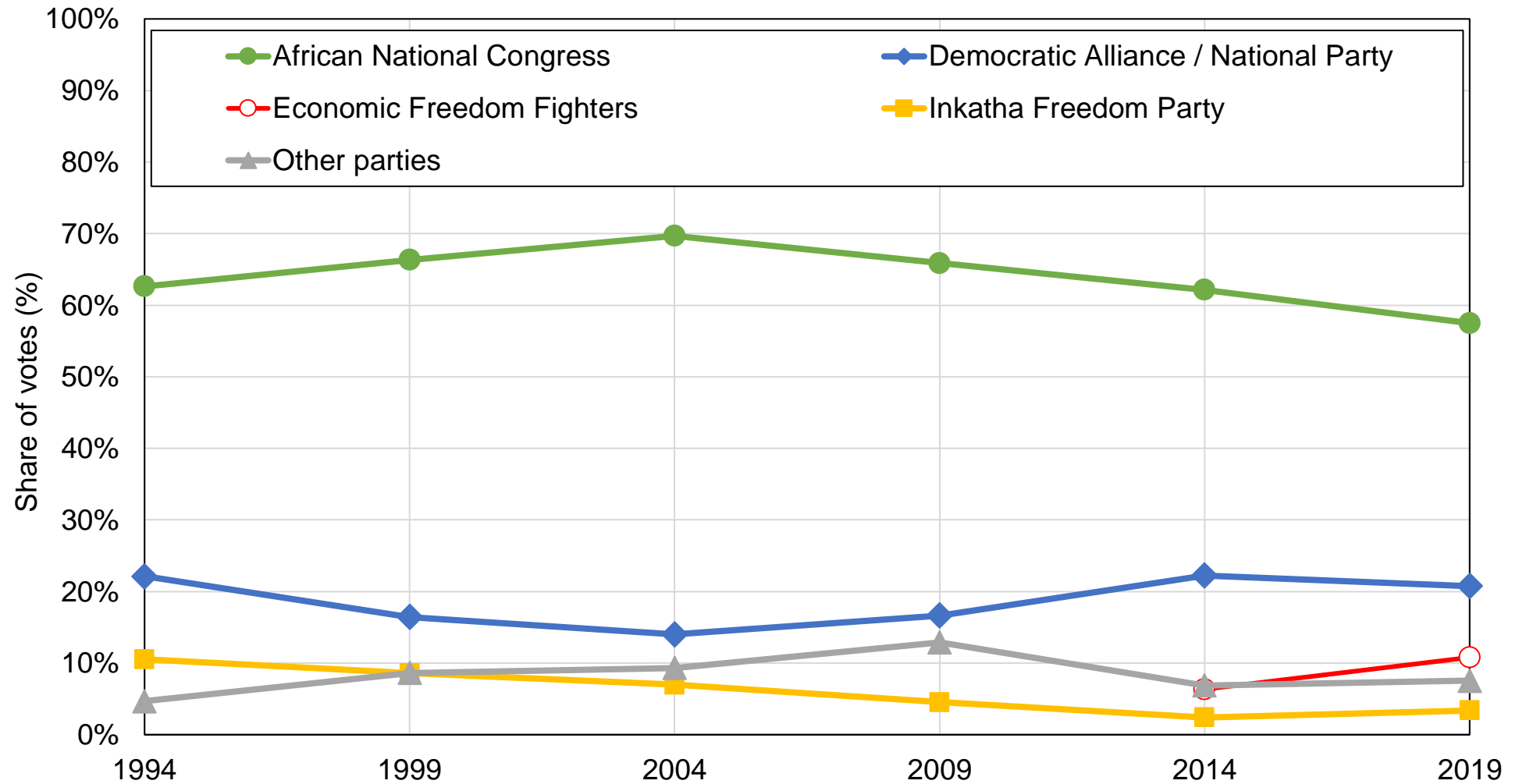


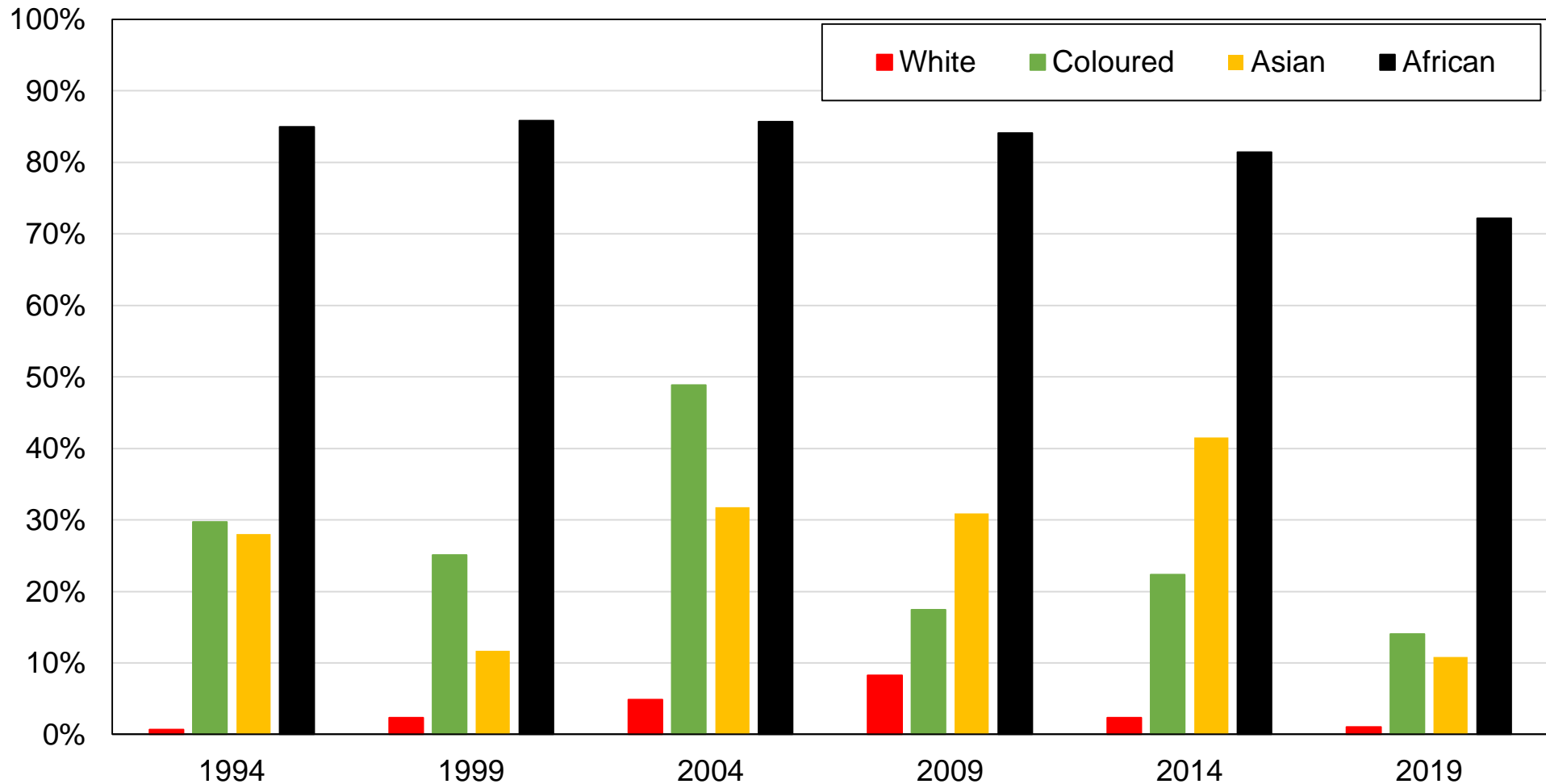
Figure 16.1 - Election results in South Africa, 1994-2019



Source: author's computations using official election results (see wpid.world).

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by selected South African political parties between 1994 and 2019. In 2019, the ANC received 58% of votes, while the Democratic Alliance received 21%.

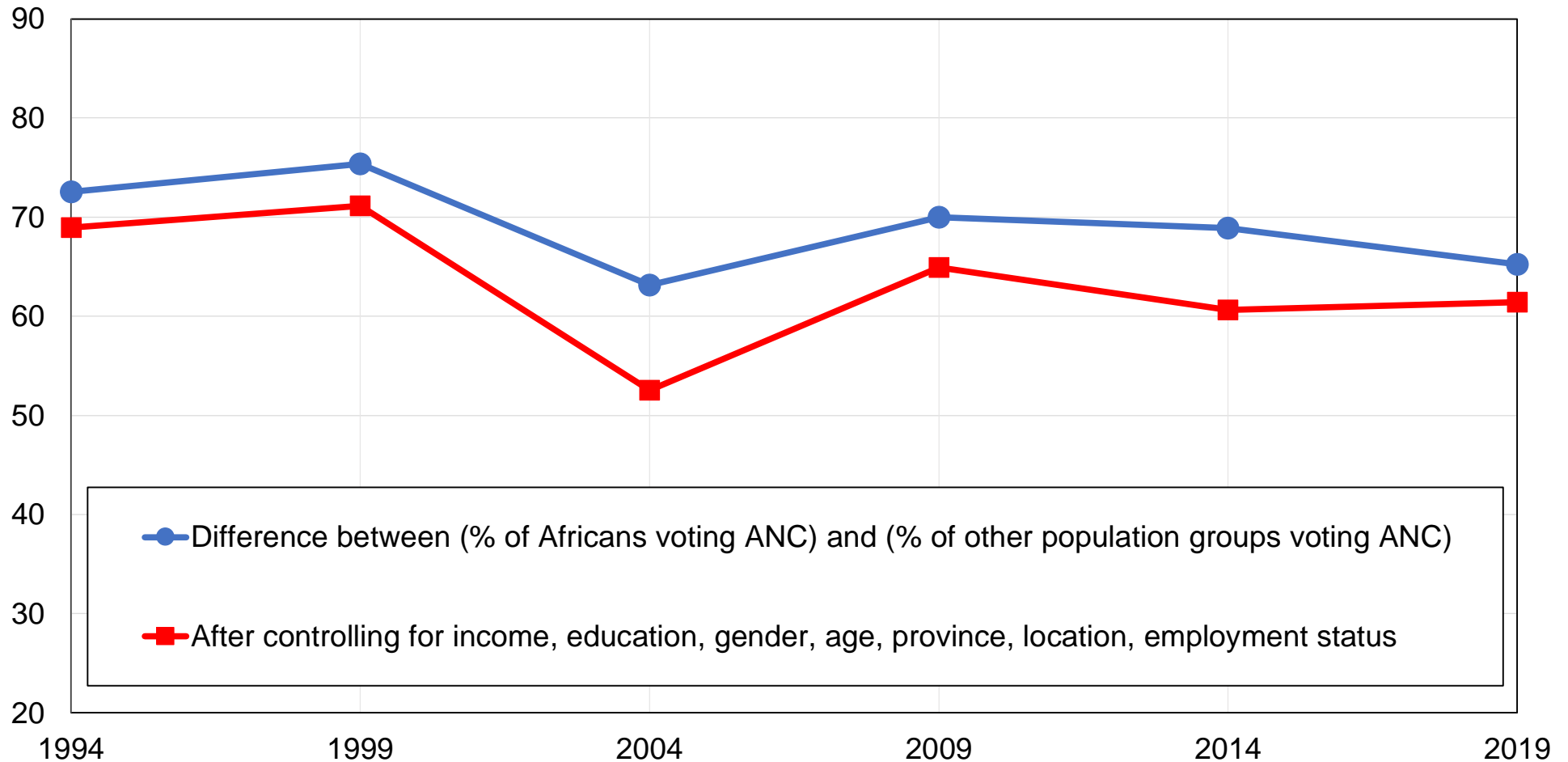
Figure 16.2 - The racial cleavage in South Africa, 1994-2019
Vote for the ANC by population group



Source: author's computations using South African political attitudes surveys (see wpid.world).

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the African National Congress among voters belonging to different population groups between 1994 and 2019. The ANC was supported by more than 70% of African voters, compared to less than 10% of White voters in all years.

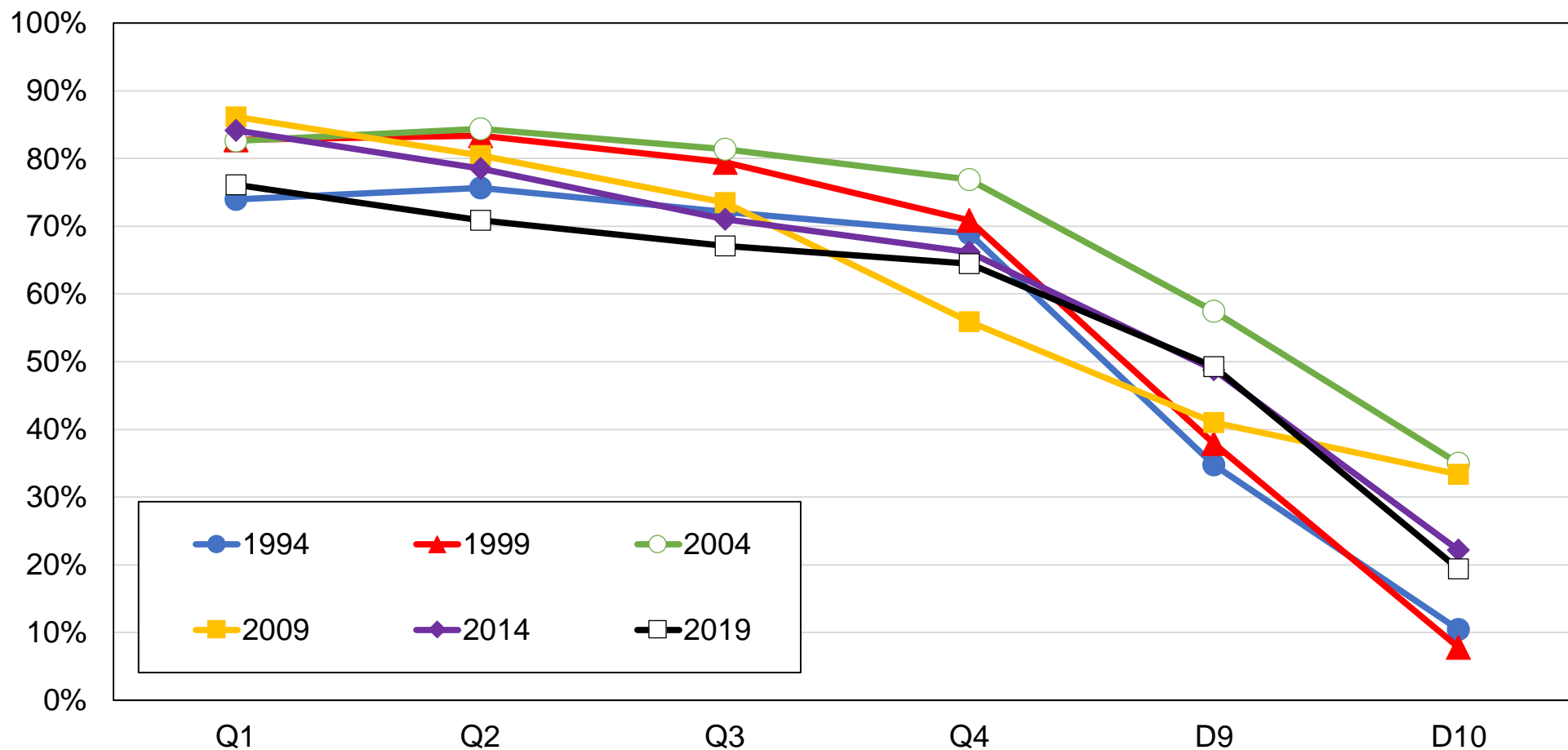
Figure 16.3 - The racial cleavage in South Africa, 1994-2019
Vote for the ANC among Africans



Source: author's computations using South African political attitudes surveys (see wpid.world).

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of votes received by the African National Congress among Africans and the share of votes received by the ANC among other population groups between 1994 and 2019, before and after controls. Africans have always been more likely to support the ANC than other population groups by over 60 percentage points.

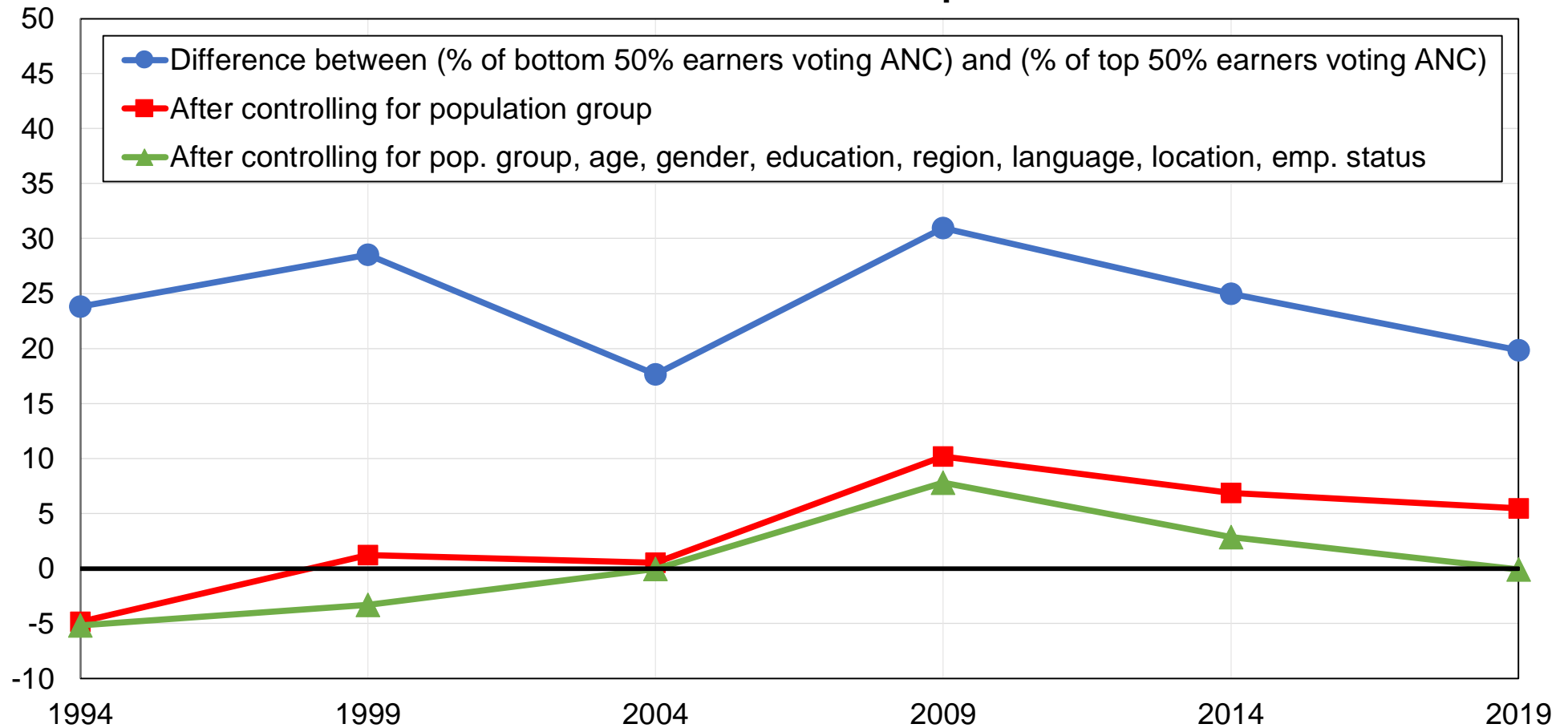
Figure 16.4 - The ANC vote by income in South Africa, 1994-2019



Source: author's computations using South African political attitudes surveys (see wpid.world).

Note: the figure shows the share of voters supporting the ANC in general elections by income quintile (Q1 to Q4) and among the ninth decile and 10th decile of income (D9 and D10). The vote for the ANC declines strongly with income in all elections held between 1994 and 2019. Between 74% and 86% of bottom 20% earners (Q1) have supported the ANC in all years, as compared to between 8% and 35% of those belonging to the top 10% (D10).

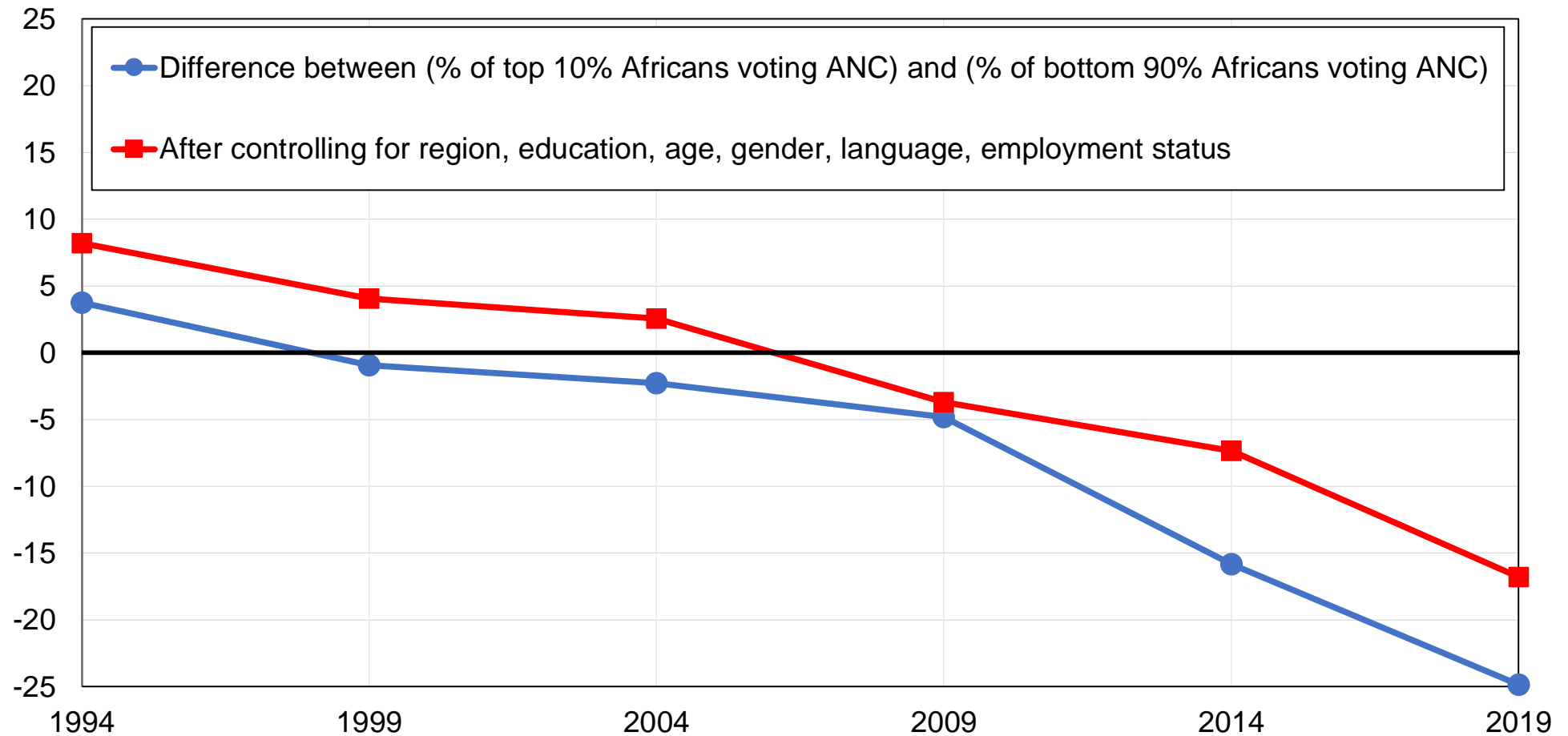
Figure 16.5 - The ANC vote and income in South Africa, 1994-2019
The role of racial inequalities



Source: author's computations using South African political attitudes surveys (see wpid.world).

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of bottom 50% earners voting ANC and the share of top 50% earners voting ANC in general elections, before and after controls. The bottom 50% have been more likely to support the ANC than other voters by 15-30 percentage points in all years. This difference is strongly reduced after controlling for population group, indicating that the link between vote and income in South Africa is to a large extent driven by racial inequalities, as Africans have the lowest income levels and vote massively for the ANC.

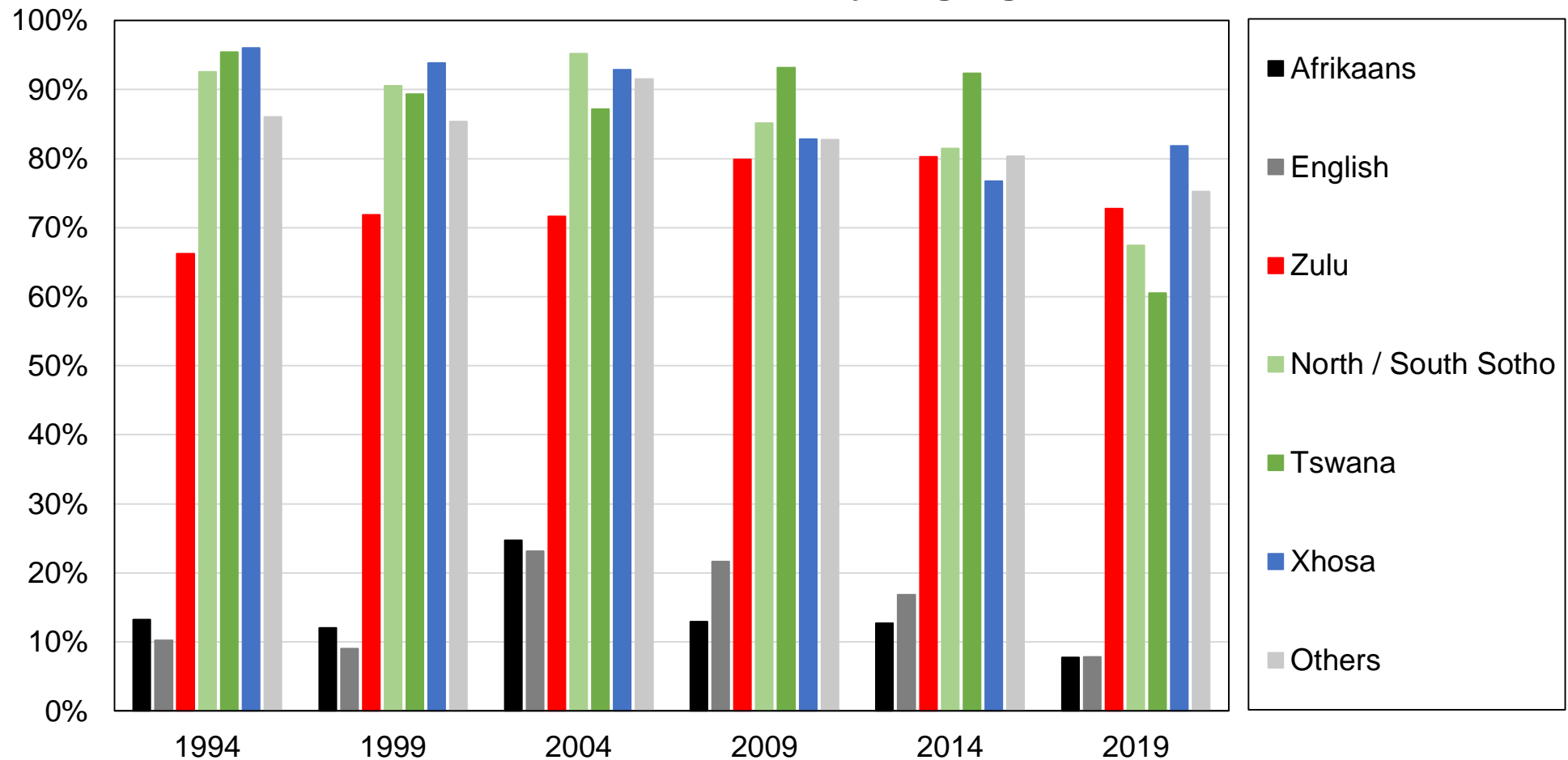
Figure 16.6 - Vote for the ANC among top African income earners in South Africa, 1994-2019



Source: author's computations using South African political attitudes surveys (see wpid.world).

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% African earners voting ANC and the share of bottom 90% African voters voting ANC in general elections, before and after controls. The top 10% of African voters used to be more likely to support the ANC in 1994, while they were less likely to do so by 25 percentage points in 2019.

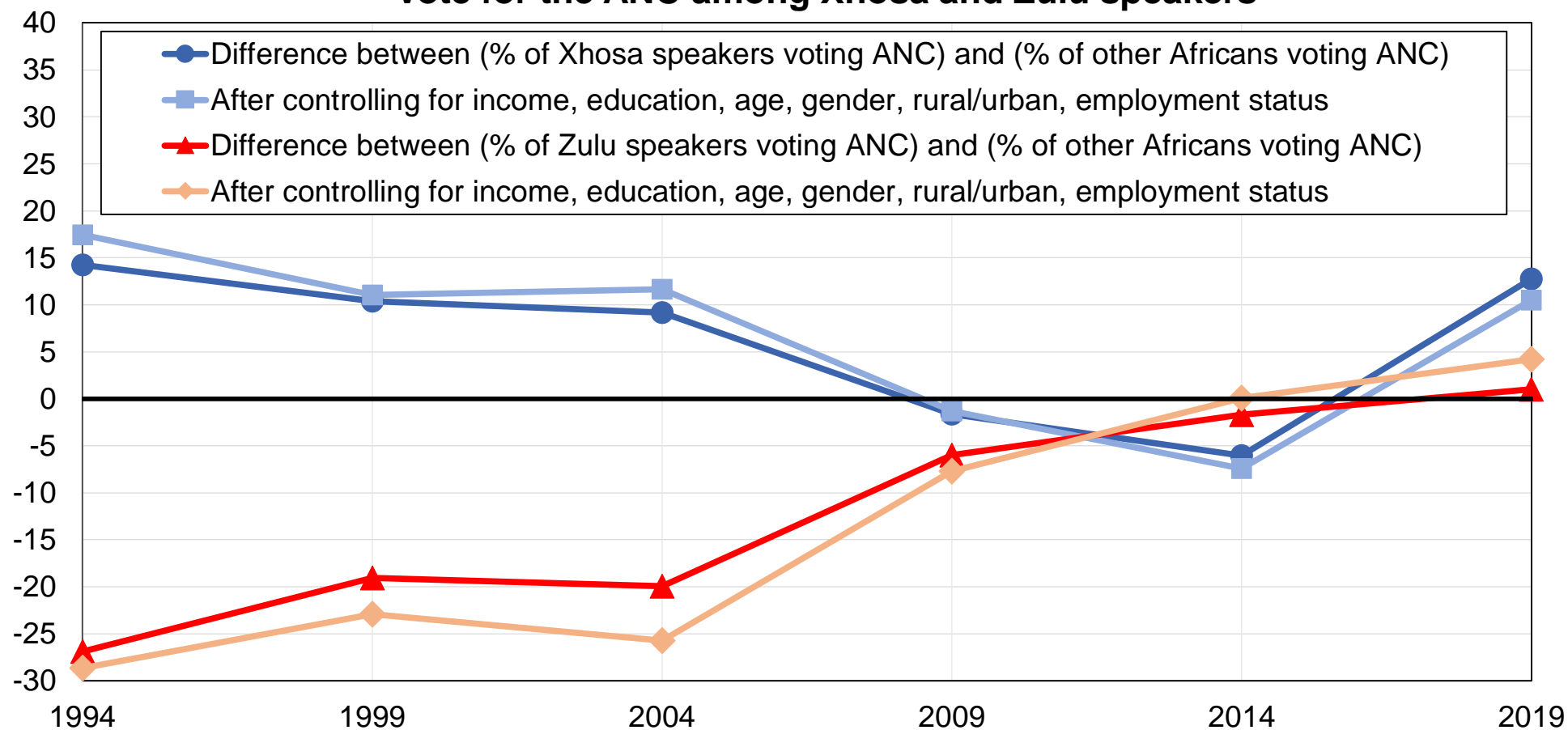
Figure 16.7 - The ethnolinguistic cleavage in South Africa, 1994-2019
Vote for the ANC by language



Source: author's computations using South African political attitudes surveys (see wpid.world).

Note: the figure shows the share of voters supporting the ANC in general elections depending on the first language spoken at home. Less than 25% of Afrikaans and English speakers supported the ANC in every election since 1994, compared to more than 75% of Xhosa speakers.

Figure 16.8 - The ethnolinguistic cleavage in South Africa, 1994-2019
Vote for the ANC among Xhosa and Zulu speakers



Source: author's computations using South African political attitudes surveys (see wpid.world).

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of Zulu-speaking African voters voting ANC and the share of other African voters voting ANC in general elections, and the same difference between Xhosa speakers and other African voters, before and after controls. Zulu speakers used to be less likely to vote for the ANC by 27 percentage points, relative to other African voters. This difference has progressively disappeared over time.

Table 16.1 - The composition of the South African electorate, 1994-2019

	1994	1999	2004	2009	2014	2019
Population groups						
Black / African	69%	71%	72%	72%	74%	76%
White / European	19%	17%	15%	14%	13%	11%
Coloured	10%	9%	10%	11%	10%	10%
Indian / Asian	3%	3%	3%	3%	3%	3%
Languages						
Afrikaans	19%	18%	18%	18%	16%	14%
English	12%	11%	11%	11%	10%	10%
Zulu	23%	20%	24%	22%	20%	22%
Xhosa	14%	16%	14%	16%	16%	14%
North Sotho	7%	10%	9%	7%	9%	10%
South Sotho	8%	9%	8%	7%	8%	9%
Tswana	8%	9%	7%	8%	9%	9%
Other	9%	8%	10%	11%	12%	12%
Regions						
Eastern / Western / Northern Cape	31%	27%	27%	29%	27%	25%
Free State	6%	7%	6%	6%	5%	5%
KwaZulu-Natal	22%	21%	21%	20%	18%	19%
Other provinces	40%	45%	46%	45%	50%	51%

Source: author's computations using South African political attitudes surveys (see wpid.world).

Note: the table shows descriptive statistics for selected variables. In 2014, 74% of the voting age population considered itself to be "Black / African", compared to 13% of "Whites / Europeans".

Table 16.2 - Political opinions of Black South Africans by income group, 2017

	Bottom 50%	Middle 40%	Top 10%
Most important issue: HIV/AIDS	14%	20%	12%
Most important issue: Unemployment	70%	67%	59%
Most important issue: Racism / Xenophobia	2%	1%	5%
Most important issue: Crime and Safety	7%	8%	16%
Most important issue: Other	7%	4%	8%
Agrees government should redistribute land to Blacks	81%	82%	73%
Trusts national governments	31%	30%	40%
Knows no white people, even as acquaintances	56%	45%	38%

Source: author's computations using South African political attitudes surveys (see wpid.world).

Note: the table decomposes the political opinions of Black South Africans by income group in 2017 (SASAS survey). 70% of the poorest 50% Black South Africans believed that unemployment was the most important problem of South Africa, as compared to 59% of top 10% Black South African earners.