27.2%				
11. Cemeteries	2.1%	32.5%	17.6%	2.1%				

one case, near Shatale village, this has taken a destructive turn, as the Chief in question actively opposes the ward committee system, and has sought to thwart its operation at every turn. In most areas with traditional leaders, opposition is subtler, and less destructive.

Service Delivery

Table 8b Service Indicators for Bohlabela

Service delivery in Bohlabela, as in all former “homeland” areas, is uneven. Services provided under the ambit of the Provincial and National government RDP programme are relatively good, and we encountered relatively high levels of consumer satisfaction with Electricity (75%), Water (82%), Sanitation (75%), Housing (71%) and, surprisingly, Refuse (75%).

In all of these cases, the services are not provided directly by the Local or District Municipality. Recently created utility companies, such as the Bushbuckridge Water Board, provide water, and Escom provides electricity. Utility companies in Bohlabela are openly critical of the lack of support received from the District Municipality, and, in one case, have seconded a staff member to help the District draw up tender applications in order to get support from external funders and donors. The initial application for the USAID programme in Bohlabela is an example of one such “co-sponsored” application.

Services provided by the Local and District Municipality received less sympathetic evaluations from consumers, with only 38% indicating approval for Health and 42% for Policing.

Bohlabele has yet to conclude service agreements with its two Local Municipalities. This has proven problematic in cases where the District has managed to attract outside funding for projects, only to find that a Local Municipality lays claim to these resources. A recent example of this is a sports and recreation project, in which the District Municipality was appointed as the implementing agent, a move that created considerable political tensions with the Maruleng Municipality, within which the sports development project is to take place. Overcoming such tensions is seen as a priority concern. However, until the Local Municipalities develop the capacity to deliver services, it is difficult to see how this problem will be overcome.

Considerable uncertainty surrounds the division of authority and responsibility for the provision of key services such as water. To date, Bohlabela has yet to determine whom the Water Service Authority actually is.

Development

INDICATORS	<i>Low</i>	<i>Middle</i>	<i>High</i>		
	<i><R72,000</i>	<i>R72,001-132,000</i>	<i>>R132,000</i>		
1. Household Income	87.4%	5.2%	7.3%		
	<i>None</i>	<i>Primary</i>	<i>Secondary</i>	<i>Matric</i>	<i>Tertiary</i>
2. Education	0.9%	4.3%	17.0%	37.1%	40.7%
	<i>Not enough</i>	<i>Enough</i>	<i>Don't know</i>		
3. Job creation efforts from the council	87.4%	0.0%	12.6%		
	<i>Down</i>	<i>The same</i>	<i>Up</i>		
4. Income change in the last 2 years	17.4%	51.6%	31.0%		
5. Standard of living change in the last 3 years	37.0%	29.2%	33.8%		
6. Future Income change	14.8%	31.6%	53.5%		

Table 9b Development Indicators for Bohlabela

There is very little economic mobility in Bohlabela: 87% of our respondents belonged to the low-income group, and only 31% experienced an improvement in their economic status. This contributes to a high level of public dissatisfaction (87%) with council job creation efforts.

Development in Bohlabela is constrained by such economic limitations. However, as we have seen, councils such as Waterberg and Vhembe have made significant strides in overcoming this. Bohlabela has not.

The limited administrative and technical capacity of officials and councillors has been identified as a priority problem. Until this is addressed, Bohlabela is unlikely to be able to

compile, let alone implement, a viable IDP policy. Within Bohlabela, there are extremely poor levels of communication between the District and the two Local Municipalities. The District complains, with some justification, that the Local Municipalities are completely unviable and incapable of proper administrative planning. To overcome this, there is a growing tendency for the District to resist a delegation of responsibilities to local authorities, and to seek strategic partnerships with private companies or utility companies rather than develop the capacity of its local councils.

The Local Municipalities, in turn, believe that their interests are often overlooked, and that councillors and officials at District level are seeking to further their own political careers at the expense of development in Bohlabela. These allegations stem from the tremendous (largely personal) rivalries within the dominant party, as well as internal party conflicts in both the Limpopo and, particularly, Mpumalanga Provinces.

Ehlanzeni

The Ehlanzeni District Municipality lies in the Eastern part of Mpumalanga Province, and is made up of four Local Municipalities: Thaba Chweu (Lydenburg), Mbombela (Nelspruit), Nkomazi (Malelane), and Umjindi (Barberton). The District Municipality has been created out of the amalgamation of the former Lowveld Escarpment District Council and neighbouring TRC's, and covers a surface area of over 14,000 square kilometres.

In addition to the four local authorities, the District Municipality includes five District Management Areas, which it administers directly, namely Pilgrims Rest, Mount Anderson, Barberton Nature Reserve, Mthethomusha Game Reserve, and Mahushe Shongwe Game Reserve. These DMA's are unique, in that their status as heritage sites (Pilgrims Rest) or nature reserves means that they are affected directly by Provincial and National legislation and policy commitments. This administrative overlap complicates some of the District attempts to promote local tourism.

As with Bohlabela (which traverses the Mpumalanga and Limpopo Provinces), Ehlanzeni is affected negatively by bitter internal fights within the ruling party, and the balance of local power tends to reflect the changing balance of political power at Provincial level. Ongoing attempts by the present Provincial leadership to remove supporters of the previous premier are felt at the local level, especially in the District Municipality and in Mbombela Local Municipality.

Participation

INDICATORS						
public participation	yes	no	Satisfaction	bad	average	good
1. Participation in community organisations	98.8%	1.2%				
2. Knowledge of local government issues	65.6%	34.6%	2.1 Assessment of the Municipality	46.1%	44.3%	9.6%
3. Knowledge of Ward Committees	18.2%	81.8%	3.2 Assessment of Ward Committees	40.6%	28.4%	31.1%
3.1 Participation into Ward Committee meetings	86.9%	13.2%				
4. Direct Dealing with Councillors	69.5%	30.5%	4.2 Assessment of Councillors	78.5%	17.8%	3.6%
4.1 Feedback from Councillors	21.8%	78.2%				
5. Direct Dealing with Officials	33.9%	65.9%	5.1 Assessment of Officials	63.1%	27.5%	9.4%

Table 10b Participation Indicators for Ehlanzeni

Despite an extremely high level of participation in civil society (99% of respondents belong to some local organisation), there is a very low level of interaction between residents and ward committees (18%) and residents and officials (34%). Interaction with councillors, by contrast, is average to reasonably good (69%).

Compared with all 28 councils examined in this study, public satisfaction is extremely low. Only 9.6% of respondents expressed a positive sentiment towards the Municipality, whilst only 3.6% felt positive towards their councillors and only 9.4% towards local officials. Satisfaction with community-oriented structures is only marginally better, with just under a third (31%) feeling positive towards ward committee structures. These are extremely troubling statistics, and suggest that Ehlanzeni has yet to establish a viable civic contract with local residents.

In much of the District, ward committees have not been constructed properly. There are four (often mutually reinforcing) reasons for this. In some (perhaps most) cases, this is because of the indifferent commitment of councillors and officials to the process of community participation. Whilst no one denies the usefulness of community input in council politics, many councillors and officials are reluctant to commit resources to the establishment of

structures that they believe are unlikely to deliver *concrete* results, and are likely simply to produce “wish lists” of much needed but well-known development needs.

The second and third reasons advanced relate to concerns that ward committees might be used to mobilise political power at the local level, at the expense of, respectively, current councillors and traditional leaders. As noted above, the ruling party in Ehlanzeni reflects the internal political divisions of the ruling party in Mpumalanga Province. These divisions are largely personal, but are at the heart of often-bitter fights for control over the local and provincial state apparatus. Although there is no evidence to suggest that rival factions within the ANC are using ward committees to undermine incumbent councillors – as is, for example, the case in the Karoo District Council – it is clear that local politicians are less than enthused by the prospect of encouraging active, ongoing, lines of communication between themselves and local residents. This goes beyond the legitimate fears expressed by many councillors elsewhere regarding the likely populist nature of ward committee politics, and is clearly related to the ebb and flow of local political allegiances and conflicts.

The third reason relates to the relationship between representative government and the traditional authorities. In some (not all) areas, ward committee structures are being created in areas dominated by traditional leaders, whose powers of patronage are threatened by the prospect of representative government. Although ward committees are, in theory, supposed to replace existing community-based development structures (usually called village or rural development committees), for the most part, this has not occurred. As elsewhere, part of the problem stems from the different institutional structure of these structures: ward committees are area-based, supposedly reflective of a broad variety of different stakeholder opinion, and closely tied to local government. The VDC’s and RDC’s, by contrast, are single-village based, dominated by people appointed by or under the control of the traditional leader (usually women, as this is “unpaid work”), and are merely a consultative body unlikely to influence in any way the way in which the traditional leaders exercise power. In cases where local politicians have good relations with traditional leaders, notably in the case of the mayor of Thaba Chweu, such conflicts are mitigated.

The fourth reason applies in cases where land, particularly in Thaba Chweu, is privately owned (for example, by Mondi paper). Residential “compounds” remain under the control of private companies, which makes it more difficult for ward committees to take decisions that meaningfully impact on the day-to-day life of residents. Although this problem applies to privately owned farms throughout the country, it is unusual for this to occur on non-agricultural land.

In the urban areas, especially in Nelspruit and Hazyview, there is little evidence of active attempts to create ward committees. Although community participation meetings were held during the IDP process, this has not left an institutional footprint. In some cases, this is a reflection of the largely non-participative nature of “white politics”, rather than the indifference of local politicians.

Service Delivery

INDICATORS Services	satisfaction								
	good	average	bad	non-existent		worse	the same	better	
1. Electricity	63.8%	25.7%	10.6%	0.0%					
2. Water	68.3%	24.2%	7.4%	0.0%					
3. Sanitation	56.4%	25.3%	17.8%	0.5%					
4. Housing	53.0%	33.1%	12.5%	1.4%					
5. Refuse	0.5%	4.1%	37.9%	47.1%	12. Assessment of life in the area				
6. Health	41.0%	26.6%	24.7%	7.7%	in the last 5 years	27.5%	45.2%	27.3%	
7. School	56.4%	22.8%	14.1%	6.7%					
8. Policing	23.8%	33.5%	36.2%	6.6%					
9. Public Transport	51.6%	28.7%	19.7%	0.0%					
10. Sport facilities	2.6%	9.1%	30.7%	57.6%					
11. Cemeteries	15.3%	17.5%	66.4%	0.7%					

Table 11b Service Indicators for Ehlanzeni

Our survey of consumer satisfaction reflects mixed successes in terms of service delivery. Services such as Electricity (64% positive), Water (68%) Sanitation (56%), and Housing (53%) received average ratings, whilst services like Health (41%), Sports (2.6%), refuse collection (0.5%) and policing (23%) were seen in a more critical light.

Controversially, the Ehlanzeni District Municipality has decided to focus its efforts on creating its own District Municipal Police Force, the only institution of its kind in South Africa. In practical terms, this means reducing the current capital budget by 25%, or R11 million per year, which has huge implications in terms of the council's ability to deliver other vital services, such as water and roads.

Whilst officials are quick to defend this on the basis that safety has become a precondition for development in South Africa, critics, including councillors across party political lines, believe that this has more to do with attempts by the current District Municipality elite to enhance their personal status with high visibility, prestige projects, than with clearly thought out development objectives.

Development

INDICATORS	Low	Middle	High		
	<R72,000	R72,001-132,000	>R132,000		
1. Household Income	98.8%	1.2%	0.0%		
2. Education	None	Primary	Secondary	Matric	Tertiary
	7.6%	6.4%	22.3%	34.7%	29.0%
3. Job creation efforts from the council	Not enough	Enough	Don't know		
	92.4%	2.9%	4.7%		
4. Income change in the last 2 years	Down	The same	Up		
	21.1%	55.7%	23.2%		
5. Standard of living change in the last 3 years	39.1%	36.8%	24.1%		
6. Future Income change	15.8%	33.6%	50.6%		

Table 12b Development Indicators for Ehlanzeni

Ehlanzeni has completed its IDP process, and had committed itself to a coherent programme of development for the short- to medium-term. However administrative shortcomings in all areas, as well as ongoing political conflicts within the ruling party, and between councillors and officials, remain a critical barrier to development, and must urgently be addressed if the objectives of the IDP are to be met.

Our survey revealed quite low levels of income and economic mobility, with less than a quarter (23%) claiming an increase in income levels and their standards of living (24%) in the past two or three years. On the positive side, a half of all respondents believed that their income was likely to improve in the future, a sentiment that bodes well for development in Ehlanzeni.

In terms of development, Ehlanzeni, centred on Nelspruit, has aspirations to become Metropolitan Council, and to play a greater role in the regional political economy. This implies forging greater linkages with the harbour city of Maputo, and powerful economic centers in the Highveld and around Gauteng.

Within Ehlanzeni, huge regional disparities are a barrier to development, with most of the wealth concentrated in and around Nelspruit. Limited local demand is a barrier to the expansion of the agricultural and manufacturing sectors, a barrier that helps explain the current focus on improving transport linkages to Maputo and the PWV area.

Local Tourist revenues have increased considerably in the past five years, and are likely to continue to do so. The planned opening of an international airport near Nelspruit will, it is hoped, boost the attractiveness of the region as an international tourist destination. Councillors are, however, concerned that the revenues accruing from tourism are not evenly distributed, and are serving further to empower existing business concerns. As a result, they stress the need to promote small-scale tourist development initiatives. In addition to arts and crafts initiatives, these include projects aimed at promoting black ownership of the hotel and local timber industries.

Ugu District

Ugu is a deeply bifurcated political and administrative entity. It consists of a very narrow, highly developed and wealthy coastal strip south of Durban and a vast, profoundly poor rural hinterland backing into the further reaches of southern Zululand. The coastal belt has a dense elite network appropriate to modern society while the interior has only the appearances of modern highly-institutionalised governance. The tribal elites predominate in this area as well as the rural portions of the coastal municipalities attached to places such as Hibiscus Coast under the latest (2000) demarcations.

Participation

INDICATORS	yes	no	Satisfaction	bad	average	good
public participation						
1. Participation in community organisations	92.5%	7.5%				
2. Knowledge of local government issues	50.6%	49.5%	2.1 Assessment of the Municipality	72.8%	27.2%	0.0%
3. Knowledge of Ward Committees	44.4%	55.6%	3.2 Assessment of Ward Committees	76.0%	22.7%	1.3%
3.1 Participation into Ward Committee meetings	95.3%	3.3%				
4. Direct Dealing with Councillors	71.8%	26.3%	4.2 Assessment of Councillors	86.4%	11.0%	2.6%
4.1 Feedback from Councillors	30.2%	68.1%				
5. Direct Dealing with Officials	58.6%	40.8%	5.1 Assessment of Officials	65.6%	32.8%	1.5%

Table 13b Participation Indicators for Ugu

Civil society in a greater part of the district is concomitant with traditional systems. As a consequence, the elites who gravitate towards the local municipalities along the coast have little knowledge, acquaintanceship or interest in the 'backward' areas of the interior. Insofar

as any perceptions exist these conceive the rural areas as largely parasitical attachments to the highly-resourced coastal economies. Among the governmental elites at district level however, there is a more pronounced interest in the back lands largely because of the predominance of the IFP among district officials.

There are no ward committees other than in the Hibiscus Coast municipality and these have, in some cases, a relatively tenuous existence. Both business and government in Hibiscus Coast are nonetheless committed to promoting community involvement in these new structures. Leadership of the tribal areas attached to Hibiscus Coast in 2000 is less positive and with one or two exceptions make common cause with the amakhosi in the interior who are hostile to any form of representative democracy.

Communications in the area, all elites concur, are relatively poor largely because of cross-cutting political factors derived from the local (and provincial) struggles between the ANC and IFP. Officials and Councillors in Hibiscus Coast have very little dialogue with their district counterparts a few metres away. There is little interchange between local municipalities and the district experiences enormous logistical difficulties in conveying information designed to stimulate political participation to the deep rural areas. Public knowledge of both local government dynamics and the new ward committees are consequentially low at 50.6 and 44.4% of respondents respectively.

Councillor empowerment is also limited to the district and the coastal perimeter. Local government officials at all levels concede that councillors from the rural interior are largely spokespersons for the local chiefs who play a strategic role in determining the interests of their subject communities. In the modern/coastal sector, the councillors are regarded as relatively representative of the various complex interests to be found in a relatively differentiated society

Community participation is high at 92.5 percent of respondents (although much of this appears to be filtered into the traditional system.)__Municipal-community interaction is relatively intense in places such as Hibiscus Coast where there are a plethora of small towns populated by a relatively active citizenry. Officials in local municipalities nonetheless complain of the high proportion of pensioners, retirees and elderly people who display no particular interest in local government. Business organisations along the coast have also stood at a distance from municipal authorities that they consider ineffective in managing the local economy- and all of this feeds a far degree of apathy or hostility in relation to local governance. In the hinterland the district authorities have experienced considerable difficulty in reaching grassroots communities because of poor communications and obstruction on the part of the amakhosi. Ultimately, 72 percent of the population rate local government negatively. Despite this, over half of the sample (58.6 percent) report contacts with officials either in the coastal municipalities or in outreach programmes extending into the interior. Whether these contacts are fruitful remains a moot point given that 65.6 of respondents give officials a poor rating.

Ward committees, as we have noted, do not exist outside Hibiscus Coast. Within Hibiscus Coast however, popular participation in ward committees is relatively intense with 95.3 percent of our respondents claiming attendance at ward committee meetings Officials in the municipality nonetheless concur that the two dozen committees that exist have played an important role in projecting popular values into policy circles and in the reverse implementation of Council policies. Ward development committees, which exist en masse outside Hibiscus Coast, vary substantially in their performance but some manage to articulate community demands under the wary eye of the chiefs. Many of the chiefs have no compunction in prejudicing their constituents against representative “modern” institutions -

and this, no doubt, adds into the 72 percent of the population who label the ward committees as essentially “bad”.

Overall councillor engagement with the local population is relatively high with 71.8 percent of the sample claiming direct contact. Councillors, nonetheless, display a variety of characteristics that reflect their counterparts elsewhere; this means a spectrum between a minority of individuals who are effective to a large number who are undistinguished performers. Officials and business interests outside councils nonetheless complain of the deleterious effect of political factionalism on the whole body of councillors who are often evenly split between the three major parties - the ANC, the DA and the IFP. This inevitably undercuts popular perceptions of councillor performance: only 1/3rd of the sample (30.2 percent) reports positive feedback from councillors many of whom are most concerned with narrow party interests. Ultimately, a resounding 86.4 % of the respondents rate councillor performance as being very poor.

Service Delivery

INDICATORS Services	satisfaction							
	good	average	bad	non-existent		worse	the same	better
1. Electricity	55.2%	7.5%	17.2%	20.1%				
2. Water	53.4%	4.0%	23.0%	19.5%				
3. Sanitation	44.8%	18.7%	15.2%	21.3%				
4. Housing	42.8%	36.2%	10.3%	10.6%				
5. Refuse	6.9%	4.9%	68.4%	19.8%	12. Assessment of life in the area in the last 5 years	65.5%	24.4%	10.0%
6. Health	23.0%	30.5%	37.9%	8.6%				
7. School	60.3%	27.0%	4.6%	8.0%				
8. Policing	35.1%	39.4%	18.4%	7.2%				
9. Public Transport	25.6%	18.1%	52.9%	3.4%				
10. Sport facilities	3.2%	7.8%	40.8%	48.3%				
11. Cemeteries	5.2%	37.9%	56.0%	0.9%				

Table 14b Service Indicators for Ugu

Service delivery and infrastructure is relatively good along the coastal perimeter and most complaints emanating from business elites or the privileged sectors of the population are of an incremental nature. In Hibiscus Coast, local business welcomes the recent work of the local municipality to constitute itself on a firm financial footing in order to meet service requirements.

In the rural areas, all services excepting schooling are very rudimentary. The relatively low scores in all service sectors reflects these deficiencies as fed through the assessment of the rural public. The continued absence of most infrastructure and facilities in these areas also contributes to the widespread belief (65.5 percent) that standards of living are falling.

Development

INDICATORS	<i>Low</i>	<i>Middle</i>	<i>High</i>		
	<i><R72,000</i>	<i>R72,001-132,000</i>	<i>>R132,000</i>		
1 Household Income	92.8%	5.7%	1.4%		
	<i>None</i>	<i>Primary</i>	<i>Secondary</i>	<i>Matric</i>	<i>Tertiary</i>
2. Education	4.9%	11.8%	21.0%	45.4%	17.0%
	<i>Not enough</i>	<i>Enough</i>	<i>Don't know</i>		
3 Job creation efforts from the council	96.6%	2.3%	1.1%		
	<i>Down</i>	<i>The same</i>	<i>Up</i>		
4. Income change in the last 2 years	47.4%	45.7%	6.9%		
5. Standard of living change in the last 3 years	69.8%	21.6%	8.6%		
6. Future Income change	22.1%	51.1%	26.7%		

Table 15b Development Indicators for Ugu

Conflict and confusion over the division of responsibilities between local and district municipalities is a provincial problem. In Ugu, most key stakeholders on developmental issues are of the opinion that this problem needs resolution in order to enhance municipal performance. Business interests are however generally positive about local government which appears to be increasingly sensitive to issues of LED and, in general, more approachable on economic issues. Virtually no one has any clear opinions about the rural hinterland, which is associated in most minds with the role of authoritarian tribal leaders.

The elites of the local municipalities are deeply concerned with the 'imperial' role of the district - both in service delivery and development more generally. Most complain about the lack of dialogue and consultation in district-local relations as well as competitive claims to provincial subsidies emanating from both local and district authorities.

Officials at district level are generally positive about relations with the province on such key issues as subsidised housing. The district authority, which has sole responsibility for water delivery, also enjoys good cooperative relations with the national Department of Water Affairs

Business leaders in the area are primarily concerned with tourism development and are highly supportive of action by all local authorities to create a conducive climate for the influx of foreign and domestic visitors. Both government, business and agricultural elites are also anxious about poverty and Aids in the rural areas, which directly abut the prosperous coastline. Various NGOs in the area identify with the view that the future of the coast is inextricably intertwined with more accelerated development in its back lands.

The positive course of local economic development is a major source of satisfaction to both business and political leaders. This reinforces the legitimacy and performance value of the municipal authorities - at least as far as the more privileged classes are concerned. Reconfiguration of the municipalities to make them more representative institutions has been largely completed and most of the confusion surrounding institutional transformation is a matter of the past. Nonetheless there is all-round anxiety that the municipalities lack the capacity to effectively develop their least developed constituents in the vast interior areas. Here, Aids and poverty are endemic with the overwhelming majority of people in the lowest income categories. Job-creation in these areas is very urgent and almost everyone (96.6 percent of the sample) concurs in the belief that local government must do more, and do more immediately. Widespread pessimism in these back-lands also accounts for the minimal number of respondents who perceive or anticipate their standards of living to be rising.

Meanwhile, the coastal areas are already experiencing a veritable tourism boom, which has many downstream implications for the local economy. The key problem confronting developmental policy at municipal level, most opinion-makers concur, involves the dissemination of accumulated human and financial capital in these privileged areas into the under-developed interior regions.

Emzinyathi

Umzinyathi is situated in deep Zululand and, like its neighbour, the Zululand District Council it shares many issues. These include that of reconciling traditional and secular elites as well as intense under-development that restricts political debate and confines the majority to the margins of the political system. Outside the few main towns ‘modern’ politics ends and the writ of the tribal chiefs is extensive.

Participation

INDICATORS							
public participation	yes	no	Satisfaction	bad	average	good	
1. Participation in community organisations	100.0%	0.0%					
2. Knowledge of local government issues	62.2%	35.9%	2.1 Assessment of the Municipality	44.8%	45.2%	10.1%	
3. Knowledge of Ward Committees	22.2%	77.8%	3.2 Assessment of Ward Committees	38.6%	30.0%	31.4%	
3.1 Participation into Ward Committee meetings	86.1%	13.9%					
4. Direct Dealing with Councillors	63.5%	36.5%	4.2 Assessment of Councillors	73.4%	21.6%	5.0%	
4.1 Feedback from Councillors	29.0%	71.0%					
5. Direct Dealing with Officials	39.4%	60.3%	5.1 Assessment of Officials	59.7%	29.8%	10.4%	

Table 16b Participation Indicators for Umzinyathi

Civil society in these circumstances is highly proscribed and centres of governmental authority - either at local or district level - enjoy a relative degree of autonomy from public opinion. As officials readily admit, community leadership is weak, and grassroots organisations are underdeveloped. Commercial farmers, a handful of NGOs and religious organisations and, above all, the amakhosi are the only relatively developed organisations with stakes in local government.

It is a measure of the power exercised by the chiefs that virtually no one in this largely rural sample admitted to “non-participation in community institutions” which, in the mind of the majority mean those under the auspices of the amakhosi. Statistics on “knowledge about local government” in this strongly traditional target must also be treated with caution given the similar tendency of respondents to confuse “modern” and traditional forms of governance. Bearing this in mind there are numerous ward developments working under the authority of the amakhosi and very few functional ward committees established in terms of national legislation. Tribal elites are, for the most part, hostile to these new representative structures, which challenge the traditionalist hierarchy, and, for the most, most municipal officials are reluctant to confront the amakhosi. Service in the new institutions enjoys consequentially enjoys very limited real support. In the circumstances, it is hardly surprising that only 22.2 percent of respondents have any clear conception about the new ward system. Ultimately, the high reading on “participation in ward committees” (i.e.. 86 percent) reflects not only the new structures but also ward development committees, development committees and other associations under tribal control that are all conflated indistinguishably in the public mind.

Communications strategy on the part of the local or district councils is also seriously constrained by poor infrastructure, high levels of illiteracy and intense poverty. The district

IDP has attempted to be as inclusive as possible, but, as officials and other publicly-motivated people admit, the ability of district (and to a lesser extent) local authority to reach down to the grassroots is very limited. Subsequently, almost 60 percent of respondents are inclined to lowly rate official's performance.

Councillors throughout the system are often beholden to the IFP and/or the chieftains - and this tends to undermine their independence to advance the interests of their constituents. Feedback from councillors is relatively low (29.0) and is likely to remain so as long as the councillors remain part-tribalist - in the more under-developed local municipalities, but also, to a lesser extent, at district level. Subsequently, a very high 73.4 percent of respondents are hostile to councillors and negative in assessment of their performance. On the other hand many councillors (as in adjacent Zululand) are themselves minor inkosi. This tends to automatically enhance their capability to link in to the tribal network for a variety of policy purposes, should they elect to do so. Hence, two-thirds of the sample have direct contact with councillors, albeit the latter act in their tribal as opposed to "modern" capacity.

Direct contacts with officials are marginally higher among respondents at 39.4%. This reflects the fact that municipal-community interaction is in general hampered by poor physical communications and the structural features of under-development. This 'distance' is less intense at local municipal level, but fairly marked in the case of the district municipality few of whose officials have actual and sustained contact with grassroots constituencies. These constituencies in turn see the "district" as a higher-order abstraction, which links into the tendency of community leaders to characterise district behaviour as routinely "imperial". General feelings towards "the municipality" are shaped by a mixture of deference to authority and incremental demand-making peculiar to rural people. The former no doubt fuels the 55.3 percent of respondents who rate municipal performance as average to good, while the inability of other parties to link into delivery networks shapes the remainder of the sample (44.8 percent) who evaluate the municipality in the negative.

Ward committees that have been established are not especially workable or sustainable. Elite opinion holds that people tend to gravitate towards the more familiar ward development committees because they have both the sanction and the patronage of the traditional authorities in most areas. The ward committees themselves appear to officials to be mainly talkshops for communicating snippets of public opinion to the sitting councillors. Nevertheless, there is still a measure of support for the new structures (31.4 percent of the sample) among people who see them as an alternative to the more hierarchical constructs emanating from traditional authority.

Councillors, as we have indicated, are closely aligned to the traditional elites. The general evaluation is that with a few individual exceptions, mainly ANC members, councillors avoid independent action unless it is pro-actively cleared with the chiefs or the local IFP. Business leaders allege extensive corruption and nepotism in councillor ranks.

Service Delivery

Development planners are wrestling with serious problems of infrastructure and services over a vast rural area. Many basic services are inaccessible to the further reaches of the

INDICATORS Services	satisfaction							
	good	average	bad	non-existent		worse	the same	better
1. Electricity	56.9%	20.8%	22.3%	0.0%				
2. Water	56.6%	21.7%	21.7%	0.0%				
3. Sanitation	46.7%	20.8%	31.9%	0.6%				
4. Housing	35.2%	18.7%	46.1%	0.0%				
5. Refuse	0.6%	2.1%	52.4%	44.9%	12. Assessment of life in the area in the last 5 years			
6. Health	28.0%	16.0%	50.3%	5.7%		22.9%	44.4%	32.7%
7. School	38.9%	15.7%	38.9%	6.6%				
8. Policing	29.2%	19.3%	46.4%	5.1%				
9. Public Transport	33.1%	20.8%	46.1%	0.0%				
10. Sport facilities	2.7%	6.6%	47.3%	43.4%				
11. Cemeteries	12.7%	15.1%	72.3%	0.0%				

Table 17b Service Indicators for Umzinyathi

municipality although service delivery is not evaluated as particularly bad in the few urban areas. These are however isolated islands in a sea of rural poverty, disease and unemployment where 63.1 percent believe their life situation to be either static or worsening. Since virtually all services and rudimentary and barely tolerable by most members of the community considerable work remains to be done by the local authorities across a range from bulk engineering to safety and security.

From elite perspectives developmental performance in the local municipalities is badly coloured by the party affiliations of councillors. District-level performance of both officials and councillors is seen as markedly better but there is a strong body of opinion, which argues for speedy resolution of the division of functions between the district and the localities if there is to be more effective governance.

Development

INDICATORS	Low	Middle	High		
	<R72,000	R72,001-132,000	>R132,000		
1 Household Income	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%		
2. Education	None	Primary	Secondary	Matric	Tertiary
	9.0%	7.8%	20.8%	35.5%	26.8%
3 Job creation efforts from the council	Not enough	Enough	Don't know		
	89.4%	7.3%	3.3%		
4. Income change in the last 2 years	Down	The same	Up		
	12.7%	59.0%	28.3%		
5. Standard of living change in the last 3 years	29.2%	48.8%	22.0%		
6. Future Income change	18.1%	47.9%	34.0%		

Table 18b Development Indicators for Umzinyathi

Intergovernmental relations at district-local level are poor despite numerous (ineffective) mechanisms for consultations. The district and province have effectively aligned their IDP programmes but there is a feeling at local level that district-level development priorities are imposed on the entire area. There is also vigorous competition between all municipalities for access to provincial funding and other external resources essential to developmental initiatives.

The elites in government and business welcome improved service delivery from abysmal lows two to three years ago. Under the aegis of the district council, development initiatives also seem to be reaching a take-off point. Nonetheless, in an area where almost everyone is a member of a low income household, developmental needs remain to be addressed across the board.

Elite perceptions of development are shaped by social position. The agricultural interests welcome the development initiatives of the district but are perturbed about unresolved land claims and land invasions. Business would like to see more aggressive local economic development and the diversification of the economy to assist the municipality in meeting the demands of almost ninety percent of people who are of the belief that local authority is insufficient in its effort to generate job opportunities.

The majority of the local population are understandably cynical about future prospects given that so much remains to be done to address the most basic of human needs. Roughly a quarter of the sample has experienced a deterioration in income levels in recent years and a comparable percentage (22.0) sees its standards of living as having deteriorated. Only a third of the sample (34.0) has any anticipation that the situation will improve dramatically in the near future.

Among elites there is more confidence. Local government performance on development is evaluated overall as reasonable to mildly satisfactory given the historic backlogs that have to make up in all functional service areas. Most concede that little has as yet been done by municipal (or provincial) authorities to substantially address the 'normal' problems of poverty, unemployment and endemic aids. Nonetheless the district municipality and some of the better-capacitated local municipalities show signs of acting more assertively to implement the IDP and improve the overall situation.

Vhembe

The Vhembe District Council was formed in 2000, bringing together three existing local municipalities and dividing a fourth. The local councils include Mutale, which is almost entirely rural and is the most impoverished part of the district with the greatest administrative shortcomings; Musina, which is centred around the border town of Musina; Makhado, which includes the biggest towns in the district as well as a large number of smaller villages; and Thulamela municipality, which is a combination of peri-urban and rural villages.

Participation

INDICATORS	public participation		Satisfaction			
	yes	no		bad	average	good
1. Participation in community organisations	91.6%	8.4%				
2. Knowledge of local government issues	46.0%	53.2%	2.1 Assessment of the Municipality	12.6%	42.4%	45.0%
3. Knowledge of Ward Committees	35.2%	64.8%	3.2 Assessment of Ward Committees	20.9%	38.6%	40.5%
3.1 Participation into Ward Committee meetings	96.7%	3.3%				
4. Direct Dealing with Councillors	58.2%	41.8%	4.2 Assessment of Councillors	21.2%	46.1%	32.7%
4.1 Feedback from Councillors	64.7%	35.3%				
5. Direct Dealing with Officials	61.2%	38.8%	5.1 Assessment of Officials	28.5%	30.8%	40.7%

Table 19b Participation Indicators for Vhembe

In Vhembe, there is an active civil society (92%) and average interaction with Officials (61%) and Councillors (58%). However, knowledge of Ward Committees (35%) is low. Similarly, Public Satisfaction is low average across all the channels: Municipality (45% positive assessment), Councillors (33%), Ward Committees (40%) and Officials (41%).

Although there is strong support for the principal of ward committees as a component of development planning, this is not matched by administrative support to ward committees. The ward committees were formed in 2001, however most have yet to be constituted properly. In Musina, there were no ward committees until mid-2002.

In practice, we found that most people involved in the ward committees were simply hand picked by the councillors. There was little to suggest that meetings were well attended, an impression reinforced by the low levels of awareness of ward committees in the survey of citizen opinion.

A further problem affecting the ward committees stems from the fact that the South African Civic Organisation, SANCO, has begun to use this as an organisation vehicle to rebuild their organisation and to seek to undermine local government. SANCO has divided the district into blocks, and, particularly in the semi-urban areas, has sent its block representatives to ward committee meetings. Thus the ward committees are often dominated by a single organisation, which is in conflict with the requirement that ward committees include all stakeholders. Furthermore, SANCO have used the ward committees to undermine local councillors, and to encourage service boycotts, rather than as a means to constructively channel public opinion into government structures.

A further problem affecting participation concerns the traditional leaders. In accordance with CONTRALESA's policy of non-participation in local government structures, the traditional leaders have remained aloof from ward committees. This not only makes it easier for either

councillor nominees or SANCO to control the ward committees but, in so far as traditional leaders still command tremendous popular support in parts of Vhembe, undermines the overall legitimacy of the ward committee system.

Local development projects initiated by ward committees are unlikely to work, unless they have the support of traditional leaders. This gives the traditional leaders an effective veto over the government process, and is a major barrier to the principle of representative popular government at the local level.

In an effort to improve the ward committee system, council hopes to provide training for “block committees”, which are sub-committees of ward committees, in most cases, drawn from a single village and constituted on the basis of either older RDP committees (which were village-based, not area-based like the ward committees), or tribal development committees.

Business in Vhembe is generally sceptical of council attempts to promote public participation. To a large extent, they see the District Municipality as a highly (party) politicised council dominated by individuals who are concerned primarily to build up its own support within the ruling party, rather than to represent the district at large. The stark racial divisions between the largely white agricultural and economic elite, and the predominantly black local population reinforce this feeling of alienation.

Service Delivery

Despite their failure to promote a viable ward committee system, the Vhembe District Council must be seen as one of the most effective local councils in terms of their ability to deliver services to a largely poor, often rural, population. This is reflected in generally very high levels of consumer satisfaction: Water (96% good), Electricity (92%), Housing (81%), Sanitation (84%), Health (67%), and Refuse collection (72%).

INDICATORS Services	satisfaction							
	good	average	bad	non-existent		worse	the same	better
1. Electricity	92.5%	7.0%	0.5%	0.0%				
2. Water	95.5%	3.2%	1.4%	0.0%				
3. Sanitation	84.5%	7.7%	7.7%	0.0%				
4. Housing	80.9%	14.3%	4.8%	0.0%				
5. Refuse	72.2%	7.6%	19.1%	1.1%	12. Assessment of life in the area in the last 5 years			
6. Health	67.4%	19.1%	13.3%	0.2%		9.1%	45.3%	45.5%
7. School	77.2%	16.3%	2.3%	4.1%				
8. Policing	52.6%	22.5%	23.9%	0.9%				
9. Public Transport	66.9%	17.5%	12.6%	3.0%				
10. Sport facilities	45.7%	17.7%	19.1%	17.5%				
11. Cemeteries	71.0%	14.0%	14.7%	0.2%				

Table 20 Service Indicators for Vhembe

One of the strongest points of the current Vhembe council is their ability to leverage support from Provincial and National agencies. The council has deliberately cultivated good working relations with the Limpopo administration, and plays an active role in regional development planning initiatives. Similarly, the council works closely with the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry, which supports many of the council’s community water and sanitation programmes.

In terms of service delivery, Vhembe might be divided into four planning zones. The former “white towns”, which have high levels of services; the former apartheid regional nodes, like

Thohoyandou (the one-time capital of Venda), which has relatively good bulk infrastructure but limited capacity to maintain existing service levels, and peri-urban and rural areas, where the greatest service backlogs are to be found.

Development

INDICATORS	Low	Middle	High		
	<R72,000	R72,001-132,000	>R132,000		
1 Household Income	98.0%	1.1%	0.9%		
	<i>None</i>	<i>Primary</i>	<i>Secondary</i>	<i>Matric</i>	<i>Tertiary</i>
2. Education	5.5%	24.8%	30.9%	22.5%	16.3%
	<i>Not enough</i>	<i>Enough</i>	<i>Don't know</i>		
3 Job creation efforts from the council	97.8%	1.1%	1.1%		
	<i>Down</i>	<i>The same</i>	<i>Up</i>		
4. Income change in the last 2 years	14.9%	42.6%	42.6%		
5. Standard of living change in the last 3 years	21.6%	36.5%	41.9%		
6. Future Income change	11.9%	33.7%	54.4%		

Table 21 Development Indicators for Vhembe

Economically, Vhembe is a low-income district, dominated by the former “white towns” of Musina and Louis Trichart. Thohoyandou (Thulamela District Municipality) is the most heavily populated part of the Council, with extremely limited administrative, technical and financial capacity. However, despite these limitations, we find that the population is largely optimistic about their future: economic mobility is increasing (43% experienced an improvement), although most (98%) residents feel that the council should be doing more to create jobs in Vhembe. Council’s capacity to promote local development is undermined by the limited economic potential of the District, which is dominated by large-scale farmers, some surface mining and a few smaller tourist concerns. Despite this, council has made local economic development a core focus of its IDP planning. Some officials expressed concerns that, whilst the principle of ward committees is a good thing, given the very limited resources available, Vhembe should focus instead on promoting LED. Thus, it was suggested that, as a first resort, ward councillors should receive extensive LED training. The councillors could then pass this on to members of their wards, via the ward committees if necessary.

In all four local councils, youth councils have been created. It is hoped that these will feed into council LED planning, although there does not appear to be any clear policy towards this.

Local business is generally very conservative, and largely unconcerned with council politics. There is limited opportunity to draw local business into LED planning. Local business is, however, very concerned about the potential fallout from the crisis in Zimbabwe, and has begun to lobby council to improve local security services in the border areas.

Waterberg

The Waterberg District Municipality is a relatively new administrative structure, having been created out of the former Bosveld District Council, which, in turn, was an outgrowth of the former Joint Service Council in 1995. The District includes 6 major towns and a number of smaller rural areas. Because of the weak administrative capacity of the towns and rural areas, the District Municipality retains most administrative powers, although it is starting to delegate specific functions to the local municipalities.

Along with Vhembe, Waterberg must be considered one of the more successful local councils. On the basis of a very poor revenue stream, and limited administrative and institutional capacity, the new District Municipality, along with the Local Municipalities, has managed to lay a basis for economic and social improvement that is unique in South Africa.

Participation

INDICATORS	yes	no	Satisfaction	bad	average	good
1. Participation in community organisations	100.0%	0.0%				
2. Knowledge of local government issues	66.0%	34.0%	2.1 Assessment of the Municipality	30.3%	25.4%	44.3%
3. Knowledge of Ward Committees	41.6%	58.4%	3.2 Assessment of Ward Committees	75.5%	12.6%	12.0%
3.1 Participation into Ward Committee meetings	97.2%	2.8%				
4. Direct Dealing with Councillors	22.3%	77.7%	4.2 Assessment of Councillors	57.2%	11.4%	31.5%
4.1 Feedback from Councillors	44.6%	55.4%				
5. Direct Dealing with Officials	62.8%	36.0%	5.1 Assessment of Officials	21.8%	7.5%	70.6%

Table 22 Participation Indicators for Waterberg

There is a very active civil society in Waterberg (100%), with high levels of interaction with Officials (63%). However, interaction with Councillors (22%) and Ward Committees (42%) is low.

Public Satisfaction is good towards Officials (71% positive assessment) but low across all the other channels: Municipality (44% positive assessment), Councillors (31%), and Ward Committees (12%).

Ward committees have not been promoted actively in Waterberg. Although local councils held a series of IDP consultative forum workshops in 2001 and 2002, this was simply in order to fulfil their constitutional requirements. There is no evidence to suggest that these workshops reflect any sustained commitment to the creation of viable ongoing ward committees, and both officials and councillors are hesitant to devote scarce resources to what they see as a potentially onerous and time-consuming process of consultation that is unlikely to result in concrete suggestions of input into their existing development planning initiatives. In large measure, this official indifference explains why only so few respondents felt that ward committees were doing a good job.

This does not however imply that Waterberg is opposed to community participation. Council seeks actively to solicit the views of all major stakeholders in the community, and has developed good, ongoing, relations with organised interest groups, such as agriculture, tourist groups (such as the Waterberg Biosphere), and labour. Given the very conservative political culture of white business and agriculture in the region, Waterberg's ability to foster constructive relations across racial and class lines, and to feed this into local development planning initiatives, stands out as an example of successful local governance.

Service Delivery

INDICATORS Services					satisfaction			
	good	average	bad	non-existent	worse	the same	better	
1. Electricity	92.0%	6.0%	1.1%	0.9%				
2. Water	91.0%	8.0%	0.2%	0.7%				
3. Sanitation	56.1%	9.4%	34.0%	0.5%				
4. Housing	61.4%	16.7%	21.4%	0.5%				
5. Refuse	41.8%	18.2%	36.3%	3.7%				
6. Health	81.8%	10.1%	7.6%	0.5%	12. Assessment of life in the area in the last 5 years	6.8%	33.5%	59.8%
7. School	91.3%	5.3%	2.1%	1.4%				
8. Policing	46.1%	4.1%	47.5%	2.3%				
9. Public Transport	84.8%	8.7%	6.2%	0.2%				
10. Sport facilities	59.5%	5.3%	21.4%	13.8%				
11. Cemeteries	61.4%	6.7%	31.0%	0.9%				

Table 23 Service Indicators for Waterberg

Although Waterberg has not devoted much time or energy to the creation of ward committees, or to public participation exercises, it has devoted considerable energy to establishing service delivery agreements between the District and Local Municipalities. As elsewhere, this has proven to be a difficult task, as Local Municipalities vary enormously in their ability to deliver services, making it difficult to devolve powers on a consistent basis. Unlike other districts, however, Waterberg has managed to involve the Local Municipalities in a constructive consultative process, and was one of the first District Municipalities to sign service agreements with each of its local municipalities.

The positive attitude of officials towards delivery is reflected in the relatively high levels of consumer satisfaction recorded in our survey. There is a good record for the majority of services: Water (91% good), Electricity (92%), Health (82%) and to a certain extent Housing (61%) and Sanitation (56%). Only refuse collection is relatively low (42%).

The high level of consumer satisfaction with council officials (70.6%) contrasts with the low level of consumer satisfaction with councillors (31.5%), and must be seen, in part, as a consequence of the official's good track record in delivering services.

However, the positive role played by councillors in helping to create the institutional environment within which services can be delivered should be noted. Unlike other Limpopo councils, Waterberg had managed to create relatively good working relations between councillors from different political party's, and between councillors and officials. Councillors have also accepted the need to work with officials drawn from earlier (pre-1994) administrations, and, unlike places like Cacadu, have sought to steer a delicate balance between the need to promote diversity and the need to retain valuable skills. In turn, officials value the support that they receive from councillors, which contributes to a healthy institutional environment.

In terms of service deliver, the DMA areas and the "deep rural" areas present the greatest challenges, and are seen as a priority. Given the very low-income base of Waterberg generally, and of the rural areas within Waterberg in particular, it is highly unlikely that these areas will see improved services in the near future.

Development

INDICATORS	Low	Middle	High		
	<R72,000	R72,001-132,000	>R132,000		
1 Household Income	96.4%	3.1%	0.5%		
2. Education	None	Primary	Secondary	Matric	Tertiary
	7.3%	5.9%	12.5%	21.0%	53.3%
3 Job creation efforts from the council	Not enough	Enough	Don't know		
	93.4%	4.8%	1.7%		
4. Income change in the last 2 years	Down	The same	Up		
	10.3%	37.9%	51.7%		
5. Standard of living change in the last 3 years	15.6%	36.8%	47.6%		
6. Future Income change	8.5%	29.2%	62.3%		

Table 24 Development Indicators for Waterberg

Although service delivery is, by the standards of rural South Africa, relatively successful, this should not be taken to imply that citizens are content with council initiatives. A large majority, 95%, was not satisfied with council job creation initiatives.

On the whole, citizens are optimistic about their future in Waterberg. 52% of respondents experienced an improvement in their income levels over the past two years, whilst 48% expected their standard of living to increase further in the next three years. This represents a very constructive base upon which local government can be built.

In terms of future development, the Waterberg area is likely to remain dependent on agricultural and tourist revenues. Officials are concerned to promote Waterberg as a tourist destination, particularly as it lies outside the “malaria belt”, a feature that helps make local game farms and wildlife conservatories especially attractive to foreign tourists.

Agriculture has limited growth potential in the Waterberg area, although attempts are being made to promote small-scale farming initiatives in underdeveloped rural areas. These include specialist foodstuffs requiring very high labour inputs, linked to supply chains in the large urban areas.

Zululand

The Zululand District Municipality has responsibility for a large, almost entirely rural area in the heartland of tribal Zululand. The area displays most of the key features of deep underdevelopment, including powerful traditional institutions. The amakhosi (the chiefs) constitute a major elite group outside the few medium towns and settlements, and even in some key towns associated with the Zulu kingdom such as Ulundi and Nongoma.

The governmental elite is based in Ulundi, which houses the ZDM, and in the six areas, which together constitute the overall district. Despite the presence of a few wealthy individuals, an economic elite is relatively absent due to the primitive nature of the commercial and industrial sectors. The agricultural lobby is composed of a relatively small handful of commercial farmers. There are also powerful religious organisations in the district as well as a number of NGO’s dealing with rural development and Aids management.

Participation

INDICATORS						
public participation	yes	no	Satisfaction	bad	average	good
1. Participation in community organisations	98.8%	1.2%				
2. Knowledge of local government issues	65.6%	33.0%	2.1 Assessment of the Municipality	46.1%	44.3%	9.6%
3. Knowledge of Ward Committees	18.2%	81.8%	3.2 Assessment of Ward Committees	40.6%	28.4%	31.1%
3.1 Participation into Ward Committee meetings	86.9%	13.2%				
4. Direct Dealing with Councillors	69.5%	30.5%	4.2 Assessment of Councillors	78.5%	17.8%	3.6%
4.1 Feedback from Councillors	21.8%	78.2%				
5. Direct Dealing with Officials	33.9%	65.9%	5.1 Assessment of Officials	63.1%	27.5%	9.4%

Table 25b Participation Indicators for Zululand

Because of the relative absence of an articulated interest group network, local governance largely takes place with little direct reference to civil society. Municipal councillors and officials have space to operate without direct linkage to informed public opinion and, as a consequence, do not see any particular imperative for widespread and sustained community consultation. Statistical participation appears to be high at 98.9 percent, but most of this is appropriated by the communal procedures of traditional institutions. (Given the sanctions attached to non-participation within the tribal system, few people will admit to non-fulfilment of their community obligations). In reality, the few interest groups in civil society are relatively disorganised, largely inactive and lack the sense of empowerment to influence the public policy process. Commercial agriculture and the traditional authorities are exceptions to the rule. This is particularly true of the tribal chieftains who are mostly hostile to any form of representative government but are prepared to periodically cooperate with secular institutions in order to reinforce their patronage.

Cognisance of local government is relatively low with a third of the sample (33.0 percent) admitting to little or no knowledge, while acquaintanceship with the ward committees is, at 18.2 percent of the sample, the lowest encountered in all the target municipalities. Interest in the ward committees is largely confined to the governmental elite, which is seeking to consolidate these new structures in the face of fierce resistance from the traditional authorities. Other elites tend to recognise the ward committees as important institutions for popular participation in development and democratisation initiatives, but nevertheless tend to work through older and highly personalised channels of influence on local government. The minimal constituency for ward committees appears to be energetic at 85.9 percent of those who claim acquaintanceship with the new structures, but ward committees lack capacity because of their limited representation of community and the self-serving agendas of their members.

Local government tends towards centralism, partially because of the relative absence of an informed and energetic public. People who deal directly with officials and councillors (an alleged 33.9 and 69.5 percent of the sample respectively) tend to do so only when other avenues for problem-solving have been exhausted. There is a widespread distrust of public representatives, part of which explains the highly negative rating given on feedback (21.8 percent) and on councillor performance in general (78.5 percent who label the councillors as outright “bad”). Concentrated municipal power also results in tensions between the district and local municipalities. Most opinion-makers and elites (both within and external to government) believe that there is an urgent need for enhanced communication between the centre and periphery of the local government system. The more “progressive” elites are also of the view that far more needs to be done by local, provincial and national authorities, to assist with the political education of grassroots communities. Since little can be achieved without the collaboration of the amakhosi (especially in the more distant rural areas), there is

also widespread recognition of the need to better communication with the chiefs - to elicit their involvement in both policy debates and development initiatives more generally.

There is a general consensus that the institutional channels for popular participation in local government are essential for ensuring community buy-in and ownership of development projects. Councillors are seen as a key link particular if they have support both among the amakhosi and the community. Few councillors enjoy legitimacy in this twin sense, one consequence of which is that they have difficulty in maintaining credibility in elite circles. Some councillors however are minor chiefs themselves and are seen as an important mechanism for transactions between the local and traditional authorities - irrespective of their actual representative value.

The IDP represents a focal point in relations between the government and the governed. Considerable efforts have gone into its production and most of the better-informed elites see it as a crucial instrument for municipal-community interaction. There is general concern however that the amakhosi have not formed part of the interest group network that has made official inputs. There are also perceived problems of municipal-community interaction outside the handful of urban centres. Commercial agriculture, for example, is sometimes anxious that the authorities - including the ZDM - are less than energetic in maintaining security against land invasions by tribal pastoralists.

Ward committees are generally seen as useful but of limited importance among the small proportion of people who feel confident in exercising judgement. (69 percent of this group rate their performance as "bad" or "average"). Governmental elites support their formation, but tend to circumvent them on core issues of public policy, most of which are appropriated by specialist bureaucrats. The new structures are widely regarded as too under-capacitated to be of significant utility at this early point in their history by elites of all persuasions. The amakhosi are also critical of ward committees because of their associations with participatory democracy. Many out rightly expresses satisfaction at their under-performance and welcome their failure. Other elites, in the business community or the NGO sector, for example, have no strong opinions about the new structures either way.

There is a general concurrence that the present generation of councillors represent an improvement on their pre-2000 counterparts. A number of individual councillors at district level are regarded as outstanding by district officials, the business lobby or non-government organisations. Councillor performance in the local municipalities is frequently poor - and widely regarded as such. This is particularly true of the most under-capacitated local municipalities such as uPhongola or Nongoma. There is also widespread concern about corruption and nepotism, which is associated in the public mind with most councillors - and to a lesser extent, low and medium municipal management. 63.1 % of the sample rate officials negatively, largely because they doubt their civic commitment and personal character. Inevitably, this tends contaminates public perceptions of municipal performance. Ultimately, only 9.6 % of the sample were inclined to view the local authorities in positive terms.

Service Delivery

INDICATORS Services	satisfaction							
	good	average	bad	non-existent		worse	the same	better
1. Electricity	53.2%	24.9%	21.9%	0.0%				
2. Water	58.4%	22.8%	18.8%	0.0%				
3. Sanitation	47.8%	24.0%	27.8%	0.5%				
4. Housing	42.8%	23.3%	32.5%	1.4%				
5. Refuse	0.5%	2.4%	43.8%	53.4%	12. Assessment of life in the area in the last 5 years			
6. Health	28.7%	21.2%	43.3%	6.8%		27.5%	45.2%	27.3%
7. School	38.8%	19.5%	35.3%	6.4%				
8. Policing	19.5%	26.4%	48.0%	6.1%				
9. Public Transport	34.6%	23.8%	41.6%	0.0%				
10. Sport facilities	2.4%	6.1%	43.5%	48.0%				
11. Cemeteries	9.9%	12.7%	76.9%	0.5%				

Table 26b Service Indicators for Zululand

Service (and development) delivery is hampered by poor communications and the generally primitive character of the municipal area. Public opinion ratings of the full suite of services is almost uniformly poor and officials are deeply concerned with the continued absence of even the most basic bulk services in the more isolated rural areas. The local chamber of business is essentially satisfied with services in the urban areas, which contain its core operations, but is anxious that the authorities - including the district - have done so little to explore the possibilities for economic diversification. Everybody of any reasonably informed opinion is alarmed by the state of public health facilities, which appear impotent in the face of a progressive Aids pandemic. In these lethal circumstances it is remarkable that a quarter of respondents (27.3 percent), mainly in the few urban areas, believe their standards of living to be improving.

Business elites in the area are generally impressed with the work of the district authority despite widespread criticism of the impact of institutional transformation on specialist capacity. Notwithstanding criticism of individual officials, the collective performance of the ZDM is positively rated by most elites who point to the enormous backlogs that have to be addressed in rendering effective services. Local level municipalities are not, for the most part, held in high regard - apart from that of Vryheid. Local government in Ulundi, Nongoma and other areas is seen as badly under-capacitated and ridden with wastage, duplication of effort and questionable standards of public service. With various individual exceptions, councillors at both district and local level are regarded as party neophytes, particularly in the case of IFP councillors. ANC councillors representing isolated islands of opposition are often regarded as marginally better.

Development

INDICATORS	Low	Middle	High		
	<R72,000	R72,001-132,000	>R132,000	None	Primary
1 Household Income	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	Secondary	Matric
2. Education	7.5%	6.8%	22.4%	35.1%	Tertiary
	Not enough	Enough	Don't know		
3 Job creation efforts from the council	91.8%	5.4%	2.7%		
	Down	The same	Up		
4. Income change in the last 2 years	18.6%	60.7%	20.7%		
5. Standard of living change in the last 3 years	36.0%	49.2%	14.8%		
6. Future Income change	19.8%	41.4%	38.8%		

Table 27b Development Indicators for Zululand

There is a pronounced feeling at all levels of municipal government that relations between the district and the local municipalities require an urgent clarification of roles and respective responsibilities. Until this takes place, most opinion-makers believe, smooth governance in the municipal area remains seriously impeded. Officials and some of the better informed members of the small private sector are also concerned about the duplication of functions in district-provincial relations. Key officials also complain of the tendency of provincial and national authorities to impose their developmental agendas, priorities and criteria for programme implementation on municipal government.

Only a fifth of the sample (20.7 percent) see income improvement since the last local government elections and only 14.8 percent believe their standard of living has risen. 38.8 % of the sample believe somewhat desperately that living conditions will rise in the foreseeable future. This grim pessimism derived from extensive poverty, unemployment and disease, which together constitute a triad of problems with which all publicly spirited elites are concerned. Poverty is so universal that virtually no one feels inclined to claim middle income status. The marked enthusiasm among district officials for accelerated local economic development is highly regarded among the relatively well-educated if minuscule elite, although there is general concern among business and governmental leaders at the continued lack of capacity at local municipal level outside Vryheid and (to a lesser extent) Ulundi. Most informed opinion concurs that the road forward for central Zululand lies in agricultural diversification, tourism development and, to a lesser extent, the promotion of small-scale enterprise. More energy needs to be devoted to these development drivers even while greater efforts should be made to ensure that isolated communities are rendered the most basic of services.

Elite perceptions of development are shaped by sectoral interests. Most of the business community would like to see the expansion of the local market and the development of light industry as a framework within which the public sector can work to address the requirement of 91.8 percent of the people that it do more to create employment. Many people in this commercial category understand but are nonetheless frustrated by the lack of consumer demand and purchasing power on the part of what remains a profoundly underdeveloped community. Agricultural interests would like local development to deal with many outstanding issues of land tenure in the rural areas, especially restitution-type land claims being made by the local chieftains. The amakhosi themselves welcome accelerated economic development to bolster their grassroots prestige but fear the political consequences of many programmes aimed to fostering community mobilisation.

Both governmental and non-governmental elites emphasise the critical importance of heightening popular involvement in the general development of the area. District governance is regarded as a key instrument for the provision of bulk services and facilities and, in such areas as water delivery, its performance has been widely rated as exemplary. The local municipalities are less well regarded, partially because of the institutional dominance of the district authority. This has inculcated a sense of inferiority and immobility at local level, which needs to be addressed if all the instruments of local government are to operate on an effective and collaborative basis. Most elites in the area consequently regard an improvement of district-local relations as cardinal for overall enhanced governmental performance.

Control: Ilembe (King Shaka)

Ilembe (King Shaka) District Council extends north along the coast from Durban to Richards Bay as well as deep into the interior of central Zululand. It is essentially rural with the exception of the more developed coastal strip where the economy is supported by tourism,

agriculture and a small industrial component at two sites including Kwa Dukuza. The Chamber of Commerce is relatively functional and active on local government issues as are almost four dozen amakhosi who inhabit the interior areas. There are a small handful of NGOs among the local elite most of which are engaged in developmental issues from Aids management to water delivery.

Participation

INDICATORS						
public participation	yes	no	Satisfaction	bad	average	good
1. Participation in community organisations	92.1%	7.9%				
2. Knowledge of local government issues	81.8%	18.2%	2.1 Assessment of the Municipality	53.0%	40.0%	7.1%
3. Knowledge of Ward Committees	79.1%	20.6%	3.2 Assessment of Ward Committees	90.5%	3.1%	6.5%
3.1 Participation into Ward Committee meetings	87.3%	12.6%				
4. Direct Dealing with Councillors	11.5%	87.5%	4.2 Assessment of Councillors	91.4%	5.5%	3.1%
4.1 Feedback from Councillors	47.1%	52.9%				
5. Direct Dealing with Officials	12.7%	87.3%	5.1 Assessment of Officials	66.6%	23.8%	9.5%

Table 28b Participation indicators for King Shaka

Civil society conforms to the major social divide between the coast and the interior. Most transactions related to local government tend to be concentrated along the coastal belt while the traditional authorities shape, control and in most cases dominate political, developmental and governmental matters further away from the seaboard. Having said this, civil society is, on the whole, highly participant with 92.1% of respondents report involvement with community organisations and a further 81.8 percent alleging knowledge of local governments issues. Part of this has to do with the considerable investment made by the local authority in encouraging people to engage local government issues. Part - and, one suspects, a major part - has to do with the fact that local government is particularly concerned with keep the chiefs well abreast of policy and development issues. Relative to most other parts of rural KZN, this ensures fairly positive relations between local government and the amakhosi. Still, there remains some suspicion on the part of traditional interest groups about the democratic agenda of modern structures. This tends to reinforce the general perception that performance by the municipality is “bad” (53 percent) or “average” (40.0 percent of the sample).

Ward committees are regarded by local government as crucial for creating community ownership of the development process. They have played a relatively central role in the IDP process and there is evidence of a high degree of diversification within some of the new structures which have given rise to sub-structures concerned with public issues from Aids to water delivery. Because of this direct link to critical community issues, public participation and knowledge of ward committees is fairly good (at 79.1 and 87.3 percent respectively). The tendency of many tribal chiefs to identify with the new structures and subsequently adopt them into their armoury for local development is also quite crucial.

The district authorities operate a relatively effective communications campaign designed to keep the municipal area alert to policy (and policy changes). Evaluations of these strategies indicate that they are relatively successful in capturing public attention at the grassroots. On the other hand, as the rural NGO’s point out, district efforts to raise public consciousness are seriously hampered by widespread illiteracy and, in the opinion of some business leaders, an overemphasis on print media. The mayor, all concur, is high profile and plays an important role in encouraging community mobilisation, either directly or through the councillors.

The general body of councillors, all concur, represents a qualitative improvement on their pre-2000 counterparts. The greater majority make a serious effort to elicit community opinion and

transmit it into the policy arena. The district has assisted this process by training councillors in their role requirements (including representation) and by arming them with various technologies to assist their communication capacity. Direct contact with councillors is still however very sporadic because of poor physical communications in the interior. A reasonable 47.1 percent of the sample report positive feedback from the rare instances where they are willing and able to transmit their concerns to councillors, but the greater majority of rural people still prefer to direct their queries and problems through traditional channels. Most chiefs do little to discourage this practice, not only with regard to councillors but to municipal officials as well. Consequently, a very small minority of respondents (12.7 percent) have directly transacted with municipal bureaucrats. Having said this, local business interests and governmental leaders are of the opinion that the councillors are reasonably effective in their representative function, certain isolated individuals apart.

Municipal-community relations are a little distant in the case of the district authorities, partially because of the long coastal strip over which they have responsibility and partially because of the size of the rural hinterland. Most of the work of integrating grassroots communities has therefore to be done by the local municipalities who sometimes lack capacity and who are almost always heavily reliant on assistance from the amakhosi. Fortunately, because relations with the traditional authorities are mostly positive, the municipal system is able to maintain its public links in general.

The ward committees vary in their performance but a substantial number appear to have been established on a sustainable basis. The better committees are almost always associated with ward councillors who value their input and support. The development of sub-committees (above) is often the result of initiatives taken by the councillors to improve their standing among local stakeholders of various types. Nonetheless, some ward committees are run as a political preserve for the councillors who tend to appropriate power and centralise decision-making in line with traditional interests and tribal customs. This tends to undercut positive feelings about the ward committees across the board. On the other hand, apparent hostility to the ward committees (90.5 percent of respondents) should be seen against a backdrop where the greater mass of rural population are reluctant to concede anything positive about new structures without chieftain endorsement.

Councillors, as indicated, are fairly dedicated and are in the process of extending their capacity as a consequence of rigorous training programmes. Education levels are reasonably high and most government officials at district level believe that the councillors have a relatively good grasp of the principles of administration. This is however less true in the local municipalities and particularly in the more isolated municipalities where knowledge of modern governance is fairly limited. In these areas an ethic of public participation still remains to be constructed. There is also a far weaker supportive attitude towards the councillors in these areas, which constitute the mass of the municipal population than is to be found in the peri-urban and urban sectors of the municipality. Two-thirds of the overall sample (66.6 percent) also displays a negative perception of officials' performance, which would be substantially higher in a statistical separation between the urban coast and the rural interior.

Service Delivery

INDICATORS Services	satisfaction				worse	the same	better	
	good	average	bad	non-existent				
1. Electricity	87.0%	7.3%	5.8%	0.0%				
2. Water	90.3%	2.4%	6.7%	0.6%				
3. Sanitation	22.7%	24.5%	51.5%	1.2%				
4. Housing	25.5%	35.3%	37.4%	1.8%				
5. Refuse	18.8%	45.2%	25.5%	10.6%				
6. Health	36.1%	28.8%	33.9%	1.2%	12. Assessment of life in the area in the last 5 years	6.1%	19.1%	74.8%
7. School	81.5%	7.9%	8.8%	1.8%				
8. Policing	12.2%	10.6%	75.4%	1.8%				
9. Public Transport	68.5%	14.2%	15.5%	1.8%				
10. Sport facilities	53.3%	12.7%	17.6%	16.4%				
11. Cemeteries	11.5%	3.6%	84.8%	0.0%				

Table 29b Service Indicators for King Shaka

There are enormous backlogs that have to be made up, although in some sectors the municipality has managed to render effective services. Water delivery is a case in point with 90.3 respondents reporting satisfaction with the existing service despite estimates that it will take many years for potable water to be accessible to all households. Sanitation services have also been improved but remain relatively poor in public perceptions in the wake of a recent serious outbreak of cholera. Housing and policing are also problematic from the public point of view but ratings on public transport and sports facilities are more positive. Electricity is still the preserve of the national authorities and is well received among 87 percent of the sample who label its provision as “good”. Nonetheless, both government and local business elites believe that the district municipality itself can offer a more cost-effective service.

The district council is widely regarded as one of the most effective service providers in the KZN region where it has been lavishly praised by both provincial leaders and the premier. Its delivery programme is widely regarded as highly progressive, both by observers within and external to district boundaries. The high levels of cooperation with the amakhosi are also unusual for the KZN area and are the results of a long process of nurturing that dates back to the mid-nineties. Local municipalities are also relatively functional but this is not true in all cases: despite provincial recognition two of the local municipalities have been labelled as critically deficient in a recent report from province.

Development

INDICATORS	Low	Middle	High					
	<R72,000	R72,001-132,000	>R132,000	None	Primary	Secondary	Matric	Tertiary
1 Household Income	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%					
				Not enough	Enough	Don't know		
2. Education	14.9%	10.6%	17.0%	27.1%	30.4%			
3 Job creation efforts from the council	95.8%	1.1%	3.1%					
	Down	The same	Up					
4. Income change in the last 2 years	9.4%	66.1%	24.5%					
5. Standard of living change in the last 3 years	20.3%	60.0%	19.7%					
6. Future Income change	14.2%	55.2%	30.6%					

Table 30b Development Indicators for King Shaka

Relations with province are quite good and Ilembe is frequently held up by provincial authorities as an example of developmental governance. The failure of province to address the division of roles and responsibilities is nevertheless a source of considerable confusion within

the district. Business leaders have difficulty dealing with local government as long as uncertainty prevails on this issue. Officials in turn complain of their inability to engage in long-term developmental planning activity as long as there is ongoing confusion about the distribution of funds between districts and their local components.

Both business and government elites concur in their support for local job-creation projects to address endemic and pervasive poverty. According to municipal officials, a local model for job-creation is now in the process of being communicated to other municipalities nation-wide and Ilembe is frequently referred to as a front-runner in dealing with issues of rural unemployment. The tourism sector is also burgeoning although local entrepreneurs believe that more could be done to emulate the marketing activity of adjacent municipalities south along the coast from Durban. Prolific Aids and widespread poverty is a major cause of anxiety despite various initiatives aimed at policy management.

There is widespread praise for the role of the municipalities in local development among what is - by KZN standards - a relatively well-educated public, but there is also concern that local authority is pitching too high in terms of the demographic profile. Consequently, the local authorities have moved away from sustainable economic development as a core value in LED to more basic projects aimed at poverty alleviation. Both business and government would also welcome a stronger funding flow from national authority to assist the district with its development programme, particularly with regard to job-creation where there is an overwhelming demand from 94.8 of respondents that local government act more urgently.

Local government has clearly registered a number of positive gains in the course of the last two years. A substantial 74 percent of its people appear to believe that their life situation has improved over the last five years. Ilembe is, in many respects, a tightly bound development unit which both enjoys both a reasonably high level of public confidence and fairly firm collaborative relations between local authority and its various stakeholders. All opinion-makers are mildly frustrated by the lack of a firm financial foundation that would allow local governance to extend its activities, but most are relatively satisfied with what has been achieved to date.

Cluster 2

The following sections detail the key findings for the targets and the control group in cluster 2.

Buffalo City

Buffalo City is a Category B municipality on the verge of metropolitan status. Centred on East London, it extends into the interior to include King Williamstown and Bisho, the old capital of the Ciskei “homeland” and now the provincial capital of the Eastern Cape region. The governmental elite is therefore extensive and includes both provincial and local officials as well as the district-level of officials of the Amatola District Council. As a large city with a substantial industrial base, East London has a complex and highly differentiated elite structure. Agricultural interests exist on the margins of the area. There are a few chiefs in the deeper rural regions abutting the King Williamstown-East London corridor, but these are of minor importance.

Participation

INDICATORS						
<i>public participation</i>	<i>yes</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>Satisfaction</i>	<i>bad</i>	<i>average</i>	<i>good</i>
1. Participation in community organisations	88.9%	11.1%				
2. Knowledge of local government issues	64.0%	36.0%	2.1 Assessment of the Municipality	21.9%	24.9%	53.2%
3. Knowledge of Ward Committees	75.6%	24.4%	3.2 Assessment of Ward Committees	42.6%	11.7%	45.8%
3.1 Participation into Ward Committee meetings	67.2%	32.8%				
4. Direct Dealing with Councillors	35.1%	64.9%	4.2 Assessment of Councillors	58.2%	10.9%	31.0%
4.1 Feedback from Councillors	45.6%	54.4%				
5. Direct Dealing with Officials	41.4%	58.6%	5.1 Assessment of Officials	29.6%	21.1%	49.3%

Table 1c Participation Indicators for Buffalo City

The Eastern Cape is an area with long-standing traditions of political involvement and this is salient to the current intensity of participation: 88.9% of our sample are involved in some community organisation or another and almost two-thirds of the sample (64.0 percent) displayed some knowledge of local government issues. Current elites, we found, are also aware of the historic political combustibility of the area and are concerned that political energies be channelled into officially sanctioned institutions (such as ward committees). East London is also a relatively compact city abutted by the huge township of Mdantsane whose labour services the industrial base of the city. Consequently, there is a keen awareness of social and development issues among the relatively inter-connected economic, political and governmental interests who make inputs into the local government process.

Extensive and relatively successful efforts have been made to institutionalise ward committees, which are seen by elite groups, both in the economy and the political arena, as key mechanisms for involving the community in people-centred development. It is a measure of the importance attached to popular involvement as a facet of governance and development planning that comparable time and energy has also been invested in such ancillary mechanisms for community-based social action as the IDP and a network of supportive public participation meetings. Nonetheless, ward committees still need to establish their credentials within elite circles on such technical issues as the industrial and tourism development upon which the future of the area depends.

Governmental elites have worked hard to market their commitment to community participation. And this is widely recognised by the economic elite in the industrial and commercial sectors. The relatively high level of “natural” political mobilisation in the “township” areas has generally assisted local government in establishing fairly firm lines of communication from grassroots to decision-making centres within local government. Overall assessment of municipal performance is quite satisfactory with 52.3 percent of the population evaluating the municipality as “good”. Nonetheless, there is a strong feeling amongst virtually all stakeholders in elite circles that considerably more remains to be done by officials to fully engage the community, both on specific issues like Aids prevention as well as more broad-ranging issues of local economic development. Only 41.4% of our sample have, for example, had any direct dealings with municipal officials, and almost half the sample (49.3 percent) see performance of the municipal bureaucracy as above average.

Councillors represent a diversity of interests and display highly variable levels of individual capacity as participants in the process of governance. As in many other areas, elite attitudes towards councillors are shaped by their “second generation” character: most members of the local elites believe that the present councillors are far superior to their pre-2000 predecessors. Organisations representing local business, for example, see the councillors as more representative than in the past, more legitimate and, in general, easier to work with. As in

other parts of the Eastern Cape however, there is a degree of concern that councillors tend to follow their individual or partisan agendas at the expense of their constituents or the wider community. Many people see little point in dealing with councillors under these circumstances: only 35.1 percent of our respondents have had such dealings and less than half (45.6) report positive feedback from transactions with their representatives. A substantial 58.2 percent of our respondents see the performance of councillors since 2000 as largely negative.

The efforts of the local Council to engage the community in planning and government through such structures as the new ward committees is widely welcomed throughout elite circles. Large industrial interests, for example, see these activities as important to encouraging “responsible” attitudes to government, especially among the often volatile labour force. There is however a widespread view that municipal projects, in order to build linkage with the community, tend to centre on East London and its adjacent areas to the exclusion of King Williamstown, Bisho and the abutting rural areas.

Ward committees are still germinal and there is a tendency in local white society to characterise these new organisations as peripheral to local governance. Large numbers of the more historically advantaged segments of the local population appear to have little knowledge of ward committees and no particular desire to expand their stock of political information. There is a tendency to caricature ward committees as an unnecessary new layer of local government, which feeds into the negative assessment of these institutions among 42.6 percent of the population

Nonetheless, there is widespread recognition of the importance of ward committees to planning the future of the erstwhile metropolitan among the governmental elite and in black society more generally. The strong interest in ward committees in the black community probably cancels out the lack of a participatory ethic in white society, resulting in an overall rating of 75.6 percent of the population who are acquainted with the new structures. Enthusiasm exists among the historically disadvantaged (no doubt for the 67.2 percent of the sample that participates in ward committee meetings). Having said this, almost everyone recognises that there is a high level of variability in ward committees’ performance. While many work well, others are seriously under-performing.

Councillors also vary in their capability and performance. There are a number of individuals who have made their mark and captured the appreciation of officials in government, business leaders and public opinion in general. This is especially true of most chairpersons of portfolio committees whose energy and inputs are highly regarded. Most elites however tend to regard municipal officialdom as the centre of local government power and tend to work through these channels in advancing their core interests. This view is shared by some officials who still tend to consciously by-pass councillors in the policy-formation process. Councillors themselves, justifiably complain that this undermines morale and makes it difficult to effectively discharge their representative function.

INDICATORS	Low	Middle	High		
	<R72,000	R72,001-132,000	>R132,000		
1. Household Income	89.7%	5.2%	5.2%		
2. Education	None	Primary	Secondary	Matric	Tertiary
	11.7%	10.5%	22.4%	38.7%	16.7%
3. Job creation efforts from the council	Not enough	Enough	Don't know		
	89.3%	1.1%	9.6%		
4. Income change in the last 2 years	Down	The same	Up		
	28.7%	46.2%	25.1%		
5. Standard of living change in the last 3 years	29.1%	27.8%	43.0%		
6. Future Income change	24.4%	29.6%	46.0%		

Table 3c Development Indicators for Buffalo City

The ANC establishment in the region is a mass of internal conflicts and some of this factionalism intrudes on local government. Nonetheless, there is a widespread consensus that urgent action be taken to address serious problems of under-development from mass unemployment to endemic Aids. Notwithstanding the 70 percent of the population who believe their standard of living to have remained the same or risen over the last two/three years, a dangerously substantial 89.9 percent of the population still lives in low income households, often in dire poverty. While almost a quarter (22.2 percent) of the population have received only a rudimentary education, 89.9 percent of our sample were sufficiently educated to believe that Council has not done enough to generate employment. Most members of the local elites are frank in their prediction of social disaster in the next ten years in the absence of accelerated economic development. Having said this, there is a strong collaborative ethos that links local government and other key stakeholders on such issues as industrial and tourism development within the broader context of LED.

These feelings are replicated at inter-governmental level. Relations between Buffalo City and other governmental agencies with stakes in the area are, for the most part, positive. The Amatola District Council lacks substantive powers and this is widely recognised as an important factor in avoiding conflict between district and local level authorities over development policy. The IDP has also been carefully formulated so as to align with provincial agendas and there are few inter-institutional power struggles arising from this source. Developmental lobbies in East London have placed the municipality under pressure to collaborate more closely with national government on, for example, water delivery - and most of the outstanding issues between the Council and the Department of Water Affairs are in the process of resolution.

At a time of massive in-migration from the rural areas, endemic Aids, high levels of unemployment, environmental degradation and extensive poverty, Buffalo City faces enormous structural challenges along the road to sustainable development. Municipal leadership at all levels concedes that many problems are the result of historic neglect of the area under apartheid and that very few opportunities exist for quick-fix solutions. Elites across the board are deeply anxious about the eroding qualities of such services as exist and the marked absence of any reasonable services outside the few remain islands of privilege in East London. In these bleak circumstances, an emerging consensus for partnership between the private and public sectors on development issues is widely welcomed.

Both business and government are committed to sustainable development as defined internationally. The IDP is seen as only one of a number of developmental tools that need to be institutionalised in the near future. In the meantime, the key issues facing the municipality concern jobs, poverty and a high incidence of Aids and other infectious diseases. Buffalo

City, it is widely recognised, still has to deal with a variety of elementary developmental issues: these include, but are not necessarily limited to, persistent shortages of consumable water, archaic physical delivery systems, an often irregular supply of electricity and severely under-capacitated public health services.

Opinion-formers/elites are relatively satisfied with the performance of the municipality authorities relative to the problems of governance and development in the area. Within local government itself, officials and councillors identify a number of key problems that undercut institutional efficiency - and development projects more generally. These include a relatively low rate of cost recovery on municipal services, shortages of specialist personnel in the wake of institutional transformation and a massive backlog in social formation required for public policy purposes. Across the board in the city there are also widespread criticisms of the tendency of provincial and national government to withhold subsidies and other forms of assistance on the tenuous grounds that the municipality is not yet a metropolitan.

Mangaung

Mangaung consists of a city (Bloemfontein), two largely black towns (Thaba Nchu/Bostahbelo) and a vast rural area. The centre of political/governmental activity is Bloemfontein, which contains an elite of government, business and academic personnel from the local university. Local government has been heavily serviced by non-governmental organisations who also constitute a key element in contemporary governance. The rural or traditional areas are not politically significant although Thaba Ncho and Botshabelo have a small elite derived from a limited commercial/light industrial base.

Participation

INDICATORS	public participation		Satisfaction	Satisfaction		
	yes	no		bad	average	good
1. Participation in community organisations	75.9%	24.1%				
2. Knowledge of local government issues	63.8%	36.2%	2.1 Assessment of the Municipality	33.6%	32.6%	32.9%
3. Knowledge of Ward Committees	43.8%	56.2%	3.2 Assessment of Ward Committees	46.4%	17.1%	36.5%
3.1 Participation into Ward Committee meetings	91.2%	6.5%				
4. Direct Dealing with Councillors	82.8%	17.2%	4.2 Assessment of Councillors	50.1%	23.7%	26.2%
4.1 Feedback from Councillors	51.7%	48.3%				
5. Direct Dealing with Officials	39.0%	40.9%	5.1 Assessment of Officials	27.7%	18.9%	53.5%

Table 4c Participation Indicators for Mangaung

The governmental elite has been strongly educated to ideas of people-centred development by local non-governmental organisations and has subsequently made stringent efforts to promote an active civil society. The local IDP is one of the most inclusive in South Africa and, in its wake, there is, almost everyone concurs, an energetic network of community interest groups and organisations. While some “old guard” officials are hesitant about community-based participation, most elites - in business and in the universities - identify with the value of rooting ownership for development within a participatory framework. Participation, as a result, is relatively high (75.5 percent) while knowledge of local government is relatively widespread among 68.8 percent of respondents.

Ward committees are seen by government and other opinion-makers as essential instruments for popular participation and considerable time, money and energy has been devoted to their development as mechanisms for participatory democracy. Considerable pride is taken in these initiatives, which have resulted in a relatively effective network of ward committees throughout the municipal area. Knowledge about ward committees still needs dissemination

among 66.2 percent of the sample, most of whom reside outside Bloemfontein, and appear to know little about the new institutions. But unlike most other areas where the socially advantaged tend to ignore the new structures, many white key opinion-makers are themselves active members of ward organisations. Hence the overall impressive score of 91.2 percent of respondents who are aware of the new system and work within it.

Mass political education and communication about development issues is a hallmark of Mangaung's recent experience in local government. The result is a relatively well-informed local electorate. Some of the governing elite however are concerned that there is insufficient consensus about what constitutes "development" in the municipal area and that community opinion could become a constraint on the more specialist areas of development planning. Nonetheless there is general consensus among almost the entire elite that the current initiatives to promote popular ownership of local government should be sustained and extended.

Councillors are generally recognised as a key element in the community-based governance to which the local authority is committed. The success of these programmes in popular control is reflected in the fact that a very high 82.8 percent of the sample admit to direct transactions with councillors. Feedback to the public from councillors is also relatively good according to the 51.7% percent of our sample who report positive experiences. On the other hand, some of the business elites and members of the opposition political parties see a proportion of the councillors as creatures of the ruling ANC. In local government, many officials perceive an alliance between certain key councillors and the new generation of black municipal bureaucrats centred around the mayoral office. There is some anxiety about the consequent centralisation of government and the willingness of many councillors to take their cues from sources other than their grassroots constituencies.

Public attitudes towards officials are also a little ambiguous and only 39 percent of people appear to see them as helpful or approachable. Maximum community-municipal interaction is, nonetheless, the order of the day and there are numerous workshops, seminars and stakeholder meetings to ensure that governance and development is community-based rather than imposed to down by municipal bureaucrats. There is widespread support for these initiatives from all segments of the elite including the local academics who see Mangaung's work on developmental governance as a prototype for other parts of the country. Business leaders also support these initiatives as part of community-based programmes to alleviate poverty and unemployment.

Many ward committees are highly effective relative to their counterparts elsewhere - and are recognised as such. Nonetheless, some ward committees are clearly dysfunctional and, in the opinion of governmental elites, require considerably more support services, particularly in the provision of information. Ward committees have also been allotted substantial public finance to support community-based development projects and some senior technocrats as well as other stakeholders in the municipal budget have been highly critical of this. Opinion in these circles believes that ward committees should be far more sustainable before becoming the recipient of large public grants.

Councillor performance is seen as highly variable by elites across the board. The privileged sectors of local society are, for the most part, satisfied with their councillors, many of whom bring substantial political and technical experience to their role-functions. Councillors representing the disadvantaged (and rural) areas are often seen as badly under-capacitated. As in many other areas, most of the best councillors have been made proportional representatives (PRs): the bulk of the ward councillors are new and, in some cases, relatively unfamiliar with their roles despite extensive fast-track training.

Overall, municipal governance represents a mixed bag of results relative to the majority of local elites who tend to attribute to it a higher degree of success. Public opinion seems relatively divided over municipal performance despite the considerable efforts that have been made to link the government to the governed. This also applies to ward committees where almost half the sample (47 percent) is critical but where a slight majority of respondents are more charitable in their evaluations. The 53.5% of the sample who think well of officials are similarly counter-balanced by 50.1% of respondents who think negatively about councillors.

Service Delivery

INDICATORS Services	satisfaction							
	good	average	bad	non-existent		worse	the same	better
1. Electricity	81.6%	5.4%	4.5%	8.5%				
2. Water	73.2%	9.5%	16.1%	1.2%				
3. Sanitation	43.8%	17.0%	32.1%	7.0%				
4. Housing	64.3%	13.4%	18.4%	3.9%				
5. Refuse	24.9%	4.1%	15.8%	55.3%	12. Assessment of life in the			
6. Health	51.3%	24.5%	17.3%	7.0%	area in the last 5 years	48.7%	30.5%	20.7%
7. School	51.3%	24.9%	15.3%	8.5%				
8. Policing	33.6%	14.2%	48.0%	4.3%				
9. Public Transport	60.4%	7.0%	31.8%	0.8%				
10. Sport facilities	4.9%	15.7%	25.2%	54.2%				
11. Cemeteries	31.2%	22.4%	45.9%	0.4%				

Table 5c Service Indicators for Mangaung

Government elites are concerned about poor infrastructure and services, which are likely to severely hamper policy implementation in the near future. At present however, overall service delivery is acceptably good although there is a demand for a wider range of cost-effective services being made available to consumers. Many people in senior positions of local government would also like to see more community education so that consumers can differentiate between the service roles of the various tiers of government.

The Council appears to have a fairly high level of legitimacy among its constituents, including most of the local elite. This stems in part from its good track-record on the delivery of bulk services, housing and public transportation. While many of the local elites suggest that committees and councillors could be more representative in their daily work, the emphasis of Council on effective communication as intrinsic to service delivery has tended to undercut most allegations of bureaucratic authoritarianism. In business circles there is a degree of concern about the future financial capability of Council and there is strong support that senior officials, (many of whom are new employment equity appointees), adopt pro-active solutions. Nonetheless, overall evaluations of Council incline to the positive. An overwhelming majority (81.6 percent of the sample) rated Council highly on electricity provision, water delivery (78.2 percent) and, to a lesser extent, housing and public transport respectively. When questioned on overall service delivery, 51.2 percent of respondents also see their standard of living as having stabilised or as having improved over the last five years.

Development

INDICATORS	Low	Middle	High		
	<R72,000	R72,001-132,000	>R132,000		
1 Household Income	86.2%	8.9%	4.9%		
	None	Primary	Secondary	Matric	Tertiary
2. Education	5.2%	14.4%	32.0%	36.1%	12.3%
	Not enough	Enough	Don't know		
3 Job creation efforts from the council	94.9%	2.7%	2.4%		
	Down	The same	Up		
4. Income change in the last 2 years	23.1%	42.5%	34.4%		
5. Standard of living change in the last 3 years	30.3%	52.2%	17.5%		
6. Future Income change	44.5%	33.8%	21.7%		

Table 6c Development Indicators for Mangaung

Bloemfontein is the home to local, district and provincial authorities: there is a high level of interaction and, in the minds of many officials of all sides, uncertainty about lines of authority on developmental matters. Given the economic predominance of Bloemfontein however, most local officials are fairly self-confident of their capability in the struggles that periodically arise over public policy. In general, relations are good: the district and local IDP's are reasonable aligned and there are no apparent irresolvable issues of developmental governance.

The international attention given to Mangaung's experiment of community-based governance is also taken as a major accomplishment by most informed opinion-makers in the area. Despite potential problems of a budgetary nature, the business elite is able to operate in a relatively well-financed municipal environment. Nonetheless, organised commerce and industry is concerned with the stable rather than progressive nature of a local economy where a massive 82.6 percent of the population still falls into the lower income category. An equally substantial 94.9 percent of our respondents also believe that local authority could do more to promote job-creation: this fuels the widespread consensus in both business and government circles that considerable work needs to be done to attract inward investment as a critical facet of local economic development.

The various elites have no clear conception of local economic development - without which it will be difficult to create private-public sector partnerships. While the senior local government officials favour policies that will create jobs and income for the entire municipal population, business tends to view development in narrow terms, which focus on Bloemfontein alone. Thus, it tends to advocate CBD development, tourism promotion and projects to halt the drift of corporates out of the local economy as major priorities. No one, excepting the local academics, appear to have much interest or knowledge of the abutting rural areas.

The Mangaung community is relatively self-centred and strongly identifies with Bloemfontein as its epi-centre. Local government is dedicated to maintaining Bloemfontein as a people-centred large town rather than as some anonymous metropolitan. A relatively optimistic population at grassroots shares this vision to a large extent. A sizeable majority of the population (76.9 percent) have seen their income on the increase over the last two years while a slight majority (55.5 percent of the sample) expect income to rise progressively in the years to come. Having said this, all community leaders recognise the need for local government to create more jobs and alleviate substantial pockets of inequality as intrinsic to maintaining credibility for local development at community level.

West Coast

The West Coast District Municipality lies along the West Coast of the Western Cape. Economically, the area depends largely on fishing and agriculture, and steel mining in Saldana Bay area. Whilst generally cash strapped, the Southern areas, which are closer to Cape Town, are considerably better off. The District Municipality is based in Moorreesburg, and is composed of five Local Municipalities – Saldana Bay (Vredenburg), Swartburg (Malmesbury), Cedeberg (Clanwilliam), Matzimakama (Vredendal), and Berggriver (Piketberg) – as well as the District Management Area of Bitterfontein.

The West Coast has around 235,000 inhabitants, around 6% of the total population of the Western Cape. The population is distributed unevenly, with around three quarters of the regional population concentrated in the Southern areas, which comprise only a quarter of the total land area. The majority of the population are classified as “coloured” (76%) or white (21%), with a small minority of Indian and black residents. Politically, the West Coast District Municipality is controlled by the Democratic Alliance, although the ANC has increased its status throughout the District since the floor crossing in late 2002.

Participation

INDICATORS						
<i>public participation</i>	<i>yes</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>Satisfaction</i>	<i>bad</i>	<i>average</i>	<i>good</i>
1. Participation in community organisations	92.1%	7.9%				
2. Knowledge of local government issues	81.2%	18.7%	2.1 Assessment of the Municipality	51.1%	41.7%	7.2%
3. Knowledge of Ward Committees	79.1%	20.6%	3.2 Assessment of Ward Committees	89.6%	3.2%	7.2%
3.1 Participation into Ward Committee meetings	95.8%	4.2%				
4. Direct Dealing with Councillors	11.5%	87.5%	4.2 Assessment of Councillors	95.2%	2.8%	2.0%
4.1 Feedback from Councillors	47.1%	52.9%				
	15.2%	15.2%	15.2%	15.2%	15.2%	15.2%

Table 7c Participation Indicators for West Coast

Participation levels are generally very low: indeed, levels of interaction with both councillors and officials were the lowest of all areas surveyed (11% respectively), despite very high levels of civil society membership (92%).

To a large extent, this reflects the general indifference to community participation displayed by the largely white and coloured political elite, and conservative agricultural and fishing interests. Prior to the creation of the District Municipality, the Western Cape Provincial Development council made some attempts to facilitate communication structures, and these achieved a degree of success in places like Saldana, where there is an organised civil society, largely around vested labour and business interests in the fishing industry.

When the IDP consultative process was first initiated, the District Municipality relied heavily on an external consultant to fulfil its participation obligations. At the time, it was felt that the existing Provincial Development Council structures were too politicised, and that these latter were in any case a duplication of the forums that had to be set up in accordance with standard IDP protocol. As a result, the PDC structures have effectively stopped functioning.

Unfortunately, there is little evidence to suggest that alternative consultative structures have actually been set up, or that they are working. In all but one of the local municipalities, Matzikama, the ward committees have not been used as the basis for securing public input into the IDP. Instead, public meetings have been called, to which both the public and well-

known interest groups have been invited. For the most part, these meetings have been poorly attended, and dominated by the same people who participated in the PDC structures.

In the District Management Area, Bitterfontein, the District Council has called public meetings, with a similar lack of response from the residents in the area. In November 2002, the mayor and senior officials went on a “roadshow” to Bitterfontein to speak directly to the people. This input will be included in future planning.

To a large extent, the failure to encourage public participation lies in the management style of both the district and local councils. Despite public commitment to participation, there is little evidence to suggest that officials pursue this as a goal in itself. Moreover, officials are openly critical, with good reason, of the tendency for participation exercises to degenerate into political mudslinging with few if any concrete proposals or suggestions made. Politicians are surprisingly weak throughout the West Coast, and, with the partial exception of Matzikama, have not made concerted efforts to support either IDP participation exercises or the ward committee system.

As elsewhere in the Western Cape, it is fair comment to suggest that the *Provincial* agenda of the DP members of the Democratic Alliance – in any case, now the sole members of the DA – is generally unsupportive of mass participation exercises. Whilst there is no evidence to suggest that the DP/DA has sought to undermine or subvert national participation strategies, as is the case with the DP/DA in the City of Cape Town, mass participation is clearly not seen as a priority either. It will be interesting to see what happens in Saldana Bay, by far the most important economic and political region within the District, with the recent shift in power from the DA/DP to the ANC. (This happened in late 2002, after the interviews for this project were completed.)

A second factor hindering public participation is the continued confusion relating to lines of responsibility between the District and Local Municipalities. The District has battled to draw up clear service agreements with the Local Municipalities, which complicates public participation as it is unclear whom and how the public should seek to influence. For the most part, the district and local municipalities blame each other for this failure.

The high levels of civil society membership found in the survey are at odds with the low levels of participation. One explanation for this stems, simply, from the failure of either the district or local municipalities to embrace a culture of public participation. However the problem goes well beyond this. In part, it seems to stem from the high levels of church membership in conservative Afrikaans speaking “coloured” and white fishing towns and rural communities. In most cases, this implies membership of the conservative and largely apolitical (since the fall of apartheid) NG Kerk. Membership of civil society, it must be stressed, does not translate automatically into civic sensibilities or activism.

The comparatively low levels of awareness of ward committee structures (42%) are explained partially by the ambivalence towards the establishment of ward committees in areas controlled by the DA (at least prior to November 2002, during which time the survey was carried out). Since responsibility for communication devolved to the Category B and C municipalities, very little seems to have happened, and there is as yet no evidence of actual commitment to the empowerment of ward committees as a component of Council participation strategies.

Levels of organisation within civil society vary across the District. Workers from the fishing industry are unionised, but the dramatic decline in the fishing industry makes them vulnerable

to employee pressures. In the agricultural sector, conservative white interests hold sway, and there is little in the way of an organised labour voice.

Service Delivery

INDICATORS Services	satisfaction					satisfaction		
	good	average	bad	non-existent		worse	the same	better
1. Electricity	87.0%	7.3%	5.8%	0.0%				
2. Water	90.3%	2.4%	6.7%	0.6%				
3. Sanitation	22.7%	24.5%	51.5%	1.2%				
4. Housing	25.5%	35.3%	37.4%	1.8%				
5. Refuse	18.8%	45.2%	25.5%	10.6%	12. Assessment of life in the area in the last 5 years			
6. Health	36.1%	28.8%	33.9%	1.2%		15.8%	71.8%	12.5%
7. School	81.5%	7.9%	8.8%	1.8%				
8. Policing	12.2%	10.6%	75.4%	1.8%				
9. Public Transport	68.5%	14.2%	15.5%	1.8%				
10. Sport facilities	53.3%	12.7%	17.6%	16.4%				
11. Cemeteries	11.5%	3.6%	84.8%	0.0%				

Table 8c Service Indicators for West Coast

Service standards reflect the geography of the area, with considerably higher and better service levels in the bigger towns, especially Saldana Bay, Marmesbury and Mooresburg, and far worse levels in the rural agricultural areas.

The relatively high levels of satisfaction with service delivery in areas such as water (90%) and electricity (87%) reflect approval of development initiatives initiated and in many cases carried out by National and Provincial bodies. The far lower levels recorded for health (36%), housing (25%), sanitation (23%) and refuse collection (19%) are indicative of the generally low levels of consumer satisfaction with service delivery in the West Coast.

The District and Local Municipalities have only just concluded service agreements, which set out responsibility for specific service provision, as well as the delegation of certain specific responsibilities to the local municipalities. Considerable tensions remain between the two levels of the local state, with considerable “buck passing” and a general failure to take responsibility for service provision.

Although the District Municipality has implemented the free basic water policy in the DMA of Bitterfontein, this affects only 2% of the total council population. The free basic electricity policy is proving difficult to implement elsewhere, as most electricity is sold directly by Eskom.

Development

INDICATORS	<i>Low</i>	<i>Middle</i>	<i>High</i>		
	<i><R72,000</i>	<i>R72,001-132,000</i>	<i>>R132,000</i>		
1 Household Income	88.2%	8.2%	3.6%		
	<i>None</i>	<i>Primary</i>	<i>Secondary</i>	<i>Matric</i>	<i>Tertiary</i>
2. Education	14.9%	10.6%	17.0%	27.1%	30.4%
	<i>Not enough</i>	<i>Enough</i>	<i>Don't know</i>		
3 Job creation efforts from the council	95.7%	1.2%	3.1%		
	<i>Down</i>	<i>The same</i>	<i>Up</i>		
4. Income change in the last 2 years	8.9%	67.0%	24.1%		
5. Standard of living change in the last 3 years	19.0%	61.6%	19.4%		
6. Future Income change	13.0%	56.8%	30.2%		

Table 9c Development Indicators for West Coast

A lack of clear lines of communication between the District and Local level municipalities is a barrier to further development. In some cases, economic regeneration strategies are in place, but for the most part, this stems from the intervention of the Western Cape Provincial government, especially with regard to the fishing industry, rather than the generally ineffective District Municipality.

However very low income levels are major obstacles to progress, and are barriers to internal investment. Only a quarter (24%) of respondents reported an improvement in their standards of living, whilst a massive 93% expressed their dissatisfaction with living standards generally.

The huge regional disparities, with most of the wealth concentrated in the South, remains an obstacle for development. Until the District Municipality develops the capacity to function as a strong, independent, organ of government, it is unlikely that the intended benefits of the new municipal boundaries will bear fruit. Cross-subsidisation, mutually supportive development planning, and regional integration, all require a coherent sense of purpose and political will. At present, this is lacking.

The formation of a District-level IDP has been hampered by the failure of several local councils, including Saldana Bay, the most developed Local Municipality, to complete their IDPs timorously. Moreover, the District Municipality complains, with good reason, of a lack of cooperation in terms of the regional planning exercises.

Control: Rustenburg

Rustenburg local municipality lies in the centre of South Africa's main deposits of platinum. The mining of this precious metal is the basis for the entire political economy. Since the end of apartheid the Rustenburg has become one of the fastest growing municipal locations in South Africa. The town has a well-developed and diversified elite structure in which the large mining corporates play a leading role. There are also extremely wealthy traditional authorities in the area and a number of NGO's in town. The business elite is well organised and highly activist on local issues.

Participation

INDICATORS						
public participation	yes	no	Satisfaction	bad	average	good
1. Participation in community organisations	88.9%	11.1%				
2. Knowledge of local government issues	63.4%	35.3%	2.1 Assessment of the Municipality	55.5%	19.4%	22.3%
3. Knowledge of Ward Committees	47.0%	53.0%	3.2 Assessment of Ward Committees	69.3%	10.5%	20.3%
3.1 Participation into Ward Committee meetings	66.3%	25.0%				
4. Direct Dealing with Councillors	49.7%	47.9%	4.2 Assessment of Councillors	71.0%	9.7%	19.3%
4.1 Feedback from Councillors	50.0%	50.0%				
5. Direct Dealing with Officials	33.4%	45.5%	5.1 Assessment of Officials	70.3%	2.2%	27.5%

Table 10c Participation Indicators for Rustenburg

Cooperation between business and government is widely regarded as the key to economic development and good governance. Despite the concern by the business elites that local government has limited entrepreneurial vision or flair, relations between the two key actors have improved dramatically over the last few years. Both now concur that community participation is essential to taking the town forward. The major multi-national corporates admit to maintaining a discrete presence, but companies such as Anglo and Impala Platinum are widely believed to play a key but quiet role in public policy. The community is relatively engaged on local government issues, with a high 88.9 percent of respondents reporting participation in community organisations. However, participation falls off in the rural areas under the administration of the Royal Bafokeng Authority and among the immigrant mining population.

Ward committees are up and running, but there are wide divergences in community participation. Local government officials range in their evaluation from highly positive to highly negative: the minority of ward committees, it appears, have mobilised people on a relatively sustainable basis but other ward committees - the majority - have suffered from changing membership and conflicts between different individuals and organisations claiming to represent the various composite interest groups.

Local government is committed to maximum communication with the community, one consequence of which is a respectable proportion of people (68.4 percent) who claim some knowledge of local government. This is seen as essential to implementation of the IDP on a people-centred basis. External communication channels are however relatively weak and underdeveloped. Given the business-orientation of the “new post-apartheid Rustenburg, many business and government personnel tend to favour external communication geared to investment marketing over the internal task of consolidating links between people and government. Municipal support services for grassroots institution-building are consequently weak.

The councillors represent a wide variety of capabilities. Some are fairly new and experienced; others have a track-record of service dating back to the first days of the democratic transition. As in other communities, the PR councillors tend to have creamed off the best skills leaving ward councillors with the weaker elements. Business tends to gravitate towards the PR councillors and there is a clear need to more fully capacitate the ward representatives to perform their core functions.

Municipal community relations in Rustenburg, as elsewhere, are strongly influenced by service provision, developmental delivery, and - not the least - public perceptions of the municipal bureaucracy. Roughly half the population (55.5 percent) rates municipal performance negatively and much of this appears to be the results of perceptions of

officialdom. Only a third of the sample (33.4 percent) - many of whom live in rural areas - have had any contact with officials, most of whom appear imperious and uncaring. It comes as no surprise therefore that only 27 percent believe officials to be performing adequately. Most opinion-makers concur and believe that relations at this level will remain fragile until local government can become more user-friendly apart from delivery on its commitments to enhanced services. On a more positive note, the economic expansion of the area has filtered down to municipal coffers so that there are relatively substantial funds for improvement of services and infrastructure. Nonetheless, these have to be more efficiently managed and deployed if the municipality wishes to raise its credibility at community level as part of the process of stimulating participation.

Public communications around ward committees have been relatively successful, despite impediments raised by traditional authorities in some areas. At this point a reasonable 47 percent of the population seems to have a broad conception of these new structures. In practice, ward committees perform quite well in some cases, and less well in others. Approximately 2/3rds of the sample (66.3 percent) participate in ward committees, but many do so for the wrong reasons. Local observers, for example, point to widespread community perceptions that ward committees are sources of paid employment: disappointment and withdrawal follow when people are informed that service is a civic responsibility. There is also limited understanding of the powers of ward committees and how they relate to the ward councillors. Some councillors are frustrated by their committees: other committees believe they can legally by-pass their councillors altogether. In the last analysis, the entire ward system remains to be firmly and effectively implanted: when questioned on performance, 69.3 percent of the sample rated committees negatively.

Councillors, (according to most elites), are for the most part publicly spirited and active in informing their constituents about policy developments. This is inherent to the 49.7 percent of respondents who have had direct dealings with councillors, as well as half the sample, which reports positive feedback from councillors who are alerted to community problems. Nonetheless, a distinct proportion of councillors - as NGO representatives complain - are clearly self-interested and spend most of their energies using their position to accumulate political capital. Business elites note that many councillors tend to over-evaluate their position and assume powers that are clearly outside their designated function. There is also concern about corruption although this seems to be confined to select individuals rather than the councillors as a whole. Either way, public opinion is relative negative about its representatives with about 80 percent of the sample designating councillor performance as either "bad" or "average".

Service Delivery

INDICATORS Services	satisfaction							
	good	average	bad	non-existent		worse	the same	better
1. Electricity	55.4%	19.9%	18.8%	0.0%				
2. Water	73.0%	10.8%	15.3%	0.9%				
3. Sanitation	57.7%	12.8%	28.7%	0.9%				
4. Housing	47.2%	23.0%	25.9%	4.0%				
5. Refuse	18.5%	8.2%	53.7%	19.6%	12. Assessment of life in the area in the last 5 years	41.0%	32.2%	26.7%
6. Health	35.8%	24.1%	35.2%	4.8%				
7. School	39.5%	35.2%	18.5%	6.8%				
8. Policing	27.0%	21.6%	48.9%	2.6%				
9. Public Transport	65.9%	15.6%	13.1%	5.4%				
10. Sport facilities	20.5%	15.1%	31.9%	32.5%				
11. Cemeteries	4.7%	18.9%	74.8%	1.6%				

Table 11c Service Indicators for Rustenberg

Delivery of bulk services (electricity, water and, to a lesser extent, sanitation) is relatively satisfactory according to both public and elite evaluation. Community leadership and business elites nevertheless believe that, but considerably more needs to be done in such sectors as social housing, public health and, above all, policing/security. Better sports and recreation facilities are also required in order to cater for large numbers of the unemployed, particularly women and youth who turn to crime and other forms of anti-social activity.

There is a general sense that municipal performance on service delivery is better than in the recent past i.e. before the 2000 local government elections. 58.9 percent of the sample see a stabilisation or improvement in their standards of living since then, largely due to better service delivery. Officials are now settling into a post-transformation mode although there are still a number of residual conflicts over appointments based on affirmative action in the municipal bureaucracy, which impact negatively on service provision. Councillors appear to transact relatively well with municipal officials on delivery issues despite decreasingly frequent conflicts over the latter's terms of appointment. Financial management is relatively effective and cost recovery on services quite good in relation to most other municipalities.

Development

INDICATORS	<i>Low</i>	<i>Middle</i>	<i>High</i>		
	<i><R72,000</i>	<i>R72,001-132,000</i>	<i>>R132,000</i>		
1 Household Income	82.1%	12.5%	5.4%		
	<i>None</i>	<i>Primary</i>	<i>Secondary</i>	<i>Matric</i>	<i>Tertiary</i>
2. Education	12.3%	11.4%	19.7%	35.3%	20.5%
	<i>Not enough</i>	<i>Enough</i>	<i>Don't know</i>		
3 Job creation efforts from the council	77.5%	9.8%	12.7%		
	<i>Down</i>	<i>The same</i>	<i>Up</i>		
4. Income change in the last 2 years	40.9%	39.4%	19.7%		
5. Standard of living change in the last 3 years	37.8%	31.8%	30.4%		
6. Future Income change	38.1%	23.6%	38.4%		

Table 12c Development Indicators for Rustenburg

Relations between Rustenburg and the district are relatively unproblematic, largely because the district is dominated by Rustenburg and has few powers to begin with. Relations with provincial authority are also fairly positive since Rustenburg has its own internal capacity to raise funds and mobilise development resources. Local government officials nevertheless complain of provincial interference in some local projects or, in some cases, provincial indifference to local initiatives. These patterns are however attributed to different “styles” of governmental behaviour rather than to deep-seated problems at local-provincial level

The elite and, in particular, the corporate elite is generally positive about the capacity of the local authorities to manage development but would, at the same time value, closer consultation on issues which impinge on mining interests. Local government elites, on their side, believe that mining capital needs to be far more active in its social investment programmes, particularly on such community wide problems as unemployment and Aids. All however concur in their evaluation that in many respects Rustenburg is a success-story of national significance.

All elites are concerned with the persistence of poverty and unemployment in at atmosphere of relative affluence. Relative to most other local authorities however, there is markedly less hostility to Council efforts to promote job-create with only 77.5 percent of respondents citing the need for the municipality to energise itself in the process of generating employment opportunities. Critics of the local authorities believe that municipal finances could be more

imaginatively used to accelerate local economic development. The traditional authorities whose influence pervades the whole district are also relatively positive about LED. Unions in the mining industry are less certain and are widely concerned with the tendency of LED to focus on issues of growth rather than distribution.

Anticipations of the future are a mix of optimism and pessimism at community level. While 40.9 percent of the sample reports a decline in income over the last two years, 30.4 percent see an enhanced standard of living over the same period. Almost an exact number of respondents (38 percent) believe that their income will either not decline or improve in the foreseeable future. Elites are, for the most part more definitively positive, with most supporting the view that Rustenburg is moving rapidly forward with a relatively effective local government at its core. Most elites are fairly certain of a brighter future although there is understandable concern about the reliance of the local economy on the mining industry. Nonetheless, local government has embarked upon a policy to encourage downstream industrial and commercial diversification, which is strongly endorsed by local business leadership. Community leaders would welcome better communications between the municipality and its constituents as well as more capacity building on the ground i.e. in the ward committees. On the whole however, they agree with the positive perceptions about the municipality articulated in other circles.

Cluster 3

The following sections detail the key findings for the targets and the control group in cluster 3.

Cacadu

The Cacadu District Municipality is a recent creation, covering 60,000 square kilometres, consisting largely of less developed areas in the western section of the Eastern Cape. The area was known previously as the Western District Council, but has since been deprived of 72% of its population and 94% of its levy income by the establishment of the nearby Nelson Mandela Metropolitan Council. Cacadu is made up of nine local councils – Bavians, Blue Crane Route, Camdeboo, Ikwezi, Kouga, Kou-Kamma, Makana, Ndlambe, Sundays River Valley – and includes a District Management Area within its area of jurisdiction.

As a District Municipality, Alfred Nzo is in political and economic disarray, and is not able to provide a conducive meso-level of local government within which category B municipalities can flourish. As with Alfred Nzo, Cacadu, with few exceptions, i.e. some parts of Camdeboo (Graaff-Reinet), Kouga (Jeffrey's Bay), and the Blue Crane Route (Somerset East), must be considered a *crisis council*, in the sense that it is unable to meet any of its core governance or development responsibilities.

Participation

INDICATORS						
<i>public participation</i>	<i>yes</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>Satisfaction</i>	<i>bad</i>	<i>average</i>	<i>good</i>
1. Participation in community organisations	78.5%	21.5%				
2. Knowledge of local government issues	64.1%	35.9%	2.1 Assessment of the Municipality	42.0%	30.5%	27.5%
3. Knowledge of Ward Committees	59.7%	40.3%	3.2 Assessment of Ward Committees	43.0%	18.8%	38.1%
3.1 Participation into Ward Committee meetings	80.9%	19.1%				
4. Direct Dealing with Councillors	49.2%	50.8%	4.2 Assessment of Councillors	55.7%	16.7%	27.6%
4.1 Feedback from Councillors	36.1%	63.9%				
5. Direct Dealing with Officials	49.2%	50.8%	5.1 Assessment of Officials	48.3%	22.4%	29.2%

Table 1d Participation Indicators for Cacadu

Cacadu has an active civil society (78%), albeit with only average levels of interaction with ward committees (58%), councillors (49%) and officials (49%). Unfortunately, the ward committee structures do not function as constructive conduits for community input into council politics. Instead, they have become an extension of existent political structures, and are heavily politicized. Intense inter-personal struggles for leadership of some ward committees have further undermined their usefulness.

In most areas, ward committees have not been properly established. During the IDP process, ward committees were often (but not always) used to solicit community input into the IDP. Officials complain however that this was not done properly, and that the ward committees were dominated by disgruntled individuals with an axe to grind, and that the ward committees did not reflect the wide range of civil society interests in Cacadu. In some cases, ward committees were seen as extensions of local tribal/traditional politics, although the links between ward committee members and tribal offices was not made public due to the traditional leaders official boycott of these structures. The fact that only 38% of respondents offering a positive assessment of the ward committees is indicative of this.

Cacadu is viewed in a negative light by respondents, with only 28% expressing a positive view of councillors and 29% of officials. This is to some extent because of the failure of council politics over the past decade, which has witnessed a sharp fall in levels of employment (excluding the areas closest to PE) and the savage impact of HIV/Aids on household incomes.

The low population densities and rural nature of much of Cacadu is a barrier to more active participation. Attempts to mobilise groups of people often flounder in the face of huge transport and opportunity costs. Moreover, participation in ward committees has declined dramatically since the IDP process first began, largely as a result of failure of ward committee members to leverage state resources for themselves.

Service Delivery

Cacadu has a reasonably record in terms of consumer satisfaction with electricity (73%) and Water (63%), but far lower levels with sanitation (36%), housing (35%), refuse collection (17%) and health (34%). The last three reflect more accurately the ability of local government to delivery services itself, i.e. without considerable provincial and national support, and point to the generally low to very low levels of service provision in the District. Indeed, Cacadu has an estimated R1.75 billion backlog in services.

INDICATORS Services	satisfaction				worse	the same	better
	good	average	bad	non-existent			
1. Electricity	73.0%	17.1%	8.7%	1.2%			
2. Water	63.5%	21.4%	13.9%	1.2%			
3. Sanitation	36.1%	2.8%	57.7%	3.4%			
4. Housing	35.5%	14.8%	47.8%	1.9%			
5. Refuse	16.7%	6.5%	51.2%	25.6%			
6. Health	34.0%	25.9%	38.6%	1.5%	12. Assessment of life in the area in the last 5 years	41.5%	35.8% 22.6%
7. School	64.2%	25.6%	7.7%	2.5%			
8. Policing	14.5%	36.7%	46.9%	1.9%			
9. Public Transport	46.9%	41.4%	11.4%	0.3%			
10. Sport facilities	2.8%	4.9%	9.3%	83.0%			
11. Cemeteries	0.3%	0.3%	98.1%	1.2%			

Table 2d Service Indicators for Cacadu

Service delivery is hampered by the limited economic and human social capacity of Cacadu. In addition to losing 94% of its levy income through the establishment of the Nelson Mandela Metro (R140 million to R15 million a year), Cacadu has also lost a significant component of its core staff. For both economic and political reasons, with the establishment of the Cacadu district council, 88 core head office staff members were retrenched. In Feb 2002, 58 new positions were filled, although for political reasons, and in order to meet its affirmative action targets, these were not filled by former incumbents. Instead, 95% of the new officials have *no* prior experience with local government.

As a result of the almost complete lack of experience of senior officials, a decision has been taken to employ 26 of the former (largely white) officials as advisors. Technically, this is described as a “winding up” team, who will train and empower the new officials to do their jobs. This has led to a dramatic collapse in the ability of a once relatively efficient council (the Western District Council) to deliver services. Economically, the fact that two sets of people are being employed to do the same job adds to the burden of government.

Ongoing personal friction between the past incumbents (the so-called “winding up” team) and the people currently employed to do their jobs have contributed to a general lack of moral amongst officials in Cacadu.

Development

INDICATORS	Low	Middle	High					
	<R72,000	R72,001-132,000	>R132,000	None	Primary	Secondary	Matric	Tertiary
1. Household Income	88.4%	9.4%	2.1%					
2. Education	15.5%	15.8%	28.0%	29.5%	11.2%			
3. Job creation efforts from the council	75.1%	1.8%	23.1%	Not enough	Enough	Don't know		
4. Income change in the last 2 years	47.0%	25.7%	27.3%	Down	The same	Up		
5. Standard of living change in the last 3 years	55.7%	25.2%	19.2%					
6. Future Income change	47.0%	25.7%	27.3%					

Table 3d Development Indicators for Cacadu

There is not much optimism in Cacadu. Most respondents are despondent about their economic status, and three quarters believe that Cacadu is not doing enough to promote

development. Furthermore, nearly half (47%) expect their incomes to decline in the next two years, and over half (55.7%) anticipate that their standard of living will decline.

Most troubling, is the lack of any sense of a plan to affect economic recovery in the area. Most officials are still complaining bitterly about the loss of a revenue basis through the creation of the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan government, whilst councillors lobby Province for greater support to make up for this loss.

However there is much that needs to be done in terms of development planning. Although tourism has been identified as a priority, there is little in the way of a concrete plan to promote this. Indeed, the aforementioned lack of administrative capacity makes it difficult for the Cacadu District Council to promote any form of development at present.

For the most part, the District is dependent on revenues from agricultural activity, and there is some potential for the development of new downstream opportunities associated with this. The proposed Couga harbour near Port Elizabeth has potentially significant benefits for parts of Cacadu.

As in Alfred Nzo, the widespread administrative collapse of the Eastern Cape government is a major barrier to development. Local Council does not receive the external support it needs.

Central Karoo

The Central Karoo District Municipality is located in Beaufort West in the Western Cape, and includes three Local Municipalities – Beaufort West, Laingsburg and Prince Albert – and a District Management Area within its area of jurisdiction. The Central Karoo is a generally impoverished area, dominated by large, conservative, agricultural interests and a few smaller tourist oriented sectors.

Participation

INDICATORS	public participation		Satisfaction		
	yes	no	bad	average	good
1. Participation in community organisations	86.2%	13.8%			
2. Knowledge of local government issues	62.7%	37.3%	2.1	Assessment of the Municipality	58.4% 29.8% 11.0%
3. Knowledge of Ward Committees	25.9%	74.1%	3.2	Assessment of Ward Committees	66.6% 18.4% 14.9%
3.1 Participation into Ward Committee meetings	52.4%	47.6%			
4. Direct Dealing with Councillors	40.6%	59.4%	4.2	Assessment of Councillors	63.9% 13.8% 22.1%
4.1 Feedback from Councillors	42.2%	57.8%			
5. Direct Dealing with Officials	15.8%	84.2%	5.1	Assessment of Officials	33.4% 21.7% 45.0%

Table 4d Participation Indicators for Central Karoo

Despite high levels of membership in civil society organisations (86%), civil society does not have active links with local government in the Central Karoo. Only a quarter (26%) of residents had contact with ward committees, whilst 16% had contact with officials and 41% with councillors. This appeared to be underpinned by a poor assessment of municipal institutions, and translates into low levels of public satisfaction.

Despite relatively high knowledge of ward committees, two thirds of respondents (66%) rated these badly, which confirms our impression that, despite council support, ward committees have not been properly established in the Central Karoo. As in so many councils, ward committees, or even just public meetings in wards, appear simply to have been used as a

“one-off mechanism” to allow council to claim that it has fulfilled the IDP requirement that it engage in a process of community consultation.

Community participation strategies in the Central Karoo, much as in the West Coast District Municipality, have been shaped by the earlier presence of Regional Development Councils. These councils invited many stakeholders to participate in planning exercises, although this was not always done in a sufficiently inclusive manner. The Development Council has since been integrated into the Planning and Implementation Management Service (PIMS) center and, more recently, the IDP forum.

Although the Regional Development Council worked well in the West Coast, it appears to have been less successful in the Central Karoo. Officials complain that the RDC was dominated by individual ANC members that had not managed to get onto the Party list for the last election. As a result of the conflicts this caused, the District Council wanted little to do with the RSC, asking why it, as the elected ANC leadership, should be made accountable to their less successful party colleagues.

Ward committees meetings, along with IDP consultative forums workshops – oftentimes these were effectively the same thing – were held during 2001 and 2002 in order to inform the IDP process. A common complaint is that these identified mostly infrastructure projects rather than specific economic development projects. However it is important to note that, although few ward committees continue to function, the ideal of community participation is widely supported within the District, by members of all political party’s. Departments admit openly that they had little chance to incorporate community input into their planning for 2002, as the participative exercises were held to late in the IDP process. However there is a clear sense that this problem should be avoided in future planning exercises.

Although officials complain that unsuccessful politicians dominated the old Regional Development Councils, we found no evidence to suggest that this was the case with ward committees or IDP consultative workshops. The ward committees appear to reflect more openly the diversity of community opinion in the Central Karoo, although, as noted above, there are doubts as to their longevity.

To a large extent, civil society is dominated by church groupings. Organised labour does not play a consistent role in local politics.

Service Delivery

INDICATORS Services	satisfaction				worse	the same	better
	good	average	bad	non-existent			
1. Electricity	65.6%	19.7%	13.2%	1.5%			
2. Water	80.0%	12.1%	7.9%	0.0%			
3. Sanitation	62.2%	14.5%	23.3%	0.0%			
4. Housing	60.1%	18.8%	19.9%	1.2%			
5. Refuse	10.0%	7.1%	35.9%	47.1%			
6. Health	22.6%	28.8%	43.2%	5.3%			
7. School	63.2%	26.2%	7.1%	3.5%			
8. Policing	20.6%	26.5%	50.1%	2.7%			
9. Public Transport	71.4%	18.0%	9.1%	1.5%			
10. Sport facilities	3.2%	7.1%	16.8%	72.9%			
11. Cemeteries	10.3%	20.3%	66.8%	2.6%			
12. Assessment of life in the area in the last 5 years					42.3%	29.9%	27.7%

Table 5d Service Indicators for Central Karoo

In terms of service provision, the Central Karoo has a good consumer rating for water (80%), and average ratings for electricity (66%), sanitation (62%), and housing (60%). Refuse collection is rated poorly (10%), as is health (23%) which needs urgent improvement.

Within the Karoo, there are considerable levels of regional inequality, which divide *relatively* prosperous (but still very poor) Beaufort West and Laingsburg from Prince Albert and the District Management Areas. This is reflected within the District, where councillors from Prince Albert complain that their Local Municipality does not receive sufficient support from either the District or the Western Cape Provincial administration.

Considerable administrative and fiscal limitations hinder the ability of the District Municipality to encourage or support local economic development strategies, and there is very little evidence to suggest that the District is able to play a supportive role in facilitating such development. The local tourist industry, for example, complains bitterly about inconsistent and partial support, despite the huge tourist potential of, particularly, the areas around Beaufort West and Prince Albert.

Development

INDICATORS	Low	Middle	High		
	<R72,000	R72,001-132,000	>R132,000		
1. Household Income	95.3%	2.9%	1.8%		
	None	Primary	Secondary	Matric	Tertiary
2. Education	10.4%	15.8%	27.2%	28.1%	18.2%
	Not enough	Enough	Don't know		
3. Job creation efforts from the council	83.3%	3.0%	13.7%		
	Down	The same	Up		
4. Income change in the last 2 years	20.6%	45.8%	33.6%		
5. Standard of living change in the last 3 years	37.8%	37.8%	24.4%		
6. Future Income change	14.6%	48.6%	36.8%		

Table 6d Development Indicators for Central Karoo

There is only limited economic mobility in the Central Karoo, with barely a third of respondents (34%) claiming an improvement in their recent economic status. This contributes to low levels of public satisfaction.

The interests of conservative agriculture and a few small industrial concerns dominate local development politics. Business is divided starkly along racial lines, and big business is entirely white. This makes the development of viable local economic development strategies that much more difficult.

On the positive side, the Central Karoo was identified recently as one of 15 rural development nodes in the Western Cape. The Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Programme (ISRDP) is central to this, and will bring much needed financial and technical resources into the District. Moreover, the ISRDP will build on already supportive links between Province and the District Municipality.

Karoo District

The Karoo District Municipality is located in the town of De Aar in the Northern Cape, and includes eight Local Municipalities, as well as several District Management Areas, within its

jurisdiction. The Karoo is probably the largest District Municipality in the Country, although it is extremely sparsely populated, with fewer than 40,000 households. The Karoo District has only limited economic resources, dominated by large-scale agriculture, severe racial tensions, and very high levels of unemployment and poverty.

Both the District and the Local Municipalities are severely under resourced, and lack the economic and the administrative resources to meet their developmental objectives. This is made worse by critical human resource shortcomings. Many former officials have been retrenched, although some are still employed as advisors to their new replacements, whilst most of the newly appointed officials lack experience in local government and require considerable training and administrative support. Whilst this is a problem found in all municipal structures in South Africa, it is especially acute in the Karoo, which is able to offer little in the way of incentives to attract skilled (black) administrative staff.

Participation

INDICATORS						
public participation	yes	no	Satisfaction	bad	average	good
1. Participation in community organisations	73.8%	26.2%				
2. Knowledge of local government issues	93.2%	6.7%	2.1 Assessment of the Municipality	39.7%	32.8%	27.5%
3. Knowledge of Ward Committees	43.1%	56.9%	3.2 Assessment of Ward Committees	14.5%	22.1%	63.4%
3.1 Participation into Ward Committee meetings	91.1%	8.8%				
4. Direct Dealing with Councillors	90.2%	9.8%	4.2 Assessment of Councillors	42.7%	24.6%	32.7%
4.1 Feedback from Councillors	50.9%	49.1%				
5. Direct Dealing with Officials	40.0%	60.0%	5.1 Assessment of Officials	14.7%	22.8%	62.5%

Table 7d Participation Indicators for Karoo District

The Karoo has an active civil society (74%), but low levels of interaction with ward committees (43%), and officials (40%). In contrast to this, there are high levels of interaction with councillors (90%), although this interaction is largely unsatisfactory, with less than a third (33%) offering a positive evaluation of councillors, compared to the two thirds (63.4%) who felt positive towards ward committees.

For the most part, ward committees have been created, and continue to function outside the “white areas”. However the ward committees are heavily politicised – far more so than in the other areas studies – and are invariably dominated by people who were not able to get onto the ANC’s party list in the last elections. As a result, ANC councillors are often hesitant to deal with ward committees, complaining that they, and not their runners up, reflect the will of the ANC. Moreover, we found an alarming lack of tolerance displayed towards non-ANC members in ANC dominated ward committees. In one case, the ward committee representative was quick to tell us exactly how many DA/DP supporters were on the ward committee, and how they intended to alter this in the near future. This goes well beyond healthy party political conflict, and is suggestive of an intolerant attitude towards the diversity of social interests at the local level.

Ward committees barely exist in “white” areas, which, for their own part, continue to endorse extremely conservative political interests. Workers on white farms complain bitterly that they are prevented from partaking in either party political or union activities.

Service Delivery

Largely due to national and provincial RDP development programmes, residents tended to express high levels of satisfaction with core service delivery: housing (93%), electricity (84%), water (84%) and sanitation (62%). Lower approval ratings were recorded for services provided directly by Local Municipalities, notably health (41%) and refuse collection (37%).

INDICATORS Services	satisfaction							
	good	average	bad	non-existent		worse	the same	better
1. Electricity	83.8%	0.6%	4.1%	11.5%				
2. Water	84.4%	1.5%	14.2%	0.0%				
3. Sanitation	62.1%	10.0%	27.6%	0.3%				
4. Housing	93.5%	5.9%	0.6%	0.0%				
5. Refuse	36.6%	7.1%	2.7%	53.7%	12. Assessment of life in the area in the last 5 years			
6. Health	41.2%	26.2%	28.2%	4.4%		54.4%	23.8%	21.8%
7. School	70.8%	15.6%	2.4%	11.2%				
8. Policing	17.1%	13.8%	68.8%	0.3%				
9. Public Transport	89.7%	5.9%	4.1%	0.3%				
10. Sport facilities	2.9%	5.3%	1.8%	90.0%				
11. Cemeteries	17.9%	15.8%	65.5%	0.6%				

Table 8d Service Indicators for Karoo District

The two main obstacles to service delivery in the Karoo stem from the very low levels of capacity in both the Local and District Municipalities – a problem that has got worse in the past five years – coupled to the low levels of economic activity in the Karoo generally. There are limited opportunities to expand the revenue basis, and widespread poverty, coupled to the crippling impact of HIV/Aids, makes it difficult to increase levy incomes in poor communities.

Regional economic and service level disparities are a cause for considerable concern in the District Council, which hopes to address this through the its IDP.

There is a very high level of party-politicization in all Council decisions. In many cases, this is accompanied by bitter internal party political fights, which undermine the capacity of the Council to affect development.

Development

INDICATORS	Low	Middle	High		
	<R72,000	R72,001-132,000	>R132,000	None	Primary
1 Household Income	93.8%	4.4%	1.8%		
				Secondary	Matric
2. Education	4.7%	13.2%	38.1%	36.8%	6.9%
				Don't know	
3 Job creation efforts from the council	96.7%	1.3%	2.0%		
	Down	The same	Up		
4. Income change in the last2 years	28.8%	32.2%	39.0%		
5. Standard of living change in the last3 years	55.3%	16.3%	28.4%		
6. Future Income change	28.3%	27.3%	44.4%		

Table 9d Development Indicators for Karoo District

Although 39% of respondents experienced an improvement in their *personal* economic status in the past two years, over half (55%) felt that their overall (i.e. household) standard of living had declined recently. Not surprisingly, nearly all respondents (97%) felt that council was not doing enough to support job creation in the community.

In an area as sparsely populated and as under-resourced as the Karoo, facilitating community development is likely to remain a difficult task for years to come. This is complicated further by a lack of a clear developmental vision for the District and low levels of cooperation and communication between the different Local Councils.

Control: Xhariep

Xhariep (Gariiep) is a vast municipal district with a very sparse population. Other than in the few small towns, people are scattered in a way, which seriously undermines both elite formation and coherence. Apart from the public sector there are a small number of agricultural and business interests, but these are insufficient to constitute a definitive “elite”. A number of CBO’s and NGO’s are to be found in the handful of towns in the district: but these tend to be largely retro-active and non-participant on local government issues except at times of crisis.

Participation

INDICATORS				Satisfaction		
public participation	yes	no		bad	average	good
1. Participation in community organisations	92.2%	7.8%				
2. Knowledge of local government issues	55.2%	44.8%	2.1 Assessment of the Municipality	36.7%	28.6%	34.6%
3. Knowledge of Ward Committees	38.6%	61.4%	3.2 Assessment of Ward Committees	30.3%	10.9%	58.9%
3.1 Participation into Ward Committee meetings	82.2%	17.9%				
4. Direct Dealing with Councillors	40.0%	60.0%	4.2 Assessment of Councillors	73.9%	11.4%	14.8%
4.1 Feedback from Councillors	57.4%	42.6%				
5. Direct Dealing with Officials	38.8%	61.2%	5.1 Assessment of Officials	38.4%	19.2%	42.3%

Table 10d Participation Indicators for Xhariep

In this context civil society is grossly under-organised and officials at district and local level admit to considerable autonomy from public opinion in the formation of public policy. The downside lies in policy implementation, especially in development projects that require community participation. Both the poverty of physical and electronic communication ensures low levels of community interest, knowledge or involvement of local affairs except, once again, under emergency conditions.

Over seventy ward committees have been established and officials point to good turnout at public meetings. This tends to account for much of the surprisingly high levels of “participation in community organisations” and “ward committees” reported by 92.2 and 82.2% of respondents respectively. Knowledge of local government is (at 55.2 percent) substantially lower and this leads many in official circles to talk of “negative” involvement - i.e. unproductive community participation driven by the need of most people to voice their frustration and judgement over the slow pace of development delivery in the absence of supportive information. Large numbers of people also apparently “participate” in ward committee meetings because of unemployment and boredom in a bleak environment with few alternative forms of recreation.

The district municipality and, to a lesser extent, the local municipalities, are seeking to address the problems of external communication with their mass audience. However, district officials often experience great difficulty in initiatives to raise public consciousness on government and developmental issues when they move into areas where the prerogatives of the local municipalities are jealously guarded. In the circumstances, opportunities for direct contacts between officials and the community are fairly limited (to 40.0 percent of respondents) - as is the capacity of officials to act on problems and complaints, which they encounter at community grassroots.

Councillors are, for the most part, more mobile because they can carry the official badge of the ruling party into otherwise remote and insulated areas. The 57.4 percent of respondents who report direct dealings with councillors reflect this capacity of public representatives to penetrate all but the most remote of communities. Councillor performance, nevertheless, is fairly poor in line with a collective lack of experience. Almost three quarters of the sample rate councillor poorly or ineffective. Many councillors on their part readily admit to serving in local government (or any other organisation) for the first time and to total absence of knowledge about how policy is applied and formulated. Officials, in turn complain about the tendency of political and administrative under-education of councillors to seriously limit their own effective performance.

Municipal-community interaction is largely shaped by issues of geographic space and distance in what remains an essentially underdeveloped environment. Because of the almost entire absence of a relatively articulate public opinion officials readily admit to the lack of incentives to build community relationships or to integrate the grassroots with public policy processes. Excluded communities in turn have little interest in developing linkage with the local authorities and, in all probability, constitute the bulk of the 36.7 percent of the sample who rate councils poorly. Otherwise opinion is relatively divided between the remainder of the sample.

Ward committees exist in profusion and tend to be positively evaluated because they are innovative and associated with accelerated development in an atmosphere of relatively uncultivated public opinion. Many of the 69.8 percent of politically under-educated respondents who are supportive of ward committees are probably supportive of any state institution. In reality ward committees appear to do little to practically assist councillors or officials. The latter are highly critical of the workings of the new structures, which tend to focus on local conflicts and internal wrangles rather than the core business of governance and development. Local NGOs talk of lengthy debates with no apparent purpose and vicious struggles between self-appointed representatives of interest groups. With rare exceptions, councillors tend to see ward committees as watchdog institutions with no particular role other than to complicate their own political existence. Officials, by way of contrast, tend to occupy the space left by ward councillors in dealing with the practical problems that people in under-developed societies encounter on a daily basis. Many people, in turn, see the officials as the first resort for personal and service problems. Hence the 92 percent who claim to have had contact with the local bureaucracy.

Councillors function at both local and district level but, individuals excepted, display little capacity for providing leadership or representing their constituents. Officials believe, not unjustifiably, that there is an urgent need for capacity-building which will assist councillors to process community information, to analyse its significance for developmental governance and to project it into policy debates at both local and district level.

Service Delivery

INDICATORS Services	satisfaction							
	good	average	bad	non-existent		worse	the same	better
1. Electricity	74.9%	19.4%	3.3%	2.4%				
2. Water	82.1%	8.4%	7.2%	2.4%				
3. Sanitation	74.9%	5.1%	16.7%	3.3%				
4. Housing	70.7%	14.0%	12.5%	2.7%				
5. Refuse	74.9%	4.2%	6.0%	14.9%	12. Assessment of life in the area in the last 5 years			
6. Health	37.9%	38.8%	22.1%	1.2%		29.1%	51.5%	19.4%
7. School	69.3%	15.8%	6.3%	8.7%				
8. Policing	42.1%	34.6%	22.1%	1.2%				
9. Public Transport	34.3%	29.6%	28.4%	7.8%				
10. Sport facilities	27.8%	20.0%	25.1%	27.2%				
11. Cemeteries	47.8%	17.6%	32.5%	2.1%				

Table 11d Service Indicators for Xhariep

Opinion-makers tend to regard service delivery as relatively acceptable given the very limited funding available to public authorities in fulfilment of their mandate. At this point in time most services are actually delivered by agencies such as Eskom, regional water departments or provincial organisations. There is general satisfaction with delivery from these sources although some officials would welcome transfer of the delivery function as a means of bolstering their own power and status within the community.

Overall municipal performance on service delivery is reasonably good relative to the situation a few months ago when even the district lacked rudimentary administrative capacity. Local officials speak favourably of new personnel who have been recently emplaced, particularly at district level. Many major projects, once delayed, are now newly on-track and this tends to elevate public opinion on most services from bulk engineering through to housing and education. At local level, there is widespread appreciation for essential administrative support services emanating from the district - especially assistance in the recent IDP process.

Development

INDICATORS	Low	Middle	High		
	<R72,000	R72,001-132,000	>R132,000		
1 Household Income	94.6%	3.9%	1.5%		
2. Education	None	Primary	Secondary	Matric	Tertiary
	0.9%	4.2%	20.4%	35.6%	38.9%
3 Job creation efforts from the council	Not enough	Enough	Don't know		
	89.2%	10.8%	0.0%		
4. Income change in the last 2 years	Down	The same	Up		
	17.9%	51.0%	31.0%		
5. Standard of living change in the last 3 years	38.2%	29.1%	32.7%		
6. Future Income change	15.8%	30.7%	53.4%		

Table 12d Development Indicators for Xhariep

Relations along the district-local trajectory are quite good, but there are residual tensions because of the lack of expertise and energy at local level. District is often frustrated by the slow response of the local municipalities to policy initiatives and its weakness in the implementation of public projects. Relations with province are, on the other hand, fairly hostile. Provincial authorities are still seen as very much under "old guard" control, particularly on issues of access to finance. Senior management in the district also resents the

tendency of province to use its financial domination to impose development projects and priorities.

There are few successes of which local leaders wax lyrical. Lack of finance has strangled many initiatives at birth, and, as noted above, provincial authorities tend to appropriate credit for what has been achieved in, for example, the area of bulk service delivery. District officials are nonetheless beginning to think creatively about local economic development, which still needs to be packaged into a coherent programme to meet the immediate needs of the massive 94.6 percent of the population in the lowest income category.

A great majority of respondents (89.2 percent) believe that the local authorities could do more to create employment. Nevertheless an almost equal number see their income as having improved over the last two years and/or envision further improvements in the years to come. While the standard of living has apparently fallen for 68.3 of the population, there is relative optimism about developmental take-off on such key issues as poverty-management and job-creation.

Financial constraints remain serious and the key requirement in local government circles is for enhanced public funding. There are vague hopes that the local authority can have the area abutting the Gariep dam declared a presidential nodal point for development. There is also considerable opinion that more could be done by local authorities to more aggressively market the fairly extensive resources for tourism development available in the dam area.

Cluster 4

The following sections detail the key findings for the targets and the control group in cluster 4.

Cape Town

Cape Town is a Metropolitan (Category A) Municipality, the parliamentary capital and, after Johannesburg, the second largest city and economic powerhouse in South Africa. Its location makes the City of Cape Town the centre of a burgeoning international tourist market, which has seen dramatic rise in property prices and a general rise in inward investment in the region. Despite this relative economic prosperity, the City of Cape Town includes some of the poorest communities in the country. In many areas, this poverty helps feed some of the most intense gang related violence, adding to already heightened policing problems.

Participation

INDICATORS						
<i>public participation</i>	<i>yes</i>	<i>no</i>			<i>Satisfaction</i>	<i>bad average good</i>
1.Participation in community organisations	88.6%	11.4%				
2. Knowledge of local government issues	66.8%	31.6%	2.1	Assessment of the Municipality	35.2%	21.7% 41.2%
3. Knowledge of Ward Committees	n/a	n/a	3.2	Assessment of Ward Committees	n/a	n/a n/a
3.1 Participation into Ward Committee meetings	n/a	n/a				
4. Direct Dealing with Councillors	36.7%	62.3%	4.2	Assessment of Councillors	53.4%	12.7% 33.9%
4.1 Feedback from Councillors	47.6%	52.4%				
5. Direct Dealing with Officials	44.4%	50.6%	5.1	Assessment of Officials	24.5%	13.5% 62.1%

Table 1e Participation Indicators for Cape Town

The City of Cape Town has an active civil society (89%). However there are quite low levels of interaction between residents and the metro. Only 38% of residents have interacted with their councillors, and 44% with officials. There are no ward committees in Cape Town (see discussion below). Levels of public satisfaction are low. Councillors are assessed positively by only a third (34%) of respondents, whilst only two-thirds (41%) of respondents were positive about the Metro. By contrast, two thirds of Cape Town officials were seen in a positive light.

To understand the dynamics affecting community-Metro communication in Cape Town, it is necessary to consider the political dynamics that shape local politics. The City of Cape Town was created out of the merger of 6 previously autonomous local authorities on the 6th December 2000. These earlier councils – Blaauwberg Municipality, City of Cape Town, City of Tygerberg, Helderberg Municipality, Oostenberg Municipality, South Peninsula Municipality and the Cape Metropolitan Council – all had their own political and administrative dynamics, and it will take some time before these can be integrated into a coherent new political structure. Above all, this has precipitated conflicts between the consultative managerial style of some officials (primarily those drawn from the former South Peninsula Municipality) and the more authoritarian managerial styles of many public officials. To a lesser extent, this division also crosses party-political lines, with the DA/DP favouring a more narrowly managerial approach to government, whilst the NNP and ANC favour the creation of closer institutional linkages between the City and community organisations.

This is complicated by the politics of the Western Cape, one of the few areas in the country controlled (nominally) by non-ANC political party's. Cape Town itself was controlled by an alliance of opposition political party's until November 2002, and sought to assert its political independence. Thus the (then) Democratic Alliance choose not to adopt the ward committee system, opting instead to create an alternative system of sub-council structures which, it believed, would facilitate Metro-community consultation without rendering the City hostage to populist community pressures.

Since November 2002, the ANC, in alliance with the New National Party, have taken control of the City of Cape Town, and it is not yet clear what impact this will have. In the immediate term, this shift has strengthen the hand of those officials favouring a more consultative managerial approach, although what impact this will have on actual delivery remains to be seen.

Within civil society, there is strong support for closer linkages with the Metro. In the past two years, civil society organisations have lobbied actively for the creation of a “city wide forum,” which would include representatives of a diverse range of civil society organisations, as well

as capital and labour. This forum, it is hoped, will be able to come up with concrete development proposals that can feed directly into Metro politics.

For the most part, the leadership of the Metro has not supported such initiatives. In particular, the then-Mayor and her deputy opposed the citywide forum. However other elements within the Metro, most of whom began their political careers in the South Peninsula Municipality, continued to promote the idea, resulting in regular and often destructive clashes with the Mayor.

Considerable effort has been made to create linkages between religious groupings and the Metro. Interestingly, Cape Town is the only Council we have encountered in South Africa – indeed, outside of North America – where senior officials are divided over the merits of this policy, with some, including the (then) Mayor, resisting this on the principled basis that church and state should be separated in democratic societies.

Service Delivery

INDICATORS Services	satisfaction							
	good	average	bad	non-existent	worse	the same	better	
1. Electricity	82.8%	11.9%	3.7%	1.7%				
2. Water	74.2%	13.6%	11.4%	0.7%				
3. Sanitation	52.7%	9.9%	36.8%	0.6%				
4. Housing	50.9%	20.4%	25.6%	3.1%				
5. Refuse	41.2%	11.6%	34.7%	12.5%				
6. Health	45.9%	25.4%	23.0%	5.7%		22.7%	33.3%	42.8%
7. School	69.6%	15.7%	8.1%	6.6%				
8. Policing	44.1%	21.0%	32.4%	2.6%				
9. Public Transport	60.8%	20.4%	13.1%	5.7%				
10. Sport facilities	35.6%	12.0%	18.1%	34.3%				
11. Cemeteries	24.4%	13.6%	60.7%	1.3%				

Table 2e Service Indicators for Cape Town

Cape Town has a good record for service delivery, which reflects its privileged economic status under the previous political system. However, there are tremendous disparities within Cape Town, and some of the most significant pockets of extreme poverty can be found along the coastal strip between Cape Town and Somerset West. In our survey, we found that services such as electricity (83%), water (74%), sanitation (53%), and housing (51%) received relatively high approval ratings. Others, such as refuse collection (41%) and health (46%) need improvement.

The major obstacle to service delivery in Cape Town stems from the aforementioned regional disparities. In many areas, it will take decades to overcome inherited backlogs, whilst other areas have sophisticated service levels that are the envy of the developed world.

Growing service boycotts, in some cases supported by local politicians, limit the ability of Council to raise levy revenues and, in turn, are an obstacle to continued development. One aim of the “city wide forum” is to address this directly, by seeking to promote greater understanding of how service charges affect development, and, by encouraging local residents to participate in development planning, helping to foster an ethos of payment for services received.

Development

INDICATORS					
	<i>Low</i> <i><R72,000</i>	<i>Middle</i> <i>R72,001-132,000</i>	<i>High</i> <i>>R132,000</i>		
1. Household Income	81.9%	12.7%	5.4%		
	<i>None</i>	<i>Primary</i>	<i>Secondary</i>	<i>Matric</i>	<i>Tertiary</i>
2. Education	11.0%	28.0%	19.3%	16.8%	25.9%
	<i>Not enough</i>	<i>Enough</i>	<i>Don't know</i>		
3. Job creation efforts from the council	80.9%	3.1%	16.0%		
	<i>Down</i>	<i>The same</i>	<i>Up</i>		
4. Income change in the last 2 years	26.7%	36.8%	36.5%		
5. Standard of living change in the last 3 years	24.7%	47.6%	27.7%		
6. Future Income change	27.2%	31.3%	41.6%		

Table 3e Development Indicators for Cape Town

There are low levels of income and economic mobility in Cape Town, with only a third (36%) of respondents claiming to have witnessed an improvement in their recent economic status. Similarly, most (81%) of respondents felt that the Metro was not doing enough to promote job creation.

Development objectives in Cape Town are coloured by the need, simultaneously, to try and overcome the inequities of the past whilst promoting Cape Town as a destination for inward and foreign investment. It is fair comment to suggest that the Metro has been more successful in the latter objective, although the huge economic benefits that this is producing will, it is hoped, make the former possible.

Cape Town is at the heart of a rapidly expanding world tourist industry, and has seen huge inflows of capital into this sector. It has also continued successfully to promote local industrial and manufacturing industries, as well as agriculture (wine), and is one of the few places in South Africa that has seen sustained economic development in the past five years.

Ongoing political conflicts within the Province and within Council undermine the ability of the Metro to direct and foster economic growth, and it is hoped that these conflicts will be dealt with in the short term.

The absence of ward committees need not imply an absence of community input into development planning. Indeed, it may well be the case that these structures are overly bureaucratic, cumbersome and likely only to submit the Metro to populist pressures. However, considerable work needs to be done to ensure that the alternative community-participation strategies pursued in Cape Town manage to secure community input into and a sense of ownership over development planning. The evidence to date suggests that although this is happening in part, a sustained political commitment to the principle of consultative government is required for this to work properly.

Ekurhuleni

Ekurhuleni metropolitan municipality is situated in the province of Gauteng, bordering the metropolitan areas of Tshwane to the north and Johannesburg to the West. Ekurhuleni has gained its metropolitan status (category A) only recently by integrating 11 disestablished local authorities: Alberton, Benoni, Boksburg, Kempton Park, Tembisa, Germiston, Springs, Nigel, Brakpan, Lethabong, Khayalami, and the Eastern Gauteng Services Municipality. As a result

of past apartheid regime this huge area displays different demographics, development patterns, service infrastructures levels and varying economic potential. This complex and different metropolitan environment constitutes a challenge for the local government.

Participation

INDICATORS	public participation		Satisfaction		
	yes	no	bad	average	good
1. Participation in community organisations	85.2%	14.8%			
2. Knowledge of local government issues	55.1%	44.2%	2.1 Assessment of the Municipality	30.9%	47.6% 21.6%
3. Knowledge of Ward Committees	59.0%	39.4%	3.2 Assessment of Ward Committees	24.5%	35.2% 40.3%
3.1 Participation into Ward Committee meetings	73.4%	26.3%			
4. Direct Dealing with Councillors	33.5%	63.9%	4.2 Assessment of Councillors	38.3%	38.9% 22.8%
4.1 Feedback from Councillors	75.5%	21.4%			
5. Direct Dealing with Officials	46.0%	52.4%	5.1 Assessment of Officials	31.0%	46.9% 22.1%

Table 4e Participation Indicators for Ekurhuleni

Although the survey result in relation to participation in civil society organisation appears to send a positive signal in Ekurhuleni (85.2% of respondents are member of some types of civil society organisations), in reality civil society appears to be too divided and also too self-centred. The majority of NGOs (even the ones that are part of more traditional sectors) look after their own small interests, so not engaging the municipality on a constant and constructive basis. Ethnic separation also plays a major part in influencing civil society internal make up and issue area. Organisations in the white area tend to exclusively represent the view of white subgroups, whose agenda revolves around preserving white privileges. In the black area the majority of the organisations are either a bad copy of the ruling party or opportunistic groups that “will say and do anything popular to get support.” This negative situation seems to be further substantiated by the low interaction that occurs between local government institutionalised channels and the grass root. Only 33.5% percent of respondents have interacted with the Councillors, while 46% with the officials. These values are quite low so stressing that problems exist both at the level of effectiveness of existing civil society structures and institutional openness.

In relation to Ward Committees a positive scenario emerges. Ward Committees are perceived as being very important in order to enhance community participation in the metro. Initially, the response from the community was not very positive. This is because there was lack of understanding of the new system’s role and functions. Citizens also needed “to take a leadership role” and become more active in their community. This has been redressed by an effective communication strategy that significantly improved citizen knowledge of the new structure (the majority of responds know about the Ward Committees as well as 73.4% of this majority actively participate into the system). Furthermore, the municipality has implemented a reviewing/support mechanism to further sustain and enforce the new channel. A task team, which reports to the speakers, reviews the work of the 88 committees, provides institutional /administrative support, and makes recommendations on future interventions to the mayoral committee. The credit control issue can provide a good example of how Ward committees and municipality can effectively cooperate. Ward committees have been really helpful in fighting the non payment culture by helping the metro identify people that have real problem with payment (indigents), explain the billing system to the community, and enhance municipality/community relationships. This positive scenario is reinforced by the survey result. 40% of responds are happy with the work done by the Ward Committees. This value is definitely not optimal yet. But, if we compare this result with the other targets as well as we take in consideration the short life of the committees, we could say that Ekurhuleni is moving towards the right direction. However, problems still remain that could hamper the system

having access to electricity (18.7%). All these factors are creating an explosive climate of strong dissatisfaction (only 21.6% of respondents are satisfied with the municipality), which has already taken some violent form (last year a councillor was taken hostage by his dissatisfied community).

Development

INDICATORS					
	<i>Low</i> <i><R72,000</i>	<i>Middle</i> <i>R72,001-132,000</i>	<i>High</i> <i>>R132,000</i>		
1. Household Income	66.6%	22.7%	10.7%		
	<i>None</i>	<i>Primary</i>	<i>Secondary</i>	<i>Matric</i>	<i>Tertiary</i>
2. Education	0.6%	11.9%	26.5%	33.8%	26.8%
	<i>Not enough</i>	<i>Enough</i>	<i>Don't know</i>		
3. Job creation efforts from the council	89.0%	2.4%	8.6%		
	<i>Down</i>	<i>The same</i>	<i>Up</i>		
4. Income change in the last 2 years	18.5%	34.2%	47.3%		
5. Standard of living change in the last 3 years	25.8%	34.7%	39.5%		
6. Future Income change	19.5%	33.8%	46.7%		

Table 6e Development Indicators for Ekurhuleni

Ekurhuleni faces major challenges in terms of development. The biggest challenge is poverty. Although Ekurhuleni appears to have a smaller low income group in comparison with the other targets (66.6%) and a relatively high economic mobility (47.3%), in general the economy in the area has been in decline. Several structural factors have contributed to this situation: increasing unemployment, dependency solely on one sector (manufacturing), and stagnation in the manufacturing. With raising unemployment and economic stagnation, poverty has on the raise in the area, increasing the gap between traditionally white and black areas so perpetuating the dual economy that produces pockets of development and underdevelopment. This situation is mirrored by the high dissatisfaction towards the metro job creation efforts (89% of respondents do not think that the metro is doing enough). In relation to mobility the high value is more the result of intra-group mobility (the high and middle class becoming better off) than a real change (low class moving towards middle class) as well as new immigrants moving towards the city from even poorer rural area. Increasing poverty has also reinforced the culture of non-payment for services and produced a wave of informal settlements in the areas, which are fomenting tension.

On the positive side it finally appears that that the metro is prepared to listen to business and co-operate with other spheres of government to readdress the poverty issue. In the past a fragmented approach due to the number of local authorities that were responsible for local development did not allow the local government to tackle development efficiently. In addition to a lack of a co-ordinated approach, the area also suffered from having no overall strategy regarding the incentives it could offer to new businesses. But with the creation of the new metro a more focussed and holistic strategy has been devised, while a positive response in terms of taking action can already be seen. This new aggressive policy may produce some positive outcomes in the future and it may also have been responsible, together with a growing informal sector, for containing poverty in the area (so explaining the low value for the low income group). However the political elite warns that without a self-sufficient community able to create pockets of economic activities, the flight against poverty may be lost.

Ethekwini

Ethekwini is overwhelmingly dominated by the Durban uni-city, which is, in turn, the fastest growing metropolitan concentration in South Africa. In accord with its urban status, Durban contains a vast number of different elites, which reflect not only its governmental structure and industrial base, but also its tripartite (Zulu, Indian and white) cultural diversity. The vast rural areas to the north, east and south that have been attached to Durban by the 2000 demarcation are essentially rural, but the great proportion of the political influence of the tribal elites has been diluted by proximity and population movements into (and out of) the metropolitan area. Within the uni-city itself, political life is vibrant and highly contested between the dominant ANC, the IFP, the DA and a number of smaller groupings.

Participation

INDICATORS	public participation		Satisfaction		
	yes	no	bad	average	good
1. Participation in community organisations	88.8%	11.2%			
2. Knowledge of local government issues	63.7%	35.4%	2.1	Assessment of the Municipality	51.9% 29.5% 18.6%
3. Knowledge of Ward Committees	35.3%	64.7%	3.2	Assessment of Ward Committees	61.9% 21.5% 16.5%
3.1 Participation into Ward Committee meetings	93.3%	6.1%			
4. Direct Dealing with Councillors	61.1%	36.9%	4.2	Assessment of Councillors	74.4% 13.8% 11.8%
4.1 Feedback from Councillors	38.5%	60.7%			
5. Direct Dealing with Officials	53.1%	43.3%	5.1	Assessment of Officials	50.4% 23.1% 26.5%

Table 7e Participation Indicators for Ethekwini

Civil society, from the affluent coast to the vast informal settlements, is highly activist and alert to local government issues. Almost everyone with any insight into modern Durban emphasises its energetic, alert and highly mobilised political community. There are a multitude of community-based organisations whose influence on metropolitan issues has been stimulated by the introduction of area-based government. While this is meant to deal with the problems of developmental governance across that vast geographic space, which is contemporary Durban, the area-based concept has, all elites concur, stimulated participatory democracy in a manner probably incomparable with any other place in the country. The industrial and commercial elites link into local government through their interest in the expansion of Durban into one of the world's major ports. The powerful Indian elite is motivated by a mixture of commercial and cultural interests. The main role of the amakhosi is to integrate their traditional rural areas with an abutting modern environment.

Because of ambiguities in national legislation there are no formal ward committees in Ethekwini/Durban. This creates confusion as to whether "ward committees" are performing effectively and probably accounts for the relatively low score of 35.3 percent when respondents are asked to assessment ward committee activities. Genuine ward committees may (or may not) materialise in the near future: until then popular participation in local governance is channelled through an array of organisations including as mass of informal development committees, ward development committees, advisory bodies brokered by councillors and organisations labelled "ward committees" which are in fact private non-statutory arrangements between councillors and key stakeholders among their constituents. There appears to be extensive knowledge in the mass public about this mix of community institutions, which are relatively inseparable in the public mind. Hence, the 93.3 percent of respondents who report participation in "ward committees" most probably refers to a multiple number of community-based organisations, none of which is technically the type of legal ward community experienced in other municipal areas. Either way, the greater mass of people in the centre of Ethekwini appear to have a relatively high, if general, level of political

education which inevitably tailors of as one moves into the still amakhosi-dominated rural areas on the periphery of the municipal system.

Government elites are, in turn, heavily influenced by principles of community and area-based participation, which have been experimentally used over the years - with great success - in places such as nearby Cato Manor. The various metropolitan sub-structures, which preceded the 2000 demarcation, were also instrumental in spreading the message of community participation in policy making and development issues. A number of “Big Mama” conventions involving most (if not all) the key stakeholders and interest groups in the metropolitan have been recently convened to map out the future, provide input to the citizenry on development strategy and, in the last analysis, assist with the IDP process. These have, no doubt, been responsible for raising ostensible participation levels in community affairs to a spectacular 88.8 percent of respondents in the survey.

There are over 100 councillors in the metropolitan area and, as can be anticipated, their performance on issues of public representation varies quite considerably. Most of the more experienced councillors inherited since 1994 appear to have strong roots in their communities: their constituents, in turn, are vocal and alert to ensuring that their interests are projected into municipal policy circles. On the other hand, many elites members raised concern when interviewed about substantial numbers of individual councillors in all of the major political parties who periodically elevate their partisan interests above those of their constituents. This tends to reverberate badly on the overall public image of the municipality, which ultimately emerges with the relatively low score of 51.9 percent when people are questioned on its overall performance. Sensitivity on this point has encouraged the local authorities to make extensive efforts to cultivate and institutionalise municipal-community interaction through such mechanisms as, for example, the public participation component of the IDP. In keeping with its big-city governance, the uni-city has a major corporate communications division, part of whose work involves securing a linkage between the citizenry and local government. Opinion-makers in the city, including big-business, are generally positive about the communications linkage between the governed and local authority and regard municipal-community interaction as an important ingredient in the growth of a people-centred metropolis. Levels of knowledge on local government issues as a facet of political activity nevertheless remain relatively disappointing at 63.7 percent.

The “ward committees” are taken seriously by their participants and by most councillors who recognise their centrality in devolving power down to participant communities. Among the more privileged members society the emphasis is on projecting opinion into policy-making rather than developmental goals per se, but in the “township” areas (and in the rural sector) ward committees are seen as intrinsic to dealing with serious problems of delivery, which still continue to exist in many areas. In the rural sector, committees are less well regarded by the chiefs with their suspicion of representative institutions, but collaboration arises from the fact that the new structures are essential if the traditional authorities are to tap into “development” as a means to bolster their political position.

Councillor performance is largely contingent on a mixture of experience and public visibility. As befits a major urban area there is a large reserve of highly educated persons with a long-standing track-record in the municipal arena. This tends to support a relatively intense interaction between councillors and their constituents: 61.1 percent of respondents in the sample survey reported direct dealings with their own (or other) councillors. At the other extreme however, are relatively new councillors who, since 2000, are still in the process of establishing their roots and familiarising themselves with the complexities of large-scale municipal management. Many of this highly visible group are allegedly involved in dubious practices, which tend to shape public reactions to the entire body of councillors, including

their more responsible counterparts. Hence, only 25.6 percent of respondents believe that councillors as a whole are doing an average/ better-than-average job.

The same factors arguably account for the 60.7 percent of the sample who also fail to elicit positive feedback from their public representatives. Nonetheless, a healthy 53.1 percent of those surveyed report direct dealings with officials and a further 49.6 percent rate the officials as doing a fairly positive job. This suggests a relatively approachable, if improvable, local bureaucracy. The mayor and his executive are also able to strike a fine balance between the competing political and cultural groups who make up the local community and are, barring some individuals, highly regarded in opinion-making circles. Needless to say, there are unsubstantiated allegations of nepotism and corruption in the middle and higher ranks of the municipality in conformity with its status as an organisation with vast goods and accessible resources.

Service Delivery

INDICATORS Services	satisfaction							
	good	average	bad	non-existent		worse	the same	better
1. Electricity	59.2%	7.9%	12.7%	20.2%				
2. Water	71.6%	7.2%	13.2%	7.9%				
3. Sanitation	59.0%	15.5%	16.6%	8.9%				
4. Housing	54.3%	23.4%	18.1%	4.2%				
5. Refuse	27.8%	4.0%	56.1%	12.1%	12. Assessment of life in the area in the last 5 years			
6. Health	37.1%	21.7%	36.9%	4.3%		48.0%	25.7%	26.40%
7. School	60.1%	24.6%	10.6%	4.7%				
8. Policing	44.4%	28.0%	24.0%	3.6%				
9. Public Transport	39.1%	15.5%	39.9%	5.5%				
10. Sport facilities	20.2%	8.3%	41.6%	29.9%				
11. Cemeteries	22.3%	31.4%	44.2%	2.1%				

Table 8e Service Indicators for Ethekwini

Delivery is relatively good across the suite of major services but declines somewhat as one moves from central Durban out into the rural back lands, which make up a substantial geographic component of Ethekwini. Much like other rural areas of KZN, considerable work remains to be done across the range of services in these locations. In the meantime, the scale of their problems tends to deflate overall (i.e. Ethekwini) scores on such services as electricity provision, housing and activities centred on public health.

Most of the concerns in the Durban uni-city focus on incremental issues - the state of roads, street-lighting etc - and there is, in some quarters, concern about a decline in “standards”. In the peri-urban area, the main nodal points are well provided with bulk services but the burgeoning informal settlements challenge delivery in such sectors as public health and housing. Aids is endemic but, unlike most other metropolitans, the Durban CBD, continues to expand and remain sustainable.

Development

INDICATORS	Low	Middle	High		
	<R72,000	R72,001-132,000	>R132,000		
1 Household Income	68.2%	21.4%	10.4%		
	None	Primary	Secondary	Matric	Tertiary
2. Education	19.1%	7.6%	17.8%	31.2%	24.4%
	Not enough	Enough	Don't know		
3 Job creation efforts from the council	94.2%	3.5%	2.2%		
	Down	The same	Up		
4. Income change in the last 2 years	41.2%	29.3%	29.5%		
5. Standard of living change in the last 3 years	41.2%	29.3%	29.5%		
6. Future Income change	15.0%	49.7%	35.3%		

Table 9e Development Indicators for Ethekwini

The uni-city is so enormous that it is in a position to impose its authority on its various constituent parts, including the new area-based institutions with their origin in the old metropolitan sub-structures. Because of concentration of power in the uni-city itself provincial government also enjoys very limited prestige or authority within the metropolitan. Provincial finance in such sectors as subsidised housing are minimal in relation to the funding disposed by the metropolitan and most interests, business or government, do not see the province as an important role player in local economic development. Relations with line departments in national authority are good, despite the capacity of the metropolitan to act with extensive unilaterality.

In the uni-city, development initiatives can also capitalise on a relatively broad band of middle income earners (21.4 percent of respondents) as well as a high proportion of the population (55.6 percent) who have enjoyed the benefits of higher i.e. secondary and post-secondary education. Local government in Ethekwini is still feeling the after-effects of a fairly disturbing internal transformation and there are still conflicts between senior management, which are a source of concern for various interests who welcome partnership and joint ventures with the public sector. Nonetheless, most (if not all) these administrative conflicts have been resolved to the relief of the multiple stakeholders in accelerated development and, for the most part, the metropolitan is regarded as efficient and effective in its planning activities.

Job-creation, understandably remains a priority for the 94.2 percent of our respondents who urge the local authorities to move more assertively, but there is, on the whole a healthy and inclusive sense of optimism at the core of Ethekwini. Over half our sample (58.8 percent) have experienced income growth in the last two years and most of these respondents believe that the standard of living has either stabilised or will improve in the next two to three years. There are few people - in business, government or the NGO community - who are not excited about the developmental prospects of Durban, least of all the 54 percent of our respondents who envision an economic takeoff in the foreseeable future. Joint ventures between the public and private sectors have consequently become common in the process of converting Durban into a vibrant, modern and successful city in sharp contrast to a few years ago when the area languished in the doldrums.

Various key facets of local development - industrial development, international tourism and trade - have been effectively addressed to the mutual satisfaction of most parties. There is a little (if ongoing anxiety) about the delicate state of political relations within the area and

most key decision-makers would like to see the institutional context for development more effectively stabilised with a more concrete relationship between the ANC and its opponents. However, there is remarkable goodwill between people of all political persuasions and a fairly all-encompassing belief that it is possible to resolve the key human problems necessary to taking the city forward.

Business (and government) leaders have, as noted, a high regard for local government. Nonetheless there are still struggles between technocrats and politically motivated factions within Council over developmental issues, which need resolution if development is to be optimised in the years ahead. Most elites concur that municipal administration could be a little more representative on both cultural and gender grounds and that the entire apparatus at middle to upper management still needs some reconfiguring in the interests of effective developmental governance. Fortunately, efforts are currently being made to deal with these issues in a manner compatible with the institutional interests of all parties.

Today, when the city is moving aggressively forward, there are a number of major developmental projects on the cards. These include a waterfront, an extended industrial base and a new port of international proportions. There is concern about the responsibility for the rural areas now loaded on the uni-city but a high level of confidence that development can be accelerated even in these relatively backward areas.

Johannesburg

Situated in Gauteng, the City of Johannesburg is home to a population of 2.83 million people, so making Johannesburg the biggest city in sub-Saharan area. Johannesburg is the hub of South African economy producing 40% of Gauteng and 16% of South Africa's GDP. Despite economic development, Johannesburg still resents of its past apartheid era and the way the past local authorities were organised. This is evident in the city's high Gini co-efficient (0.49) and in the significant equity problem that exists between the North and South of the city. Southern areas are still marginalised, with a poor local economic base. Furthermore, infrastructure and social services are not on par with the rest of the city.

Participation

INDICATORS	public participation		Satisfaction		
	yes	no	bad	average	good
1. Participation in community organisations	81.2%	18.8%			
2. Knowledge of local government issues	57.5%	42.5%	2.1	Assessment of the Municipality	5.6% 45.7% 48.6%
3. Knowledge of Ward Committees	50.2%	49.8%	3.2	Assessment of Ward Committees	24.6% 32.6% 42.9%
3.1 Participation into Ward Committee meetings	79.0%	20.2%			
4. Direct Dealing with Councillors	35.8%	63.3%	4.2	Assessment of Councillors	25.0% 32.4% 42.6%
4.1 Feedback from Councillors	70.3%	27.2%			
5. Direct Dealing with Officials	39.7%	57.6%	5.1	Assessment of Officials	17.3% 28.7% 54.1%

Table 10e Participation Indicators for Johannesburg

Rapid transformations in the local government structure and new opportunities for representation have triggered new waves of civil society organisations. This is evident in the high participation reported in the survey (81.2% of respondents belong to a civil society organisations). However, as in the case of Ekurhuleni, civil society as whole is perceived as being segmented and not homogenous. Organisations differ in their ethnic make up,

organisational structure, effectiveness, and representation value. In formerly white areas ratepayers' and business associations dominate the scene, while in formerly black areas civil society organisations are still trapped in protest political mode and tend to focus on particular interests and/or micro-issues. Furthermore, when "problems and crises disappear so will the civil society organisations."

Resources are also a problem with organisations belonging to traditional sectors financially sound, while the majority of newly emerged organisations are not. Clearly financial constraints and lack of clear strategic focus significantly hamper the development and efficiency of these new community structures, which otherwise could peacefully channel public new requests/needs constantly emerging as a result of the social and economic complexity of the metro environment. This is quite evident in the IDP process where intensive consultation occurs with more established and traditional stakeholders, while the new actors, because of their inability to present viable alternatives, remain unheard.

Another problem facing the metro is the poor interaction occurring between the metro and the community. Although the metro has established an articulated network of different communication channels, ranging from people centres, Internet sites, to regional offices and petition mechanisms, it is still difficult for the average citizen to gain a clear understanding of the new structures and procedures. Representatives of the civil society organisations voice the failure of the city information strategy quite strongly. Indeed after all the money and effort put forward we should expect that more than 35% and 39% of respondents have interacted with councillors or officials. Civil society representatives point out that the problem lies in the metro emphasis in promoting the mere act of participating rather than empowering community through knowledge. Indeed, there is not added value in participating in a budget discussion when "citizens do not know what the budget figures represent" or in devising additional channels of communications when citizens do not know how the metro works.

In relation to Ward Committees the situation is more positive. The new system is regarded as an important mechanism to expand community participation so it is fully supported by the political elite. In relation to public involvement it appears that people are willing to work and assist their community through the ward committee system (indeed knowledge of ward committee is average with half of the respondents aware of the new system). However, doubts are raised about the long-term commitment of ward committee members. The lack of remuneration is perceived as a potential limitation for community involvement on a long-term basis. In addition it is recognised that some of the committees have been narrowly constructed since only a few sectors are represented. Ward committees in the Northern suburbs can be taken as an example of this situation. Another problem is that members of the ward committees lack training and a full understanding of their role and functioning of this new structure. Finally, the metro needs to implement a support structure to make the ward committees fully sustainable. So in conclusion, it can be said that ward committees have positively started but have not been optimally utilised as yet and further improvement is needed. This is also underlined by the average satisfaction level expressed by the respondents (42.9% of respondents have been positively impressed by the Ward Committees).

Although councillors are still "finding their feet" and do not fully grasp policy formulation in the metros because of the complex environment that they deal with, councillors in Johannesburg are the best performing among the targets (42% of respondents believe that councillors are doing a good job). This is probably the result of a strong leadership, which exists in the metro in the figure of the mayor, and an effective monitoring system that is improving accountability and transparency. Nevertheless problems still remain in the relationships between the institutionalised political figures and new politically active social actors. Representatives of civil organisations are quite negative towards councillors, with

some accusing them of being not accountable or responsive to the community needs whereas others are unable to comment since they have never worked with or met them. Again this is another worrying indication of the difficulty experienced by these newly emerged organisations in influencing decision-making process at the metro level.

Finally, there is a general consensus that officials are doing their best with the limited amount of resources available (54% of respondents have positively assessed officials). Senior management is regarded as being very experienced and knowledgeable. Furthermore a strong political identity, which is enforced within the administration (it is not a case that the majority of officials are ANC supporters), is thought to reinforce the cities common vision and so administrative performance. However, this highly politicised administration raises doubts on the metro commitment towards democratic values such as independency of the administrative authority from political control/influences.

Service Delivery

INDICATORS Services	satisfaction							
	good	average	bad	non-existent		worse	the same	better
1. Electricity	57.0%	24.7%	13.0%	4.3%				
2. Water	58.1%	23.1%	13.8%	4.1%				
3. Sanitation	52.6%	28.3%	12.8%	5.4%				
4. Housing	53.2%	24.8%	18.7%	3.0%				
5. Refuse	46.2%	31.2%	10.8%	11.9%	12. Assessment of life in the area in the last 5 years			
6. Health	33.9%	31.7%	23.8%	10.6%		11.2%	25.8%	62.80%
7. School	51.7%	24.9%	11.7%	11.7%				
8. Policing	42.1%	34.9%	20.2%	2.6%				
9. Public Transport	57.6%	25.8%	10.1%	6.5%				
10. Sport facilities	44.2%	28.7%	10.1%	17.0%				
11. Cemeteries	33.7%	33.3%	5.8%	27.2%				

Table 11e Service Indicators for Johannesburg

The metro does not have a good track record in terms of service delivery. In fact level of satisfaction towards key services, such as electricity and water (57% and 58% respectively), is low in comparison with the other targets. Furthermore, still profound differences exist between affluent and poor areas in terms of infrastructures and access to services.

To solve this equity problem the city has adopted a decentralised policy. Johannesburg metro has been decentralised into 11 regions and 10 administrative units (business units with region 1 and 2 forming one administrative unit). Each region is operationally responsible for the delivery of health, housing, sports and recreation, libraries, social development and other local community-based services. In relation to water and electricity the city has become the main shareholder of two utilities: City Power and Johannesburg Water. The city has also privatised 4% of its no-core business (rent airport, aioli gas) and created independent agencies (road, agency, refuse, metro buses), which are supposed to market their services and be self-sufficient. Through this regional structure, policy formulation and operationalisation have been separated with the core administration focussing on strategy, while the regions are in charge of delivery.

The regional structure is thought of having improved efficiency and delivery capability. In fact the majority of respondents (62.8%) believe that their life in the area has improved in the last 5 years. Nevertheless problems are also increasing. First on the list is the constant flow of people to the city. Due to limited resources this represents a major challenge for service delivery. Since infrastructure is already poor in traditionally disadvantage areas, the constant increase of city population is likely to make the situations worse in the future so increasing

social tension. Housing is getting better (the majority of respondents are satisfied) but the metro should act faster in order to cope with the constantly increasing demand. Health service is highly problematic (only 33.9% of respondents are satisfied, while there is still a 10.5% that have no access to service a all). With an already weak health care system and growing HIV/AIDS statistics the future appears rather unsettling.

Development

INDICATORS					
	<i>Low</i> <i><R72,000</i>	<i>Middle</i> <i>R72,001-132,000</i>	<i>High</i> <i>>R132,000</i>		
1 Household Income	81.8%	14.5%	3.6%		
	<i>None</i>	<i>Primary</i>	<i>Secondary</i>	<i>Matric</i>	<i>Tertiary</i>
2. Education	4.7%	9.6%	19.3%	30.5%	35.9%
	<i>Not enough</i>	<i>Enough</i>	<i>Don't know</i>		
3 Job creation efforts from the council	68.6%	20.9%	10.5%		
	<i>Down</i>	<i>The same</i>	<i>Up</i>		
4. Income change in the last 2 years	18.4%	32.6%	49.0%		
5. Standard of living change in the last 3 years	14.9%	28.5%	56.6%		
6. Future Income change	14.9%	30.2%	55.0%		

Table 12e Development Indicators for Johannesburg

The complex and segmented reality of the city results in a difficult and highly problematic context for development. There are many issues, which are not easy to address. First, the economy of Johannesburg today reflects strongly waves of development and declines, which have seen the city moving away from mining and production towards an economy based on services, trade, and high value manufacturing. Furthermore, the city is more dependent on the global market for its future growth than the internal market. This dependency on international market has created a highly competitive labour market demanding advanced and market specific skills. This is evident in the significant number of university-educated respondents, who still belong to the low-income group (even if we assume that all the respondents in the middle and high income groups have an university education there are still 17.8% of respondents with university education that are included in the low income group). This skills mismatch in the labour market has increased unemployment and could have potentially dangerous result. If this negative trend is not stopped Johannesburg could face a population of young, aged between 19-39 years (this is because of declining fertility and life expectation trends), highly educated individuals profoundly dissatisfied with their economic conditions. These are all the right ingredients for potential tensions. To make the situation worse present HIV/AIDS dynamics will also have a negative impact on unemployment rate. Finally, crime, inner city regeneration, and unbalanced development complete the picture.

On the positive side, a strong commitment on economic development can be found in the political elite. Indeed, the municipality is driven to establish Johannesburg in the global economy. A strong a coherent vision has been developed, which benchmarks the city internationally and drives to produce a world class African city. In order to achieve this objective the city is committed to: bring about efficiencies in the transportation infrastructure; deal with skills mismatch in the labour market; revamp telecommunication infrastructure; and address the crime situation. Relationships across all the spheres of government are also very good so increasing the synergy for development. Regular channels of communications with the province ensure constant interaction and co-ordination on projects. Contact with the national level is far less frequent but they still occur on a regular basis. This strong commitment has produced a high economic mobility (49% of respondents have experienced

an improvement in their economic status), a less negative attitude towards the municipality efforts for job-creation (68.6% of respondents think that the metro is not doing enough for job-creation. Although the result is not optimal this is still the lowest dissatisfaction value across the targets), and a positive assessment of the metro overall work (only 5.6% of people are dissatisfied with the metro with the majority thinking that the metro is doing either a good or average job). However, a few considerations need to be made in relation to these values. Mobility is still intra-class mobility since the low-income group is still significant (81.8%), so is not creating real economic chances and/or reducing the developmental gap. In addition, expectations are high in the city (55% of respondents expect an improvement in their economic condition in the next two years) so increasing the pressure on the metro to deliver. In order to meet its challenges the metro still needs to create a co-operative and effective relationships with the full spectrum of its civil society.

Msunduzi

Msunduzi is one of a handful of municipalities on the verge of metropolitan status. These municipalities have a highly differentiated social base appropriate to big cities: this implies a highly diversified elite with a wide range of constituencies. This includes a governmental elite at district and local level housed in Pietermaritzburg, an economic elite arising out of its commercial and industrial base and various elites representing cultural interests. The area also has a strong academic presence, many NGO's, traditional leaders in new rural areas incorporated by the 2000 demarcation and a relatively unique black landed "aristocracy" in the vicinity of Edendale.

Participation

INDICATORS		public participation		Satisfaction		
	yes	no		bad	average	good
1. Participation in community organisations	90.3%	9.7%				
2. Knowledge of local government issues	59.9%	39.0%	2.1 Assessment of the Municipality	50.9%	32.5%	16.5%
3. Knowledge of Ward Committees	32.0%	68.0%	3.2 Assessment of Ward Committees	62.4%	25.6%	12.0%
3.1 Participation into Ward Committee meetings	91.0%	8.3%				
4. Direct Dealing with Councillors	58.6%	39.0%	4.2 Assessment of Councillors	75.9%	13.4%	10.7%
4.1 Feedback from Councillors	37.2%	61.8%				
5. Direct Dealing with Officials	50.0%	45.8%	5.1 Assessment of Officials	50.3%	27.7%	22.0%

Table 13e Participation Indicators for Msunduzi

Civil society is both active and energetic in accord with the progressive status of the area in the Natal heartland. Public policy, as all concur, arises out of mediation between various interests concerned with local government. This includes an economic sector who sees accelerated local economic development as essential to the city in keeping pace with nearby Durban, many NGO's previously active by civil strife in the area (and now organised around issues such as poverty and Aids), as well as government itself. Most governmental activity is concentrated in the actual area of Pietermaritzburg and, as local analysts point, falls off rapidly as one moves into the rural areas. Overall community participation in community organisations is high (90.3 percent) but, here again, falls off sharply as one moves from the urban core to the less differentiated rural periphery of the municipal system. There is, most elites concur, relatively little experience in the municipality for dealing with the particular problems of the traditional component of civil society.

There are mixed feelings about ward committees, which have been established with varying degrees of success throughout the municipal area. Local government leadership is committed to these structures as a matter of legal obligation but is concerned about their representative character. This reflects the fact that many people prefer the ward development committees, which precede the new ward structures. Business leaders have no particular views about the committees: but those who do, also suggest that they lack the personnel and experience of the old ward development system. Certainly, more work needs to be done to raise the public profile of these new bodies given that only a third of the population (32 percent) appears to be familiar with their workings and/or existence.

Local government has at its disposal a wide variety of mechanisms for public communication. These have been relatively well deployed for the purposes of the recent IDP and now account for the 59.9 percent of the people in the survey who claim some knowledge of local government. There is, nonetheless, some concern, both in government and among the local NGO's, that public participation in the IDP process has not been sufficiently inclusive. Opinion over municipal performance is also relatively divided with half our respondents (50.9 percent) rating local government rather poorly. Having said this, public communications activity initiated by the municipality appears to have been reasonably effective in raising consciousness about the importance of public participation in resolving community conflict, both in Edendale and other parts of the municipal area.

Councillors range from the relatively inept to a number of individuals who are highly regarded throughout local leadership circles. Since only 37.2 percent of the sample regards councillors as a positive source of feedback, this suggests that many councillors are seen to fall into the former category. On the rural margins some councillors are sycophants of the local chieftains. As some critics suggest, the ANC also exercises excessively tight discipline over its representatives. In Edendale, councillors are roughly divided between their allegiance to the powerful local landlords and the great majority of people pressing for resolution of outstanding land tenure problems. Overall, councillors are seen as approachable if not necessarily efficient as a locus for problem-solving: 58.6 percent of respondents cite dealings with their public representatives despite some cynicism about the outcome of these transactions.

Most members of the elite filter their views of municipal-community action through the experiences of the recent IDP. This tended to mobilise limited public participation on the part of the local white community - and this is a matter of concern to some business and political leaders who speak of the development of an enclave mentality among white residents. Black involvement with the municipality through the IDP was much more in evidence and is sustained into the implementation phase of the IDP by outstanding issues of service delivery and development in the "township" areas. Local government elites are partially satisfied with the performance of the ward committees where there appears to be a high level of participation on the part of members. Public opinion is somewhat less certain since 62.4 percent are inclined to judge the committees negatively. Much as in some other areas there is a substantial discrepancy between knowledge about ward committees and their internal mechanics: only a third of respondents seem to know about the new organisations, but among those who do there appears to be a high level of involvement

At this point, some committees are highly functional but others, perhaps the greater majority, have not yet succeeded in reaching the point of institutional take-off. Members of ward committees themselves indicate that many of the new structures are no more than talk-shops. In places such as Edendale, there are numerous conflicts between ward committees and councillors because of popular expectations and the lack of delivery by government. There is

widespread concern that unless ward committees can be associated in the public mind with real material benefits they will lose credibility at grassroots level.

A large proportion of opinion-makers among the various elites are apprehensive that the councillors, as a body, do not provide sufficient leadership: many are simply mirrors to the shifting whims of their constituents or uncritical party followers. This is reflected at public level where a massive 75.9 percent of people rate councillor performance as poorly. There is also a widespread perception of most councillors as corrupt or entirely complacent, particularly in the newly acquired rural areas where municipal authority is weak to begin with. Some government officials indicate that many councillors are reluctant to face their constituents because of their inability to report any positive news about services or development more generally. In these circumstances, officials frequently perform report-back functions and there is a fairly substantial level of positive interaction with the local community. Half the sample reports direct dealings with officials and 49.0 percent rate their performance positively.

Service Delivery

INDICATORS Services	satisfaction							
	good	average	bad	non-existent		worse	the same	better
1. Electricity	54.5%	9.7%	18.5%	17.3%				
2. Water	63.7%	4.8%	20.1%	11.3%				
3. Sanitation	53.6%	17.3%	17.6%	11.5%				
4. Housing	47.8%	25.4%	20.8%	6.0%				
5. Refuse	28.8%	9.7%	48.3%	13.2%	12. Assessment of life in the area in the last 5 years			
6. Health	33.9%	21.5%	38.6%	6.0%		46.4%	26.5%	27.0%
7. School	58.0%	24.7%	12.9%	4.4%				
8. Policing	34.3%	22.5%	38.1%	5.1%				
9. Public Transport	41.8%	13.0%	39.0%	6.3%				
10. Sport facilities	18.9%	9.5%	36.0%	35.6%				
11. Cemeteries	21.9%	30.3%	46.7%	1.2%				

Table 14e Service Indicators for Msunduzi

Land tenure problems in Edendale are the key to many development issues and most of the relatively modest ratings on services reflect the rudimentary character of most services, both in Edendale and Vulindela. This stands in sharp contrast to the historically white areas of Pietermaritzburg where services are highly satisfactory. The main challenge facing the municipality is to ensure a more balanced spread between what is currently a bi-furcated municipality in terms of its ability to serve the needs of its inhabitants. Within this framework there is widespread concern among business and community leadership about public health and Aids, which is expected to seriously undermine productivity in the labour force in the near future. Local government is widely praised at elite level for its work on electricity and housing provision but this is clearly less evident at the grassroots where considerable if basic work remains to be done e.g. in water delivery to the more underdeveloped segments of the municipal system.

In general, most elite respondents rate local government as relatively effective given the mass of delivery and development problems that it must confront with limited resources. Business leadership would prefer a higher rate of cost recovery on services and the establishment of governance on a firmer financial footing - but recognises the achievements in, for example, the area of social housing. There is sympathy for the impact of transformation on the number and calibre of officials, and hope that the worst is now past. Individual councillors are commended for their energy in assisting service provision irrespective of political affiliation, but the greater majority are not regarded as either especially competent or civic-minded by key opinion-makers.

Development

INDICATORS	<i>Low</i>	<i>Middle</i>	<i>High</i>		
	<i><R72,000</i>	<i>R72,001-132,000</i>	<i>>R132,000</i>		
1 Household Income	73.7%	16.2%	10.2%		
2. Education	<i>None</i>	<i>Primary</i>	<i>Secondary</i>	<i>Matric</i>	<i>Tertiary</i>
	15.5%	7.6%	17.6%	34.2%	25.2%
3 Job creation efforts from the council	<i>Not enough</i>	<i>Enough</i>	<i>Don't know</i>		
	94.0%	3.3%	2.7%		
	<i>Down</i>	<i>The same</i>	<i>Up</i>		
4. Income change in the last 2 years	37.1%	45.8%	17.1%		
5. Standard of living change in the last 3 years	41.8%	31.9%	26.3%		
6. Future Income change	15.8%	48.4%	35.7%		

Table 15e Development Indicators for Msunduzi

Relations between Msunduzi and the district are not seen as an issue on the developmental agenda by most officials since the latter has few substantive powers. Effective policy on housing is seen as largely the result of cooperative interventions between province and Msunduzi. Province is also seen as an important resource in facilitating the land tenure issue in Edendale. Cooperation with national authorities - the Department of Water Affairs, for example - is regarded by all as relatively positive.

The business lobby in the area is of the opinion that far more could be done by Council to effectively market Msunduzi as a target for inward investment to assist the job-creation where 94 of respondents believe Council to be under-active. Among elites, mass unemployment, poverty and the extremely high incidence of Aids is a major cause for concern - and this, no doubt, feeds the 46.4 percent of the sample who see living conditions to have progressively worsened over the last five years. The black landowning elite would also like to see speedy resolution of the problems of Edendale - but in a manner conducive to their own economic interests. Both governmental and business leaders are relatively perturbed by institutional weaknesses in governance, particularly in the ranks of upper management where more specialists skills are required if development is to be accelerated.

Developmental performance is regarded as relatively good, but subject to serious financial constraints, which reflect the official standing of Msunduzi on the edge of metropolitan status. Virtually everyone would like to see the elevation of the area to full Category A status, the major consequence of which would be an inflow of development resources. The local IDP is one of the best in Kwa-Zulu/Natal and there is general satisfaction with the community-based character of development planning and governance. Nonetheless, there is widespread recognition that land restitution claims in Edendale remain to be worked out before development can take a quantitative leap forward.

Both business and governmental elites view the post-2000 period as essentially positive despite the enormous challenges inherent in 74.7 percent of the population in the lowest income categories. This rough sense of optimism is echoed by 58.7 percent of the grassroots population who see their standard of living as either stable or moving upwards in the next two years, and an even more substantial 94.1 percent who anticipate stable or enhanced income in the near future. On the downside however, this suggests a veritable revolution of rising expectations of a magnitude, which poses enormous problems for local government. In dealing with these developmental issues, most elites advocate that local government assess the sustainability of many of its services and adapt policy accordingly. Many municipal assets, such as the local airport, are heavily subsidised and are a drag on the municipal budget.

Local government opinion-makers would also like to see better internal communication within municipal authority to heal the still-raw wounds of internal transformation. Overall, local government also needs to do far more to treat deal with massive poverty and unemployment in the historically disadvantaged areas if it is to lay claim to the mantle of developmental governance.

Nelson Mandela

The Nelson Mandela Metropolitan Municipality was created out of the former Western District Council, and is centred around the cities of Port Elizabeth, Uitenhage and Despatch in the Eastern Cape. The area is relatively prosperous, and is perhaps the only financially viable council in the Eastern Cape. The manufacturing, agricultural and tourist sectors dominate the economy, with the motorcar manufacturers being the largest single investor in the region.

The nearby Coega Industrial Development Zone, the first IDZ to be established in South Africa, as well as the proposed deepwater port on the Coega river, have the potential to attract many more manufacturing concerns to the area, and will, it is hoped, act as a catalyst for growth in the Province generally.

Participation

INDICATORS	public participation		Satisfaction			
	yes	no	bad	average	good	
1. Participation in community organisations	84.8%	15.2%				
2. Knowledge of local government issues	66.5%	33.4%	2.1 Assessment of the Municipality	57.5%	33.8%	8.7%
3. Knowledge of Ward Committees	45.0%	55.0%	3.2 Assessment of Ward Committees	65.6%	21.9%	12.5%
3.1 Participation into Ward Committee meetings	85.9%	13.7%				
4. Direct Dealing with Councillors	69.1%	30.3%	4.2 Assessment of Councillors	74.2%	16.4%	9.3%
4.1 Feedback from Councillors	40.0%	60.0%				
5. Direct Dealing with Officials	49.9%	49.9%	5.1 Assessment of Officials	56.0%	29.3%	14.6%

Table 16e Participation Indicators for Nelson Mandela

There is an active civil society (85%), primarily because of the high levels of labour activity associated with the motor industry. However this does not translate into regular active civil society-local government interaction, as only 45% of respondents had had any form of interaction with the ward committees. Compared to other councils, the interaction level with officials (50%) was average, whilst the interaction level with councillors (69%) was higher than normal.

Although Nelson Mandela is a relatively well-resourced council, public satisfaction is very low across all channels: Municipality (9% positive assessment), Councillors (9%), Ward Committees (12%) and Officials (15%). To some extent, this is a result of the tremendous service backlogs faced by the Metropolitan Municipality, which is made worse by ongoing consumer boycotts and limited levy revenues.

The fall in the rand has led to a boom in the local automobile industry. However labour remains a very vulnerable sector, and has lost much of the political influence it enjoyed in the 1980s and early to mid-1990s. Whilst labour retains strong links to councillors in areas like Zwide and Uitenhage, this influence is no different to that enjoyed by other economic actors, such as the Port Elizabeth Regional Chamber of Commerce and Industry.

Although 54 ward committee structures have been created, these are not well established, and are unlikely to survive unless they are taken more seriously by the council and by ward councillors. Outside the IDP process, it is not clear what these are meant to do, or how they will continue to operate. In some areas, like Zwide, ward committees have been built on the back of existing civil society traditions, and continue to solicit mass community input. In other cases, for example Walmer, participation seldom occurs, and is largely limited to members of apolitical “community cause” groups.

Huge internal conflicts within the ANC are a major obstacle to the creation of a viable system of council-community communication. During the IDP process, opposition factions within the ANC mobilised through the ward committees, seeking to disrupt the current leadership, rather than make constructive input into the IDP process.

In an effort to promote public participation, Nelson Mandela has begun to hold what is hoped will be an annual “Peoples Assembly”. This Assembly brings together all the main stakeholders in the area, and is comprised of representatives from each of the ward committees, all 108 councillors, 50 officials, representatives of the two recognised labour unions in the Metro (SAMWU and IMATU), representatives of the national ministry of Provincial and Local Government, the provincial Departments of Housing, Local Government and Traditional Affairs, Members of Parliament, and Members of the Provincial Legislature.

The first Peoples Assembly was held in November 2002, after the interviews for this report were completed. However, whilst most respondents we spoke to in the period leading up to this were generally supportive of the initiative, many expressed their concern that the mass “imbizo” style of the Assembly was unlikely to deliver concrete results, and would serve instead as an exercise of political legitimation for the Metro.

Amongst the business community, there is a widespread concern that the Metro has not done enough to promote Port Elizabeth as a tourist destination, and that most councillors lack sufficient understanding of economic policy to play a constructive role in regional planning initiatives.

Service Delivery

INDICATORS Services	satisfaction							
	good	average	bad	non-existent		worse	the same	better
1. Electricity	72.0%	12.4%	5.1%	10.5%				
2. Water	74.3%	9.7%	6.7%	9.3%				
3. Sanitation	57.5%	21.7%	10.5%	10.3%				
4. Housing	56.4%	29.7%	8.4%	5.5%				
5. Refuse	16.4%	5.9%	46.9%	30.9%	12. Assessment of life in the area in the last 5 years			
6. Health	24.0%	26.7%	41.0%	8.4%		52.4%	29.7%	17.9%
7. School	69.1%	21.7%	1.9%	7.2%				
8. Policing	30.7%	35.0%	30.7%	3.6%				
9. Public Transport	42.5%	15.4%	40.0%	2.1%				
10. Sport facilities	4.0%	6.7%	32.8%	56.6%				
11. Cemeteries	5.3%	33.3%	58.5%	2.9%				

Table 17e Service Indicators for Nelson Mandela

Nelson Mandela has a good record for Water (74%) and Electricity (72%). Housing (56%) and Sanitation (57%) are average, while Health (24%), and Refuse collection (16%) are low.

The bulk of Port Elizabeth receives relatively high levels of service, which are still provided at an acceptable level. There are, however, tremendous disparities between the services received here and those received in neighbouring Uitenhage, which includes some of the most desperate and impoverished settlements in the Eastern Cape.

A major problem identified by many officials is the impending impact of HIV/Aids on council budgets. However council is simply unprepared, both in terms of budget and in terms of an acknowledgement of the urgency of the problem, to deal with the dramatic expansion in the number of abandoned “AIDS babies” and other healthcare costs associated with HIV/Aids.

Organised business is far more willing to confront the reality of HIV/Aids, but expresses concerns about the willingness of the Metro to support their initiatives. This is complicated by the ruling party’s reluctance *to be seen* to accept a causal link between the HIV virus and Aids.

Development

INDICATORS					
	<i>Low</i> <i><R72,000</i>	<i>Middle</i> <i>R72,001-132,000</i>	<i>High</i> <i>>R132,000</i>		
1 Household Income	81.1%	12.4%	6.5%		
	<i>None</i>	<i>Primary</i>	<i>Secondary</i>	<i>Matric</i>	<i>Tertiary</i>
2. Education	4.8%	12.2%	26.1%	43.6%	13.4%
	<i>Not enough</i>	<i>Enough</i>	<i>Don't know</i>		
3 Job creation efforts from the council	92.6%	4.6%	2.8%		
	<i>Down</i>	<i>The same</i>	<i>Up</i>		
4. Income change in the last 2 years	41.7%	50.6%	7.7%		
5. Standard of living change in the last 3 years	57.7%	26.5%	15.8%		
6. Future Income change	18.7%	49.0%	32.3%		

Table 18e Development Indicators for Nelson Mandela

Despite the relative economic prosperity of Nelson Mandela, the bulk of residents remain in the low income category. Very few of our respondents (8%) experienced any recent economic improvement. Public satisfaction is low (93% negative).

Like other big cities in South Africa, Nelson Mandela is faced with the existence of a dual local economy: on the one hand, a highly advanced manufacturing sector and an affluent mostly white residential community. On the other, desperate poverty, a low skills base, rising costs of living, a collapsing local transport network, and perhaps most serious of all, a growing sense of pessimism about the future. This dissatisfaction seems to underscore failures to promote more constructive interaction between the Metro and the community, and is a major developmental obstacle that needs to be overcome.

Sedibeng

Sedibeng is an amalgamation of three areas - Mid-Vaal, Heidelberg/Lesedi and Emfuleni - with the latter the heartland of the municipality. Embracing the old municipalities of Vereeniging and Vanderbijlpark, Emfuleni contains much of the industrial activity of the

district. Designated a key area under apartheid Emfuleni has now gone into economic decline. The economic and governmental elites are therefore heavily focussed on economic regeneration of both Emfuleni area, and its heavy industrial counterpart in adjacent Mid-Vaal. Both also have a rich political legacy that has spawned a high degree of grassroots political activism that has to be accommodated in the new local government dispensation.

Participation

INDICATORS						
public participation	yes	no	Satisfaction	bad	average	good
1. Participation in community organisations	88.1%	11.9%				
2. Knowledge of local government issues	68.1%	30.2%	2.1 Assessment of the Municipality	36.0%	20.9%	41.2%
3. Knowledge of Ward Committees	41.9%	58.1%	3.2 Assessment of Ward Committees	50.2%	16.4%	33.3%
3.1 Participation into Ward Committee meetings	76.8%	23.2%				
4. Direct Dealing with Councillors	38.2%	60.8%	4.2 Assessment of Councillors	66.9%	9.7%	23.4%
4.1 Feedback from Councillors	41.2%	56.1%				
5. Direct Dealing with Officials	44.4%	50.6%	5.1 Assessment of Officials	25.8%	14.1%	60.1%

Table 19e Participation Indicators for Sedibeng

Evaton, Sebokeng and Sharpeville are writ large in South African as a breeding ground for activism in the struggle against apartheid. Elites in the area are, in turn, sharply conscious of the relatively high levels of “inherited” political participation in these areas. 88.4 percent of the sample claims participation in community organisation: this is indicative of a civil society rich in community-based organisations. Municipal government is under considerable pressure, both at district and local level, to meet community demands for effective participation, delivery and development at a time of regional economic constriction. The powerful industrial and corporate business elites are similarly alert to the urgency of meeting the aspirations of an urban mass, which is expanding both internally and through immigration. Church movements are also powerful in the old “townships” where they play an important role in conscientising their constituents.

Ward committees have been reasonably well emplaced in areas such as Emfuleni and there is considerable regard in business circles for the extensive preparatory planning that has gone into the development of these organisations. Both district and local government regards the wards as important release valves for the accumulated political energies at community level as well as vital mechanisms for promoting community ownership of development projects in the historically disadvantaged areas. Throughout the elite however there is scepticism that the ward committees will work, less through an absence of community involvement than for fear that these new structures have raised popular expectations of delivery to unmanageable levels. There is also widespread anxiety about the degree of nepotism that exists in a great number of the new ward structures.

Sedibeng, Emfuleni and (to a lesser extent, Mid-Vaal) have embarked upon a programme of public education to inform the electorate about the new post-2000 local government dispensation. At this point a very reasonable 68.1 percent of respondents claim knowledge of local government. Nonetheless, communication between the authorities and the people has not been undertaken on a sustained basis. The consequence - as many local government officials admit - is that many people have been only half-educated about the governmental and development responsibilities of local authority. More, they concede, needs to be done by the municipalities to intensify and regularise their public communications strategy through follow-up work to engage community leaders at ward level.

There is widespread concern throughout the elite about the representative character of many councillors, particularly councillors who have been selected on the basis of proportional representation. The dominant ANC is very powerful in the region and, amongst business leaders there is, for example, extensive concern that the majority of councillors are simply cyphers of the ruling party without the political will and capacity to represent their constituents. In Emfuleni there are also indications in elite circles of a withdrawal from local politics because of the ongoing public conflicts between councillors driven by factional, personal or party interests.

Municipal-community interaction is rhetorically subscribed to by all political and governmental leaders in the various Sedibeng municipalities. Nonetheless, government personnel admit to tense relations between local authority and its constituents bred largely by the inability of government to meet popular demands for enhanced services. Members of the local white elite are especially critical of the apparent inability of local municipalities such as Emfuleni to address declines in service standards and, as a consequence are inclined to take private actions on such issues as health, roads and security. Despite road-shows to raise the image of local government in the townships, most public meetings are dominated by malcontents who are often extremely hostile to local authority

Despite the communications initiatives of the municipality, less than half the population (41.9 percent) is now acquainted with the new ward committee system. While participation is high among those who are party to information about wards - at 76.8 percent - committees actually produce few positive deliverables (as business and community leaders are quick to point out). While some ward committees have reached take-off point, most others perform poorly. In the privileged sectors of the community, ward committees have largely failed to attract sustained popular interest. In the disadvantaged sectors, local leaders indicate, ward committees often fail because councillors resent their attempts to monitor and shape their own personal performance. The big industrial interests are not especially inclined to take notice of ward committees, which they see as largely unnecessary and impotent institutions. The local big corporates in particular have no real interest in grassroots democracy and prefer to liaison directly with officials on issues of economic regeneration and governance. The 50.2 percent positive rating for ward committees among the mass public suggests that many people and community interests seek alleviation of their problems through the same alternative route.

Councillors, as we have noted, represent a mixed bag of personalities, many of whom simply carry out the will of the dominant party. Opinion makers, community leaders and the general public tend to evaluate councillors rather poorly, barring certain individual exceptions. Only 38.2 percent of the public has made contact with councillors and a majority (56.1 percent) report negative feedback. The tendency of people to circumvent what are widely seen as redundant or unhelpful councillors tends to support the relatively high level of contact (44.4 percent of respondents) who take their problems directly to the municipal bureaucracy. This, in turn, appears to perform an important problem-solving role since 60.1 of people report positively on the local officials.

There is, overall, a widespread and not inaccurate conception that most of the more experienced councillors have been creamed off for political service to the ANC and redeployed outside the local municipalities. District councillors are widely believed to be largely subservient to powerful party bosses who dominate the politics of Sedibeng. Unsurprisingly, 2/3rds of the population (66.9 percent) are negatively disposed to their representatives. In the last analysis, attitudes towards the municipality are largely divided between the recipients of enhanced services - the 41.2 percent who rate performance positively - and those who have not - the 36 of respondents who, remain in the doldrums and are negative about municipal activity.

Service Delivery

INDICATORS Services	satisfaction							
	good	average	bad	non-existent		worse	the same	better
1. Electricity	83.2%	11.4%	3.9%	1.5%				
2. Water	74.5%	12.9%	11.8%	0.8%				
3. Sanitation	53.1%	9.1%	37.3%	0.6%				
4. Housing	51.0%	19.9%	25.9%	3.3%				
5. Refuse	41.2%	12.1%	33.7%	12.9%	12. Assessment of life in the area in the last 5 years			
6. Health	47.1%	24.3%	23.6%	5.0%		22.9%	34.0%	40.0%
7. School	69.7%	15.3%	8.5%	6.6%				
8. Policing	43.9%	20.0%	33.3%	2.7%				
9. Public Transport	62.5%	19.5%	13.5%	4.4%				
10. Sport facilities	35.1%	11.7%	18.4%	34.7%				
11. Cemeteries	23.5%	12.2%	63.0%	1.3%				

Table 20e Service indicators for Sedibeng

Business leaders (as well as government) point proudly to the existence of basic services - water, electricity and sanitation - in the majority of households. This is echoed among a public, which gives relatively good ratings to bulk service provision, particularly water and electricity. This, no doubt, fuels the 74 percent of the population who believe their lives to have stabilised or improved over the past five year period. Nonetheless, there are serious service backlogs, which the cash-strapped Emfuleni council cannot address in the immediate future. The churches and civic leaders who are prominent in the “townships” point to the almost complete absence of effective health services in the area as well as the high crime rate and poor policing. These constituencies are especially concerned with the absence of sports and recreation facilities for the large numbers of unemployed youth who sometimes drift into various forms of anti-social activity. Similar concerns are voiced in the mass sample survey, (although policing enjoys a surprisingly high rating attributable to effective community policing forums in many communities).

The amalgamation of the local authorities under the district is not fully impregnated in the public mind: one consequence is that elites (and people more generally) tend to evaluate municipal performance against the backdrop of the old transitional municipalities. Vanderbijlpark (now part of Emfuleni) was once one of the most financial sound and effective local authorities north of the Vaal: community leaders bemoan its deterioration into massive bankruptcy under the leadership of what appear to be self-serving councillors and lack-lustre officials. This is less marked in Mid-Vaal, which has a strong DA political base and where attitudes towards local governance on the part of local business leaders are far more positive.

The main problem in the area is financial. Emfuleni, the heartland of Sedibeng, is one of the most financially constricted local authorities in South Africa. As the business elite points out, most services and development delivery is financed despite a mounting municipal debt. Cost recovery on services is also low and unlikely to rise as long as there are ongoing community struggles over the legitimacy of councillors and the efficiency of officials. On the positive side, water and electricity delivery is relatively universal. A number of major housing projects have been completed in the last few years and there is some evidence to indicate reduction in the rate of violent crime.

Development

INDICATORS	<i>Low</i>	<i>Middle</i>	<i>High</i>		
	<i><R72,000</i>	<i>R72,001-132,000</i>	<i>>R132,000</i>		
1 Household Income	85.8%	10.2%	4.0%		
	<i>None</i>	<i>Primary</i>	<i>Secondary</i>	<i>Matric</i>	<i>Tertiary</i>
2. Education	11.5%	25.3%	19.8%	17.2%	26.1%
	<i>Not enough</i>	<i>Enough</i>	<i>Don't know</i>		
3 Job creation efforts from the council	77.5%	15.8%	6.7%		
	<i>Down</i>	<i>The same</i>	<i>Up</i>		
4. Income change in the last 2 years	28.3%	35.8%	35.8%		
5. Standard of living change in the last 3 years	25.2%	47.4%	27.4%		
6. Future Income change	28.4%	29.6%	42.0%		

Table 21e Development Indicators for Sedibeng

Relations between the local municipalities are limited, essentially because of political differences and affiliations. Mid-Vaal, as we have noted, is strongly inclined to the DA, while Lesedi and Emfuleni are dominated by the ANC. Communication on development issues is also impeded by poor relations between Sedibeng and Emfuleni because of the hegemonic power of Emfuleni throughout the district: District officials constantly complain of the unwillingness of Emfuleni to recognise district authority. Throughout the municipal system there is a strong feeling that Sedibeng is the forgotten area for both provincial and national authorities, which gravitate towards the more successful areas of Gauteng.

The business and industrial leaders are concerned about the economic decline of the area and the current existence of some 85 percent of the population in the lowest income categories. Plans are afoot for economic revitalisation, particularly accelerated development in the older townships such as Sharpeville and Evaton. Tourism development focussed on these areas could also be encouraged as a facet of the wider development process, but this requires more governmental coherence, solidarity and commitment than exists at present. All the major government, economic and community leaders at district and local level look forward to the prospect of more provincial and national support to assist the revitalisation of the municipal area.

Public opinion in these circumstances is relatively buoyant: a firm 71.6 of respondents have seen their income stabilised or improved in recent years while 74.8 percent perceive a similar stabilisation or enhancement of living standards in the near future. Whether these expectations can be met depends on many issues, including a better working relationship between Sedibeng and Emfuleni. Most opinion-makers recognise that this is less an administrative than a political issue, which reflects deep power struggles within the ANC in the region. Both local and district government in the two areas is widely perceived by persons outside government as seriously corrupt and lacking a sense of public service. These views are especially marked among community leaders who speak of a moral regeneration of local government as essential for genuine developmental governance in the near future.

Tshwane

Tshwane is a Category A municipality situated in Gauteng province. Metro Tshwane extends over a very large area, and includes Pretoria, Centurion, Akasia, Soshanguve, Mabopane, Atteridgeville, Ga-Rankuwa, Winterveld, Hammanskraal, Tembe, Pienaarsrivier, Crocodile River and Mamelodi. The Northern- Western areas were recently amalgamated thus making

Tshwane a new metro. Tshwane can be characterised as a multi centred urban region, with a core inner city, and a ring of several satellite nodes. As result of the past apartheid policies these satellite nodes differ greatly in terms of demographics, urban typologies, needs, access to services/resources, and development. Affluent suburban edge cities, which have mainly developed within 10 kilometres from the centre, exist together with impoverish rural townships, which are mainly situated in a band of 25-40kms from the centre. Because of the extreme realities enabling integration and balanced socio-economic development is challenging.

Participation

INDICATORS						
public participation	yes	no	Satisfaction	bad	average	good
1. Participation in community organisations	84.7%	15.3%				
2. Knowledge of local government issues	55.3%	44.5%	2.1 Assessment of the Municipality	14.5%	51.4%	34.1%
3. Knowledge of Ward Committees	55.8%	44.2%	3.2 Assessment of Ward Committees	34.1%	38.6%	27.3%
3.1 Participation into Ward Committee meetings	61.8%	38.3%				
4. Direct Dealing with Councillors	39.5%	59.7%	4.2 Assessment of Councillors	29.0%	45.4%	25.6%
4.1 Feedback from Councillors	62.3%	36.2%				
5. Direct Dealing with Officials	51.6%	48.0%	5.1 Assessment of Officials	32.2%	40.7%	27.0%

Table 22e Participation Indicators for Tshwane

Tshwane appears to have a creative and growing civil society (84% of respondents are member of civil organisations). However, while some of the organisations, above all the ones belonging to the traditional sector, such as business, labour and religious sector, are well-organised and able to engage the municipality on a constant and sound basis, others are opportunistic, financially unsound, unrepresentative and not very credible. The latter includes newly emerged and less traditional sectors. Again, similar to Johannesburg, these newly emerged political actors do not appear to have contact with a broader political society and consequently have little capacity to influence political processes. This situation is further supported by the low value for political interaction. Directing dealing with councillors is low with the majority of people (59.7%) having no contact with them. Civil society representatives are the first to recognise this lack of capacity from their side.

Another reason for the low interaction may be found in the weak information strategy of the metro. From one side, the political elite believes that the metro has developed efficient information strategies focussing on multiple channels. Structures such as councillors, ward committees, umbizo (open meetings with the mayor), informal and sector specific meetings with key stakeholders, “inclusive” IDP process, and customer care centres are all thought of providing effective communication and information to/from community. On the other side, these structures have failed to sustain a constant communication flow with the community. This is because of the episodic and often informal nature of these interactions and the lack of an overall strategy. The situation is made worse by a past tendency, which still survives, to conceal information to the public. This raises issues of access and transparency.

Specifically in relation to councillors (again the worst performing with only 25.6% satisfaction level) external constrains, which reduce their efficiency, can be found in the metro new demarcation, the increase size of the wards, and their part-time role. Furthermore, issues of no accountability, lack of experience and training, as well lack of initiative are also the key to understand the poor performance of this political channel. On the administration side, officials appear to be more accessible (the majority of respondents have dealt with them) but not better assessed (satisfaction level is still low with only 27% of respondents satisfied with their work). Again, as in the case of Ekurhuleni, a badly managed transformation process has

negatively impacted administration capacity. The transformation process occurring at the local government level has produced uncertainty, fear, and a negative climate. As a result performance and motivation have dropped. Furthermore, the newly appointed management lacks practical experience, which is needed when dealing with complex conditions.

Also the Ward Committee system does emerge positively (satisfaction is again at 27.3% level). In Tshwane Ward committees have replaced previously established community forums, which were already operating in the area (this explains the relatively good knowledge of the new system). The same structure of the forum has been replicated and broadened into the ward committee system. However since long-standing interests automatically became part of the ward committee, ward committees are thought of being not fully representative of the community. This suspicious has been articulated across all the different categories of the elite. Consequently, there is a need to strengthen the relationships between ward committees and civil society, open ward committees to all civil society sectors, and increase public participation during the election process. Another problem in relation to the Ward committees lies in the internal political disputes within the majority party. Party-list-excluded ANC political figures are trying to use the system to mobilise political power rather than to represent local interests.

Service Delivery

INDICATORS Services	satisfaction				worse	the same	better
	good	average	bad	non-existent			
1. Electricity	51.8%	26.2%	18.2%	3.6%			
2. Water	57.9%	29.4%	10.0%	2.7%			
3. Sanitation	52.4%	29.3%	14.1%	4.2%			
4. Housing	44.9%	29.8%	23.4%	0.0%			
5. Refuse	44.0%	28.0%	20.5%	7.5%			
6. Health	28.7%	33.1%	28.3%	9.9%	12. Assessment of life in the area in the last 5 years	12.1%	29.1%
7. School	43.2%	29.6%	20.2%	7.1%			
8. Policing	25.5%	44.6%	26.4%	3.4%			
9. Public Transport	44.7%	35.8%	10.9%	8.6%			
10. Sport facilities	31.2%	23.3%	22.9%	22.6%			
11. Cemeteries	40.0%	25.2%	24.5%	10.3%			

Table 23e Service Indicators for Tshwane

The metro has inherited a historical backlog from the past in relation to services. Furthermore, the expansion of the metro to include the Northwest area has worsened the service provision capability of the municipality. The majority of the new municipalities, which have been integrated into the new metro, did not have a developed service delivery plan and relied heavily on the province for services. This situation is mirrored by the low satisfaction level in relation to water (57.9%), electricity (51.8%), and health care (28.7%). In fact, Tshwane values are quite low in comparison with the other municipalities. The low satisfaction level for the overall work of the metro (34.1%) is also indicative of the poor service delivery capability.

In order to address the service shortage the municipality is hoping to decrease the level of non-payment for services and promote public-private partnerships, while implementing “quick delivery plans” in the rural areas. Also, the new budget is heavily biased towards improving services in the Northwest above all in relation to housing and infrastructure. Some positive results have been achieved in relation to cost recovery and co-operation with the private sectors. The metro has been able to reduce outstanding accounts and trigger a certain level of

interest for public private partnerships in the last year. But, in reality, these positive outcomes are still too weak and, as a result, the metro is unlikely to meet its service targets in the near future. Since the metro has inherited a deficit of 1.6 billion Rand, the metro needs to reduce no-payment even more, reaching almost 100% payment level, in order to increase capital spending. Furthermore private interests are not willing to participate unless the initial capital investment is made by the public sector.

Development

INDICATORS	<i>Low</i>	<i>Middle</i>	<i>High</i>		
	<i><R72,000</i>	<i>R72,001-132,000</i>	<i>>R132,000</i>		
1 Household Income	77.6%	13.7%	8.7%		
2. Education	<i>None</i>	<i>Primary</i>	<i>Secondary</i>	<i>Matric</i>	<i>Tertiary</i>
	4.2%	11.0%	21.8%	37.8%	25.1%
	<i>Not enough</i>	<i>Enough</i>	<i>Don't know</i>		
3 Job creation efforts from the council	74.4%	8.5%	17.1%		
	<i>Down</i>	<i>The same</i>	<i>Up</i>		
4. Income change in the last 2 years	15.6%	34.9%	49.4%		
5. Standard of living change in the last 3 years	14.1%	30.2%	55.6%		
6. Future Income change	16.7%	26.4%	56.9%		

Table 24e Development Indicators for Tshwane

The municipality is committed to improve socio-economic conditions in the rural areas and to make the metro an integrated and well-functioned unit. This is not an easy task since patterns of economic development are profoundly uneven, with the urban edge cities contributing 91% to the economic output of the area, while the rural periphery provides only 9%. Dissatisfaction with the job-creation efforts of the metros (74.4% of respondents believe that the metros should do more) underlines this difficult situation. Even the apparent positive value for economic mobility indicates a different scenario (49.4% of respondents have improved their economic status in the last two years) when compared with the value of the low economic group (77.6% of respondents are still in the low-income group). What emerges from these two values is a mobility that still remains intra-group, so marginal, which is mainly the product of new immigrants moving towards the city from even poorer rural areas.

Increasing accessibility to the outlying area through a good road system is seen as key to attract new investment in intermitted, centrally located area, so spreading development. However despite the commitment for integration, it seems quite unlikely that the metro would be able to raise the capital necessary for this project in the near future. As in the case of service delivery private interests are not willing to participate unless the initial capital investment is made by the public sectors. This would leave the economic and developmental landscape between the North-West and the South profoundly unbalanced as well as the expectation of the 56.9% of respondents hoping for an improved economic status unmet.

Another issue that may further inhibit development is the lack of co-operation among the different sphere of government. There is a general consensus that communication problems exist among all the spheres of government. This applies to official-councillor relationships, metro-province relationships, and metro-national relationships. In relation to official-councillor relationships legislative ambiguity and resistance to change are deemed to create tensions and hamper co-operation. Lack of co-ordination and waste of resources are instead seen as a serious problem in the relationships with the other two spheres of government.

West Rand

The West Rand is a Category C municipality situated in the Gauteng province. Centred around Randfontein, it extends to include Mogale City, Westonaria, Merafong, and District Management Area. The local government elite is extensive including district and local officials as well as councillors at both levels of local government.

West Rand can be characterised as mainly rural with low population density but with some urban centres located in close proximity to major transport routes and the central urban complex of Gauteng. With a limited administrative and financial capacity and eroded revenue basis West Rand presents some aspects of a Crisis Municipality.

Participation

INDICATORS	yes	no	Satisfaction	bad	average	good
1. Participation in community organisations	89.6%	10.4%				
2. Knowledge of local government issues	59.2%	40.6%	2.1 Assessment of the Municipality	62.1%	29.8%	4.7%
3. Knowledge of Ward Committees	48.3%	49.9%	3.2 Assessment of Ward Committees	40.6%	27.8%	31.5%
3.1 Participation into Ward Committee meetings	66.6%	29.1%				
4. Direct Dealing with Councillors	41.8%	54.0%	4.2 Assessment of Councillors	48.4%	29.4%	22.2%
4.1 Feedback from Councillors	60.0%	39.0%				
5. Direct Dealing with Officials	49.6%	44.9%	5.1 Assessment of Officials	25.5%	37.2%	37.2%

Table 25e Participation Indicators for West Rand

Even though West Rand appears to have an active civil society because of the high participation value (89.6% of respondents are member of a civil society organisations), in reality there is a general consensus that the area is facing a “democratic paralysis.” Effective participation is rapidly reducing and the council needs to recreate a “sound” civil society from the outside. Before '94 West Rand was active with several organisations capable of channelling community participation. After '94 there has been a vacuum. Existing organisations are regarded as being opportunistic and micro-issue focussed, so lacking credibility and real representative value. Even traditional sectors, such as business or labour, are struggling to produce representative and effective collective bodies for community participation. Religious organisations are deemed to be the only one able to stay in touch with the community and effectively convey its voice to a broader political audience. The reason for this situation should be found in a “passive culture” that has followed the apartheid era. People thought that democracy would solve all their problems so they adopted a passive attitude. However, people have now realised that problems are still there but they are not prepared to invest the necessary resources to address issues and collaborate with the institutional counterpart (the low interaction values for Councillors, 41.8%, and officials, 49.6%, underlines this passive civil society).

Another reason that may have contributed to this low community commitment lies in the poor communication strategy developed by the council. Indeed, no formal information strategy seems to have been implemented in the area. With citizens not knowing the local government structure, although they may be more aware of general issues (the majority of respondents, 59.2%, have an idea of general issues related to local government), it does not come as surprise that interaction with the local municipalities is quite low, while interaction with the district is almost non-existent. To address the problem some future planning has been devised in relation to setting up call centres and a quarterly newsletter at the local municipality level as well as district umbrella bodies that will help the district to communicate directly with stakeholders and maintain a direct contact with the communities. Different forums have

already been launched, for instance in the case of IDP, where specific sectors were invited to express their opinion in relation to local development. Although representing an improvement, these forums have not been able to crack the passive culture of the existing civil society so far since participation has been quite low. Furthermore, rigid financial constraints, faced by the municipality, significantly limit its action in relation to the future.

Also community involvement in to ward committees is problematic (the majority of the respondents do not know about the new system). During the election the West Rand experienced a low turn out, which indicates both low knowledge of and interest for this new participative structure. The situation has not improved after the ward committee establishment. Attendance at ward committee meetings is in decline with a few members still participating. As result of this situation satisfaction level is low with only 31.5% percent of responds assessing positively the new system. Again, lack of leadership from the community can be identified as the main cause for this negative outcome. Some efforts were made during the IDP process where useful advices were put forward to the council. But since then everything has stopped. “Ward committees are taking a back seat” and are not pushing for implementation. Other reasons lay in the members’ lack of a clear understanding of their role as well as operational capacity. Furthermore, the issue of payment has also started to emerge.

The negative scenario does not change when we move the analysis towards councillors and officials. Levels of satisfaction both towards councillors and officials are low (respectively 22.2% and 37.2%). Al the local level this is because both figures lack administrative, financial, technical and managerial expertise. Furthermore a chronic lack of resources, produced by the “deathly mix” of low development and cost recovery, further impairs the already scarce political and administrative capacity. At the district level, although expertise is higher, lack of resources remains the key together with a distant approach to the community. District councillors and officials are not in direct contact with the community and consequently they are not fully informed on ground issues. This is not the district fault but it is the direct consequence of the district institutional and communication structure as defined by the legal framework. Finally tensions between the administration and the political arms, both at the local and district level, negatively impact local government performance.

Service Delivery

INDICATORS Services	satisfaction							
	good	average	bad	non-existent		worse	the same	better
1. Electricity	44.3%	31.9%	12.6%	11.2%				
2. Water	55.7%	30.3%	8.0%	6.0%				
3. Sanitation	47.7%	31.3%	12.6%	8.4%				
4. Housing	33.7%	32.3%	16.2%	17.8%				
5. Refuse	40.1%	34.9%	15.8%	9.2%				
6. Health	31.5%	46.3%	13.4%	8.8%	12. Assessment of life in the area in the last 5 years	40.6%	26.1%	28.6%
7. School	48.9%	38.9%	10.6%	1.6%				
8. Policing	26.8%	44.2%	24.8%	4.2%				
9. Public Transport	38.6%	29.2%	12.6%	19.6%				
10. Sport facilities	40.4%	36.8%	13.4%	9.4%				
11. Cemeteries	49.3%	42.9%	5.0%	2.8%				

Table 26e Service Indicators for West Rand

Service delivery represents a major challenge for the municipality. The West Rand is hamstrung by an increasing demand for services and lack of resources for delivering, which has produced a high level of dissatisfaction with the municipality (only 4.7% of respondents is positive towards the municipality). The lack of financial resources is the most pressing. The West Rand has a small budget that does not allow the municipality to meet community

expectations. The low rate of cost recovery for municipal services has worsened this situation producing dramatic low level of capital spending. Furthermore the low population density makes it difficult to provide equitable provision of facilities. Finally, cross boundary conditions and limited institutional capacity significantly impact the delivery capability of the municipality.

As a result of these difficult conditions there are still outstanding issues in relation to bulk services in the area (water and electricity). In fact, the level of satisfaction for electricity provision in the area is the lowest among all the 28 municipalities (44.3%), with an increasing number of people not having access to the service at all (11.2%). This is due to the no-payment issue and service cutting strategies. Also in relation to water delivery, satisfaction is very low (55.7%). West Rand, Ugu and Bomphirima are the worst municipality in term of water.

Housing is also highly problematic (low satisfaction level also characterised this service). Beside the above-mentioned issues mineral rights and heritage regulation increase the complexity of housing provision. In West Rand the majority of land (85%) is owned by mining houses, so mineral rights are attached to it. This forces the municipality to constantly negotiate with the main mining houses to gain access to land. To make things worse West Rand is also regarded as a heritage area because of dolomite. This means that it is not possible to build in a vast area in the district.

Finally, health care is rapidly deterioration because of the alarming spread of Health/Aids. Only 31.5% of respondents are satisfied with the service. Quite likely this value will decrease in the near future because of the spread rate of the diseases.

Ironically, in this condition the low politicised and passive civil society, characterising the West Rand, becomes a positive asset. With a different type of civil society the risk for social tensions would be quite real.

Development

INDICATORS	Low	Middle	High		
	<R72,000	R72,001-132,000	>R132,000		
1 Household Income	74.2%	17.7%	8.1%		
	None	Primary	Secondary	Matric	Tertiary
2. Education	2.4%	16.5%	22.8%	30.2%	27.2%
	Not enough	Enough	Don't know		
3 Job creation efforts from the council	78.0%	6.2%	15.8%		
	Down	The same	Up		
4. Income change in the last 2 years	22.5%	34.7%	42.8%		
5. Standard of living change in the last 3 years	28.7%	28.9%	42.5%		
6. Future Income change	17.8%	34.1%	48.1%		

Table 27e Development Indicators for West Rand

The economy of the West Rand is relatively small and very concentrated on mining. In addition, it is relatively weak and has been experiencing a period of general decline. This has had a profound effect on labour trends in the area. Continuing retrenchment from the gold mines has increased the already high unemployment levels in the area. To make things worse, the work force is characterised by unskilled and poorly educated workers, who cannot be easily integrated into the new economy. All of these dynamics result in high level of poverty (74.2% of respondents still belong to the low income group).

The municipality is committed to address economic development by increasing collaboration with the business sector and offering incentives schemes. However, although commitment and willingness to act are evident this may not be enough to succeed in the current environment dominated by several problems.

First, the constant issue of low revenue basis as well as lack of resources and capacity significantly reduces the ability of the municipality to tackle development. Second, the unhealthy relationship between officials and councillors has also a negative impact on local government for effective intervention. Third, serious problems exist among all the spheres of government. Local-district relationships are highly problematic with no real communication and co-operation existing between these two levels. Local municipalities are quite suspicious towards the district perceived as the “big sister”, while the district is desperately trying to acquire a more centralised power base. Interaction with the national sphere is deemed to be almost non-existent. The feeling is that the national government has no idea of what is happening at the local level. The only exception is the relationship with the province, which has been partially positive in relation to funding and housing. However, this interaction has the potential to increase the already problematic relationships between the local and district councils. The district would like the province to interact with the local municipalities via the district, while the locals would like to interact directly with the province so by-passing the district. Finally, although HIV/Aids epidemic, which is the direct consequence of the migrant structure of the mining labour market of the area and poor economic condition, is fast spreading, nothing has been done so far to contain the disease and/or its negative effects.

Profoundly constrained by limited resources, local-district uncooperative relationships, and HIV/Aids epidemic, West Rand is unlikely to meet its development obligations and so readdressing issues of poor service delivery and job-creation. The 48.1% of respondents, who are expecting to become better off in the next two years, may need to wait much longer.

Control: Emalahleni

Emalahleni is dominated by the city of Witbank, which has been amalgamated with two communities, Ogies and Kriel in the 2000 demarcations. The centre of coal mining and steel-production in the Central Highveld, Witbank has a variety of interest groups and elites, including a significant corporate (mining) community. Ogies is a town with deep political divisions while Kriel owes its origins to nearby Eskom power station. Even today, Kriel is still dominated by a para-statal-type Afrikaner elite that tends to distance itself from the new Emalahleni municipal authority.

Participation

INDICATORS						
public participation	yes	no	Satisfaction	bad	average	good
1. Participation in community organisations	93.6%	6.4%				
2. Knowledge of local government issues	70.4%	29.6%	2.1 Assessment of the Municipality	48.1%	44.4%	7.5%
3. Knowledge of Ward Committees	65.5%	34.3%	3.2 Assessment of Ward Committees	86.4%	4.2%	9.5%
3.1 Participation into Ward Committee meetings	94.6%	5.4%				
4. Direct Dealing with Councillors	16.9%	82.4%	4.2 Assessment of Councillors	64.6%	4.3%	31.0%
4.1 Feedback from Councillors	36.8%	63.2%				
5. Direct Dealing with Officials	16.9%	82.8%	5.1 Assessment of Officials	55.7%	30.0%	14.2%

Table 28e Participation Indicators for Emalahleni

Witbank itself contains a diversified elite in a community whose “townships” have a deep tradition of struggle against political authority. Kwa-Gugwa has figured prominently in labour struggles against mining capital - and part of this has carried through into the contemporary era where there is a high degree of political mobilisation. Grassroots CBO’s remain strong: almost everyone in our sample (93.6 percent) alleged involvement in community organisations (many of which are at odds with municipal authority). Political cognitions are well developed with 70.4 percent of respondents claiming knowledge about local government) and there is a strong and often adversarial ethic of participation in civic organisations which has remained in place since the end of apartheid. As all governmental elites concur, Witbank is a highly political community, which poses many problems for stable governance.

Ward committees do not technically exist and there is often confusion among the 65.5 percent of local people who claim knowledge about these institutions. It is a measure of the turbulence in Emalahleni that what exists today is a mixture of grassroots institutions: some are “ward committees” in the legal sense, others a ward committee which represent an extension of the power base of local councillors. In the more privileged segments of the community there is similar confusion. Nonetheless, ward committees, irrespective of form, are tenuous and largely unsustainable - at least in part because of the very high level (94.6 percent) of (fractious) public participation. Most committees have collapsed (or become dysfunctional) because of the sheer inability of multiple interest groups to reach consensus under the leadership of councillors who resent the presence of watchdog community organisations. Others have collapsed (or become unsustainable) because they cannot “deliver” in accord with sharply honed popular aspirations on the part of highly mobilised people. And a minority have failed (or not been established) because of lack of public interest in the more advantages segments of the community.

Governmental elites in Emalahleni have a long record of difficulties in establishing communications with their grassroots communities apart from the difficulties attached to raising levels of popular participation. The current administration fits the historic pattern: many senior councillors see the local authority as a stepping stone to regional positions and are, as a result, not especially concerned with mobilising the community to service ward structures. Officials are historically hamstrung by political leadership at local level: many are intimidated to the point of barely performing their functions - with the consequence that a mere 16.9 percent of our sample see any utility in dealing with the local bureaucracy. The business community is also critical of the persistent inability of the local government to establish firm roots within a broad community of whom only 14.2 percent are positively disposed towards official circles.

Councillors are widely seen as representing certain interests rather than constituents. Most opinion-makers in the area see councillors as tools of the political parties or of mining capital. Others see the councillor participation as essentially self-interested and opportunistic according to the flow of the political tide. Many councillors play to a regional audience because they aspire to positions in provincial authority. There is a general feeling that most councillors represent everything but their constituents. An unsurprisingly low number of our respondents (16.9 percent) have subsequently felt any inclination to deal directly with councillors (and of these only a third - or 36.8 percent - report positive feedback from councillors on issues of individual or collective importance. Approximately two-thirds of the sample (64.6 percent) rate councillor performance as uniformly negative

The general view - not without justification - is of municipal authority and its electorate in a state of mutual tension. Municipal officials admit to difficulty in imposing discipline on the community: the community, in turn, is aggressively disposed to the municipality whose

legitimacy is constantly in question. Councillors have difficulty in marketing the messages of the municipal authority at grassroots level because the majority of unemployed listeners are only concerned with information that holds out the prospects of upward mobility, more efficient service delivery and opportunities for employment. Needless to say, all of this negatively impacts on participation and the general image of the municipality. A mere 7.5 percent of respondents see municipal performance as “good”.

Hardly anyone in our sample (9.5 percent) has anything positive to say about the ward committees. Among the 86.4 percent of the sample who rate the committees negatively, many see the new structures as sinecures for the friends of councillors, their relatives, extended families, friends, and political hangers-on of all persuasions. Hardly anyone - in the community or the elite - regards the new structures as half-way representative. Many people who agree to community service in these bodies do so for purely opportunistic reasons, either to access fictitious project funding which councillors advance in order to assist recruitment or, more directly, in the belief that ward committees are potential sources of paid employment. Some ward committees have collapsed once members have realised that committee service is a matter of voluntary civic engagement. Others have become non-functional because of their inability (or perceived) impotence in the face of urgent community services.

Elements of the elite are deeply dissatisfied with councillor performance. The powerful corporate elite is highly sceptical of the capacity of councillors to bring about improved governance, with or without community involvement. The local business chambers - NAFCOC and the local chapters of the SA Chamber of Business - have a long history of conflict with councillors whom they are considered to be impervious to industrial/commercial interests. Community leaders are also sceptical of councillors who, with individual exceptions, are believed to be driven by narrow personal, factional or party interests with little reference to the developmental concerns of the community.

Service Delivery

INDICATORS Services	satisfaction							
	good	average	bad	non-existent		worse	the same	better
1. Electricity	76.4%	9.1%	14.5%	0.0%				
2. Water	78.5%	5.9%	15.2%	0.4%				
3. Sanitation	31.2%	21.0%	47.3%	0.4%				
4. Housing	32.6%	31.3%	34.8%	1.3%				
5. Refuse	35.6%	29.7%	32.3%	2.4%	12. Assessment of life in the area in the last 5 years			
6. Health	38.0%	24.9%	35.6%	1.5%		17.2%	65.9%	16.7%
7. School	73.8%	7.8%	16.1%	2.4%				
8. Policing	22.0%	12.4%	64.3%	1.3%				
9. Public Transport	64.4%	12.6%	21.7%	1.3%				
10. Sport facilities	69.6%	7.6%	20.2%	2.6%				
11. Cemeteries	35.6%	7.2%	57.3%	0.0%				

Table 29e Service Indicators for Emalahleni

Governmental elites are largely satisfied with bulk service delivery (although there remain various problems to be resolved in electricity and water provision in such backward areas as Ogies and the rural sector inherited by Emalahleni following the 2000 demarcation). This is endorsed by the community, 76.4 percent of whom rate electricity provision very positively. Water delivery is also highly rated (at 78.5 percent) but there are serious shortfalls in community perceptions regarding sanitation and housing. There are also severe discrepancies between the various sub-communities. The high (69.6 percent) rating on sport reflects exceptionally excellent facilities in white Witbank: in much of black Witbank, the relative absence of sport, recreation and cultural facilities remains highly problematic for a

municipality with rising rates of youth-related crime. (This is reflected in community-wide concern over poor standards of policing), Most people are also clearly anxious about declining public health services, roads particularly in the “townships”) and, above rising levels of unemployment.

Commentators on municipal performance have been sceptical about capacity for service delivery in the local authority for many years. This remains true to this day where delivery across the suite of services is hindered by a high turnover of municipal officials that disrupts continuity in public policy and also undermines relations with interest groups - in particular, the local business community. Among the corporates there is ongoing concern about the inability of the local authority to establish itself on a firm financial basis. Allegations of corruption among officials and councillors on the network of regional ANC patronage are widespread.

Development

INDICATORS	<i>Low</i>	<i>Middle</i>	<i>High</i>		
	<i><R72,000</i>	<i>R72,001-132,000</i>	<i>>R132,000</i>		
1 Household Income	88.50%	8.90%	2.60%		
2. Education	<i>None</i>	<i>Primary</i>	<i>Secondary</i>	<i>Matric</i>	<i>Tertiary</i>
	12%	11.40%	17.50%	27.40%	31.80%
3 Job creation efforts from the council	<i>Not enough</i>	<i>Enough</i>	<i>Don't know</i>		
	94.50%	2.60%	2.90%		
4. Income change in the last 2 years	<i>Down</i>	<i>The same</i>	<i>Up</i>		
	10%	63.10%	26.90%		
5. Standard of living change in the last 3 years	20.80%	60.50%	18.70%		
6. Future Income change	17.60%	56.60%	25.80%		

Table 30e Development Indicators for Emalahleni

The 2000 demarcation giving rise to the Emalahleni authority local authority has involved the inclusion of Ogies and Kriel: this is a major source of dissatisfaction on all sides and the dominant issue in the ongoing development discourse in the area. Ogies, with its long-standing tradition of near political anarchy resents the imposition of discipline by the new Emalahleni Council Kriel, which has a strong Afrikaans base derived from its foundation by Eskom, is also in a state of tension with the authorities in Witbank. Conflict over the incorporation tends to override or influence most policy debates with the possible exception of controversy over the continued inability of the municipality to balance its books.

Both the business and governmental elite are proud of the economic growth of the area. Despite poor governance, the good record on bulk service delivery has imbued many people with considerable optimism: only 17.2 percent of the local population appears to believe that life has become worse in the last five years. Elites are anxious about the continued reliance of the local economy on coal mining and coal-related industrial activity, but much of this pessimism does not appear to filter down to grassroots. 63.10 percent of the sample are fairly positive about their income over the last two years, 60.50 do not perceive a change in their standard of living in the near future, while a quarter (25.80 percent) are optimistic that income and economic conditions will improve.

Having said this, job-creation remains problematic. Virtually everyone (94.5 percent) believes that Council could do far more to improve employment opportunities. This includes the local economic elite in the mining corporations who constantly hold up nearby Middelburg as a prosperous prototype to which Witbank should aspire given its stronger business base. Both

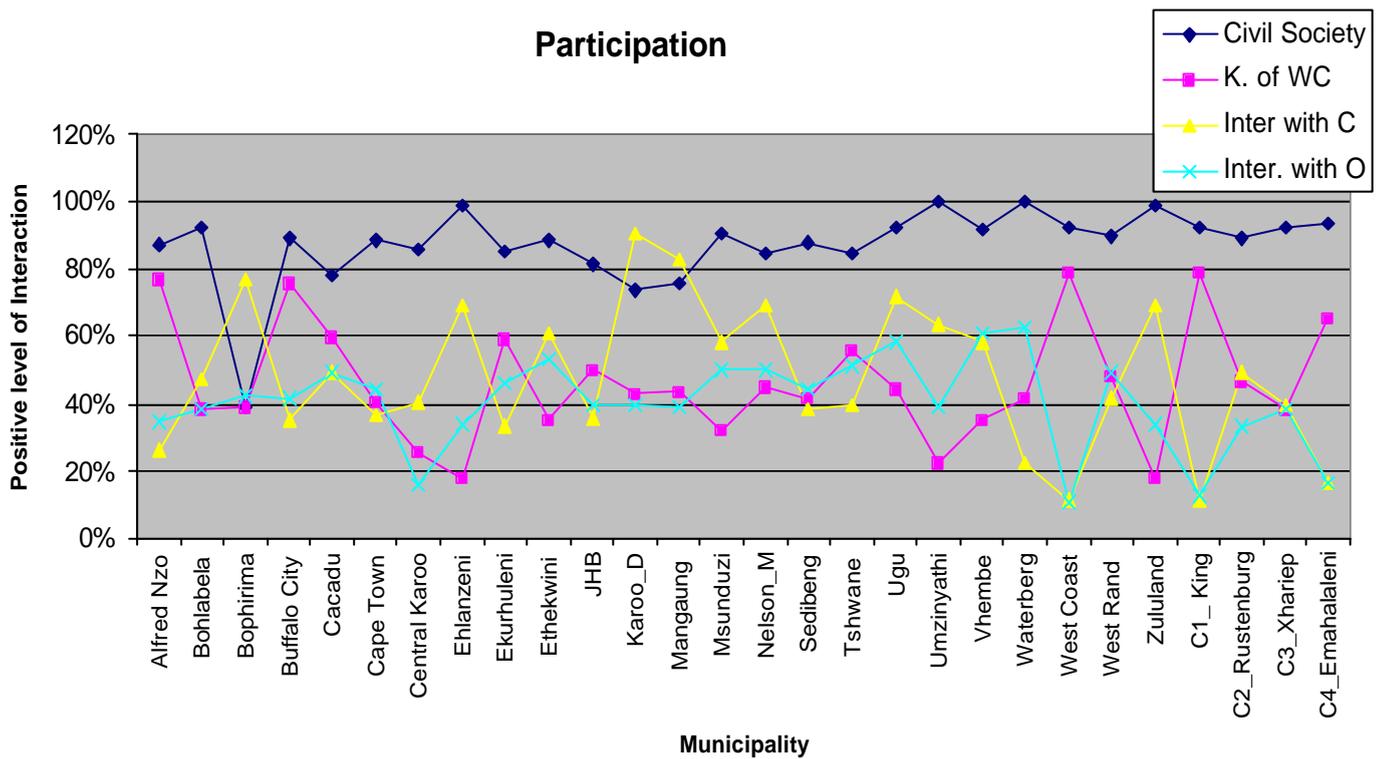
business and government talk the language of converting Witbank and its environs into a “future city” but deplore the lack of vision and local leadership without which this is impossible. Enhanced and more responsible government is seen as the key to the future but this requires a more solid social foundation, accelerated action on local economic development and above all, a more civically responsible governmental leadership.

Few people, either within or outside government, are satisfied with current levels or practices of developmental governance - despite their mild optimism about the future. The Emalahleni Council is associated, among many audiences, with corruption and policy-mismanagement that embraces both councillors and officials, Business interests in the area have difficulty in dealing with a municipal administration depleted by organisational transformation, factional conflicts over bureaucratic positions and a rapid turnover of personnel. The ongoing financial crisis of the local municipality is a further source of concern for all interest groups dedicated to transparent, honest and representative developmental governance.

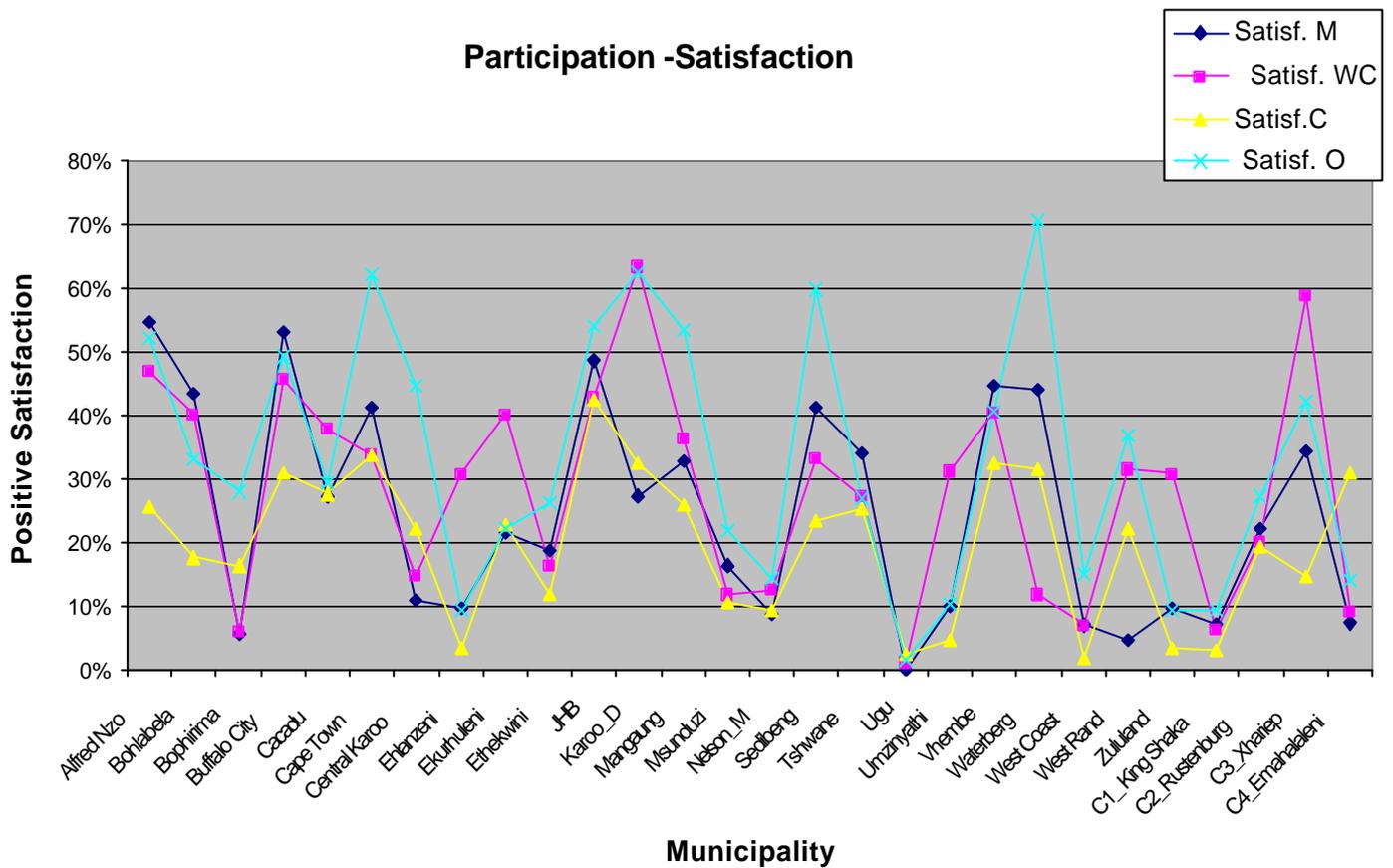
Appendix

A. Comparative Tables

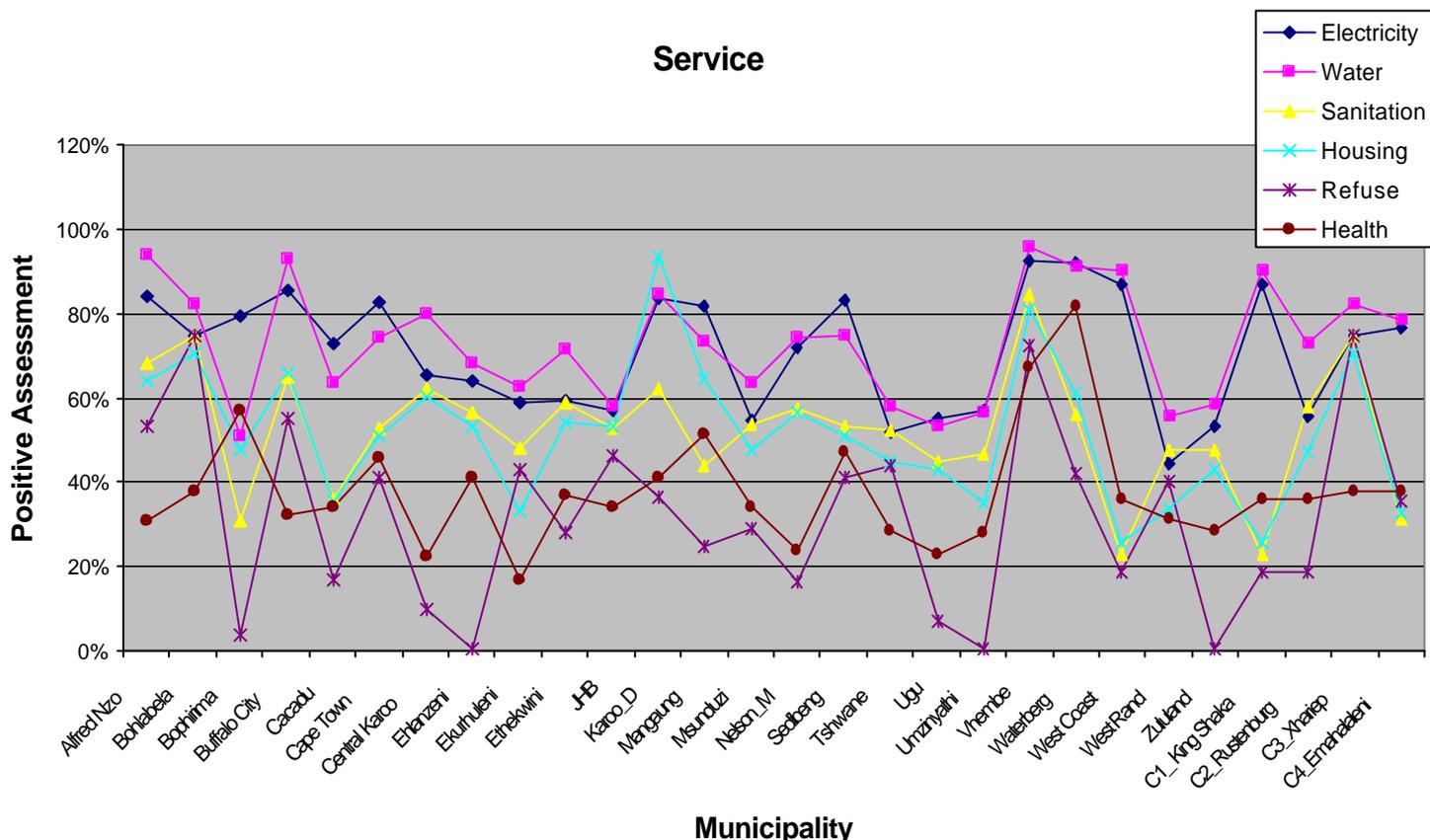
Some of the indicators have been plotted for all the 28 municipalities. For participation membership in civil society (blue line), knowledge of Ward Committees (pink line), Interaction with Councillors (yellow line) and Officials (light blue) have been shown in the table.



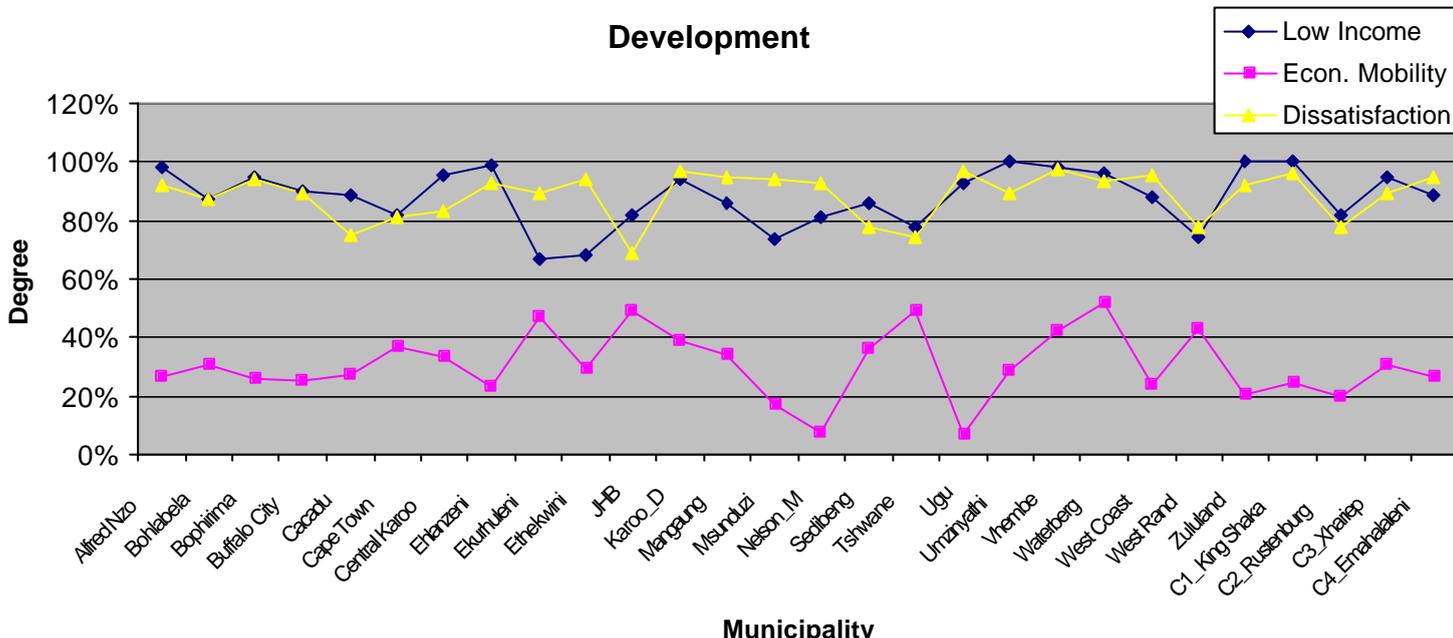
The following table shows the satisfaction results for all the 28 municipalities in relation to: the overall municipality (the blue line), the Ward Committees (pink line), Councillors (yellow line), and officials (light blue line).



The following table shows some key indicators for the service index across all the 28 municipalities. Satisfaction levels in relation to electricity, water, sanitation, housing, refuse collection and health have been plotted.



The following table shows some of the indicators for the development index across all the 28 municipalities. The levels of the low income group, economic mobility, and dissatisfaction towards the job-creation efforts of the municipality have been plotted.



B. Results for the 24 Targets

The following tables show the aggregate results for participation, service and development for the 24 municipalities (with the exclusion of the 4 control cases).

INDICATORS						
<i>public participation</i>	<i>yes</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>Satisfaction</i>	<i>bad</i>	<i>average</i>	<i>good</i>
1. Participation in community organisations	87.9%	12.1%				
2. Knowledge of local government issues	62.2%	36.1%	2.1 Assessment of the Municipality	37.7%	34.2%	27.8%
3. Knowledge of Ward Committees	44.7%	55.1%	3.2 Assessment of Ward Committees	48.4%	21.2%	30.2%
3.1 Participation into Ward Committee meetings	80.8%	18.6%				
4. Direct Dealing with Councillors	50.7%	48.5%	4.2 Assessment of Councillors	60.5%	19.6%	19.9%
4.1 Feedback from Councillors	44.8%	54.5%				
5. Direct Dealing with Officials	43.9%	53.8%	5.1 Assessment of Officials	38.5%	25.7%	35.8%

INDICATORS								
<i>Services</i>					<i>satisfaction</i>			
	<i>good</i>	<i>average</i>	<i>bad</i>	<i>non-existent</i>		<i>worse</i>	<i>the same</i>	<i>better</i>
1. Electricity	70.2%	14.4%	8.9%	6.5%				
2. Water	71.9%	13.4%	11.5%	3.2%				
3. Sanitation	53.6%	17.3%	24.8%	4.2%				
4. Housing	52.8%	22.6%	21.0%	3.6%				
5. Refuse	32.2%	12.5%	31.6%	23.7%	12. Assessment of life in the area in the last 5 years			
6. Health	38.1%	27.3%	29.2%	5.4%		30.9%	34.1%	33.3%
7. School	58.0%	24.3%	12.0%	5.8%				
8. Policing	32.1%	27.7%	36.9%	3.3%				
9. Public Transport	51.6%	20.7%	23.4%	4.2%				
10. Sport facilities	20.8%	16.2%	25.9%	37.1%				
11. Cemeteries	26.0%	21.1%	49.6%	3.4%				

INDICATORS					
	<i>Low</i>	<i>Middle</i>	<i>High</i>		
	<i><R72,000</i>	<i>R72,001-132,000</i>	<i>>R132,000</i>		
1 Household Income	86.0%	9.4%	4.5%		
	<i>None</i>	<i>Primary</i>	<i>Secondary</i>	<i>Matric</i>	<i>Tertiary</i>
2. Education	8.1%	13.1%	22.9%	32.2%	23.6%
	<i>Not enough</i>	<i>Enough</i>	<i>Don't know</i>		
3 Job creation efforts from the council	89.9%	4.6%	5.5%		
	<i>Down</i>	<i>The same</i>	<i>Up</i>		
4. Income change in the last 2 years	25.1%	43.6%	31.3%		
5. Standard of living change in the last 3 years	33.3%	35.5%	31.2%		
6. Future Income change	21.7%	36.5%	41.8%		

C. Results for the 4 Clusters

The following tables show the aggregate results for the 4 clusters (with the exclusion of the 4 control cases) in relation to participation, service and development.

INDICATORS	cluster 1		cluster 2		cluster 3		cluster 4		cluster 1			cluster 2			cluster 3			cluster 4				
	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no	Satisfaction	bad	aver.	good	bad	aver.	good	bad	aver.	good	bad	aver.	good	
1.Participation in comm. Organisations.	93%	7%	85%	15%	80%	21%	87%	13%														
2. Knowledge of local government issues	57%	40%	68%	29%	74%	26%	61%	38%	2.1 Assessment of the Municipality	40%	36%	25%	35%	32%	33%	46%	31%	23%	35%	35%	30%	
3. Knowledge of Ward Committees	36%	64%	65%	35%	43%	58%	46%	54%	3.2 Assessment of Ward Committees	54%	19%	27%	57%	11%	33%	39%	19%	42%	44%	27%	29%	
3.1 Participation into Ward Com. Meetings	86%	14%	82%	17%	83%	17%	77%	23%														
4. Direct Dealing with Councillors	56%	44%	48%	52%	61%	39%	45%	53%	4.2 Assessment of Councillors	67%	18%	14%	63%	14%	23%	52%	20%	29%	56%	23%	21%	
4.1 Feedback from Councillors	37%	63%	50%	50%	45%	55%	51%	48%														
5. Direct Dealing with Officials	46%	54%	33%	60%	35%	65%	48%	49%	5.1 Assessment of Officials	46%	22%	32%	31%	21%	48%	32%	22%	46%	36%	30%	35%	

INDICATORS	Cluster 1				Cluster 2				Cluster 3				Cluster 4			
	good	aver.	bad	non-exist.												
1. Electricity	73%	14%	9%	4%	84%	9%	4%	3%	74%	12%	9%	5%	63%	17%	10%	10%
2. Water	73%	13%	12%	3%	85%	6%	9%	1%	76%	12%	12%	0%	66%	17%	12%	5%
3. Sanitation	57%	15%	24%	3%	47%	17%	33%	3%	54%	9%	36%	1%	53%	21%	20%	6%
4. Housing	56%	21%	21%	3%	56%	21%	22%	2%	64%	13%	22%	1%	47%	26%	21%	5%
5. Refuse	28%	6%	36%	30%	35%	13%	21%	31%	21%	7%	30%	42%	37%	19%	33%	12%
6. Health	45%	24%	27%	4%	40%	29%	28%	3%	33%	27%	37%	4%	33%	30%	30%	7%
7. School	60%	21%	14%	5%	57%	26%	12%	5%	66%	22%	6%	6%	55%	27%	12%	6%
8. Policing	35%	26%	36%	4%	25%	23%	50%	2%	17%	26%	55%	2%	36%	31%	30%	4%
9. Pub. Transport	49%	20%	29%	2%	57%	17%	26%	1%	70%	21%	8%	1%	48%	22%	22%	8%
10. Sport facilities	19%	14%	32%	36%	18%	19%	27%	37%	3%	6%	9%	82%	27%	20%	25%	28%
11. Cemeteries	31%	16%	52%	1%	19%	14%	67%	0%	10%	12%	77%	2%	28%	29%	36%	7%
satisfaction																
	worse	same	better		worse	same	better		worse	same	better		worse	same	better	
12. Assessment of life in the area in the last 5 years	29%	39%	32%		33%	41%	26%		46%	30%	24%		28%	29%	39%	

INDICATORS	Cluster 1			Cluster 2					Cluster 3					Cluster 4		
	Low <R72 K	Middle R72 K-132 K	High >R132 K	Low <R72 K	Middle R72 K-132 K	High >R132 K	Low <R72 K	Middle R72 K-132 K	High >R132 K	Low <R72 K	Middle R72 K-132 K	High >R132 K	Low <R72 K	Middle R72 K-132 K	High >R132 K	
1 Household Income	97%	2%	1%	88%	7%	5%	93%	6%	2%	77%	16%	8%				
	None	Primar.	Second.	Matric	Tert.	None	Primar.	Second.	Matric	Tert.	None	Primar.	Second.	Matric	Tert.	
2. Education	7%	11%	22%	34%	27%	10%	12%	25%	35%	18%	10%	15%	31%	31%	12%	
	Not enough	Enough	Don't know	Not enough	Enough	know	Not enough	Enough	know	Not enough	Enough	know	Not enough	Enough	know	
3. Job creation efforts from the council	93%	4%	3%	95%	2%	4%	93%	2%	5%	75%	8%	17%				
	Down	Same	Up	Down	Same	Up	Down	Same	Up	Down	Same	Up				
4. Income change in the last 2 years	22%	49%	29%	22%	50%	28%	34%	37%	29%	27%	39%	34%				
5. Standard of living change in the last 3 years	35%	36%	29%	27%	45%	28%	49%	27%	24%	31%	34%	35%				
6. Future Income change	19%	37%	44%	29%	38%	33%	32%	34%	35%	20%	37%	44%				

D. Questionnaire Results

Albert Nzo

QUESTIONS	FREQUENCY
4 Annual Household Income	
less R72,000	97.9%
72,000to132,000	1.5%
over 132,000	0.6%
1.2 Education	
none	13.8%
primary	11.4%
secondary	22.2%
matric	37.2%
tertiary	15.3%
other	0.0%
1.4 Occupation	
Unemployed/not economically active	68.2%
unskilled workers	2.1%
skilled workers	11.6%
service/sale workers	11.0%
professional	7.2%
1.5 Number of people living in the household	
1to3	20.0%
4to6	46.7%
7to9	26.7%
9to12	5.5%
more than12	1.2%
2.4 Has your life here improved in the last 5 years	
improved a lot	3.7%
Improved	32.4%
the same	31.4%
got worse	27.4%
much worse	5.1%
3.1 Do you know the name of the councillor for the area	
yes	87.5%
no	12.5%
3.2 How many times have you met the councillor	
never	36.7%
sometimes	57.0%
often	6.3%
3.3 How effective are the councillors in representing the community	
very bad	56.0%
bad	9.1%
average	9.1%
good	4.0%
very good	21.8%
3.4 Have you ever approached your councillor with problems	
yes	26.3%
no	73.7%
3.5 Have you received feedback from the councillor	
yes	28.0%
no	72.0%
4.1 Do you actively participate in community organisations	
yes	87.5%

no	12.5%
5.1 Have you heard about the Ward Committee	
yes	77.3%
no	22.7%
5.3 Ward Committee Performance	
very bad	40.0%
bad	3.6%
average	7.2%
good	4.8%
very good	42.4%
5.4 Have you ever attended ward committee meetings	
often	12.8%
sometimes	52.0%
no	35.2%
5.5 Function of the ward committee	
help the councillor	44.8%
help the people to express their view	38.8%
assist the government	12.8%
help control people	3.2%
provide people with job	0.4%
5.6 Are people enthusiastic about ward committee	
very enthusiastic	4.8%
enthusiastic	45.0%
Not enthusiastic	38.2%
don't know	12.0%
6.1 Do you pay attention to what goes on in your local area	
very much	15.5%
sometimes	46.9%
not much	28.4%
not ever	9.3%
6.2 Performance of local municipality	
very good	7.9%
good	46.8%
average	21.7%
bad	15.3%
very bad	8.4%
6.3 Have you dealt with officials	
yes	34.5%
no	65.5%
6.4 Officials' performance	
very bad	25.2%
bad	12.6%
average	9.9%
good	9.9%
very good	42.3%
8.2_2 Electricity (service)	
good	84.2%
average	13.1%
bad	2.7%
non-existent	0.0%
8.2_3 Water (service)	
good	93.7%
average	4.2%
bad	2.1%
non-existent	0.0%
8.2_4 Sanitation (service)	
good	68.1%
average	8.4%

bad	23.3%
non-existent	0.3%
8.2_6 Housing (service)	
good	63.9%
average	19.1%
bad	16.1%
non-existent	0.9%
8.2_7 Health (service)	
good	30.7%
average	34.9%
bad	34.3%
non-existent	0.0%
8.2_8 School (service)	
good	45.1%
average	39.7%
bad	11.0%
non-existent	4.2%
8.2_9 Police (service)	
good	16.1%
average	41.8%
bad	41.8%
non-existent	0.3%
8.2_11 Public Transport (service)	
good	43.3%
average	27.8%
bad	29.0%
non-existent	0.0%
8.2_14 Refuse (service)	
good	53.1%
average	1.5%
bad	23.0%
non-existent	22.4%
8.2_15 Sport Facilities (service)	
good	3.9%
average	28.4%
bad	32.0%
non-existent	35.6%
8.2_16 Cemeteries (service)	
good	1.2%
average	11.0%
bad	87.5%
non-existent	0.3%
9.1 Do you actively participate in local development activities	
often	9.0%
sometimes	57.3%
never	33.7%
9.2 Is the Municipality doing enough to create job	
yes	1.8%
don't know	6.3%
no	91.9%
10.1 Change in Household income in the last 2 years	
gone up	26.7%
the same	39.0%
gone down	34.2%
10.2 Will your household income change in the next 2 years	
go up	42.7%
the same	29.6%
go down	27.8%

10.3 Has your standard of living changed in the last 3 years

gone up	41.0%
the same	26.0%
gone down	32.9%

Bohalabela

QUESTIONS	FREQUENCY
4 Annual Household Income	
less R72,000	87.4%
72,000to132,000	5.2%
over 132,000	7.3%
1.2 Education	
none	0.9%
primary	4.3%
secondary	17.0%
matric	37.1%
tertiary	37.7%
other	3.0%
1.4 Occupation	
Unemployed/not economically active	67.1%
unskilled workers	0.7%
skilled workers	13.3%
service/sale workers	0.0%
professional	18.9%
1.5 Number of people living in the household	
1to3	27.2%
4to6	48.0%
7to9	17.2%
9to12	6.9%
more than12	0.6%
2.4 Has your life here improved in the last 5 years	
improved a lot	0.0%
Improved	22.0%
the same	52.5%
got worse	12.5%
much worse	12.9%
3.1 Do you know the name of the councillor for the area	
yes	45.5%
no	54.2%
3.2 How many times have you met the councillor	
never	32.6%
sometimes	64.2%
often	3.2%
3.3 How effective are the councillors in representing the community	
very bad	38.9%
bad	21.4%
average	22.1%
good	11.5%
very good	6.1%
3.4 Have you ever approached your councillor with problems	
yes	47.6%
no	52.4%
3.5 Have you received feedback from the councillor	
yes	58.6%
no	41.4%
4.1 Do you actively participate in community organisations	

yes	92.2%
no	7.8%
5.1 Have you heard about the Ward Committee	
yes	38.4%
no	61.6%
5.3 Ward Committee Performance	
very bad	23.4%
bad	15.3%
average	21.0%
good	12.1%
very good	28.2%
5.4 Have you ever attended ward committee meetings	
often	0.0%
sometimes	88.8%
no	11.2%
5.5 Function of the ward committee	
help the councillor	30.6%
help the people to express their view	54.8%
assist the government	12.9%
help control people	1.6%
provide people with job	0.0%
5.6 Are people enthusiastic about ward committee	
very enthusiastic	6.5%
enthusiastic	37.1%
Not enthusiastic	46.0%
don't know	10.5%
6.1 Do you pay attention to what goes on in your local area	
very much	0.9%
sometimes	40.9%
not much	29.6%
not ever	28.7%
6.2 Performance of local municipality	
very good	0.7%
good	42.9%
average	34.3%
bad	16.4%
very bad	5.7%
6.3 Have you dealt with officials	
yes	38.8%
no	61.2%
6.4 Officials' performance	
very bad	11.3%
bad	24.2%
average	31.5%
good	19.4%
very good	13.7%
8.2_2 Electricity (service)	
good	74.9%
average	19.4%
bad	3.3%
non-existent	2.4%
8.2_3 Water (service)	
good	82.1%
average	8.4%
bad	7.2%
non-existent	2.4%
8.2_4 Sanitation (service)	
good	74.9%

average	5.1%
bad	16.7%
non-existent	3.3%
8.2_6 Housing (service)	
good	70.7%
average	14.0%
bad	12.5%
non-existent	2.7%
8.2_7 Health (service)	
good	37.9%
average	38.8%
bad	22.1%
non-existent	1.2%
8.2_8 School (service)	
good	69.3%
average	15.8%
bad	6.3%
non-existent	8.7%
8.2_9 Police (service)	
good	42.1%
average	34.6%
bad	22.1%
non-existent	1.2%
8.2_11 Public Transport (service)	
good	34.3%
average	29.6%
bad	28.4%
non-existent	7.8%
8.2_14 Refuse (service)	
good	74.9%
average	4.2%
bad	6.0%
non-existent	14.9%
8.2_15 Sport Facilities (service)	
good	27.2%
average	20.0%
bad	25.1%
non-existent	27.2%
8.2_16 Cemeteries (service)	
good	2.1%
average	32.5%
bad	17.6%
non-existent	2.1%
9.1 Do you actively participate in local development activities	
often	3.0%
sometimes	35.8%
never	61.2%
9.2 Is the Municipality doing enough to create job	
yes	0.0%
don't know	12.6%
no	87.4%
10.1 Change in Household income in the last 2 years	
gone up	31.0%
the same	51.6%
gone down	17.4%
10.2 Will your household income change in the next 2 years	
go up	53.5%
the same	31.6%

go down	14.8%
10.3 Has your standard of living changed in the last 3 years	
gone up	33.8%
the same	29.2%
gone down	37.0%

Bophirima

QUESTIONS	FREQUENCY
4 Annual Household Income	
less R72,000	94.7%
72,000to132,000	3.8%
over 132,000	1.2%
1.2 Education	
none	3.6%
primary	15.7%
secondary	26.9%
matric	40.2%
tertiary	12.4%
other	1.2%
1.4 Occupation	
Unemployed/not economically active	82.7%
unskilled workers	0.0%
skilled workers	4.1%
service/sale workers	6.8%
professional	6.5%
1.5 Number of people living in the household	
1to3	16.3%
4to6	46.2%
7to9	24.3%
9to12	12.4%
more than12	0.9%
2.4 Has your life here improved in the last 5 years	
improved a lot	5.3%
Improved	13.3%
the same	25.7%
got worse	51.8%
much worse	3.8%
3.1 Do you know the name of the councillor for the area	
yes	83.1%
no	16.9%
3.2 How many times have you met the councillor	
never	24.9%
sometimes	39.8%
often	35.3%
3.3 How effective are the councillors in representing the community	
very bad	41.4%
bad	21.2%
average	20.9%
good	9.4%
very good	7.2%
3.4 Have you ever approached your councillor with problems	
yes	76.9%
no	23.1%
3.5 Have you received feedback from the councillor	
yes	52.8%
no	47.2%

4.1 Do you actively participate in community organisations	
yes	76.6%
no	23.4%
5.1 Have you heard about the Ward Committee	
yes	39.3%
no	60.7%
5.3 Ward Committee Performance	
very bad	42.1%
bad	38.3%
average	13.5%
good	4.5%
very good	1.5%
5.4 Have you ever attended ward committee meetings	
often	70.7%
sometimes	24.1%
no	5.3%
5.5 Function of the ward committee	
help the councillor	7.5%
help the people to express their view	31.6%
assist the government	33.1%
help control people	6.0%
provide people with job	21.8%
5.6 Are people enthusiastic about ward committee	
very enthusiastic	52.6%
enthusiastic	35.3%
Not enthusiastic	12.0%
don't know	0.0%
6.1 Do you pay attention to what goes on in your local area	
very much	42.0%
sometimes	10.6%
not much	17.2%
not ever	30.3%
6.2 Performance of local municipality	
very good	1.4%
good	4.3%
average	32.1%
bad	48.6%
very bad	13.6%
6.3 Have you dealt with officials	
yes	42.4%
no	57.6%
6.4 Officials' performance	
very bad	60.1%
bad	7.7%
average	4.2%
good	8.4%
very good	19.6%
8.2_2 Electricity (service)	
good	79.6%
average	4.1%
bad	2.4%
non-existent	13.9%
8.2_3 Water (service)	
good	51.0%
average	15.1%
bad	31.2%
non-existent	2.7%
8.2_4 Sanitation (service)	
good	30.8%

average	17.8%
bad	47.6%
non-existent	3.8%
8.2_6 Housing (service)	
good	47.6%
average	14.2%
bad	32.0%
non-existent	6.2%
8.2_7 Health (service)	
good	57.1%
average	23.7%
bad	10.1%
non-existent	9.2%
8.2_8 School (service)	
good	51.3%
average	30.9%
bad	16.0%
non-existent	1.8%
8.2_9 Police (service)	
good	46.7%
average	12.4%
bad	34.0%
non-existent	6.8%
8.2_11 Public Transport (service)	
good	51.5%
average	10.1%
bad	37.3%
non-existent	1.2%
8.2_14 Refuse (service)	
good	3.6%
average	4.7%
bad	34.3%
non-existent	57.4%
8.2_15 Sport Facilities (service)	
good	7.1%
average	24.9%
bad	31.1%
non-existent	37.0%
8.2_16 Cemeteries (service)	
good	44.0%
average	16.7%
bad	39.0%
non-existent	0.3%
9.1 Do you actively participate in local development activities	
often	48.6%
sometimes	46.3%
never	5.1%
9.2 Is the Municipality doing enough to create job	
yes	5.9%
don't know	0.0%
no	94.1%
10.1 Change in Household income in the last 2 years	
gone up	25.7%
the same	50.7%
gone down	23.6%
10.2 Will your household income change in the next 2 years	
go up	27.2%
the same	33.4%

go down	39.4%
10.3 Has your standard of living changed in the last 3 years	
gone up	22.6%
the same	37.7%
gone down	39.8%

Buffalo City

QUESTIONS	FREQUENCY
4 Annual Household Income	
less R72,000	89.7%
72,0001to132,000	5.2%
over 132,000	5.2%
1.2 Education	
none	11.7%
primary	10.5%
secondary	22.4%
matric	38.7%
tertiary	16.7%
other	0.0%
1.4 Occupation	
Unemployed/not economically active	65.6%
unskilled workers	2.0%
skilled workers	11.0%
service/sale workers	8.8%
professional	12.6%
1.5 Number of people living in the household	
1to3	20.2%
4to6	45.7%
7to9	24.4%
9to12	8.3%
more than12	1.3%
2.4 Has your life here improved in the last 5 years	
improved a lot	10.3%
Improved	28.4%
the same	33.3%
got worse	19.2%
much worse	8.9%
3.1 Do you know the name of the councillor for the area	
yes	76.5%
no	23.5%
3.2 How many times have you met the councillor	
never	33.5%
sometimes	58.1%
often	8.4%
3.3 How effective are the councillors in representing the community	
very bad	43.8%
bad	14.4%
average	10.9%
good	8.7%
very good	22.3%
3.4 Have you ever approached your councillor with problems	
yes	35.1%
no	64.9%
3.5 Have you received feedback from the councillor	
yes	45.6%

no	54.4%
4.1 Do you actively participate in community organisations	
yes	88.9%
no	11.1%
5.1 Have you heard about the Ward Committee	
yes	75.6%
no	24.4%
5.3 Ward Committee Performance	
very bad	35.7%
bad	6.9%
average	11.7%
good	8.9%
very good	36.9%
5.4 Have you ever attended ward committee meetings	
often	12.2%
sometimes	55.0%
no	32.8%
5.5 Function of the ward committee	
help the councillor	40.9%
help the people to express their view	38.1%
assist the government	16.0%
help control people	4.3%
provide people with job	0.8%
5.6 Are people enthusiastic about ward committee	
very enthusiastic	420.0%
enthusiastic	46.2%
Not enthusiastic	33.9%
don't know	15.7%
6.1 Do you pay attention to what goes on in your local area	
very much	14.1%
sometimes	49.9%
not much	26.8%
not ever	9.2%
6.2 Performance of local municipality	
very good	6.1%
good	47.1%
average	24.9%
bad	13.7%
very bad	8.2%
6.3 Have you dealt with officials	
yes	41.4%
no	58.6%
6.4 Officials' performance	
very bad	16.0%
bad	13.6%
average	21.1%
good	13.6%
very good	35.7%
8.2_2 Electricity (service)	
good	85.4%
average	12.4%
bad	2.3%
non-existent	0.0%
8.2_3 Water (service)	
good	92.7%
average	4.9%
bad	2.4%

non-existent	0.0%
8.2_4 Sanitation (service)	
good	64.7%
average	11.6%
bad	23.3%
non-existent	0.4%
8.2_6 Housing (service)	
good	65.9%
average	18.4%
bad	15.2%
non-existent	0.6%
8.2_7 Health (service)	
good	32.3%
average	32.3%
bad	35.5%
non-existent	0.0%
8.2_8 School (service)	
good	47.3%
average	37.9%
bad	10.3%
non-existent	4.5%
8.2_9 Police (service)	
good	23.6%
average	39.0%
bad	37.1%
non-existent	0.2%
8.2_11 Public Transport (service)	
good	45.6%
average	27.8%
bad	25.9%
non-existent	0.8%
8.2_14 Refuse (service)	
good	55.3%
average	1.9%
bad	22.5%
non-existent	20.3%
8.2_15 Sport Facilities (service)	
good	8.3%
average	25.6%
bad	33.3%
non-existent	32.9%
8.2_16 Cemeteries (service)	
good	11.6%
average	11.6%
bad	76.4%
non-existent	0.4%
9.1 Do you actively participate in local development activities	
often	7.5%
sometimes	56.7%
never	35.8%
9.2 Is the Municipality doing enough to create job	
yes	1.1%
don't know	9.6%
no	89.3%
10.1 Change in Household income in the last 2 years	
gone up	25.1%
the same	46.2%

gone down	28.7%
10.2 Will your household income change in the next 2 years	
go up	46.0%
the same	29.6%
go down	24.4%
10.3 Has your standard of living changed in the last 3 years	
gone up	43.0%
the same	27.8%
gone down	29.1%

Cacadu

QUESTIONS	FREQUENCY
4 Annual Household Income	
less R72,000	88.4%
72,000to132,000	9.4%
over 132,000	2.1%
1.2 Education	
none	15.5%
primary	15.8%
secondary	28.0%
matric	29.5%
tertiary	11.2%
other	0.0%
1.4 Occupation	
Unemployed/not economically active	62.0%
unskilled workers	1.5%
skilled workers	9.8%
service/sale workers	10.2%
professional	16.5%
1.5 Number of people living in the household	
1to3	38.0%
4to6	37.1%
7to9	15.0%
9to12	8.3%
more than12	1.5%
2.4 Has your life here improved in the last 5 years	
improved a lot	6.6%
Improved	16.0%
the same	35.8%
got worse	21.4%
much worse	20.1%
3.1 Do you know the name of the councillor for the area	
yes	67.5%
no	31.6%
3.2 How many times have you met the councillor	
never	41.6%
sometimes	43.2%
often	15.2%
3.3 How effective are the councillors in representing the community	
very bad	39.6%
bad	16.1%
average	16.7%
good	10.4%
very good	17.2%

3.4 Have you ever approached your councillor with problems	
yes	49.2%
no	50.8%
3.5 Have you received feedback from the councillor	
yes	36.1%
no	63.9%
4.1 Do you actively participate in community organisations	
yes	78.5%
no	21.5%
5.1 Have you heard about the Ward Committee	
yes	59.7%
no	40.3%
5.3 Ward Committee Performance	
very bad	25.8%
bad	17.2%
average	18.8%
good	11.8%
very good	26.3%
5.4 Have you ever attended ward committee meetings	
often	23.7%
sometimes	57.2%
no	19.1%
5.5 Function of the ward committee	
help the councillor	24.9%
help the people to express their view	61.2%
assist the government	2.0%
help control people	5.5%
provide people with job	5.5%
5.6 Are people enthusiastic about ward committee	
very enthusiastic	2.1%
enthusiastic	23.7%
Not enthusiastic	40.5%
don't know	33.7%
6.1 Do you pay attention to what goes on in your local area	
very much	28.6%
sometimes	35.5%
not much	25.2%
not ever	10.7%
6.2 Performance of local municipality	
very good	8.5%
good	19.0%
average	30.5%
bad	26.5%
very bad	15.5%
6.3 Have you dealt with officials	
yes	49.2%
no	50.8%
6.4 Officials' performance	
very bad	25.9%
bad	22.4%
average	22.4%
good	17.0%
very good	12.2%
8.2_2 Electricity (service)	
good	73.0%
average	17.1%
bad	8.7%
non-existent	1.2%
8.2_3 Water (service)	

good	63.5%
average	21.4%
bad	13.9%
non-existent	1.2%
8.2_4 Sanitation (service)	
good	36.1%
average	2.8%
bad	57.7%
non-existent	3.4%
8.2_6 Housing (service)	
good	35.5%
average	14.8%
bad	47.8%
non-existent	1.9%
8.2_7 Health (service)	
good	34.0%
average	25.9%
bad	38.6%
non-existent	1.5%
8.2_8 School (service)	
good	64.2%
average	25.6%
bad	7.7%
non-existent	2.5%
8.2_9 Police (service)	
good	14.5%
average	36.7%
bad	46.9%
non-existent	1.9%
8.2_11 Public Transport (service)	
good	46.9%
average	41.4%
bad	11.4%
non-existent	0.3%
8.2_14 Refuse (service)	
good	16.7%
average	6.5%
bad	51.2%
non-existent	25.6%
8.2_15 Sport Facilities (service)	
good	2.8%
average	4.9%
bad	9.3%
non-existent	83.0%
8.2_16 Cemeteries (service)	
good	0.3%
average	0.3%
bad	98.1%
non-existent	1.2%
9.1 Do you actively participate in local development activities	
often	8.3%
sometimes	33.8%
never	58.0%
9.2 Is the Municipality doing enough to create job	
yes	1.8%
don't know	23.1%
no	75.1%
10.1 Change in Household income in the last 2 years	
gone up	19.2%

the same	34.1%
gone down	46.7%
10.2 Will your household income change in the next 2 years	
go up	27.3%
the same	25.7%
go down	47.0%
10.3 Has your standard of living changed in the last 3 years	
gone up	19.2%
the same	25.2%
gone down	55.7%

Cape Town

QUESTIONS	FREQUENCY
4 Annual Household Income	
less R72,000	81.9%
72,000to132,000	12.7%
over 132,000	5.4%
1.2 Education	
none	11.0%
primary	28.0%
secondary	19.3%
matric	16.8%
tertiary	25.5%
other	0.4%
1.4 Occupation	
Unemployed/not economically active	37.9%
unskilled workers	2.2%
skilled workers	14.0%
service/sale workers	12.7%
professional	33.3%
1.5 Number of people living in the household	
1to3	2.9%
4to6	22.3%
7to9	56.8%
9to12	14.5%
more than12	3.4%
2.4 Has your life here improved in the last 5 years	
improved a lot	19.0%
Improved	23.8%
the same	33.3%
got worse	12.6%
much worse	10.1%
3.1 Do you know the name of the councillor for the area	
yes	56.3%
no	41.0%
3.2 How many times have you met the councillor	
never	46.2%
sometimes	40.7%
often	7.5%
3.3 How effective are the councillors in representing the community	
very bad	42.1%
bad	11.3%
average	12.7%
good	12.0%
very good	21.9%
3.4 Have you ever approached your councillor with problems	

yes	36.7%
no	62.2%
3.5 Have you received feedback from the councillor	
yes	47.6%
no	52.4%
4.1 Do you actively participate in community organisations	
yes	88.6%
no	11.4%
5.1 Have you heard about the Ward Committee	
yes	40.5%
no	59.5%
5.3 Ward Committee Performance	
very bad	39.9%
bad	10.1%
average	16.2%
good	10.1%
very good	23.7%
5.4 Have you ever attended ward committee meetings	
often	19.9%
sometimes	56.7%
no	23.4%
5.5 Function of the ward committee	
help the councillor	27.3%
help the people to express their view	62.4%
assist the government	6.7%
help control people	1.5%
provide people with job	0.5%
5.6 Are people enthusiastic about ward committee	
very enthusiastic	46.8%
enthusiastic	36.9%
Not enthusiastic	43.2%
don't know	13.1%
6.1 Do you pay attention to what goes on in your local area	
very much	30.1%
sometimes	36.7%
not much	15.8%
not ever	15.8%
6.2 Performance of local municipality	
very good	10.6%
good	30.6%
average	21.7%
bad	23.3%
very bad	11.9%
6.3 Have you dealt with officials	
yes	44.4%
no	50.5%
6.4 Officials' performance	
very bad	14.4%
bad	10.1%
average	13.5%
good	8.7%
very good	53.4%
8.2_2 Electricity (service)	
good	82.8%
average	11.9%
bad	3.7%
non-existent	1.7%
8.2_3 Water (service)	

good	74.2%
average	13.6%
bad	11.4%
non-existent	0.7%
8.2_4 Sanitation (service)	
good	52.7%
average	9.9%
bad	36.8%
non-existent	0.6%
8.2_6 Housing (service)	
good	50.9%
average	20.4%
bad	25.6%
non-existent	3.1%
8.2_7 Health (service)	
good	45.9%
average	25.4%
bad	23.0%
non-existent	5.7%
8.2_8 School (service)	
good	69.6%
average	15.7%
bad	8.1%
non-existent	6.6%
8.2_9 Police (service)	
good	44.1%
average	21.0%
bad	32.4%
non-existent	2.6%
8.2_11 Public Transport (service)	
good	60.8%
average	20.4%
bad	13.1%
non-existent	5.7%
8.2_14 Refuse (service)	
good	41.2%
average	11.6%
bad	34.7%
non-existent	12.5%
8.2_15 Sport Facilities (service)	
good	35.6%
average	12.0%
bad	18.1%
non-existent	34.3%
8.2_16 Cemeteries (service)	
good	24.4%
average	13.6%
bad	60.7%
non-existent	1.3%
9.1 Do you actively participate in local development activities	
often	6.5%
sometimes	36.8%
never	56.7%
9.2 Is the Municipality doing enough to create job	
yes	3.1%
don't know	16.0%
no	80.9%
10.1 Change in Household income in the last 2 years	

gone up	36.5%
the same	36.8%
gone down	26.7%
10.2 Will your household income change in the next 2 years	
go up	41.6%
the same	31.3%
go down	27.2%
10.3 Has your standard of living changed in the last 3 years	
gone up	27.7%
the same	47.6%
gone down	24.7%

Central Karoo

QUESTIONS	FREQUENCY
4 Annual Household Income	
less R72,000	95.3%
72,000to132,000	2.9%
over 132,000	1.8%
1.2 Education	
none	10.4%
primary	15.8%
secondary	27.2%
matric	28.1%
tertiary	11.0%
other	7.2%
1.4 Occupation	
Unemployed/not economically active	71.9%
unskilled workers	0.0%
skilled workers	7.6%
service/sale workers	7.6%
professional	12.8%
1.5 Number of people living in the household	
1to3	20.7%
4to6	55.6%
7to9	17.8%
9to12	4.1%
more than12	1.5%
2.4 Has your life here improved in the last 5 years	
improved a lot	1.7%
Improved	26.0%
the same	29.9%
got worse	39.2%
much worse	3.1%
3.1 Do you know the name of the councillor for the area	
yes	61.1%
no	38.9%
3.2 How many times have you met the councillor	
never	30.5%
sometimes	46.7%
often	18.9%
3.3 How effective are the councillors in representing the community	
very bad	42.4%
bad	21.5%
average	13.8%
good	10.3%
very good	11.8%

3.4 Have you ever approached your councillor with problems	
yes	40.6%
no	59.4%
3.5 Have you received feedback from the councillor	
yes	42.2%
no	57.8%
4.1 Do you actively participate in community organisations	
yes	86.2%
no	13.8%
5.1 Have you heard about the Ward Committee	
yes	25.9%
no	74.1%
5.3 Ward Committee Performance	
very bad	54.0%
bad	12.6%
average	18.4%
good	5.7%
very good	9.2%
5.4 Have you ever attended ward committee meetings	
often	5.7%
sometimes	46.7%
no	47.6%
5.5 Function of the ward committee	
help the councillor	40.9%
help the people to express their view	38.6%
assist the government	10.2%
help control people	10.2%
provide people with job	0.0%
5.6 Are people enthusiastic about ward committee	
very enthusiastic	7.8%
enthusiastic	27.6%
Not enthusiastic	42.6%
don't know	22.6%
6.1 Do you pay attention to what goes on in your local area	
very much	45.4%
sometimes	17.3%
not much	17.9%
not ever	19.4%
6.2 Performance of local municipality	
very good	2.2%
good	8.8%
average	29.8%
bad	43.9%
very bad	14.5%
6.3 Have you dealt with officials	
yes	15.8%
no	84.2%
6.4 Officials' performance	
very bad	21.7%
bad	11.7%
average	21.7%
good	25.0%
very good	20.0%
8.2_2 Electricity (service)	
good	65.6%
average	19.7%
bad	13.2%
non-existent	1.5%
8.2_3 Water (service)	

good	80.0%
average	12.1%
bad	7.9%
non-existent	0.0%
8.2_4 Sanitation (service)	
good	62.2%
average	14.5%
bad	23.3%
non-existent	0.0%
8.2_6 Housing (service)	
good	60.1%
average	18.8%
bad	19.9%
non-existent	1.2%
8.2_7 Health (service)	
good	22.6%
average	28.8%
bad	43.2%
non-existent	5.3%
8.2_8 School (service)	
good	63.2%
average	26.2%
bad	7.1%
non-existent	3.5%
8.2_9 Police (service)	
good	20.6%
average	26.5%
bad	50.1%
non-existent	2.7%
8.2_11 Public Transport (service)	
good	71.4%
average	18.0%
bad	9.1%
non-existent	1.5%
8.2_14 Refuse (service)	
good	10.0%
average	7.1%
bad	35.9%
non-existent	47.1%
8.2_15 Sport Facilities (service)	
good	3.2%
average	7.1%
bad	16.8%
non-existent	72.9%
8.2_16 Cemeteries (service)	
good	10.3%
average	20.3%
bad	66.8%
non-existent	2.6%
9.1 Do you actively participate in local development activities	
often	33.8%
sometimes	17.4%
never	48.8%
9.2 Is the Municipality doing enough to create job	
yes	3.0%
don't know	13.6%
no	83.3%
10.1 Change in Household income in the last 2 years	
gone up	33.6%

the same	45.8%
gone down	20.6%
10.2 Will your household income change in the next 2 years	
go up	36.8%
the same	48.6%
go down	14.6%
10.3 Has your standard of living changed in the last 3 years	
gone up	24.4%
the same	37.8%
gone down	37.8%

Ehlanzeni

QUESTIONS	FREQUENCY
4 Annual Household Income	
less R72,000	98.8%
72,000to132,000	1.2%
over 132,000	0.0%
1.2 Education	
none	7.6%
primary	6.4%
secondary	22.3%
matric	34.7%
tertiary	22.1%
other	6.9%
1.4 Occupation	
Unemployed/not economically active	70.0%
unskilled workers	1.7%
skilled workers	3.1%
service/sale workers	2.5%
professional	22.8%
1.5 Number of people living in the household	
1to3	30.2%
4to6	47.4%
7to9	18.3%
9to12	3.3%
more than12	0.7%
2.4 Has your life here improved in the last 5 years	
improved a lot	5.6%
Improved	21.7%
the same	45.2%
got worse	23.2%
much worse	4.3%
3.1 Do you know the name of the councillor for the area	
yes	74.2%
no	25.8%
3.2 How many times have you met the councillor	
never	17.3%
sometimes	66.9%
often	15.6%
3.3 How effective are the councillors in representing the community	
very bad	38.6%
bad	39.9%
average	17.8%
good	2.3%
very good	1.3%
3.4 Have you ever approached your councillor with problems	

yes	69.5%
no	30.5%
3.5 Have you received feedback from the councillor	
yes	21.8%
no	78.2%
4.1 Do you actively participate in community organisations	
yes	98.8%
no	1.2%
5.1 Have you heard about the Ward Committee	
yes	18.2%
no	81.8%
5.3 Ward Committee Performance	
very bad	17.6%
bad	23.0%
average	28.4%
good	16.2%
very good	14.9%
5.4 Have you ever attended ward committee meetings	
often	23.7%
sometimes	63.2%
no	13.2%
5.5 Function of the ward committee	
help the councillor	57.9%
help the people to express their view	13.2%
assist the government	22.4%
help control people	6.6%
provide people with job	0.0%
5.6 Are people enthusiastic about ward committee	
very enthusiastic	14.7%
enthusiastic	50.0%
Not enthusiastic	32.4%
don't know	2.9%
6.1 Do you pay attention to what goes on in your local area	
very much	24.5%
sometimes	41.1%
not much	21.1%
not ever	13.5%
6.2 Performance of local municipality	
very good	0.4%
good	9.2%
average	44.3%
bad	34.3%
very bad	11.8%
6.3 Have you dealt with officials	
yes	33.9%
no	65.9%
6.4 Officials' performance	
very bad	26.1%
bad	37.0%
average	27.5%
good	5.1%
very good	4.3%
8.2_2 Electricity (service)	
good	63.8%
average	25.7%
bad	10.6%
non-existent	0.0%
8.2_3 Water (service)	
good	68.3%

average	24.2%
bad	7.4%
non-existent	0.0%
8.2_4 Sanitation (service)	
good	56.4%
average	25.3%
bad	17.8%
non-existent	0.5%
8.2_6 Housing (service)	
good	53.0%
average	33.1%
bad	12.5%
non-existent	1.4%
8.2_7 Health (service)	
good	41.0%
average	26.6%
bad	24.7%
non-existent	7.7%
8.2_8 School (service)	
good	56.4%
average	22.8%
bad	14.1%
non-existent	6.7%
8.2_9 Police (service)	
good	23.8%
average	33.5%
bad	36.2%
non-existent	6.6%
8.2_11 Public Transport (service)	
good	51.6%
average	28.7%
bad	19.7%
non-existent	0.0%
8.2_14 Refuse (service)	
good	0.5%
average	4.1%
bad	37.9%
non-existent	57.6%
8.2_15 Sport Facilities (service)	
good	2.6%
average	9.1%
bad	30.7%
non-existent	57.6%
8.2_16 Cemeteries (service)	
good	15.3%
average	17.5%
bad	66.4%
non-existent	0.7%
9.1 Do you actively participate in local development activities	
often	8.0%
sometimes	34.0%
never	56.9%
9.2 Is the Municipality doing enough to create job	
yes	2.9%
don't know	4.7%
no	92.4%
10.1 Change in Household income in the last 2 years	
gone up	23.2%
the same	55.7%

gone down	21.1%
10.2 Will your household income change in the next 2 years	
go up	50.6%
the same	33.6%
go down	15.8%
10.3 Has your standard of living changed in the last 3 years	
gone up	24.1%
the same	36.8%
gone down	39.1%

Ekurhuleni

QUESTIONS	FREQUENCY
4 Annual Household Income	
less R72,000	66.6%
72,000to132,000	22.7%
over 132,000	10.7%
1.2 Education	
none	0.6%
primary	11.9%
secondary	26.5%
matric	33.8%
tertiary	25.8%
other	1.0%
1.4 Occupation	
Unemployed/not economically active	38.4%
unskilled workers	7.0%
skilled workers	12.1%
service/sale workers	18.9%
professional	23.6%
1.5 Number of people living in the household	
1to3	31.5%
4to6	56.8%
7to9	9.8%
9to12	0.8%
more than12	0.2%
2.4 Has your life here improved in the last 5 years	
improved a lot	7.3%
Improved	34.2%
the same	34.7%
got worse	15.2%
much worse	4.8%
3.1 Do you know the name of the councillor for the area	
yes	59.2%
no	38.5%
3.2 How many times have you met the councillor	
never	57.8%
sometimes	35.6%
often	3.0%
3.3 How effective are the councillors in representing the community	
very bad	17.1%
bad	21.2%
average	38.9%
good	18.1%
very good	4.7%
3.4 Have you ever approached your councillor with problems	
yes	33.5%

no	63.9%
3.5 Have you received feedback from the councillor	
yes	75.5%
no	21.4%
4.1 Do you actively participate in community organisations	
yes	85.2%
no	14.8%
5.1 Have you heard about the Ward Committee	
yes	59.0%
no	39.4%
5.3 Ward Committee Performance	
very bad	10.7%
bad	13.8%
average	35.2%
good	29.2%
very good	11.1%
5.4 Have you ever attended ward committee meetings	
often	22.2%
sometimes	51.2%
no	26.3%
5.5 Function of the ward committee	
help the councillor	11.9%
help the people to express their view	67.5%
assist the government	12.5%
help control people	4.7%
provide people with job	3.4%
5.6 Are people enthusiastic about ward committee	
very enthusiastic	6.5%
enthusiastic	42.2%
Not enthusiastic	20.7%
don't know	30.6%
6.1 Do you pay attention to what goes on in your local area	
very much	14.2%
sometimes	40.9%
not much	29.2%
not ever	15.0%
6.2 Performance of local municipality	
very good	2.6%
good	19.0%
average	47.6%
bad	25.3%
very bad	5.6%
6.3 Have you dealt with officials	
yes	46.0%
no	52.4%
6.4 Officials' performance	
very bad	11.5%
bad	19.5%
average	46.9%
good	15.0%
very good	7.1%
8.2_2 Electricity (service)	
good	58.9%
average	14.5%
bad	7.9%
non-existent	18.7%
8.2_3 Water (service)	
good	62.8%
average	19.5%

bad	13.5%
non-existent	4.2%
8.2_4 Sanitation (service)	
good	48.2%
average	26.3%
bad	20.5%
non-existent	5.0%
8.2_6 Housing (service)	
good	33.0%
average	31.9%
bad	31.1%
non-existent	4.1%
8.2_7 Health (service)	
good	16.6%
average	35.6%
bad	41.2%
non-existent	6.6%
8.2_8 School (service)	
good	24.9%
average	46.6%
bad	21.2%
non-existent	7.4%
8.2_9 Police (service)	
good	28.3%
average	30.8%
bad	36.2%
non-existent	4.6%
8.2_11 Public Transport (service)	
good	47.2%
average	23.0%
bad	17.2%
non-existent	12.6%
8.2_14 Refuse (service)	
good	43.1%
average	31.7%
bad	23.7%
non-existent	1.5%
8.2_15 Sport Facilities (service)	
good	18.5%
average	42.4%
bad	29.5%
non-existent	9.6%
8.2_16 Cemeteries (service)	
good	32.0%
average	39.5%
bad	13.8%
non-existent	14.7%
9.1 Do you actively participate in local development activities	
often	13.5%
sometimes	41.9%
never	44.2%
9.2 Is the Municipality doing enough to create job	
yes	2.4%
don't know	8.6%
no	89.0%
10.1 Change in Household income in the last 2 years	
gone up	47.3%
the same	34.2%

gone down	18.5%
10.2 Will your household income change in the next 2 years	
go up	46.7%
the same	33.8%
go down	19.5%
10.3 Has your standard of living changed in the last 3 years	
gone up	39.5%
the same	34.7%
gone down	25.8%

Ethekwini

QUESTIONS	FREQUENCY
4 Annual Household Income	
less R72,000	68.2%
72,000to132,000	21.4%
over 132,000	10.4%
1.2 Education	
none	19.1%
primary	7.6%
secondary	17.8%
matric	31.2%
tertiary	24.4%
other	0.0%
1.4 Occupation	
Unemployed/not economically active	44.9%
unskilled workers	0.0%
skilled workers	10.8%
service/sale workers	7.4%
professional	36.9%
1.5 Number of people living in the household	
1to3	22.7%
4to6	34.9%
7to9	23.1%
9to12	6.9%
more than12	2.0%
2.4 Has your life here improved in the last 5 years	
improved a lot	3.4%
Improved	23.0%
the same	25.7%
got worse	46.3%
much worse	1.7%
3.1 Do you know the name of the councillor for the area	
yes	62.7%
no	37.3%
3.2 How many times have you met the councillor	
never	32.3%
sometimes	37.7%
often	15.7%
3.3 How effective are the councillors in representing the community	
very bad	60.0%
bad	14.4%
average	13.8%
good	3.6%
very good	8.2%
3.4 Have you ever approached your councillor with problems	
yes	61.1%

no	36.9%
3.5 Have you received feedback from the councillor	
yes	38.5%
no	60.7%
4.1 Do you actively participate in community organisations	
yes	88.8%
no	11.2%
5.1 Have you heard about the Ward Committee	
yes	35.3%
no	64.7%
5.3 Ward Committee Performance	
very bad	52.5%
bad	9.4%
average	21.5%
good	8.8%
very good	7.7%
5.4 Have you ever attended ward committee meetings	
often	55.2%
sometimes	38.1%
no	6.1%
5.5 Function of the ward committee	
help the councillor	44.8%
help the people to express their view	38.7%
assist the government	14.4%
help control people	2.2%
provide people with job	
5.6 Are people enthusiastic about ward committee	
very enthusiastic	2.2%
enthusiastic	38.1%
Not enthusiastic	39.8%
don't know	19.9%
6.1 Do you pay attention to what goes on in your local area	
very much	28.7%
sometimes	35.0%
not much	17.5%
not ever	17.9%
6.2 Performance of local municipality	
very good	3.9%
good	14.7%
average	29.5%
bad	14.3%
very bad	37.6%
6.3 Have you dealt with officials	
yes	53.1%
no	43.3%
6.4 Officials' performance	
very bad	35.7%
bad	14.7%
average	23.1%
good	8.4%
very good	18.1%
8.2_2 Electricity (service)	
good	59.2%
average	7.9%
bad	12.7%
non-existent	20.2%
8.2_3 Water (service)	
good	71.6%
average	7.2%

bad	13.2%
non-existent	7.9%
8.2_4 Sanitation (service)	
good	59.0%
average	15.5%
bad	16.6%
non-existent	8.9%
8.2_6 Housing (service)	
good	54.3%
average	23.4%
bad	18.1%
non-existent	4.2%
8.2_7 Health (service)	
good	37.1%
average	21.7%
bad	36.9%
non-existent	4.3%
8.2_8 School (service)	
good	60.1%
average	24.6%
bad	10.6%
non-existent	4.7%
8.2_9 Police (service)	
good	44.4%
average	28.0%
bad	24.0%
non-existent	3.6%
8.2_11 Public Transport (service)	
good	39.1%
average	15.5%
bad	39.9%
non-existent	5.5%
8.2_14 Refuse (service)	
good	27.8%
average	4.0%
bad	56.1%
non-existent	12.1%
8.2_15 Sport Facilities (service)	
good	20.2%
average	8.3%
bad	41.6%
non-existent	29.9%
8.2_16 Cemeteries (service)	
good	22.3%
average	31.4%
bad	44.2%
non-existent	2.1%
9.1 Do you actively participate in local development activities	
often	21.0%
sometimes	30.7%
never	48.3%
9.2 Is the Municipality doing enough to create job	
yes	3.5%
don't know	2.2%
no	94.2%
10.1 Change in Household income in the last 2 years	
gone up	29.5%
the same	29.3%
gone down	41.2%

10.2 Will your household income change in the next 2 years	
go up	35.3%
the same	49.7%
go down	15.0%
10.3 Has your standard of living changed in the last 3 years	
gone up	29.5%
the same	29.3%
gone down	41.2%

Johannesburg

QUESTIONS	FREQUENCY
4 Annual Household Income	
less R72,000	81.8%
72,000to132,000	14.5%
over 132,000	3.6%
1.2 Education	
none	4.7%
primary	9.6%
secondary	19.3%
matric	30.5%
tertiary	34.8%
other	1.1%
1.4 Occupation	
Unemployed/not economically active	34.2%
unskilled workers	3.6%
skilled workers	9.0%
service/sale workers	23.8%
professional	29.4%
1.5 Number of people living in the household	
1to3	34.2%
4to6	47.0%
7to9	16.2%
9to12	1.8%
more than12	0.9%
2.4 Has your life here improved in the last 5 years	
improved a lot	17.7%
Improved	45.1%
the same	25.8%
got worse	9.2%
much worse	2.0%
3.1 Do you know the name of the councillor for the area	
yes	46.6%
no	53.4%
3.2 How many times have you met the councillor	
never	55.0%
sometimes	36.2%
often	6.8%
3.3 How effective are the councillors in representing the community	
very bad	9.3%
bad	15.7%
average	32.4%
good	26.4%
very good	16.2%
3.4 Have you ever approached your councillor with problems	
yes	35.8%
no	63.3%

3.5 Have you received feedback from the councillor	
yes	70.3%
no	27.2%
4.1 Do you actively participate in community organisations	
yes	81.2%
no	18.8%
5.1 Have you heard about the Ward Committee	
yes	50.2%
no	49.8%
5.3 Ward Committee Performance	
very bad	7.6%
bad	17.0%
average	32.6%
good	27.7%
very good	15.2%
5.4 Have you ever attended ward committee meetings	
often	25.6%
sometimes	53.4%
no	20.2%
5.5 Function of the ward committee	
help the councillor	18.6%
help the people to express their view	45.7%
assist the government	23.1%
help control people	4.5%
provide people with job	8.1%
5.6 Are people enthusiastic about ward committee	
very enthusiastic	16.1%
enthusiastic	37.2%
Not enthusiastic	30.9%
don't know	15.7%
6.1 Do you pay attention to what goes on in your local area	
very much	19.7%
sometimes	37.8%
not much	27.1%
not ever	15.4%
6.2 Performance of local municipality	
very good	6.9%
good	41.7%
average	45.7%
bad	2.8%
very bad	2.8%
6.3 Have you dealt with officials	
yes	39.7%
no	57.6%
6.4 Officials' performance	
very bad	5.2%
bad	12.1%
average	28.7%
good	35.1%
very good	19.0%
8.2_2 Electricity (service)	
good	57.0%
average	24.7%
bad	13.0%
non-existent	4.3%
8.2_3 Water (service)	
good	58.1%
average	23.1%
bad	13.8%

non-existent	4.1%
8.2_4 Sanitation (service)	
good	52.6%
average	28.3%
bad	12.8%
non-existent	5.4%
8.2_6 Housing (service)	
good	53.2%
average	24.8%
bad	18.7%
non-existent	3.0%
8.2_7 Health (service)	
good	33.9%
average	31.7%
bad	23.8%
non-existent	10.6%
8.2_8 School (service)	
good	51.7%
average	24.9%
bad	11.7%
non-existent	11.7%
8.2_9 Police (service)	
good	42.1%
average	34.9%
bad	20.2%
non-existent	2.6%
8.2_11 Public Transport (service)	
good	57.6%
average	25.8%
bad	10.1%
non-existent	6.5%
8.2_14 Refuse (service)	
good	46.2%
average	31.2%
bad	10.8%
non-existent	11.9%
8.2_15 Sport Facilities (service)	
good	44.2%
average	28.7%
bad	10.1%
non-existent	17.0%
8.2_16 Cemeteries (service)	
good	33.7%
average	33.3%
bad	5.8%
non-existent	27.2%
9.1 Do you actively participate in local development activities	
often	13.0%
sometimes	36.8%
never	50.2%
9.2 Is the Municipality doing enough to create job	
yes	20.9%
don't know	10.5%
no	68.6%
10.1 Change in Household income in the last 2 years	
gone up	49.0%
the same	32.6%
gone down	18.4%
10.2 Will your household income change in the next 2 years	

go up	55.0%
the same	30.2%
go down	14.9%
10.3 Has your standard of living changed in the last 3 years	
gone up	56.6%
the same	28.5%
gone down	14.9%

Karoo District

QUESTIONS	FREQUENCY
4 Annual Household Income	
less R72,000	93.8%
72,0001to132,000	4.4%
over 132,000	1.8%
1.2 Education	
none	4.7%
primary	13.2%
secondary	38.1%
matric	36.8%
tertiary	4.7%
other	2.2%
1.4 Occupation	
Unemployed/not economically active	88.0%
unskilled workers	0.0%
skilled workers	2.9%
service/sale workers	6.2%
professional	2.9%
1.5 Number of people living in the household	
1to3	23.2%
4to6	47.1%
7to9	19.7%
9to12	9.7%
more than12	0.3%
2.4 Has your life here improved in the last 5 years	
improved a lot	0.0%
Improved	21.8%
the same	23.8%
got worse	47.9%
much worse	6.5%
3.1 Do you know the name of the councillor for the area	
yes	85.9%
no	14.1%
3.2 How many times have you met the councillor	
never	4.9%
sometimes	61.0%
often	34.0%
3.3 How effective are the councillors in representing the community	
very bad	17.5%
bad	25.2%
average	24.6%
good	21.7%
very good	11.0%
3.4 Have you ever approached your councillor with problems	
yes	90.2%
no	9.8%

3.5 Have you received feedback from the councillor	
yes	50.9%
no	49.1%
4.1 Do you actively participate in community organisations	
yes	73.8%
no	26.2%
5.1 Have you heard about the Ward Committee	
yes	43.1%
no	56.9%
5.3 Ward Committee Performance	
very bad	5.3%
bad	9.2%
average	22.1%
good	40.5%
very good	22.9%
5.4 Have you ever attended ward committee meetings	
often	5.1%
sometimes	86.0%
no	8.8%
5.5 Function of the ward committee	
help the councillor	23.7%
help the people to express their view	40.3%
assist the government	30.2%
help control people	5.8%
provide people with job	0.0%
5.6 Are people enthusiastic about ward committee	
very enthusiastic	4.8%
enthusiastic	27.6%
Not enthusiastic	45.5%
don't know	22.1%
6.1 Do you pay attention to what goes on in your local area	
very much	64.7%
sometimes	28.5%
not much	3.8%
not ever	2.9%
6.2 Performance of local municipality	
very good	6.0%
good	21.5%
average	32.8%
bad	32.8%
very bad	6.9%
6.3 Have you dealt with officials	
yes	40.0%
no	60.0%
6.4 Officials' performance	
very bad	2.2%
bad	12.5%
average	22.8%
good	40.4%
very good	22.1%
8.2_2 Electricity (service)	
good	83.8%
average	0.6%
bad	4.1%
non-existent	11.5%
8.2_3 Water (service)	
good	84.4%
average	1.5%

bad	14.2%
non-existent	0.0%
8.2_4 Sanitation (service)	
good	62.1%
average	10.0%
bad	27.6%
non-existent	0.3%
8.2_6 Housing (service)	
good	93.5%
average	5.9%
bad	0.6%
non-existent	0.0%
8.2_7 Health (service)	
good	41.2%
average	26.2%
bad	28.2%
non-existent	4.4%
8.2_8 School (service)	
good	70.8%
average	15.6%
bad	2.4%
non-existent	11.2%
8.2_9 Police (service)	
good	17.1%
average	13.8%
bad	68.8%
non-existent	0.3%
8.2_11 Public Transport (service)	
good	89.7%
average	5.9%
bad	4.1%
non-existent	0.3%
8.2_14 Refuse (service)	
good	36.6%
average	7.1%
bad	2.7%
non-existent	53.7%
8.2_15 Sport Facilities (service)	
good	2.9%
average	5.3%
bad	1.8%
non-existent	90.0%
8.2_16 Cemeteries (service)	
good	17.9%
average	15.8%
bad	65.5%
non-existent	0.6%
9.1 Do you actively participate in local development activities	
often	57.5%
sometimes	31.3%
never	11.2%
9.2 Is the Municipality doing enough to create job	
yes	1.3%
don't know	2.0%
no	96.7%
10.1 Change in Household income in the last 2 years	
gone up	39.0%
the same	32.2%
gone down	28.8%

10.2 Will your household income change in the next 2 years	
go up	44.4%
the same	27.3%
go down	28.3%
10.3 Has your standard of living changed in the last 3 years	
gone up	28.4%
the same	16.3%
gone down	55.3%

Manguang

QUESTIONS	FREQUENCY
4 Annual Household Income	
less R72,000	86.2%
72,000to132,000	8.9%
over 132,000	4.9%
1.2 Education	
none	5.2%
primary	14.4%
secondary	32.0%
matric	36.1%
tertiary	10.9%
other	1.4%
1.4 Occupation	
Unemployed/not economically active	82.9%
unskilled workers	0.0%
skilled workers	4.5%
service/sale workers	6.6%
professional	6.1%
1.5 Number of people living in the household	
1to3	18.6%
4to6	47.4%
7to9	22.1%
9to12	11.3%
more than12	0.6%
2.4 Has your life here improved in the last 5 years	
improved a lot	1.7%
Improved	19.0%
the same	30.5%
got worse	42.7%
much worse	6.0%
3.1 Do you know the name of the councillor for the area	
yes	83.9%
no	16.1%
3.2 How many times have you met the councillor	
never	15.6%
sometimes	57.6%
often	26.8%
3.3 How effective are the councillors in representing the community	
very bad	26.4%
bad	23.7%
average	23.7%
good	17.2%
very good	9.0%
3.4 Have you ever approached your councillor with problems	
yes	82.8%
no	17.2%

3.5 Have you received feedback from the councillor	
yes	51.7%
no	48.3%
4.1 Do you actively participate in community organisations	
yes	75.9%
no	24.1%
5.1 Have you heard about the Ward Committee	
yes	43.8%
no	56.2%
5.3 Ward Committee Performance	
very bad	27.5%
bad	18.9%
average	17.1%
good	23.9%
very good	12.6%
5.4 Have you ever attended ward committee meetings	
often	20.5%
sometimes	70.7%
no	6.5%
5.5 Function of the ward committee	
help the councillor	16.3%
help the people to express their view	35.3%
assist the government	35.3%
help control people	5.4%
provide people with job	7.7%
5.6 Are people enthusiastic about ward committee	
very enthusiastic	22.8%
enthusiastic	28.6%
Not enthusiastic	34.4%
don't know	14.3%
6.1 Do you pay attention to what goes on in your local area	
very much	40.9%
sometimes	22.9%
not much	14.6%
not ever	21.6%
6.2 Performance of local municipality	
very good	11.1%
good	21.8%
average	32.6%
bad	29.9%
very bad	3.7%
6.3 Have you dealt with officials	
yes	39.0%
no	40.9%
6.4 Officials' performance	
very bad	16.4%
bad	11.3%
average	18.9%
good	34.0%
very good	19.5%
8.2_2 Electricity (service)	
good	81.6%
average	5.4%
bad	4.5%
non-existent	8.5%
8.2_3 Water (service)	
good	73.2%
average	9.5%
bad	16.1%

non-existent	1.2%
8.2_4 Sanitation (service)	
good	43.8%
average	17.0%
bad	32.1%
non-existent	7.0%
8.2_6 Housing (service)	
good	64.3%
average	13.4%
bad	18.4%
non-existent	3.9%
8.2_7 Health (service)	
good	51.3%
average	24.5%
bad	17.3%
non-existent	7.0%
8.2_8 School (service)	
good	51.3%
average	24.9%
bad	15.3%
non-existent	8.5%
8.2_9 Police (service)	
good	33.6%
average	14.2%
bad	48.0%
non-existent	4.3%
8.2_11 Public Transport (service)	
good	60.4%
average	7.0%
bad	31.8%
non-existent	0.8%
8.2_14 Refuse (service)	
good	24.9%
average	4.1%
bad	15.8%
non-existent	55.3%
8.2_15 Sport Facilities (service)	
good	4.9%
average	15.7%
bad	25.2%
non-existent	54.2%
8.2_16 Cemeteries (service)	
good	31.2%
average	22.4%
bad	45.9%
non-existent	0.4%
9.1 Do you actively participate in local development activities	
often	41.1%
sometimes	49.8%
never	9.2%
9.2 Is the Municipality doing enough to create job	
yes	2.7%
don't know	2.4%
no	94.9%
10.1 Change in Household income in the last 2 years	
gone up	34.4%
the same	42.5%
gone down	23.1%
10.2 Will your household income change in the next 2 years	

go up	21.7%
the same	33.8%
go down	44.5%
10.3 Has your standard of living changed in the last 3 years	
gone up	17.5%
the same	52.2%
gone down	30.3%

Msunduzi

QUESTIONS	FREQUENCY
4 Annual Household Income	
less R72,000	73.7
72,0001to132,000	16.2
over 132,000	10.2
1.2 Education	
none	15.5
primary	7.6
secondary	17.6
matric	34.2
tertiary	25.2
other	0.0%
1.4 Occupation	
Unemployed/not economically active	65.7
unskilled workers	16.2
skilled workers	9.5
service/sale workers	1.9
professional	6.7
1.5 Number of people living in the household	
1to3	24.1
4to6	36.3
7to9	22.7
9to12	5.3
more than12	0.7
2.4 Has your life here improved in the last 5 years	
improved a lot	3.1
Improved	23.9
the same	26.5
got worse	44.7
much worse	1.7
3.1 Do you know the name of the councillor for the area	
yes	63.4
no	36.6
3.2 How many times have you met the councillor	
never	46.7
sometimes	39.1
often	14.2
3.3 How effective are the councillors in representing the community	
very bad	60.1
bad	15.8
average	13.4
good	2.8
very good	7.9
3.4 Have you ever approached your councillor with problems	
yes	58.6
no	39
3.5 Have you received feedback from the councillor	

yes	37.2%
no	61.8%
4.1 Do you actively participate in community organisations	
yes	90.3
no	9.7
5.1 Have you heard about the Ward Committee	
yes	32
no	68
5.3 Ward Committee Performance	
very bad	53.4
bad	9
average	25.6
good	6
very good	6
5.4 Have you ever attended ward committee meetings	
often	44.4
sometimes	46.6
no	8.3
5.5 Function of the ward committee	
help the councillor	46.6
help the people to express their view	41.4
assist the government	10.5
help control people	1.5
provide people with job	
5.6 Are people enthusiastic about ward committee	
very enthusiastic	1.5
enthusiastic	39.8
Not enthusiastic	42.1
don't know	16.5
6.1 Do you pay attention to what goes on in your local area	
very much	25.4
sometimes	34.5
not much	19.1
not ever	19.9
6.2 Performance of local municipality	
very good	2.9
good	13.6
average	32.5
bad	15
very bad	35.9
6.3 Have you dealt with officials	
yes	50
no	45.8
6.4 Officials' performance	
very bad	35.6
bad	14.7
average	27.7
good	5.8
very good	16.2
8.2_2 Electricity (service)	
good	54.5
average	9.7
bad	18.5
non-existent	17.3
8.2_3 Water (service)	
good	63.7
average	4.8
bad	20.1
non-existent	11.3

8.2_4 Sanitation (service)	
good	53.6
average	17.3
bad	17.6
non-existent	11.5
8.2_6 Housing (service)	
good	47.8
average	25.4
bad	20.8
non-existent	6
8.2_7 Health (service)	
good	33.9
average	21.5
bad	38.6
non-existent	6
8.2_8 School (service)	
good	58
average	24.7
bad	12.9
non-existent	4.4
8.2_9 Police (service)	
good	34.3
average	22.5
bad	38.1
non-existent	5.1
8.2_11 Public Transport (service)	
good	41.8
average	13
bad	39
non-existent	6.3
8.2_14 Refuse (service)	
good	28.8
average	9.7
bad	48.3
non-existent	13.2
8.2_15 Sport Facilities (service)	
good	18.9
average	9.5
bad	36
non-existent	35.6
8.2_16 Cemeteries (service)	
good	21.9
average	30.3
bad	46.7
non-existent	1.2
9.1 Do you actively participate in local development activities	
often	18.8
sometimes	30.5
never	50.7
9.2 Is the Municipality doing enough to create job	
yes	3.3
don't know	2.7
no	94
10.1 Change in Household income in the last 2 years	
gone up	17.1
the same	45.8
gone down	37.1
10.2 Will your household income change in the next 2 years	

go up	35.7
the same	48.4
go down	15.8
10.3 Has your standard of living changed in the last 3 years	
gone up	26.3
the same	31.9
gone down	41.8

Nelson Mandela

QUESTIONS	FREQUENCY
4 Annual Household Income	
less R72,000	81.1
72,000to132,000	12.4
over 132,000	6.5
1.2 Education	
none	4.8
primary	12.2
secondary	26.1
matric	43.6
tertiary	13
other	0.4
1.4 Occupation	
Unemployed/not economically active	74.5
unskilled workers	0
skilled workers	6.3
service/sale workers	4.6
professional	14.6
1.5 Number of people living in the household	
1to3	11
4to6	47
7to9	30.3
9to12	9.7
more than12	1
2.4 Has your life here improved in the last 5 years	
improved a lot	1.9
Improved	16
the same	29.7
got worse	49.5
much worse	2.9
3.1 Do you know the name of the councillor for the area	
yes	85.1
no	14.9
3.2 How many times have you met the councillor	
never	27.3
sometimes	51.1
often	21.6
3.3 How effective are the councillors in representing the community	
very bad	53.9
bad	20.3
average	16.4
good	5.9
very good	3.4
3.4 Have you ever approached your councillor with problems	
yes	69.1
no	30.3
3.5 Have you received feedback from the councillor	

yes	39.1%
no	60.3%
4.1 Do you actively participate in community organisations	
yes	84.8
no	15.2
5.1 Have you heard about the Ward Committee	
yes	45
no	55
5.3 Ward Committee Performance	
very bad	56.2
bad	9.4
average	21.9
good	5.6
very good	6.9
5.4 Have you ever attended ward committee meetings	
often	48.7
sometimes	37.2
no	13.7
5.5 Function of the ward committee	
help the councillor	44.9
help the people to express their view	44.9
assist the government	8.1
help control people	1.7
provide people with job	0.4
5.6 Are people enthusiastic about ward committee	
very enthusiastic	2.6
enthusiastic	38.5
Not enthusiastic	45.3
don't know	13.7
6.1 Do you pay attention to what goes on in your local area	
very much	39.2
sometimes	27.3
not much	16.3
not ever	17.1
6.2 Performance of local municipality	
very good	2.6
good	6.1
average	33.8
bad	25.4
very bad	32.1
6.3 Have you dealt with officials	
yes	49.9
no	49.9
6.4 Officials' performance	
very bad	36.3
bad	19.7
average	29.3
good	7.7
very good	6.9
8.2_2 Electricity (service)	
good	72
average	12.4
bad	5.1
non-existent	10.5
8.2_3 Water (service)	
good	74.3
average	9.7
bad	6.7
non-existent	9.3

8.2_4 Sanitation (service)	
good	57.5
average	21.7
bad	10.5
non-existent	10.3
8.2_6 Housing (service)	
good	56.4
average	29.7
bad	8.4
non-existent	5.5
8.2_7 Health (service)	
good	24
average	26.7
bad	41
non-existent	8.4
8.2_8 School (service)	
good	69.1
average	21.7
bad	1.9
non-existent	7.2
8.2_9 Police (service)	
good	30.7
average	35
bad	30.7
non-existent	3.6
8.2_11 Public Transport (service)	
good	42.5
average	15.4
bad	40
non-existent	2.1
8.2_14 Refuse (service)	
good	16.4
average	5.9
bad	46.9
non-existent	30.9
8.2_15 Sport Facilities (service)	
good	4
average	6.7
bad	32.8
non-existent	56.6
8.2_16 Cemeteries (service)	
good	5.3
average	33.3
bad	58.5
non-existent	2.9
9.1 Do you actively participate in local development activities	
often	31.9
sometimes	30.3
never	37.8
9.2 Is the Municipality doing enough to create job	
yes	4.6
don't know	2.8
no	92.6
10.1 Change in Household income in the last 2 years	
gone up	7.7
the same	50.6
gone down	41.7
10.2 Will your household income change in the next 2 years	
go up	32.3

the same	49
go down	18.7
10.3 Has your standard of living changed in the last 3 years	
gone up	15.8
the same	26.5
gone down	57.7

Sedibeng

QUESTIONS	FREQUENCY
4 Annual Household Income	
less R72,000	85.8
72,000to132,000	10.2
over 132,000	4
1.2 Education	
none	11.5
primary	25.3
secondary	19.8
matric	17.2
tertiary	25.7
other	0.4
1.4 Occupation	
Unemployed/not economically active	32.1
unskilled workers	2.9
skilled workers	12.3
service/sale workers	12.5
professional	40.2
1.5 Number of people living in the household	
1to3	22.3
4to6	56.4
7to9	14.6
9to12	2.7
more than12	0.8
2.4 Has your life here improved in the last 5 years	
improved a lot	16.7
Improved	23.3
the same	34
got worse	12.6
much worse	10.3
3.1 Do you know the name of the councillor for the area	
yes	61.3
no	35.9
3.2 How many times have you met the councillor	
never	45.1
sometimes	43.2
often	7.6
3.3 How effective are the councillors in representing the community	
very bad	42.2
bad	24.7
average	9.7
good	7.3
very good	16.1
3.4 Have you ever approached your councillor with problems	
yes	38.2
no	60.8
3.5 Have you received feedback from the councillor	
yes	41.2%

no	56.1%
4.1 Do you actively participate in community organisations	
yes	88.1
no	11.9
5.1 Have you heard about the Ward Committee	
yes	41.9
no	58.1
5.3 Ward Committee Performance	
very bad	40.5
bad	9.7
average	16.4
good	9.2
very good	24.1
5.4 Have you ever attended ward committee meetings	
often	19.7
sometimes	57.1
no	23.2
5.5 Function of the ward committee	
help the councillor	26.7
help the people to express their view	63.4
assist the government	6.8
help control people	1
provide people with job	0.5
5.6 Are people enthusiastic about ward committee	
very enthusiastic	6.9
enthusiastic	37.4
Not enthusiastic	43.1
don't know	12.6
6.1 Do you pay attention to what goes on in your local area	
very much	30.9
sometimes	37.2
not much	15.4
not ever	14.8
6.2 Performance of local municipality	
very good	10.6
good	30.6
average	20.9
bad	24
very bad	12
6.3 Have you dealt with officials	
yes	44.4
no	50.6
6.4 Officials' performance	
very bad	15.2
bad	10.6
average	14.1
good	7.6
very good	52.5
8.2_2 Electricity (service)	
good	83.2
average	11.4
bad	3.9
non-existent	1.5
8.2_3 Water (service)	
good	74.5
average	12.9
bad	11.8
non-existent	0.8

8.2_4 Sanitation (service)	
good	53.1
average	9.1
bad	37.3
non-existent	0.6
8.2_6 Housing (service)	
good	51
average	19.9
bad	25.9
non-existent	3.3
8.2_7 Health (service)	
good	47.1
average	24.3
bad	23.6
non-existent	5
8.2_8 School (service)	
good	69.7
average	15.3
bad	8.5
non-existent	6.6
8.2_9 Police (service)	
good	43.9
average	20
bad	33.3
non-existent	2.7
8.2_11 Public Transport (service)	
good	62.5
average	19.5
bad	13.5
non-existent	4.4
8.2_14 Refuse (service)	
good	41.2
average	12.1
bad	33.7
non-existent	12.9
8.2_15 Sport Facilities (service)	
good	35.1
average	11.7
bad	18.4
non-existent	34.7
8.2_16 Cemeteries (service)	
good	23.5
average	12.2
bad	63
non-existent	1.3
9.1 Do you actively participate in local development activities	
often	5.8
sometimes	36.5
never	57.5
9.2 Is the Municipality doing enough to create job	
yes	15.8
don't know	6.7
no	77.5
10.1 Change in Household income in the last 2 years	
gone up	35.8
the same	35.8
gone down	28.3
10.2 Will your household income change in the next 2 years	
go up	42

the same	29.6
go down	28.4
10.3 Has your standard of living changed in the last 3 years	
gone up	27.4
the same	47.4
gone down	25.2

Tshwane

QUESTIONS	FREQUENCY
4 Annual Household Income	
less R72,000	77.6
72,0001to132,000	13.7
over 132,000	8.7
1.2 Education	
none	4.2
primary	11
secondary	21.8
matric	37.8
tertiary	24.9
other	0.2
1.4 Occupation	
Unemployed/not economically active	35.6
unskilled workers	12.6
skilled workers	8
service/sale workers	22.6
professional	21.2
1.5 Number of people living in the household	
1to3	22
4to6	51.1
7to9	19.7
9to12	4.4
more than12	2.7
2.4 Has your life here improved in the last 5 years	
improved a lot	15
Improved	41.2
the same	29.1
got worse	11.3
much worse	0.8
3.1 Do you know the name of the councillor for the area	
yes	44.4
no	55.1
3.2 How many times have you met the councillor	
never	66.5
sometimes	26.9
often	5
3.3 How effective are the councillors in representing the community	
very bad	7.6
bad	21.4
average	45.4
good	23.1
very good	2.5
3.4 Have you ever approached your councillor with problems	
yes	39.5
no	59.7
3.5 Have you received feedback from the councillor	
yes	62.3%

no	36.2%
4.1 Do you actively participate in community organisations	
yes	84.7
no	15.3
5.1 Have you heard about the Ward Committee	
yes	55.8
no	44.2
5.3 Ward Committee Performance	
very bad	9.3
bad	24.8
average	38.6
good	21.4
very good	5.9
5.4 Have you ever attended ward committee meetings	
often	15.2
sometimes	46.6
no	38.3
5.5 Function of the ward committee	
help the councillor	39.4
help the people to express their view	28
assist the government	24.2
help control people	5.5
provide people with job	2.8
5.6 Are people enthusiastic about ward committee	
very enthusiastic	7.3
enthusiastic	29.5
Not enthusiastic	43.8
don't know	19.4
6.1 Do you pay attention to what goes on in your local area	
very much	11.6
sometimes	43.7
not much	33.9
not ever	10.6
6.2 Performance of local municipality	
very good	5
good	29.1
average	51.4
bad	11.3
very bad	3.2
6.3 Have you dealt with officials	
yes	51.6
no	48
6.4 Officials' performance	
very bad	10.7
bad	21.5
average	40.7
good	22.2
very good	4.8
8.2_2 Electricity (service)	
good	51.8
average	26.2
bad	18.2
non-existent	3.6
8.2_3 Water (service)	
good	57.9
average	29.4
bad	10
non-existent	2.7

8.2_4 Sanitation (service)	
good	52.4
average	29.3
bad	14.1
non-existent	4.2
8.2_6 Housing (service)	
good	44.9
average	29.8
bad	23.4
non-existent	0
8.2_7 Health (service)	
good	28.7
average	33.1
bad	28.3
non-existent	9.9
8.2_8 School (service)	
good	43.2
average	29.6
bad	20.2
non-existent	7.1
8.2_9 Police (service)	
good	25.5
average	44.6
bad	26.4
non-existent	3.4
8.2_11 Public Transport (service)	
good	44.7
average	35.8
bad	10.9
non-existent	8.6
8.2_14 Refuse (service)	
good	44
average	28
bad	20.5
non-existent	7.5
8.2_15 Sport Facilities (service)	
good	31.2
average	23.3
bad	22.9
non-existent	22.6
8.2_16 Cemeteries (service)	
good	40
average	25.2
bad	24.5
non-existent	10.3
9.1 Do you actively participate in local development activities	
often	11.9
sometimes	28.9
never	59.3
9.2 Is the Municipality doing enough to create job	
yes	8.5
don't know	17.1
no	74.4
10.1 Change in Household income in the last 2 years	
gone up	49.4
the same	34.9
gone down	15.6
10.2 Will your household income change in the next 2 years	
go up	56.9

the same	26.4
go down	16.7
10.3 Has your standard of living changed in the last 3 years	
gone up	55.6
the same	30.2
gone down	14.1

Ugu

QUESTIONS	FREQUENCY
4 Annual Household Income	
less R72,000	92.8
72,0001to132,000	5.7
over 132,000	1.4
1.2 Education	
none	4.9
primary	11.8
secondary	21
matric	45.4
tertiary	17
other	
1.4 Occupation	
Unemployed/not economically active	69.2
unskilled workers	2.6
skilled workers	6.8
service/sale workers	3
professional	18.4
1.5 Number of people living in the household	
1to3	11.8
4to6	41.1
7to9	35.9
9to12	9.8
more than12	1.4
2.4 Has your life here improved in the last 5 years	
improved a lot	0.6
Improved	9.4
the same	24.4
got worse	62.6
much worse	2.9
3.1 Do you know the name of the councillor for the area	
yes	77.3
no	22.7
3.2 How many times have you met the councillor	
never	28.5
sometimes	47.6
often	23.9
3.3 How effective are the councillors in representing the community	
very bad	67.4
bad	19
average	11
good	2.2
very good	0.4
3.4 Have you ever approached your councillor with problems	
yes	71.8
no	26.3
3.5 Have you received feedback from the councillor	
yes	30.2%

no	68.1%
4.1 Do you actively participate in community organisations	
yes	92.5
no	7.5
5.1 Have you heard about the Ward Committee	
yes	44.4
no	55.6
5.3 Ward Committee Performance	
very bad	69.3
bad	6.7
average	22.7
good	0
very good	1.3
5.4 Have you ever attended ward committee meetings	
often	44
sometimes	51.3
no	3.3
5.5 Function of the ward committee	
help the councillor	41.3
help the people to express their view	58.7
assist the government	0
help control people	0
provide people with job	0
5.6 Are people enthusiastic about ward committee	
very enthusiastic	0
enthusiastic	51.3
Not enthusiastic	43.3
don't know	5.3
6.1 Do you pay attention to what goes on in your local area	
very much	25.9
sometimes	24.7
not much	23.6
not ever	25.9
6.2 Performance of local municipality	
very good	0
good	0
average	27.2
bad	13
very bad	59.8
6.3 Have you dealt with officials	
yes	58.6
no	40.8
6.4 Officials' performance	
very bad	48.7
bad	16.9
average	32.8
good	1.5
very good	0
8.2_2 Electricity (service)	
good	55.2
average	7.5
bad	17.2
non-existent	20.1
8.2_3 Water (service)	
good	53.4
average	4
bad	23
non-existent	19.5

8.2_4 Sanitation (service)	
good	44.8
average	18.7
bad	15.2
non-existent	21.3
8.2_6 Housing (service)	
good	42.8
average	36.2
bad	10.3
non-existent	10.6
8.2_7 Health (service)	
good	23
average	30.5
bad	37.9
non-existent	8.6
8.2_8 School (service)	
good	60.3
average	27
bad	4.6
non-existent	8
8.2_9 Police (service)	
good	35.1
average	39.4
bad	18.4
non-existent	7.2
8.2_11 Public Transport (service)	
good	25.6
average	18.1
bad	52.9
non-existent	3.4
8.2_14 Refuse (service)	
good	6.9
average	4.9
bad	68.4
non-existent	19.8
8.2_15 Sport Facilities (service)	
good	3.2
average	7.8
bad	40.8
non-existent	48.3
8.2_16 Cemeteries (service)	
good	5.2
average	37.9
bad	56
non-existent	0.9
9.1 Do you actively participate in local development activities	
often	24.7
sometimes	26.7
never	48.6
9.2 Is the Municipality doing enough to create job	
yes	2.3
don't know	1.1
no	96.6
10.1 Change in Household income in the last 2 years	
gone up	6.9
the same	45.7
gone down	47.4
10.2 Will your household income change in the next 2 years	
go up	26.7

the same	51.1
go down	22.1
10.3 Has your standard of living changed in the last 3 years	
gone up	8.6
the same	21.6
gone down	69.8

Umzinyathi

QUESTIONS	FREQUENCY
4 Annual Household Income	
less R72,000	100
72,000to132,000	0
over 132,000	0
1.2 Education	
none	9
primary	7.8
secondary	20.8
matric	35.5
tertiary	22.6
other	4.2
1.4 Occupation	
Unemployed/not economically active	74.2
unskilled workers	1.6
skilled workers	2.8
service/sale workers	2.5
professional	18.9
1.5 Number of people living in the household	
1to3	18.1
4to6	34.3
7to9	31.3
9to12	10.8
more than12	3.3
2.4 Has your life here improved in the last 5 years	
improved a lot	7.2
Improved	25.5
the same	44.4
got worse	19.3
much worse	3.6
3.1 Do you know the name of the councillor for the area	
yes	69.3
no	30.7
3.2 How many times have you met the councillor	
never	20.9
sometimes	63.9
often	14.8
3.3 How effective are the councillors in representing the community	
very bad	33.5
bad	39.9
average	21.6
good	3.2
very good	1.8
3.4 Have you ever approached your councillor with problems	
yes	63.5
no	36.5
3.5 Have you received feedback from the councillor	
yes	29.0%

no	71.0%
4.1 Do you actively participate in community organisations	
yes	100%
no	0
5.1 Have you heard about the Ward Committee	
yes	22.2
no	77.8
5.3 Ward Committee Performance	
very bad	18.6
bad	20
average	30
good	17.1
very good	14.3
5.4 Have you ever attended ward committee meetings	
often	25
sometimes	61.1
no	13.9
5.5 Function of the ward committee	
help the councillor	55.6
help the people to express their view	12.5
assist the government	25
help control people	6.9
provide people with job	0
5.6 Are people enthusiastic about ward committee	
very enthusiastic	17.2
enthusiastic	51.6
Not enthusiastic	29.7
don't know	1.6
6.1 Do you pay attention to what goes on in your local area	
very much	22.6
sometimes	39.6
not much	21
not ever	14.9
6.2 Performance of local municipality	
very good	0
good	10.1
average	45.2
bad	32.2
very bad	12.6
6.3 Have you dealt with officials	
yes	39.4
no	60.3
6.4 Officials' performance	
very bad	22.6
bad	37.1
average	29.8
good	5.6
very good	4.8
8.2_2 Electricity (service)	
good	56.9
average	20.8
bad	22.3
non-existent	0
8.2_3 Water (service)	
good	56.6
average	21.7
bad	21.7
non-existent	0

8.2_4 Sanitation (service)	
good	46.7
average	20.8
bad	31.9
non-existent	0.6
8.2_6 Housing (service)	
good	35.2
average	18.7
bad	46.1
non-existent	0
8.2_7 Health (service)	
good	28
average	16
bad	50.3
non-existent	5.7
8.2_8 School (service)	
good	38.9
average	15.7
bad	38.9
non-existent	6.6
8.2_9 Police (service)	
good	29.2
average	19.3
bad	46.4
non-existent	5.1
8.2_11 Public Transport (service)	
good	33.1
average	20.8
bad	46.1
non-existent	0
8.2_14 Refuse (service)	
good	0.6
average	2.1
bad	52.4
non-existent	44.9
8.2_15 Sport Facilities (service)	
good	2.7
average	6.6
bad	47.3
non-existent	43.4
8.2_16 Cemeteries (service)	
good	12.7
average	15.1
bad	72.3
non-existent	0
9.1 Do you actively participate in local development activities	
often	8.7
sometimes	35.2
never	54.5
9.2 Is the Municipality doing enough to create job	
yes	7.3
don't know	3.3
no	89.4
10.1 Change in Household income in the last 2 years	
gone up	28.3
the same	59
gone down	12.7
10.2 Will your household income change in the next 2 years	
go up	34

the same	47.9
go down	18.1
10.3 Has your standard of living changed in the last 3 years	
gone up	22
the same	48.8
gone down	29.2

Vhembe

QUESTIONS	FREQUENCY
4 Annual Household Income	
less R72,000	98
72,000to132,000	1.1
over 132,000	0.9
1.2 Education	
none	5.5
primary	24.8
secondary	30.9
matric	22.5
tertiary	16.1
other	0.2
1.4 Occupation	
Unemployed/not economically active	37.2
unskilled workers	1.5
skilled workers	12.9
service/sale workers	4.6
professional	43.7
1.5 Number of people living in the household	
1to3	40.5
4to6	40.3
7to9	15
9to12	3.6
more than12	0.5
2.4 Has your life here improved in the last 5 years	
improved a lot	4.4
Improved	41.1
the same	45.3
got worse	3.4
much worse	5.7
3.1 Do you know the name of the councillor for the area	
yes	36.7
no	63.3
3.2 How many times have you met the councillor	
never	33.8
sometimes	58.2
often	8
3.3 How effective are the councillors in representing the community	
very bad	8.5
bad	12.7
average	46.1
good	12.7
very good	20
3.4 Have you ever approached your councillor with problems	
yes	58.2
no	41.8
3.5 Have you received feedback from the councillor	
yes	64.7%

no	35.3%
4.1 Do you actively participate in community organisations	
yes	91.6
no	8.4
5.1 Have you heard about the Ward Committee	
yes	35.2
no	64.8
5.3 Ward Committee Performance	
very bad	7.8
bad	13.1
average	38.6
good	23.5
very good	17
5.4 Have you ever attended ward committee meetings	
often	11.8
sometimes	84.9
no	3.3
5.5 Function of the ward committee	
help the councillor	41.4
help the people to express their view	29.6
assist the government	23.7
help control people	5.3
provide people with job	0
5.6 Are people enthusiastic about ward committee	
very enthusiastic	8.7
enthusiastic	47.3
Not enthusiastic	39.3
don't know	4.7
6.1 Do you pay attention to what goes on in your local area	
very much	5.3
sometimes	40.7
not much	27.7
not ever	25.5
6.2 Performance of local municipality	
very good	5.2
good	39.8
average	42.4
bad	12.6
very bad	0
6.3 Have you dealt with officials	
yes	61.2
no	38.8
6.4 Officials' performance	
very bad	12.5
bad	16
average	30.8
good	14.8
very good	25.9
8.2_2 Electricity (service)	
good	92.5
average	7
bad	0.5
non-existent	0
8.2_3 Water (service)	
good	95.5
average	3.2
bad	1.4
non-existent	0

8.2_4 Sanitation (service)	
good	84.5
average	7.7
bad	7.7
non-existent	0
8.2_6 Housing (service)	
good	80.9
average	14.3
bad	4.8
non-existent	0
8.2_7 Health (service)	
good	67.4
average	19.1
bad	13.3
non-existent	0.2
8.2_8 School (service)	
good	77.2
average	16.3
bad	2.3
non-existent	4.1
8.2_9 Police (service)	
good	52.6
average	22.5
bad	23.9
non-existent	0.9
8.2_11 Public Transport (service)	
good	66.9
average	17.5
bad	12.6
non-existent	3
8.2_14 Refuse (service)	
good	72.2
average	7.6
bad	19.1
non-existent	1.1
8.2_15 Sport Facilities (service)	
good	45.7
average	17.7
bad	19.1
non-existent	17.5
8.2_16 Cemeteries (service)	
good	71
average	14
bad	14.7
non-existent	0.2
9.1 Do you actively participate in local development activities	
often	2.1
sometimes	39.3
never	58.6
9.2 Is the Municipality doing enough to create job	
yes	1.1
don't know	1.1
no	97.8
10.1 Change in Household income in the last 2 years	
gone up	42.6
the same	42.6
gone down	14.9
10.2 Will your household income change in the next 2 years	
go up	54.4

the same	33.7
go down	11.9
10.3 Has your standard of living changed in the last 3 years	
gone up	41.9
the same	36.5
gone down	21.6

Waterberg

QUESTIONS	FREQUENCY
4 Annual Household Income	
less R72,000	96.4
72,000to132,000	3.1
over 132,000	0.5
1.2 Education	
none	7.3
primary	5.9
secondary	12.5
matric	21
tertiary	53.3
other	
1.4 Occupation	
Unemployed/not economically active	22.3
unskilled workers	11
skilled workers	13.2
service/sale workers	13.4
professional	40.1
1.5 Number of people living in the household	
1to3	26.6
4to6	62.5
7to9	10
9to12	0.9
more than12	
2.4 Has your life here improved in the last 5 years	
improved a lot	23.5
Improved	36.3
the same	33.5
got worse	6.3
much worse	0.5
3.1 Do you know the name of the councillor for the area	
yes	62.1
no	37.9
3.2 How many times have you met the councillor	
never	36.2
sometimes	59.4
often	4.2
3.3 How effective are the councillors in representing the community	
very bad	39.8
bad	17.4
average	11.4
good	7.6
very good	23.9
3.4 Have you ever approached your councillor with problems	
yes	22.3
no	77.7
3.5 Have you received feedback from the councillor	
yes	44.6%

no	55.4%
4.1 Do you actively participate in community organisations	
yes	100%
no	0
5.1 Have you heard about the Ward Committee	
yes	41.6
no	58.4
5.3 Ward Committee Performance	
very bad	49.1
bad	26.4
average	12.6
good	6.3
very good	5.7
5.4 Have you ever attended ward committee meetings	
often	17.3
sometimes	79.9
no	2.8
5.5 Function of the ward committee	
help the councillor	29.1
help the people to express their view	65.4
assist the government	5.6
help control people	0
provide people with job	0
5.6 Are people enthusiastic about ward committee	
very enthusiastic	15
enthusiastic	14.5
Not enthusiastic	65.9
don't know	4.6
6.1 Do you pay attention to what goes on in your local area	
very much	14.3
sometimes	51.7
not much	25.3
not ever	8.7
6.2 Performance of local municipality	
very good	17.9
good	26.4
average	25.4
bad	28.9
very bad	1.4
6.3 Have you dealt with officials	
yes	62.8
no	36
6.4 Officials' performance	
very bad	14.3
bad	7.5
average	7.5
good	0.8
very good	69.8
8.2_2 Electricity (service)	
good	92
average	6
bad	1.1
non-existent	0.9
8.2_3 Water (service)	
good	91
average	8
bad	0.2
non-existent	0.7
8.2_4 Sanitation (service)	

good	56.1
average	9.4
bad	34
non-existent	0.5
8.2_6 Housing (service)	
good	61.4
average	16.7
bad	21.4
non-existent	0.5
8.2_7 Health (service)	
good	81.8
average	10.1
bad	7.6
non-existent	0.5
8.2_8 School (service)	
good	91.3
average	5.3
bad	2.1
non-existent	1.4
8.2_9 Police (service)	
good	46.1
average	4.1
bad	47.5
non-existent	2.3
8.2_11 Public Transport (service)	
good	84.8
average	8.7
bad	6.2
non-existent	0.2
8.2_14 Refuse (service)	
good	41.8
average	18.2
bad	36.3
non-existent	3.7
8.2_15 Sport Facilities (service)	
good	59.5
average	5.3
bad	21.4
non-existent	13.8
8.2_16 Cemeteries (service)	
good	61.4
average	6.7
bad	31
non-existent	0.9
9.1 Do you actively participate in local development activities	
often	8
sometimes	46.2
never	45.7
9.2 Is the Municipality doing enough to create job	
yes	4.8
don't know	1.7
no	93.4
10.1 Change in Household income in the last 2 years	
gone up	51.7
the same	37.9
gone down	10.3
10.2 Will your household income change in the next 2 years	
go up	62.3
the same	29.2

go down	8.5
10.3 Has your standard of living changed in the last 3 years	
gone up	47.6
the same	36.8
gone down	15.6

West Coast

QUESTIONS	FREQUENCY
4 Annual Household Income	
less R72,000	88.2
72,0001to132,000	8.2
over 132,000	3.6
1.2 Education	
none	14.9
primary	10.6
secondary	17
matric	27.1
tertiary	29.8
other	0.6
1.4 Occupation	
Unemployed/not economically active	34.4
unskilled workers	5.5
skilled workers	32.8
service/sale workers	6.5
professional	20.8
1.5 Number of people living in the household	
1to3	24.2
4to6	53.6
7to9	14.2
9to12	4.5
more than12	2.7
2.4 Has your life here improved in the last 5 years	
improved a lot	0
Improved	12.5
the same	71.8
got worse	9.2
much worse	6.6
3.1 Do you know the name of the councillor for the area	
yes	79.4
no	19.7
3.2 How many times have you met the councillor	
never	11.3
sometimes	88.7
often	0
3.3 How effective are the councillors in representing the community	
very bad	68.4
bad	26.8
average	2.8
good	2
very good	0
3.4 Have you ever approached your councillor with problems	
yes	11.5
no	87.5
3.5 Have you received feedback from the councillor	
yes	47.1%
no	52.9%

4.1 Do you actively participate in community organisations	
yes	92.1
no	7.9
5.1 Have you heard about the Ward Committee	
yes	79.1
no	20.6
5.3 Ward Committee Performance	
very bad	64.8
bad	24.8
average	3.2
good	2
very good	5.2
5.4 Have you ever attended ward committee meetings	
often	3.9
sometimes	91.9
no	4.2
5.5 Function of the ward committee	
help the councillor	9.3
help the people to express their view	87.3
assist the government	3.1
help control people	0.4
provide people with job	
5.6 Are people enthusiastic about ward committee	
very enthusiastic	10.6
enthusiastic	86.7
Not enthusiastic	2.7
don't know	0
6.1 Do you pay attention to what goes on in your local area	
very much	19.4
sometimes	61.8
not much	9.2
not ever	9.5
6.2 Performance of local municipality	
very good	0.4
good	6.8
average	41.7
bad	51.1
very bad	0
6.3 Have you dealt with officials	
yes	11.2
no	88.8
6.4 Officials' performance	
very bad	9.1
bad	42.4
average	33.3
good	9.1
very good	6.1
8.2_2 Electricity (service)	
good	87
average	7.3
bad	5.8
non-existent	0
8.2_3 Water (service)	
good	90.3
average	2.4
bad	6.7
non-existent	0.6
8.2_4 Sanitation (service)	

good	22.7
average	24.5
bad	51.5
non-existent	1.2
8.2_6 Housing (service)	
good	25.5
average	35.3
bad	37.4
non-existent	1.8
8.2_7 Health (service)	
good	36.1
average	28.8
bad	33.9
non-existent	1.2
8.2_8 School (service)	
good	81.5
average	7.9
bad	8.8
non-existent	1.8
8.2_9 Police (service)	
good	12.2
average	10.6
bad	75.4
non-existent	1.8
8.2_11 Public Transport (service)	
good	68.5
average	14.2
bad	15.5
non-existent	1.8
8.2_14 Refuse (service)	
good	18.8
average	45.2
bad	25.5
non-existent	10.6
8.2_15 Sport Facilities (service)	
good	53.3
average	12.7
bad	17.6
non-existent	16.4
8.2_16 Cemeteries (service)	
good	11.5
average	3.6
bad	84.8
non-existent	0
9.1 Do you actively participate in local development activities	
often	2.5
sometimes	76.3
never	21.2
9.2 Is the Municipality doing enough to create job	
yes	1.2
don't know	3.1
no	95.7
10.1 Change in Household income in the last 2 years	
gone up	24.1
the same	67
gone down	8.9
10.2 Will your household income change in the next 2 years	
go up	30.2
the same	56.8

go down	13
10.3 Has your standard of living changed in the last 3 years	
gone up	19.4
the same	61.6
gone down	19

West Rand

QUESTIONS	FREQUENCY
4 Annual Household Income	
less R72,000	74.2
72,0001to132,000	17.7
over 132,000	8.1
1.2 Education	
none	2.4
primary	16.5
secondary	22.8
matric	30.2
tertiary	26.2
other	1
1.4 Occupation	
Unemployed/not economically active	25.9
unskilled workers	13
skilled workers	13
service/sale workers	24.6
professional	23.6
1.5 Number of people living in the household	
1to3	26.3
4to6	55.5
7to9	13.4
9to12	0.8
more than12	1
2.4 Has your life here improved in the last 5 years	
improved a lot	19.8
Improved	8.8
the same	26.1
got worse	23.9
much worse	16.7
3.1 Do you know the name of the councillor for the area	
yes	69.3
no	26.9
3.2 How many times have you met the councillor	
never	50.6
sometimes	42.2
often	3.7
3.3 How effective are the councillors in representing the community	
very bad	36.1
bad	12.3
average	29.4
good	14.6
very good	7.6
3.4 Have you ever approached your councillor with problems	
yes	41.8
no	54
3.5 Have you received feedback from the councillor	
yes	60.0%
no	39.0%

4.1 Do you actively participate in community organisations	
yes	89.6
no	10.4
5.1 Have you heard about the Ward Committee	
yes	48.3
no	49.9
5.3 Ward Committee Performance	
very bad	23.6
bad	17
average	27.8
good	19.1
very good	12.4
5.4 Have you ever attended ward committee meetings	
often	10.5
sometimes	56.1
no	29.1
5.5 Function of the ward committee	
help the councillor	39.8
help the people to express their view	34.7
assist the government	12.7
help control people	3.8
provide people with job	8.1
5.6 Are people enthusiastic about ward committee	
very enthusiastic	6.3
enthusiastic	35.9
Not enthusiastic	42.2
don't know	15.6
6.1 Do you pay attention to what goes on in your local area	
very much	19.2
sometimes	40
not much	31.9
not ever	8.7
6.2 Performance of local municipality	
very good	1.8
good	2.9
average	29.8
bad	37.1
very bad	25
6.3 Have you dealt with officials	
yes	49.6
no	44.9
6.4 Officials' performance	
very bad	7.8
bad	17.7
average	37.2
good	25.1
very good	12.1
8.2_2 Electricity (service)	
good	44.3
average	31.9
bad	12.6
non-existent	11.2
8.2_3 Water (service)	
good	55.7
average	30.3
bad	8
non-existent	6
8.2_4 Sanitation (service)	

good	47.7
average	31.3
bad	12.6
non-existent	8.4
8.2_6 Housing (service)	
good	33.7
average	32.3
bad	16.2
non-existent	17.8
8.2_7 Health (service)	
good	31.5
average	46.3
bad	13.4
non-existent	8.8
8.2_8 School (service)	
good	48.9
average	38.9
bad	10.6
non-existent	1.6
8.2_9 Police (service)	
good	26.8
average	44.2
bad	24.8
non-existent	4.2
8.2_11 Public Transport (service)	
good	38.6
average	29.2
bad	12.6
non-existent	19.6
8.2_14 Refuse (service)	
good	40.1
average	34.9
bad	15.8
non-existent	9.2
8.2_15 Sport Facilities (service)	
good	40.4
average	36.8
bad	13.4
non-existent	9.4
8.2_16 Cemeteries (service)	
good	49.3
average	42.9
bad	5
non-existent	2.8
9.1 Do you actively participate in local development activities	
often	10.5
sometimes	47
never	42.3
9.2 Is the Municipality doing enough to create job	
yes	6.2
don't know	15.8
no	78
10.1 Change in Household income in the last 2 years	
gone up	42.8
the same	34.7
gone down	22.5
10.2 Will your household income change in the next 2 years	
go up	48.1

the same	34.1
go down	17.8
10.3 Has your standard of living changed in the last 3 years	
gone up	42.5
the same	28.9
gone down	28.7

Zululand

QUESTIONS	FREQUENCY
4 Annual Household Income	
less R72,000	100
72,0001to132,000	0
over 132,000	0
1.2 Education	
none	7.5
primary	6.8
secondary	22.4
matric	35.1
tertiary	21.4
other	6.8
1.4 Occupation	
Unemployed/not economically active	77.9
unskilled workers	1.2
skilled workers	2.5
service/sale workers	2.2
professional	16.2
1.5 Number of people living in the household	
1to3	15.3
4to6	32.5
7to9	33.4
9to12	12
more than12	4.5
2.4 Has your life here improved in the last 5 years	
improved a lot	5.6
Improved	21.7
the same	45.2
got worse	23.2
much worse	4.3
3.1 Do you know the name of the councillor for the area	
yes	74.2
no	25.8
3.2 How many times have you met the councillor	
never	17.3
sometimes	66.9
often	15.6
3.3 How effective are the councillors in representing the community	
very bad	38.6
bad	39.9
average	17.8
good	2.3
very good	1.3
3.4 Have you ever approached your councillor with problems	
yes	69.5
no	30.5
3.5 Have you received feedback from the councillor	
yes	21.8%

no	78.2%
4.1 Do you actively participate in community organisations	
yes	98.8
no	1.2
5.1 Have you heard about the Ward Committee	
yes	18.2
no	81.8
5.3 Ward Committee Performance	
very bad	17.6
bad	23
average	28.4
good	16.2
very good	14.9
5.4 Have you ever attended ward committee meetings	
often	23.7
sometimes	63.2
no	13.2
5.5 Function of the ward committee	
help the councillor	57.9
help the people to express their view	13.2
assist the government	22.4
help control people	6.6
provide people with job	0
5.6 Are people enthusiastic about ward committee	
very enthusiastic	14.7
enthusiastic	50
Not enthusiastic	32.4
don't know	2.9
6.1 Do you pay attention to what goes on in your local area	
very much	24.5
sometimes	41.1
not much	21.1
not ever	11.9
6.2 Performance of local municipality	
very good	0.4
good	9.2
average	44.3
bad	34.3
very bad	11.8
6.3 Have you dealt with officials	
yes	33.9
no	65.9
6.4 Officials' performance	
very bad	26.1
bad	37
average	27.5
good	5.1
very good	4.3
8.2_2 Electricity (service)	
good	53.2
average	24.9
bad	21.9
non-existent	0
8.2_3 Water (service)	
good	58.4
average	22.8
bad	18.8
non-existent	0
8.2_4 Sanitation (service)	

good	47.8
average	24
bad	27.8
non-existent	0.5
8.2_6 Housing (service)	
good	42.8
average	23.3
bad	32.5
non-existent	1.4
8.2_7 Health (service)	
good	28.7
average	21.2
bad	43.3
non-existent	6.8
8.2_8 School (service)	
good	38.8
average	19.5
bad	35.3
non-existent	6.4
8.2_9 Police (service)	
good	19.5
average	26.4
bad	48
non-existent	6.1
8.2_11 Public Transport (service)	
good	34.6
average	23.8
bad	41.6
non-existent	0
8.2_14 Refuse (service)	
good	0.5
average	2.4
bad	43.8
non-existent	53.4
8.2_15 Sport Facilities (service)	
good	2.4
average	6.1
bad	43.5
non-existent	48
8.2_16 Cemeteries (service)	
good	9.9
average	12.7
bad	76.9
non-existent	0.5
9.1 Do you actively participate in local development activities	
often	7.8
sometimes	34.4
never	56.7
9.2 Is the Municipality doing enough to create job	
yes	5.4
don't know	2.7
no	91.8
10.1 Change in Household income in the last 2 years	
gone up	20.7
the same	60.7
gone down	18.6
10.2 Will your household income change in the next 2 years	
go up	38.8
the same	41.4

go down	19.8
10.3 Has your standard of living changed in the last 3 years	
gone up	14.8
the same	49.2
gone down	36

Control_1-King Shaka

QUESTIONS	FREQUENCY
4 Annual Household Income	
less R72,000	100
72,000to132,000	0
over 132,000	0
1.2 Education	
none	14.9
primary	10.6
secondary	17
matric	27.1
tertiary	29.8
other	0.6
1.4 Occupation	
Unemployed/not economically active	34.2
unskilled workers	5.5
skilled workers	33.2
service/sale workers	6.5
professional	20.6
1.5 Number of people living in the household	
1to3	24.2
4to6	53.6
7to9	14.2
9to12	4.5
more than12	2.7
2.4 Has your life here improved in the last 5 years	
improved a lot	11.2
Improved	63.6
the same	19.1
got worse	6.1
much worse	
3.1 Do you know the name of the councillor for the area	
yes	79.4
no	19.7
3.2 How many times have you met the councillor	
never	14.8
sometimes	84.2
often	0.9
3.3 How effective are the councillors in representing the community	
very bad	66.7
bad	24.7
average	5.5
good	3.1
very good	
3.4 Have you ever approached your councillor with problems	
yes	11.5
no	87.5
3.5 Have you received feedback from the councillor	
yes	47.1%
no	52.9%

4.1 Do you actively participate in community organisations	
yes	92.1
no	7.9
5.1 Have you heard about the Ward Committee	
yes	79.1
no	20.6
5.3 Ward Committee Performance	
very bad	64.8
bad	25.7
average	3.1
good	1.9
very good	4.6
5.4 Have you ever attended ward committee meetings	
often	6.1
sometimes	81.2
no	12.6
5.5 Function of the ward committee	
help the councillor	8.8
help the people to express their view	87.4
assist the government	3.1
help control people	0.4
provide people with job	0.4
5.6 Are people enthusiastic about ward committee	
very enthusiastic	10.3
enthusiastic	85.8
Not enthusiastic	3.8
don't know	
6.1 Do you pay attention to what goes on in your local area	
very much	19.4
sometimes	62.4
not much	9.1
not ever	9.1
6.2 Performance of local municipality	
very good	0.4
good	6.7
average	40
bad	53
very bad	0
6.3 Have you dealt with officials	
yes	12.7
no	87.3
6.4 Officials' performance	
very bad	21.4
bad	45.2
average	23.8
good	7.1
very good	2.4
8.2_2 Electricity (service)	
good	87
average	7.3
bad	5.8
non-existent	0
8.2_3 Water (service)	
good	90.3
average	2.4
bad	6.7
non-existent	0.6
8.2_4 Sanitation (service)	
good	22.7

average	24.5
bad	51.5
non-existent	1.2
8.2_6 Housing (service)	
good	25.5
average	35.3
bad	37.4
non-existent	1.8
8.2_7 Health (service)	
good	36.1
average	28.8
bad	33.9
non-existent	1.2
8.2_8 School (service)	
good	81.5
average	7.9
bad	8.8
non-existent	1.8
8.2_9 Police (service)	
good	12.2
average	10.6
bad	75.4
non-existent	1.8
8.2_11 Public Transport (service)	
good	68.5
average	14.2
bad	15.5
non-existent	1.8
8.2_14 Refuse (service)	
good	18.8
average	45.2
bad	25.5
non-existent	10.6
8.2_15 Sport Facilities (service)	
good	53.3
average	12.7
bad	17.6
non-existent	16.4
8.2_16 Cemeteries (service)	
good	11.5
average	3.6
bad	84.8
non-existent	0
9.1 Do you actively participate in local development activities	
often	2.4
sometimes	76.7
never	20.9
9.2 Is the Municipality doing enough to create job	
yes	1.1
don't know	3.1
no	95.8
10.1 Change in Household income in the last 2 years	
gone up	24.5
the same	66.1
gone down	9.4
10.2 Will your household income change in the next 2 years	
go up	30.6
the same	55.2
go down	14.2

10.3 Has your standard of living changed in the last 3 years	
gone up	19.7
the same	60
gone down	20.3

Control_2-Rustenburg

QUESTIONS	FREQUENCY
4 Annual Household Income	
less R72,000	82.1
72,000to132,000	12.5
over 132,000	5.4
1.2 Education	
none	12.3
primary	11.4
secondary	19.7
matric	35.3
tertiary	19.4
other	1.1
1.4 Occupation	
Unemployed/not economically active	53.3
unskilled workers	14.3
skilled workers	9.2
service/sale workers	23.2
professional	
1.5 Number of people living in the household	
1to3	18.5
4to6	40.9
7to9	21
9to12	9.9
more than12	2.3
2.4 Has your life here improved in the last 5 years	
improved a lot	16.5
Improved	10.2
the same	32.2
got worse	17.8
much worse	23.2
3.1 Do you know the name of the councillor for the area	
yes	72.2
no	26.9
3.2 How many times have you met the councillor	
never	34
sometimes	47.6
often	13.9
3.3 How effective are the councillors in representing the community	
very bad	58.4
bad	12.6
average	9.7
good	6.7
very good	12.6
3.4 Have you ever approached your councillor with problems	
yes	49.7
no	47.9
3.5 Have you received feedback from the councillor	
yes	50.0%
no	50.0%
4.1 Do you actively participate in community organisations	

yes	88.9
no	11.1
5.1 Have you heard about the Ward Committee	
yes	47
no	53
5.3 Ward Committee Performance	
very bad	8.5
bad	60.8
average	10.5
good	4.6
very good	15.7
5.4 Have you ever attended ward committee meetings	
often	25
sometimes	41.3
no	25
5.5 Function of the ward committee	
help the councillor	22.6
help the people to express their view	37.4
assist the government	16.8
help control people	3.2
provide people with job	12.9
5.6 Are people enthusiastic about ward committee	
very enthusiastic	23.2
enthusiastic	35.1
Not enthusiastic	31.1
don't know	10.6
6.1 Do you pay attention to what goes on in your local area	
very much	33.8
sometimes	29.6
not much	18.1
not ever	17.2
6.2 Performance of local municipality	
very good	10.9
good	11.4
average	19.4
bad	23.7
very bad	31.8
6.3 Have you dealt with officials	
yes	33.4
no	45.5
6.4 Officials' performance	
very bad	64.8
bad	5.5
average	2.2
good	4.4
very good	23.1
8.2_2 Electricity (service)	
good	55.4
average	19.9
bad	18.8
non-existent	0
8.2_3 Water (service)	
good	73
average	10.8
bad	15.3
non-existent	0.9
8.2_4 Sanitation (service)	
good	57.7

average	12.8
bad	28.7
non-existent	0.9
8.2_6 Housing (service)	
good	47.2
average	23
bad	25.9
non-existent	4
8.2_7 Health (service)	
good	35.8
average	24.1
bad	35.2
non-existent	4.8
8.2_8 School (service)	
good	39.5
average	35.2
bad	18.5
non-existent	6.8
8.2_9 Police (service)	
good	27
average	21.6
bad	48.9
non-existent	2.6
8.2_11 Public Transport (service)	
good	65.9
average	15.6
bad	13.1
non-existent	5.4
8.2_14 Refuse (service)	
good	18.5
average	8.2
bad	53.7
non-existent	19.6
8.2_15 Sport Facilities (service)	
good	20.5
average	15.1
bad	31.9
non-existent	32.5
8.2_16 Cemeteries (service)	
good	4.7
average	18.9
bad	74.8
non-existent	1.6
9.1 Do you actively participate in local development activities	
often	10.9
sometimes	47.7
never	41.4
9.2 Is the Municipality doing enough to create job	
yes	9.8
don't know	12.7
no	77.5
10.1 Change in Household income in the last 2 years	
gone up	19.7
the same	39.4
gone down	40.9
10.2 Will your household income change in the next 2 years	
go up	38.4
the same	23.6
go down	38.1

10.3 Has your standard of living changed in the last 3 years	
gone up	30.4
the same	31.8
gone down	37.8

Control_3-Xhariep

QUESTIONS	FREQUENCY
4 Annual Household Income	
less R72,000	94.6
72,000to132,000	3.9
over 132,000	1.5
1.2 Education	
none	0.9
primary	4.2
secondary	20.4
matric	35.6
tertiary	35.9
other	3
1.4 Occupation	
Unemployed/not economically active	67.1
unskilled workers	0.7
skilled workers	13.3
service/sale workers	18.9
professional	
1.5 Number of people living in the household	
1to3	26.9
4to6	48.1
7to9	17.6
9to12	6.9
more than12	0.6
2.4 Has your life here improved in the last 5 years	
improved a lot	1.2
Improved	18.2
the same	51.5
got worse	13
much worse	16.1
3.1 Do you know the name of the councillor for the area	
yes	62.7
no	37
3.2 How many times have you met the councillor	
never	27.8
sometimes	69.3
often	3
3.3 How effective are the councillors in representing the community	
very bad	56.3
bad	17.6
average	11.4
good	8.5
very good	6.3
3.4 Have you ever approached your councillor with problems	
yes	40
no	60
3.5 Have you received feedback from the councillor	
yes	57.4%
no	42.6%
4.1 Do you actively participate in community organisations	

yes	92.2
no	7.8
5.1 Have you heard about the Ward Committee	
yes	38.6
no	61.4
5.3 Ward Committee Performance	
very bad	25.6
bad	4.7
average	10.9
good	14.7
very good	44.2
5.4 Have you ever attended ward committee meetings	
often	77.5
sometimes	4.7
no	17.9
5.5 Function of the ward committee	
help the councillor	16.3
help the people to express their view	67.4
assist the government	14.7
help control people	1.6
provide people with job	0
5.6 Are people enthusiastic about ward committee	
very enthusiastic	19.4
enthusiastic	41.9
Not enthusiastic	31.8
don't know	7
6.1 Do you pay attention to what goes on in your local area	
very much	1.8
sometimes	53.4
not much	20.6
not ever	24.2
6.2 Performance of local municipality	
very good	4.9
good	29.7
average	28.6
bad	25.9
very bad	10.8
6.3 Have you dealt with officials	
yes	38.8
no	61.2
6.4 Officials' performance	
very bad	19.2
bad	19.2
average	19.2
good	24.6
very good	17.7
8.2_2 Electricity (service)	
good	74.9
average	19.4
bad	3.3
non-existent	2.4
8.2_3 Water (service)	
good	82.1
average	8.4
bad	7.2
non-existent	2.4
8.2_4 Sanitation (service)	
good	74.9

average	5.1
bad	16.7
non-existent	3.3
8.2_6 Housing (service)	
good	70.7
average	14
bad	12.5
non-existent	2.7
8.2_7 Health (service)	
good	37.9
average	38.8
bad	22.1
non-existent	1.2
8.2_8 School (service)	
good	69.3
average	15.8
bad	6.3
non-existent	8.7
8.2_9 Police (service)	
good	42.1
average	34.6
bad	22.1
non-existent	1.2
8.2_11 Public Transport (service)	
good	34.3
average	29.6
bad	28.4
non-existent	7.8
8.2_14 Refuse (service)	
good	74.9
average	4.2
bad	6
non-existent	14.9
8.2_15 Sport Facilities (service)	
good	27.8
average	20
bad	25.1
non-existent	27.2
8.2_16 Cemeteries (service)	
good	47.8
average	17.6
bad	32.5
non-existent	2.1
9.1 Do you actively participate in local development activities	
often	3
sometimes	35.8
never	61.2
9.2 Is the Municipality doing enough to create job	
yes	10.8
don't know	0
no	89.2
10.1 Change in Household income in the last 2 years	
gone up	31
the same	51
gone down	17.9
10.2 Will your household income change in the next 2 years	
go up	53.4
the same	30.7
go down	15.8

10.3 Has your standard of living changed in the last 3 years	
gone up	32.7
the same	29.1
gone down	38.2

Control_4_Emalahleni

QUESTIONS	FREQUENCY
4 Annual Household Income	
less R72,000	88.5
72,000to132,000	8.9
over 132,000	2.6
1.2 Education	
none	12
primary	11.4
secondary	17.5
matric	27.4
tertiary	30.9
other	0.9
1.5 Number of people living in the household	
1to3	21.9
4to6	48.2
7to9	20
9to12	7.2
more than12	2.4
2.4 Has your life here improved in the last 5 years	
improved a lot	0.2
Improved	16.5
the same	65.9
got worse	12.2
much worse	5
3.1 Do you know the name of the councillor for the area	
yes	70.5
no	28.8
3.2 How many times have you met the councillor	
never	18.2
sometimes	80.8
often	0.8
3.3 How effective are the councillors in representing the community	
very bad	45.5
bad	19.1
average	4.3
good	27.5
very good	3.5
3.4 Have you ever approached your councillor with problems	
yes	16.9
no	82.4
3.5 Have you received feedback from the councillor	
yes	36.8%
no	63.2%
4.1 Do you actively participate in community organisations	
yes	93.6
no	6.4
5.1 Have you heard about the Ward Committee	
yes	65.5
no	34.3
5.3 Ward Committee Performance	

very bad	61.8
bad	24.6
average	4.2
good	2.5
very good	7
5.4 Have you ever attended ward committee meetings	
often	4.7
sometimes	89.9
no	5.4
5.5 Function of the ward committee	
help the councillor	9.5
help the people to express their view	84.1
assist the government	4.7
help control people	1.7
provide people with job	
5.6 Are people enthusiastic about ward committee	
very enthusiastic	13.4
enthusiastic	83.9
Not enthusiastic	2.7
don't know	
6.1 Do you pay attention to what goes on in your local area	
very much	16.9
sometimes	53.5
not much	15.6
not ever	14
6.2 Performance of local municipality	
very good	0.3
good	7.2
average	44.4
bad	48.1
very bad	0
6.3 Have you dealt with officials	
yes	16.9
no	82.8
6.4 Officials' performance	
very bad	20
bad	35.7
average	30
good	7.1
very good	7.1
8.2_2 Electricity (service)	
good	76.4
average	9.1
bad	14.5
non-existent	0
8.2_3 Water (service)	
good	78.5
average	5.9
bad	15.2
non-existent	0.4
8.2_4 Sanitation (service)	
good	31.2
average	21
bad	47.3
non-existent	0.4
8.2_6 Housing (service)	
good	32.6
average	31.3

bad	34.8
non-existent	1.3
8.2_7 Health (service)	
good	38
average	24.9
bad	35.6
non-existent	1.5
8.2_8 School (service)	
good	73.8
average	7.8
bad	16.1
non-existent	2.4
8.2_9 Police (service)	
good	22
average	12.4
bad	64.3
non-existent	1.3
8.2_11 Public Transport (service)	
good	64.4
average	12.6
bad	21.7
non-existent	1.3
8.2_14 Refuse (service)	
good	35.6
average	29.7
bad	32.3
non-existent	2.4
8.2_15 Sport Facilities (service)	
good	69.6
average	7.6
bad	20.2
non-existent	2.6
8.2_16 Cemeteries (service)	
good	35.6
average	7.2
bad	57.3
non-existent	0
9.1 Do you actively participate in local development activities	
often	2.9
sometimes	63.8
never	32.2
9.2 Is the Municipality doing enough to create job	
yes	2.6
don't know	2.9
no	94.5
10.1 Change in Household income in the last 2 years	
gone up	26.9
the same	63.1
gone down	10
10.2 Will your household income change in the next 2 years	
go up	25.8
the same	56.6
go down	17.6
10.3 Has your standard of living changed in the last 3 years	
gone up	18.7
the same	60.5
gone down	20.8