

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

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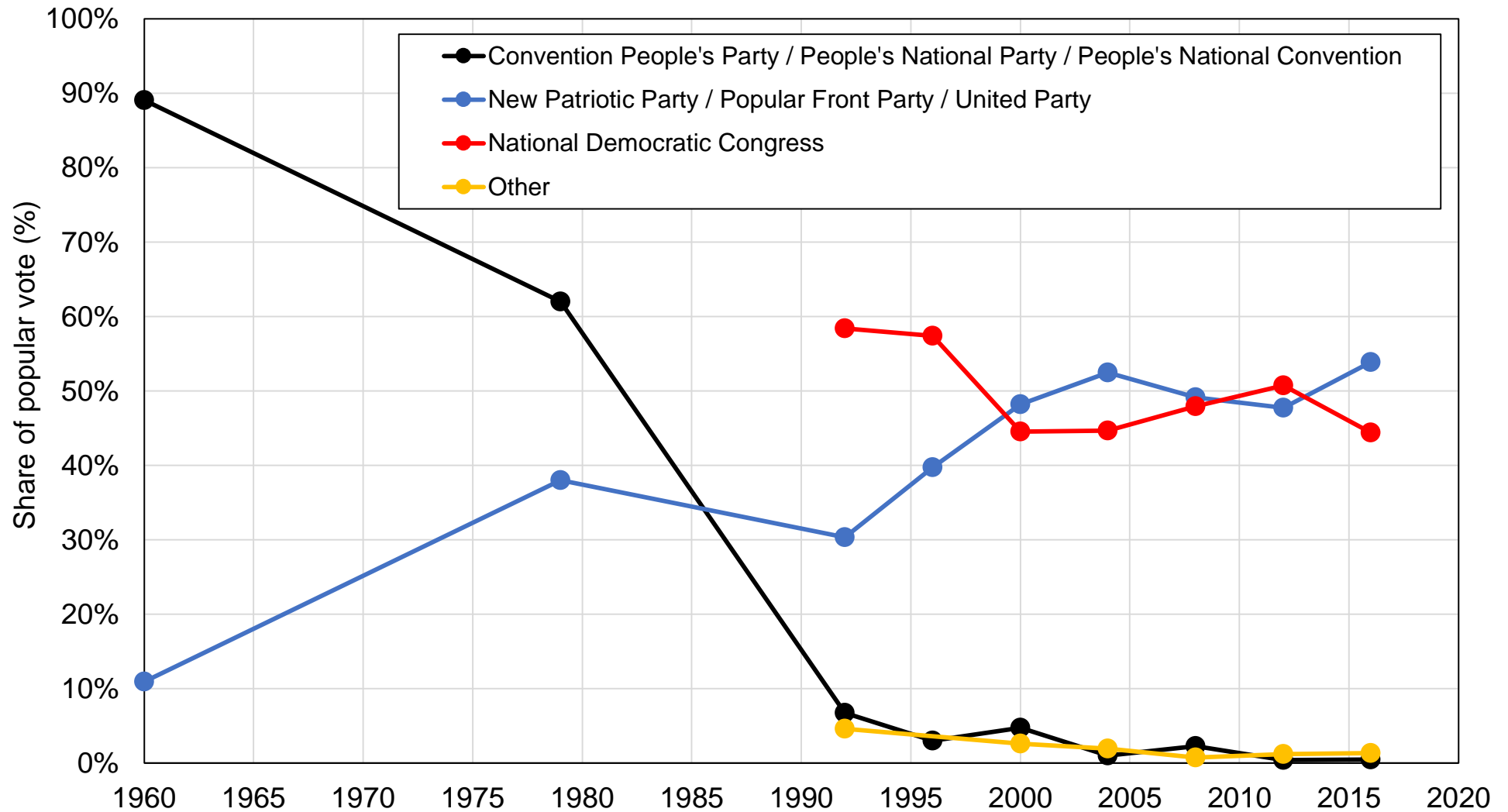
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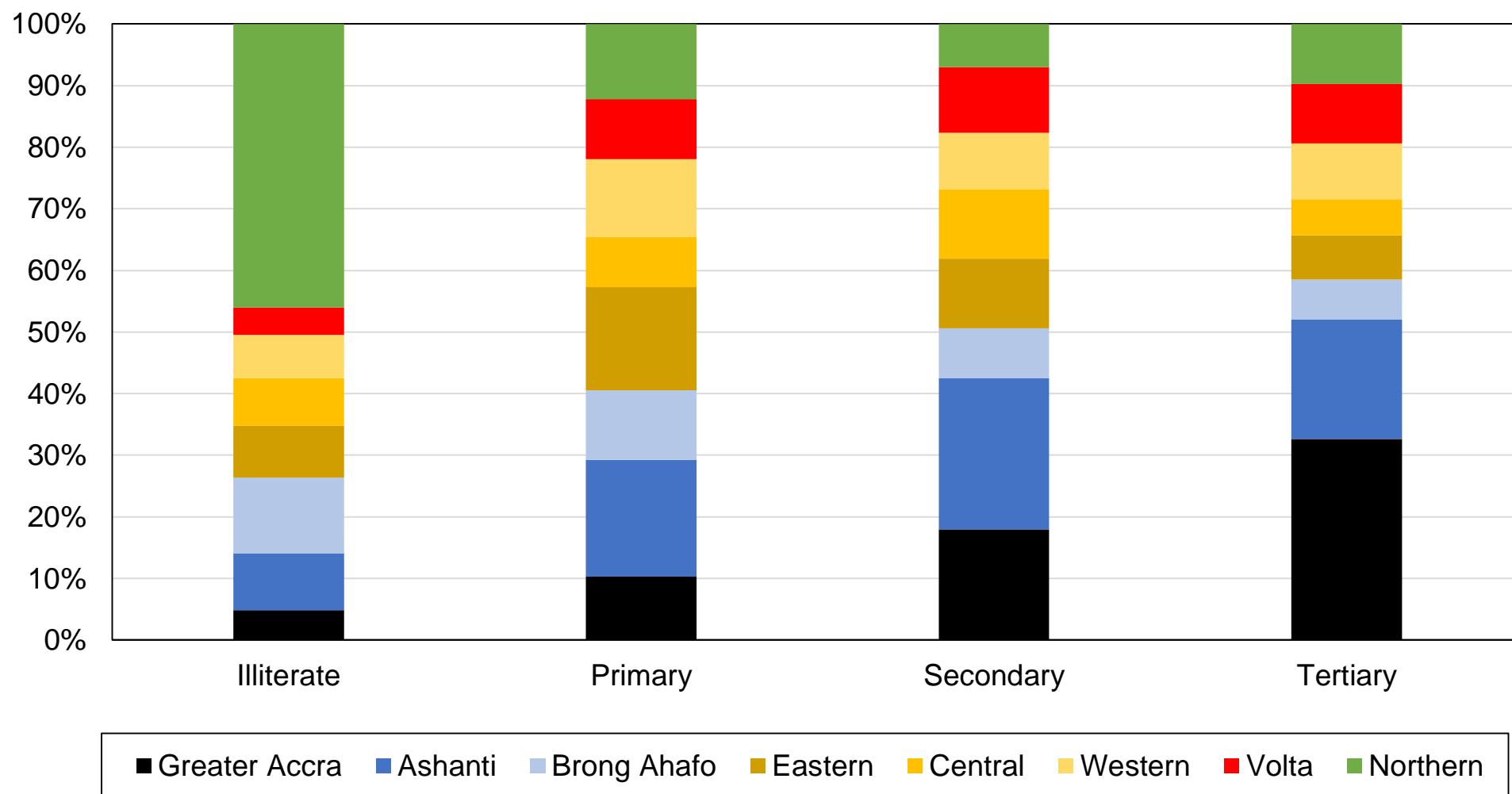
Figure B1 - Presidential election results in Ghana, 1960-2016



Source: authors' computations using official election results.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by selected groups of political parties in Ghana in the first round of presidential elections between 1960 and 2016.

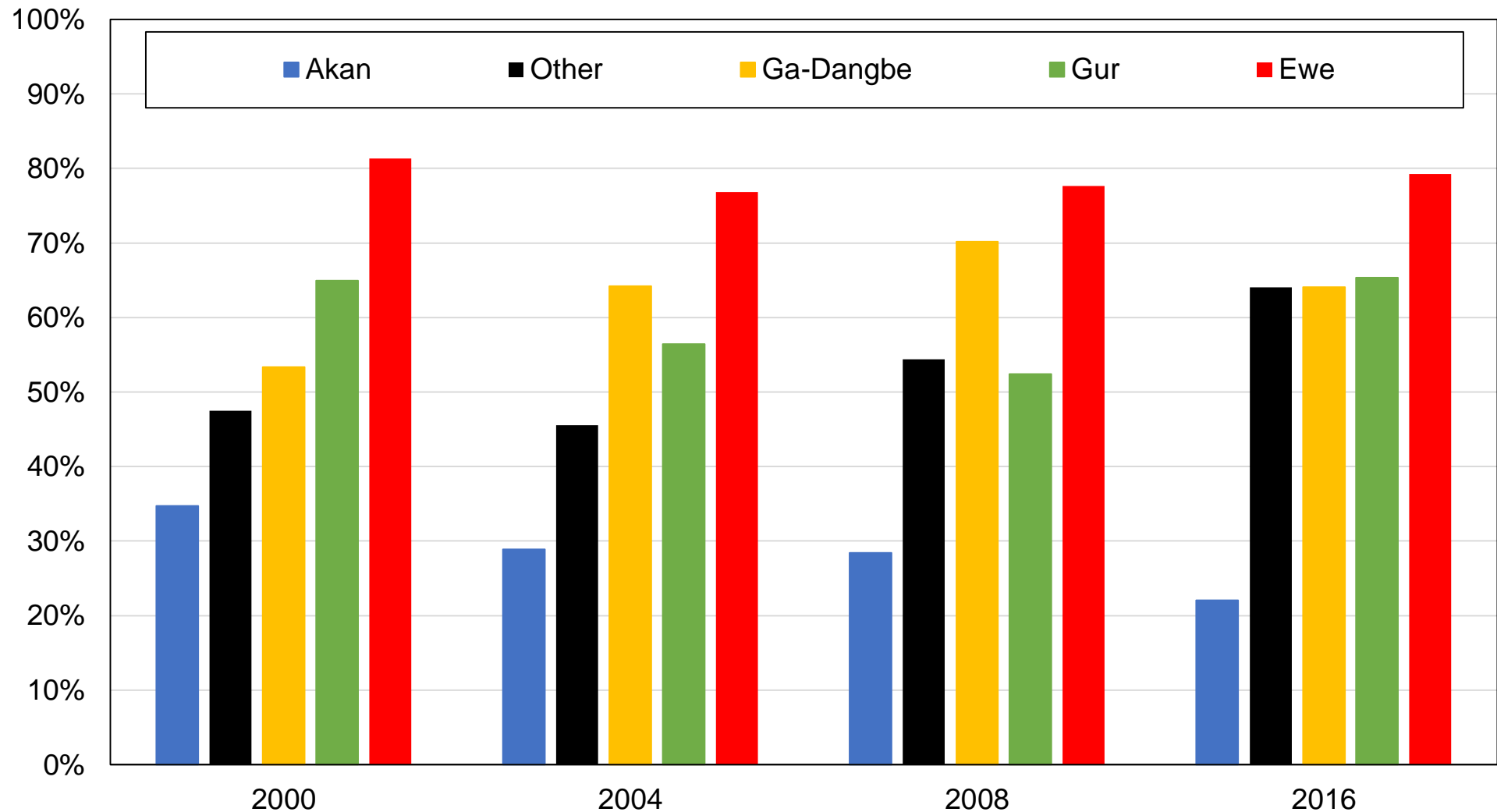
Figure B2 - Regional educational inequalities in Ghana



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

Note: the figure shows the distribution of education groups by region in Ghana in 2016.

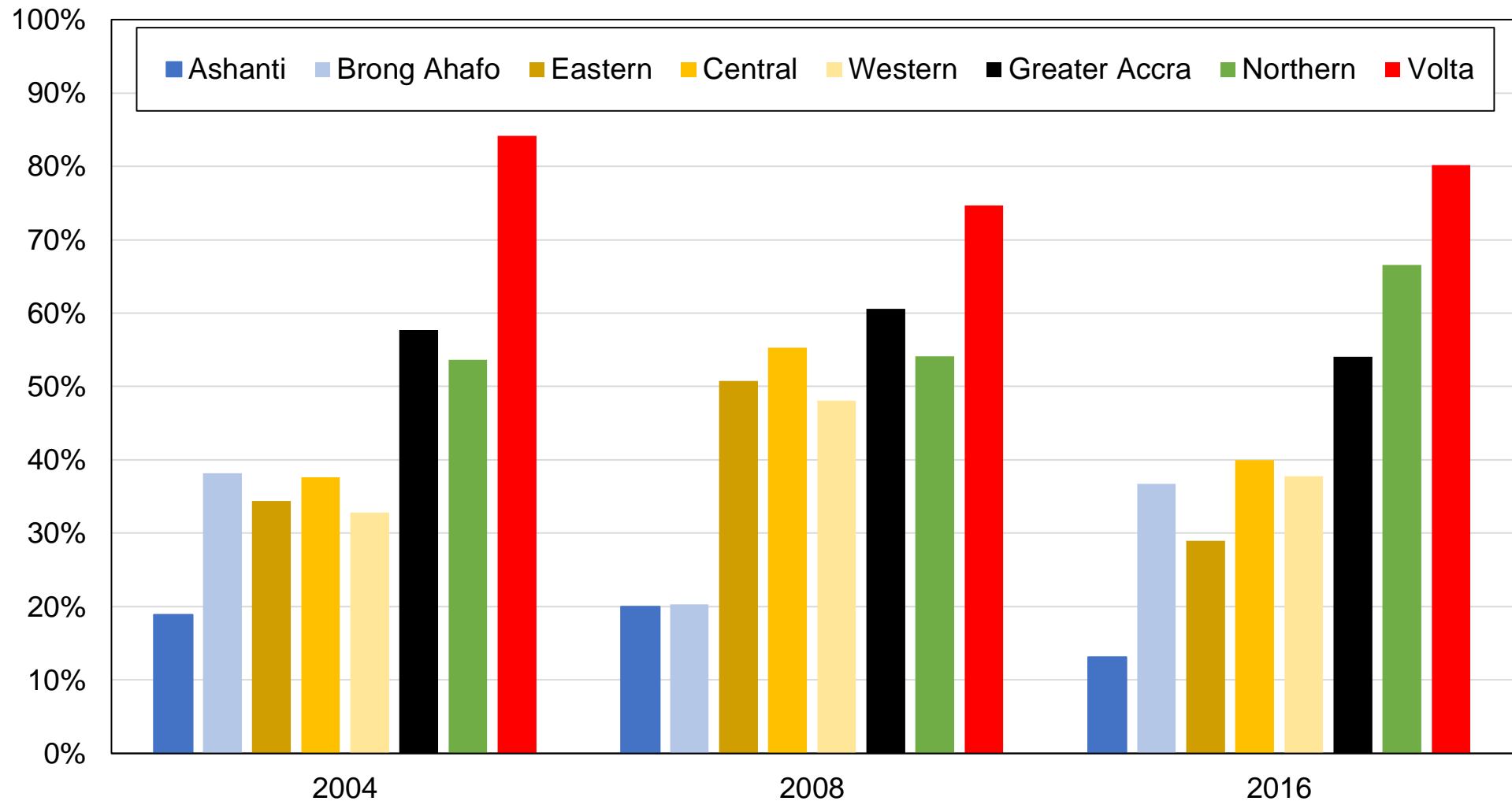
Figure B3 - Vote for the National Democratic Congress by language



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

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

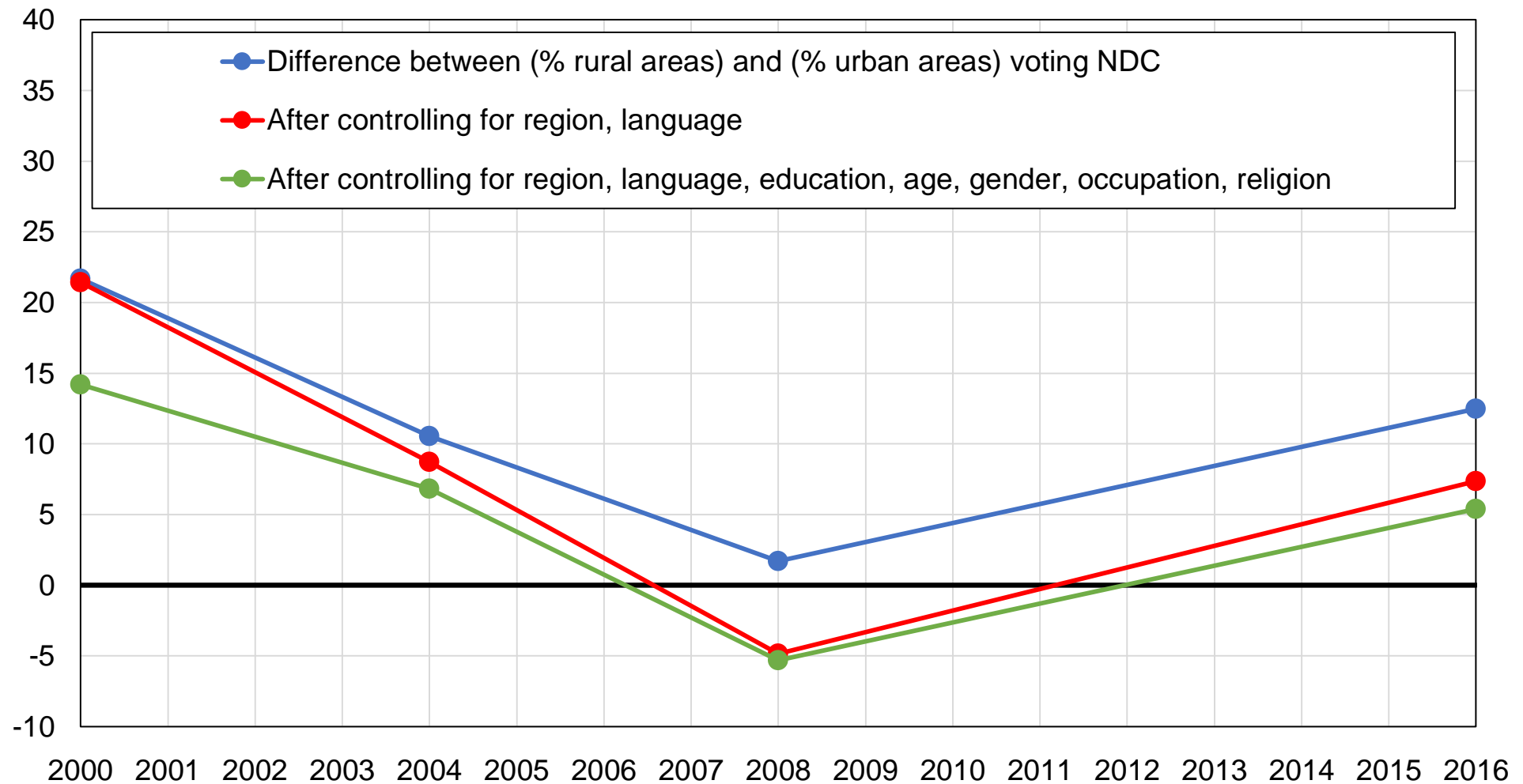
Figure B4 - Vote for National Democratic Congress by region



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by NDC by region. The Northern region includes the Upper East and the Upper West.

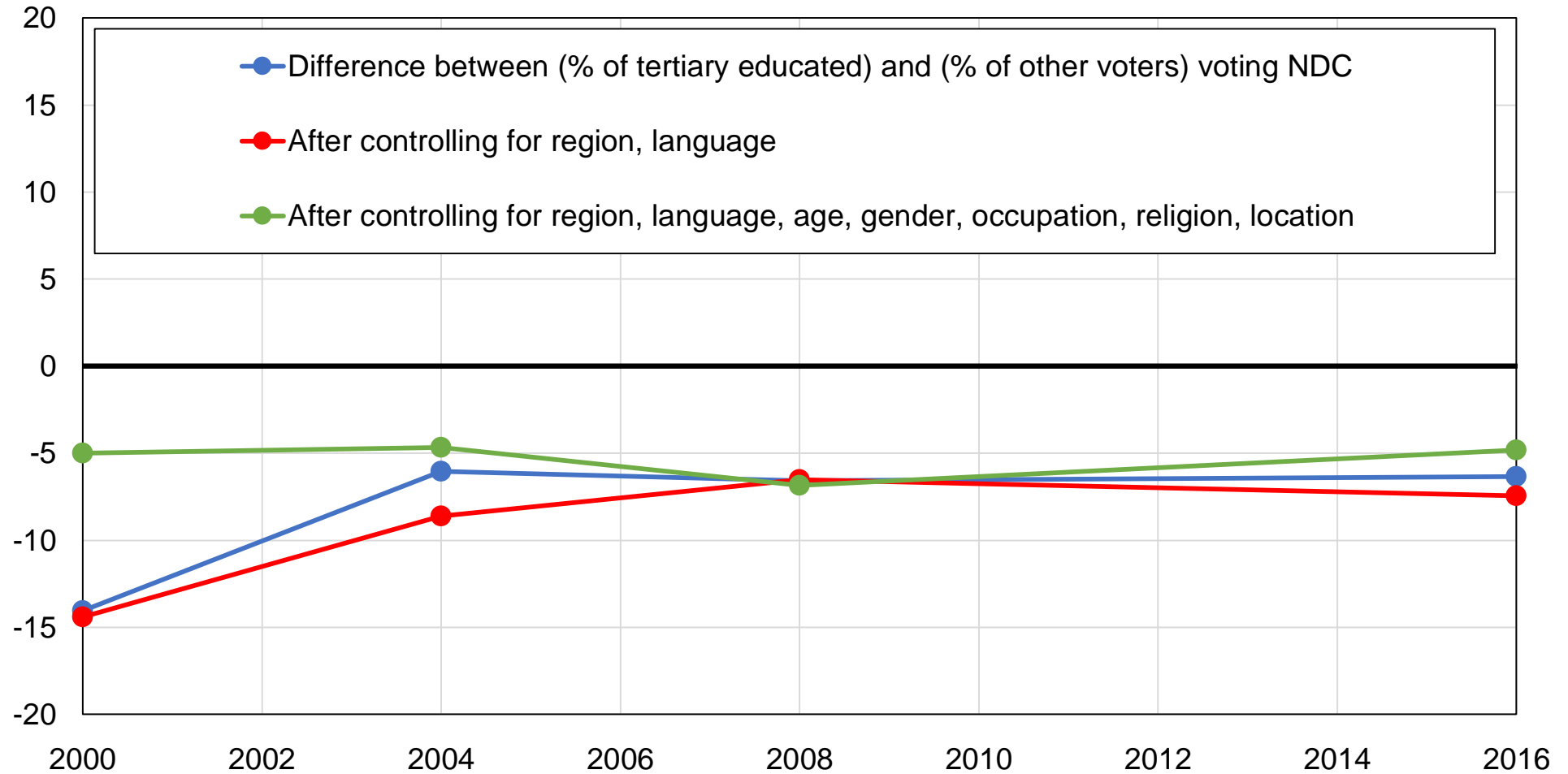
Figure B5 - Vote for National Democratic Congress among rural areas



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 NDC, before and after controlling for other variables.

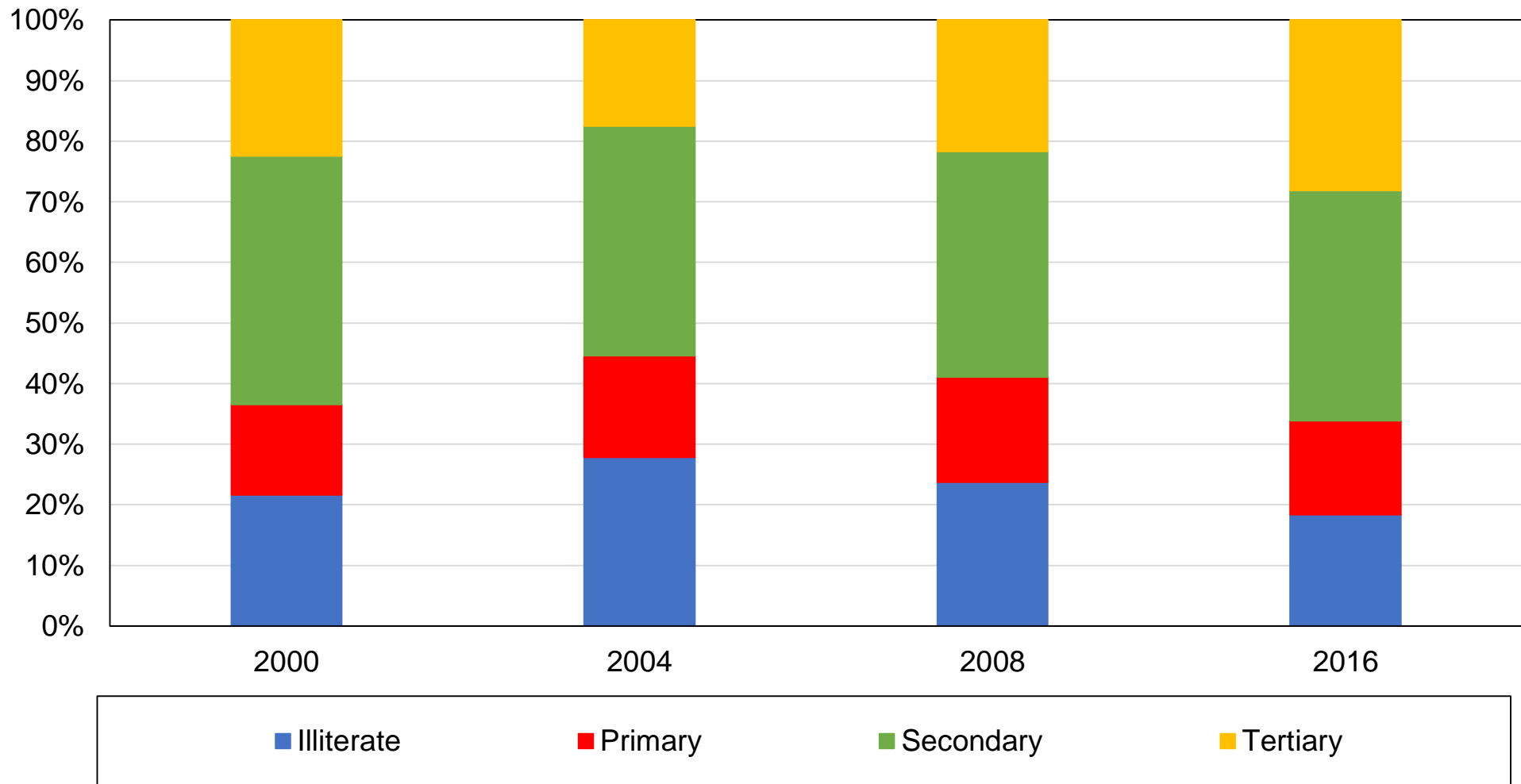
Figure B6 - Vote for National Democratic Congress among higher-educated voters



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of tertiary-educated voters and the share of other voters voting for NDC, before and after controlling for other variables.

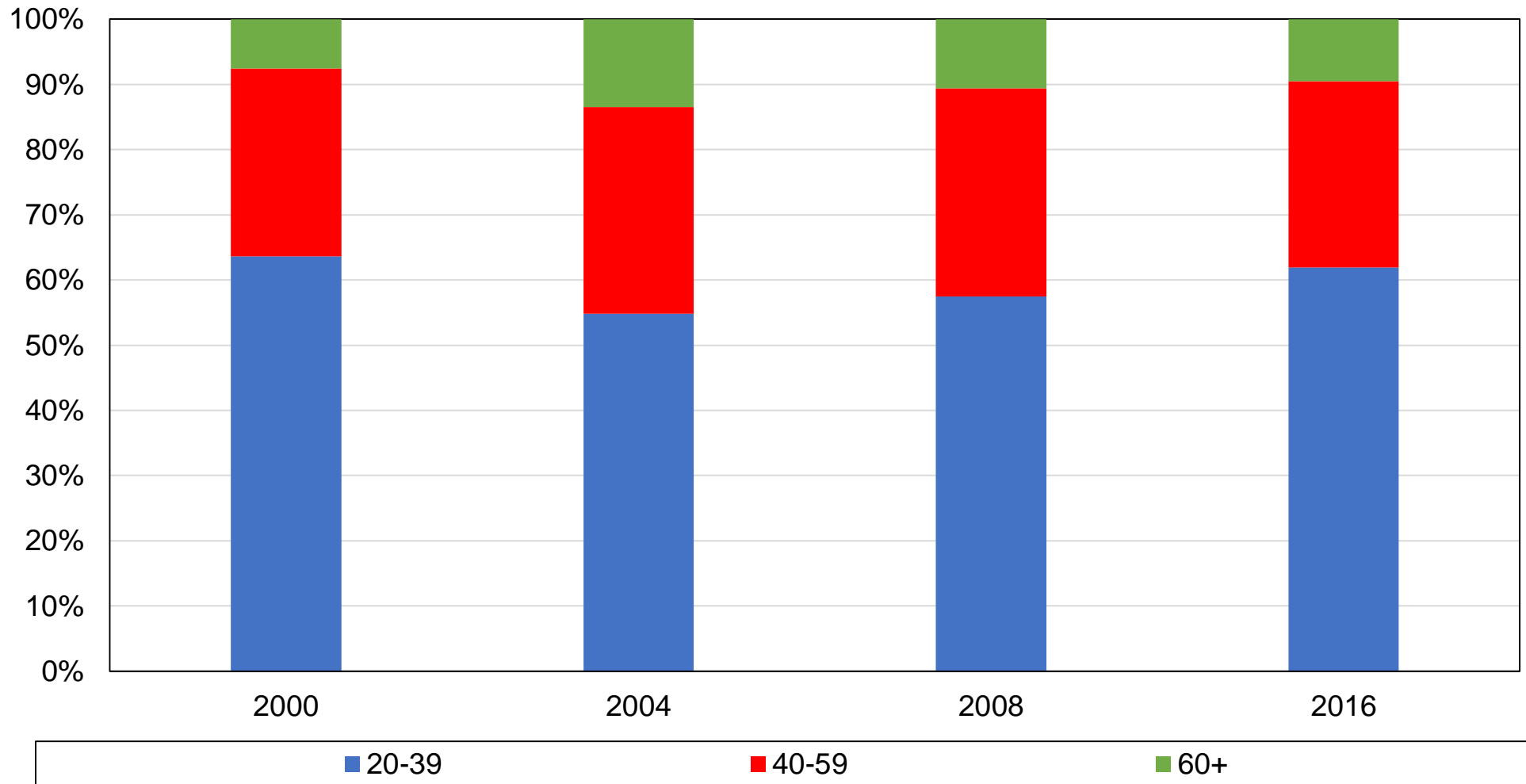
Figure BA1 - The composition of the electorate by education



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

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

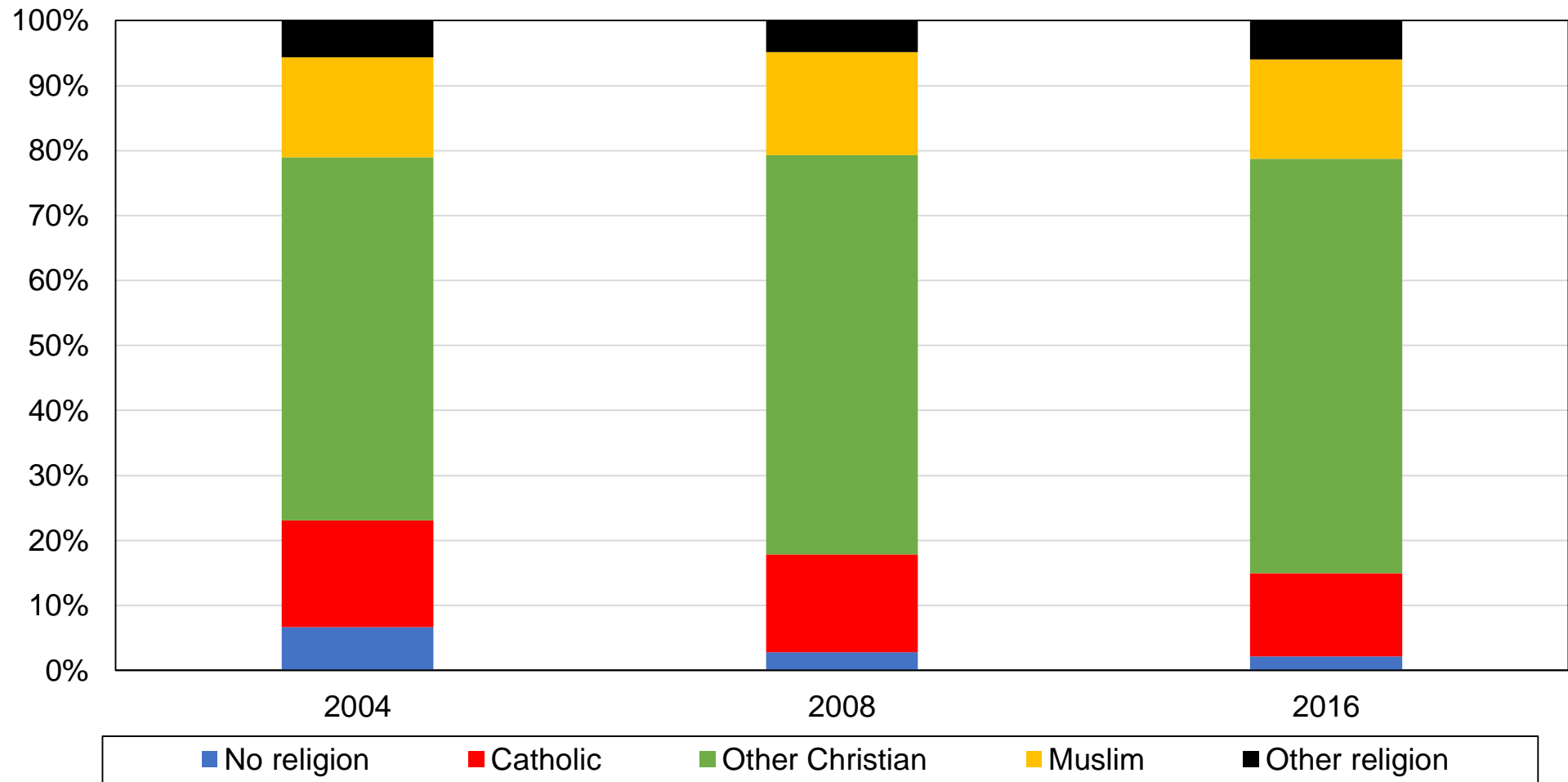
Figure BA2 - The composition of the electorate by age



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

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

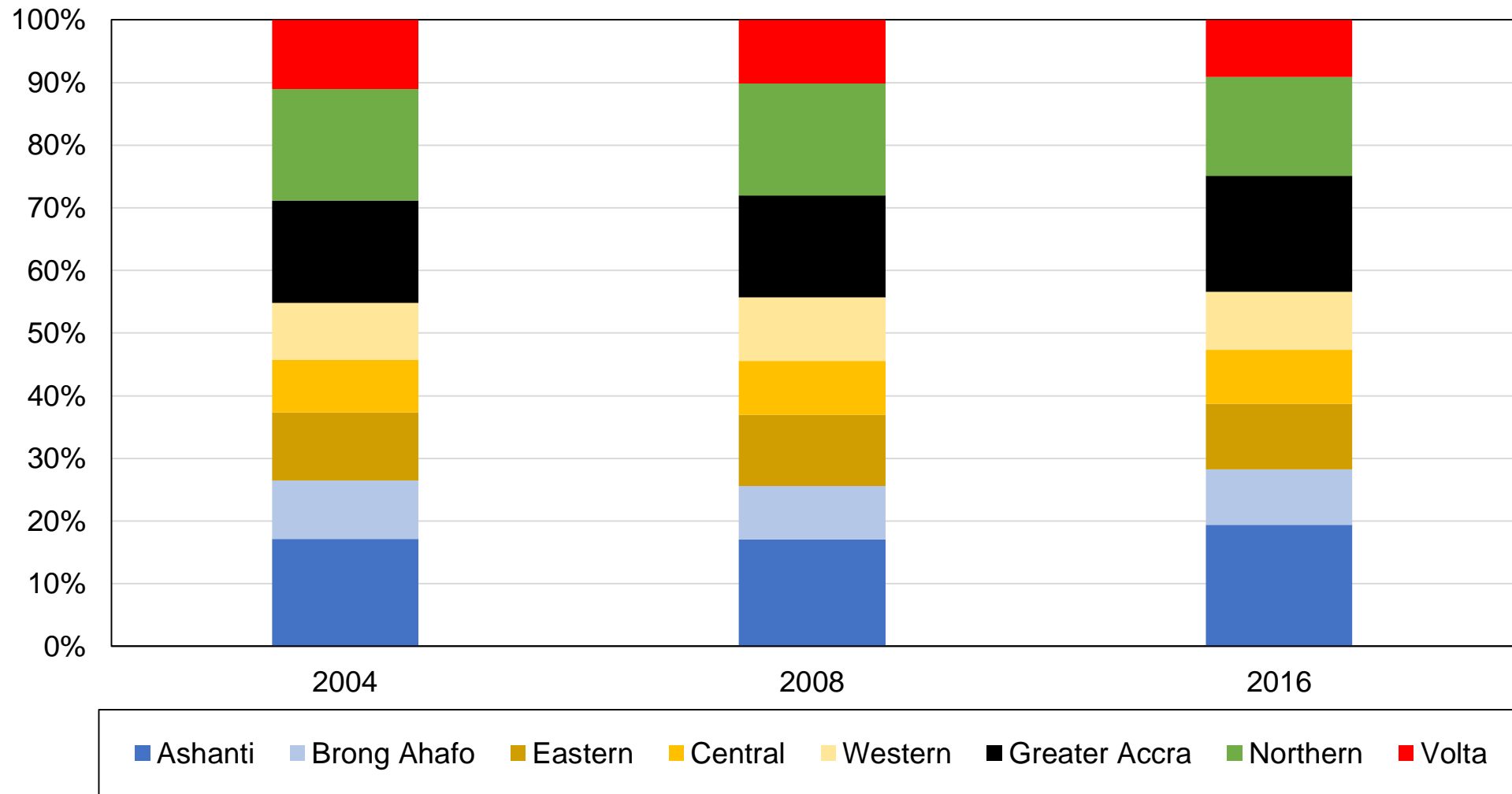
Figure BA3 - The composition of the electorate by religion



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

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

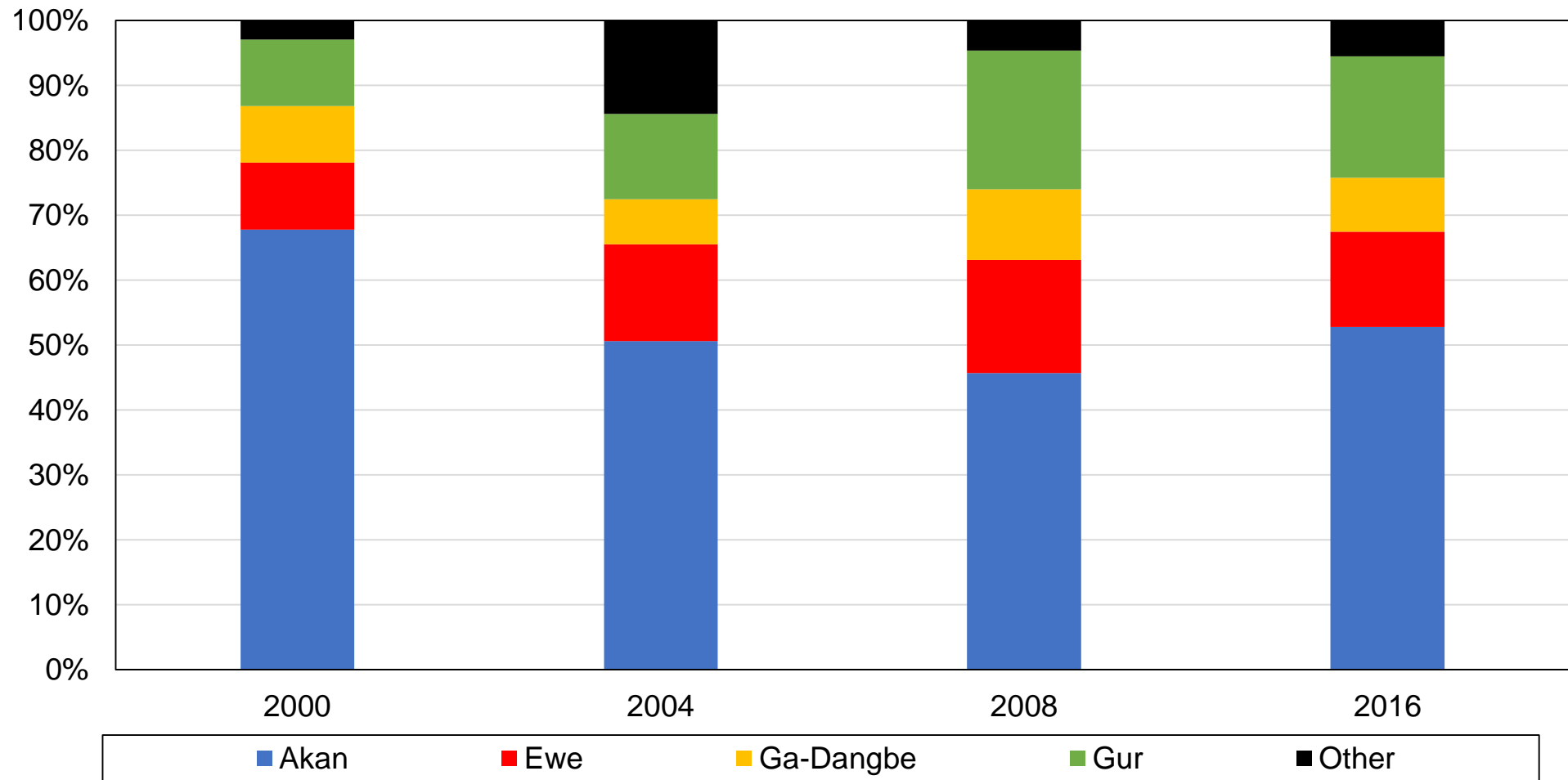
Figure BA4 - The composition of the electorate by region



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

Note: the figure shows the distribution of regions in Ghana and its evolution over time.

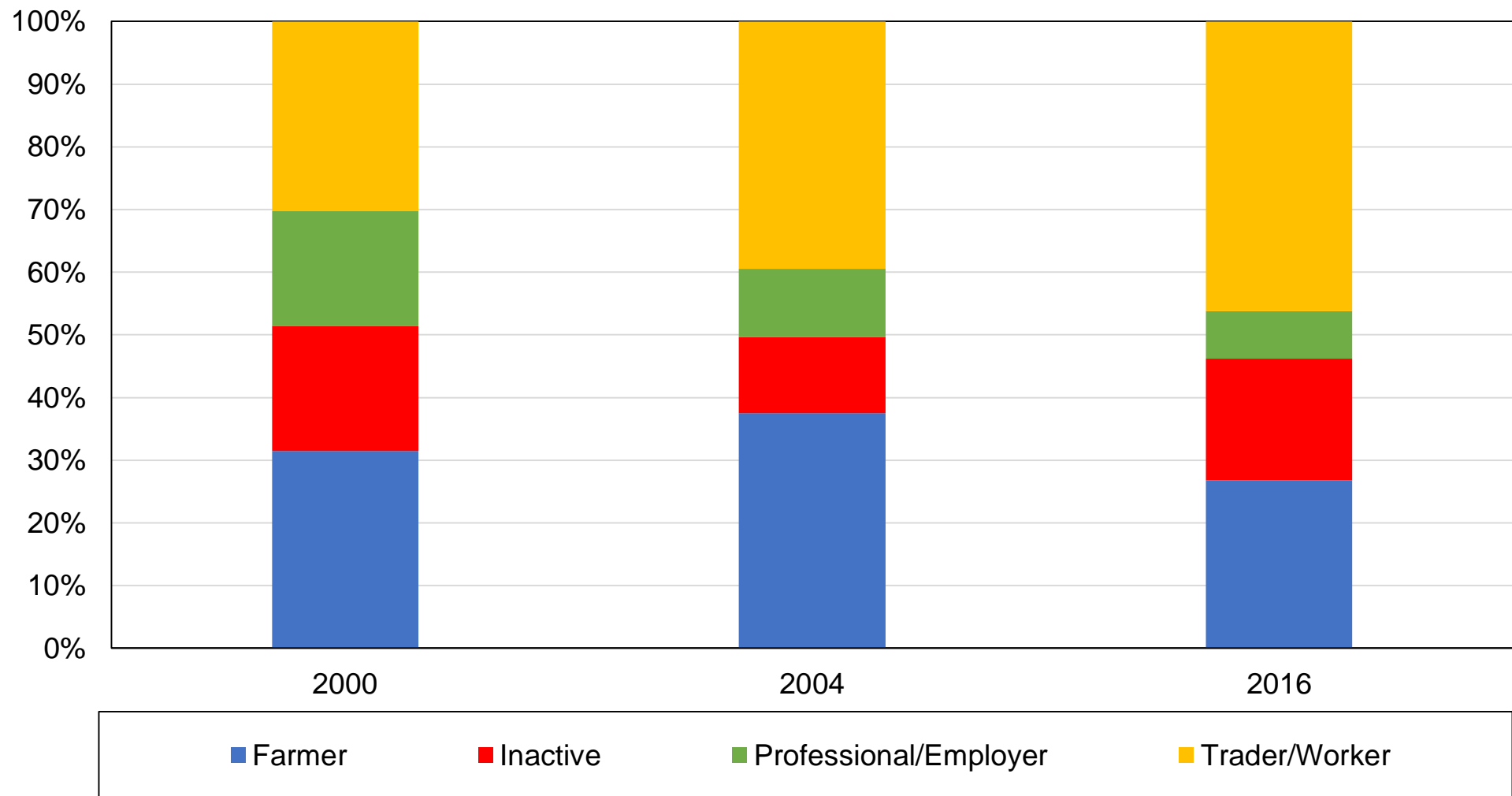
Figure BA5 - The composition of the electorate by linguistic group



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

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

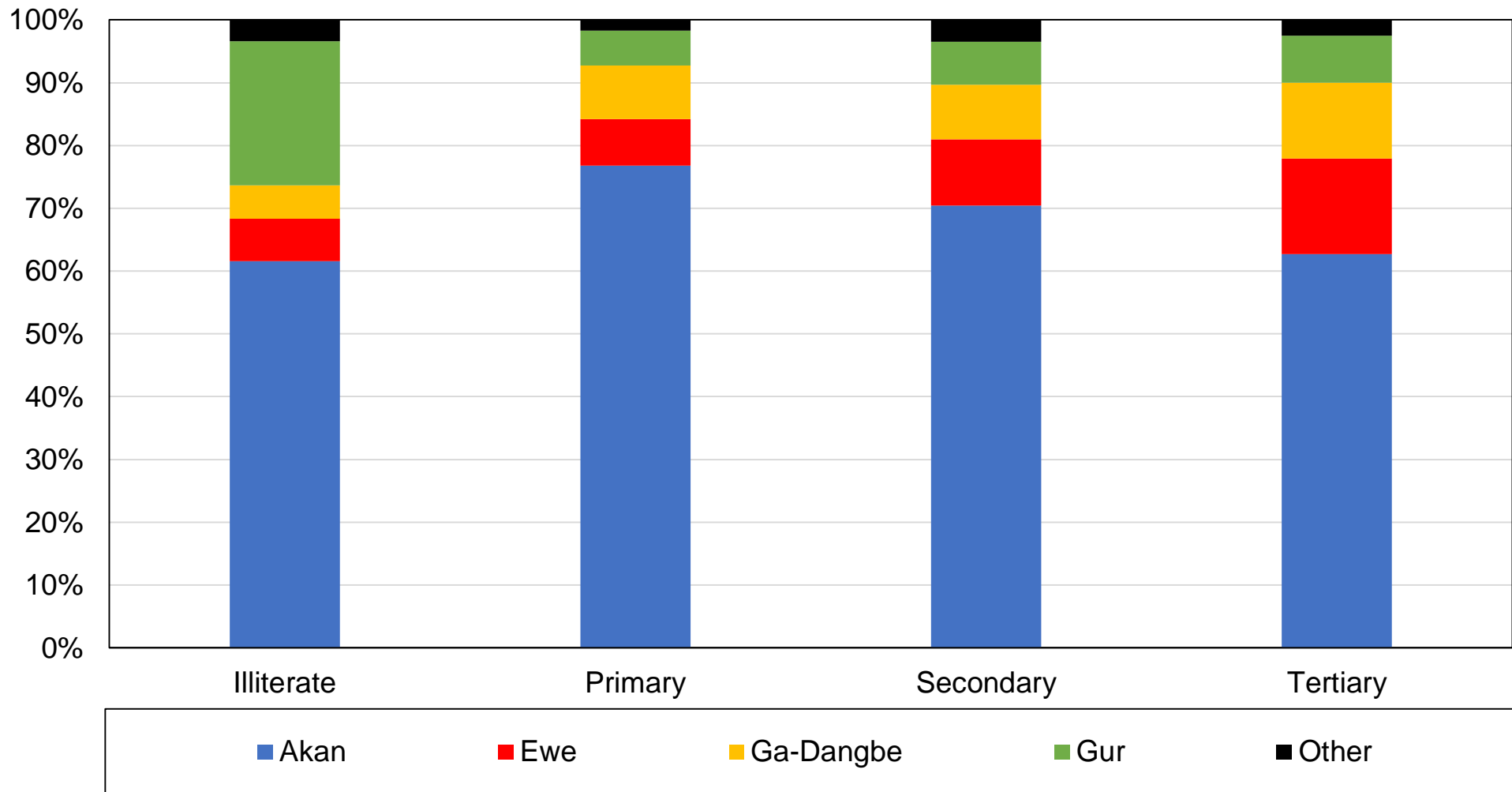
Figure BA6 - The composition of the electorate by occupation



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

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

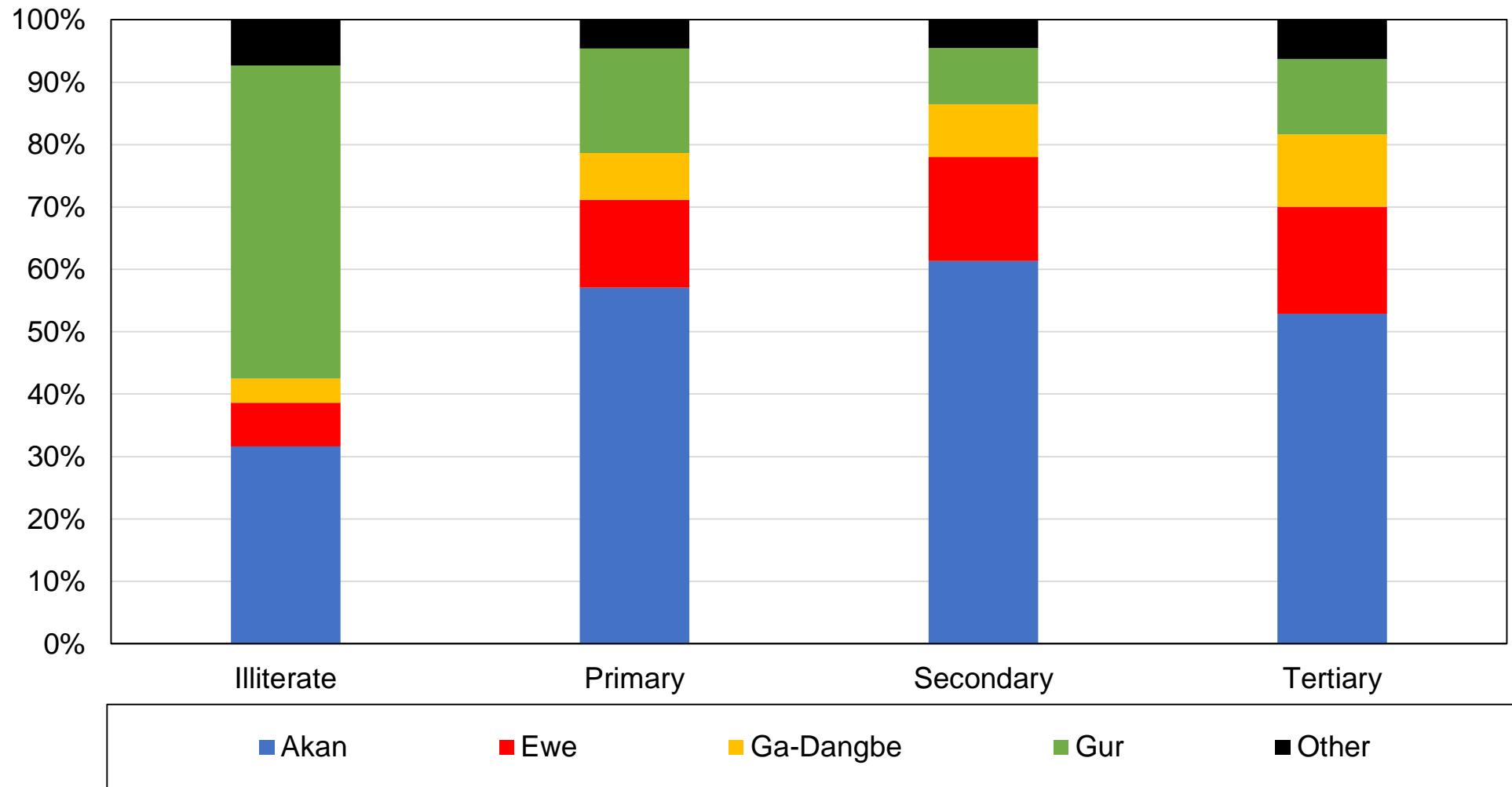
Figure BA7 - Composition of education by language, 2000



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

Note: the figure shows composition of education groups by language of the population in Ghana in 2000.

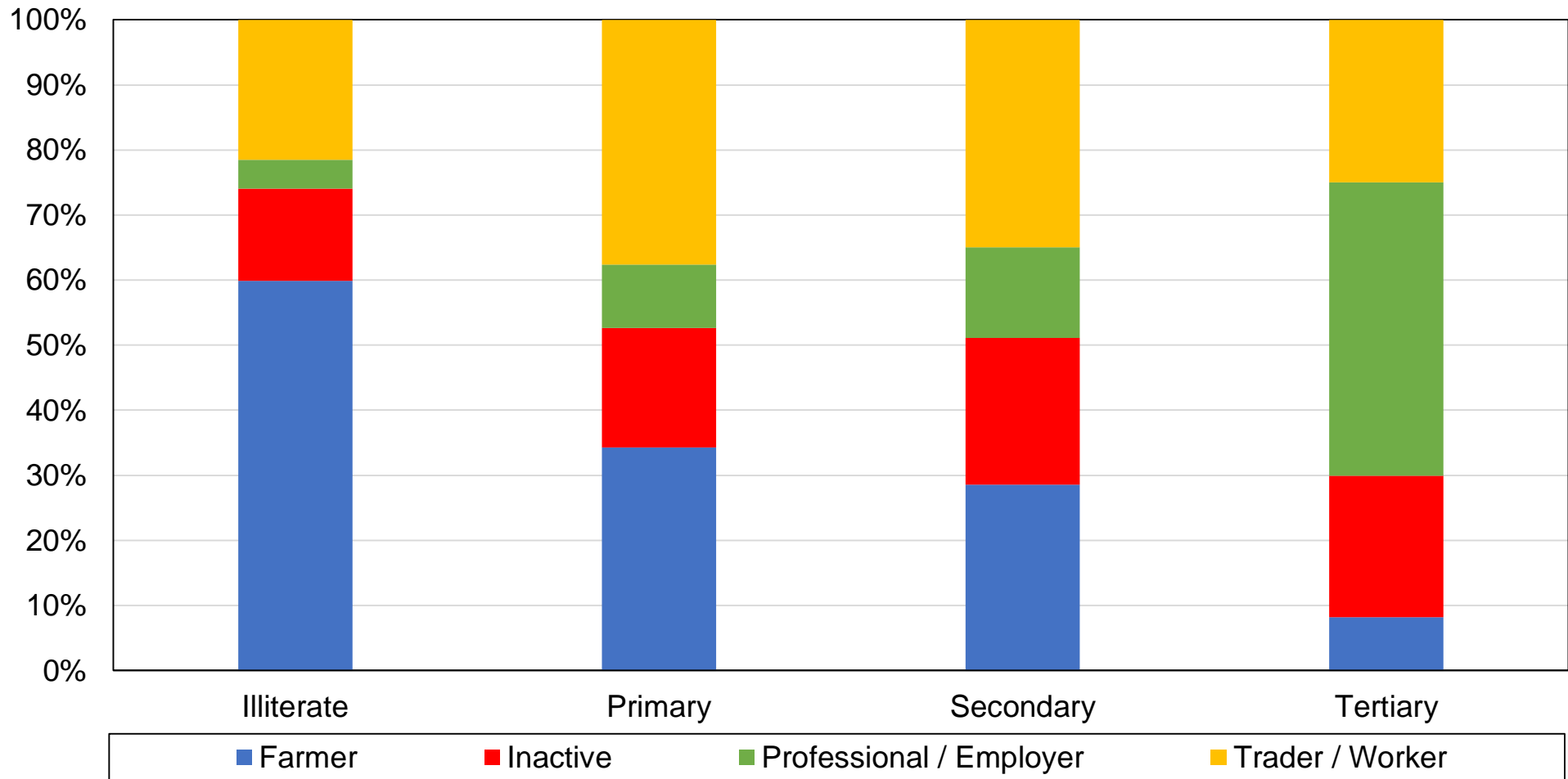
Figure BA8 - Composition of education by language, 2016



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

Note: the figure the composition of education groups by language of the population in Ghana in 2016.

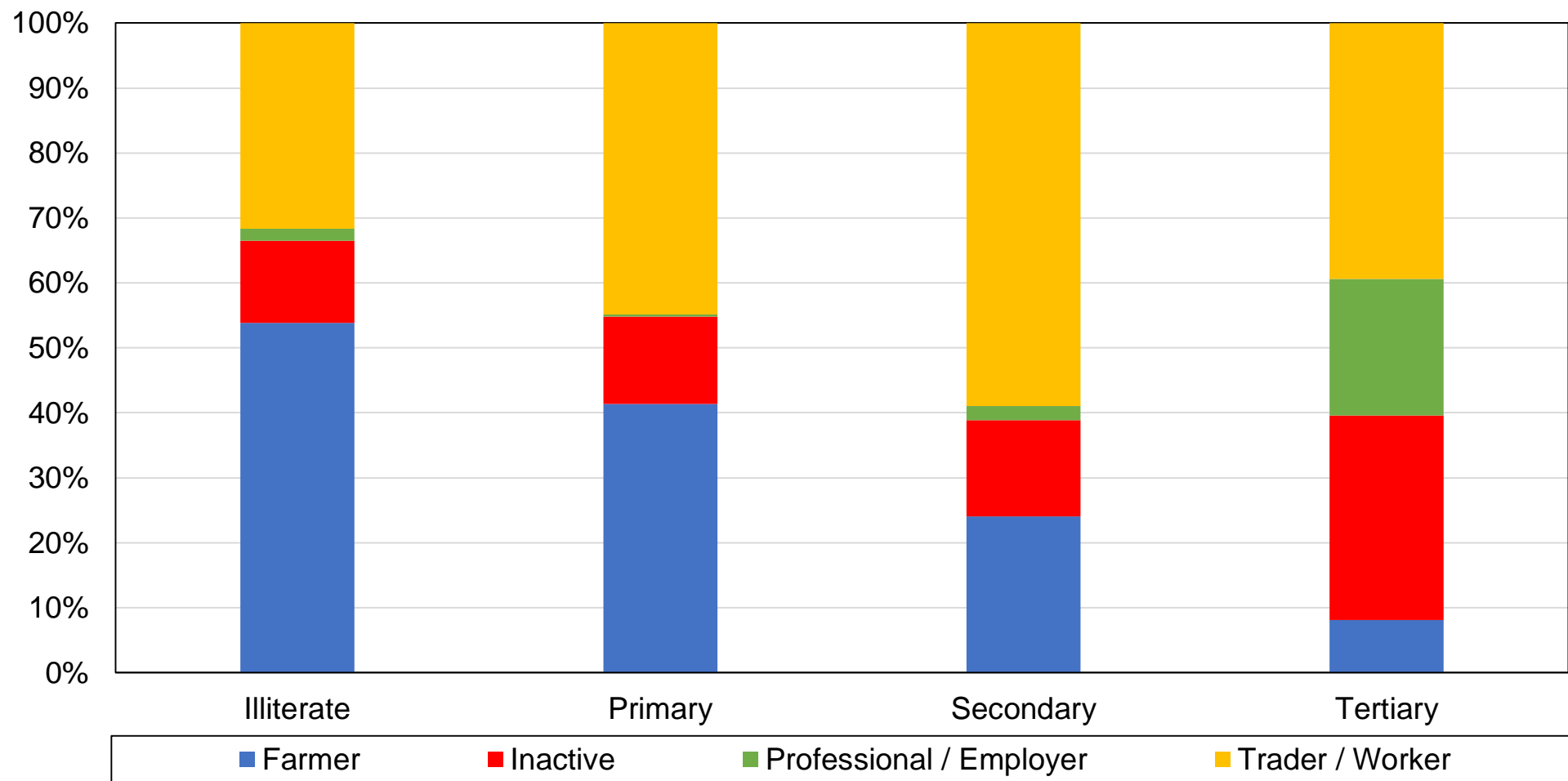
Figure BA9 - Occupational composition of education, 2000



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

Note: the figure shows the composition of education groups by occupation of the population in Ghana in 2000.

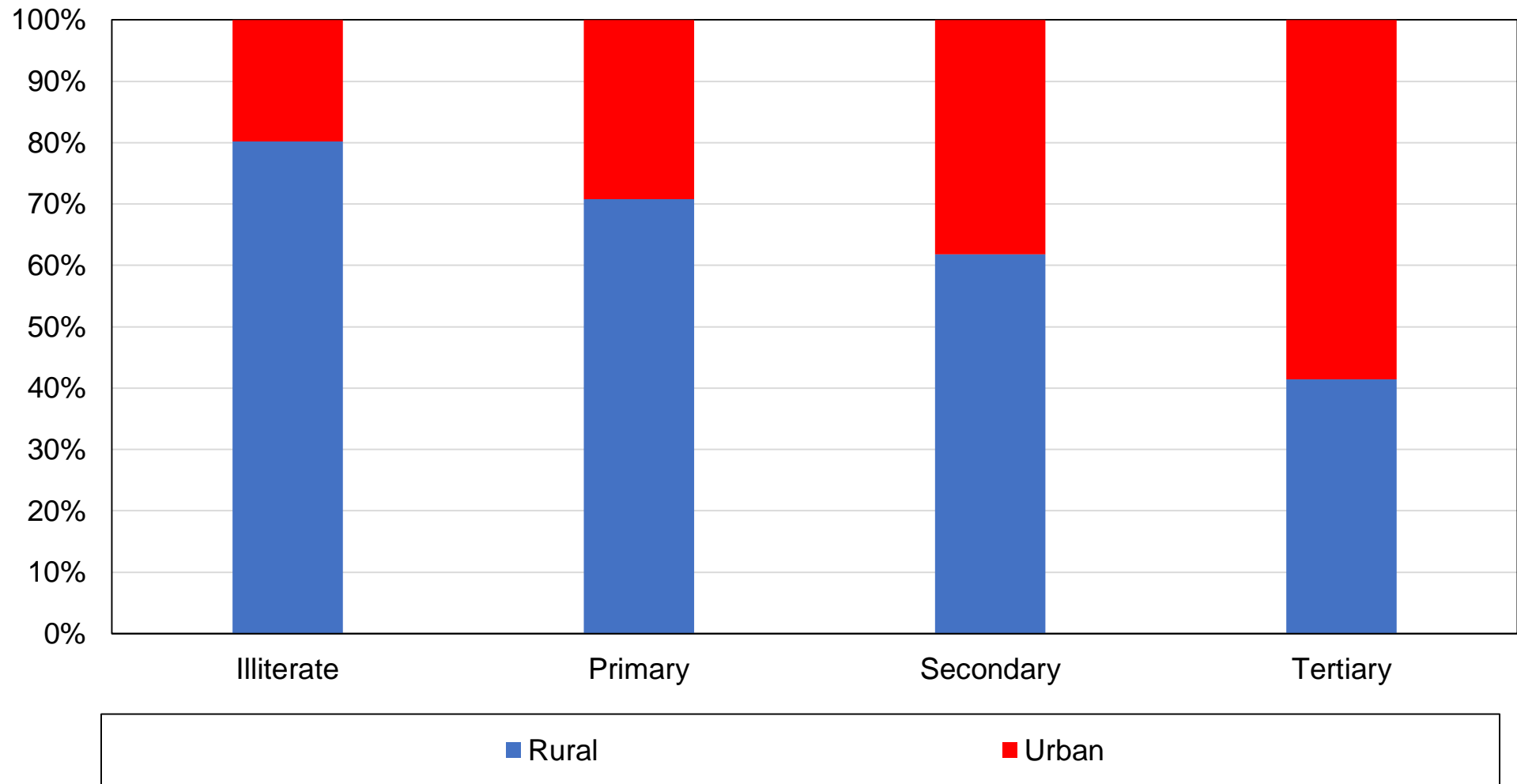
Figure BA10 - Occupational composition of education, 2016



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

Note: the figure shows the composition of education groups by occupation of the population in Ghana in 2016.

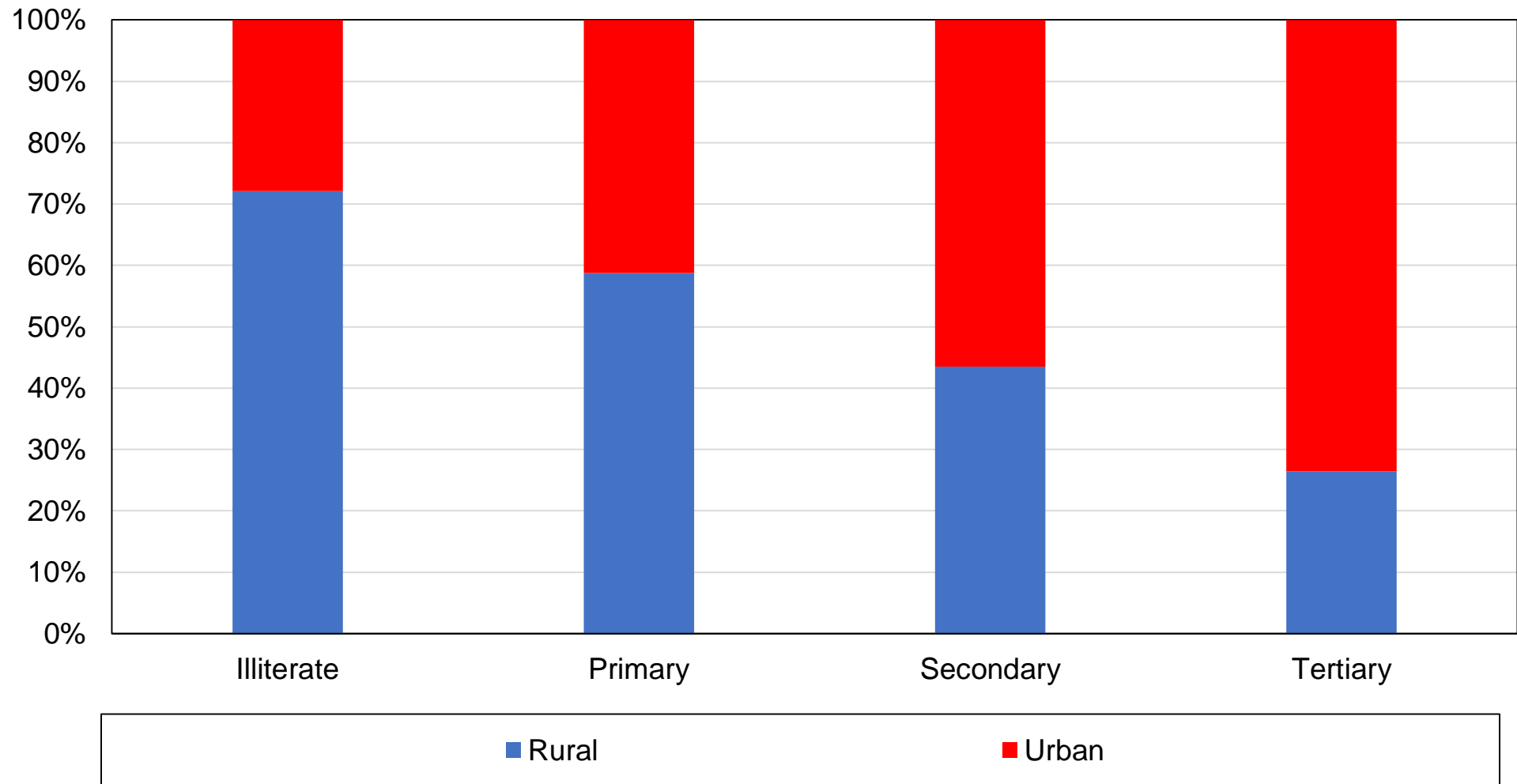
Figure BA11 - Rural-urban composition of education, 2000



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

Note: the figure shows the distribution of education groups by location in 2000.

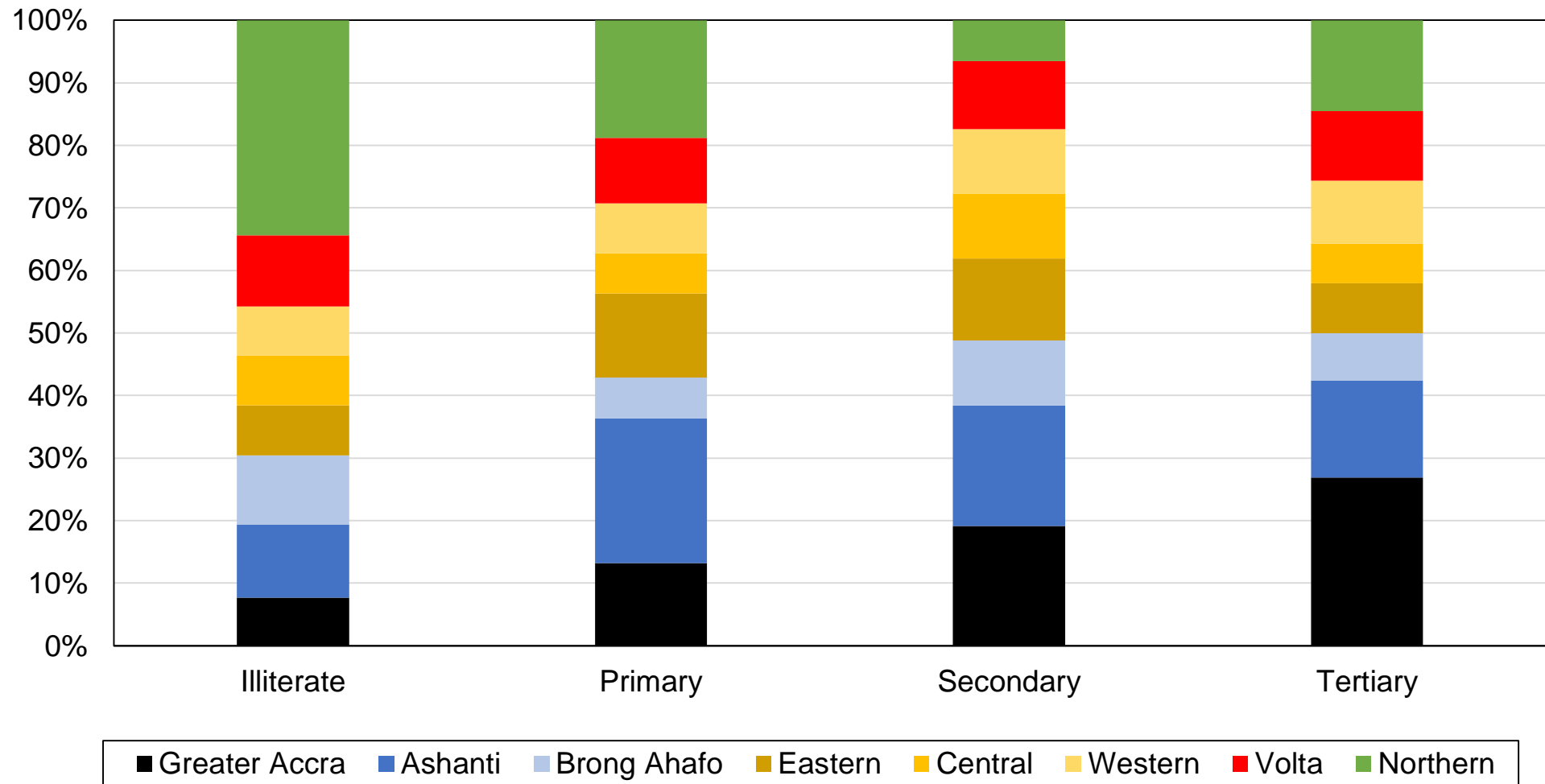
Figure BA12 - Rural-urban composition of education, 2016



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

Note: the figure shows the distribution of education groups by location in 2016.

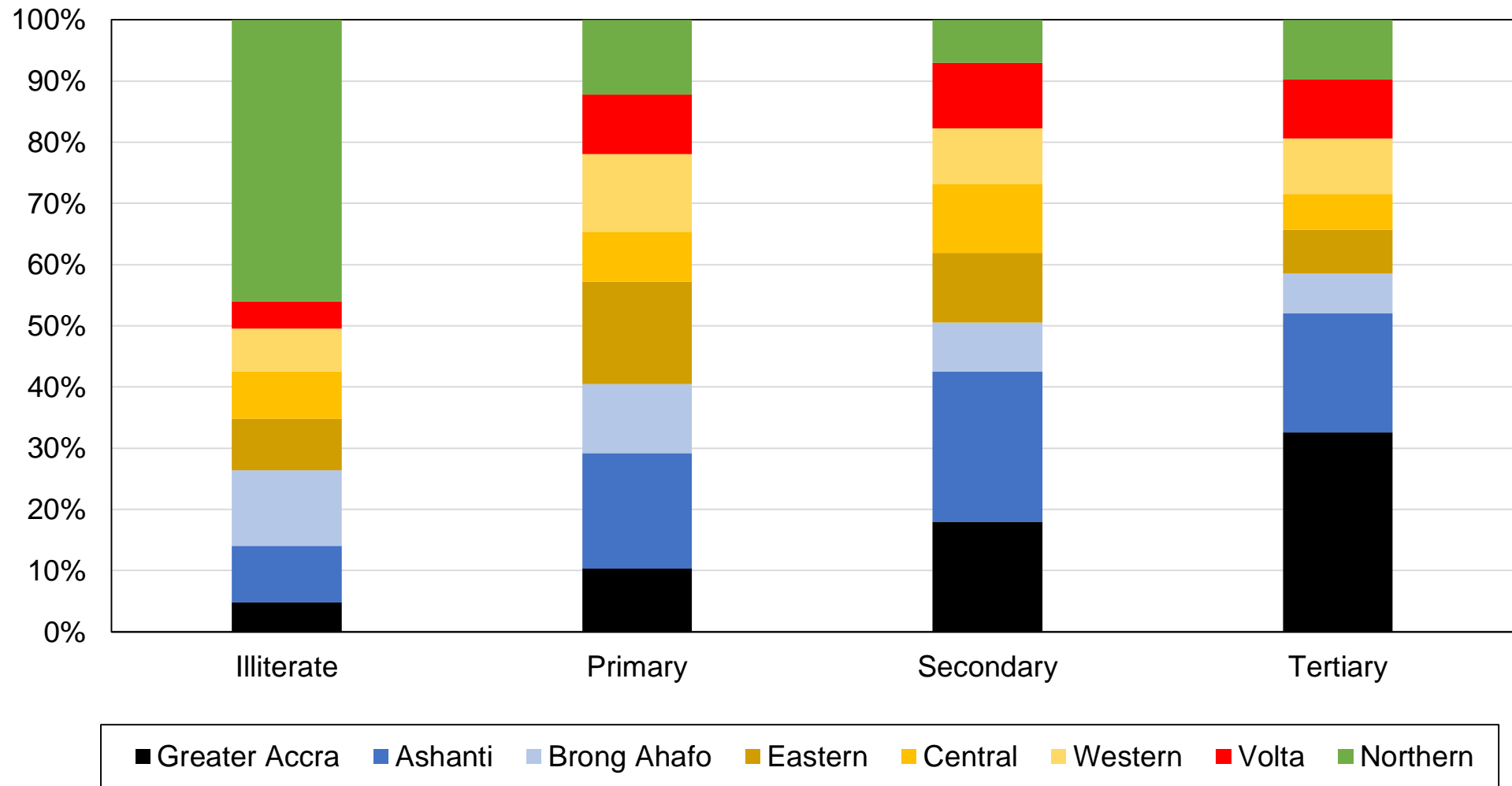
Figure BA13 - Composition of education by region, 2004



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

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

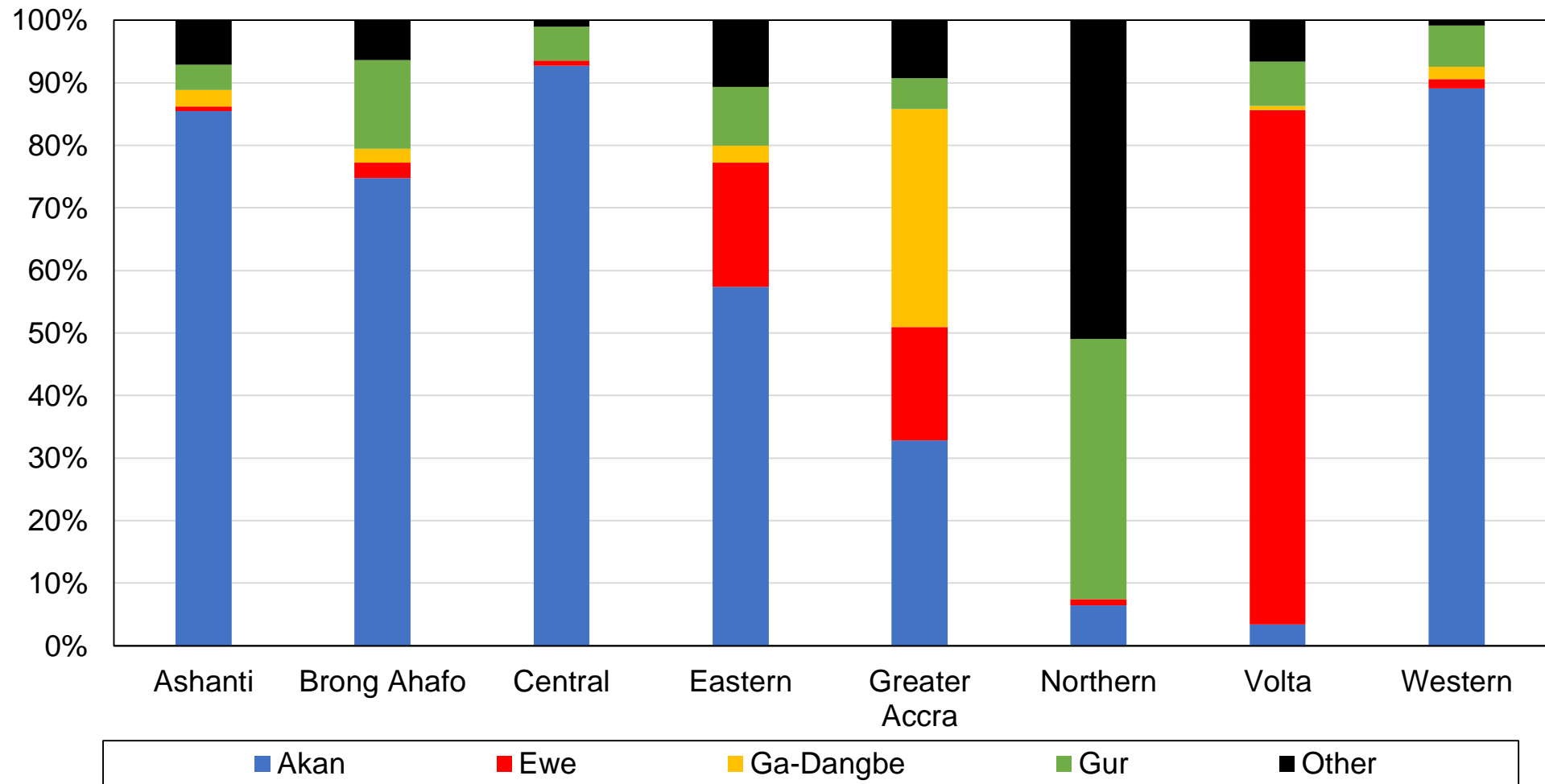
Figure BA14 - Composition of education by region, 2016



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

Note: the figure shows the distribution of education groups by region in Ghana in 2016.

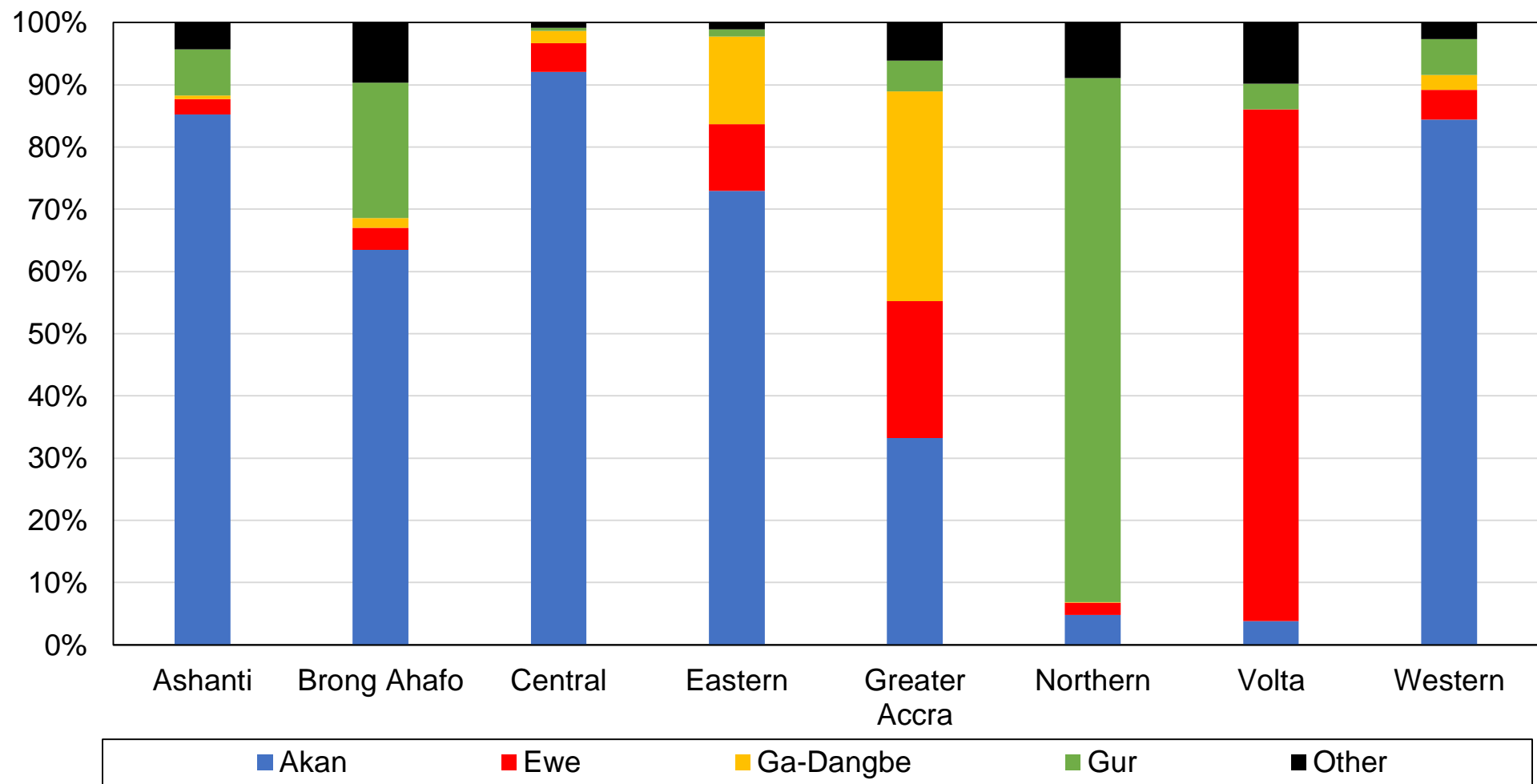
Figure BA15 - Linguistic composition of regions, 2004



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

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

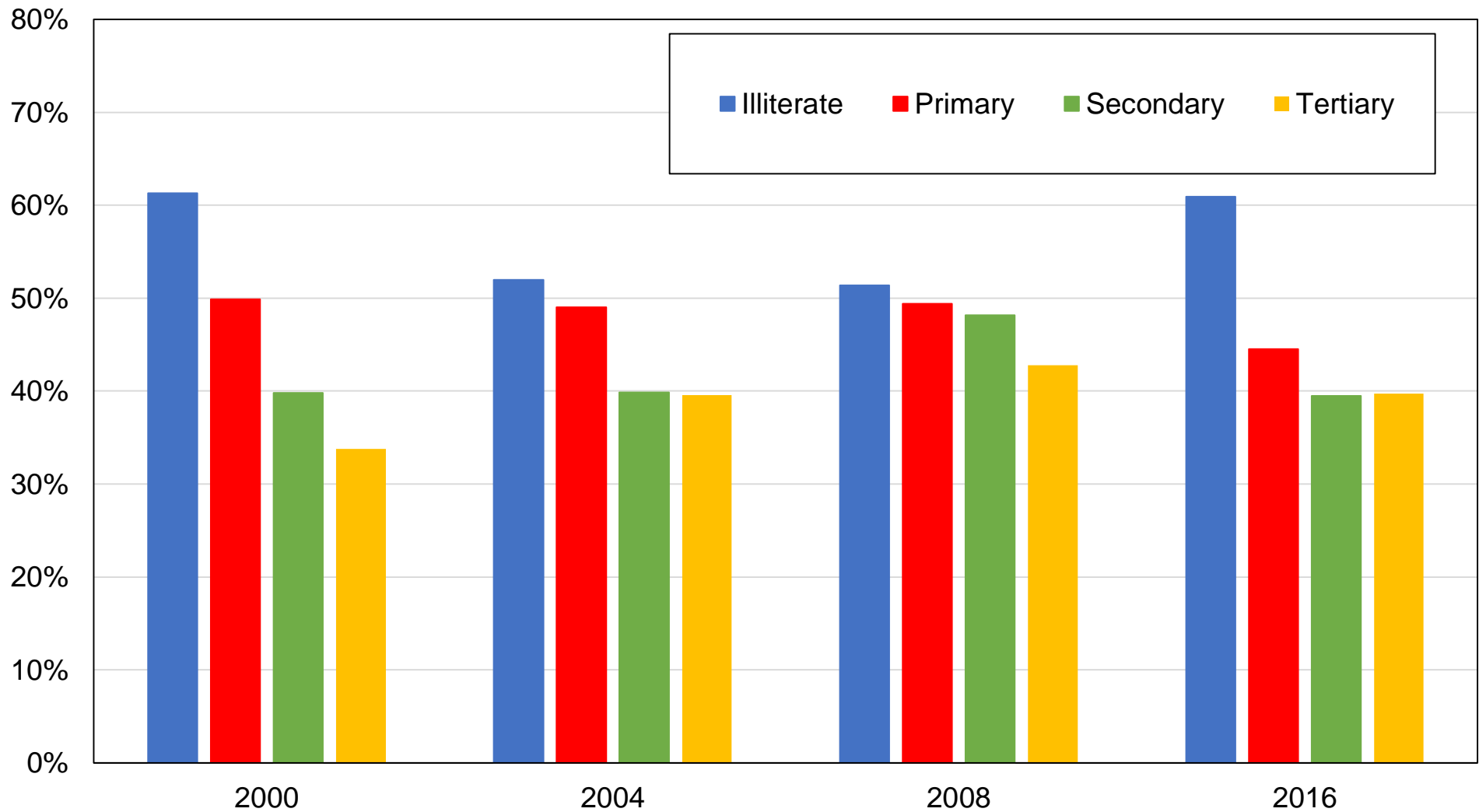
Figure BA16 - Linguistic composition of regions, 2016



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

Note: the figure shows the distribution of languages among regions in Ghana in 2016.

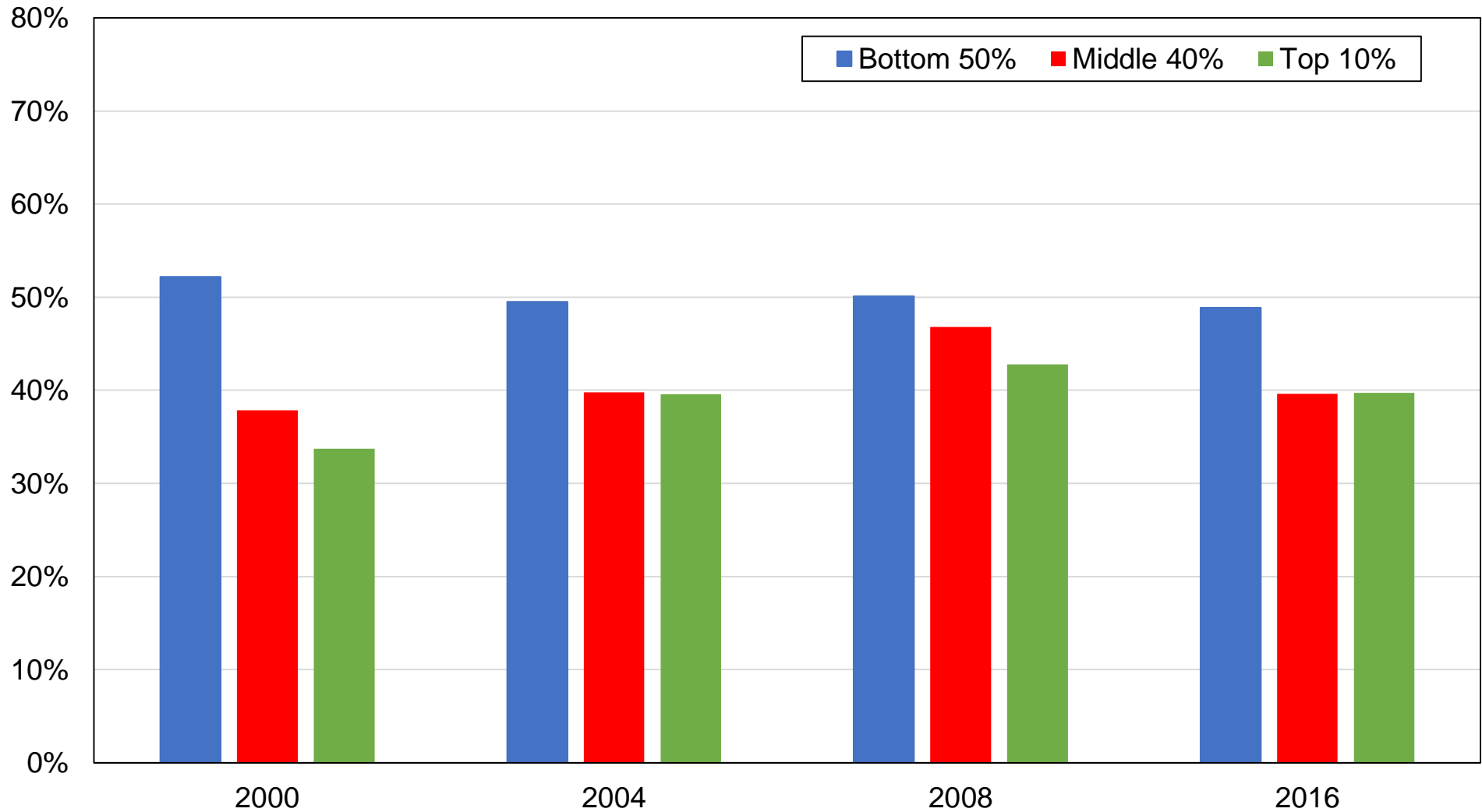
Figure BB1 - Vote for NDC by education level



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

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

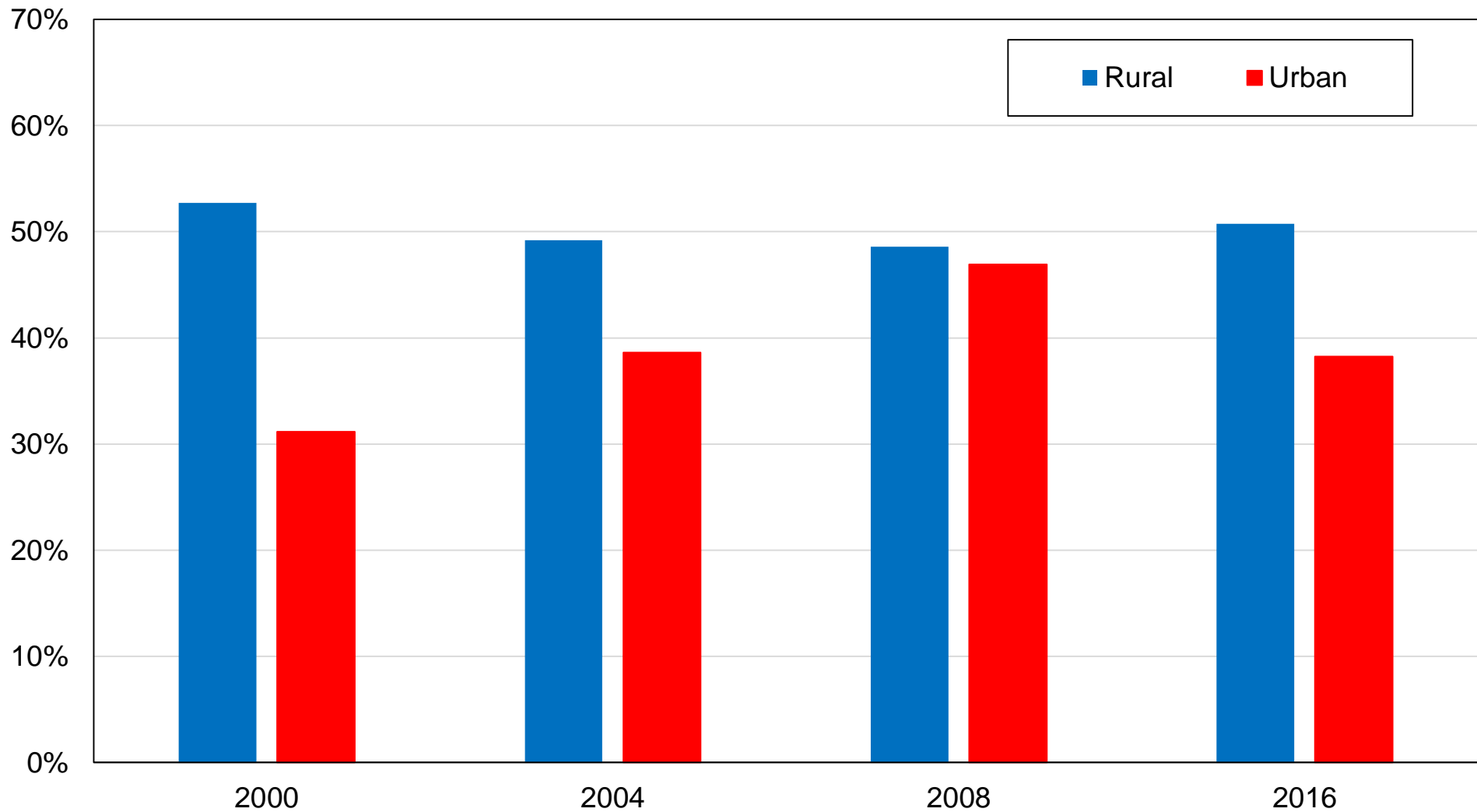
Figure BB2 - Vote for NDC by education group



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

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

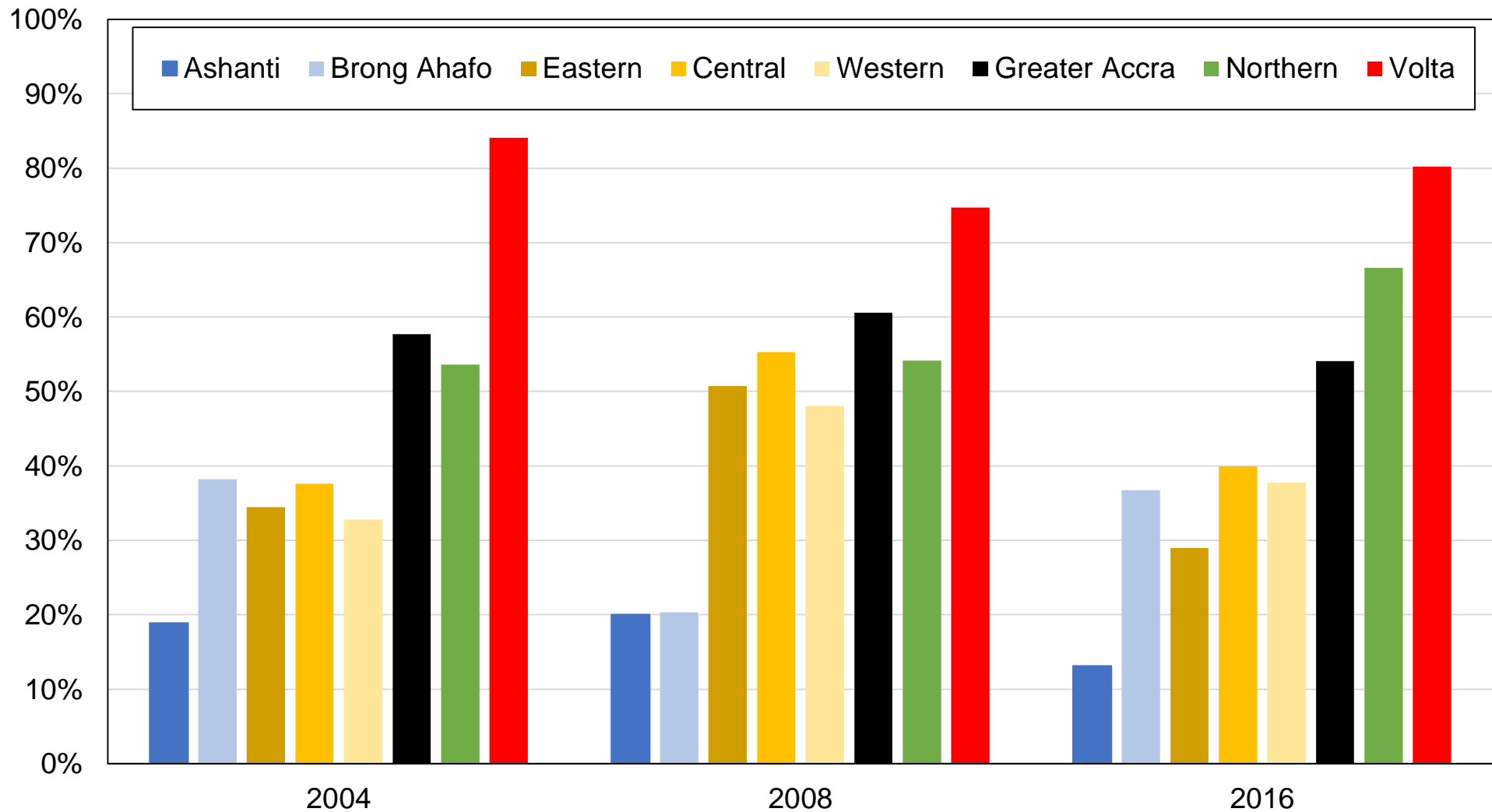
Figure BB3 - Vote for NDC by location



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

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

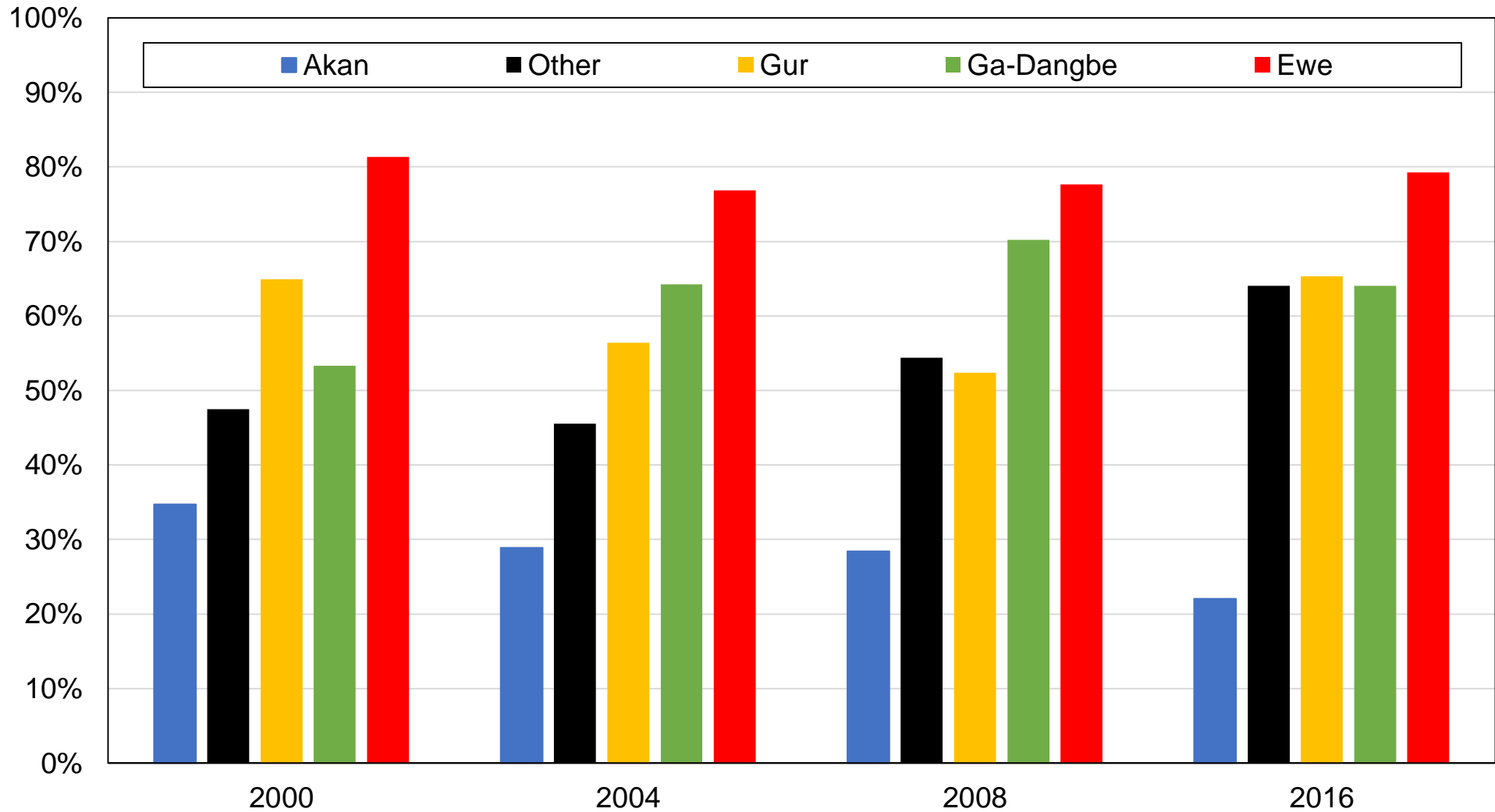
Figure BB4 - Vote for NDC by region



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

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

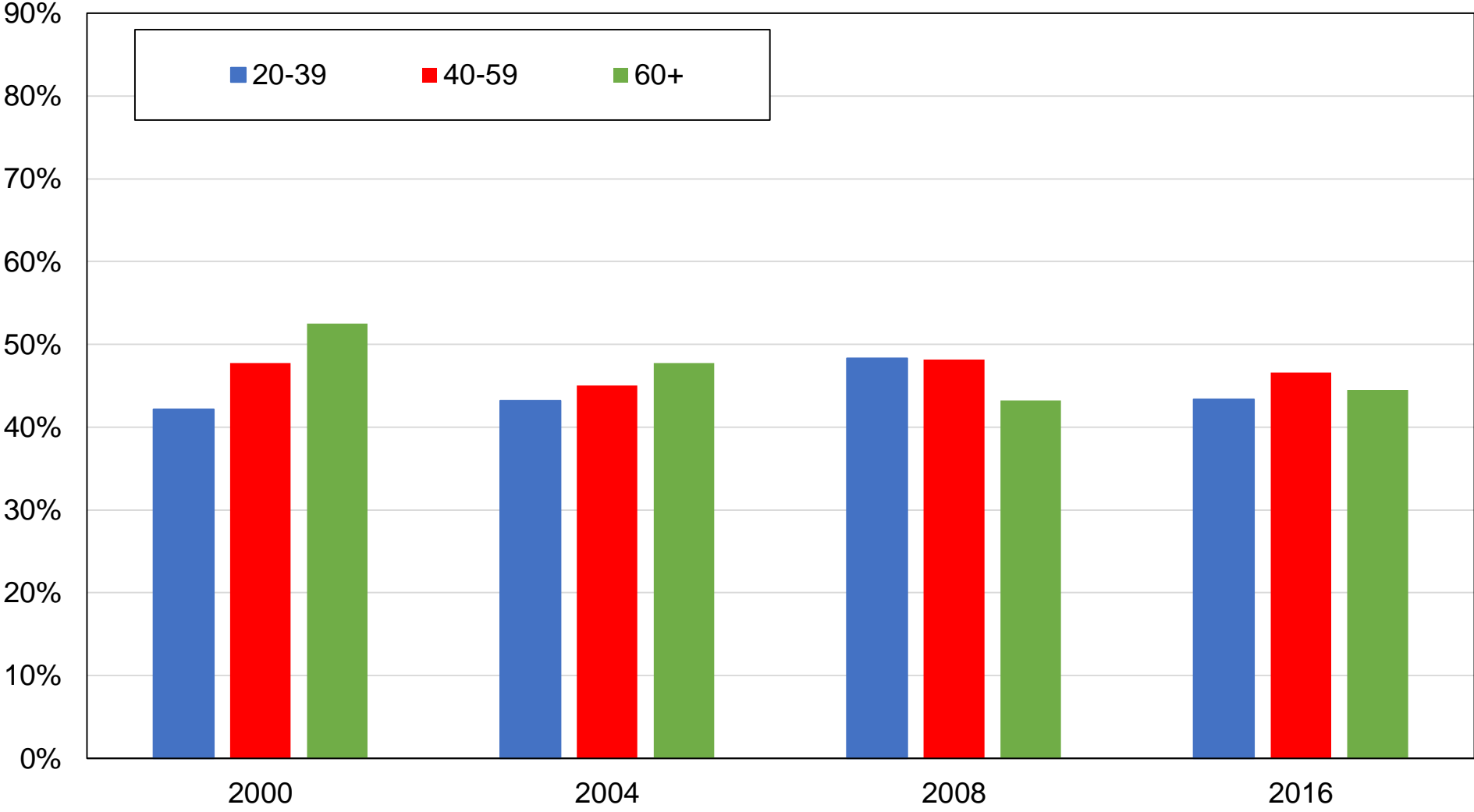
Figure BB5 - Vote for NDC by language



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

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

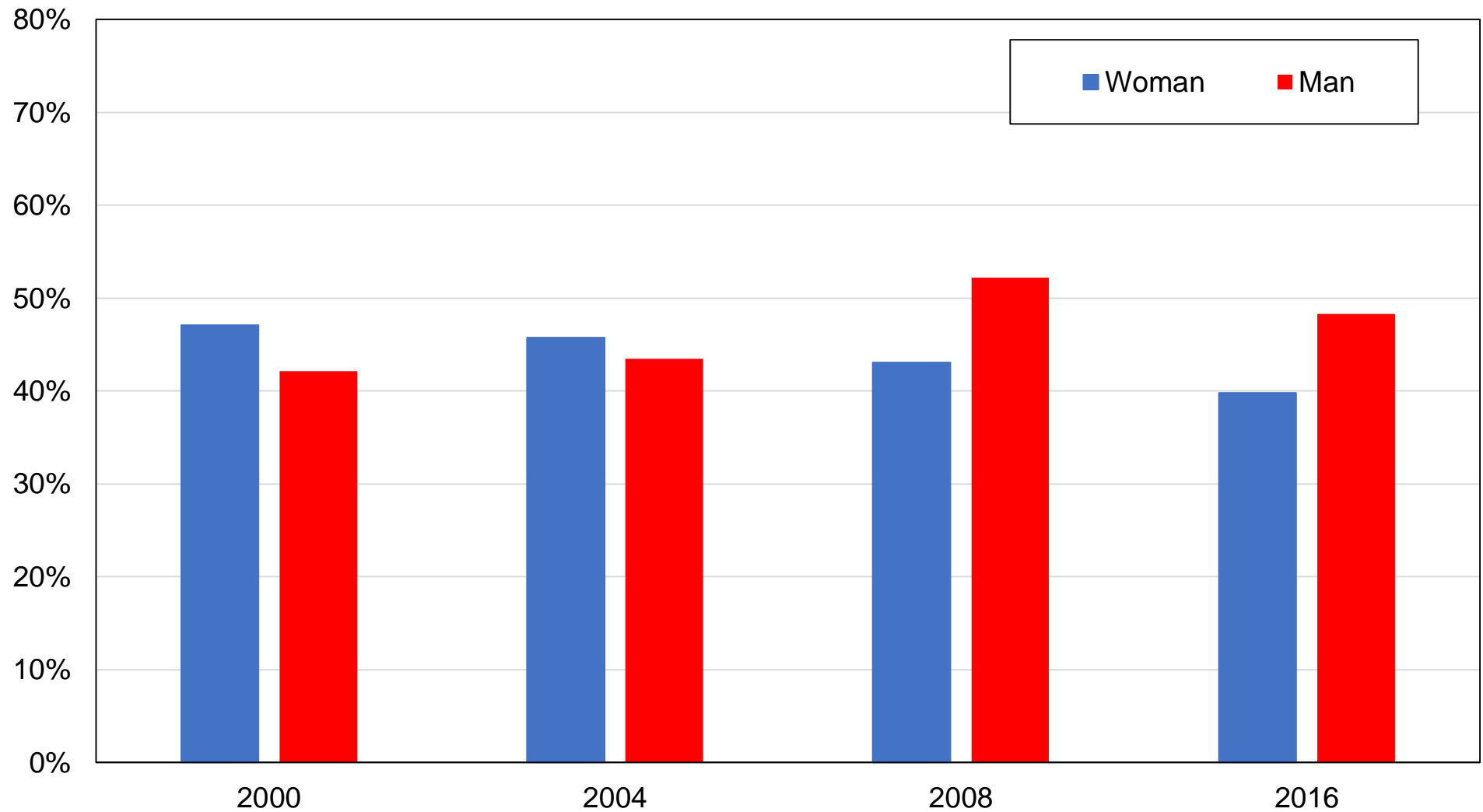
Figure BB6 - Vote for NDC by age group



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

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

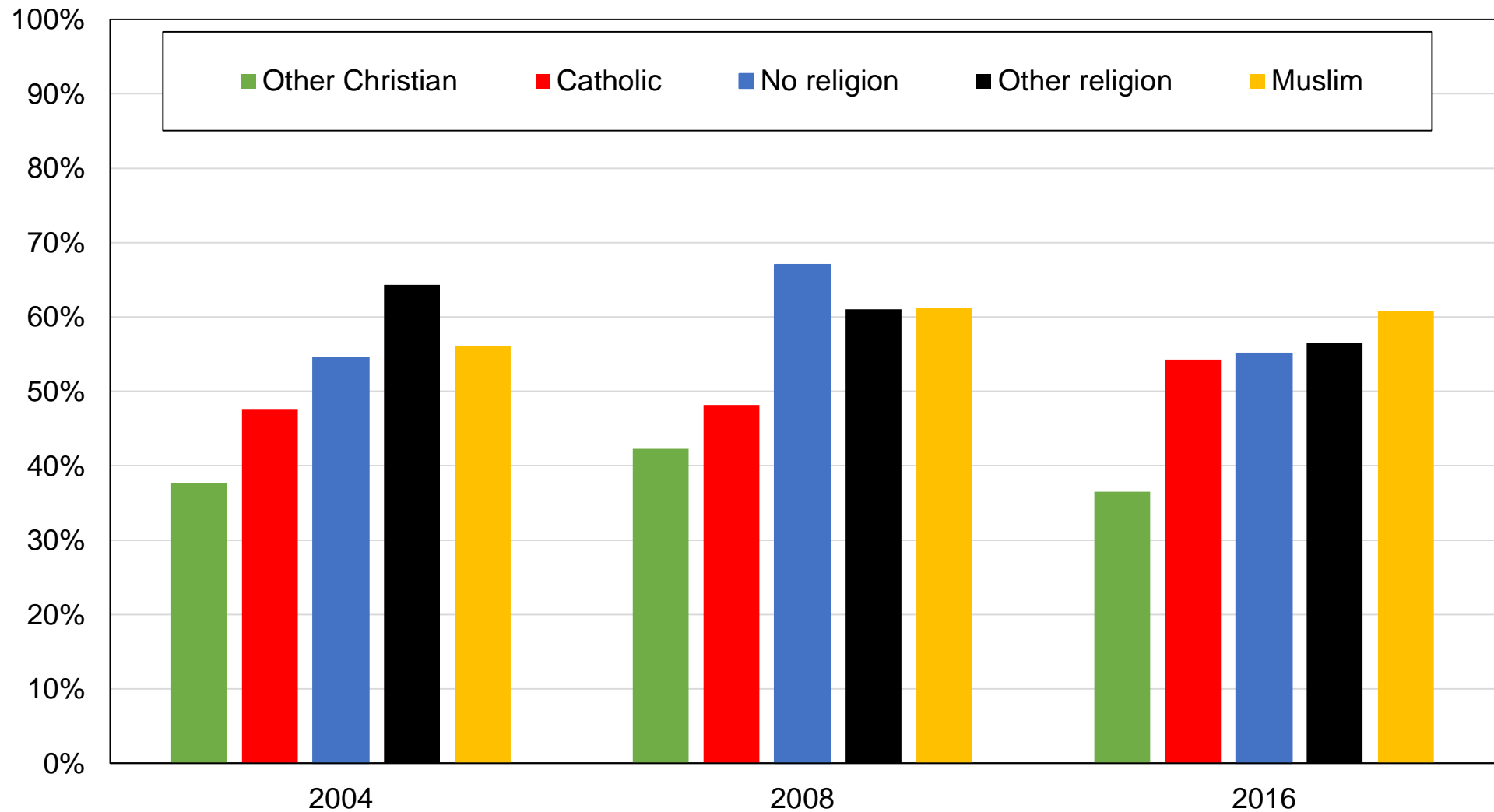
Figure BB7 - Vote for NDC by gender



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

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

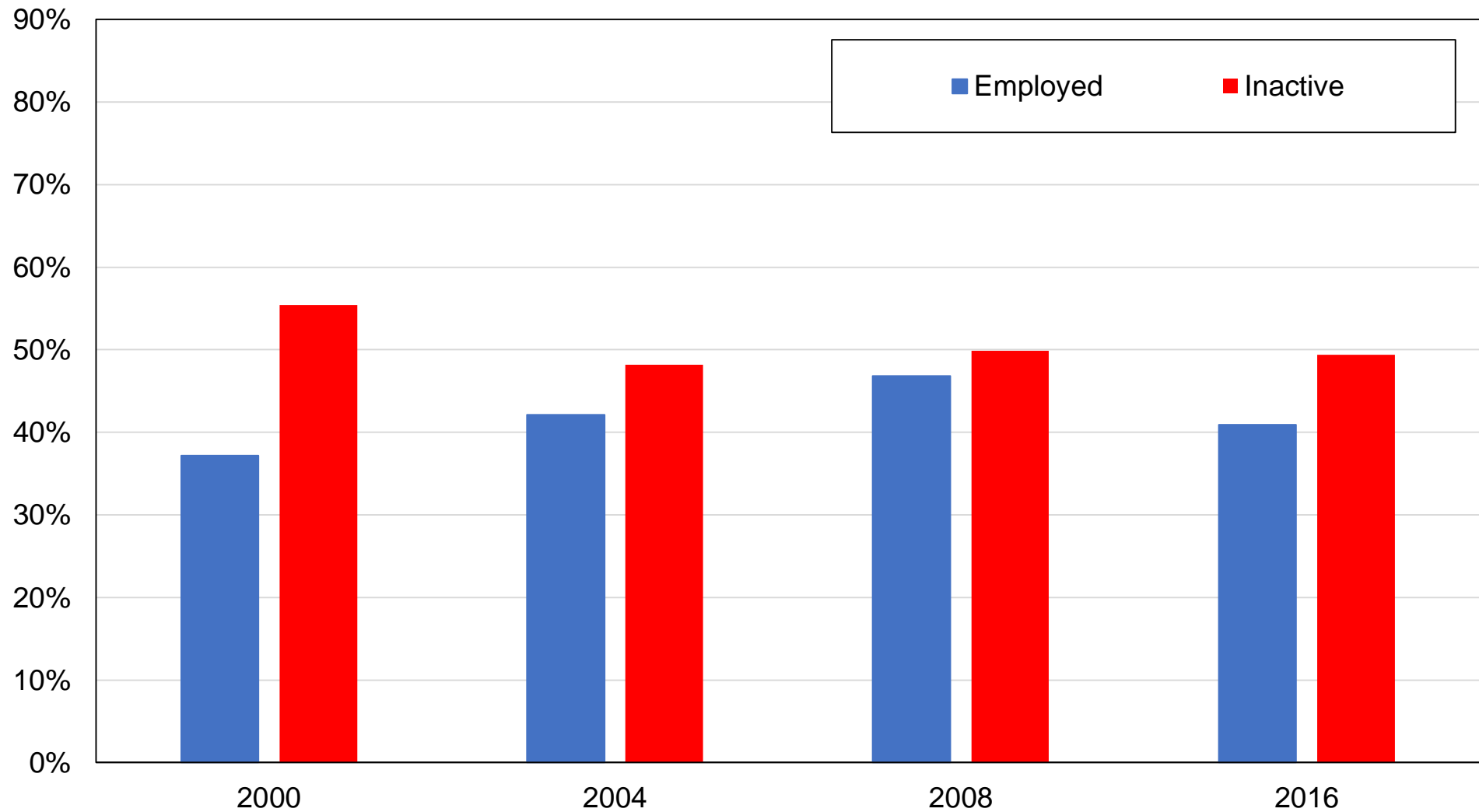
Figure BB8 - Vote for NDC by religion



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

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

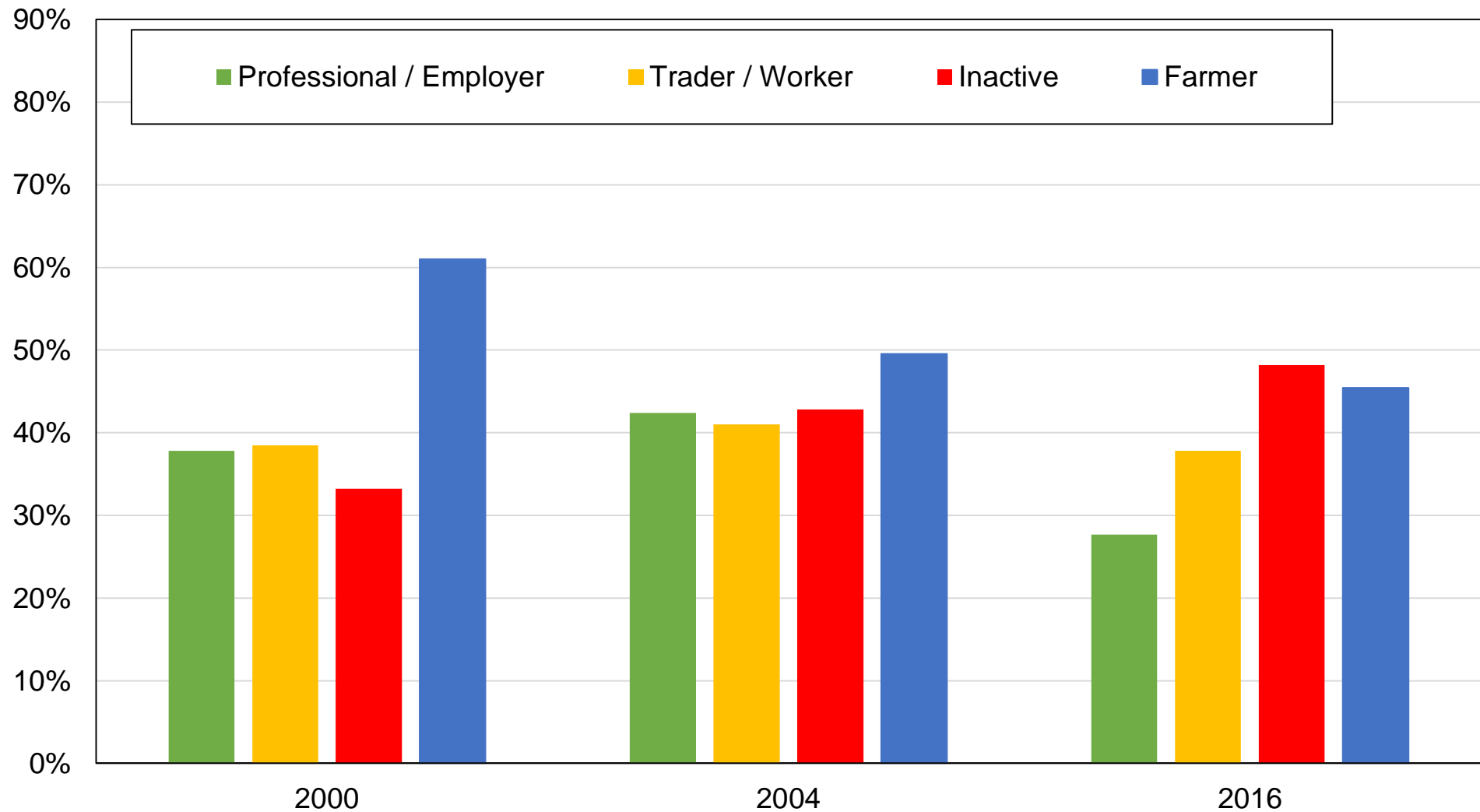
Figure BB9 - Vote for NDC by employment status



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

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

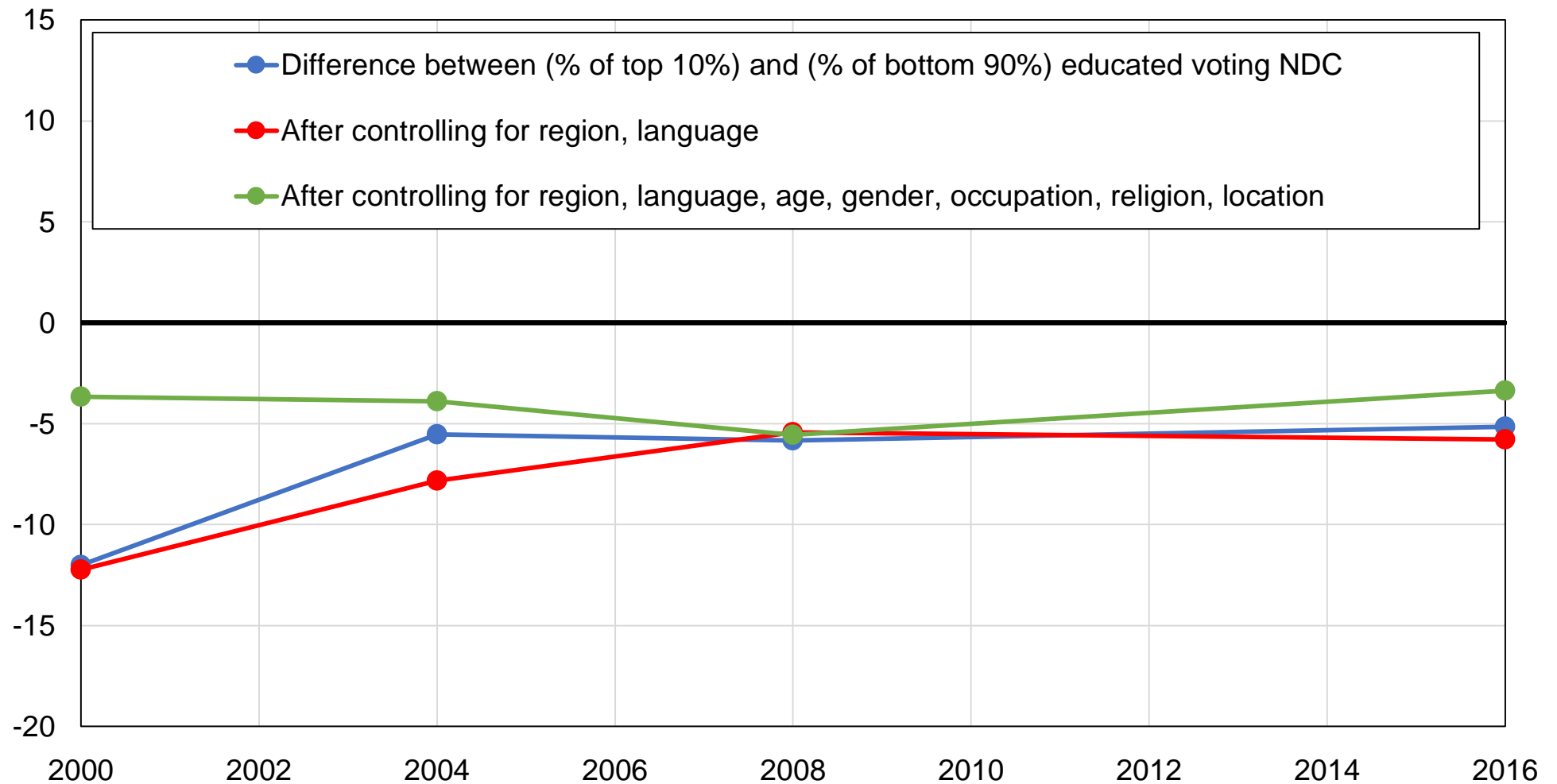
Figure BB10 - Vote for NDC by occupation



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

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

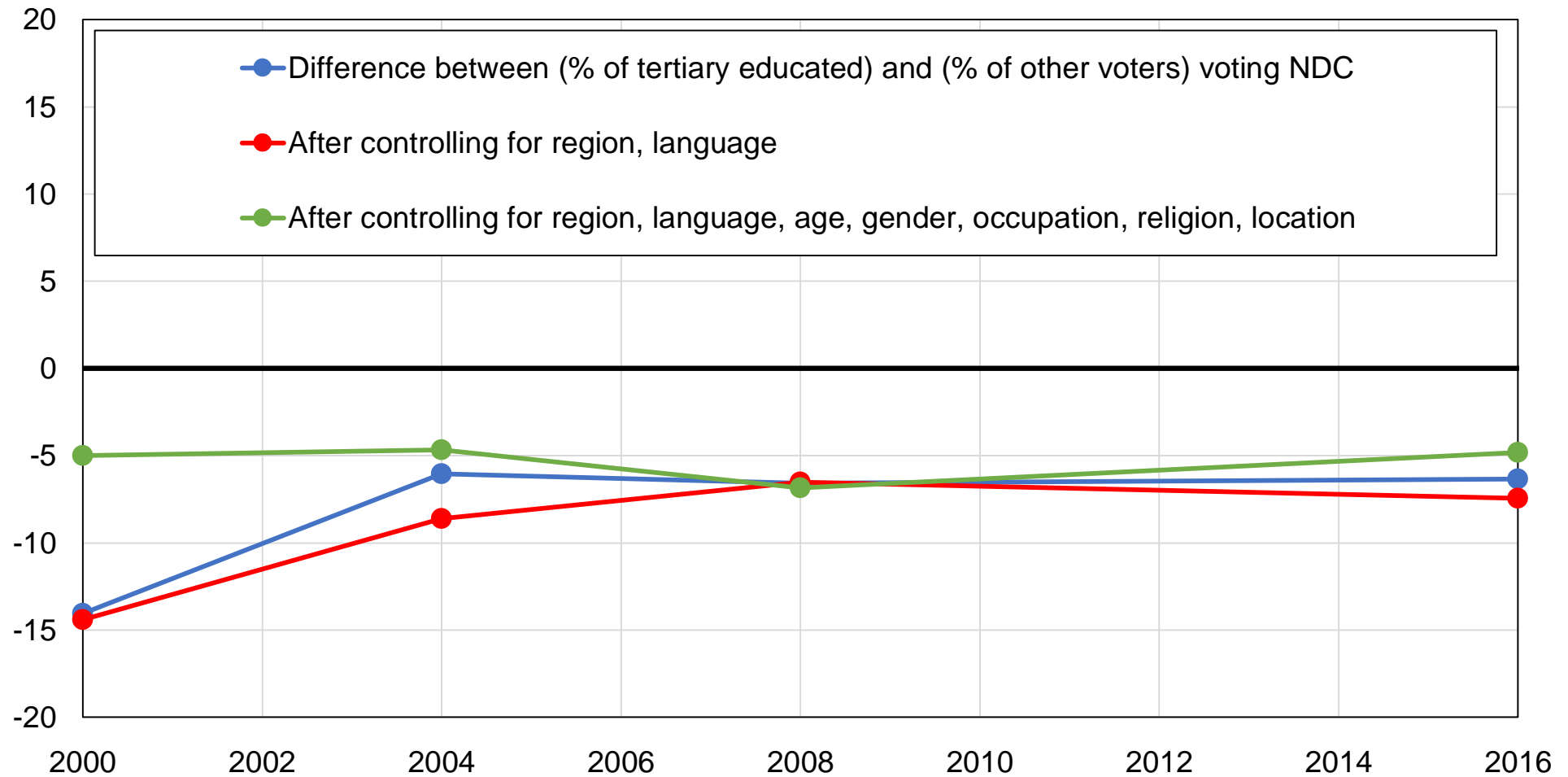
Figure BC1 - Vote for NDC among highest-educated voters



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 NDC, before and after controlling for other variables.

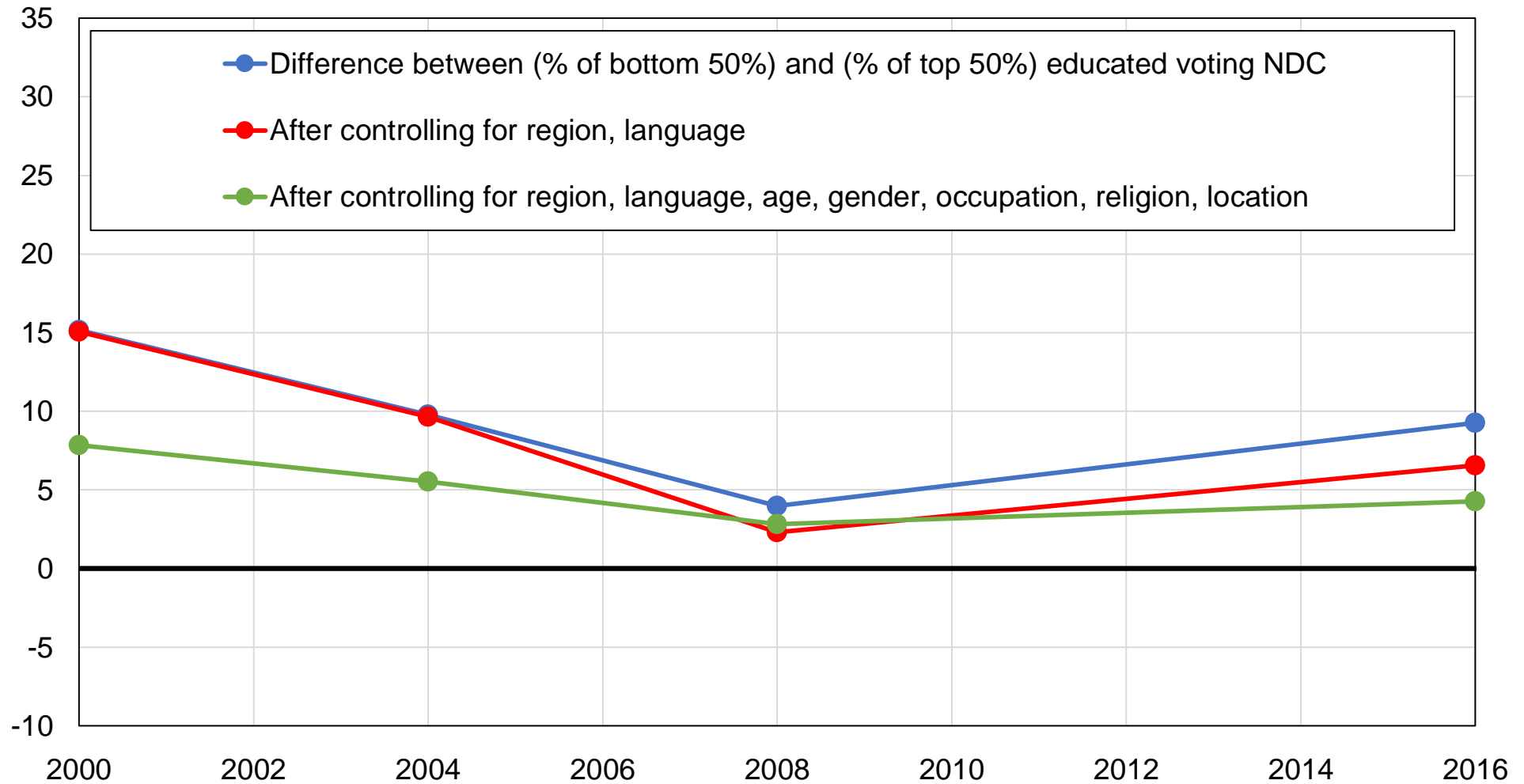
Figure BC2 - Vote for National Democratic Congress among higher-educated voters



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of tertiary-educated voters and the share of other voters voting for NDC, before and after controlling for other variables.

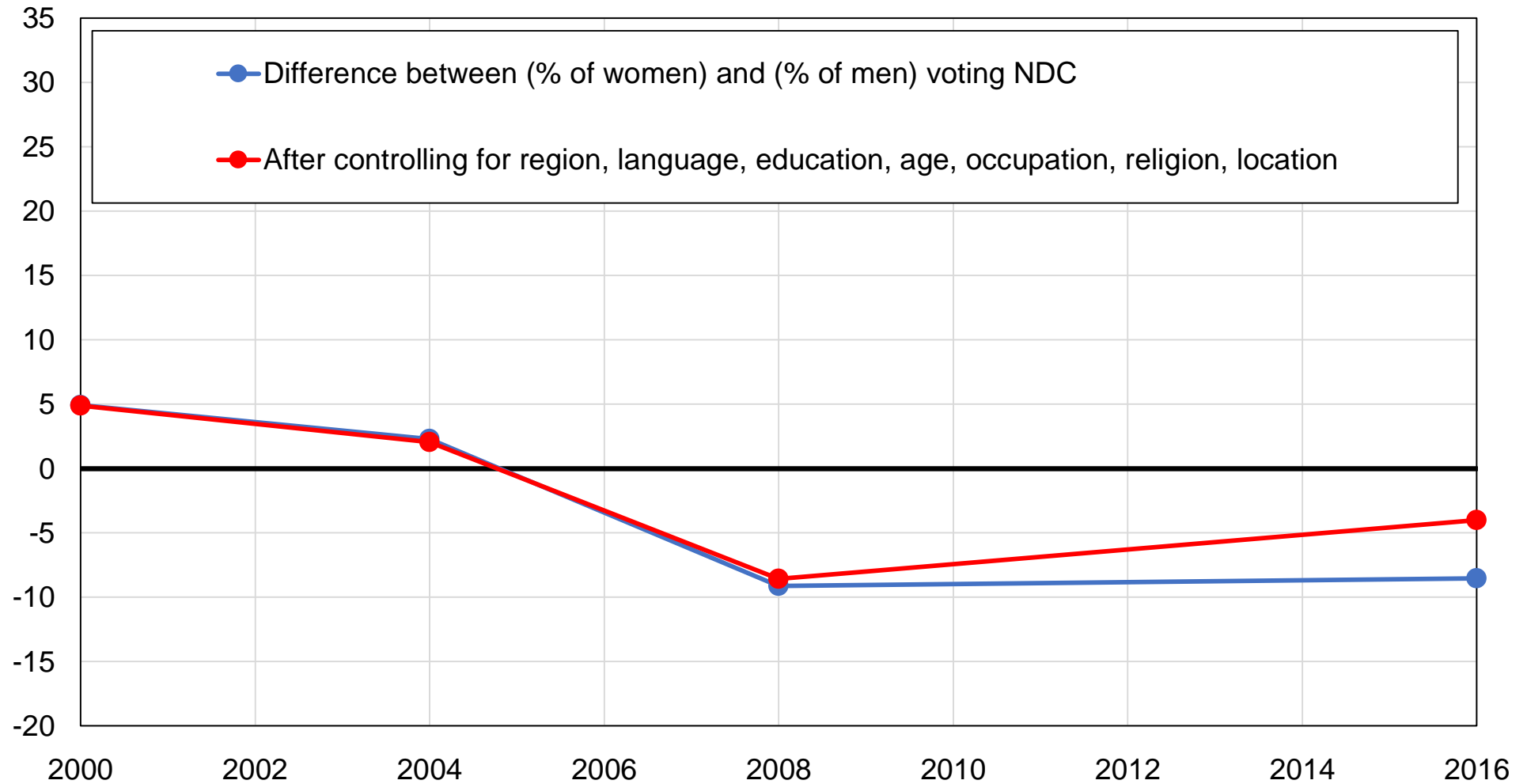
Figure BC3 - Vote for NDC among lowest-educated voters



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of lowest 50% educated voters and the share of other voters voting for NDC, before and after controlling for other variables.

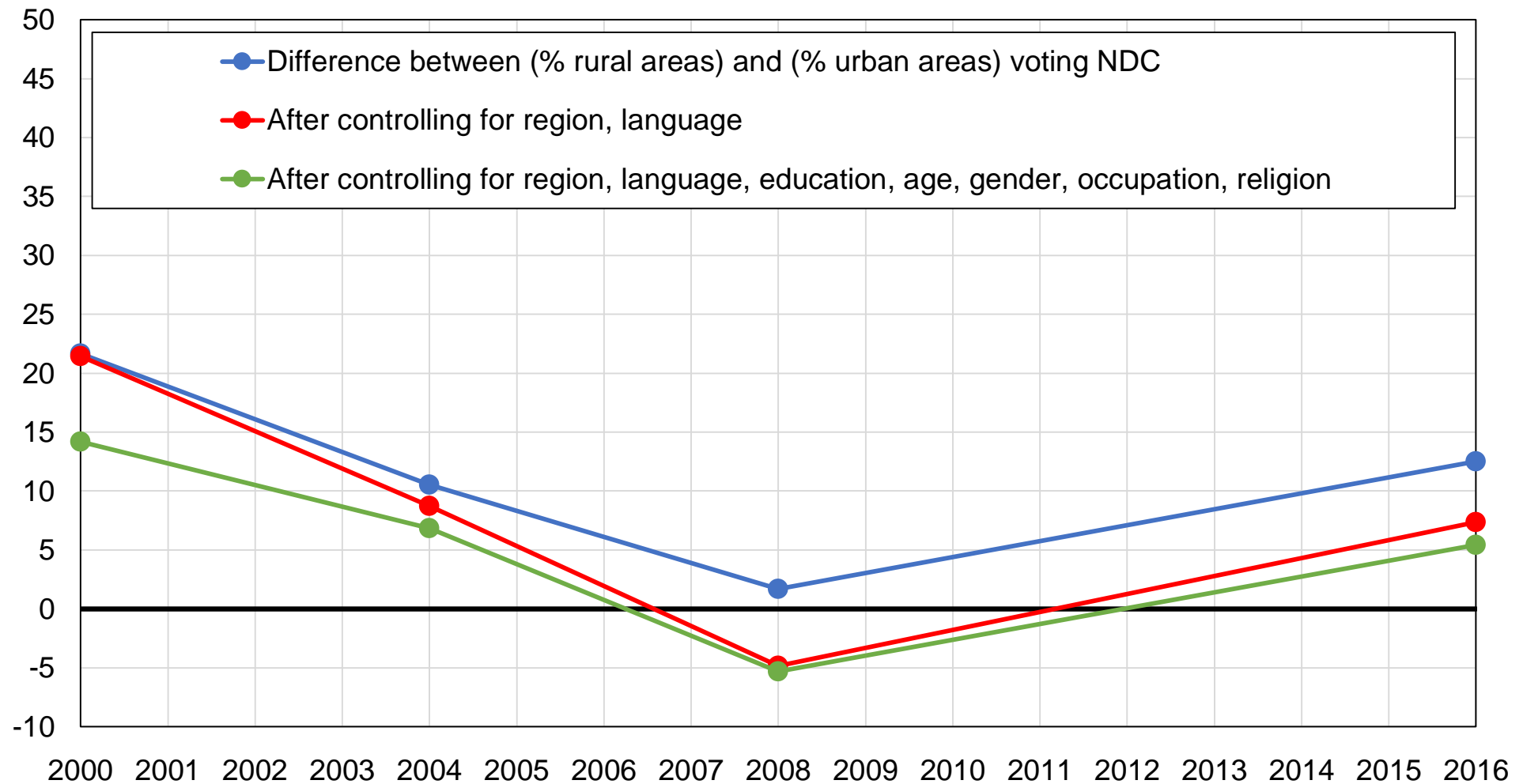
Figure BC4 - Vote for NDC among women



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

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

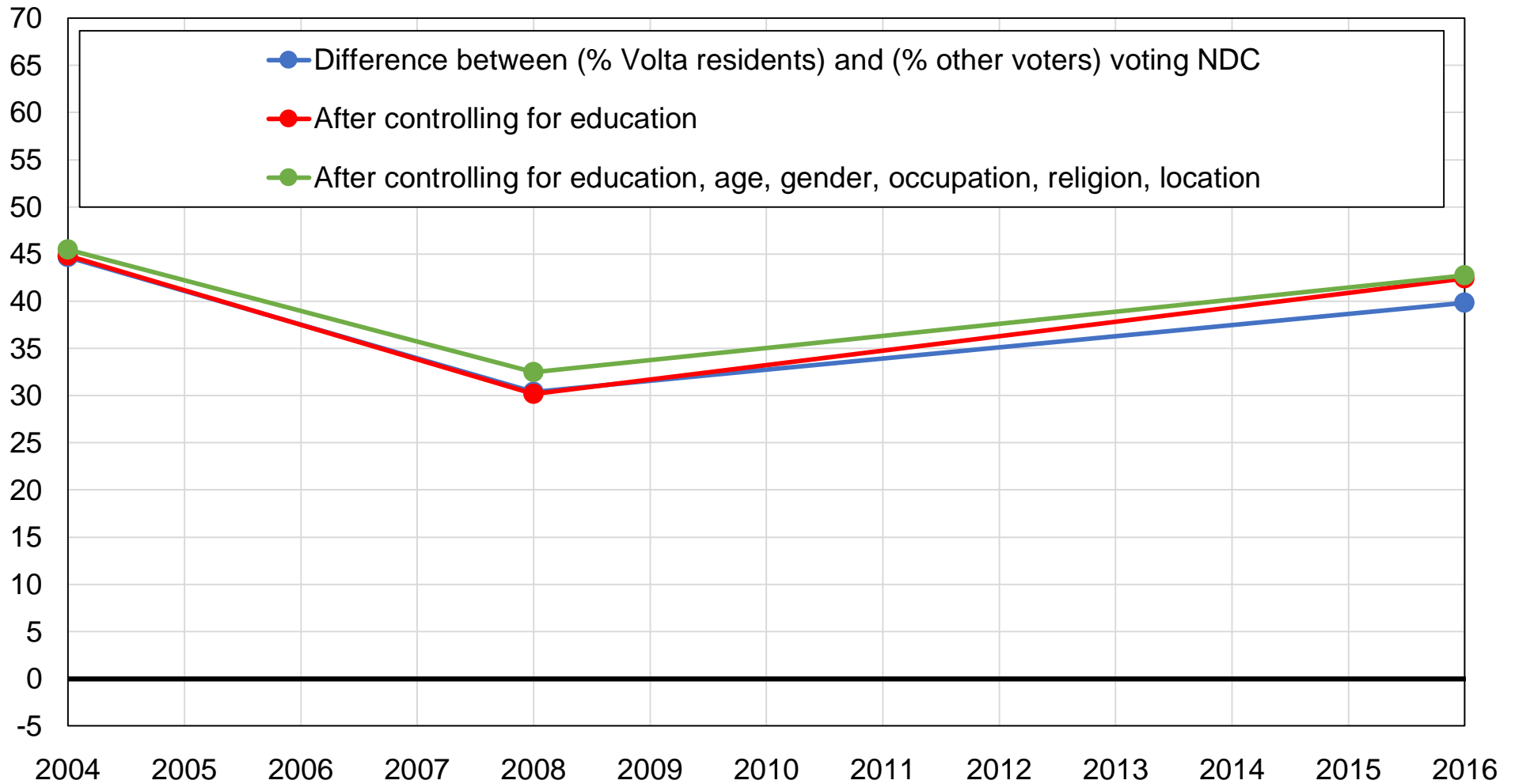
Figure BC5 - Vote for NDC among rural areas



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 NDC, before and after controlling for other variables.

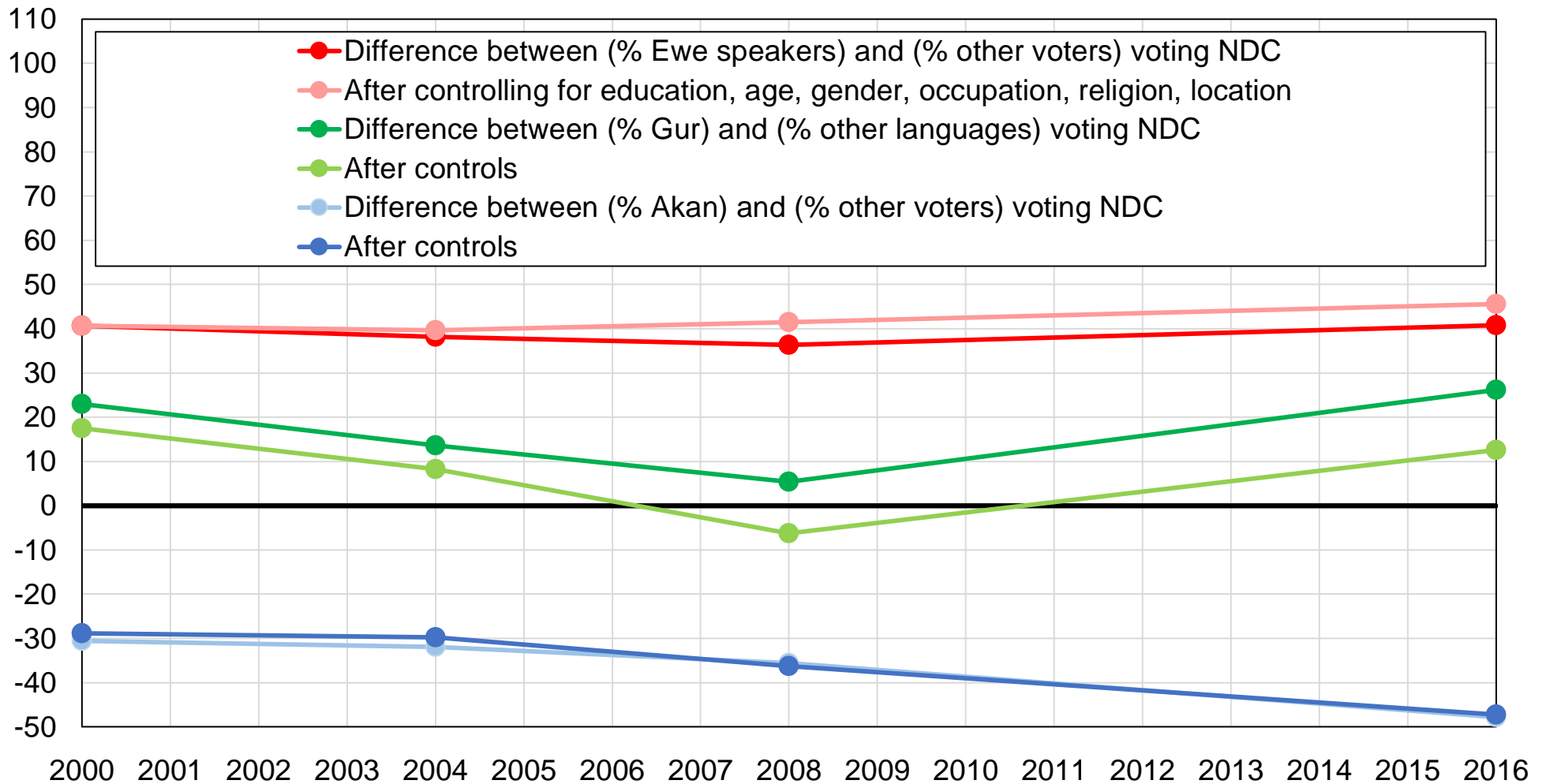
Figure BC6 - Vote for NDC among Volta region residents



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

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

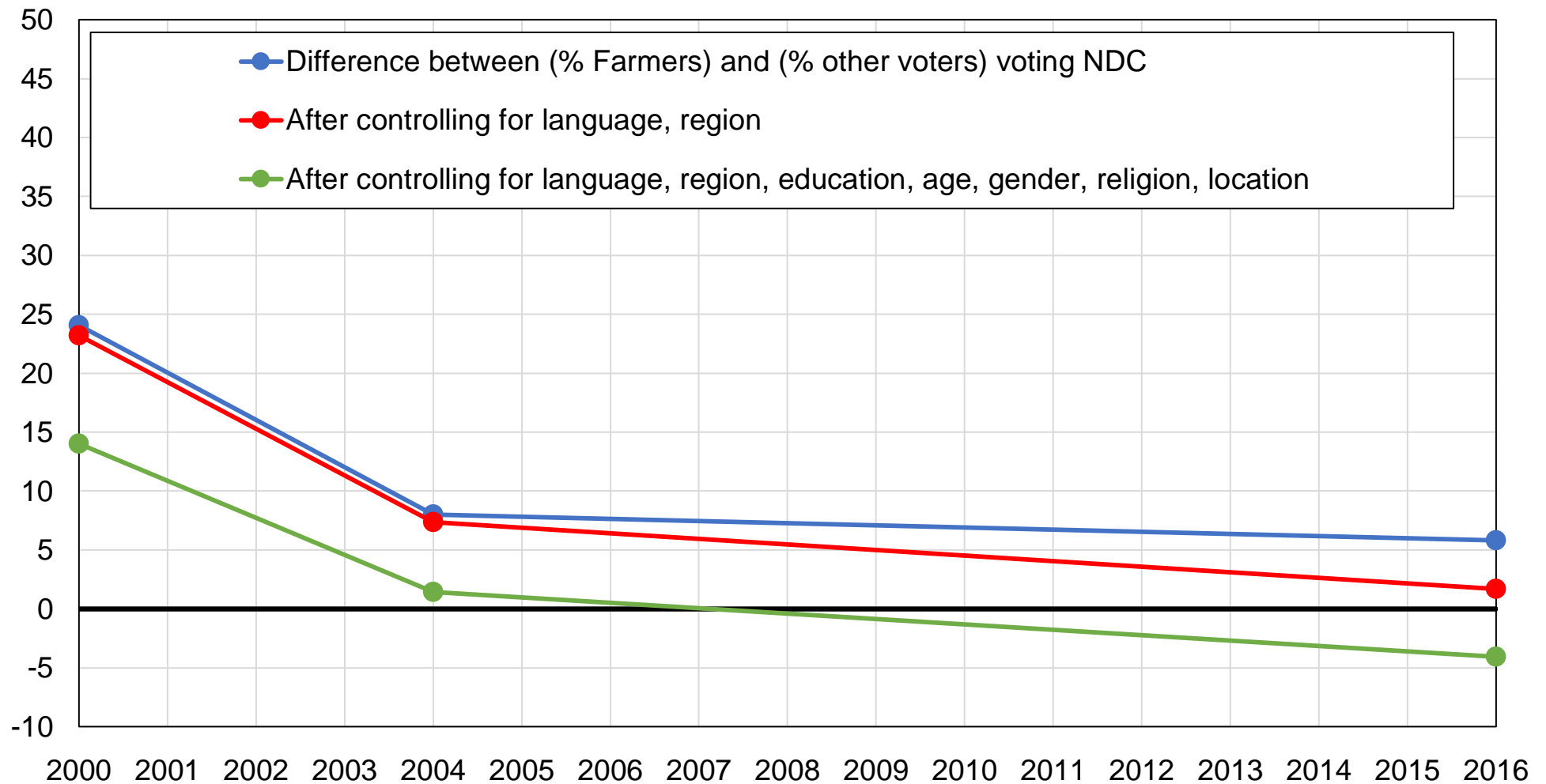
Figure BC7 - Ethnolinguistic cleavages in Ghana



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

Note: the figure shows differences between the share of speakers of selected languages and the share of other voters voting for NDC, before and after controlling for other variables.

Figure BC8 - Vote for NDC among farmers



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

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

Table B1 - 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

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 B2 - Complete descriptive statistics by year

	2000	2004	2008	2016
Education: Illiterate	22%	28%	24%	18%
Education: Primary	15%	17%	17%	16%
Education: Secondary	41%	38%	37%	38%
Education: Tertiary	22%	17%	22%	28%
Age: 20-39	64%	55%	57%	62%
Age: 40-59	29%	32%	32%	29%
Age: 60+	8%	13%	11%	9%
Gender: Man	49%	49%	51%	54%
Employment status: Employed	60%	56%	59%	59%
Employment status: Unemployed	31%	20%	28%	24%
Employment status: Inactive	10%	24%	13%	17%
Religion: No religion		7%	3%	2%
Religion: Catholic		16%	15%	13%
Religion: Other Christian		56%	61%	64%
Religion: Muslim		15%	16%	15%
Religion: Other		6%	5%	6%
Location: Rural	63%	54%	56%	46%
Region: Ashanti		17%	17%	19%
Region: Brong Ahafo		9%	9%	9%
Region: Central		8%	9%	9%
Region: Eastern		11%	11%	10%
Region: Greater Accra		16%	16%	18%
Region: Northern		18%	18%	16%
Region: Volta		11%	10%	9%
Region: Western		9%	10%	9%
Language: Gbe	10%	15%	17%	15%
Language: Gur	10%	13%	21%	19%
Language: Kwa	9%	7%	11%	8%
Language: Other	3%	14%	5%	6%
Language: Potou-tano	68%	51%	46%	53%
Occupation: Farmer	31%	38%		27%
Occupation: Inactive	20%	12%		19%
Occupation: Professional / Employee	18%	11%		8%
Occupation: Trader / Worker	30%	39%		46%

Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

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