

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

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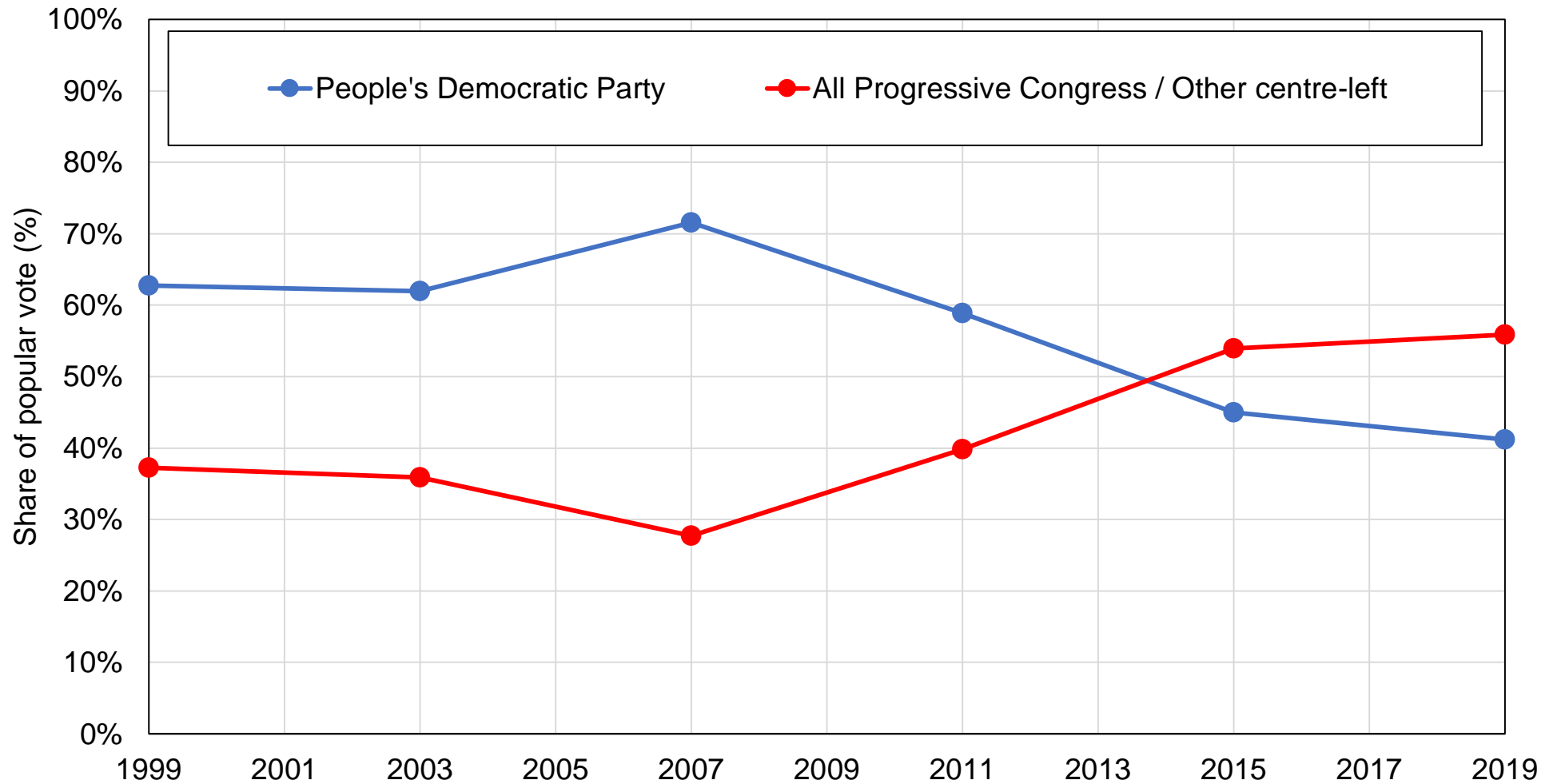
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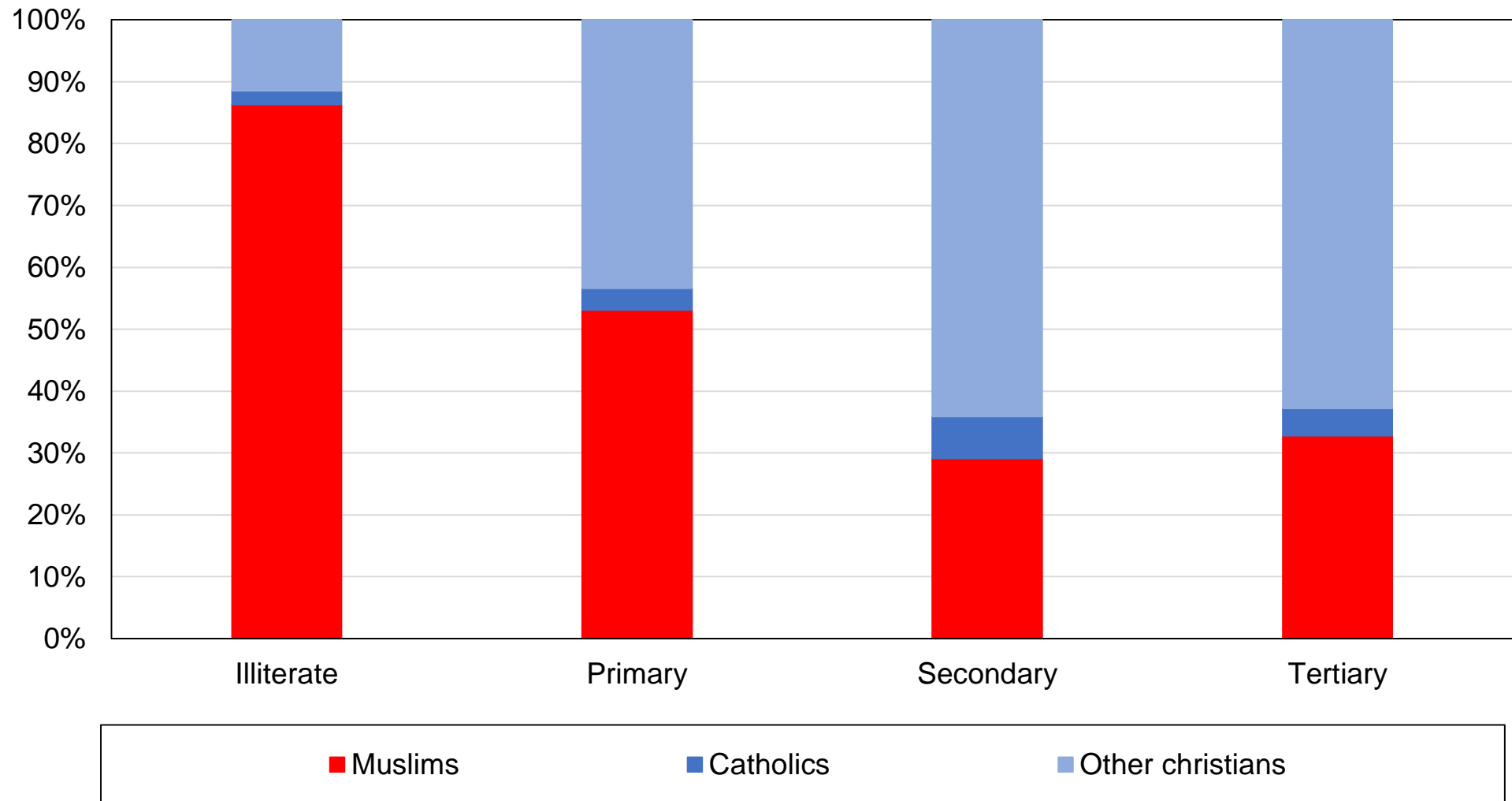
Figure C1 - Presidential election results in Nigeria, 1999-2019



Source: authors' computations using official election results.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by selected groups of Nigerian political parties in presidential elections between 1999 and 2019.

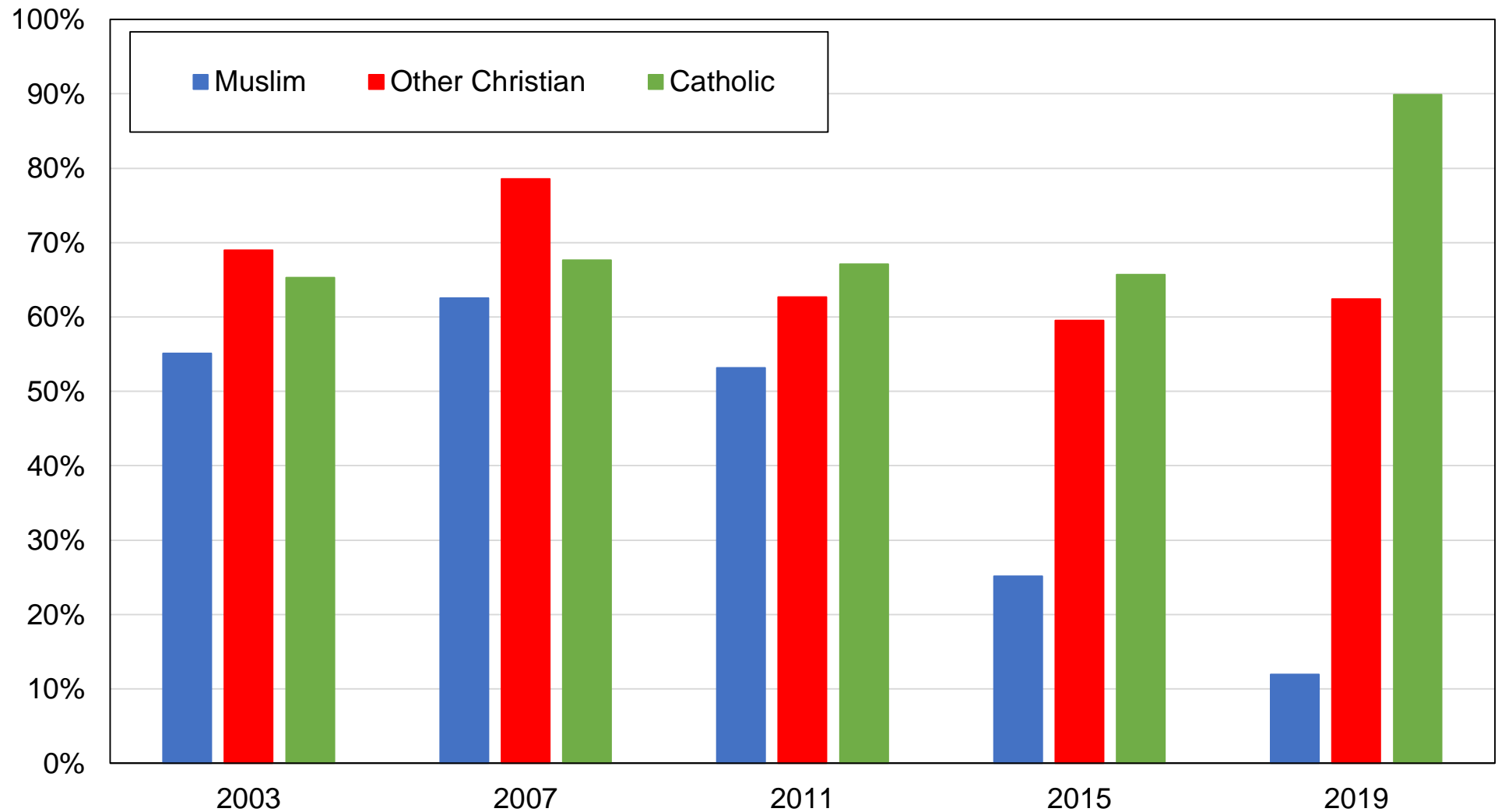
Figure C2 - Ethnoreligious educational inequalities in Nigeria



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

Note: the figure shows the distribution of religious groups by education level in Nigeria in 2019.

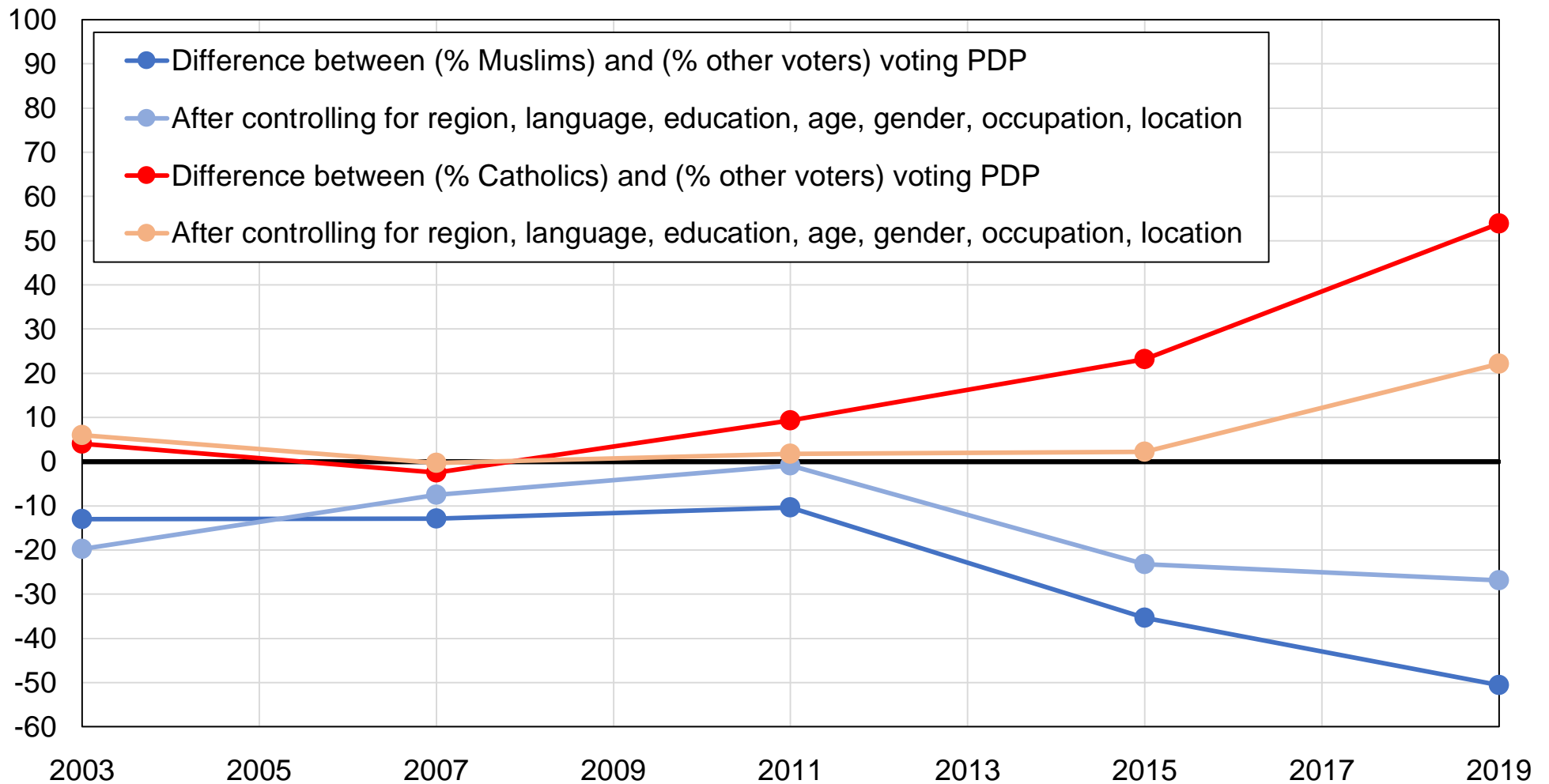
Figure C3 - Vote for People's Democratic Party by religion



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

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

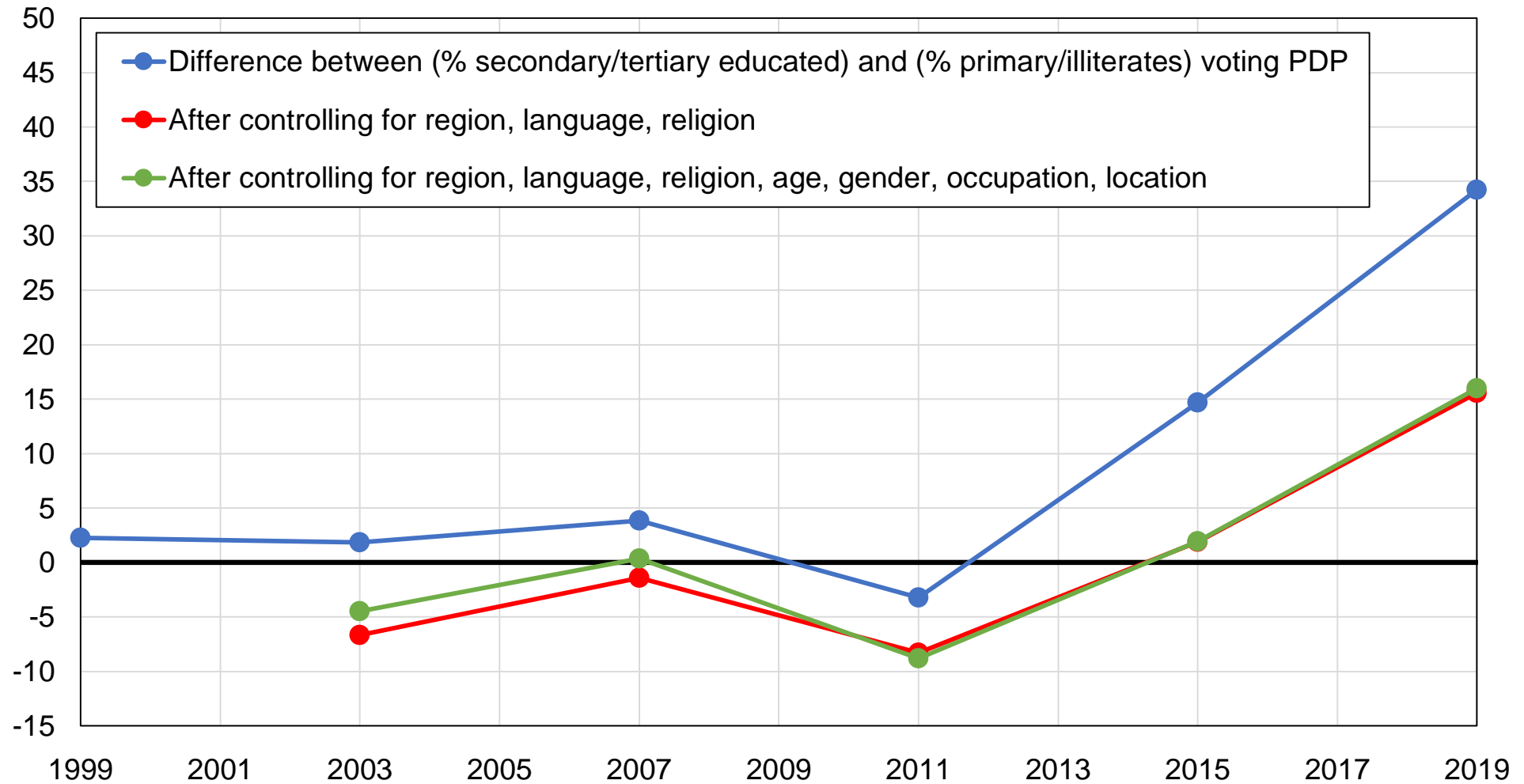
Figure C4 - The rise of ethnoreligious polarization in Nigeria



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of Muslim voters and the share of other voters voting for PDP, and the same difference for Catholics, before and after controlling for other variables.

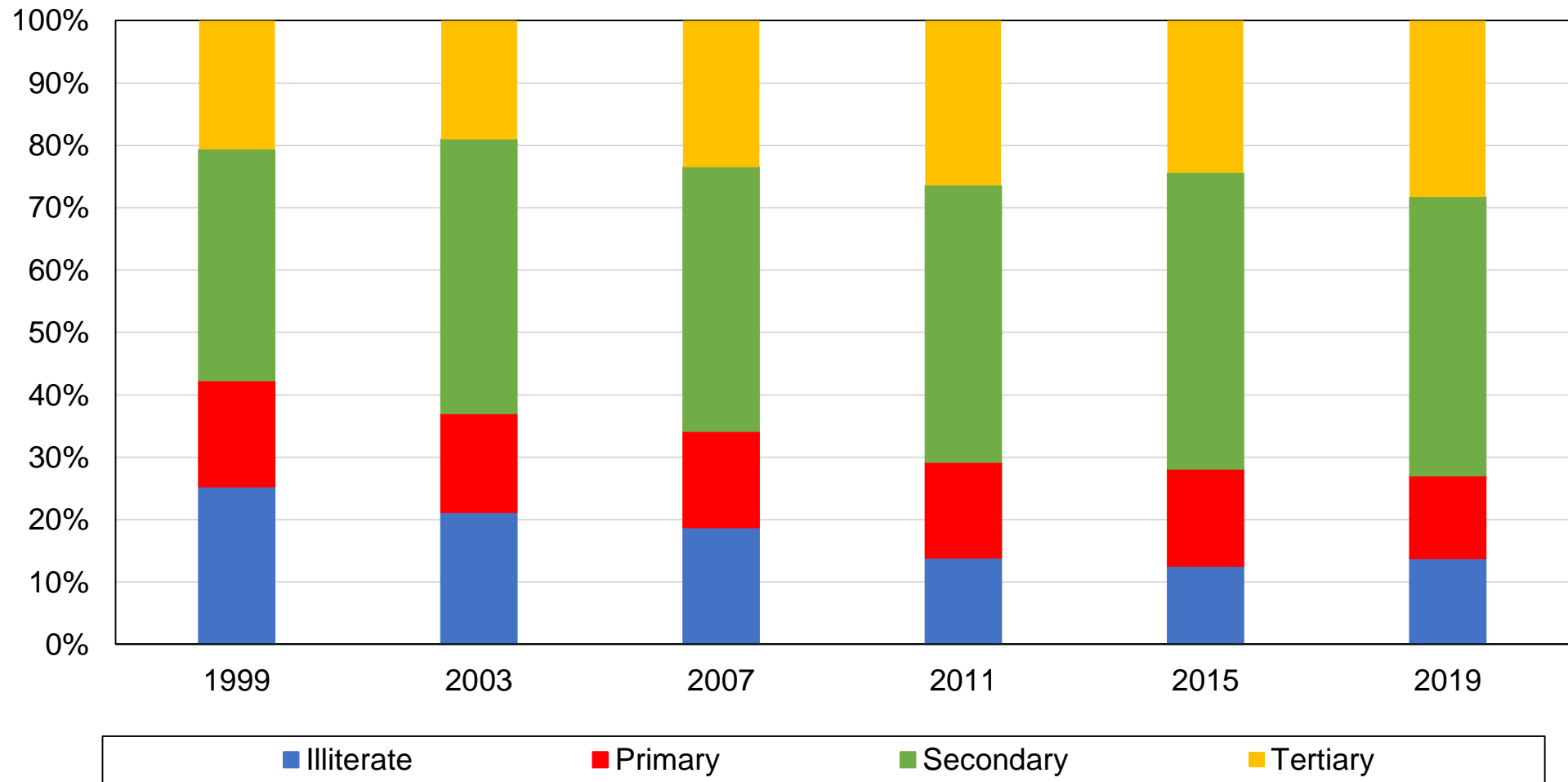
Figure C5 - Vote for PDP among highest-educated voters



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

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

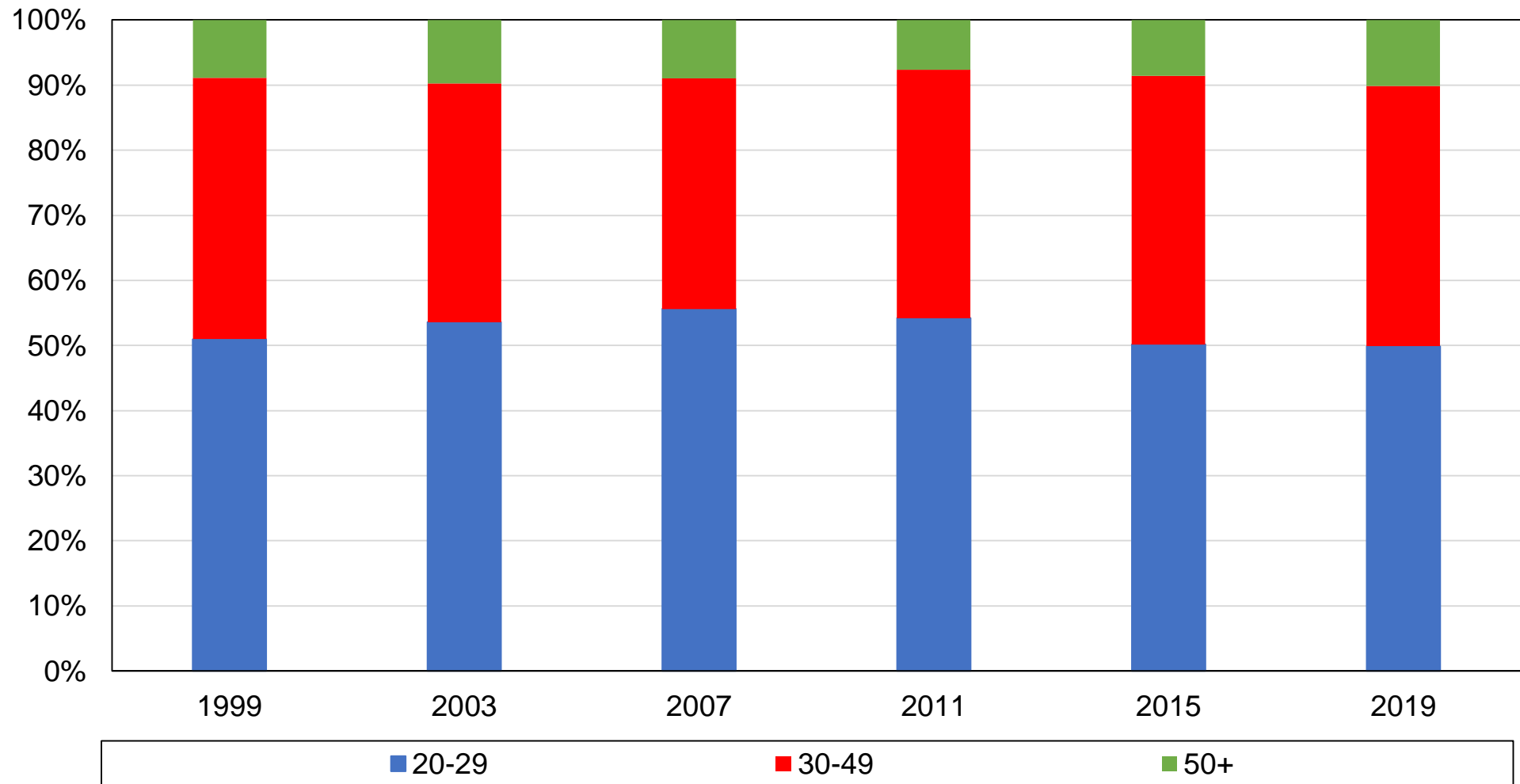
Figure CA1 - The composition of the electorate by education



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

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

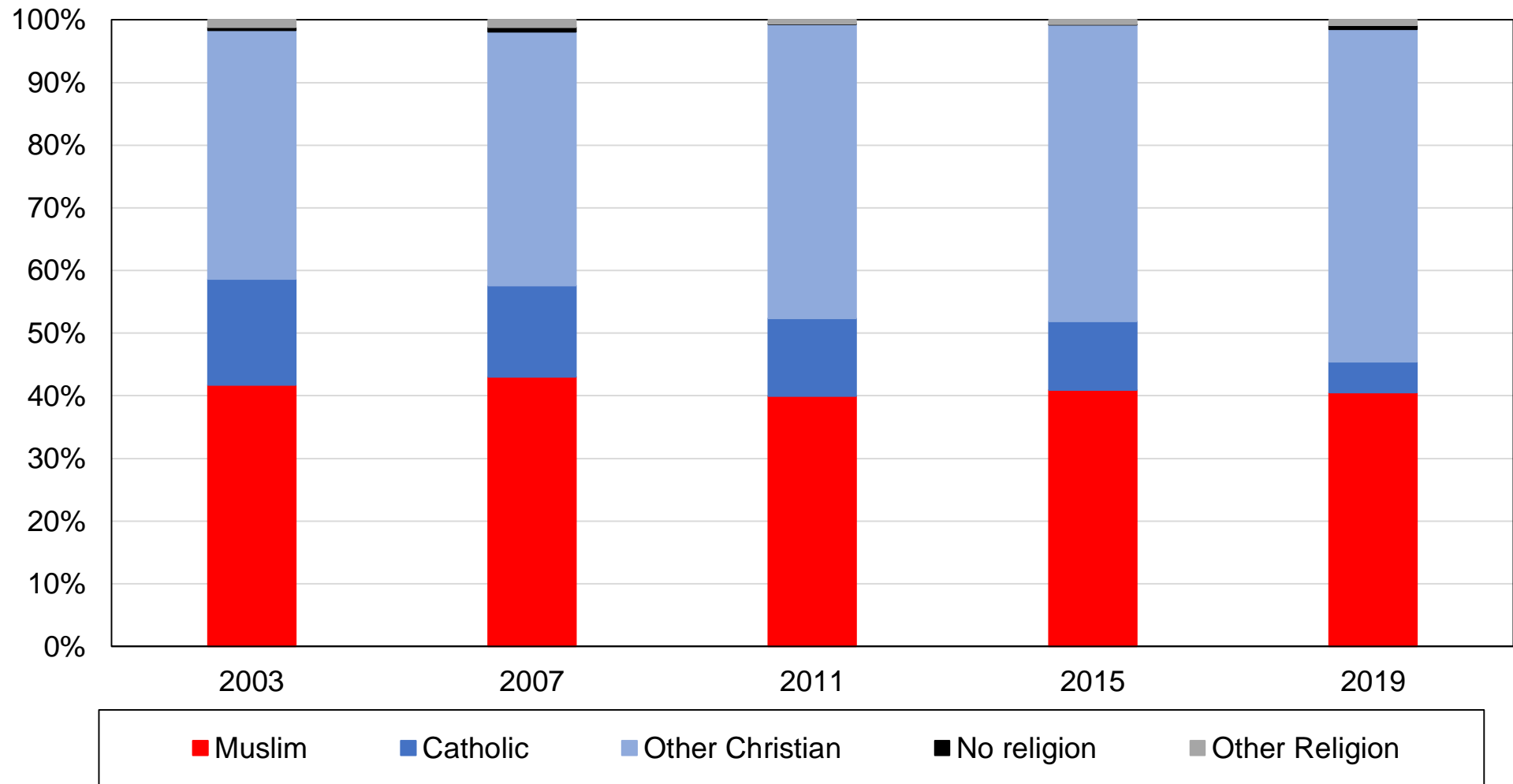
Figure CA2 - The composition of the electorate by age



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

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

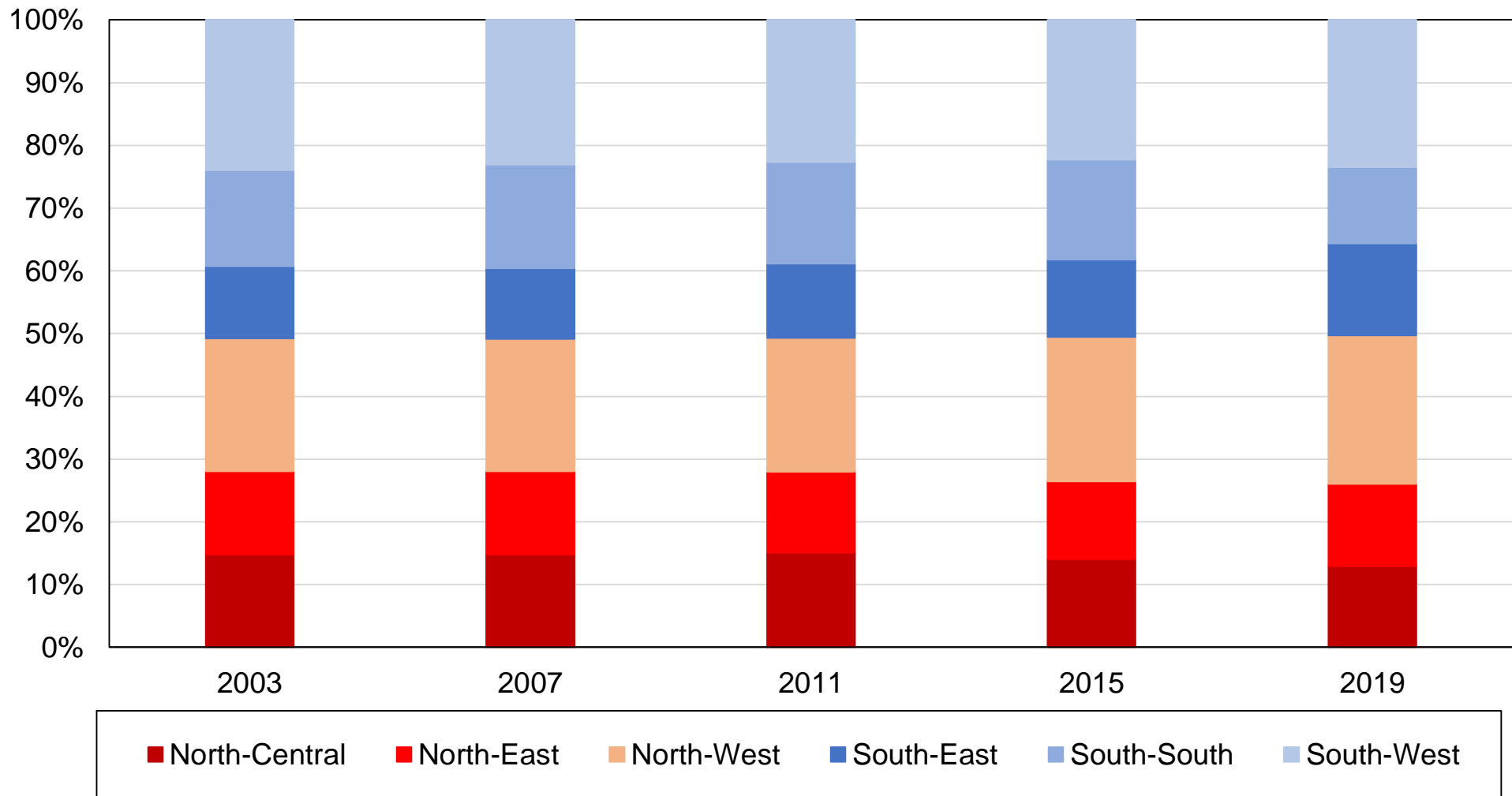
Figure CA3 - The composition of the electorate by religion



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

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

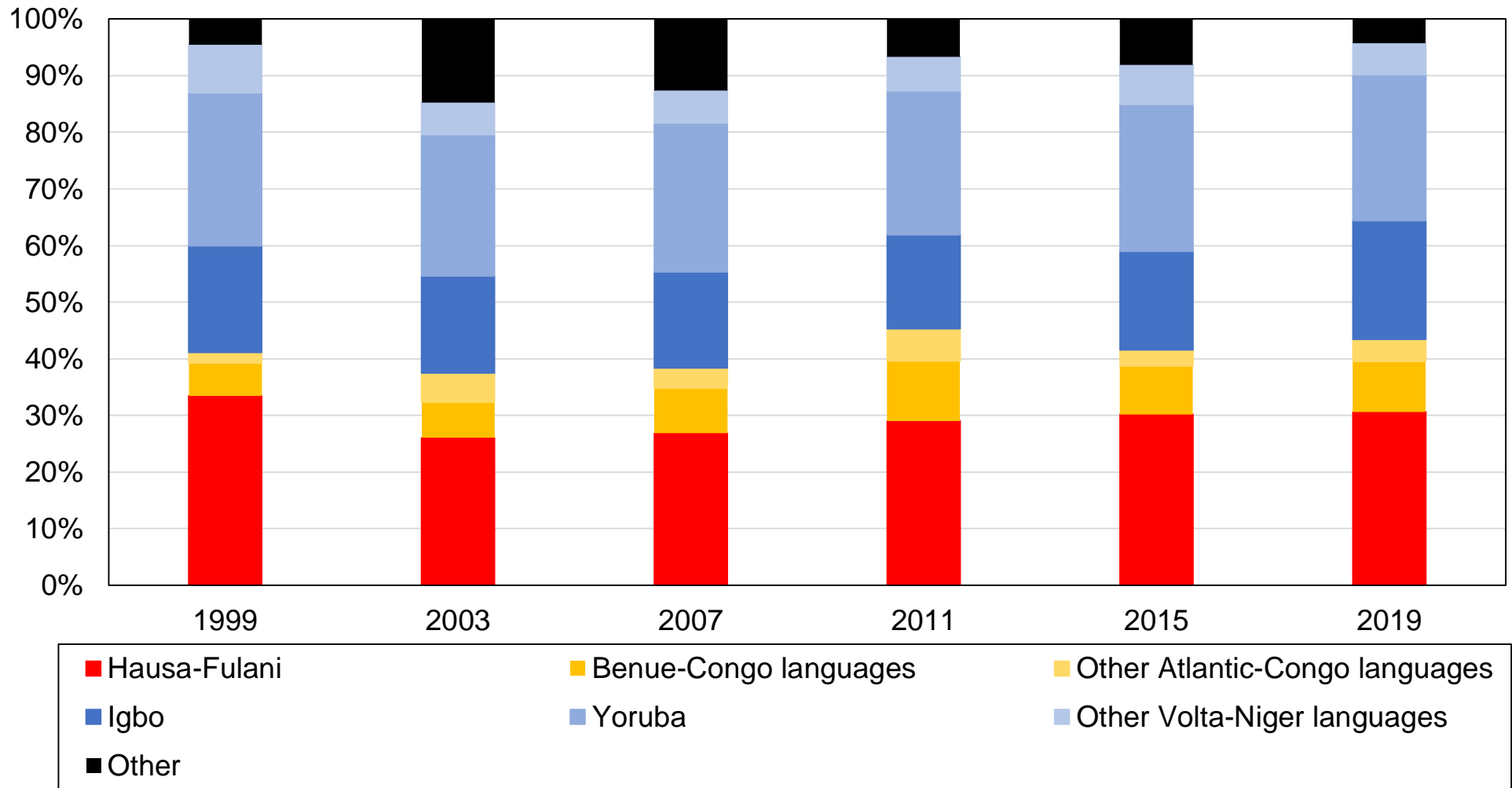
Figure CA4 - The composition of the electorate by region



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of the electorate living in different regions of Nigeria.

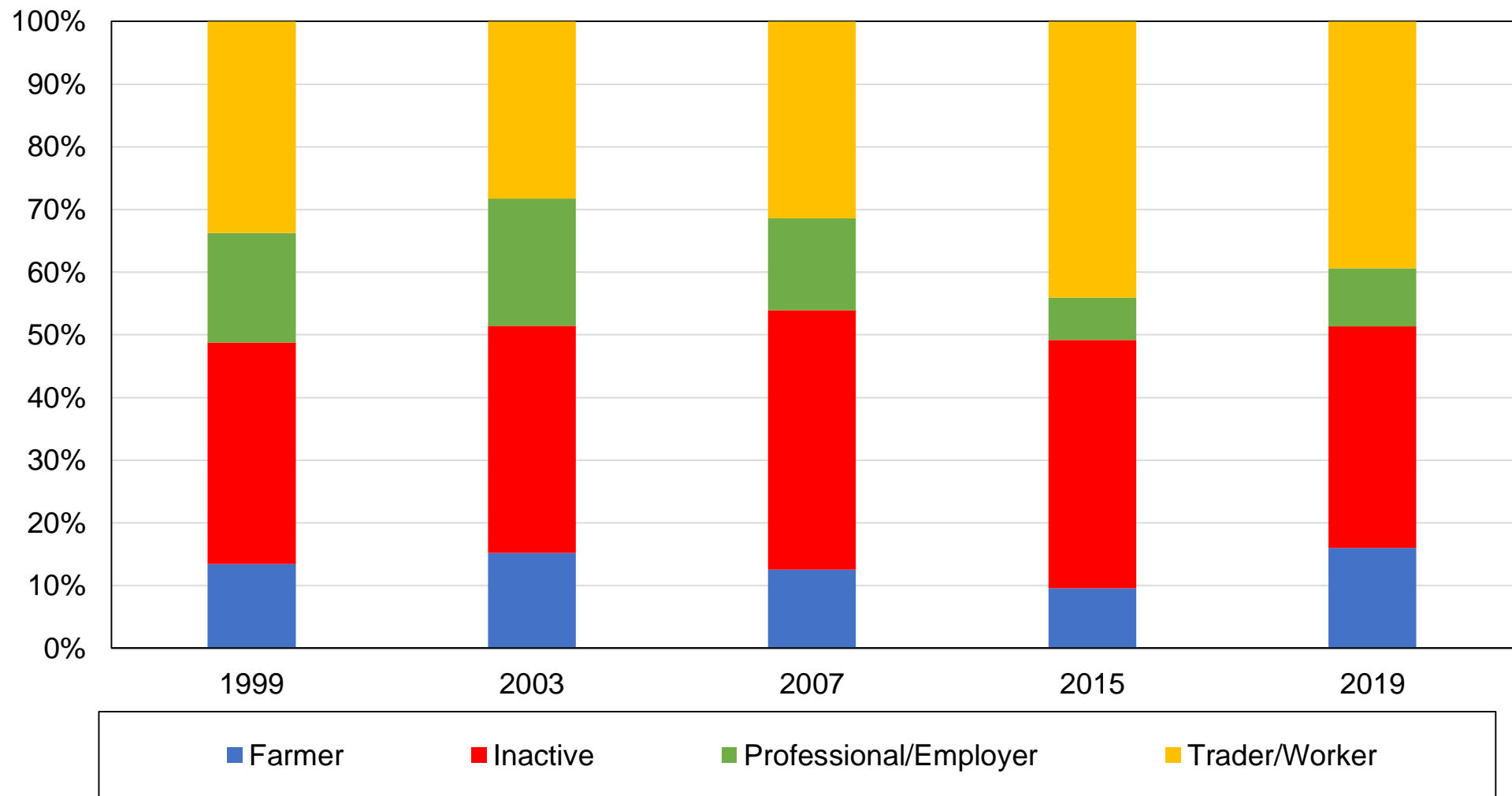
Figure CA5 - The composition of the electorate by linguistic group



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

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

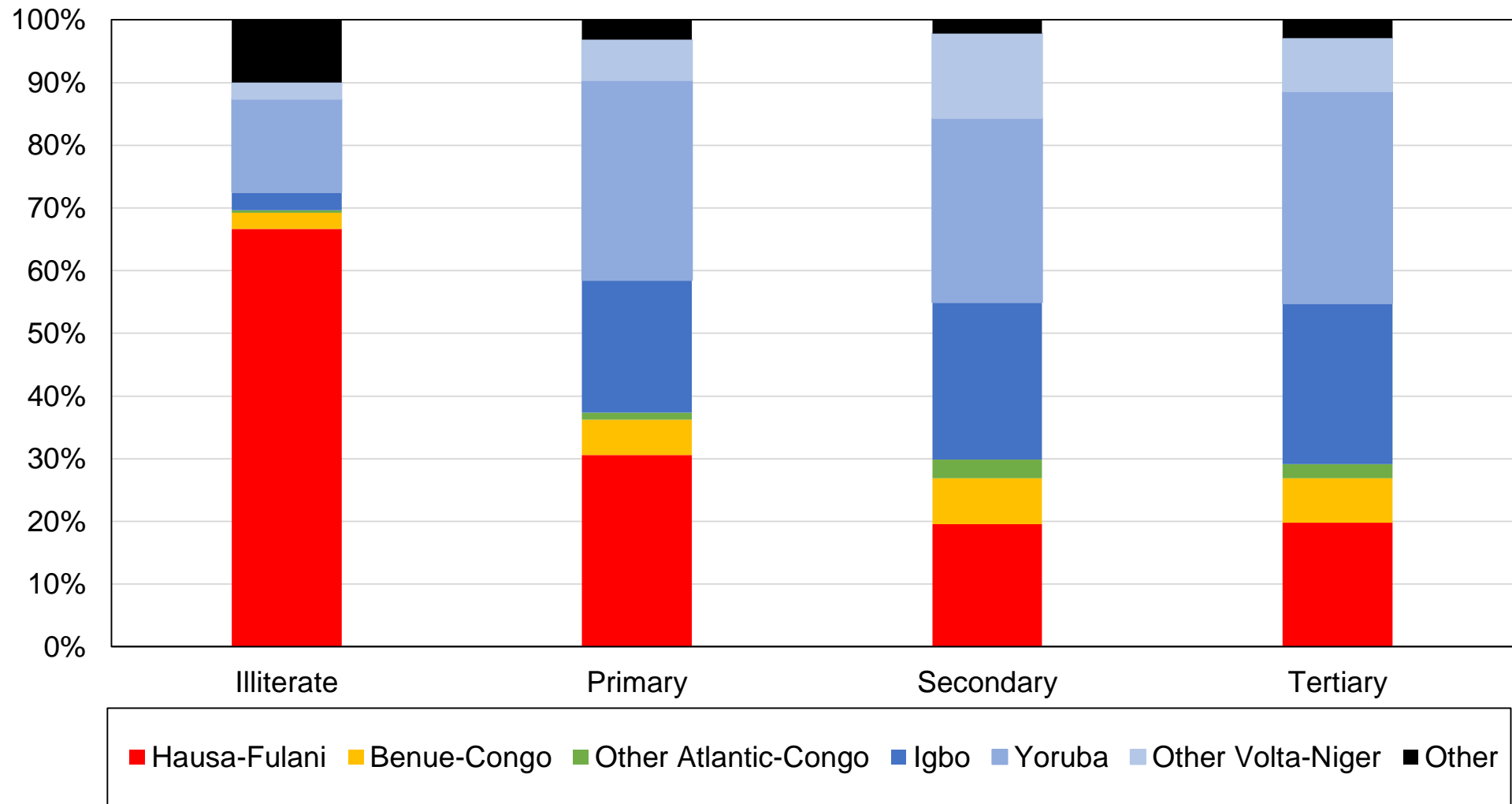
Figure CA6 - The composition of the electorate by occupation



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

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

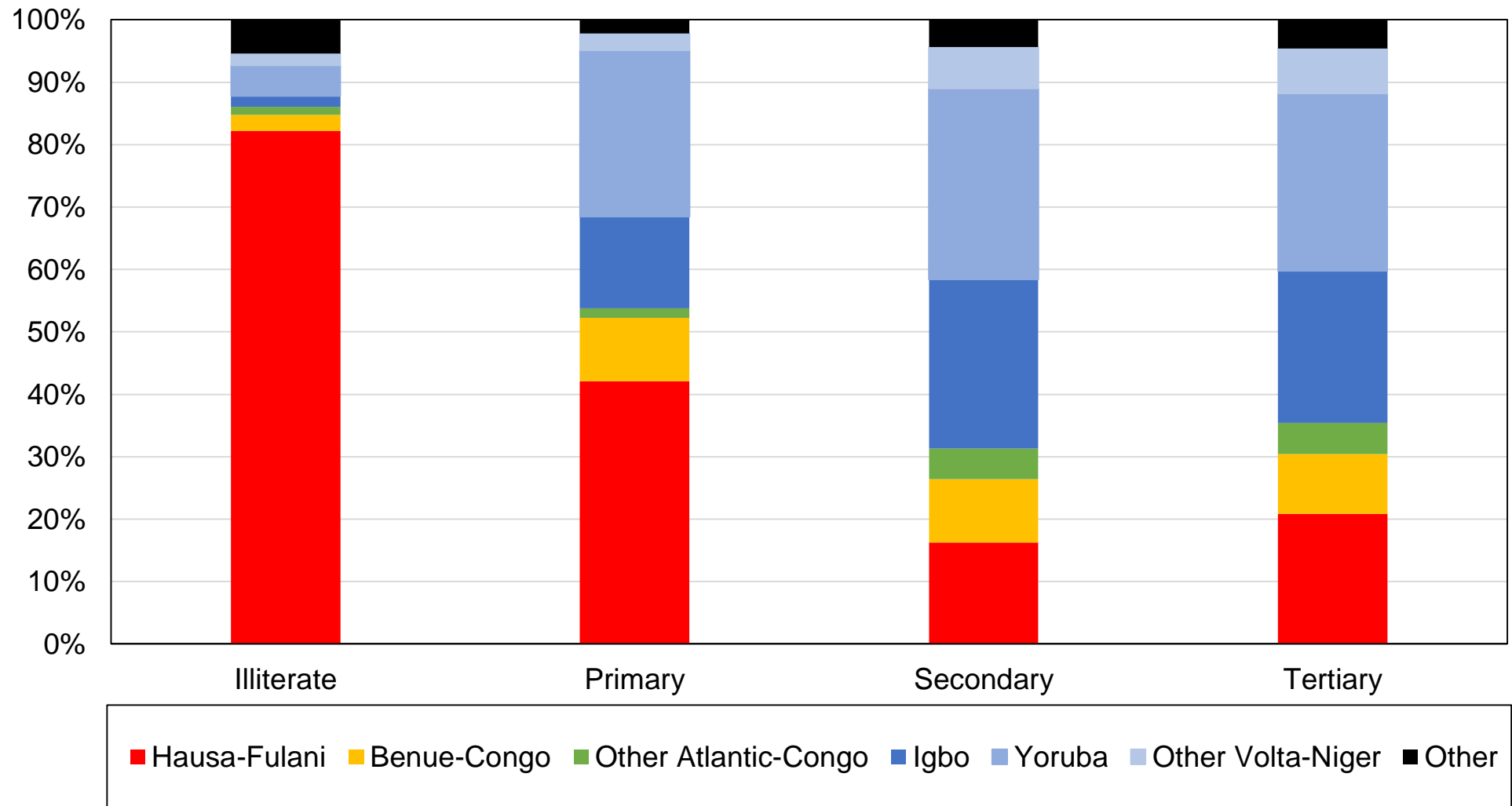
Figure CA7 - Composition of education by language, 2000



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

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

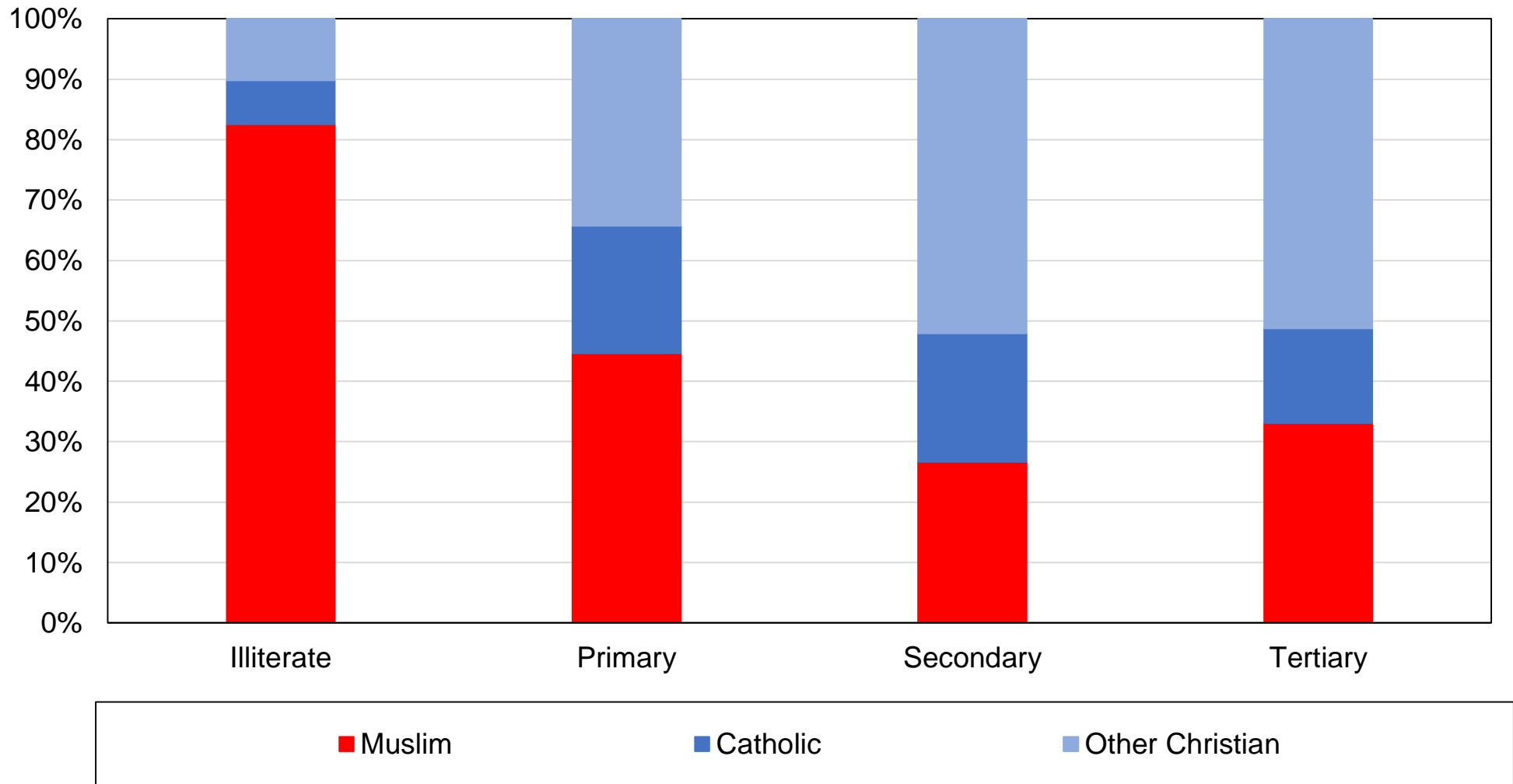
Figure CA8 - Composition of education by language, 2019



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

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

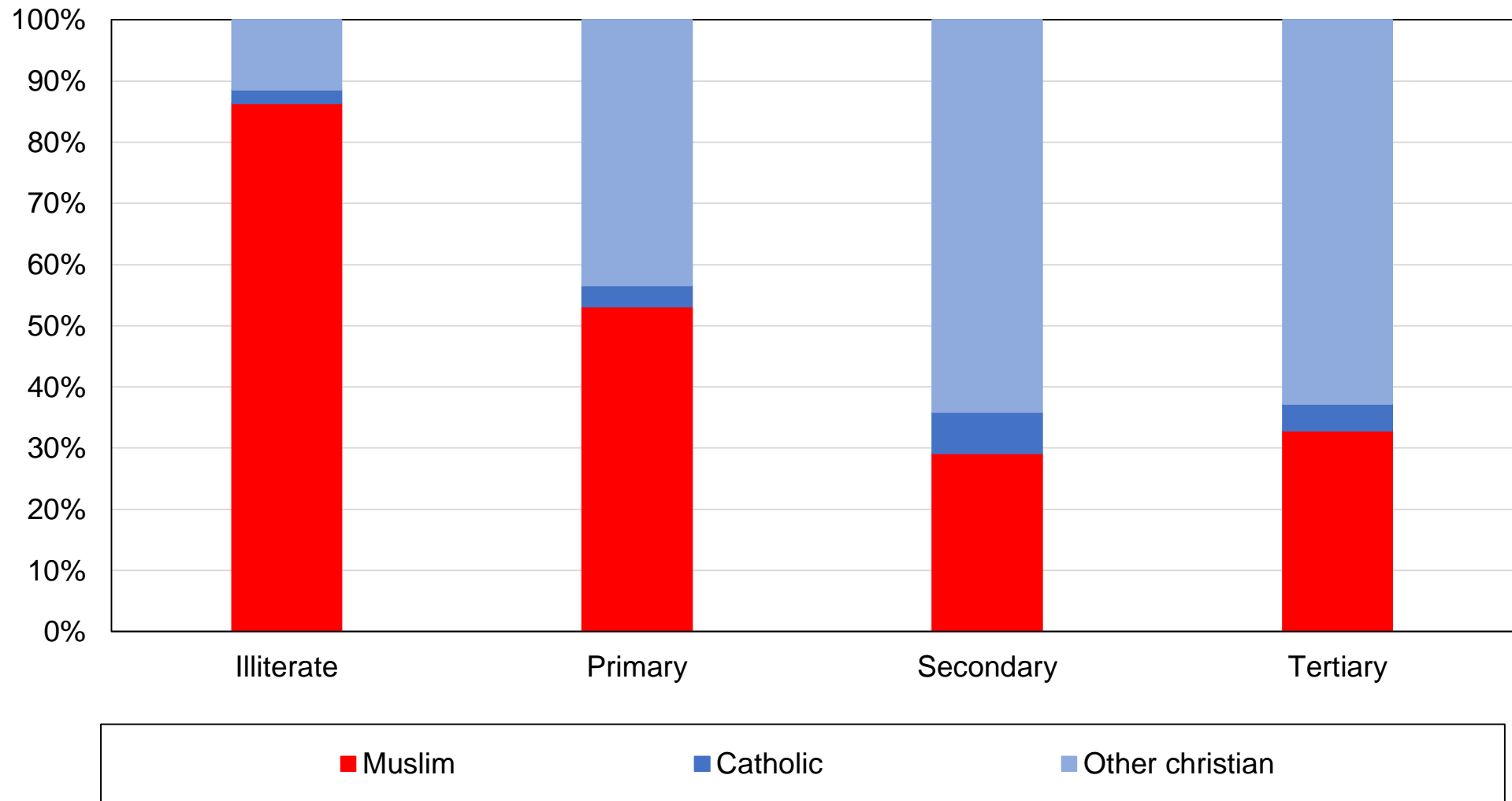
Figure CA9 - Composition of education by religion, 2003



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

Note: the figure shows the composition of education groups by religion in 2003.

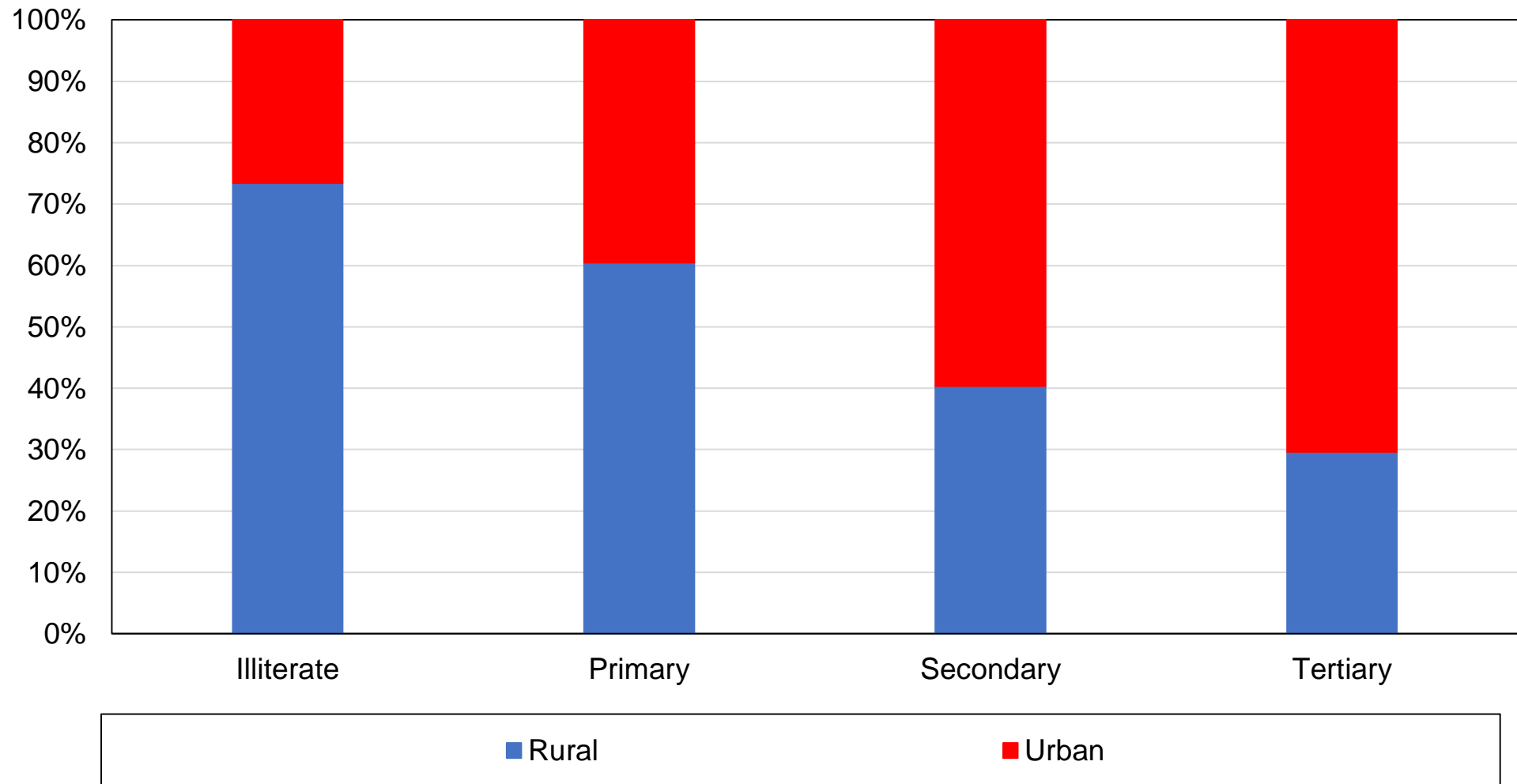
Figure CA10 - Composition of education by religion, 2019



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

Note: the figure shows the composition of education groups by religion in 2019.

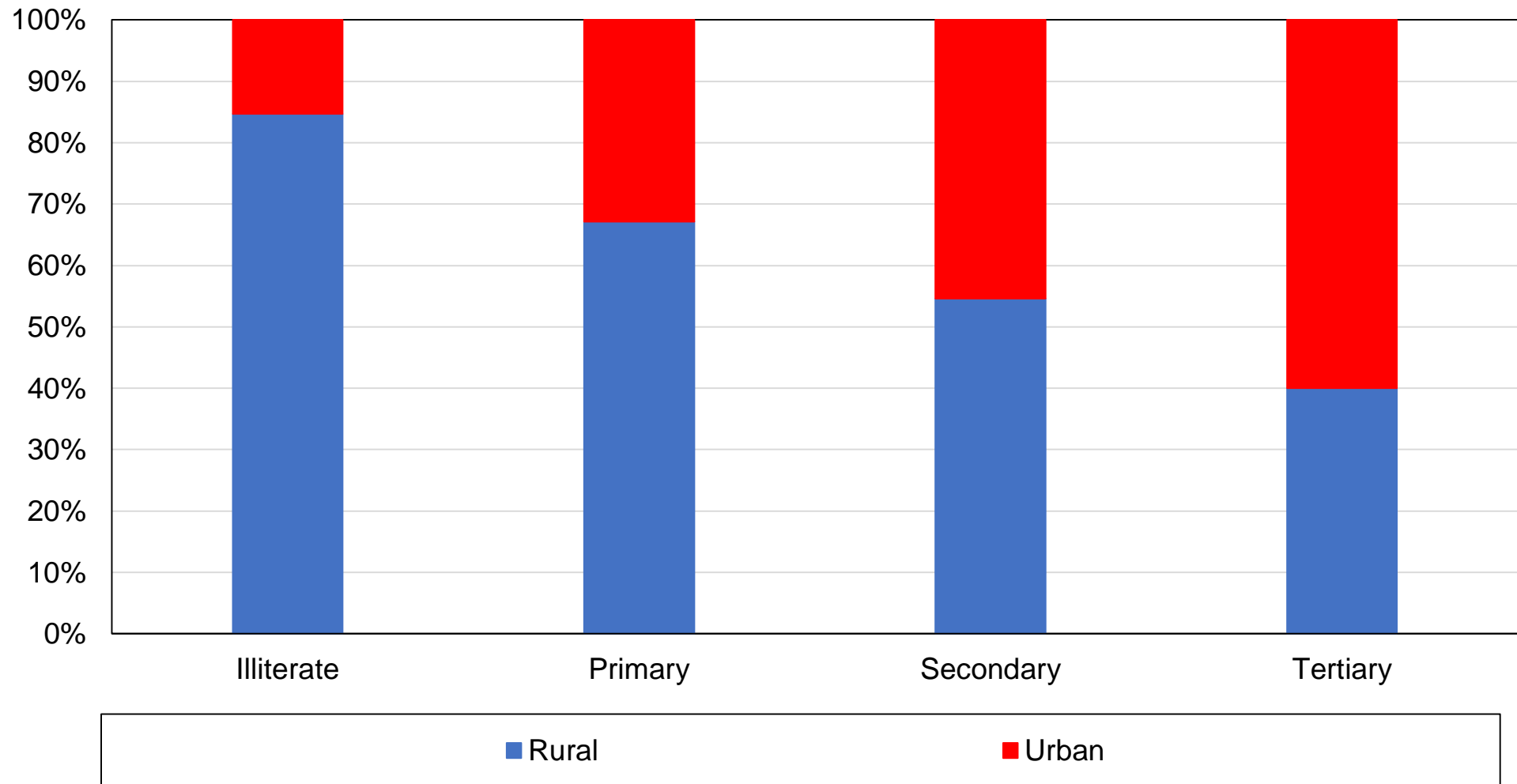
Figure CA11 - Rural-urban composition of education, 2003



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

Note: the figure shows the composition of education groups by location in 2003.

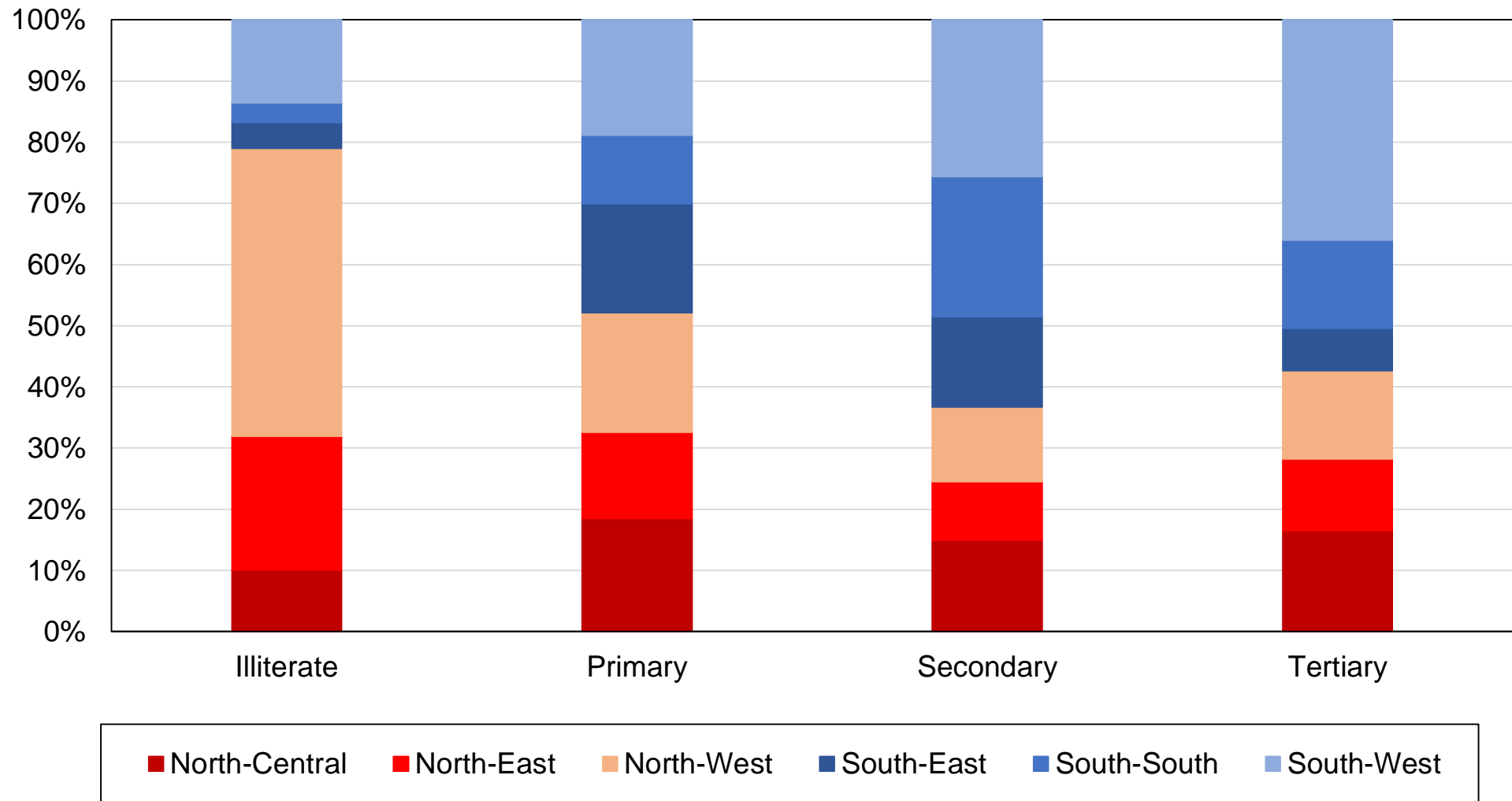
Figure CA12 - Rural-urban composition of education, 2019



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

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

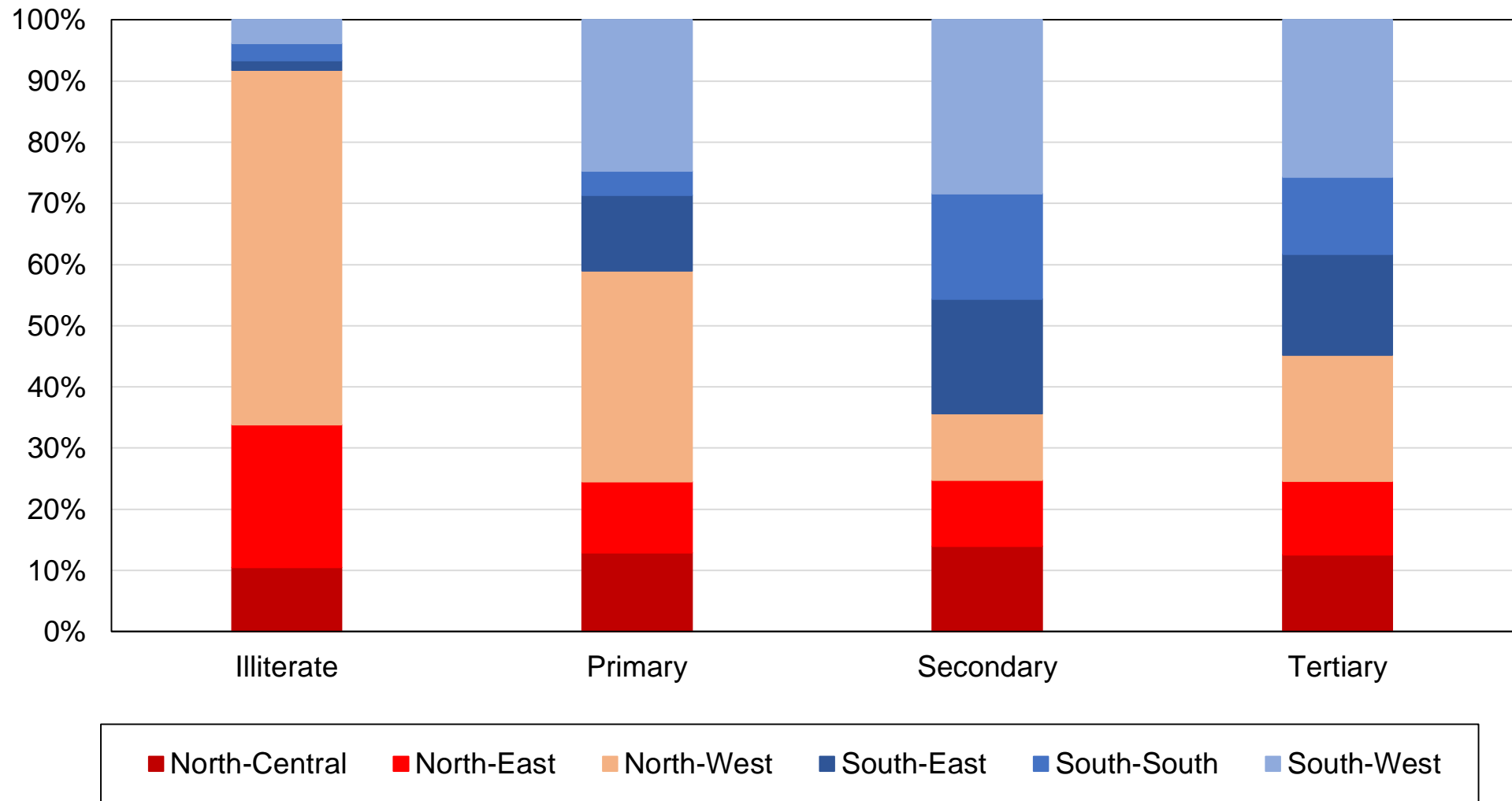
Figure CA13 - Composition of education by region, 2003



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

Note: the figure shows the composition of education groups by region in 2003.

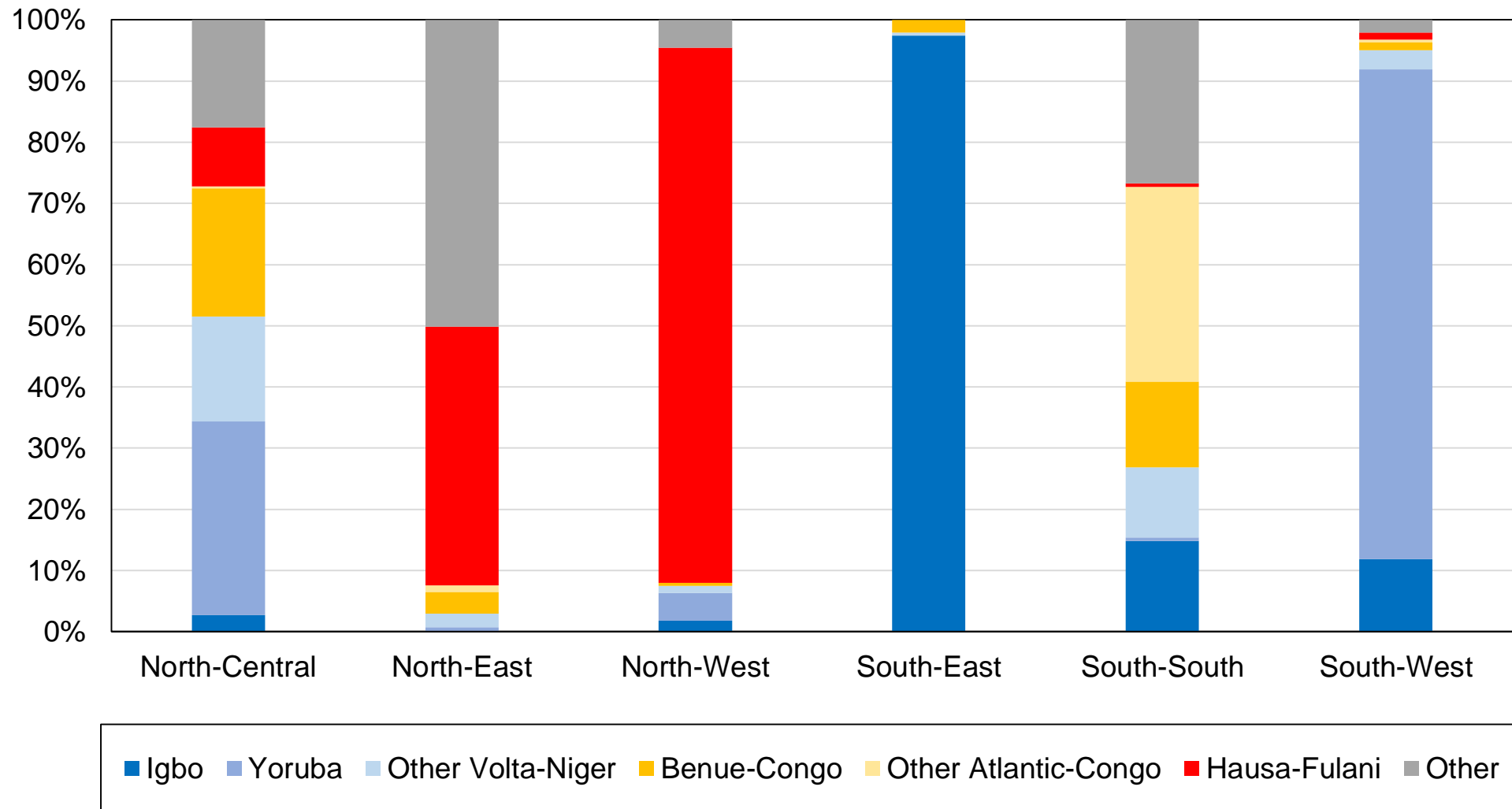
Figure CA14 - Composition of education by region, 2019



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

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

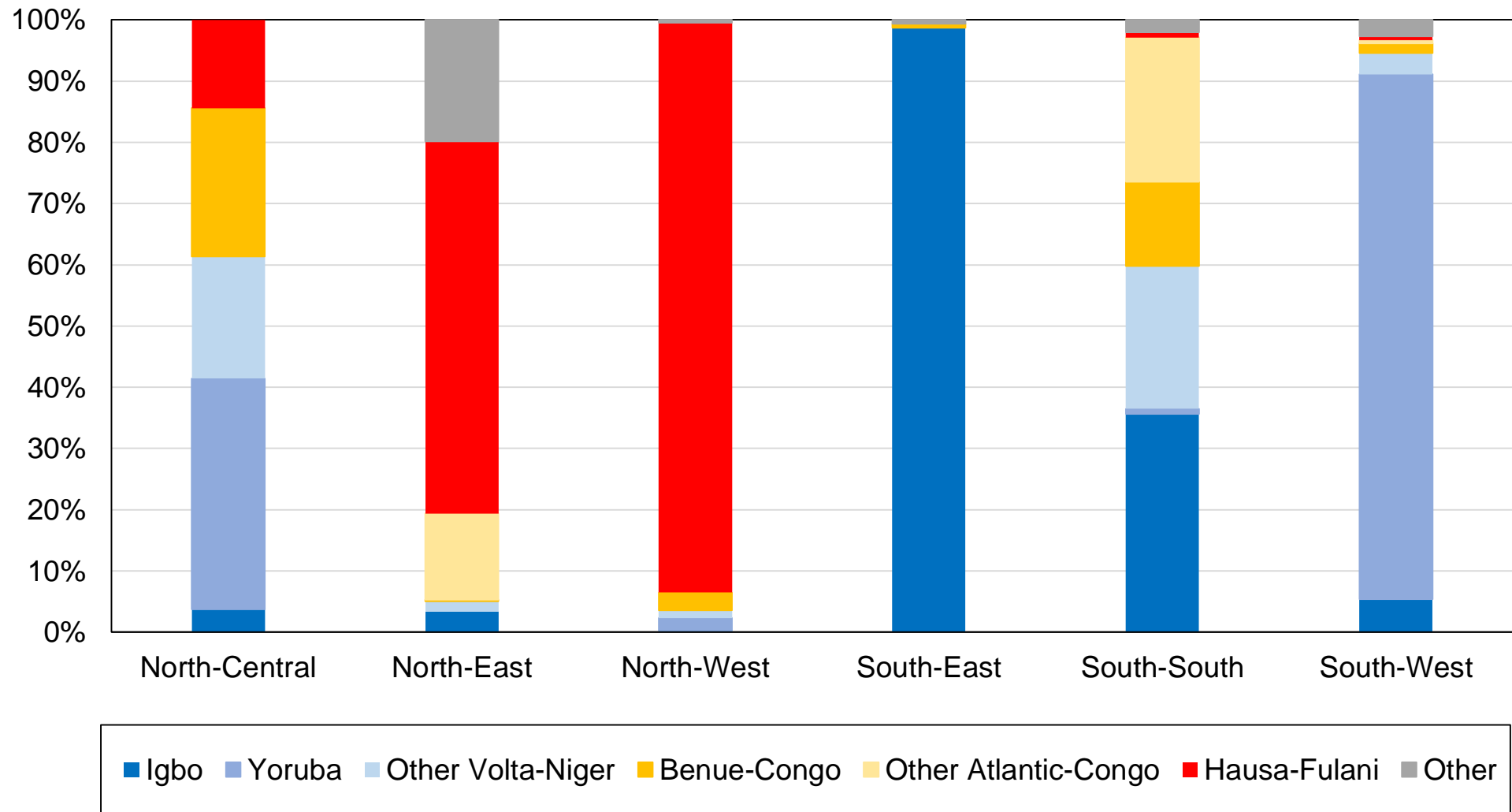
Figure CA15 - Ethnolinguistic composition of regions, 2000



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

Note: the figure shows the distribution of languages among regions in 2000.

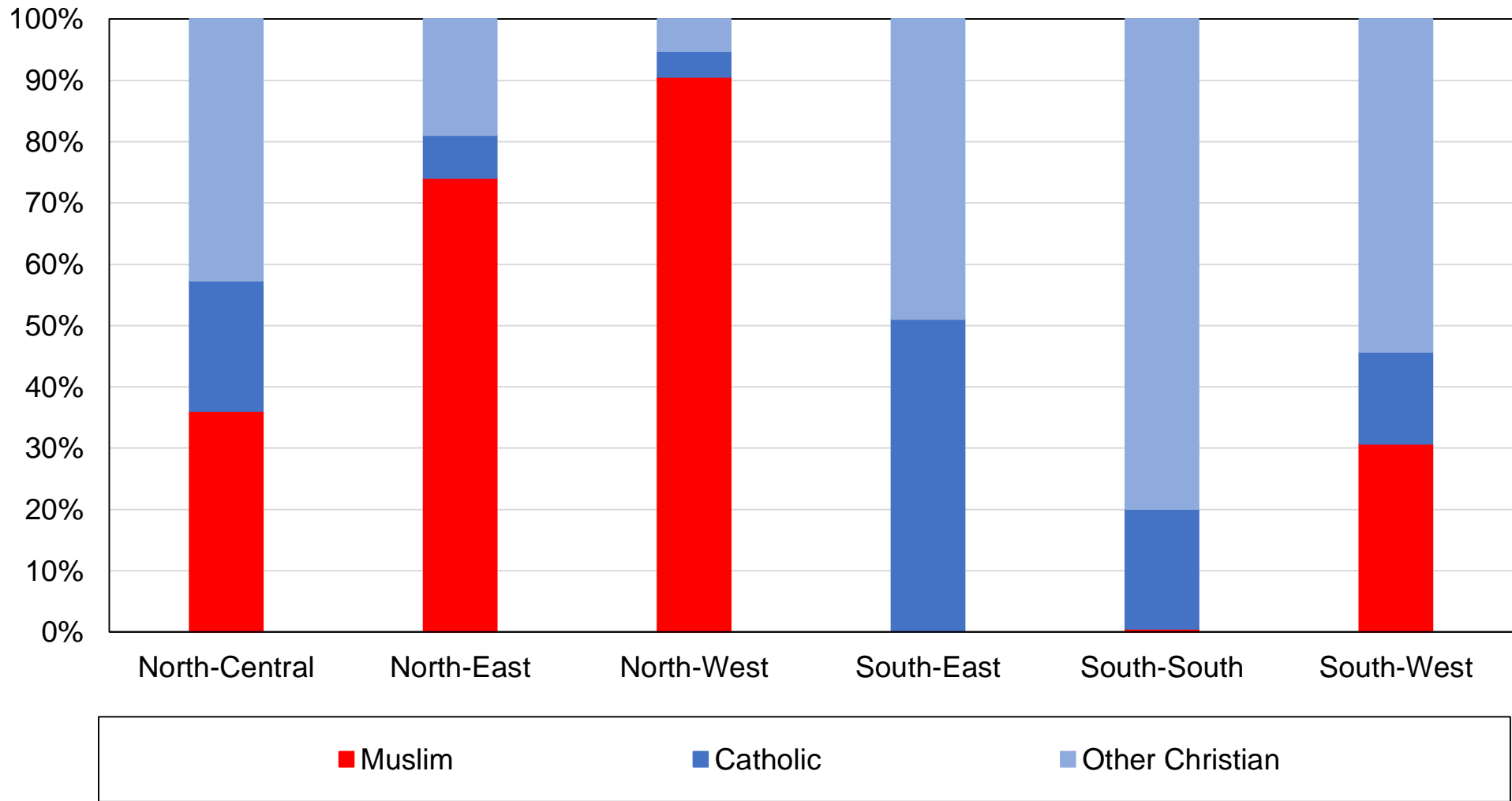
Figure CA16 - Ethnolinguistic composition of regions, 2019



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

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

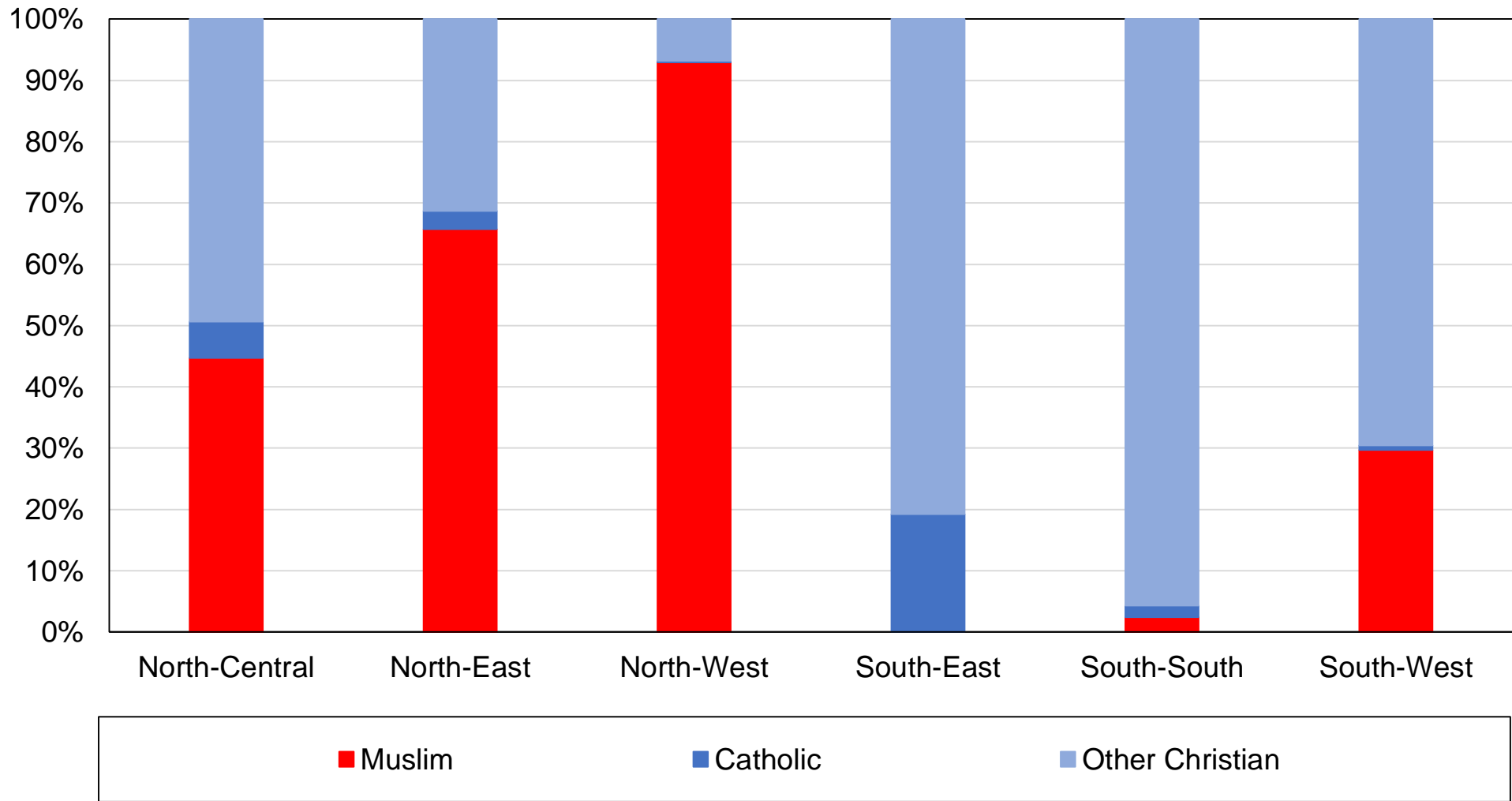
Figure CA17 - Composition of regions by religion, 2003



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

Note: the figure shows the distribution of religious groups by region in 2003. Excludes respondents with no religion or other religions (about 1.5% of the adult population).

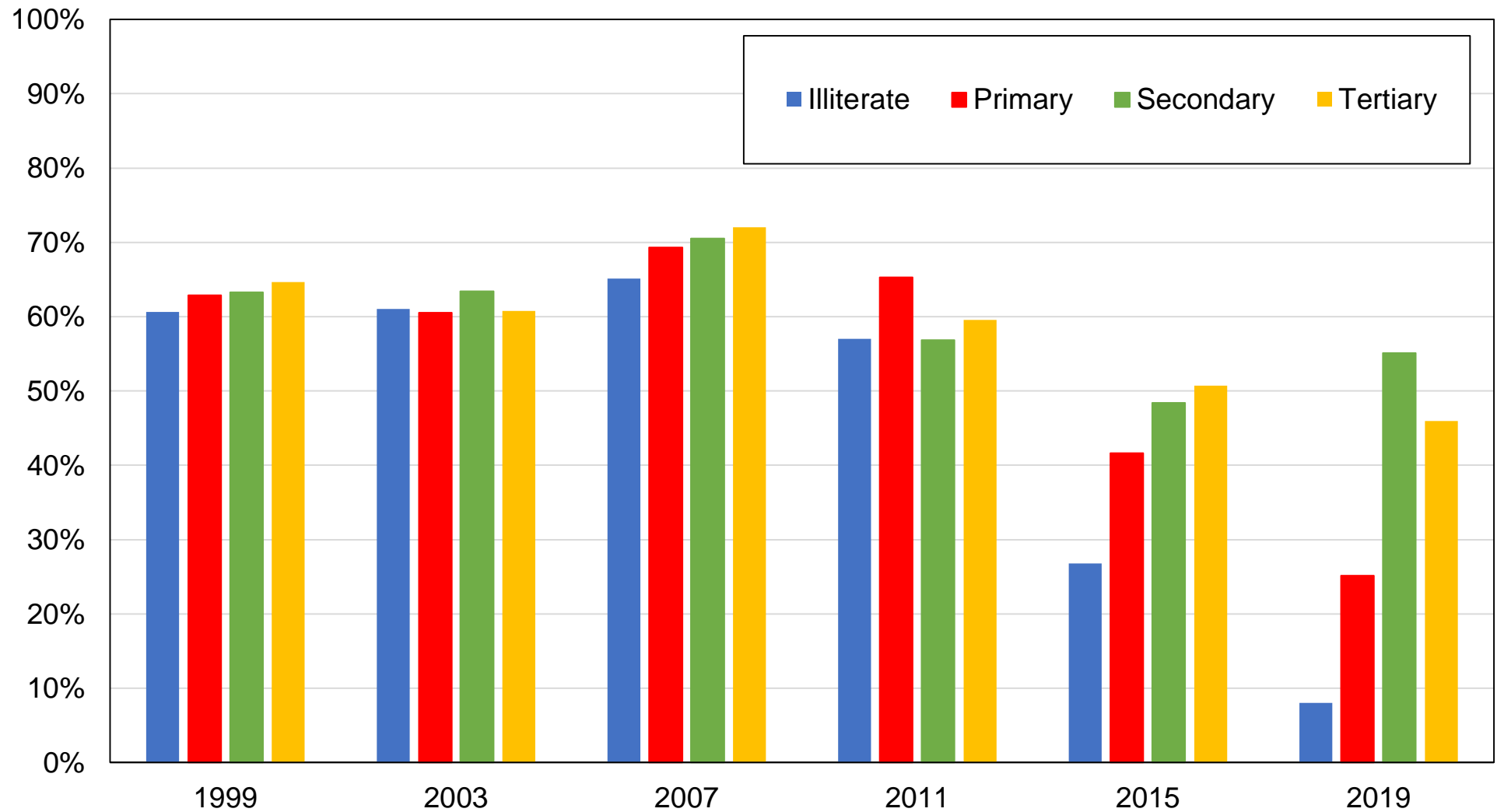
Figure CA18 - Composition of regions by religion, 2019



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

Note: the figure shows the distribution of religious groups by region in 2019. Excludes respondents with no religion or other religions (about 1.5% of the adult population).

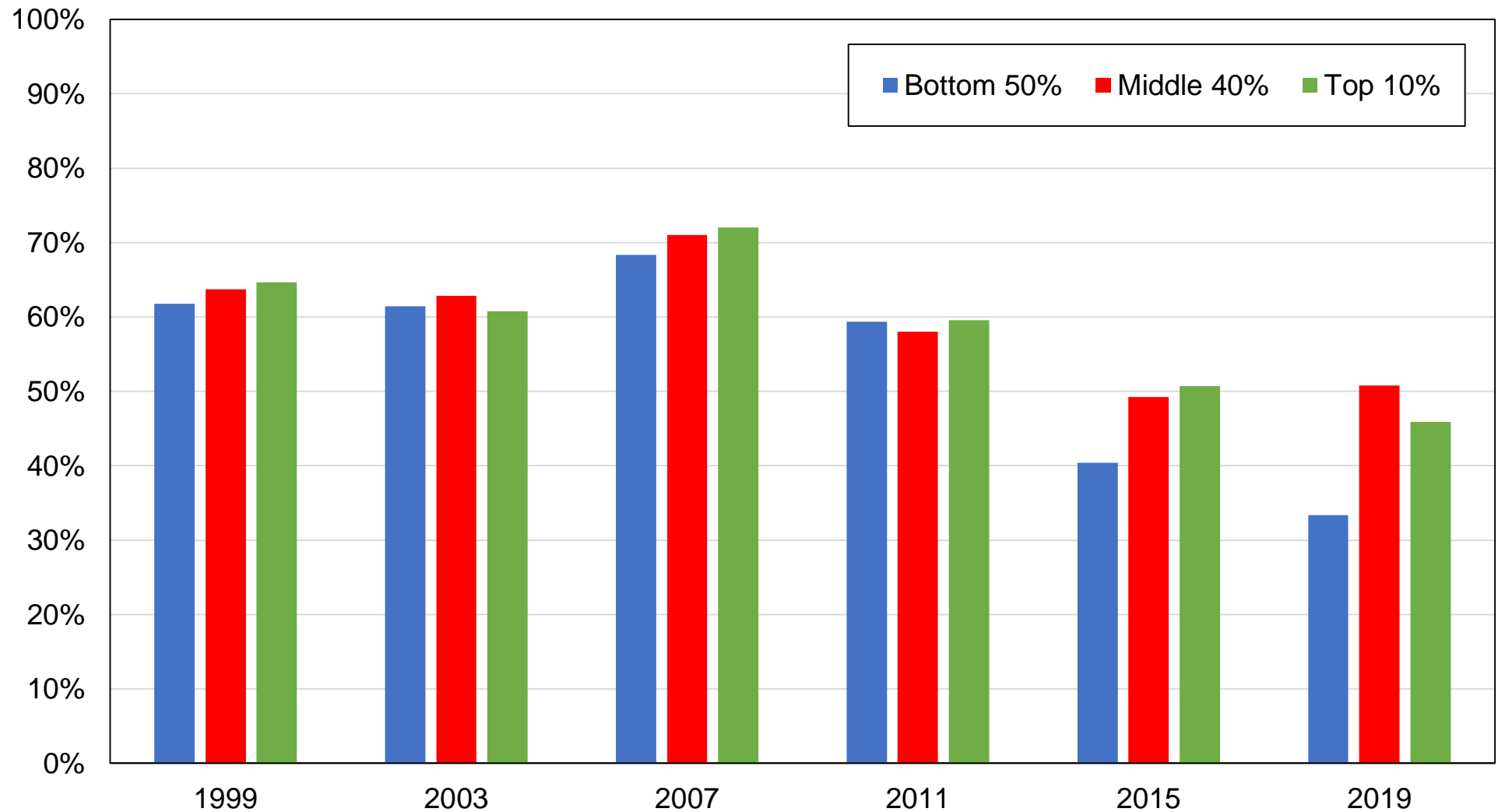
Figure CB1 - Vote for PDP by education level



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

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

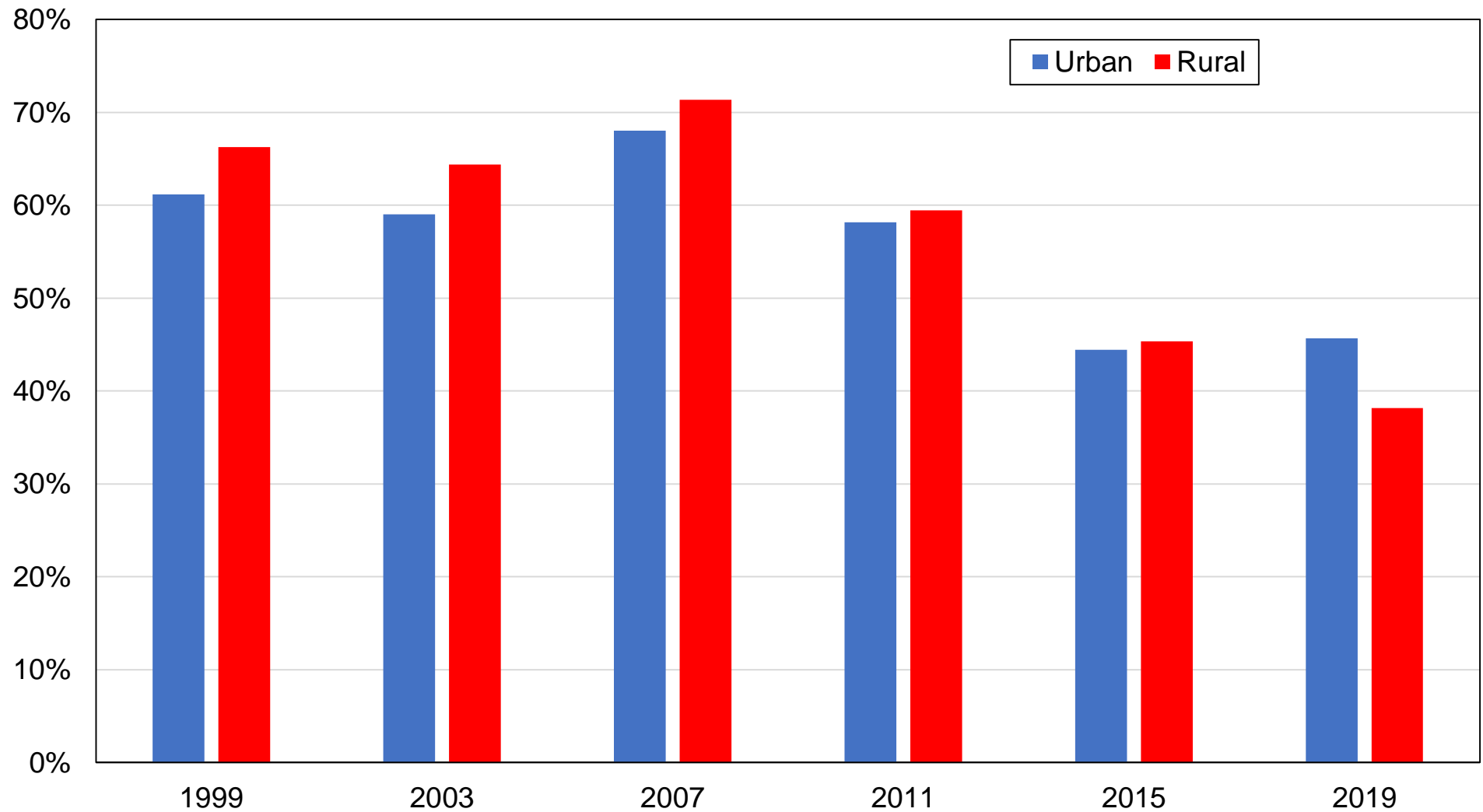
Figure CB2 - Vote for PDP by education group



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

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

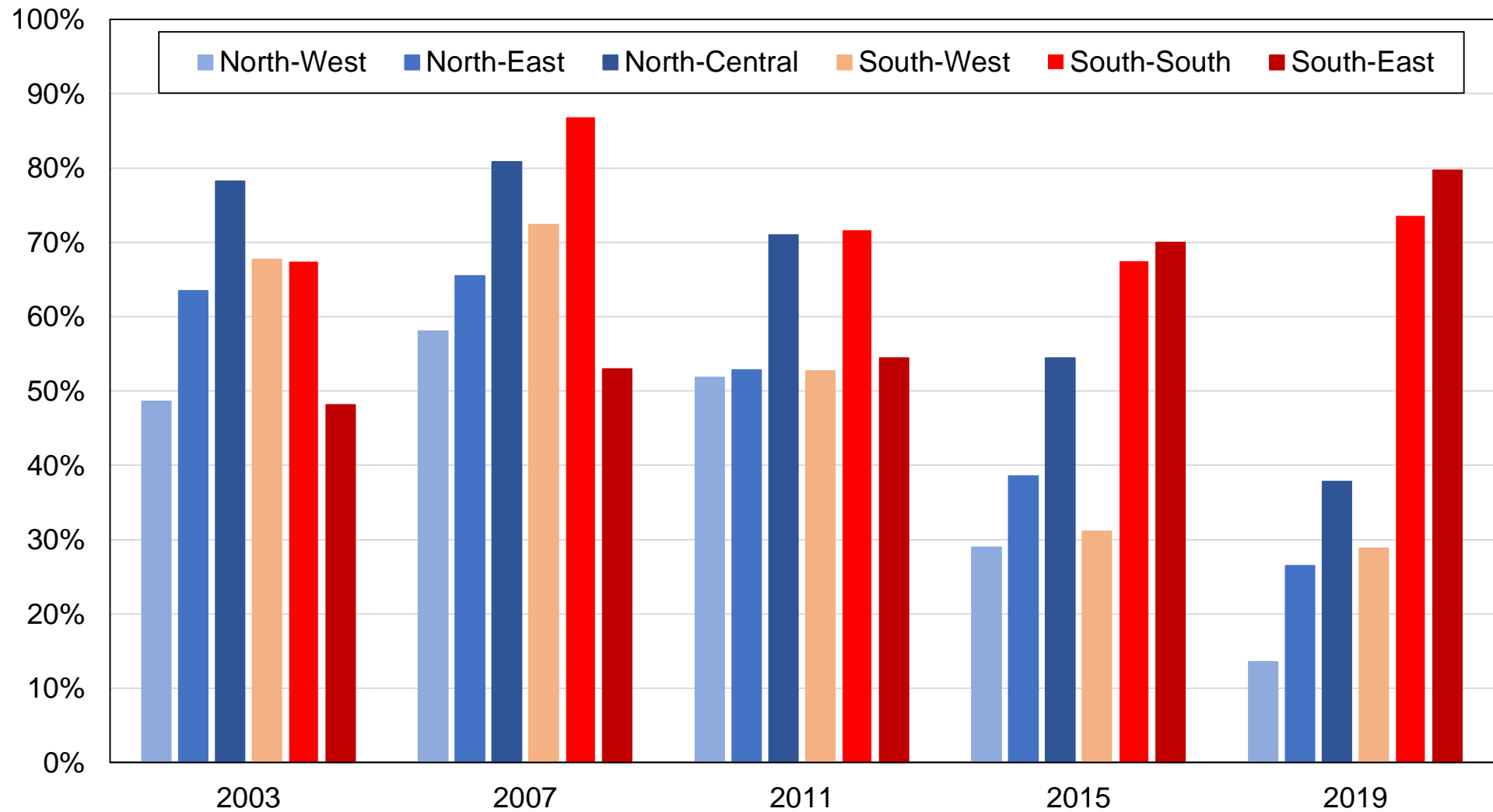
Figure CB3 - Vote for PDP by location



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

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

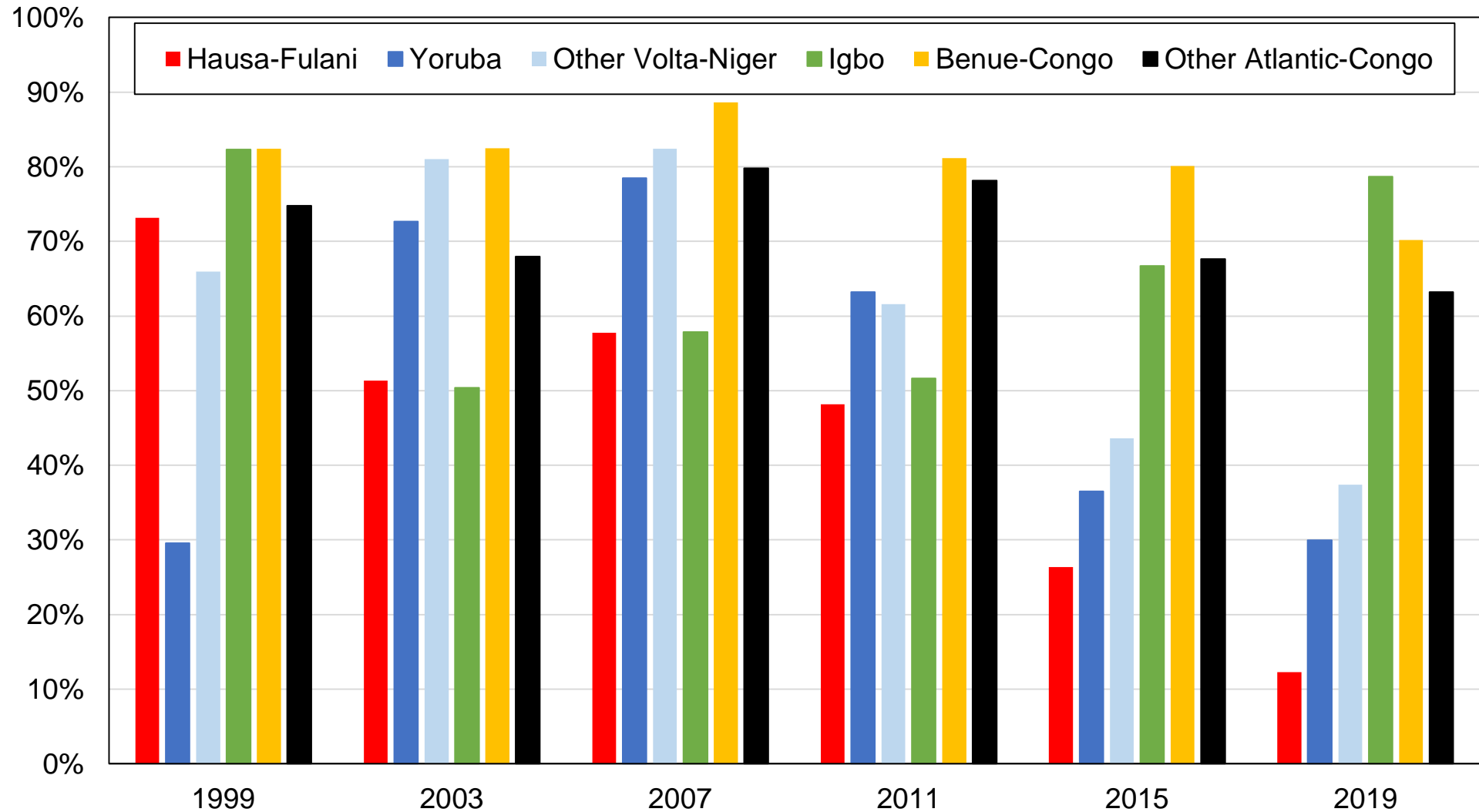
Figure CB4 - Vote for PDP by region



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

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

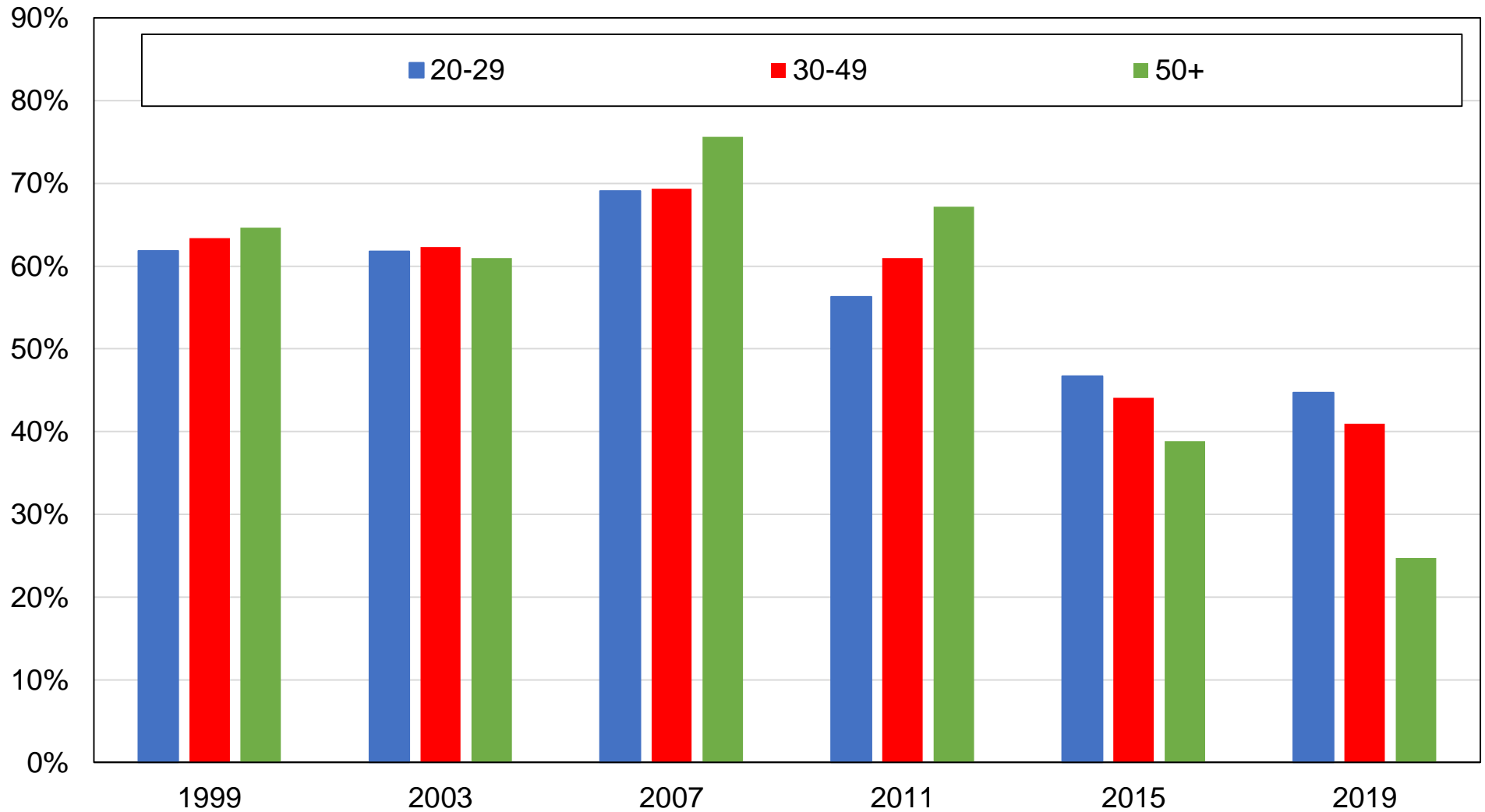
Figure CB5 - Vote for PDP by ethnolinguistic group



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by PDP by ethnolinguistic affiliation.

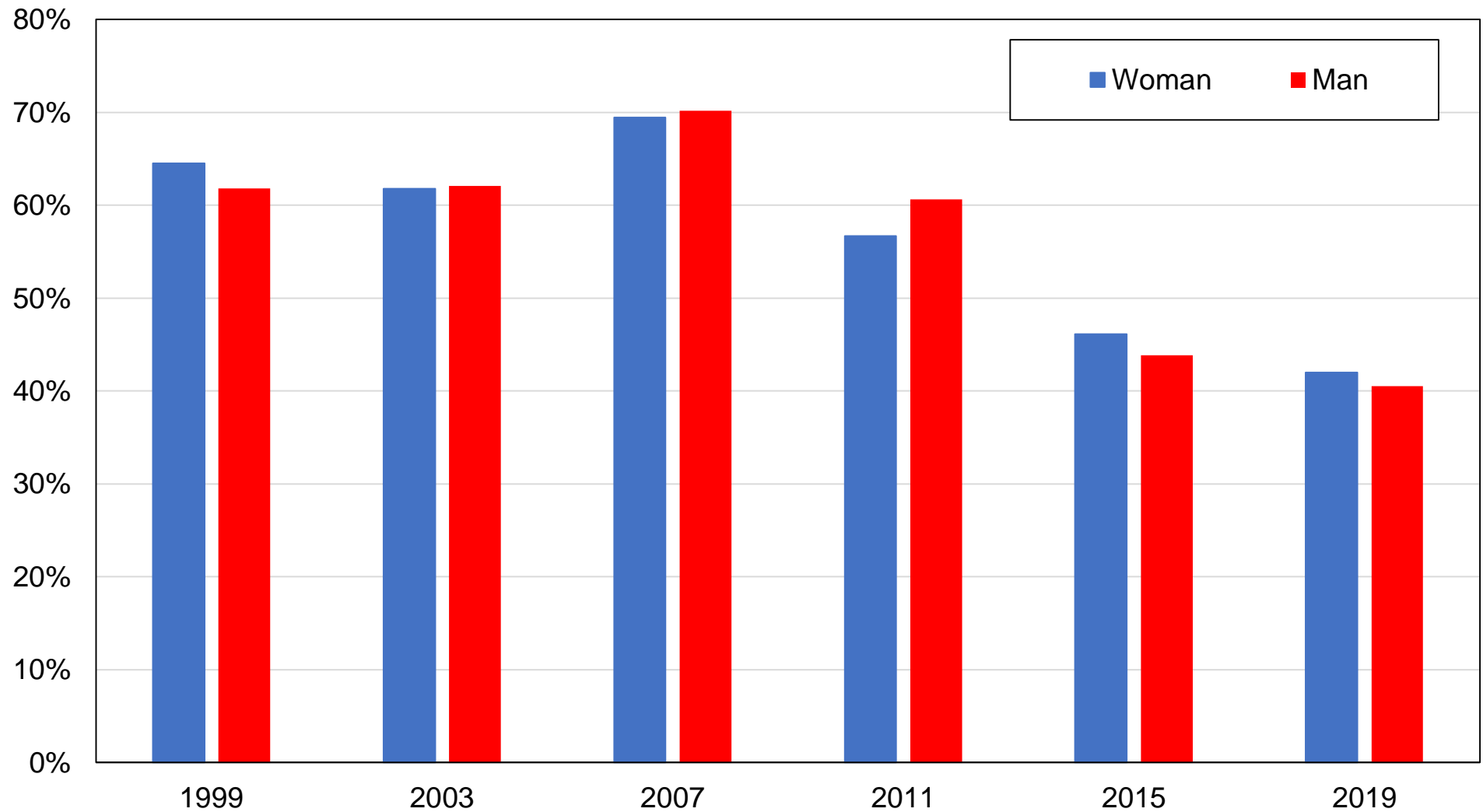
Figure CB6 - Vote for PDP by age group



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

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

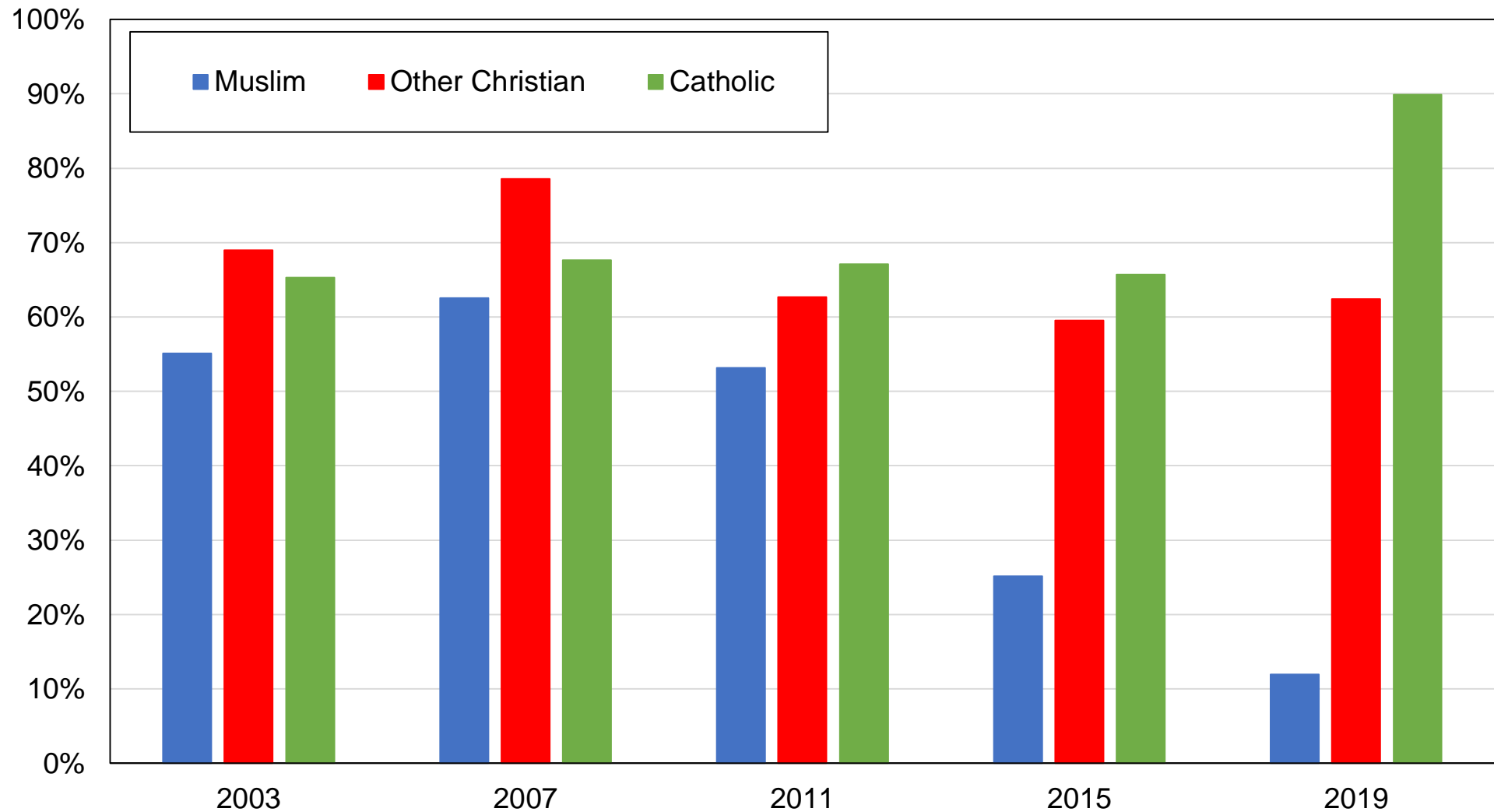
Figure CB7 - Vote for PDP by gender



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

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

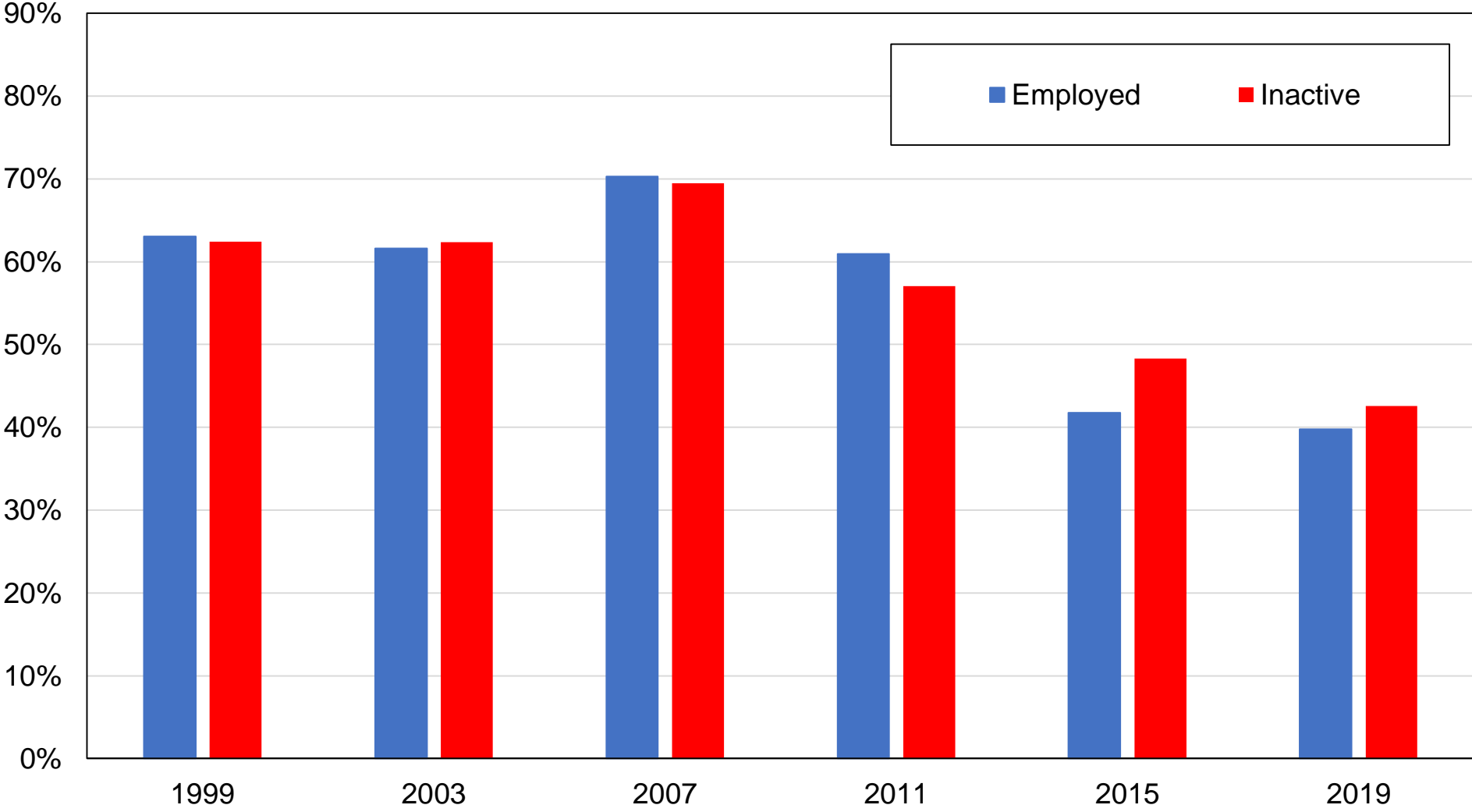
Figure CB8 - Vote for People's Democratic Party by religion



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

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

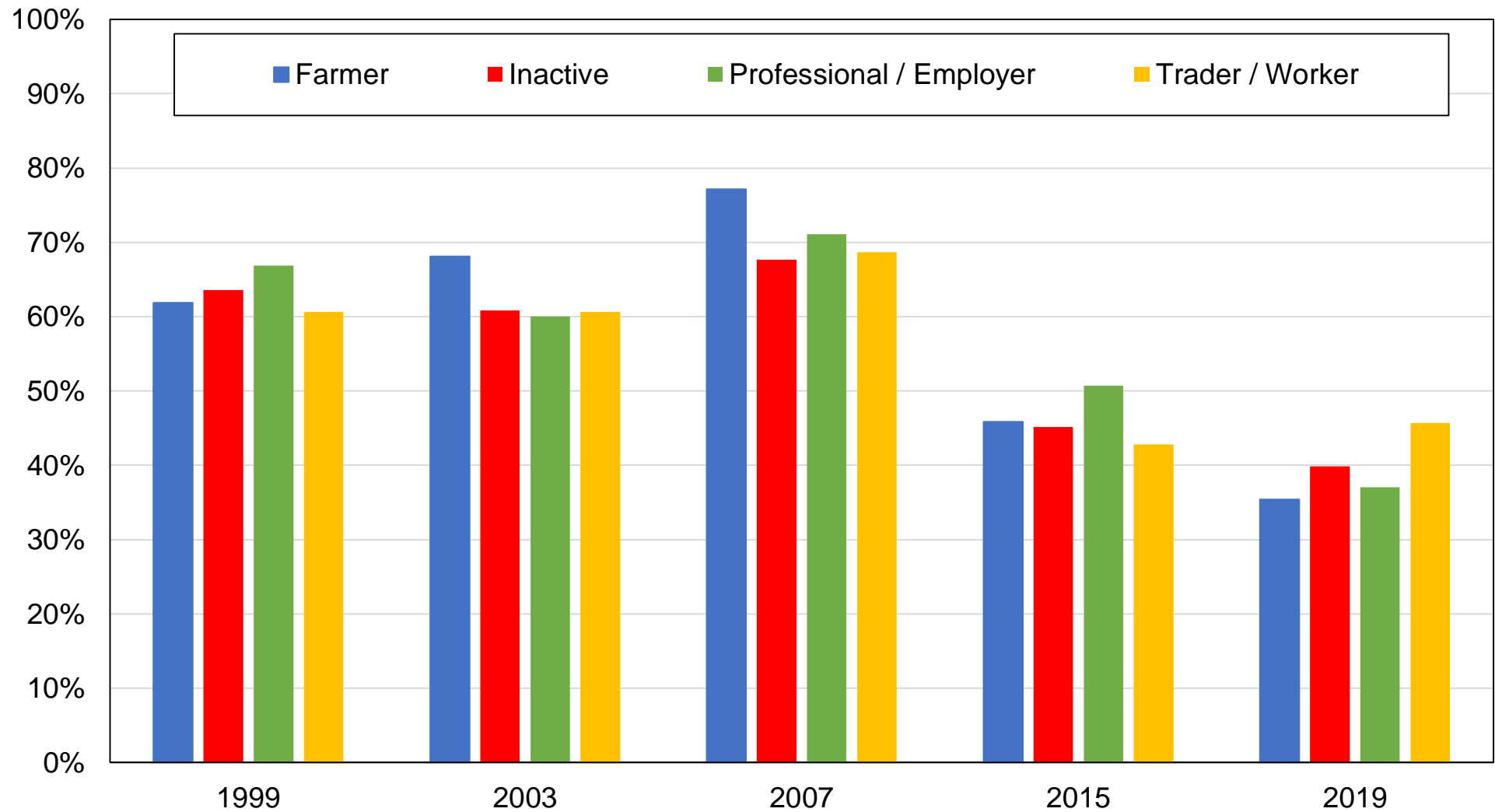
Figure CB9 - Vote for PDP by employment status



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

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

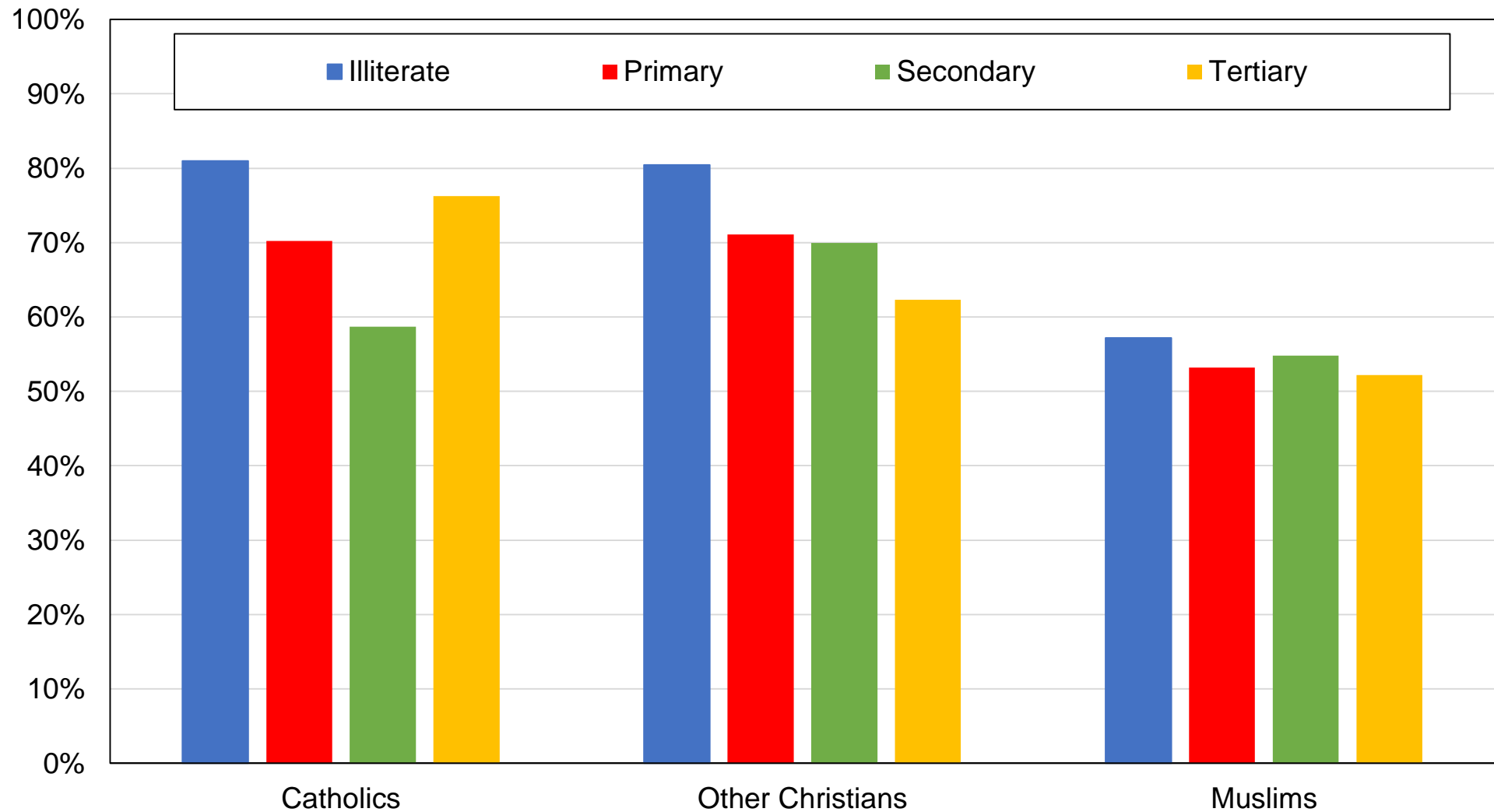
Figure CB10 - Vote for PDP by occupation



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

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

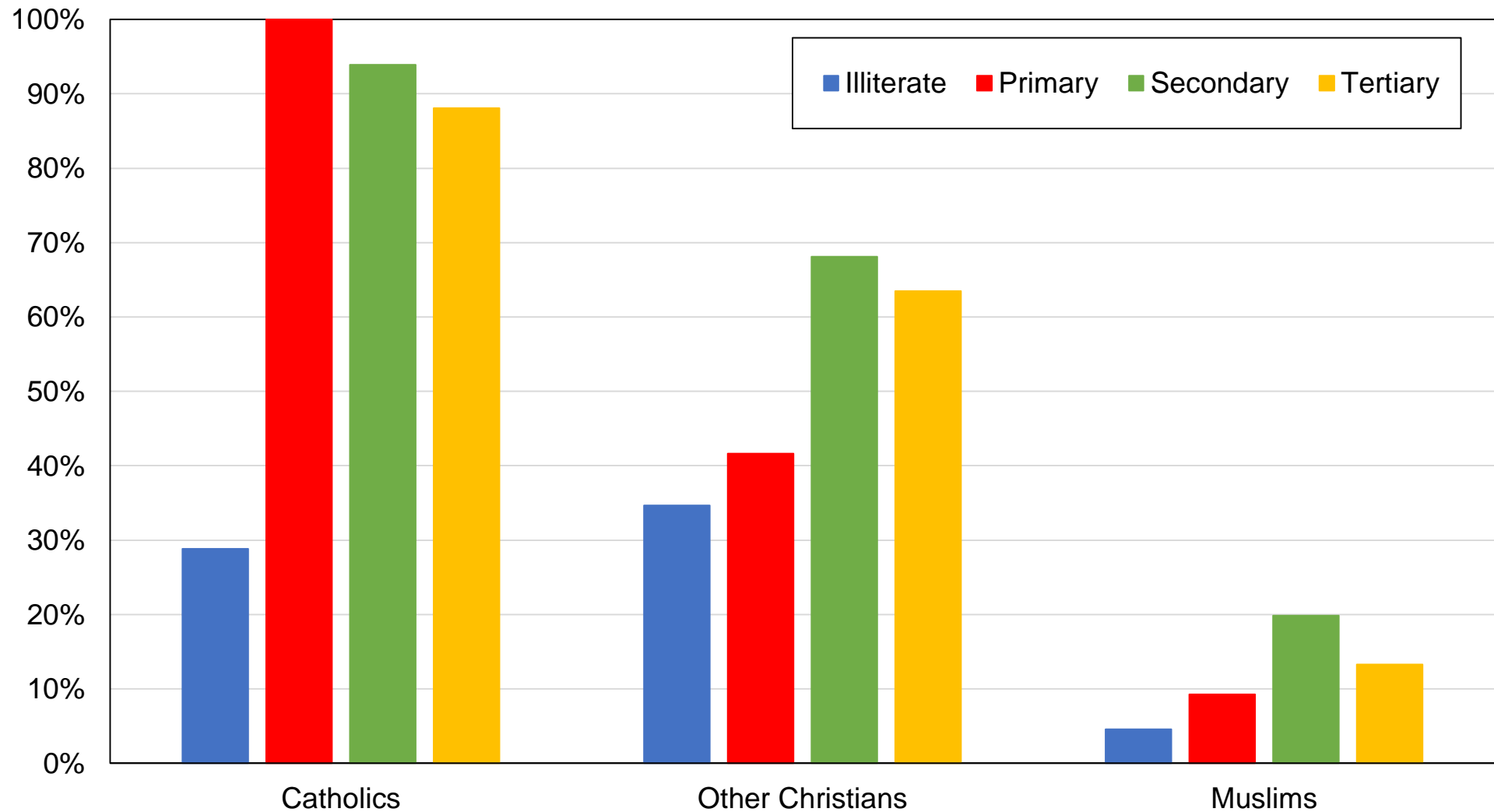
Figure CB11 - Vote for PDP by religion and education, 2003



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the PDP by education among each religious group.

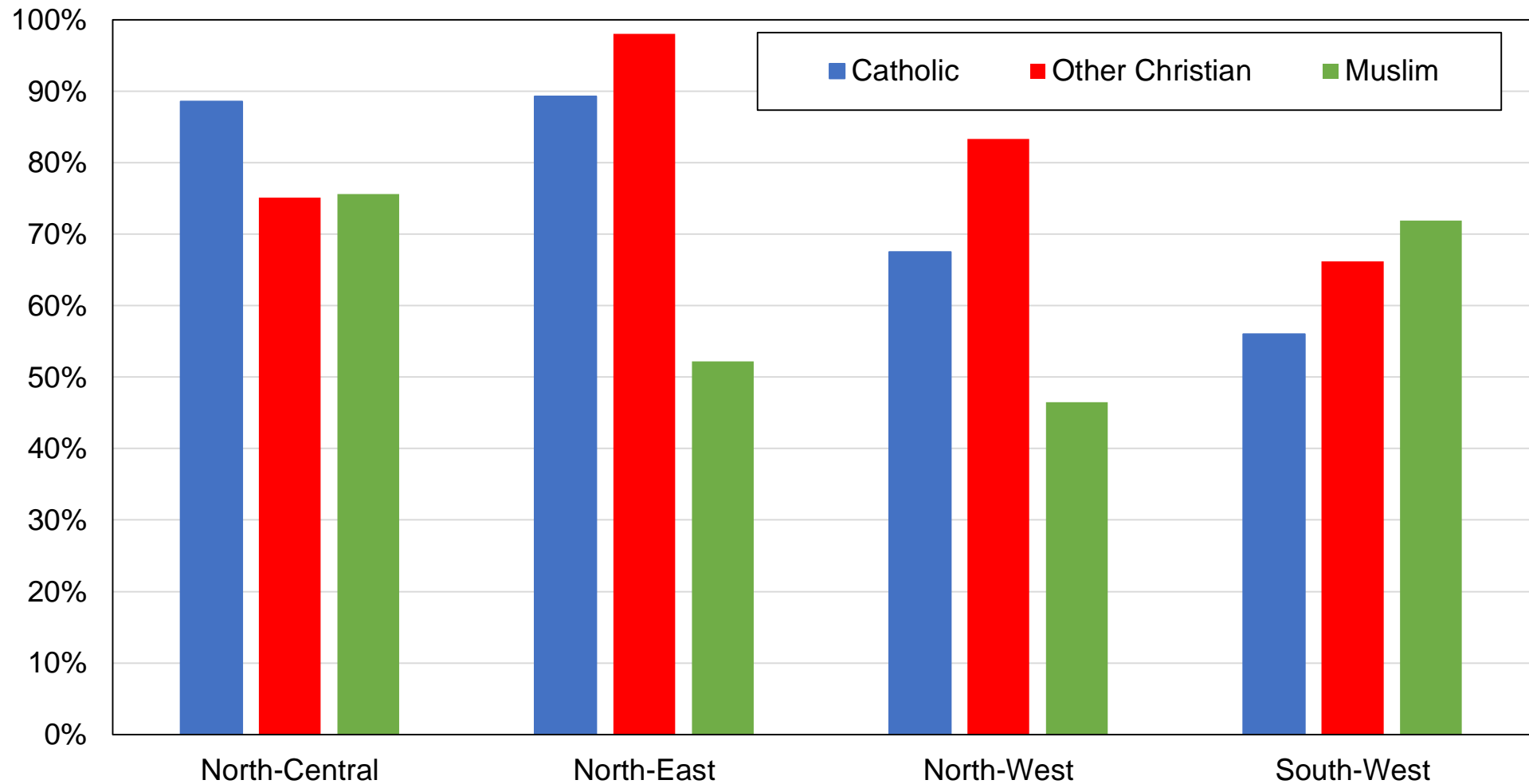
Figure CB12 - Vote for PDP by religion and education, 2019



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the PDP by education among each religious group.

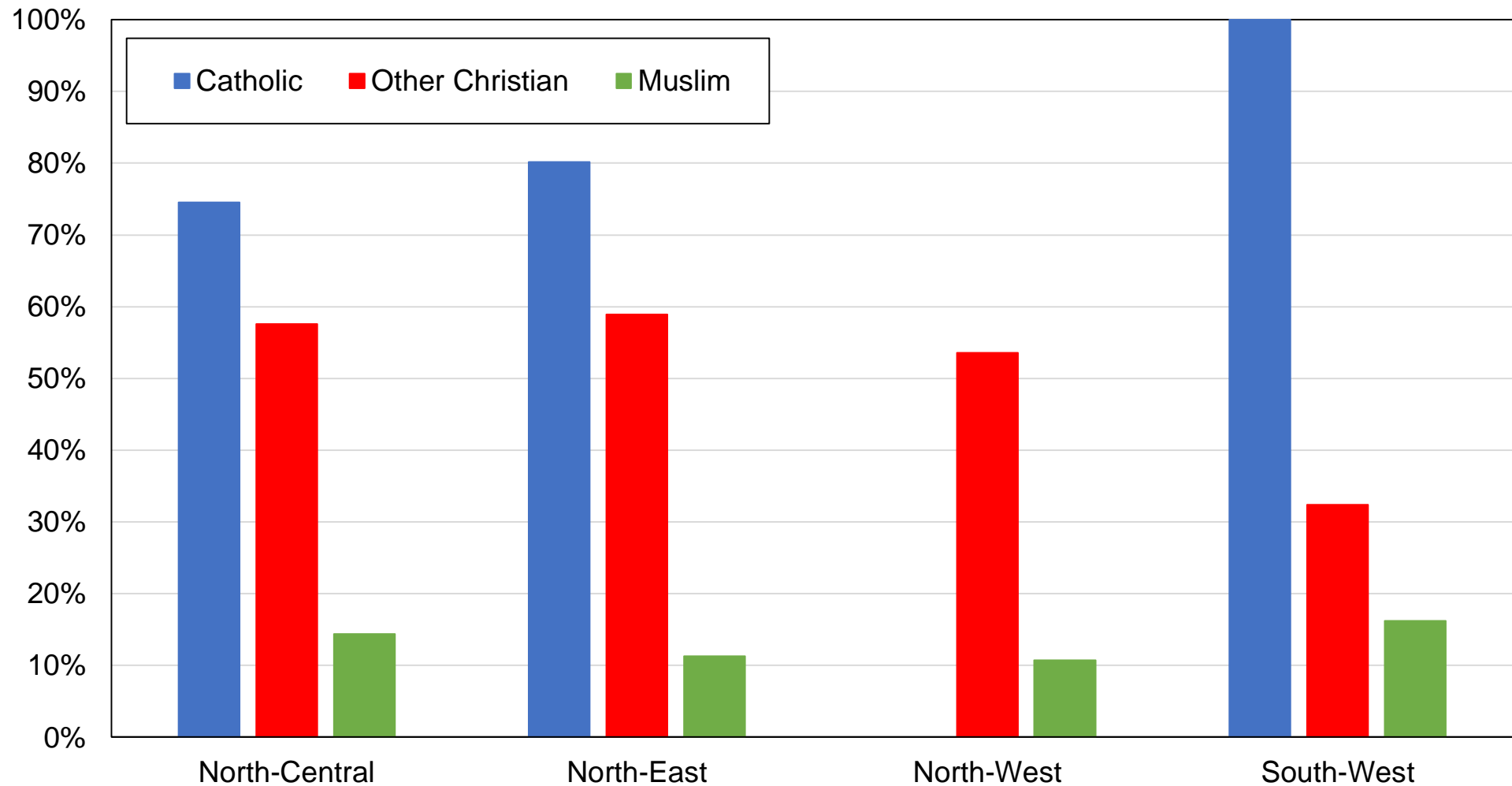
Figure CB13 - Vote for PDP by religion and region, 2003



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the PDP by religion within each region. Excludes the South-South and South-East regions due to low sample sizes and their higher religious homogeneity.

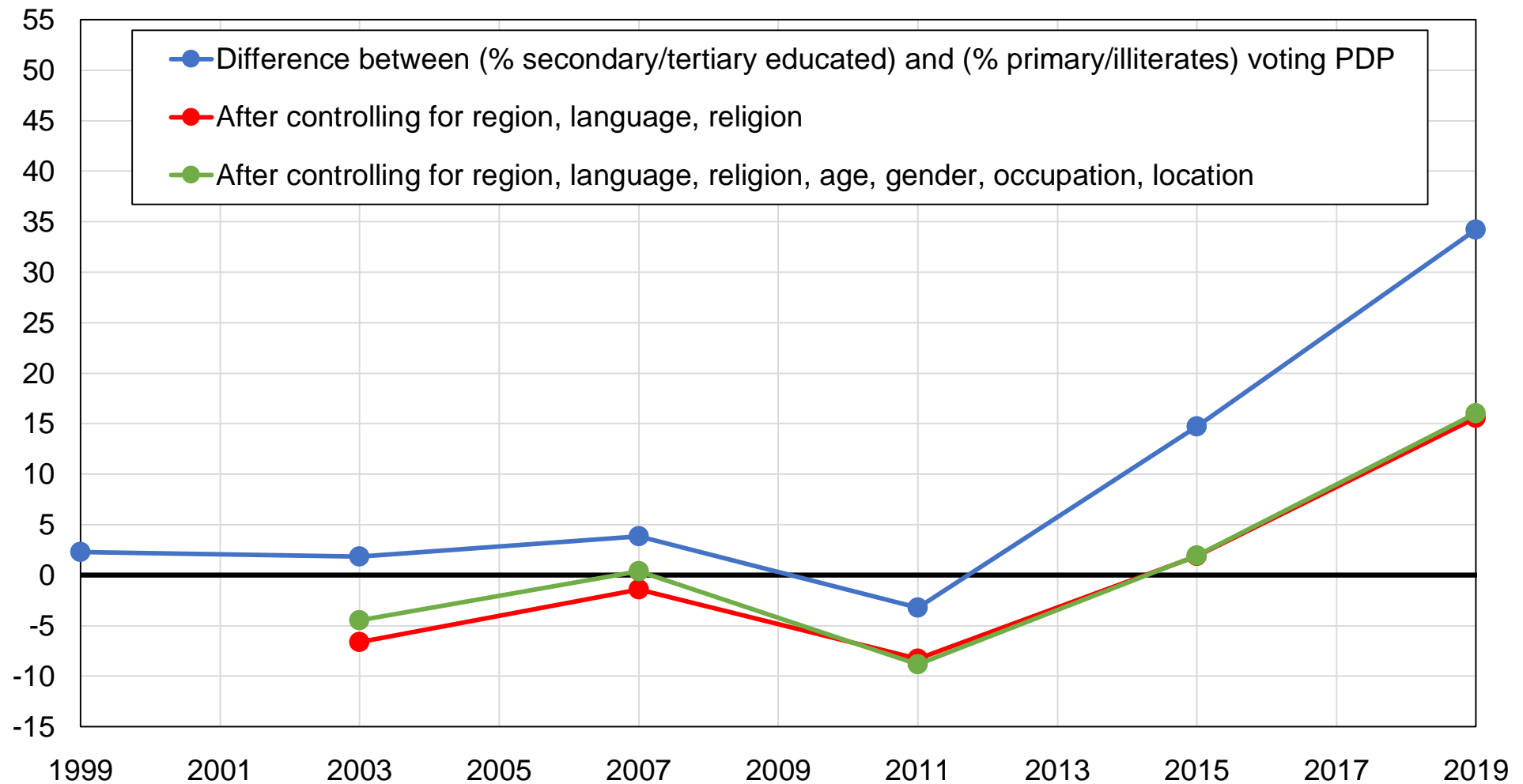
Figure CB14 - Vote for PDP by religion and region, 2019



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the PDP by religion within each region. Excludes the South-South and South-East regions due to low sample sizes and their higher religious homogeneity.

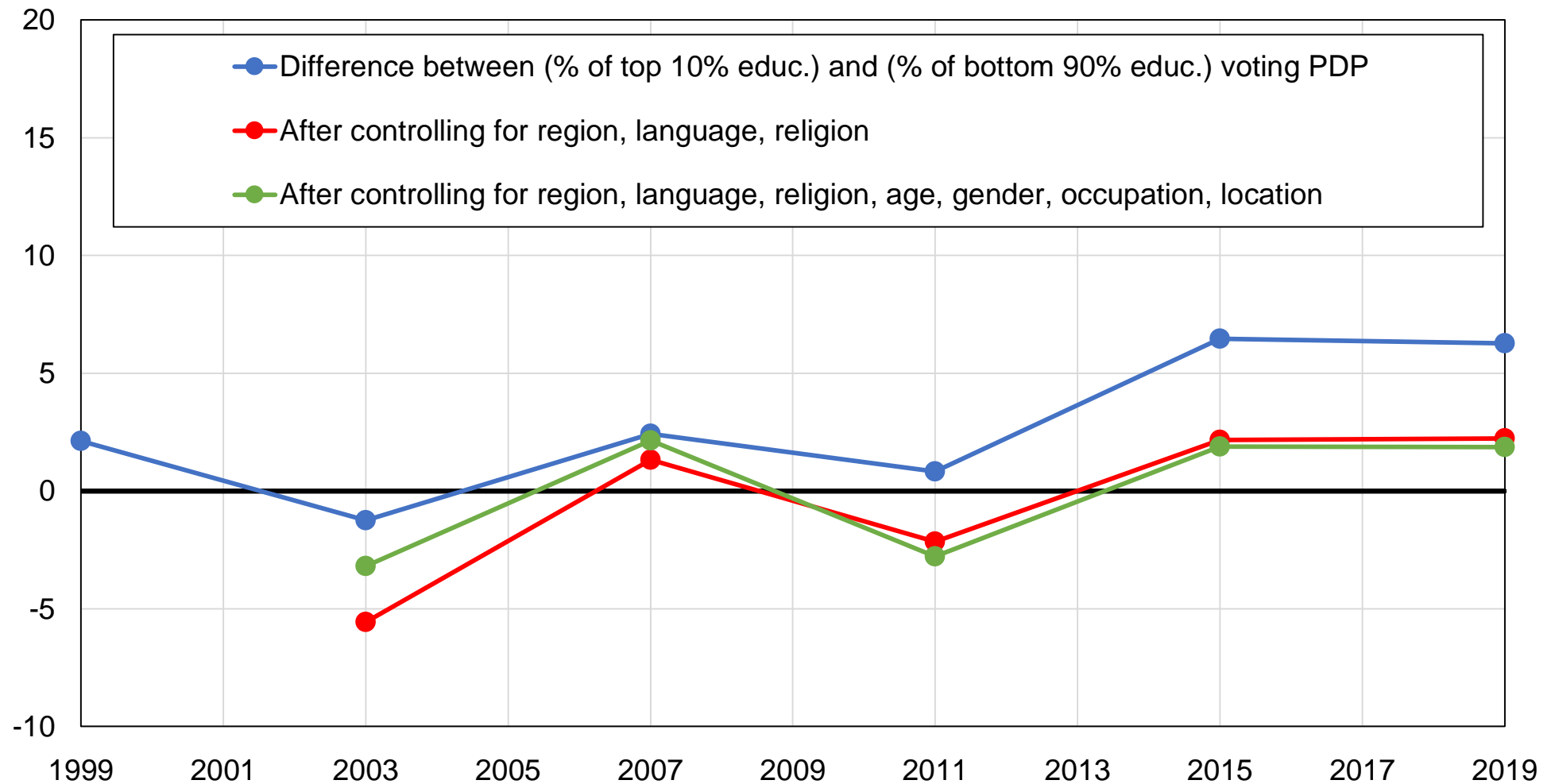
Figure CC1 - Vote for PDP among the secondary- and tertiary-educated



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

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

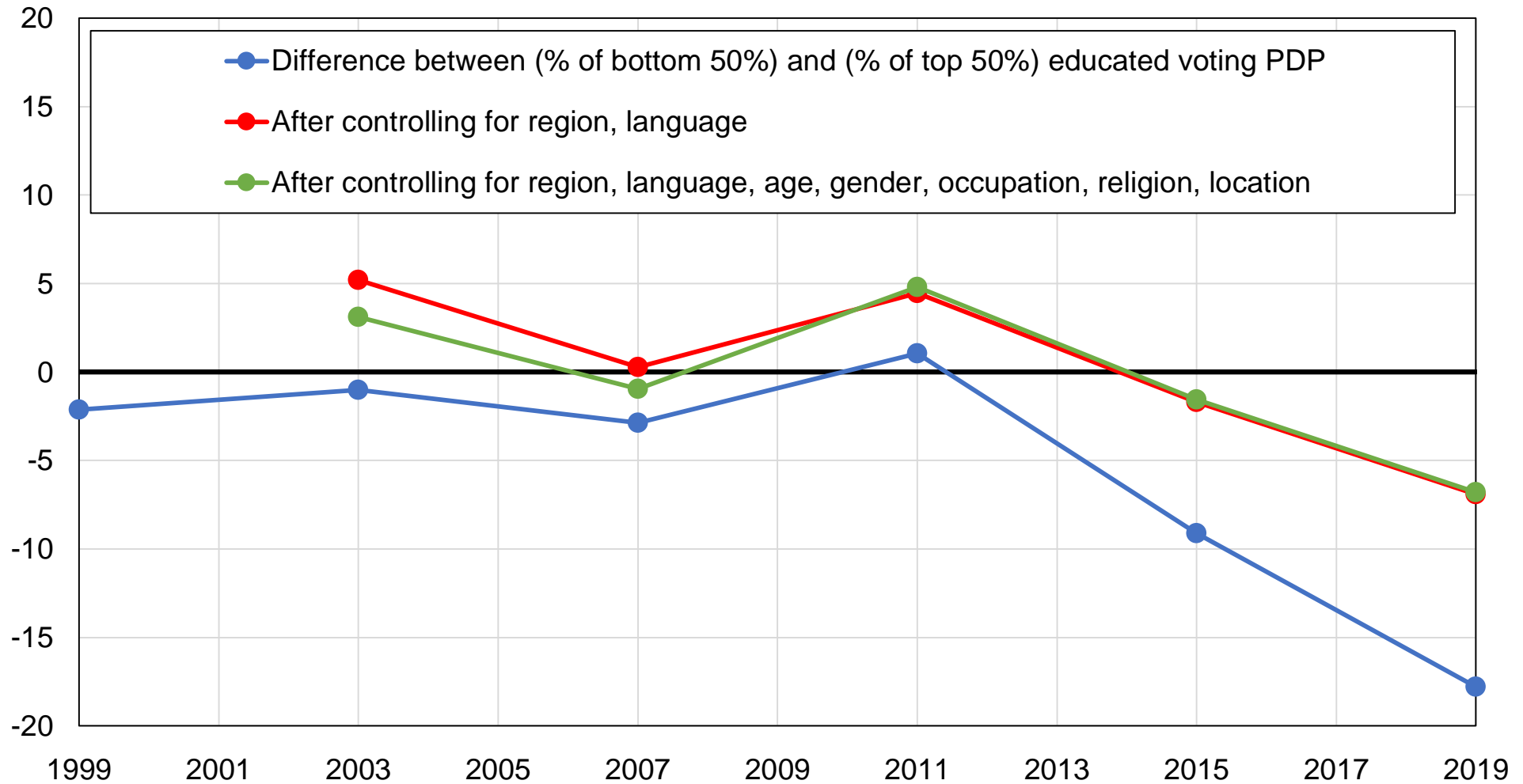
Figure CC2 - Vote for PDP among highest-educated voters



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% educated voters and the share of lowest 90% educated voting for the PDP, before and after controlling for other variables.

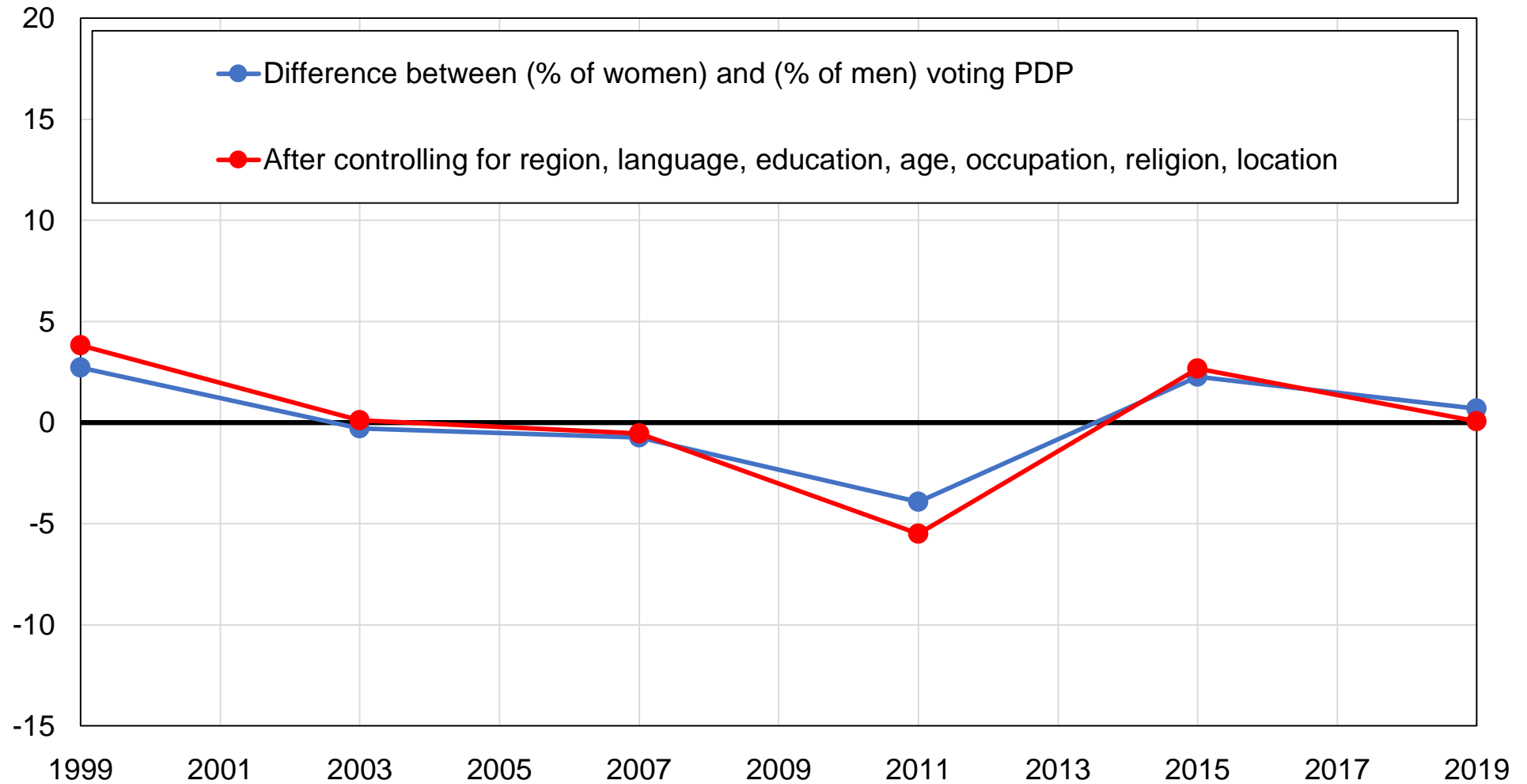
Figure CC3 - Vote for PDP among lowest-educated voters



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

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

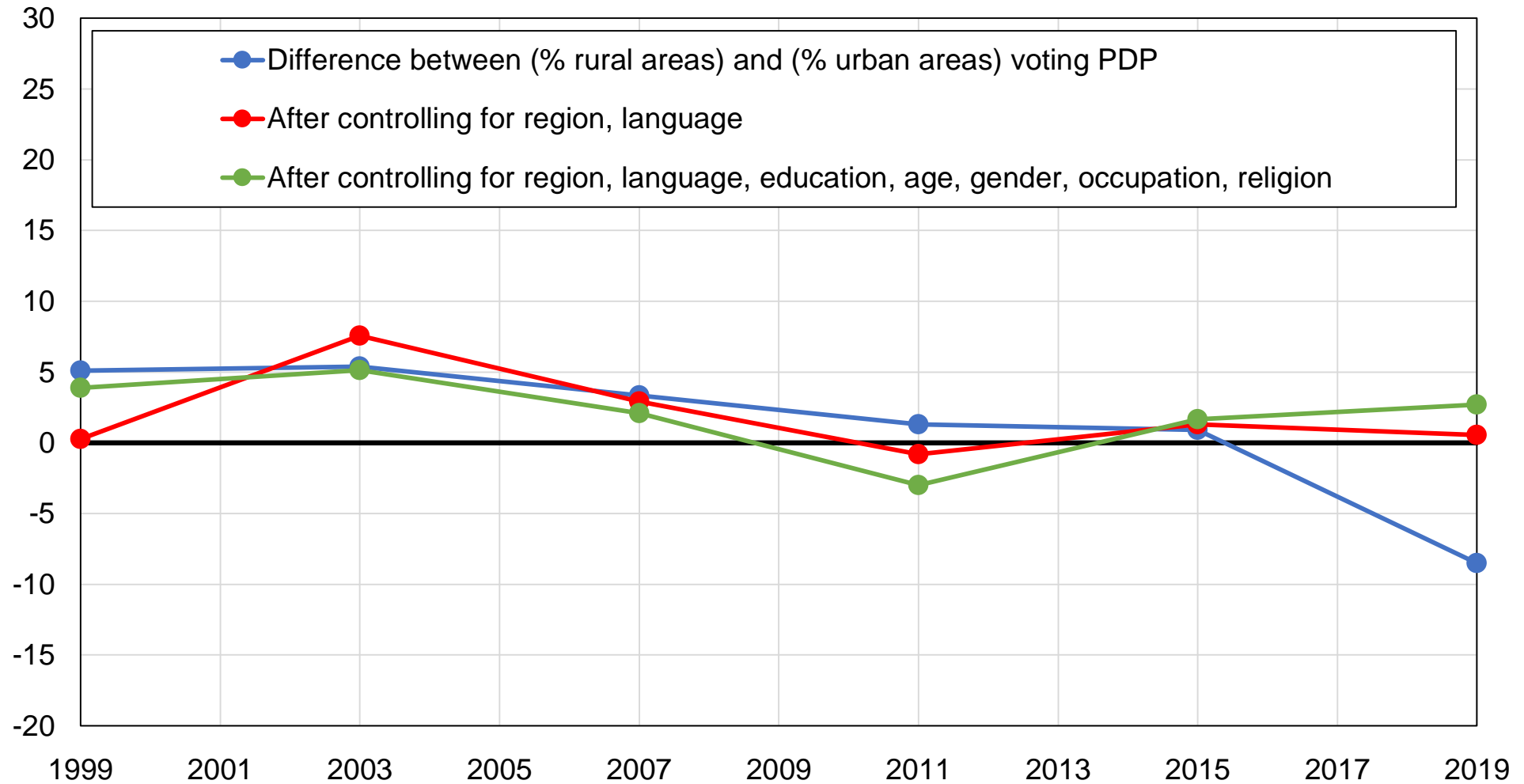
Figure CC4 - Vote for PDP among women



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

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

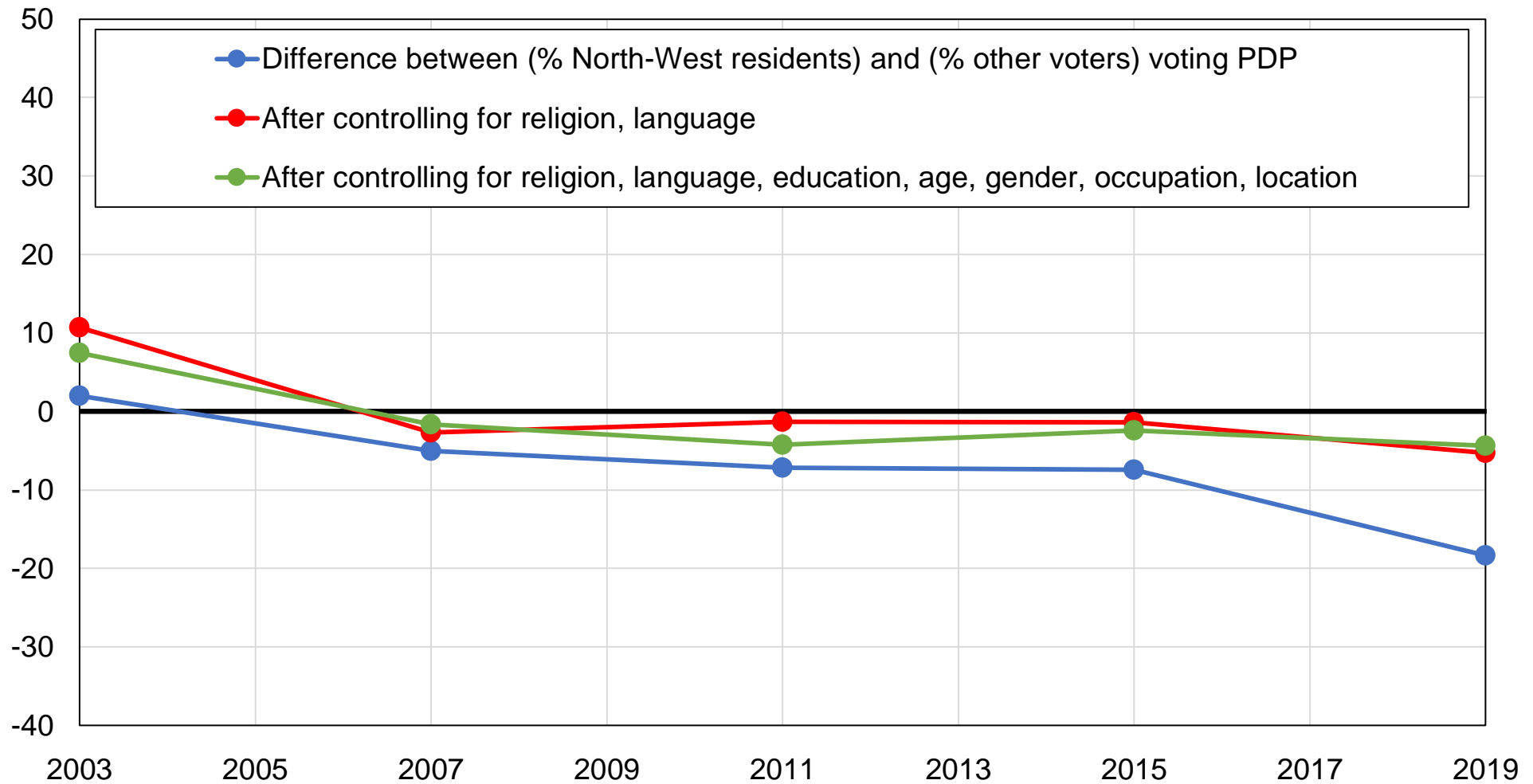
Figure CC5 - Vote for PDP among rural areas



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 the PDP, before and after controlling for other variables.

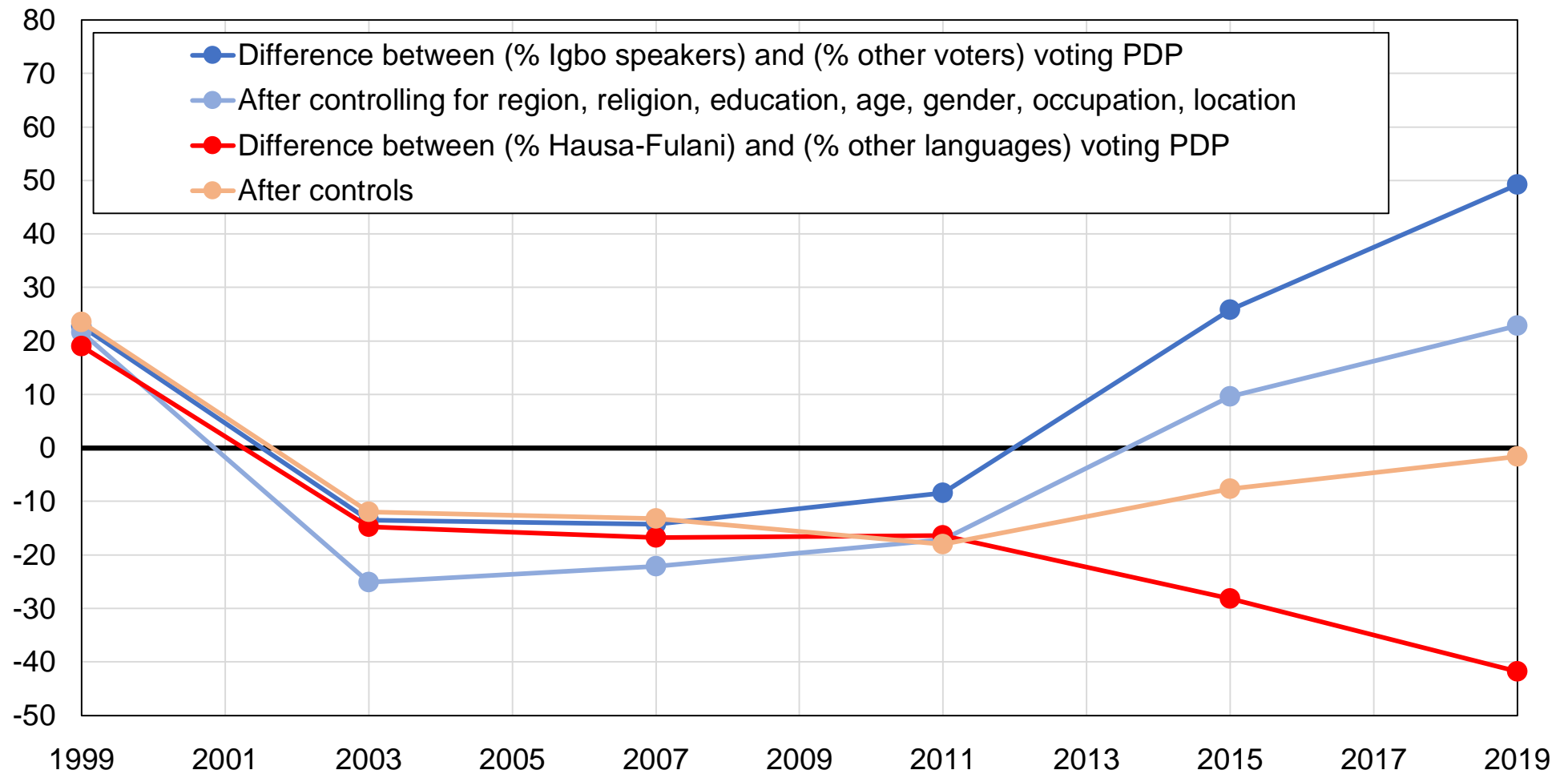
Figure CC6 - Vote for PDP among North-West region residents



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of North-West region residents and the share of other voters voting for the PDP, before and after controlling for other variables.

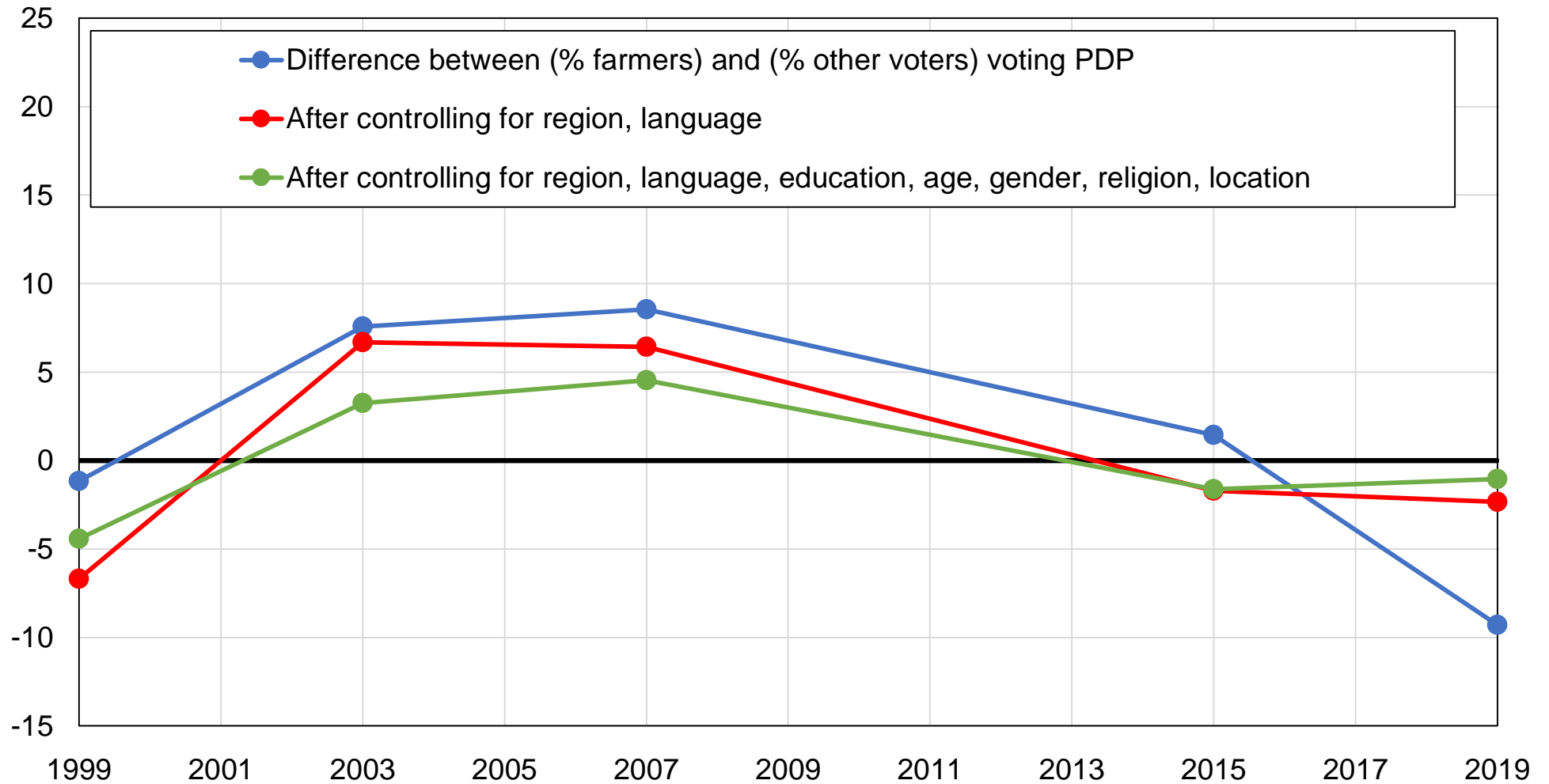
Figure CC7 - Vote for PDP among the Igbo and the Hausa-Fulani



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of voters speaking Igbo and the share of other voters voting for the PDP, and the same difference for Hausa-Fulani speakers, before and after controlling for other variables.

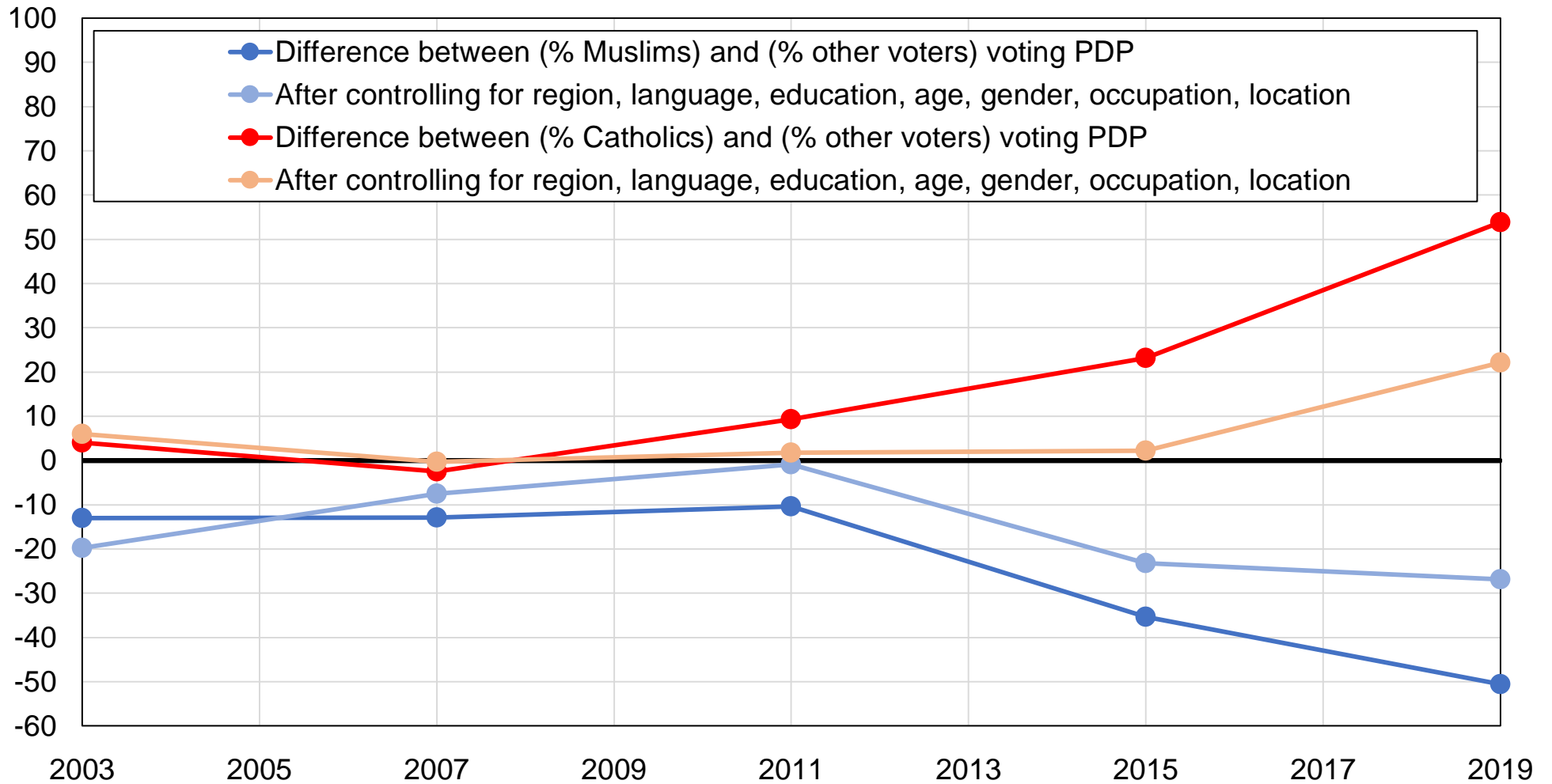
Figure CC8 - Vote for PDP among farmers



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 the PDP, before and after controlling for other variables.

Figure CC9 - Vote for PDP among Catholics and Muslims



Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of Muslim voters and the share of other voters voting for PDP, and the same difference for Catholics, before and after controlling for other variables.

Table C1 - 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 C2 - Complete descriptive statistics by year

	1999	2003	2007	2011	2015	2019
Education: Illiterate	25%	21%	19%	14%	13%	14%
Education: Primary	17%	16%	15%	15%	16%	13%
Education: Secondary	37%	44%	42%	44%	47%	45%
Education: Tertiary	21%	19%	23%	26%	24%	28%
Age: 20-29	51%	54%	56%	54%	50%	50%
Age: 30-49	40%	37%	35%	38%	41%	40%
Age: 50+	9%	10%	9%	8%	9%	10%
Gender: Man	50%	50%	50%	51%	50%	50%
Employment status: Employed	57%	43%	47%	51%	52%	49%
Employment status: Unemployed	13%	21%	23%	22%	24%	24%
Employment status: Inactive	29%	36%	30%	27%	24%	26%
Religion: No religion		1%	1%	0%	0%	1%
Religion: Catholic		17%	15%	12%	11%	5%
Religion: Other Christian		40%	40%	47%	47%	53%
Religion: Muslim		42%	43%	40%	41%	41%
Religion: Other		1%	1%	1%	1%	1%
Location: Rural	29%	48%	52%	55%	56%	56%
Region: North-Central		15%	15%	15%	14%	13%
Region: North-East		13%	13%	13%	12%	13%
Region: North-West		21%	21%	21%	23%	24%
Region: South-East		12%	11%	12%	12%	15%
Region: South-South		15%	16%	16%	16%	12%
Region: South-West		24%	23%	23%	22%	24%
Language: Benue-Congo	6%	6%	8%	11%	9%	9%
Language: Hausa-Fulani	33%	26%	27%	29%	30%	31%
Language: Igbo	19%	17%	17%	17%	17%	21%
Language: Other	4%	15%	13%	7%	8%	4%
Language: Other Atlantic-Congo	2%	5%	4%	6%	3%	4%
Language: Other Volta-Niger	8%	6%	6%	6%	7%	6%
Language: Yoruba	27%	25%	26%	25%	26%	26%
Occupation: Farmer	13%	15%	13%		10%	16%
Occupation: Inactive	35%	36%	41%		40%	35%

Occupation: Professional / Employer	17%	20%	15%	7%	9%
Occupation: Trader / Worker	34%	28%	31%	44%	39%

Source: authors' computations using Afrobarometer surveys.

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