

**Chapter 17. "Social inequalities and the politicization of ethnic cleavages
in Botswana, Ghana, Nigeria, and Senegal, 1999-2019"**

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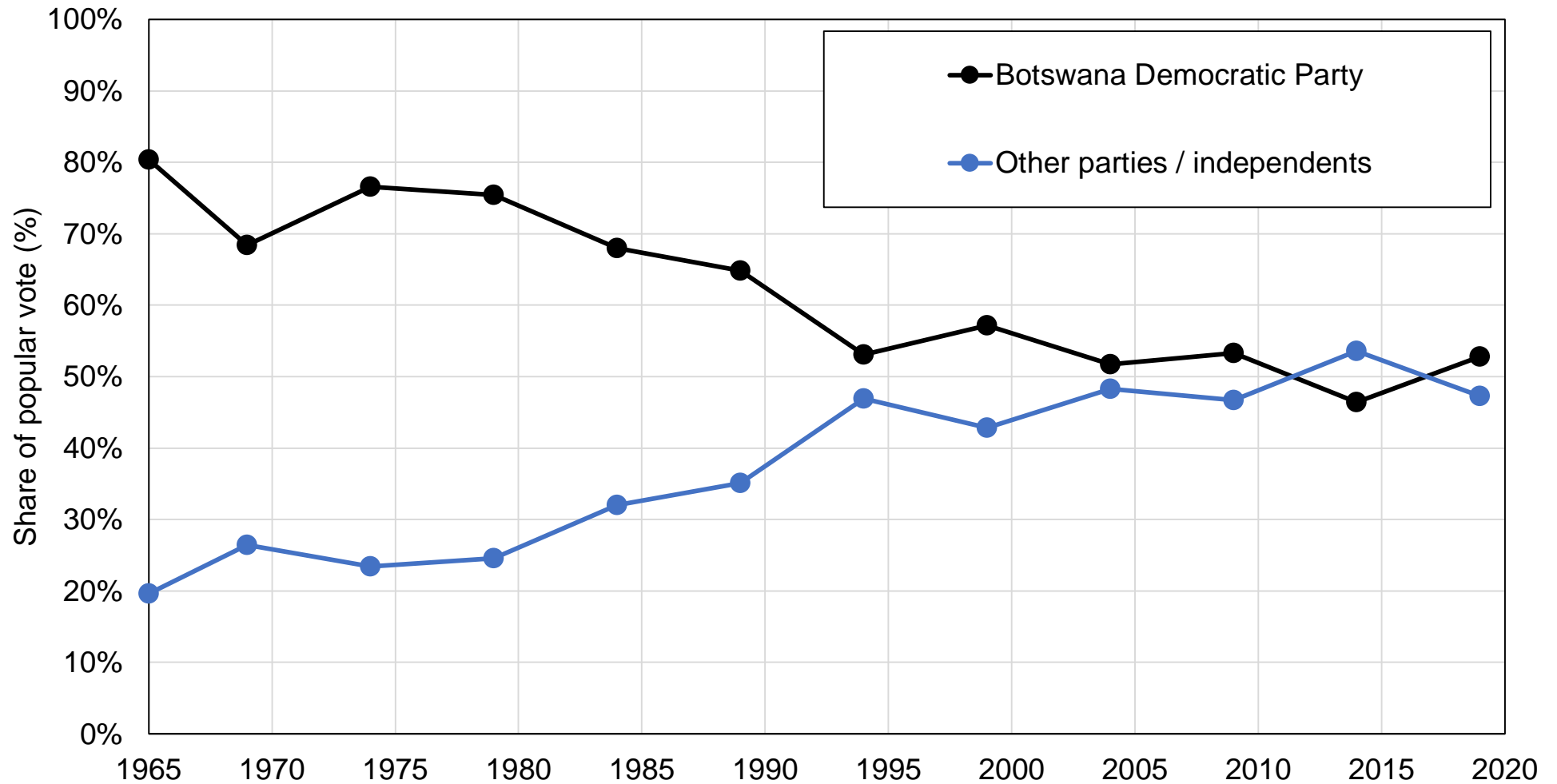
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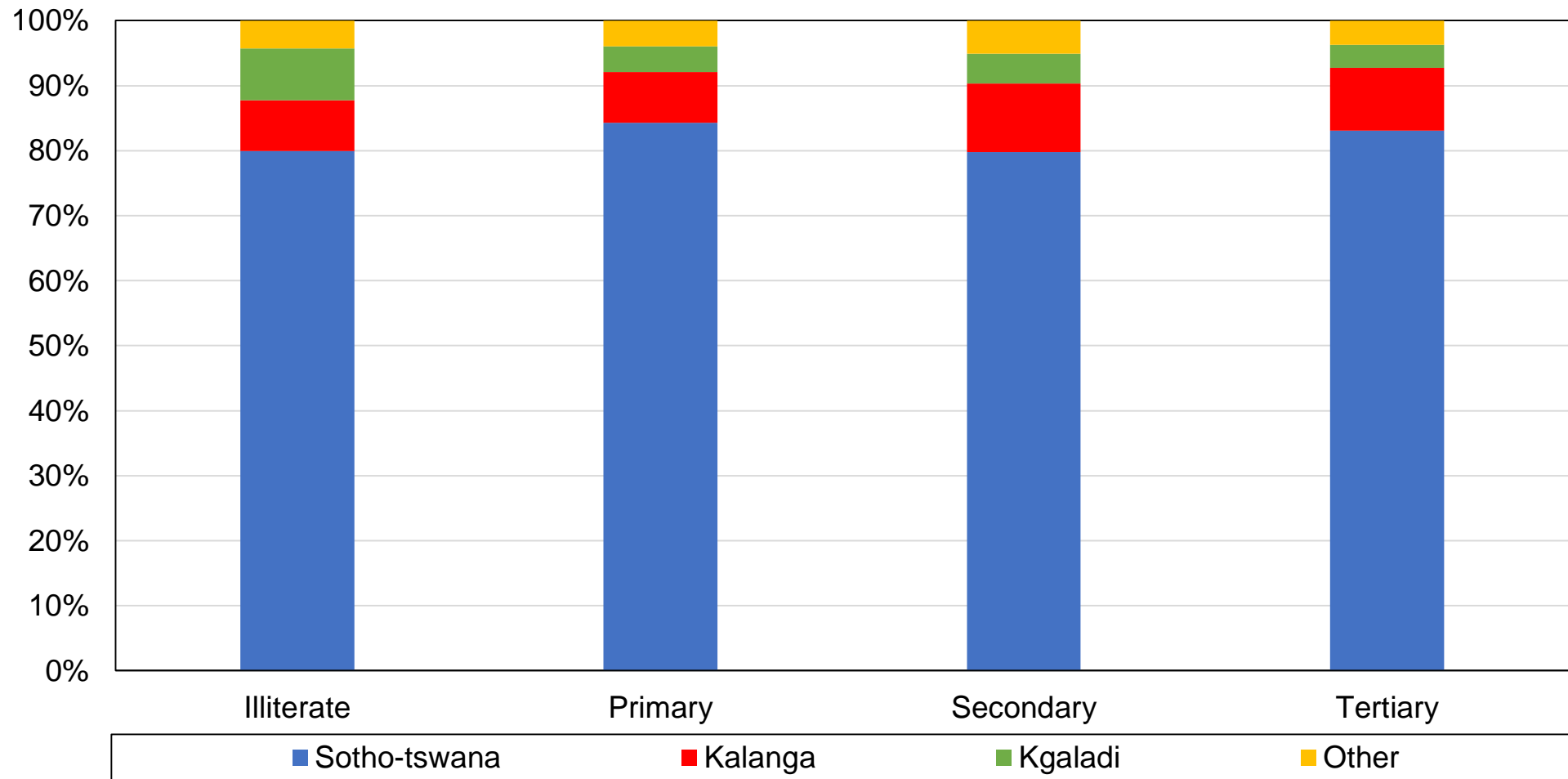
Figure A1 - Election results in Botswana, 1965-2019



Source: authors' computations using official election results.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by selected groups of political parties in Botswana in general elections between 1965 and 2019.

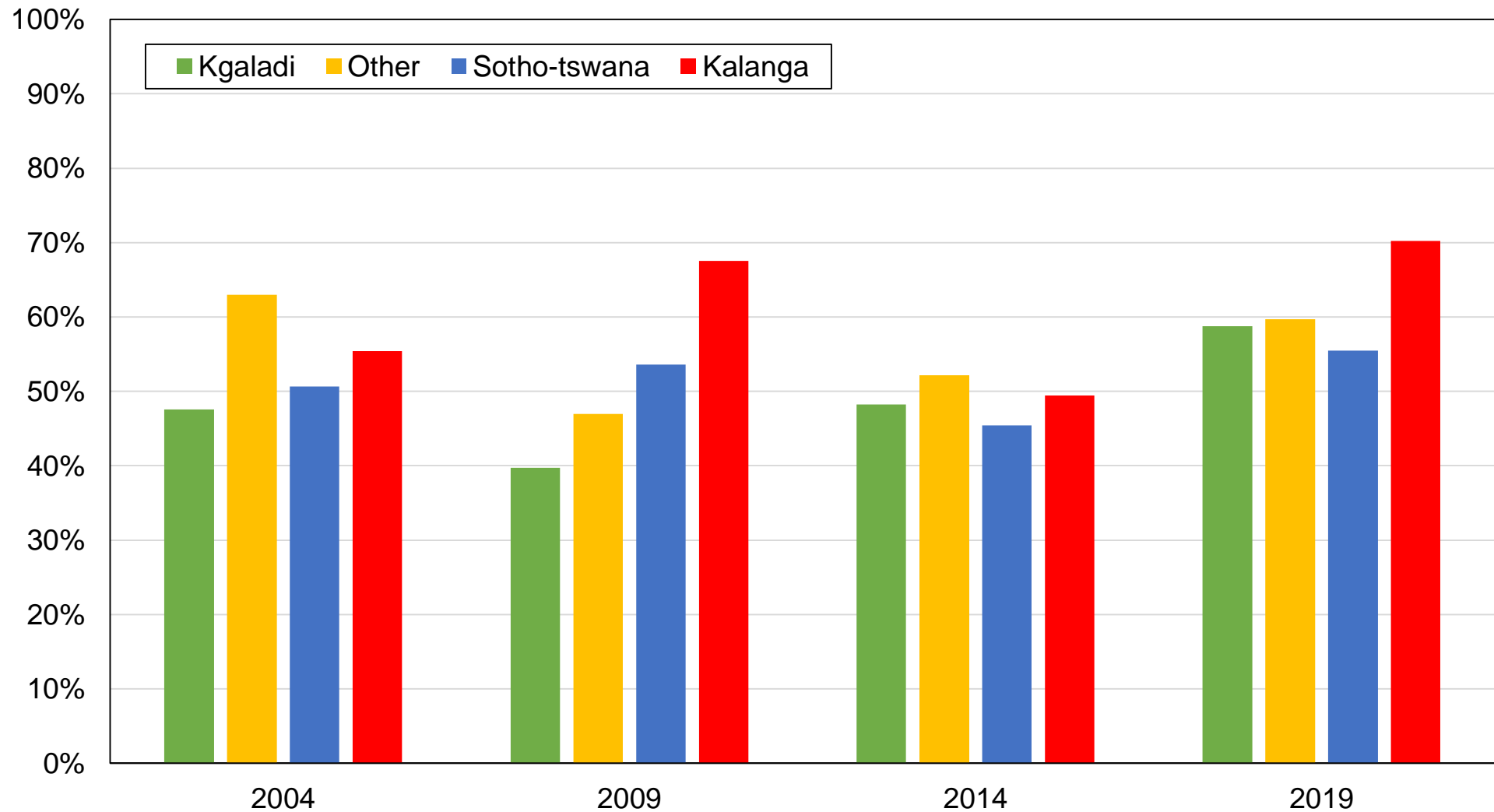
Figure A2 - Ethnolinguistic educational inequalities in Botswana



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

Note: the figure shows composition of education groups by language of the population in Botswana in 2019.

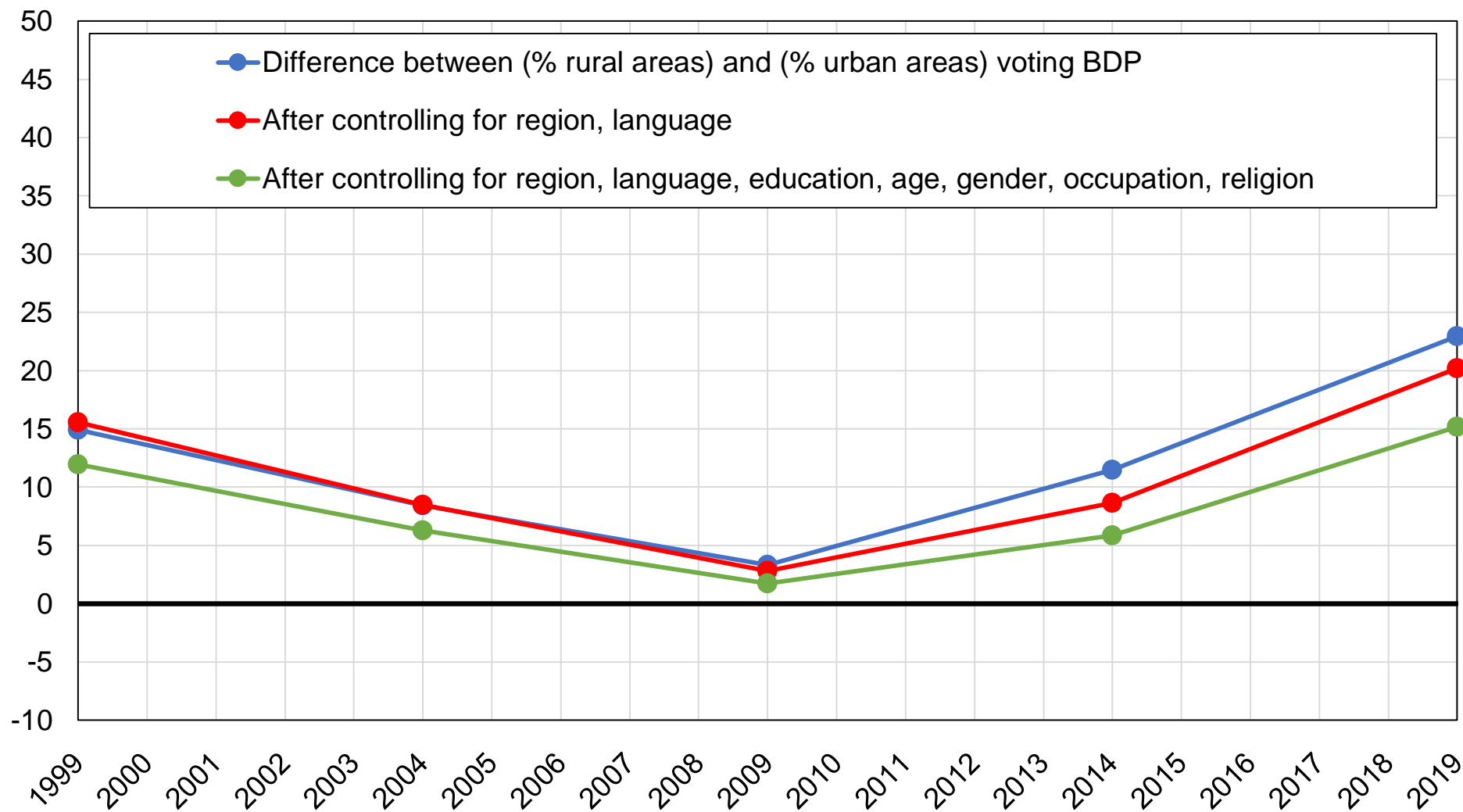
Figure A3 - Vote for the Botswana Democratic Party by language



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by BDP by language.

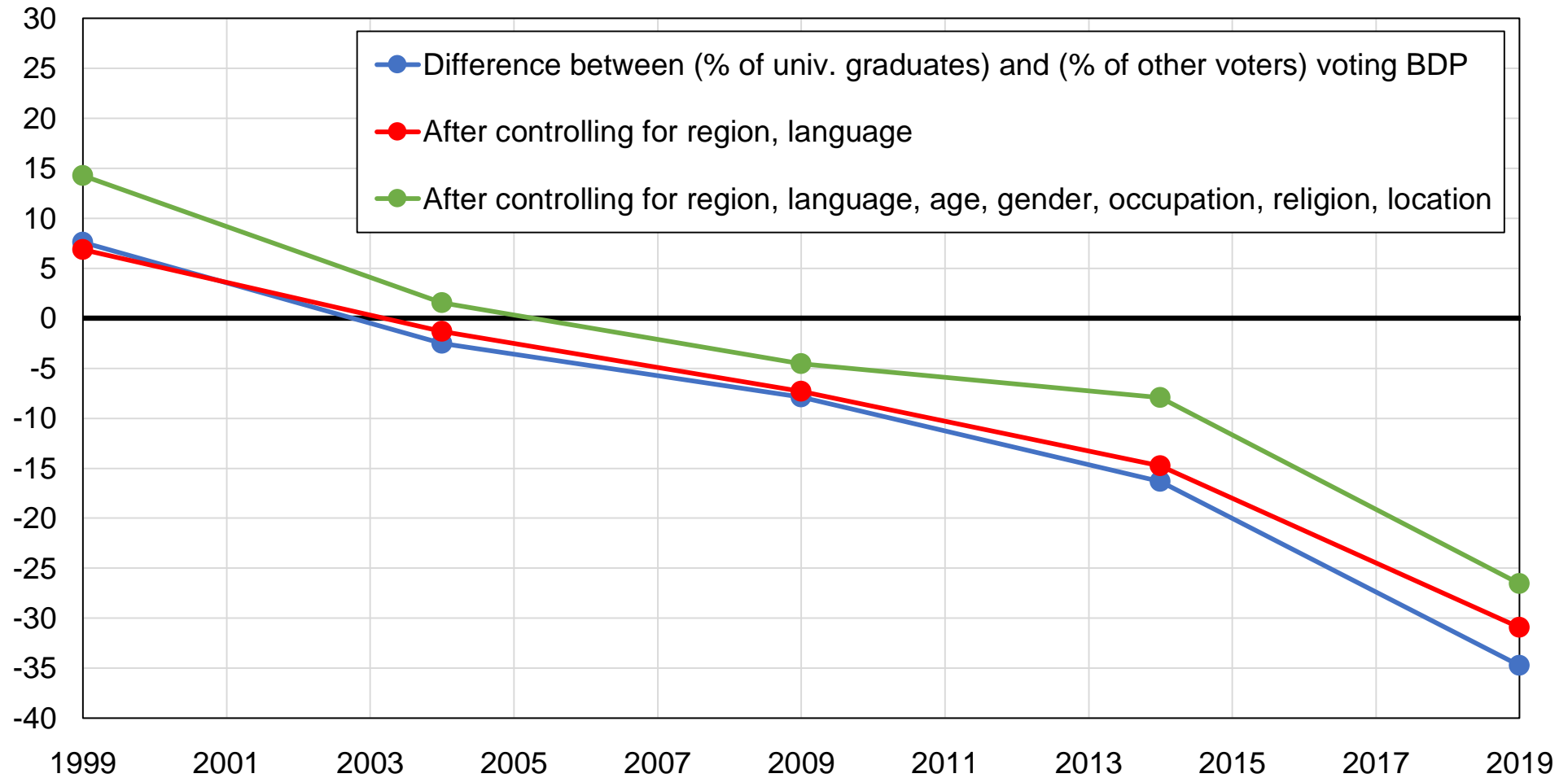
Figure A4 - Vote for the Botswana Democratic Party among rural areas



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of voters from rural areas and the share of other voters voting for BDP, before and after controlling for other variables.

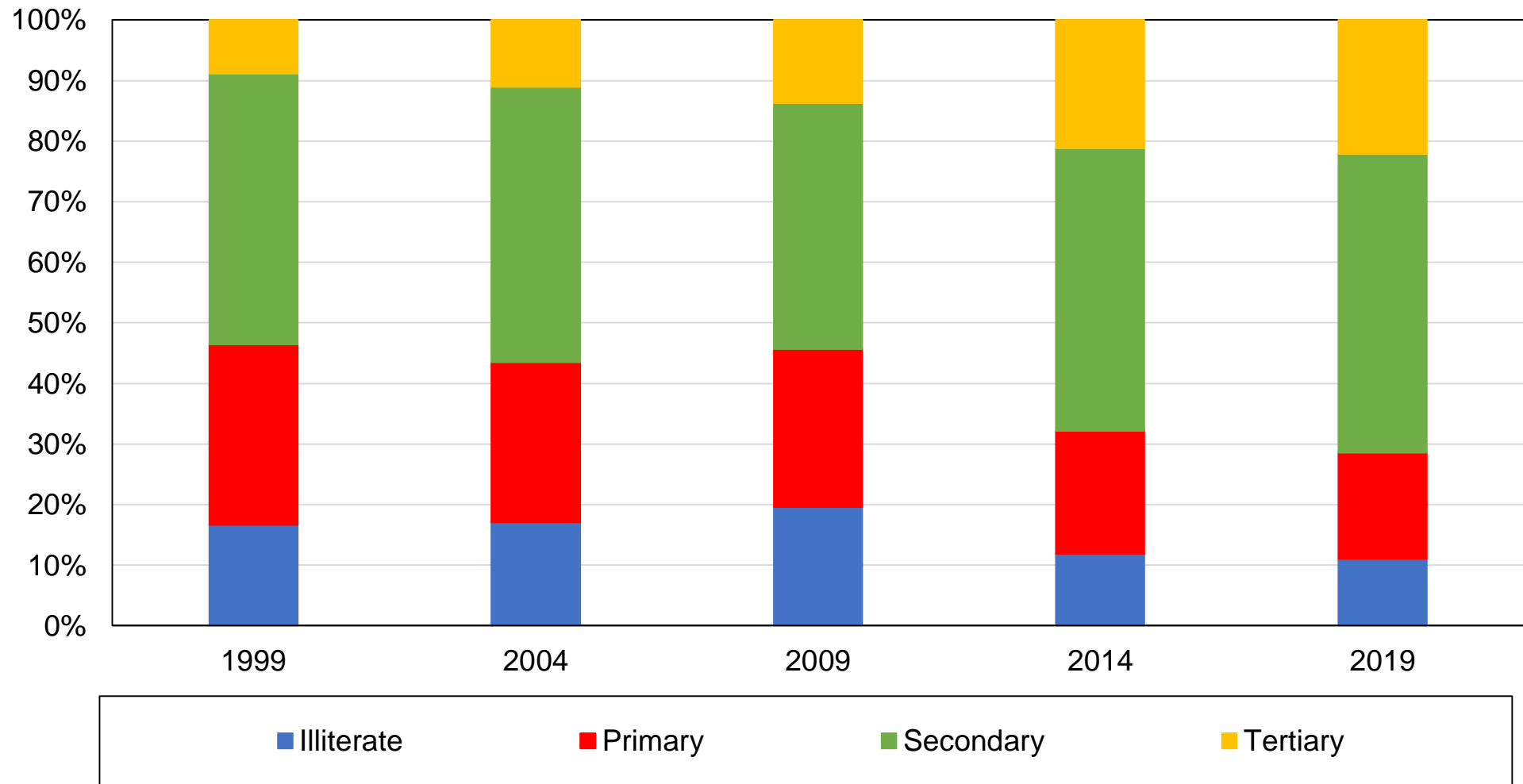
Figure A5 - Vote for the Botswana Democratic Party among higher-educated voters



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of university graduates and the share of other voters voting for BDP, before and after controlling for other variables.

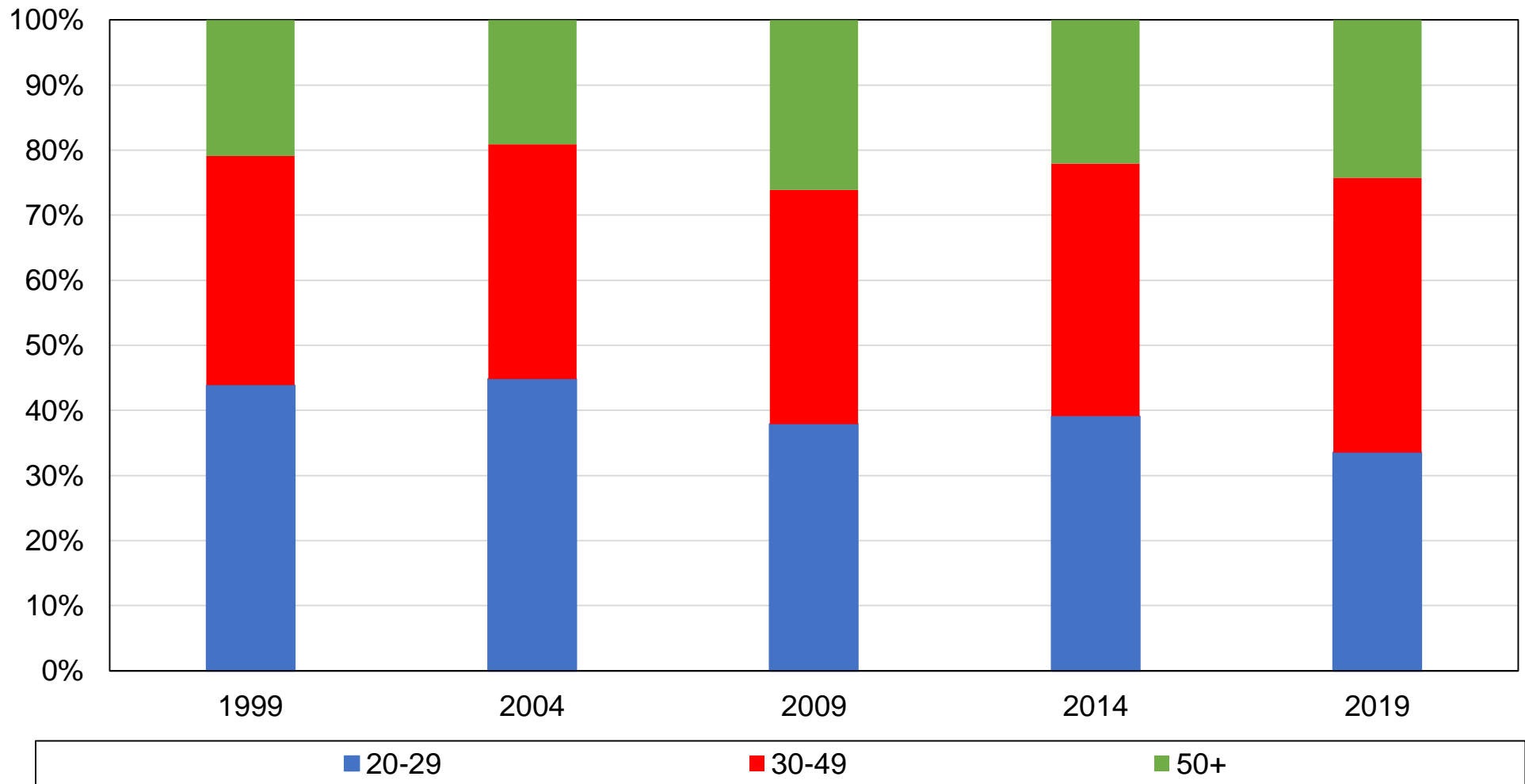
Figure AA1 - The composition of the electorate by education



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

Note: the figure shows the distribution of education levels of the adult population in Botswana and its evolution over time.

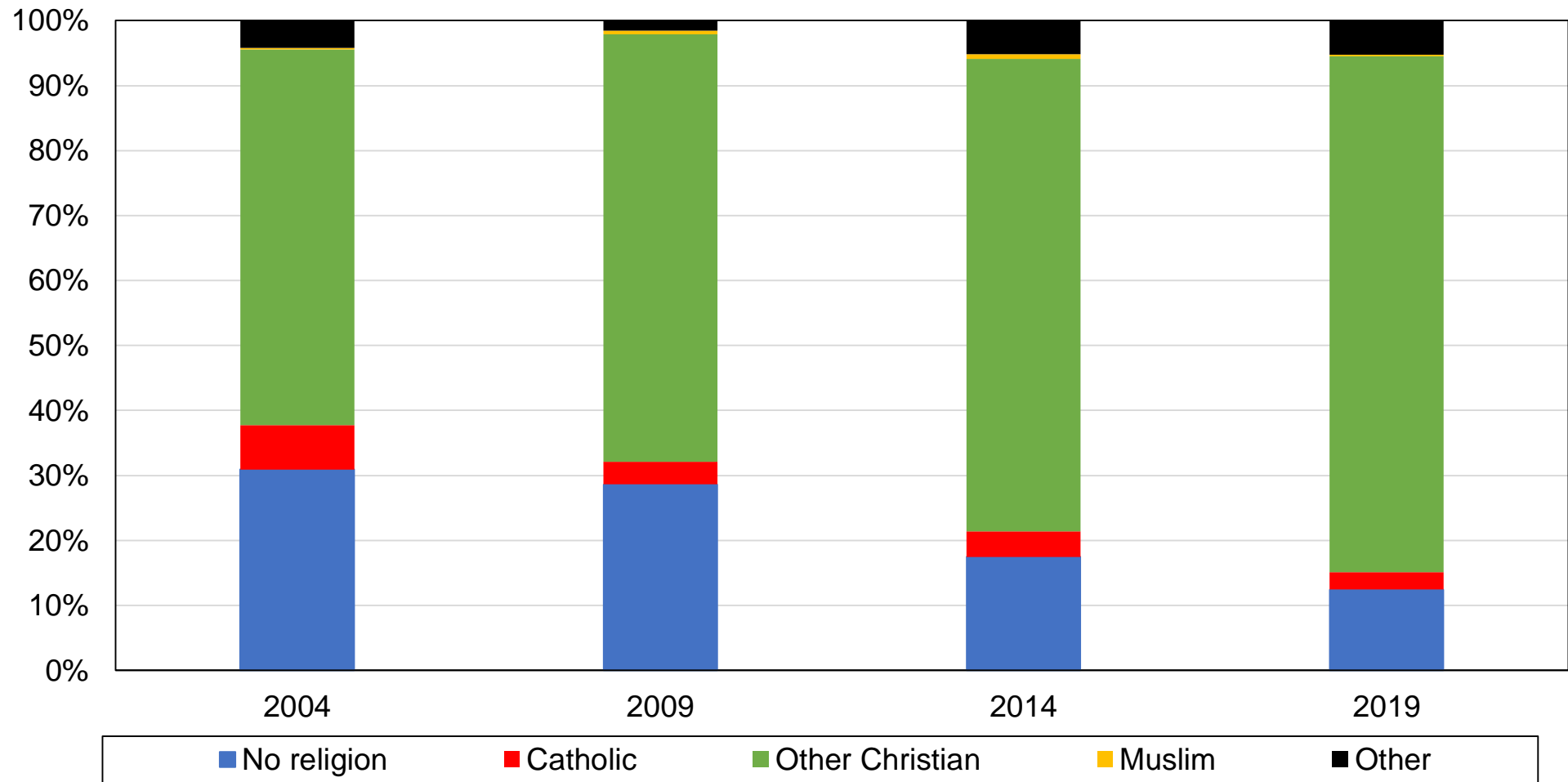
Figure AA2 - The composition of the electorate by age



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

Note: the figure shows the distribution of age groups in the adult population in Botswana and its evolution over time.

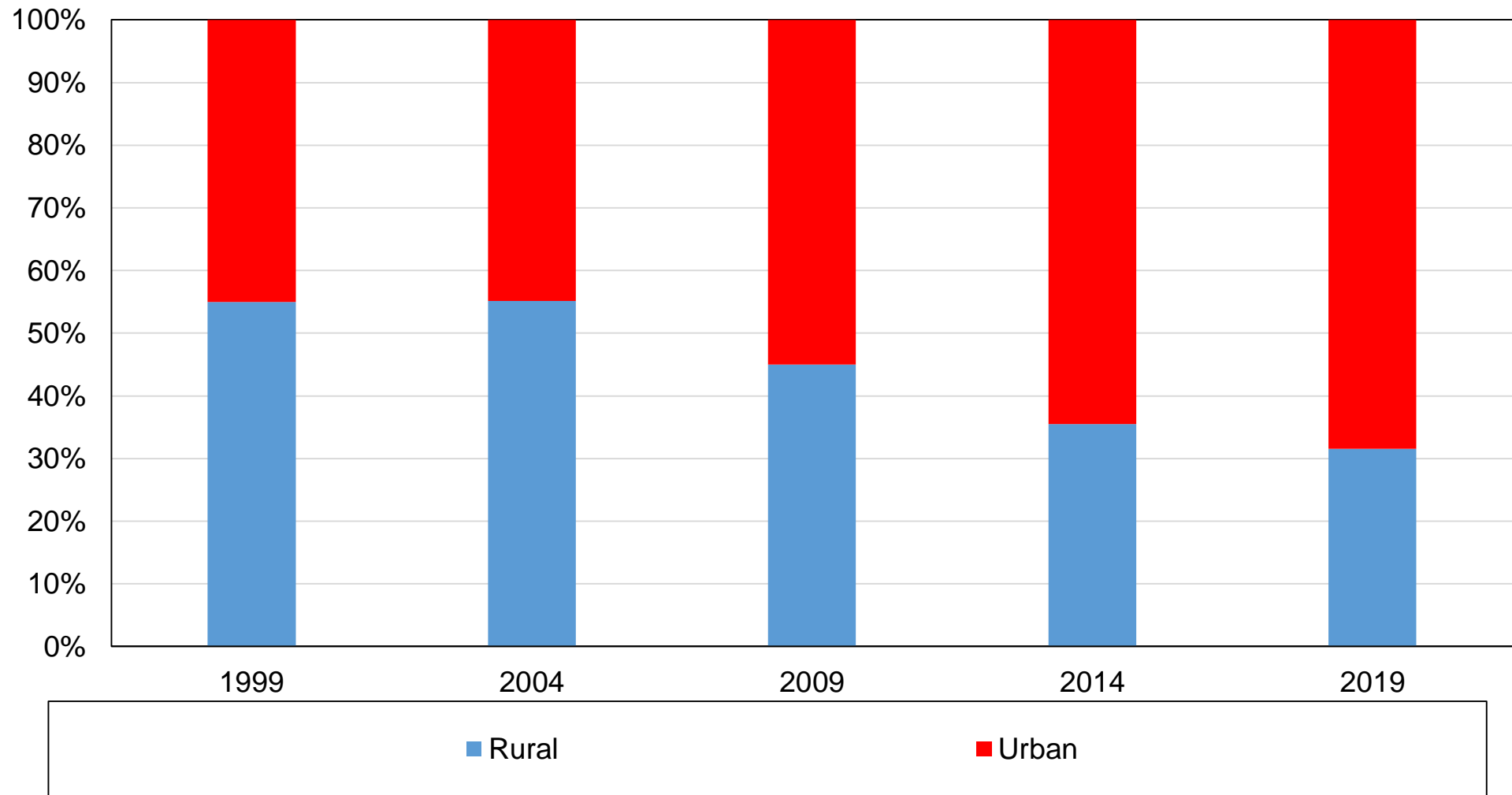
Figure AA3 - The composition of the electorate by religion



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

Note: the figure shows the distribution of religious affiliations in the adult population in Botswana and its evolution over time.

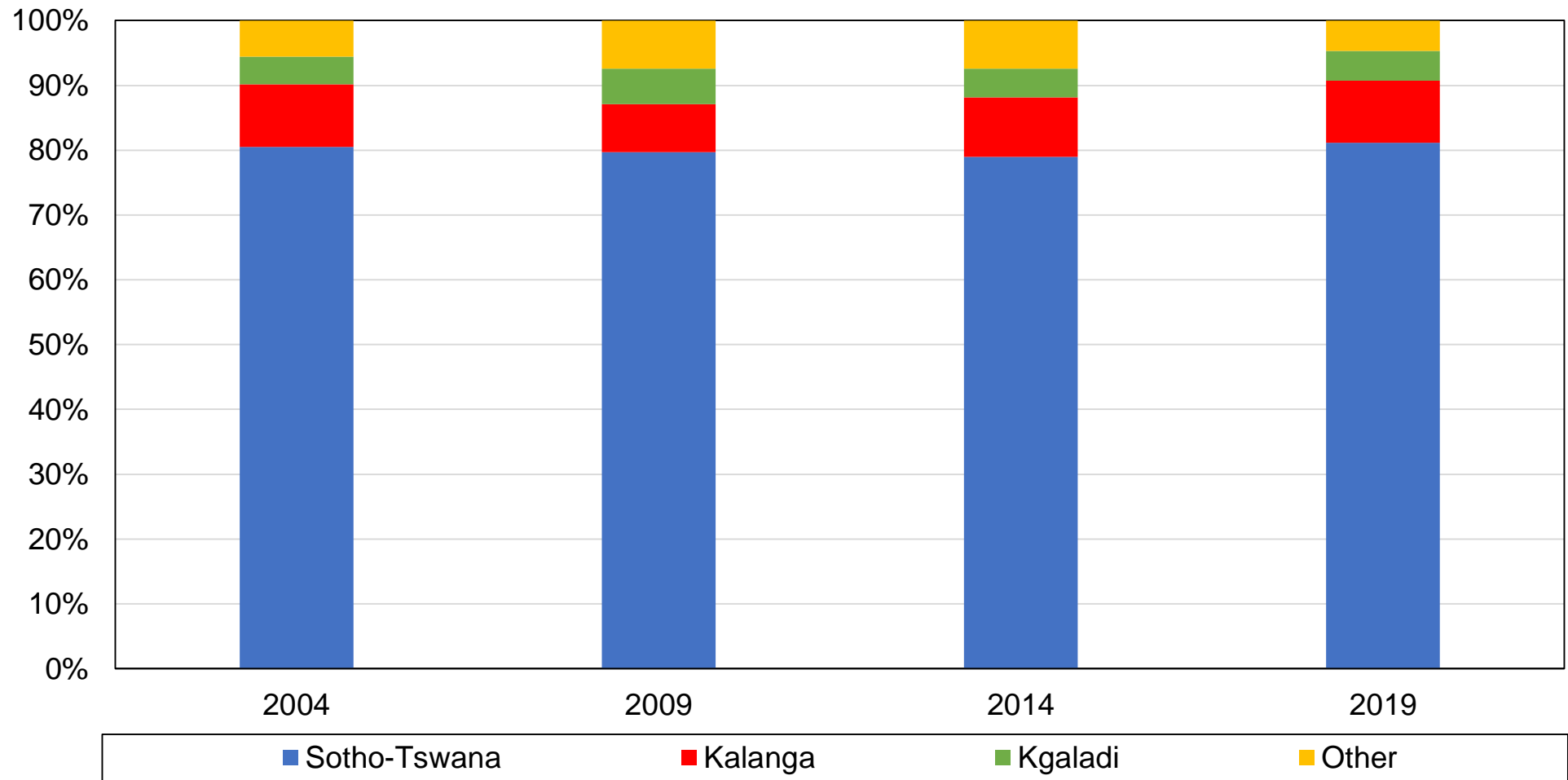
Figure AA4 - The composition of the electorate by location



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of rural and urban adult population in Botswana and its evolution over time.

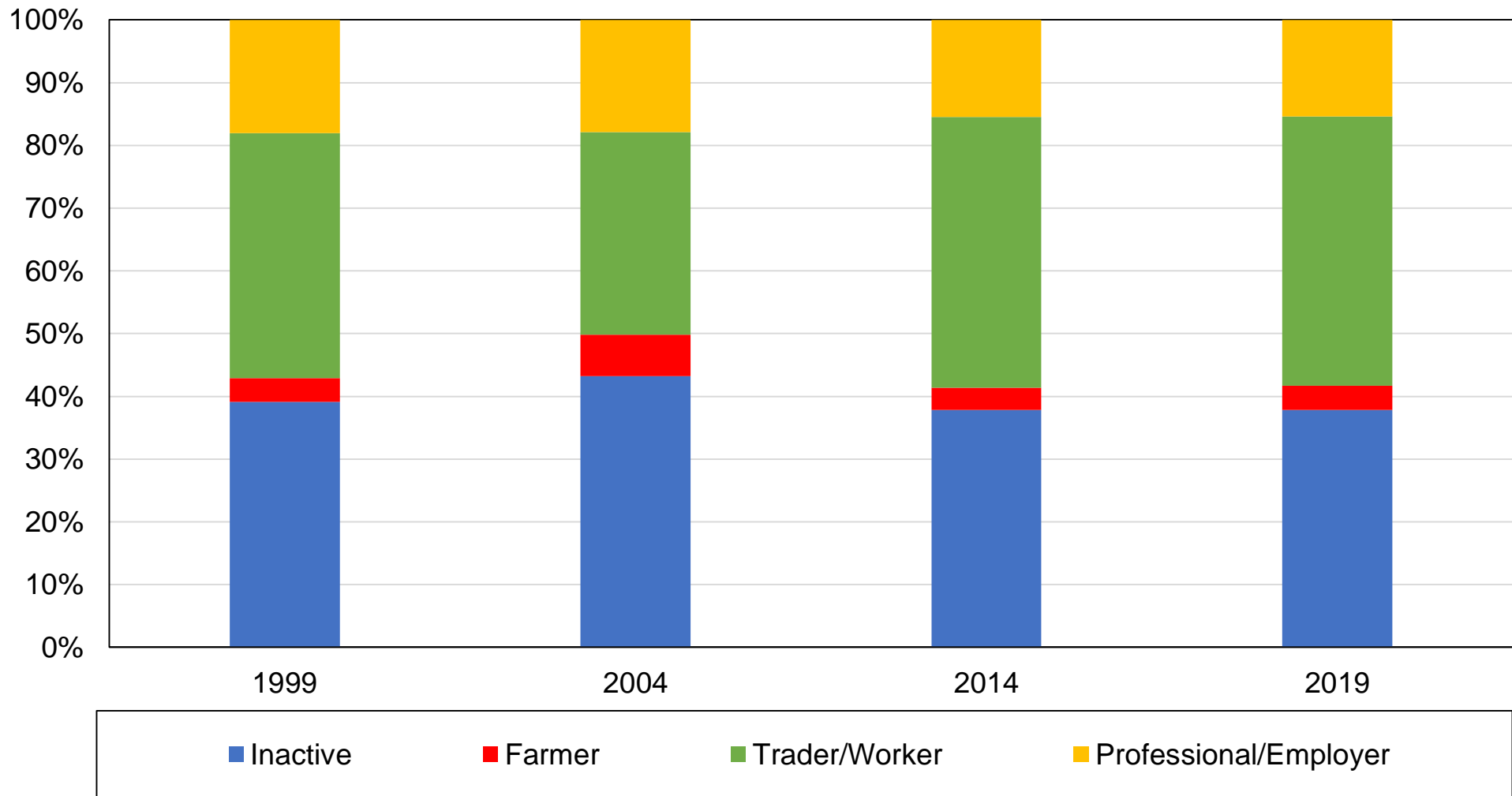
Figure AA5 - The composition of the electorate by language



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

Note: the figure shows the distribution of languages in the adult population in Botswana and its evolution over time.

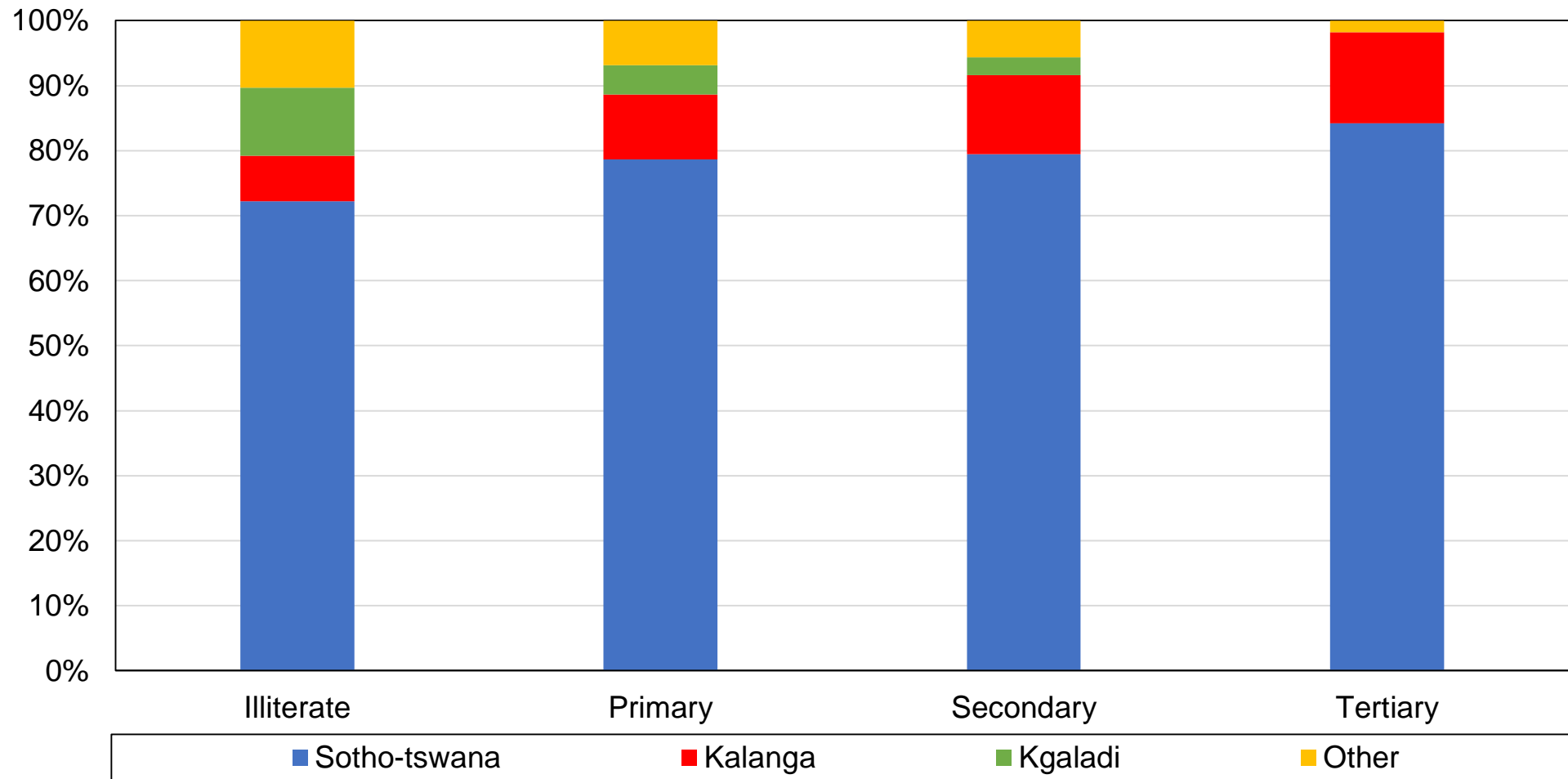
Figure AA6 - The composition of the electorate by occupation



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

Note: the figure shows the distribution of occupations in the adult population in Botswana and its evolution over time.

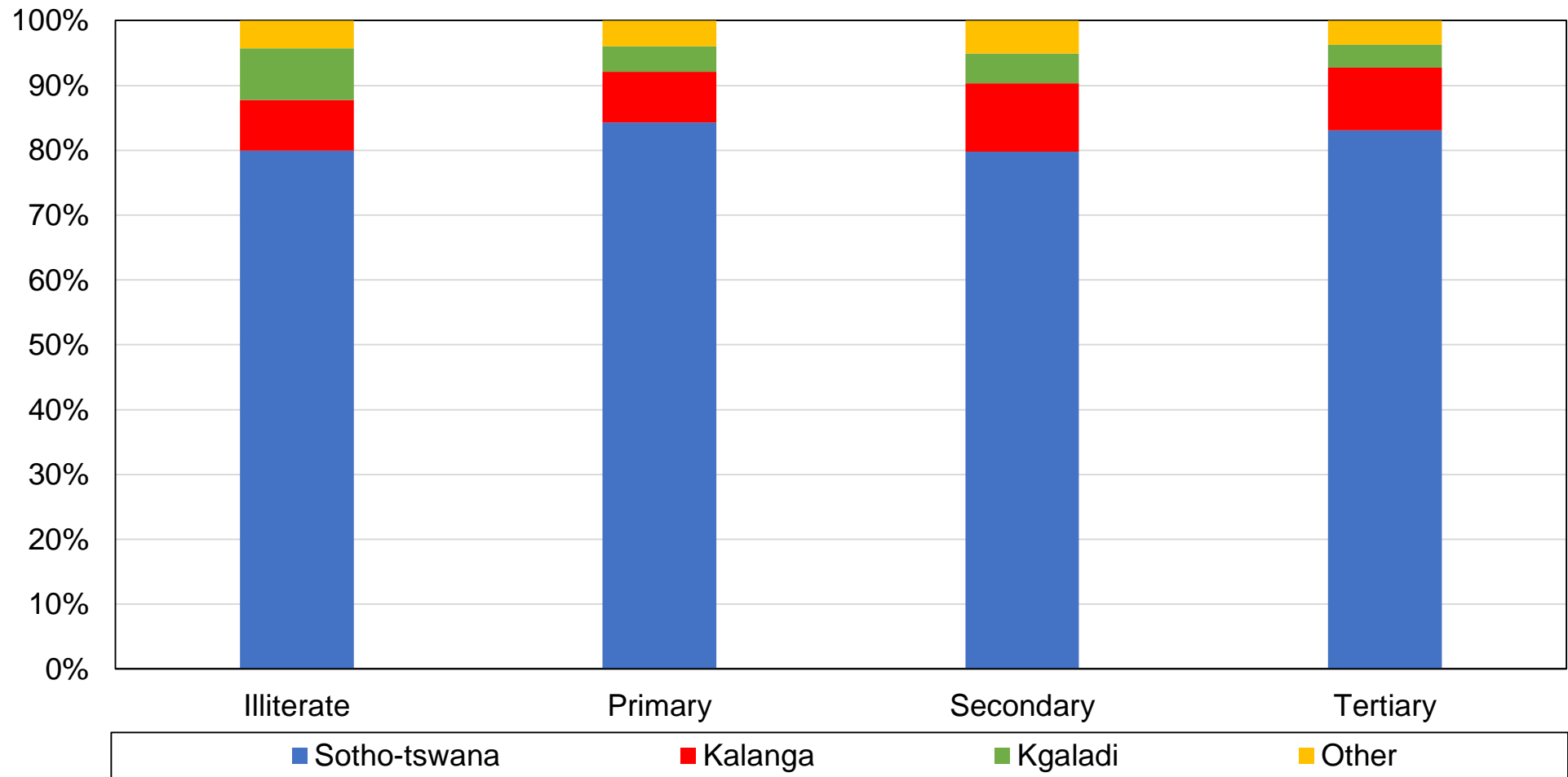
Figure AA7- Linguistic composition of education, 2004



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

Note: the figure shows composition of education groups by language of the population in Botswana in 2004.

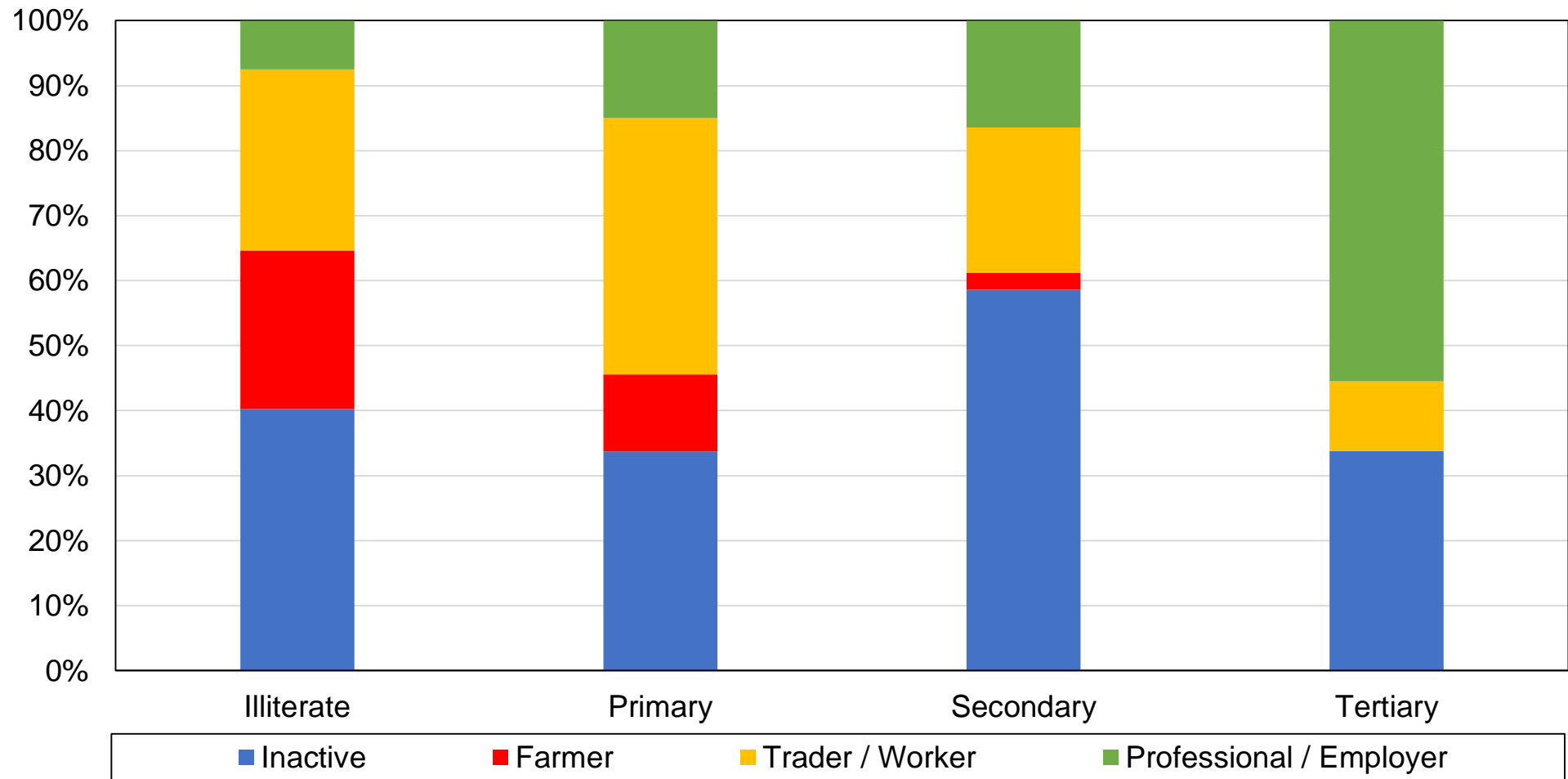
Figure AA8 - Linguistic composition of education, 2019



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

Note: the figure shows composition of education groups by language of the population in Botswana in 2019.

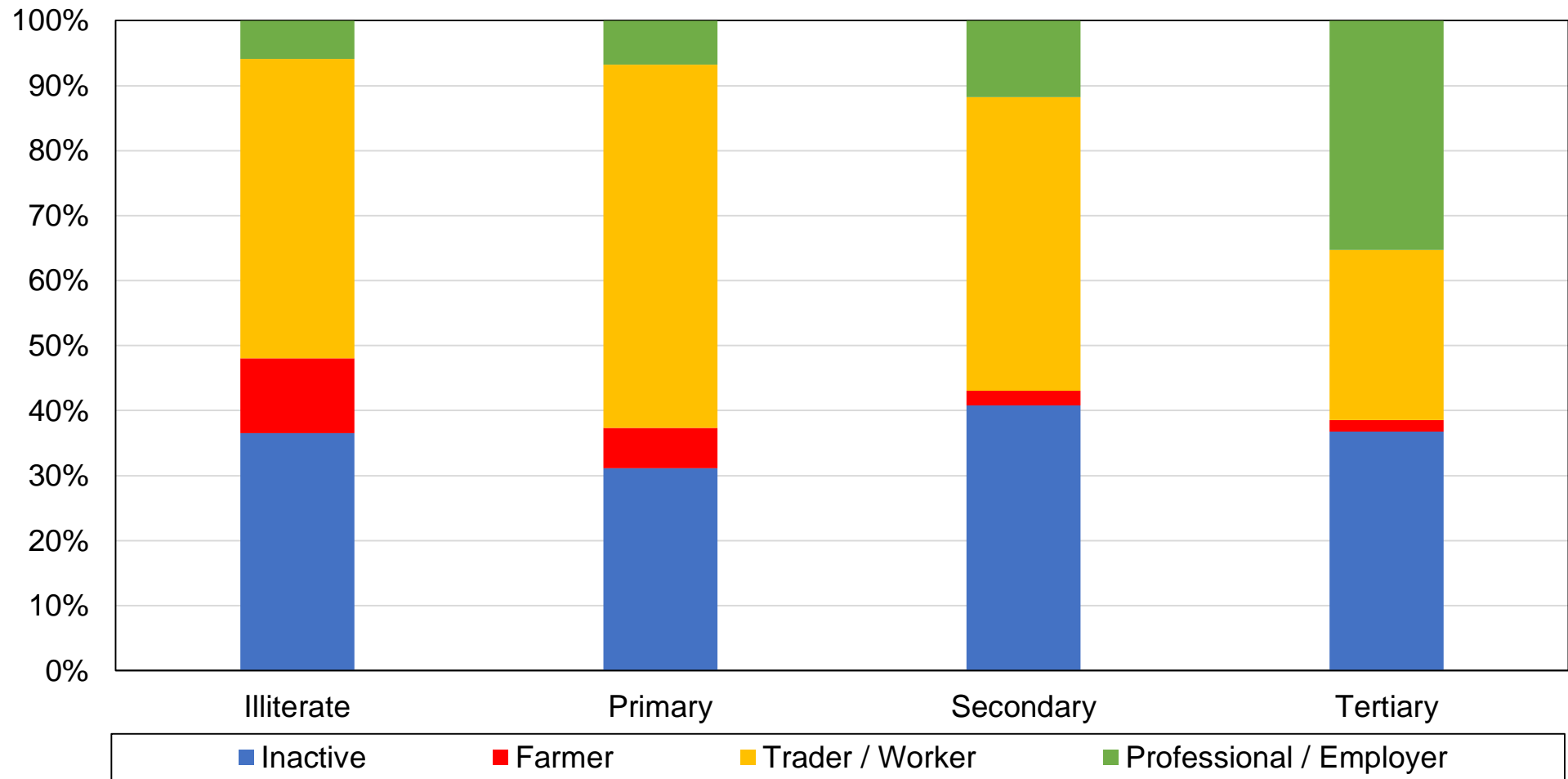
Figure AA9 - Occupational composition of education, 2004



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

Note: the figure shows the composition of education groups by occupation of the population in Botswana in 2004.

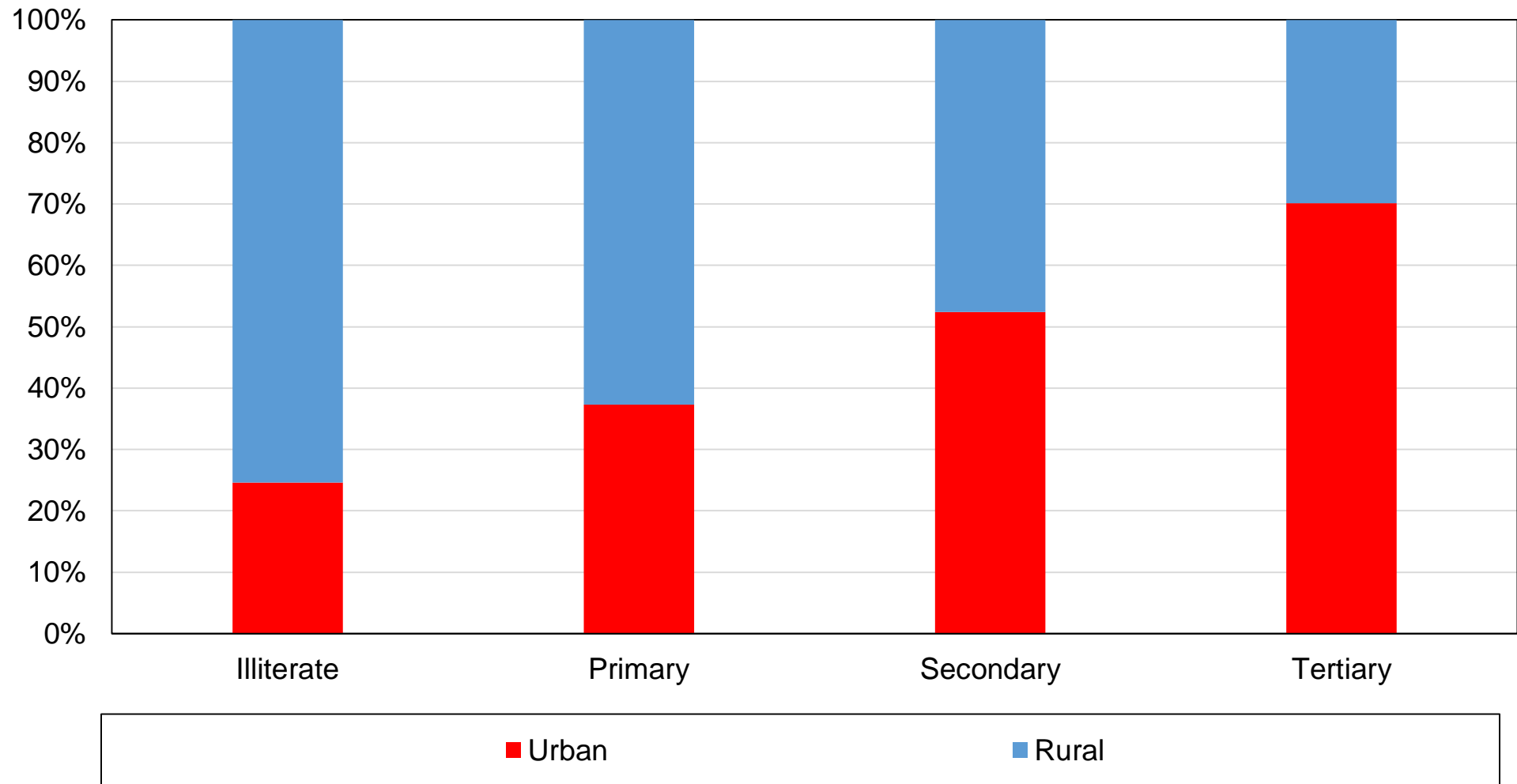
Figure AA10 - Occupational composition of education, 2019



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

Note: the figure shows the composition of education groups by occupation of the population in Botswana in 2019.

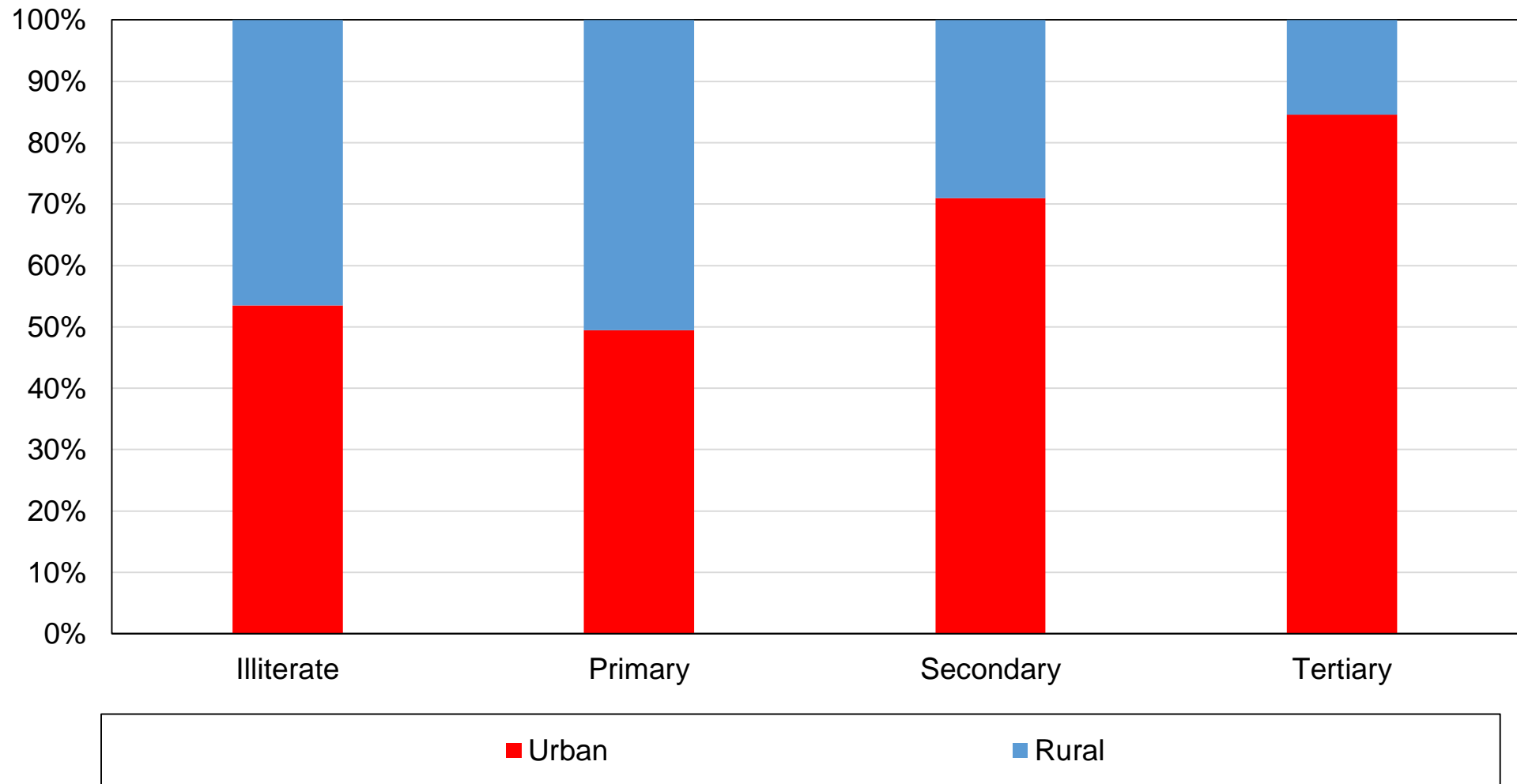
Figure AA11 - Rural-urban composition of education, 2004



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

Note: the figure shows the distribution of education groups by location in 2004 in Botswana.

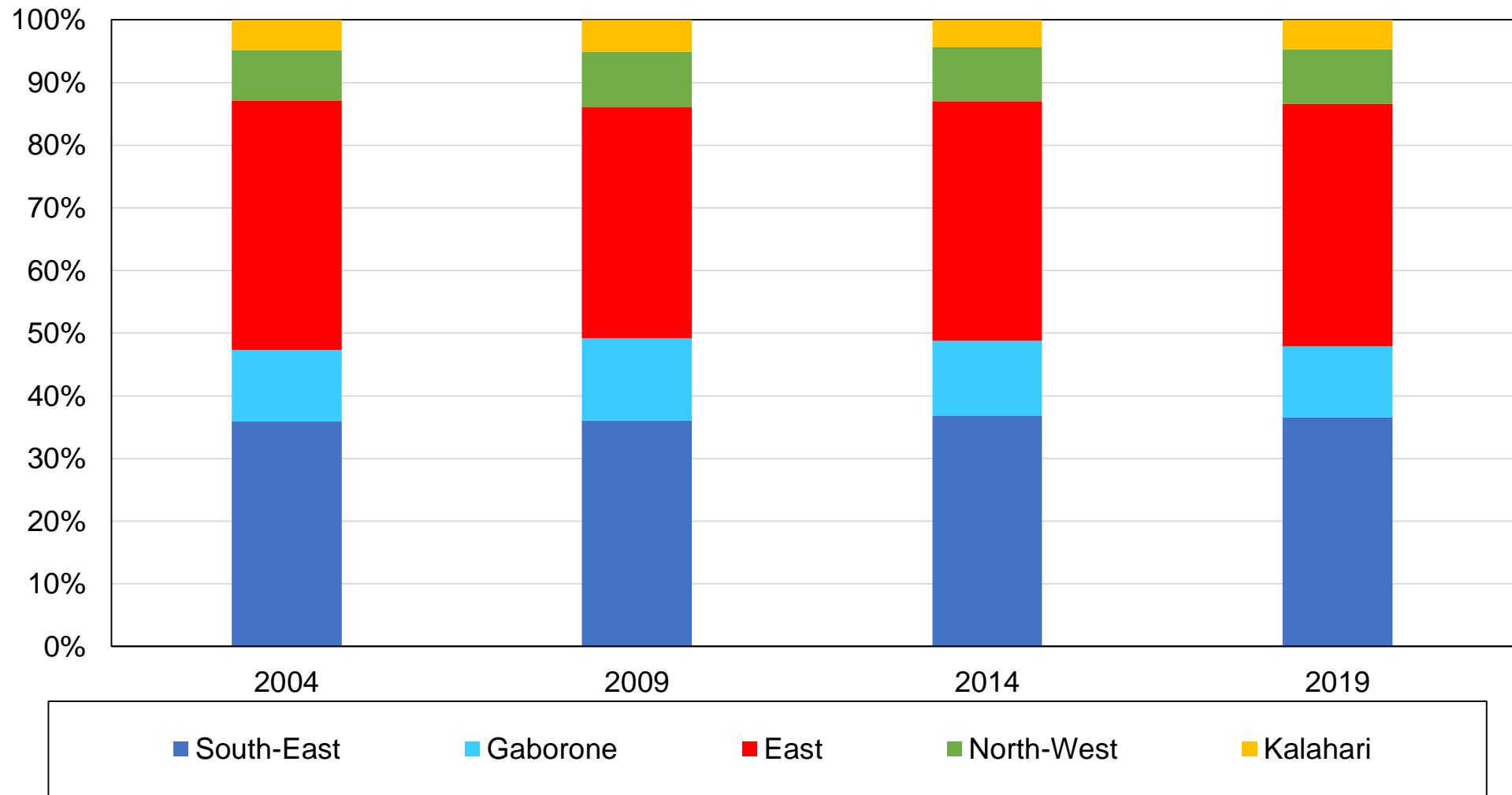
Figure AA12 - Rural-urban composition of education, 2019



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

Note: the figure shows the distribution of education groups by location in 2019 in Botswana.

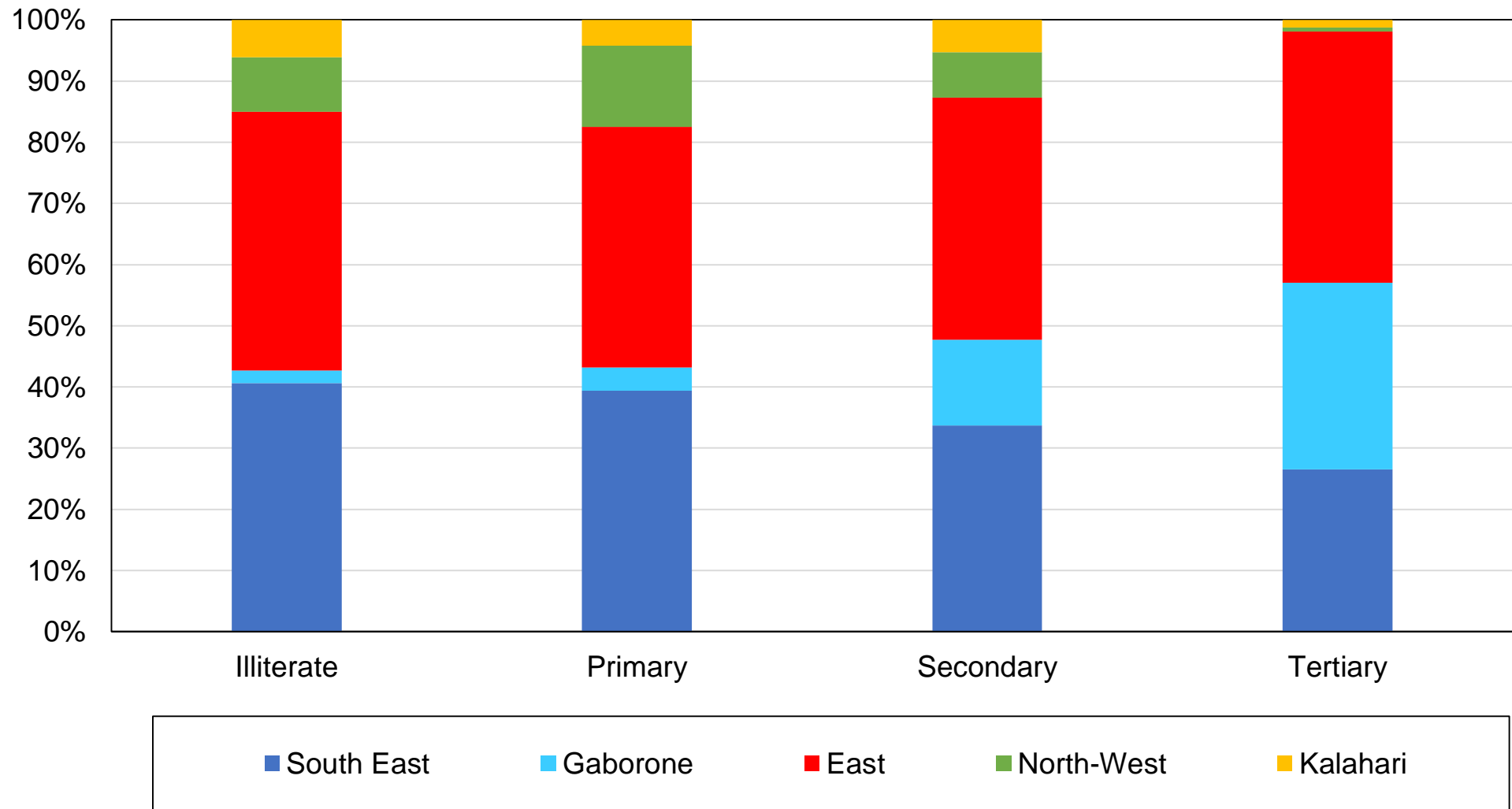
Figure AA13 - The composition of the electorate by region



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

Note: the figure shows the distribution of regions in the adult population in Botswana and its evolution over time.

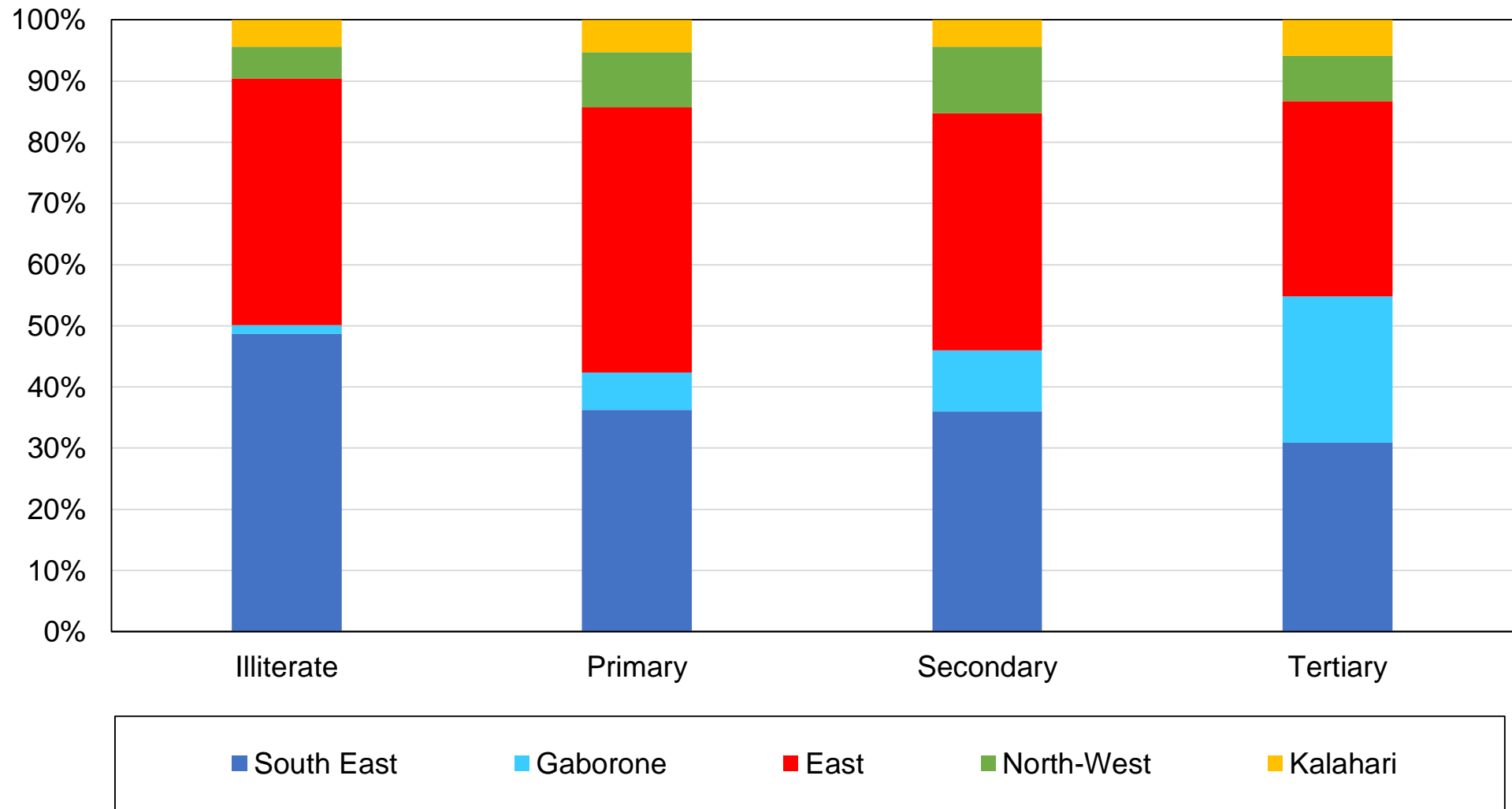
Figure AA14 - Regional composition of education, 2004



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

Note: the figure shows the composition of education groups by region in Botswana in 2004.

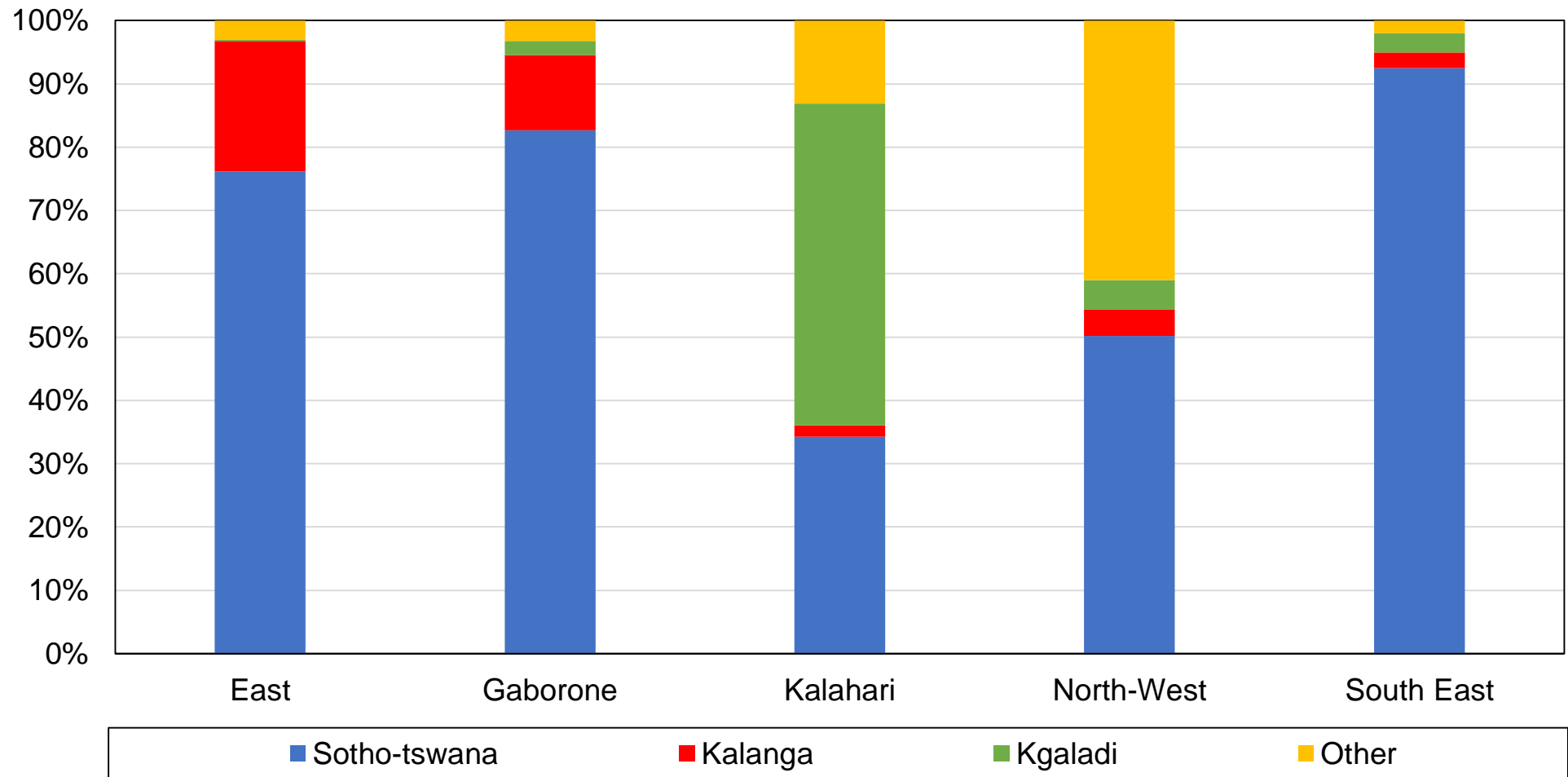
Figure AA15 - Regional composition of education, 2019



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

Note: the figure shows the distribution of education groups by region in Botswana in 2019.

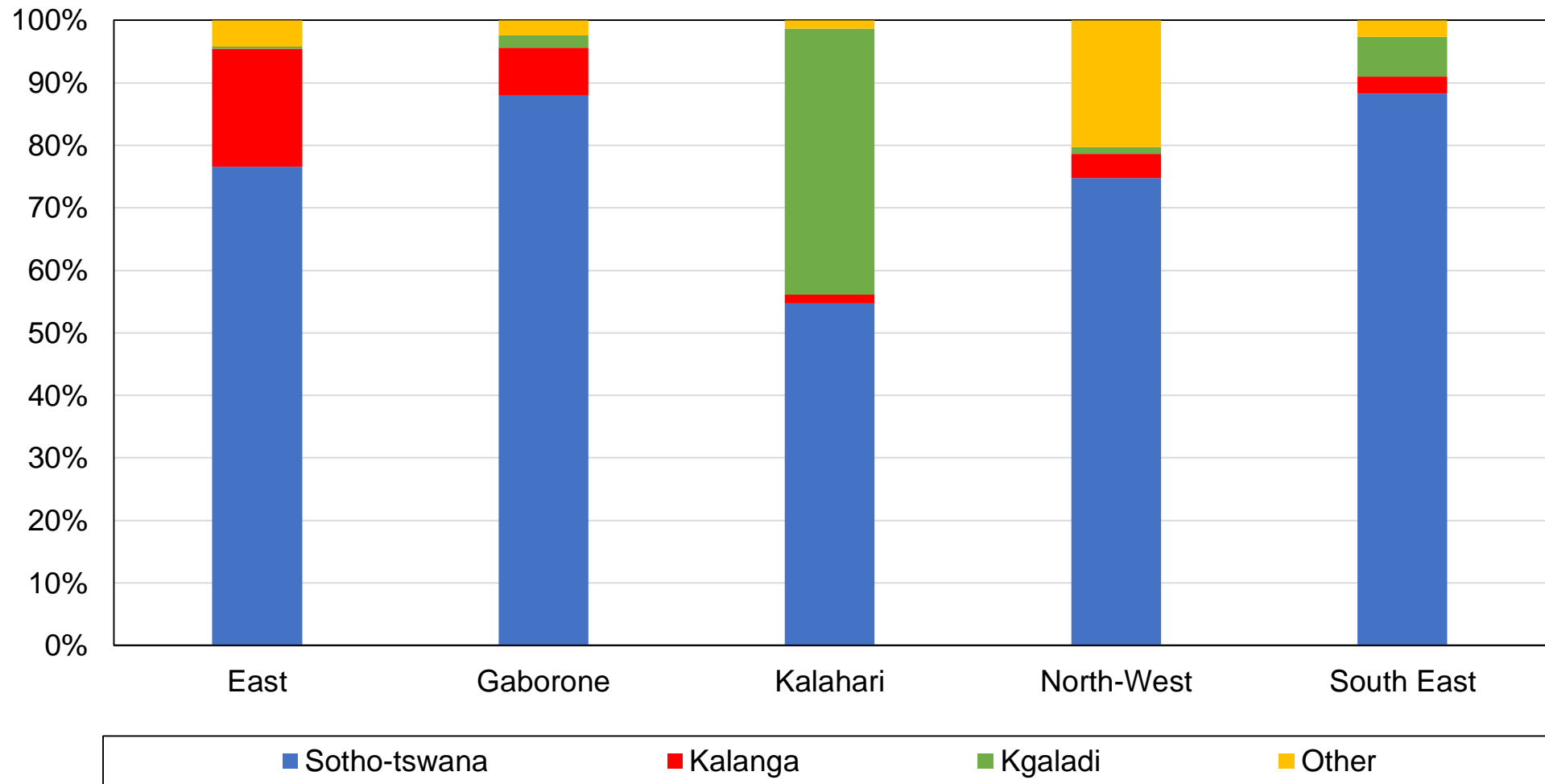
Figure AA16 - Linguistic composition of regions, 2004



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

Note: the figure shows the distribution of languages among regions in Botswana in 2004.

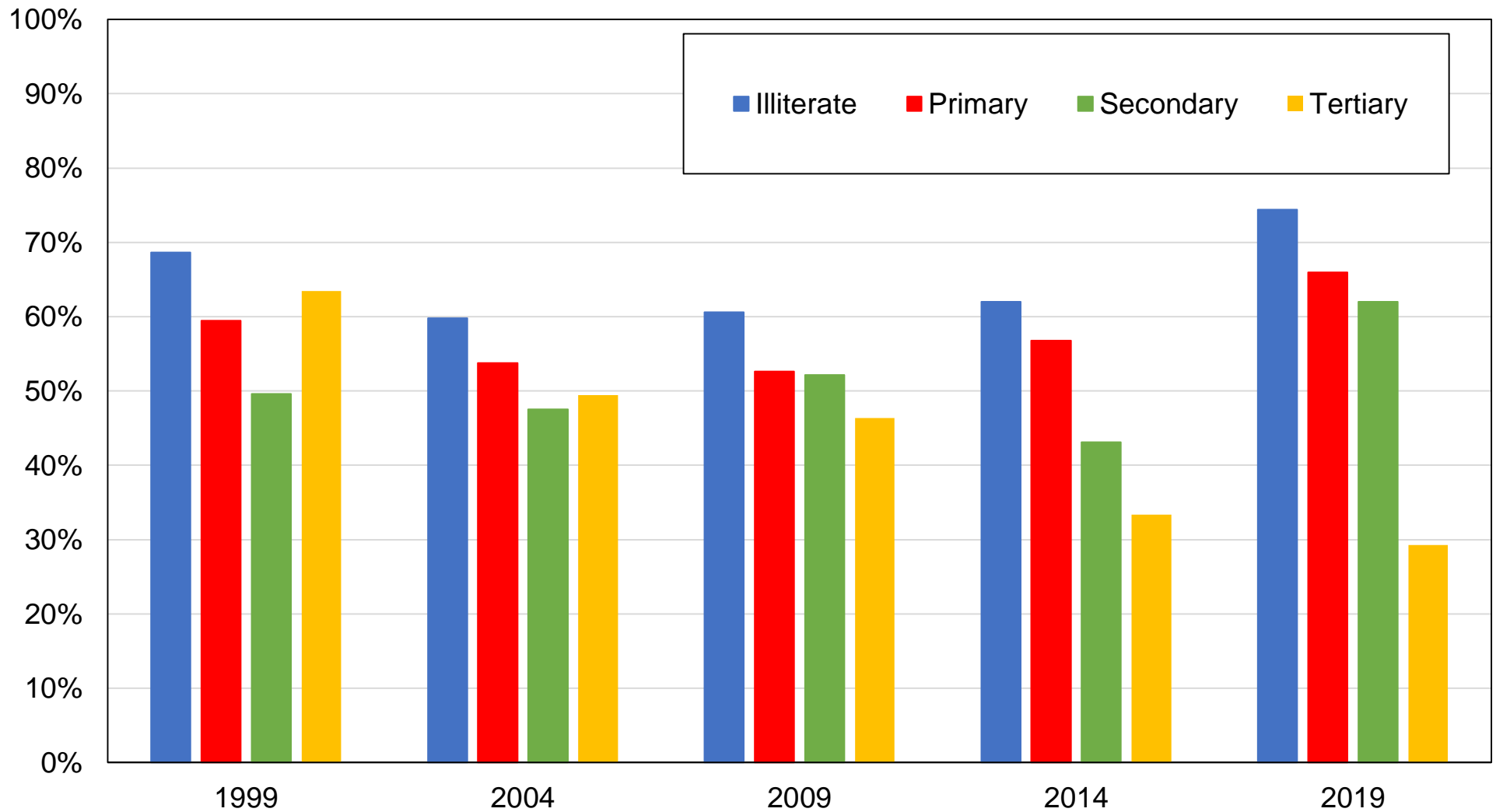
Figure AA17 - Linguistic composition of regions, 2019



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

Note: the figure shows the distribution of languages among regions in Botswana in 2019.

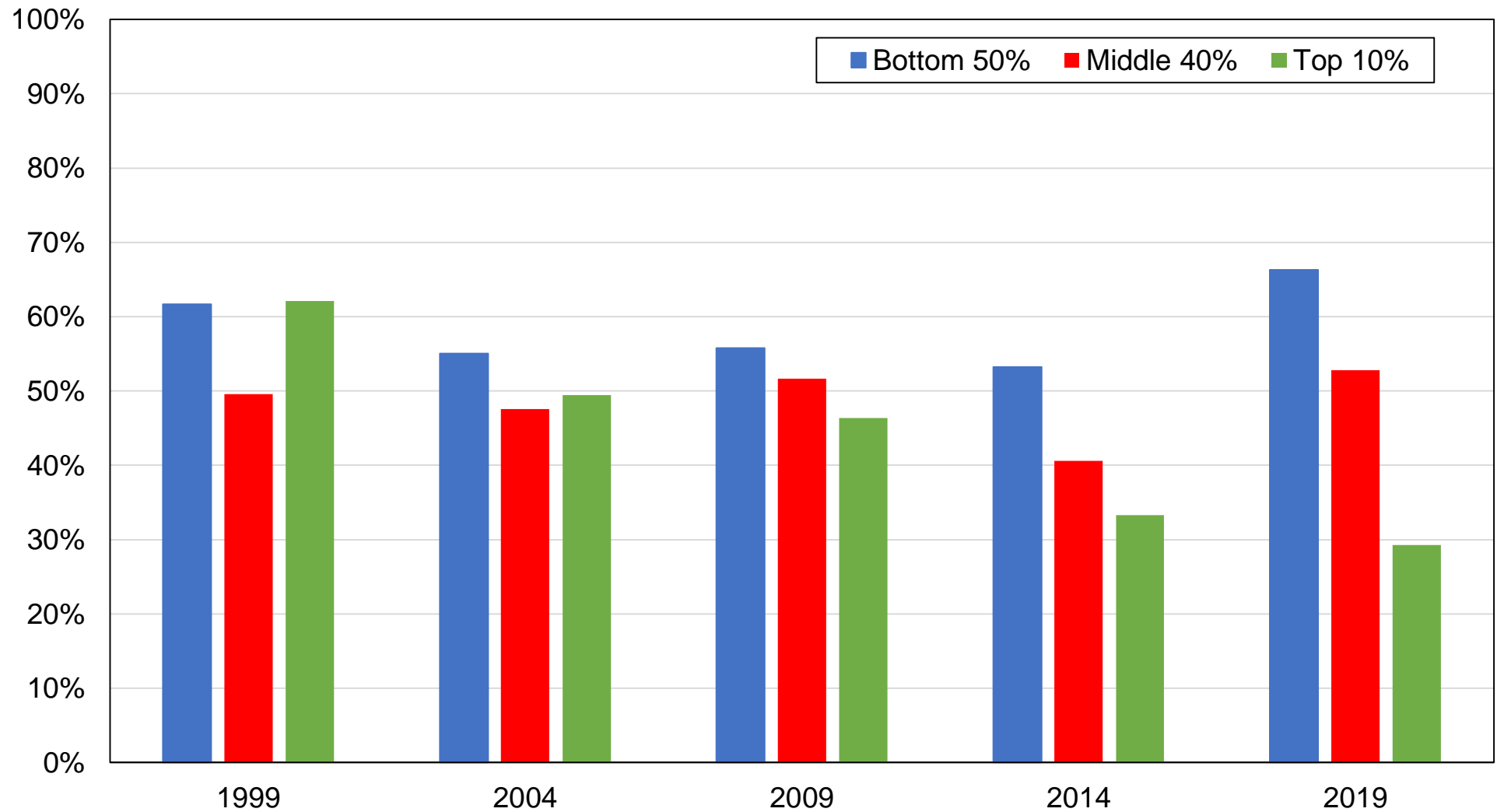
Figure AB1 - Vote for BDP by education level



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the BDP by education level.

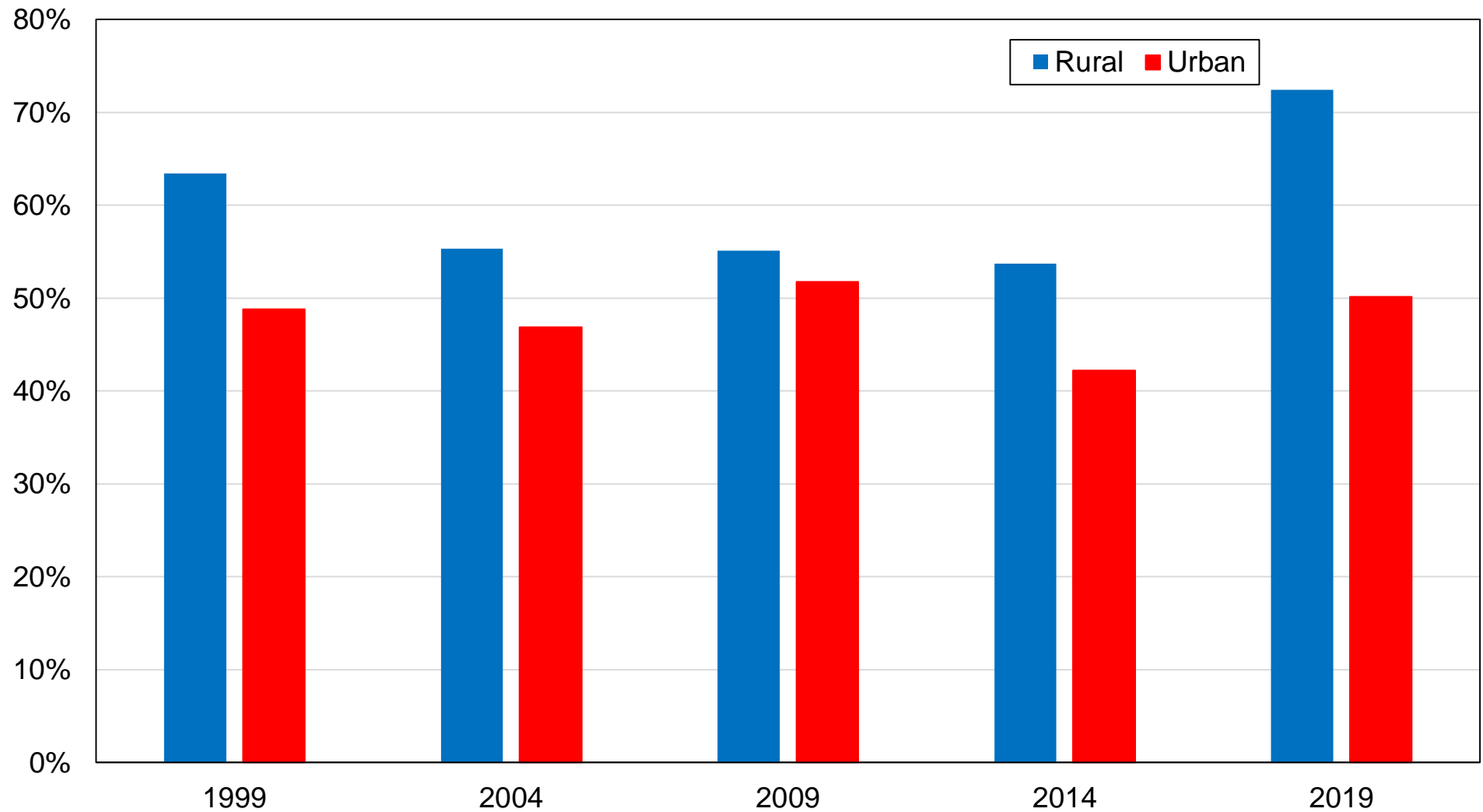
Figure AB2 - Vote for BDP by education group



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the BDP by education group.

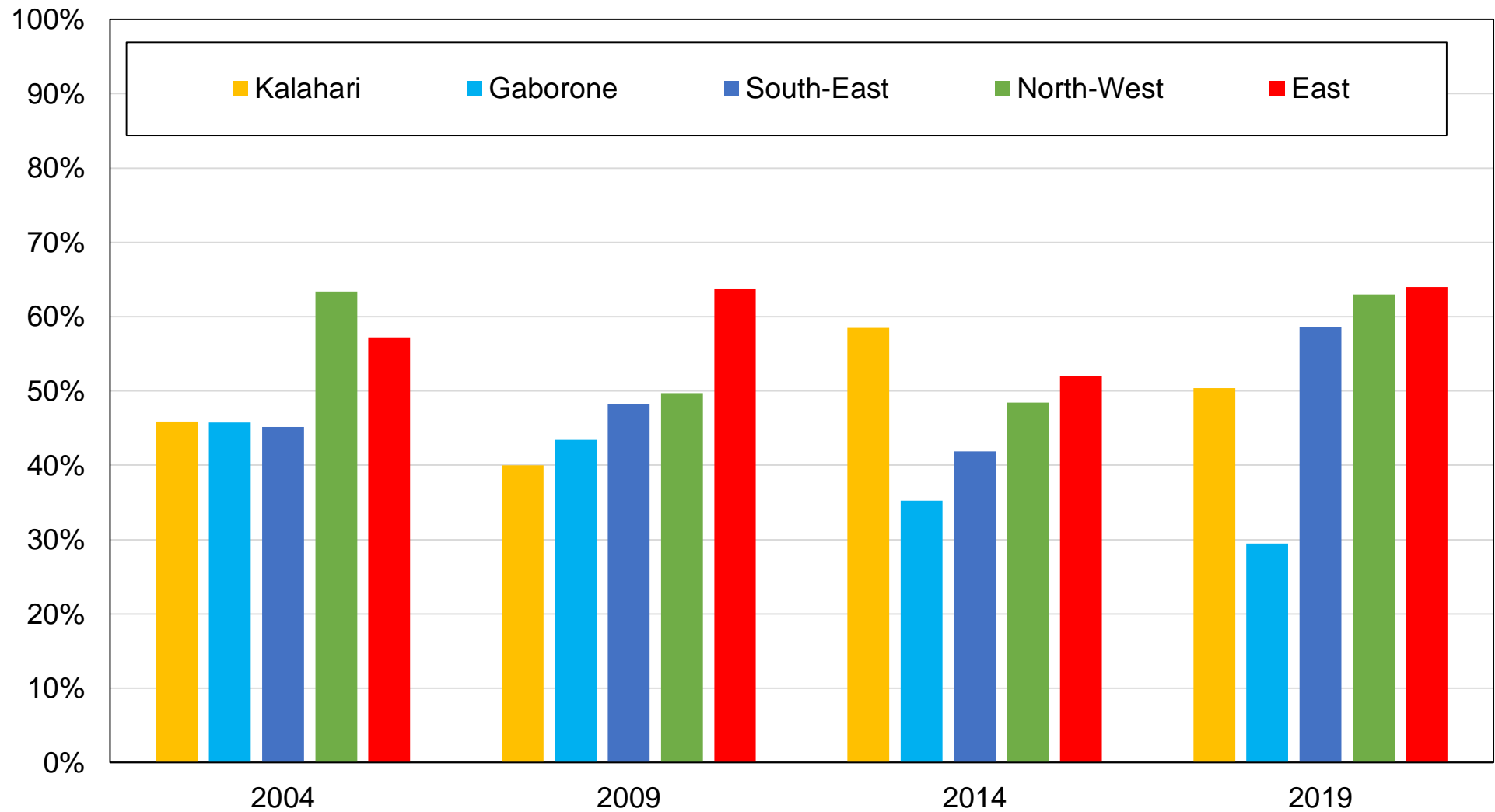
Figure AB3 - Vote for BDP by location



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by BDP by location.

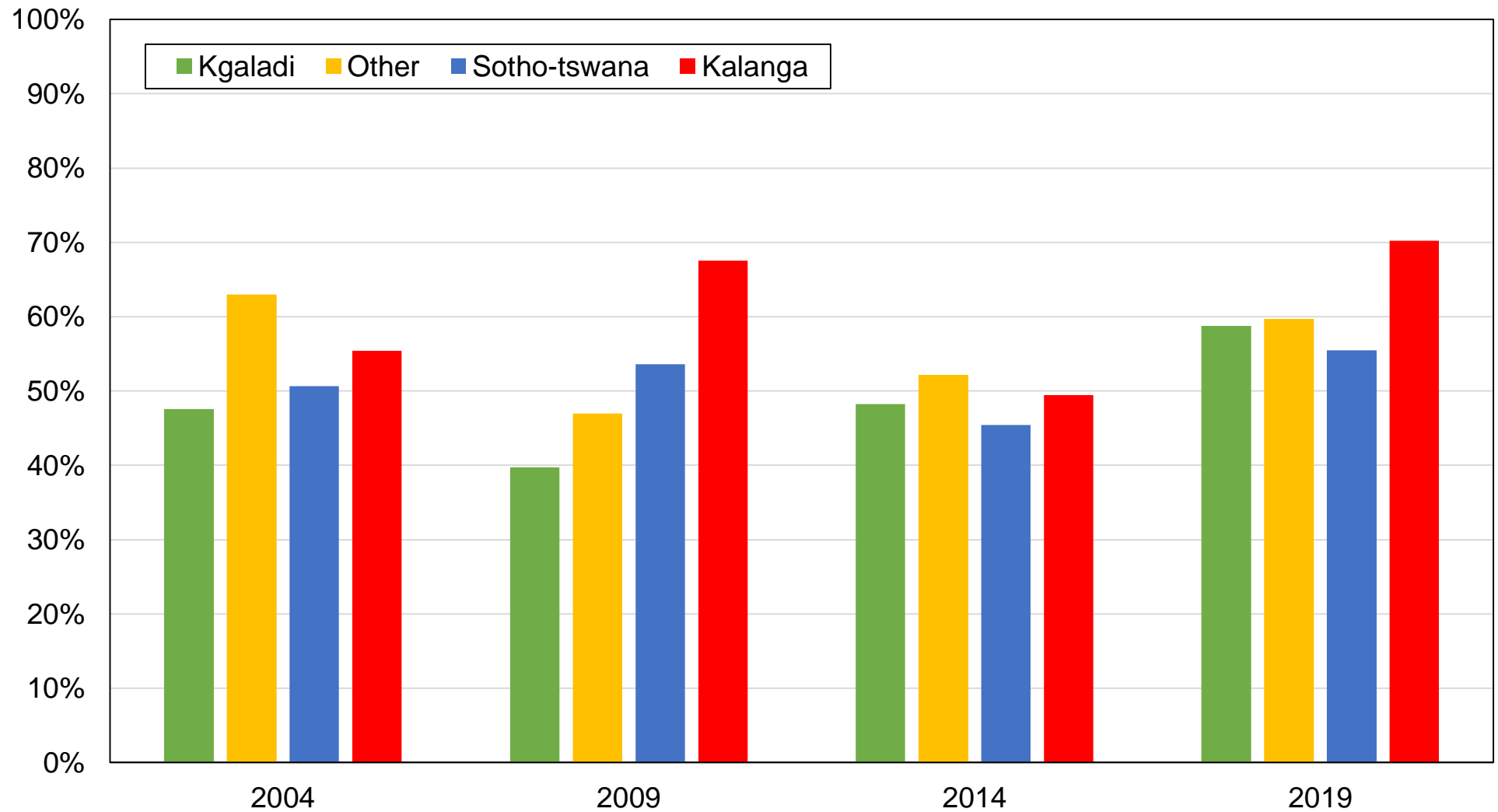
Figure AB4 - Vote for BDP by region



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by BDP by region.

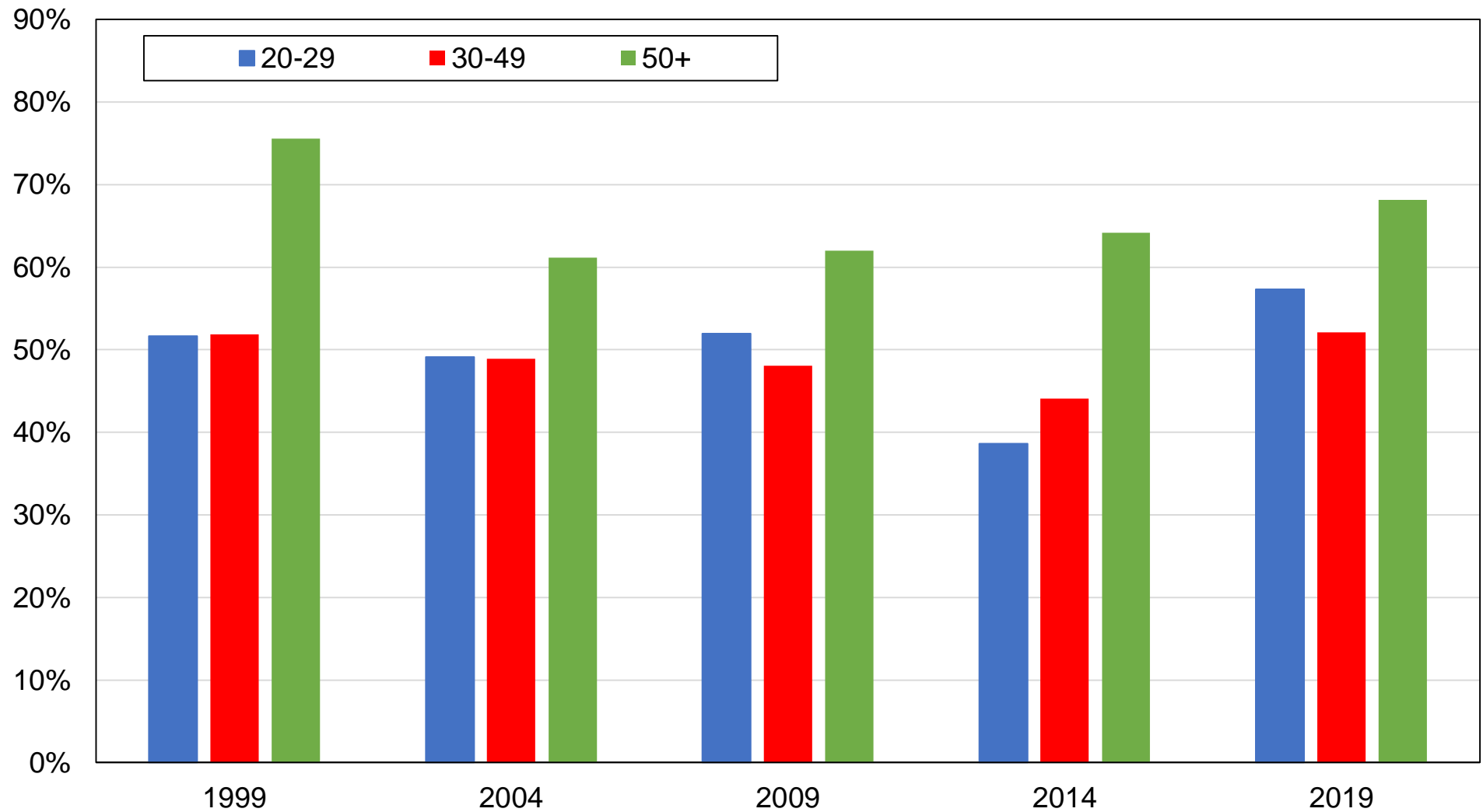
Figure AB5 - Vote for BDP by language



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by BDP by language.

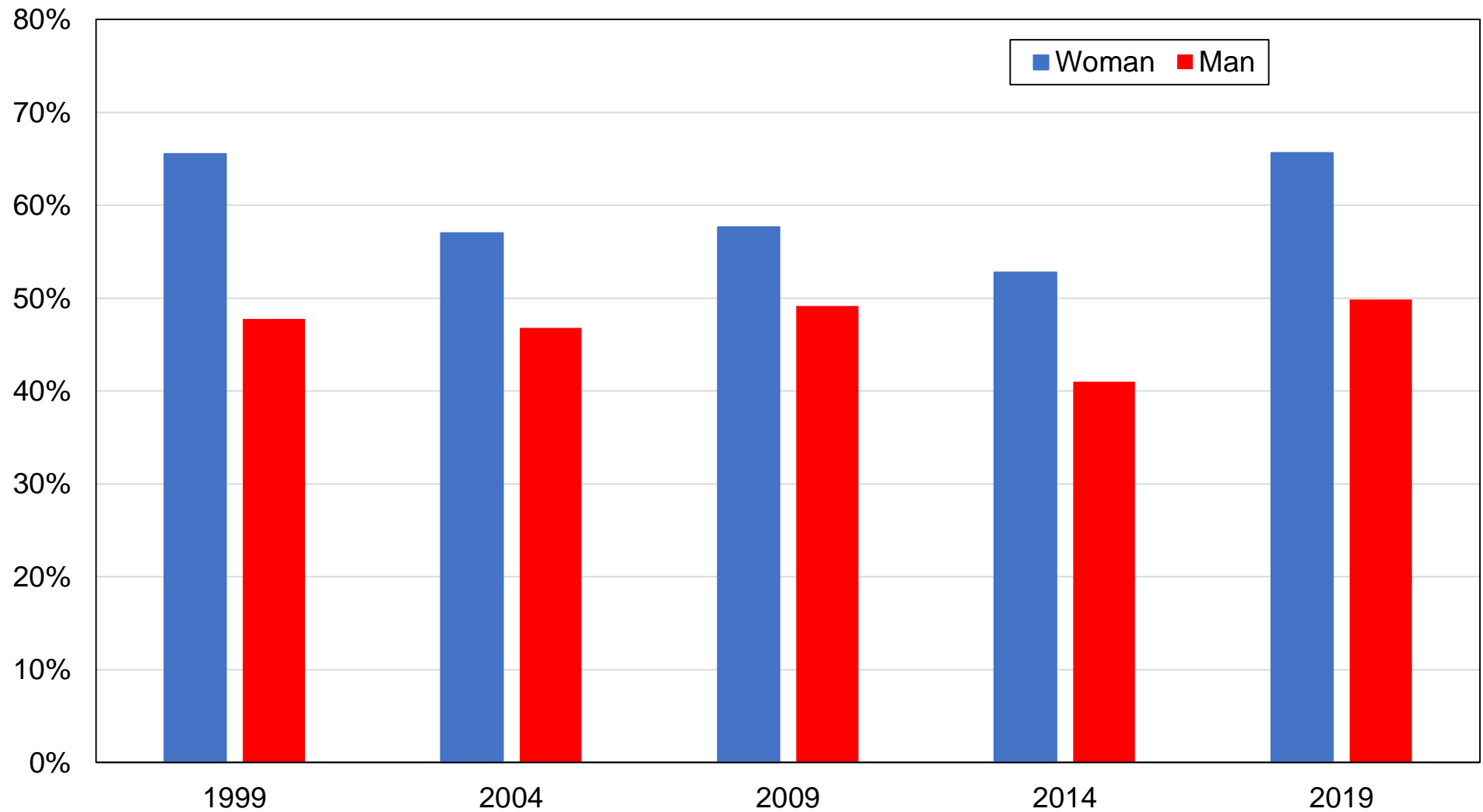
Figure AB6 - Vote for BDP by age group



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by BDP by age group.

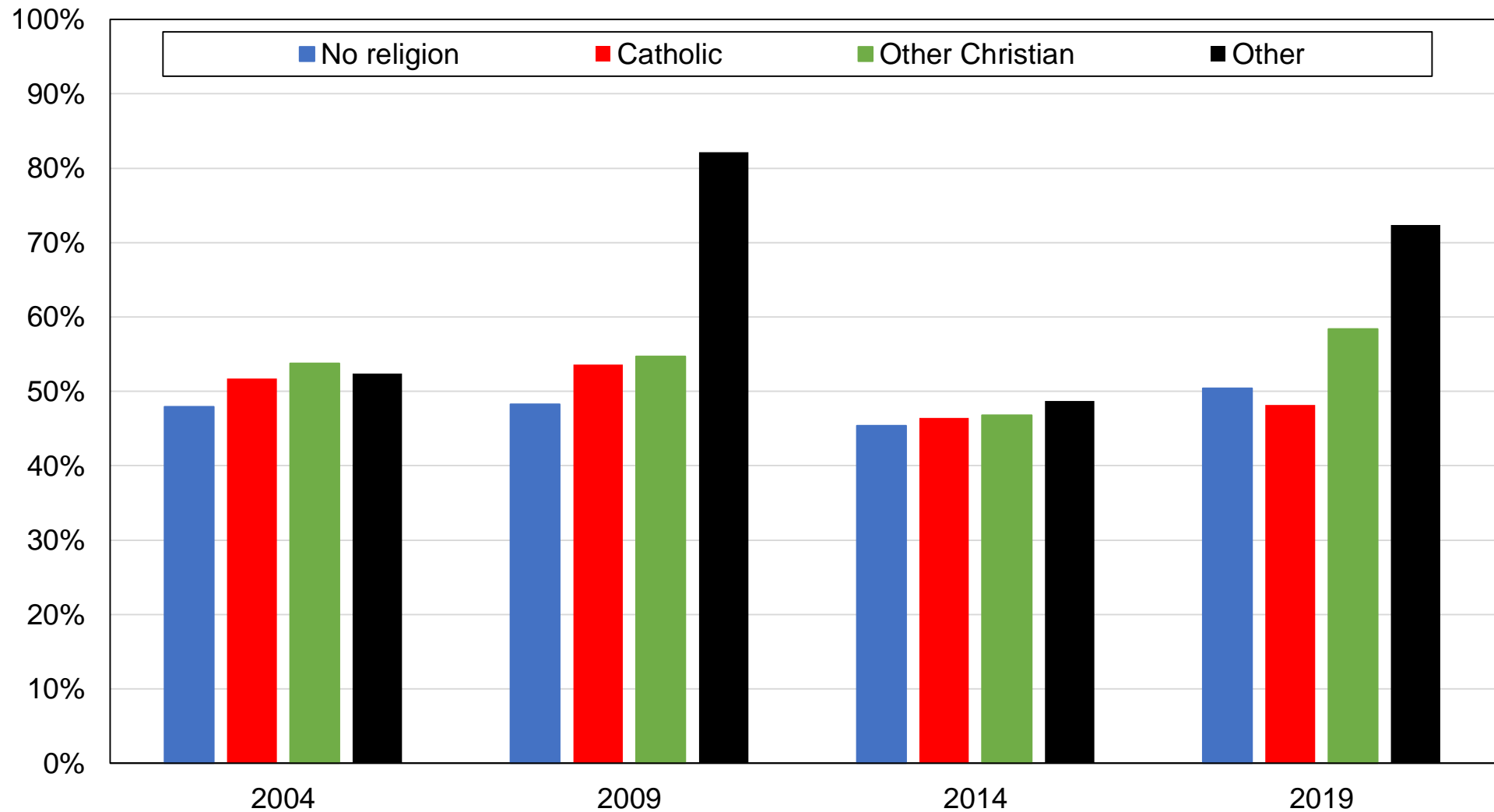
Figure AB7 - Vote for BDP by gender



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by BDP by gender.

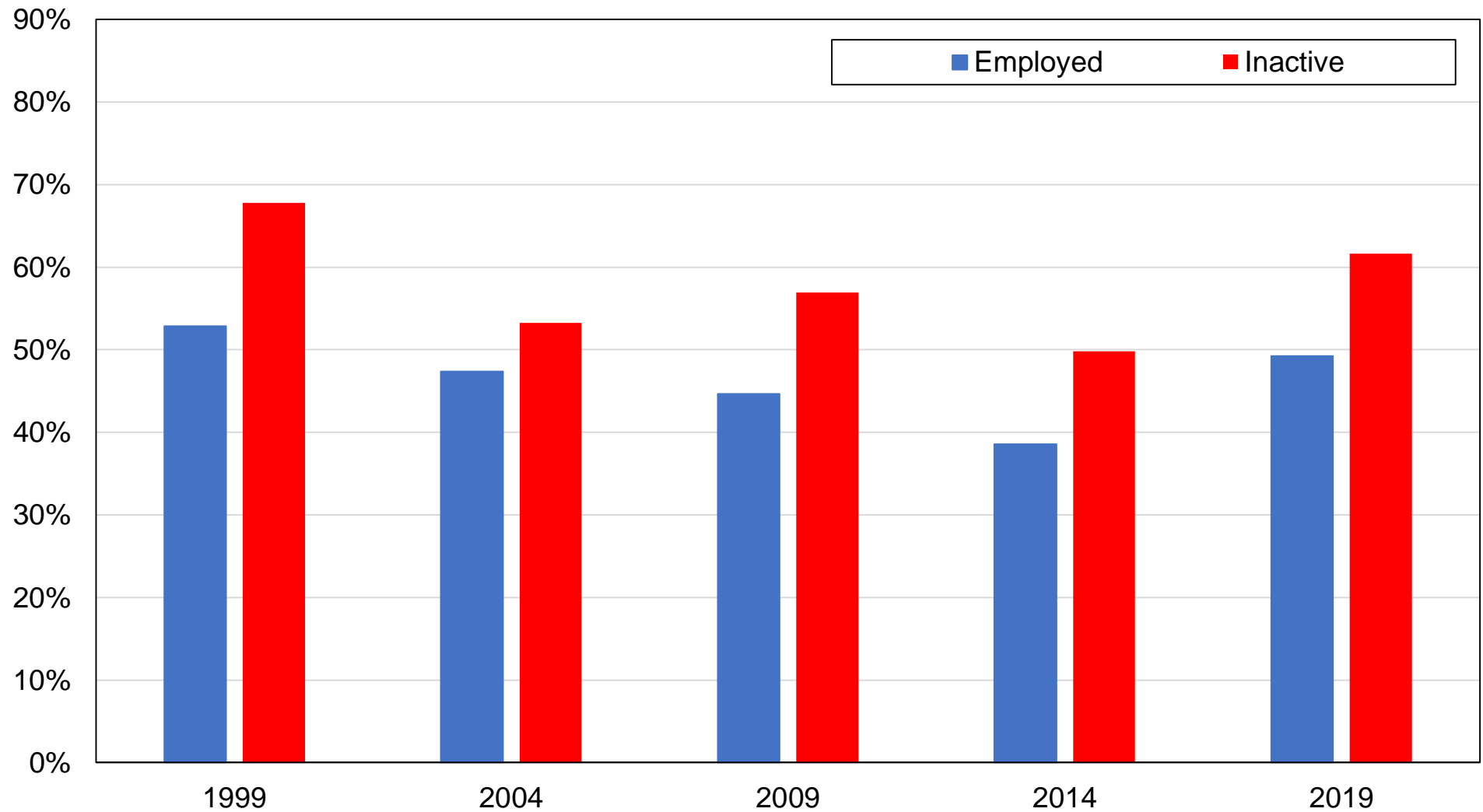
Figure AB8 - Vote for BDP by religion



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by BDP by religious affiliation.

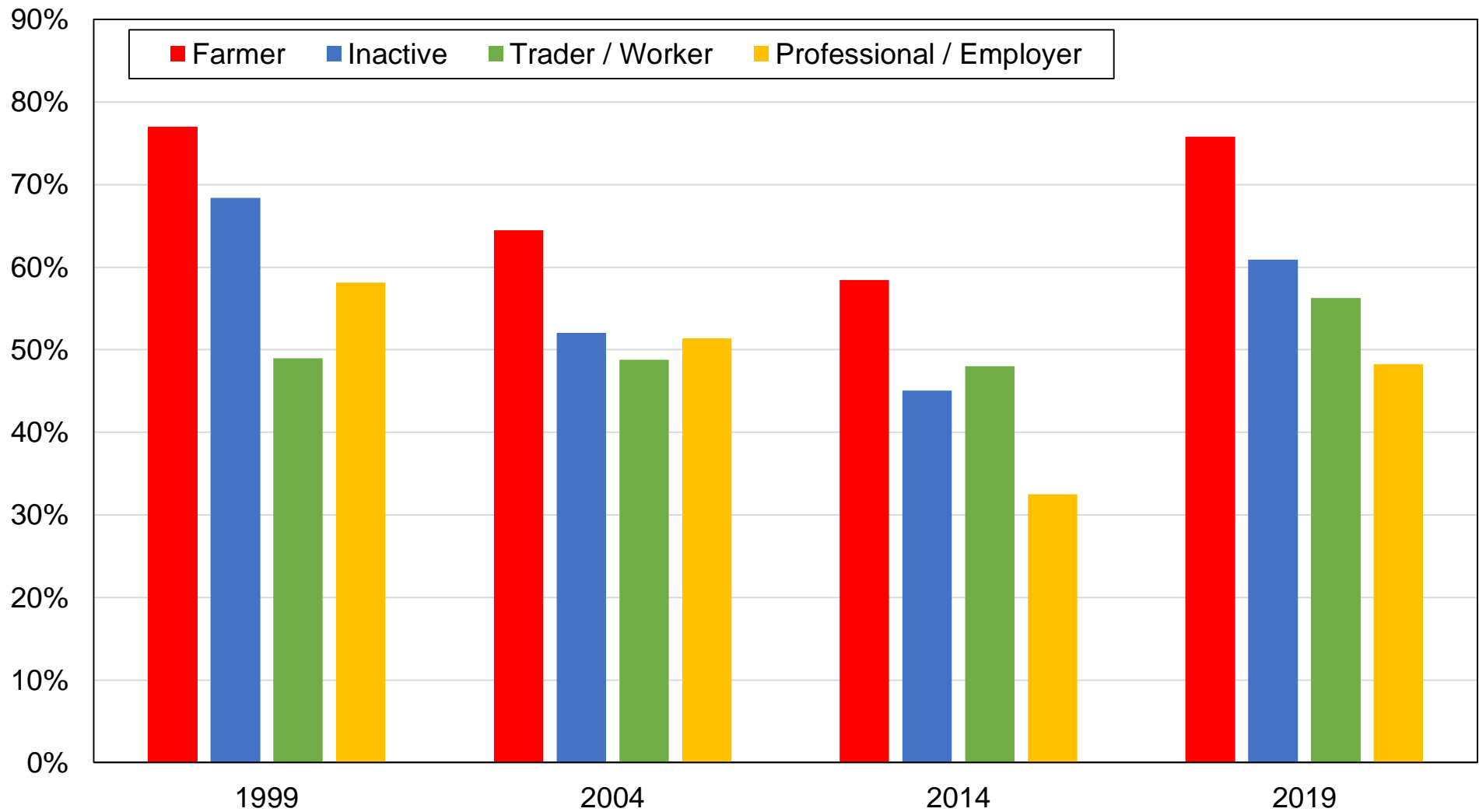
Figure AB8 - Vote for BDP by employment status



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by BDP by employment status.

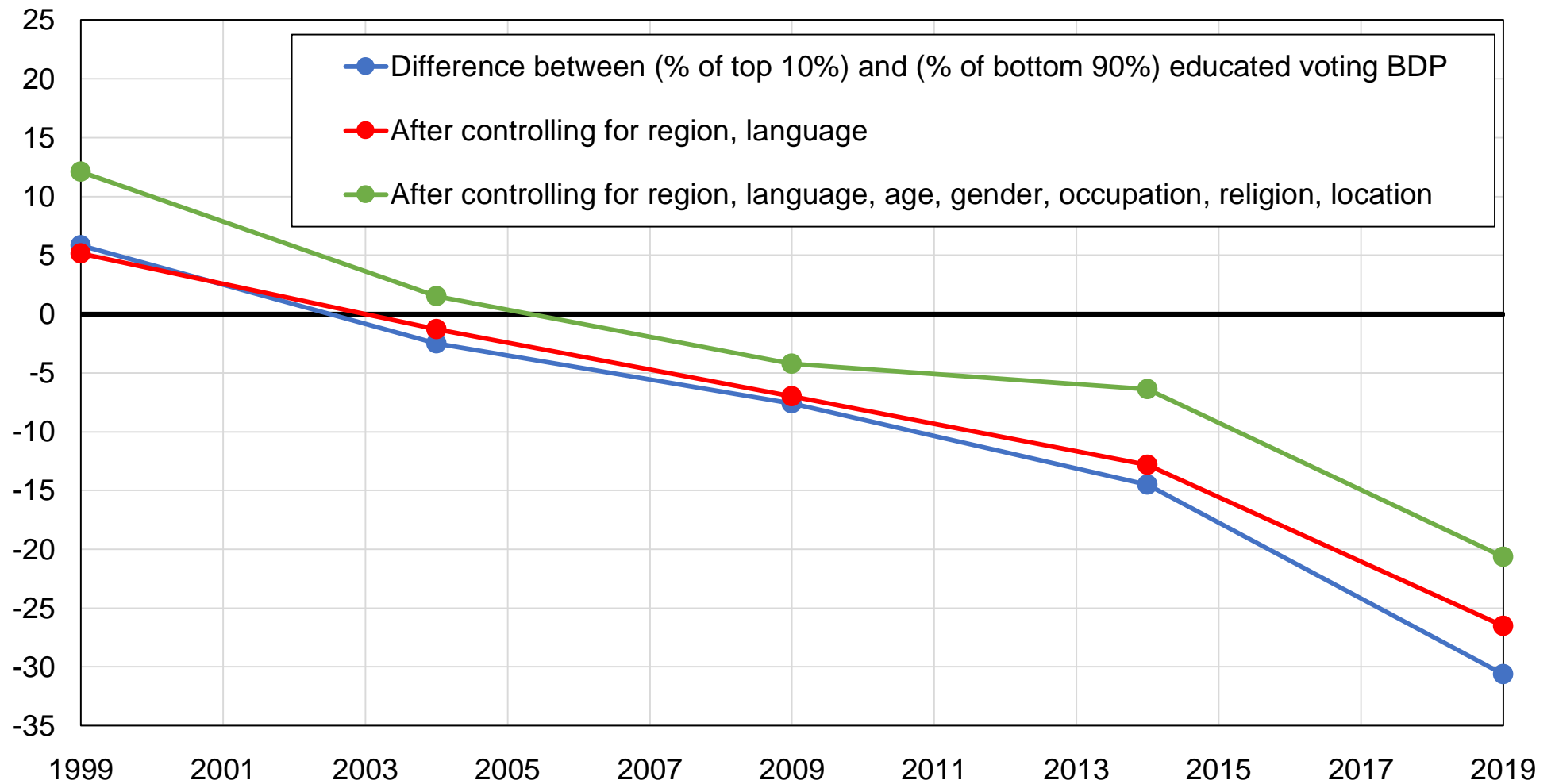
Figure AB10 - Vote for BDP by occupation



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by BDP by occupation.

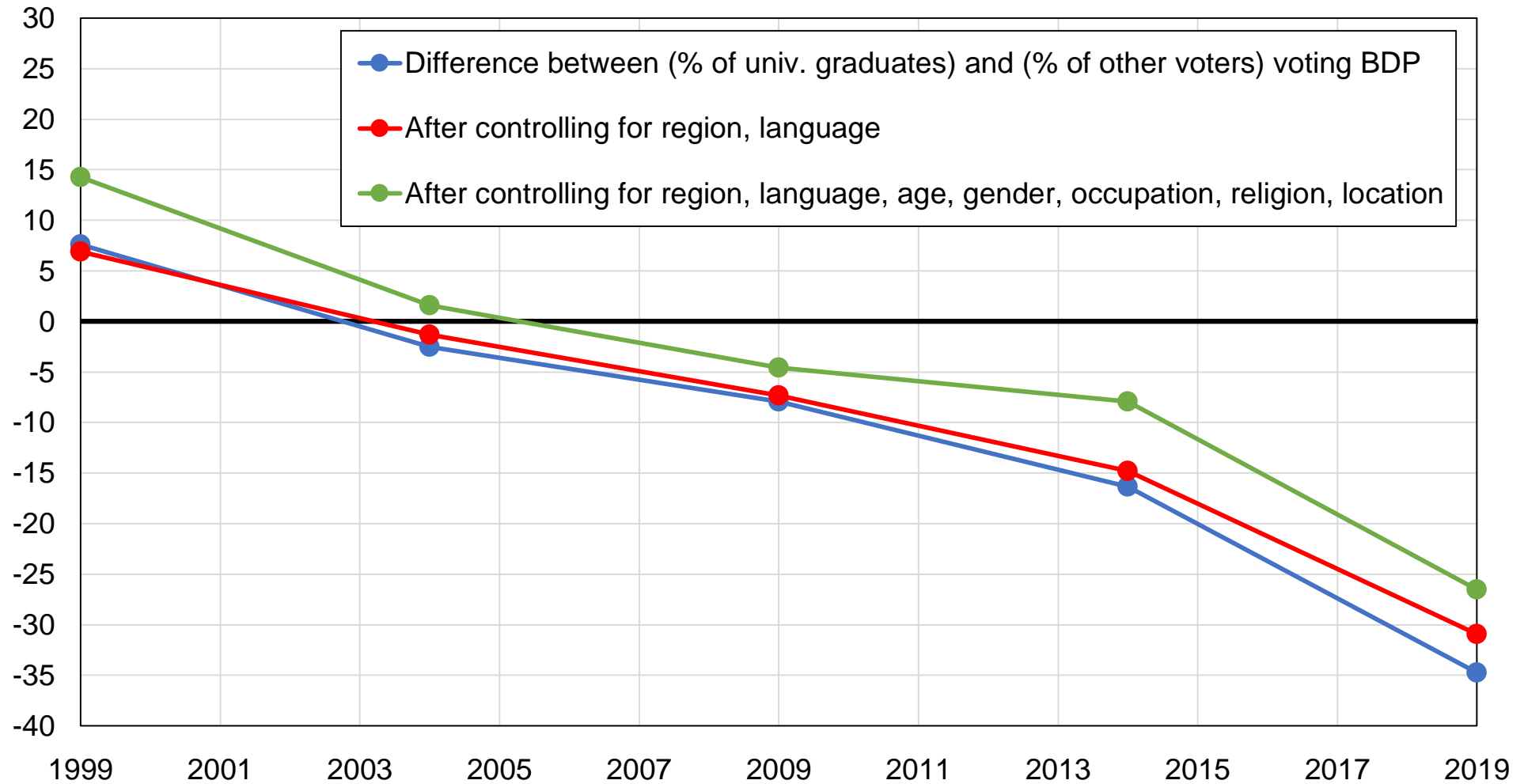
Figure AC1 - Vote for BDP among highest-educated voters



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% educated voters and the share of other voters voting for BDP, before and after controlling for other variables.

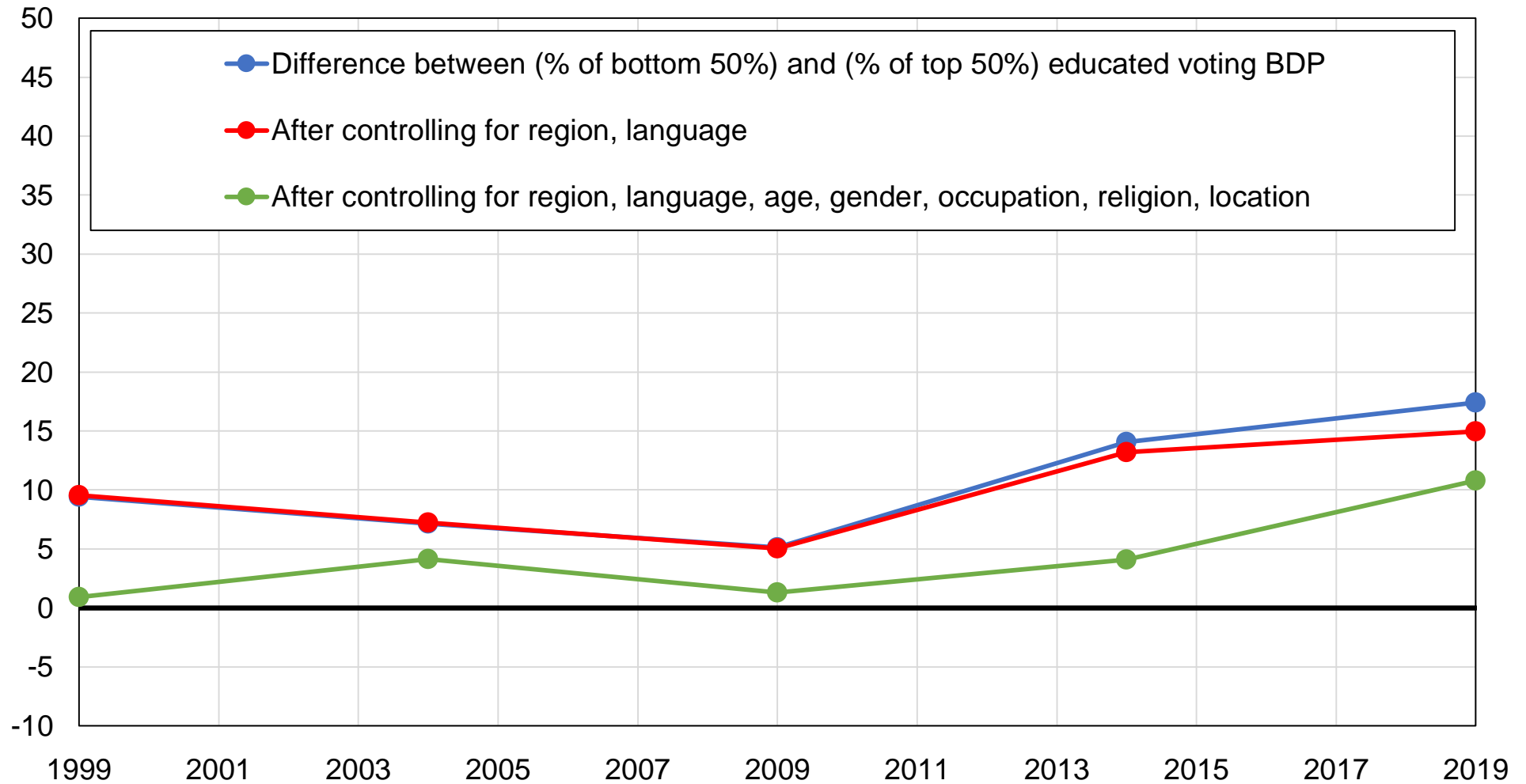
Figure AC2 - Vote for BDP among university graduates



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of university graduates and the share of other voters voting for BDP, before and after controlling for other variables.

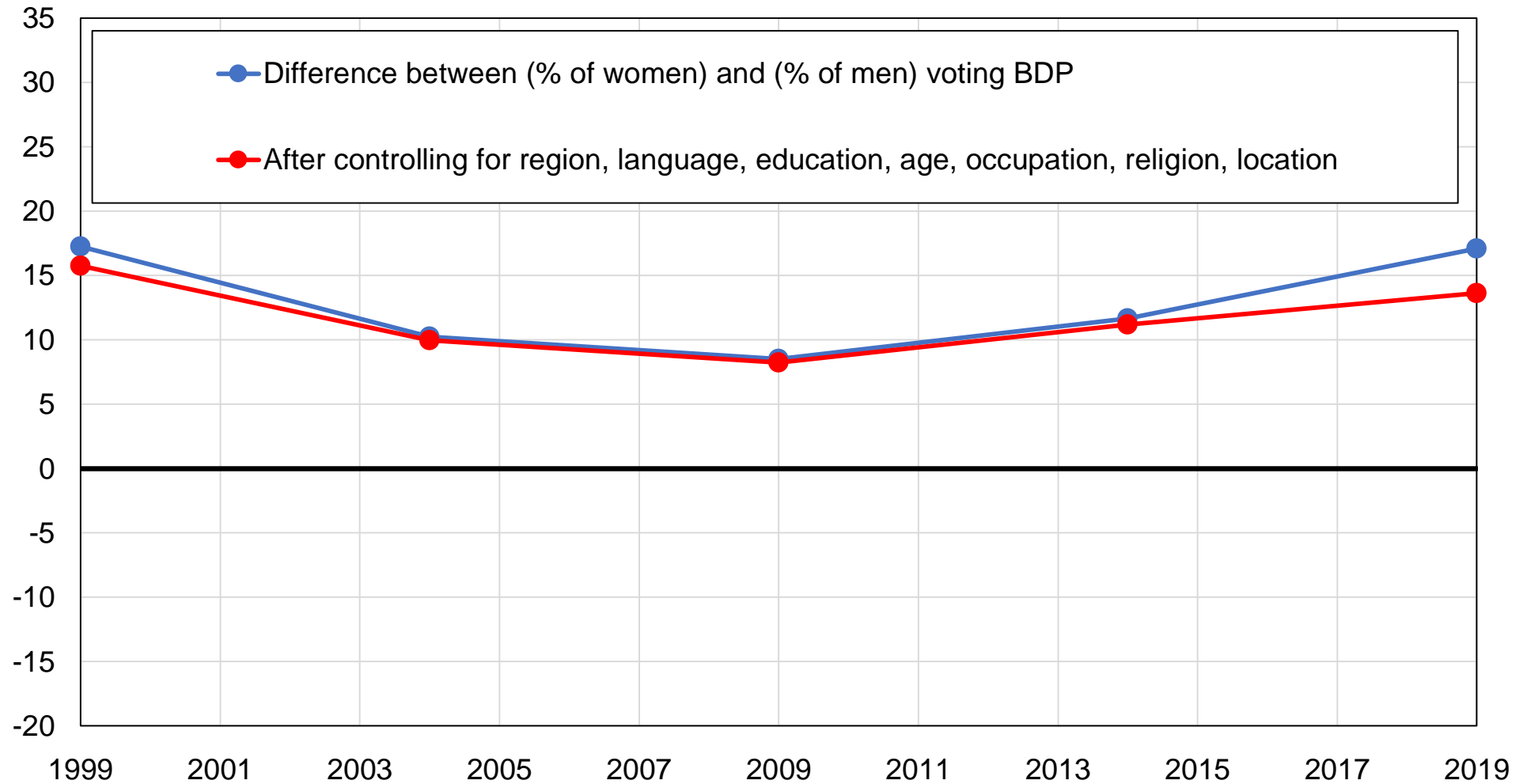
Figure AC3 - Vote for BDP among lowest-educated voters



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of bottom 50% education and the share top 50% education voters voting for BDP, before and after controlling for other variables.

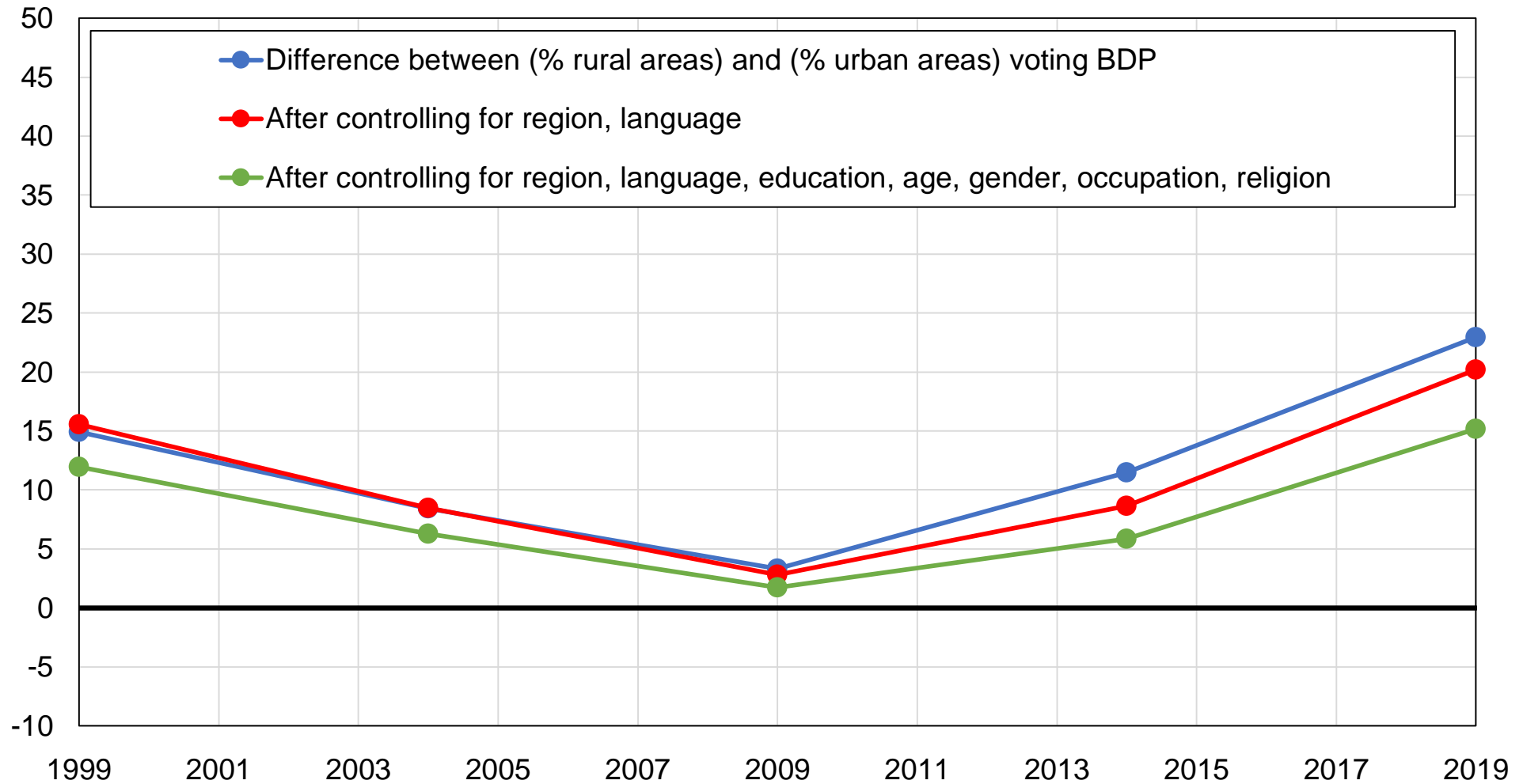
Figure AC4 - Vote for BDP among women



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of women and the share of men voting for BDP, before and after controlling for other variables.

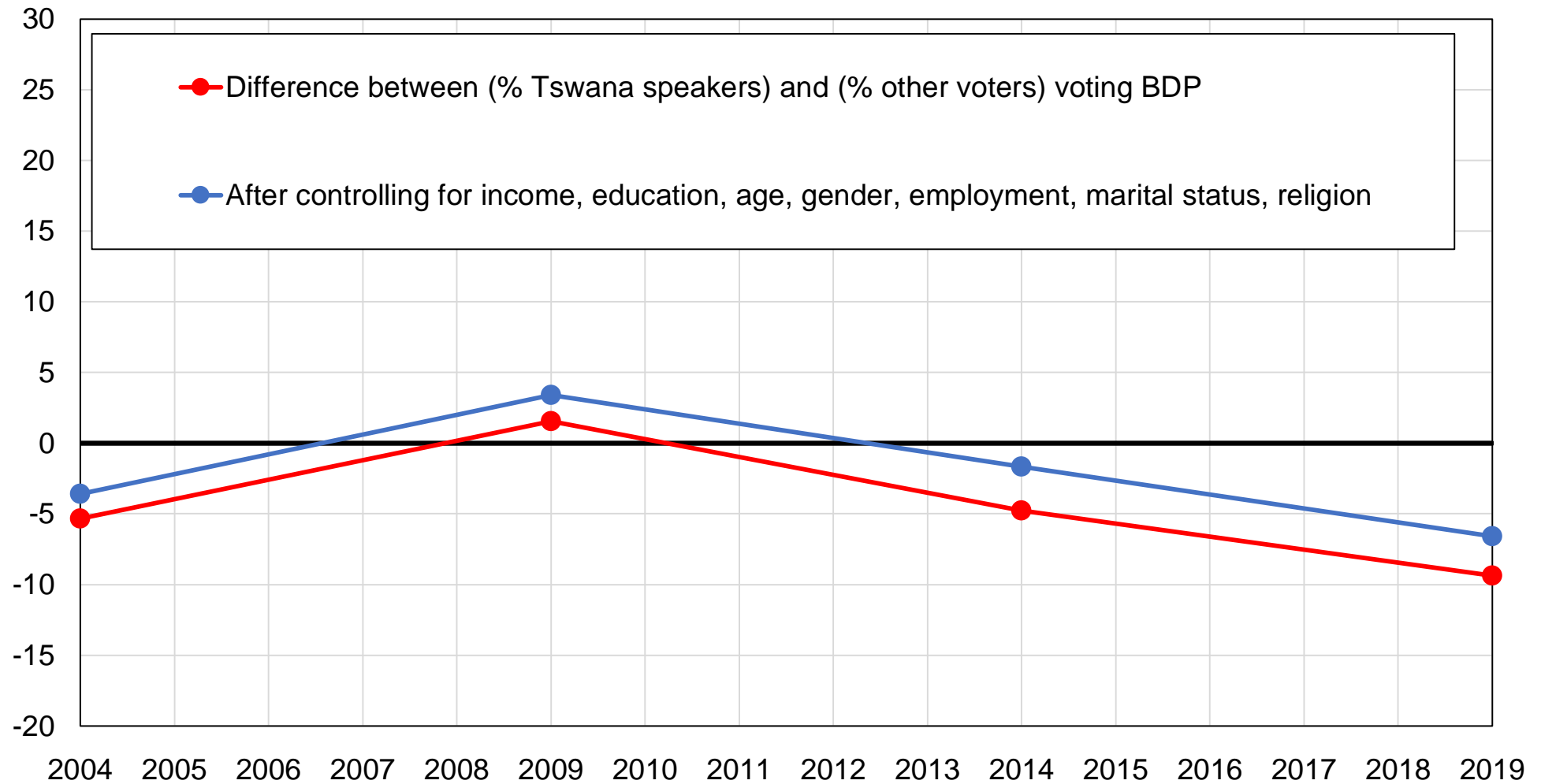
Figure AC5 - Vote for BDP among rural areas



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of voters from rural areas and the share of urban voters voting for BDP, before and after controlling for other variables.

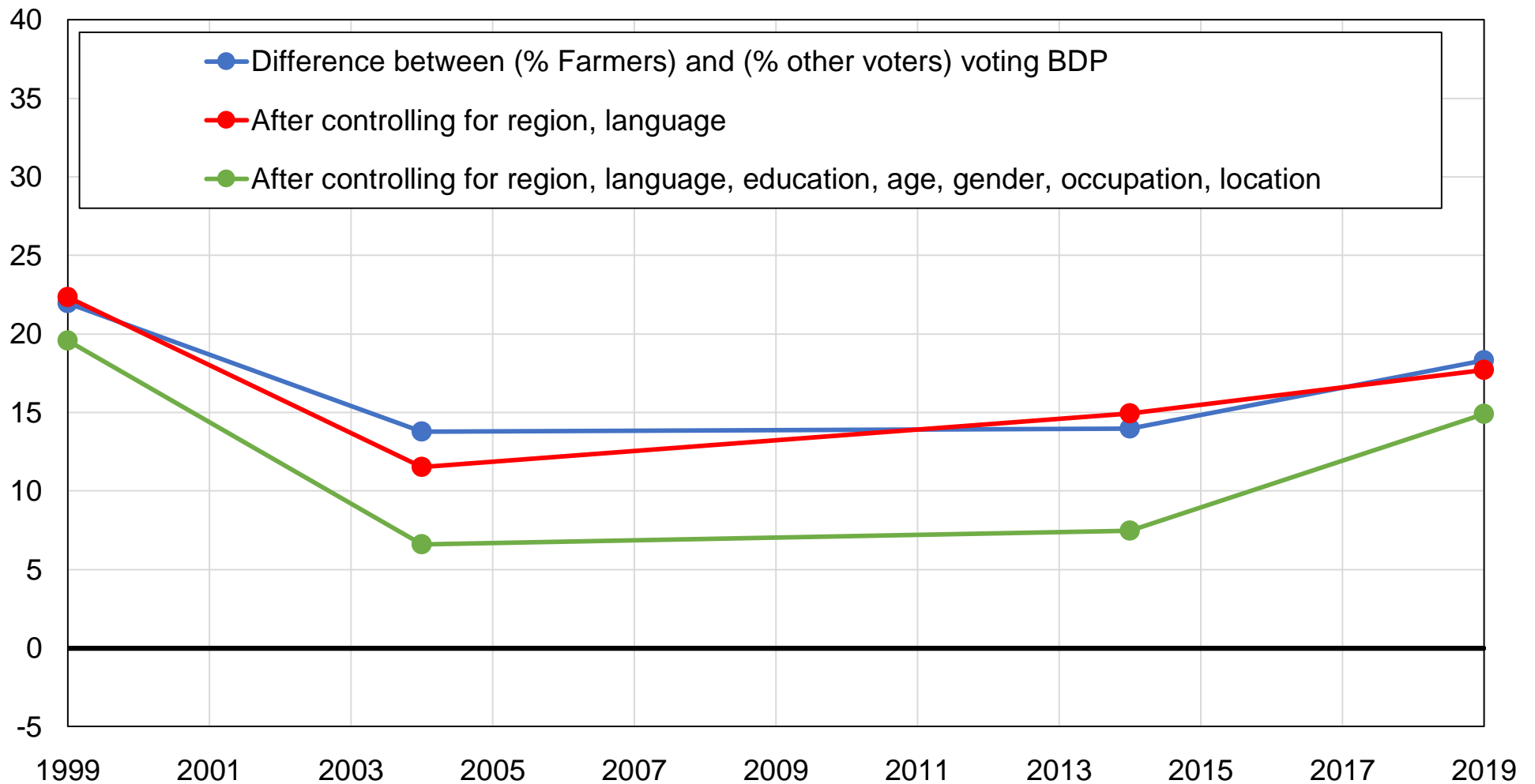
Figure AC6 - Ethnolinguistic cleavages in Botswana



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of Tswana voters and the share of non-Tswana voters voting for BDP, before and after controlling for other variables.

Figure AC7 - Vote for BDP among farmers



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of farmers and the share of other voters voting for BDP, before and after controlling for other variables.

Table A1 - Survey data sources

Year	Survey	Source	Sample size
2000	Afrobarometers Wave 1	Afrobarometers	2004
2004	Afrobarometers Wave 2-3	Afrobarometers	2397
2008	Afrobarometers Wave 4	Afrobarometers	1200
2016	Afrobarometers Wave 5-6	Afrobarometers	4800
2019	Afrobarometers Wave 7	Afrobarometers	1600

Source: authors' elaboration.

Note: the table shows the surveys used, the source from which these surveys can be obtained, and the sample size of each survey.

Table A2 - Complete descriptive statistics by year

	1999	2004	2009	2014	2019
Education: Illiterate	17%	17%	20%	12%	11%
Education: Primary	30%	26%	26%	20%	18%
Education: Secondary	45%	45%	41%	47%	49%
Education: Tertiary	9%	11%	14%	21%	22%
Age: 20-29	44%	45%	38%	39%	34%
Age: 30-49	35%	36%	36%	39%	42%
Age: 50+	21%	19%	26%	22%	24%
Gender: Man	50%	51%	52%	53%	50%
Employment status: Employed	69%	29%	31%	32%	32%
Employment status: Unemployed	0%	45%	45%	44%	45%
Employment status: Inactive	31%	26%	24%	25%	23%
Religion: No religion		31%	29%	17%	12%
Religion: Catholic		7%	3%	4%	3%
Religion: Other Christian		58%	66%	73%	79%
Religion: Muslim		0%	1%	1%	0%
Religion: Other		4%	2%	5%	5%
Location: Rural	55%	55%	45%	36%	32%
Location: Urban	45%	45%	55%	64%	68%
Region: East		40%	37%	38%	39%
Region: Gaborone		11%	13%	12%	11%
Region: Kalahari		5%	5%	4%	5%
Region: North-West		8%	9%	9%	9%
Region: South East		36%	36%	37%	37%
Language: Kalanga	0%	10%	7%	9%	10%
Language: Kgaladi	0%	4%	5%	4%	5%
Language: Other	2%	6%	7%	7%	5%
Language: Sotho-tswana	98%	80%	80%	79%	81%
Occupation: Farmer	4%	7%		4%	4%
Occupation: Inactive	39%	43%		38%	38%
Occupation: Professional / Employe	18%	18%		15%	15%
Occupation: Trader / Worker	39%	32%		43%	43%

Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

Note: the table shows descriptive statistics by year for selected available variables.