

**Chapter 16. "Extreme Inequality, Elite Transformation, and the
Changing Structure of Political Cleavages in South Africa, 1994-2019"**

Amory GETHIN

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Appendix C - Detailed composition of the South African population

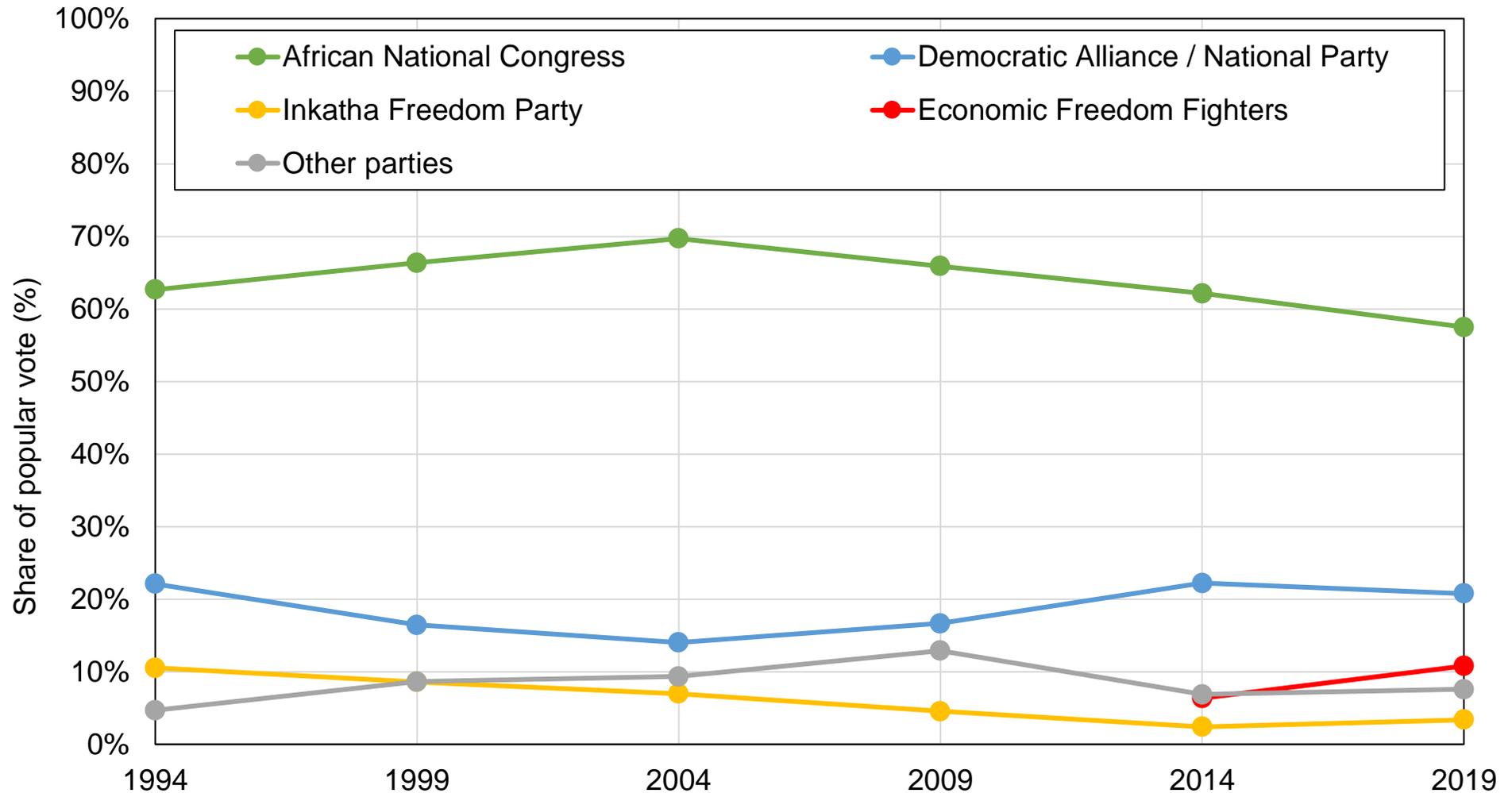
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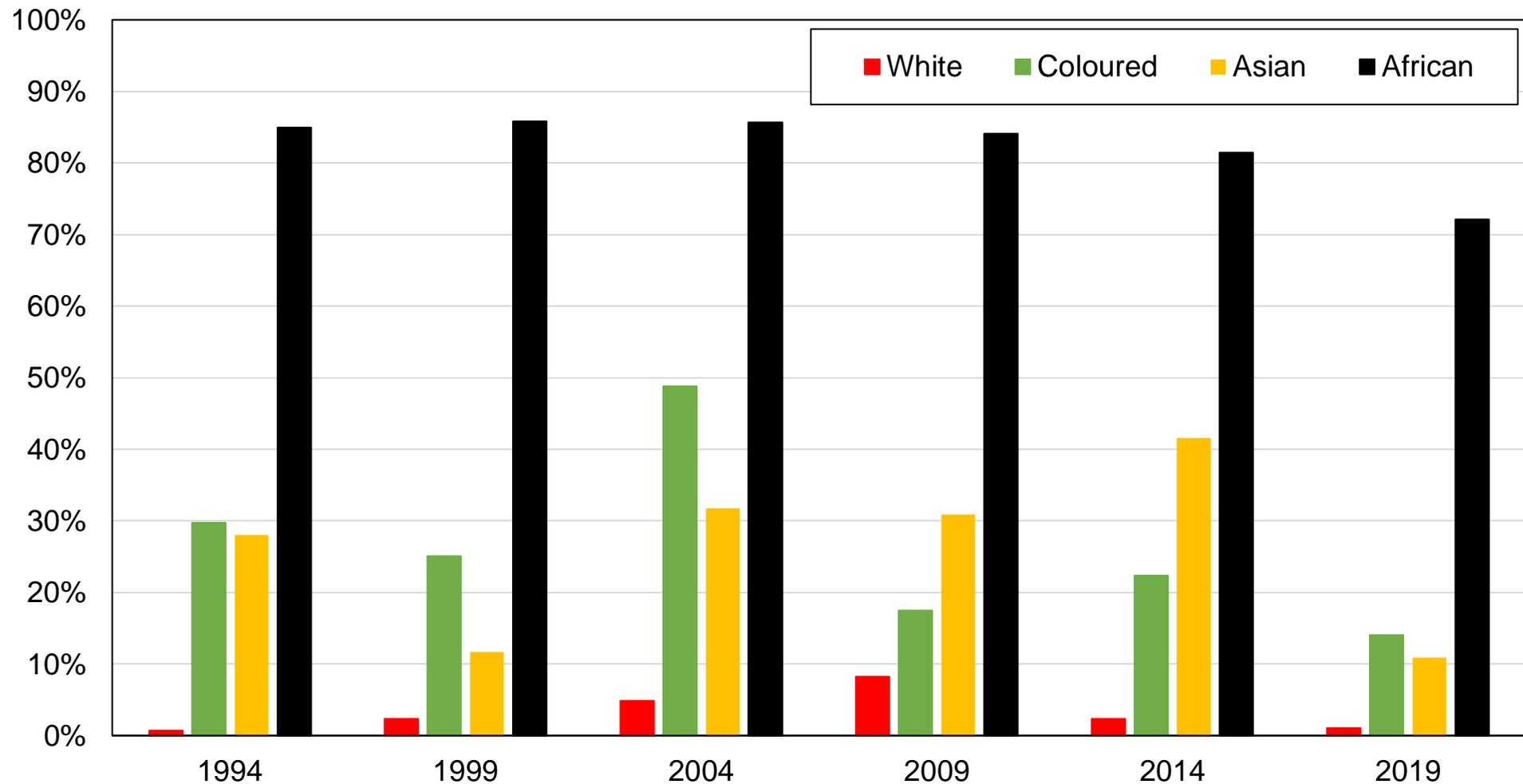
Figure 16.1 - General election results in South Africa, 1994-2019



Source: author's computations using official election results.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by selected South African political parties in the general elections of 1994, 1999, 2004, 2009, 2014 and 2019.

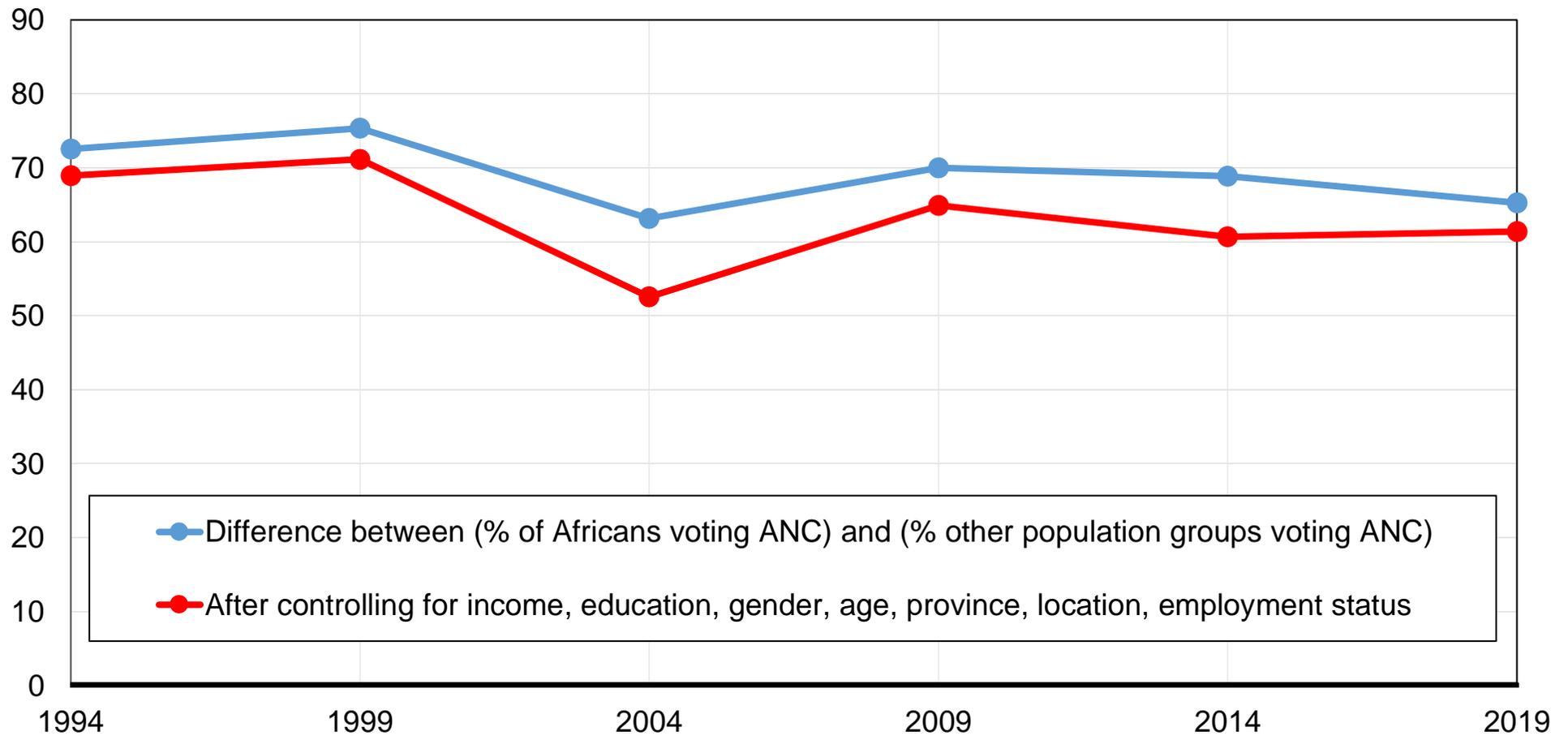
Figure 16.2 - Vote for the ANC by population group in South Africa



Source: author's computations using South African political attitudes surveys.

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 has received more than 70% of votes among African voters, as compared to less than 10% of White votes in all years.

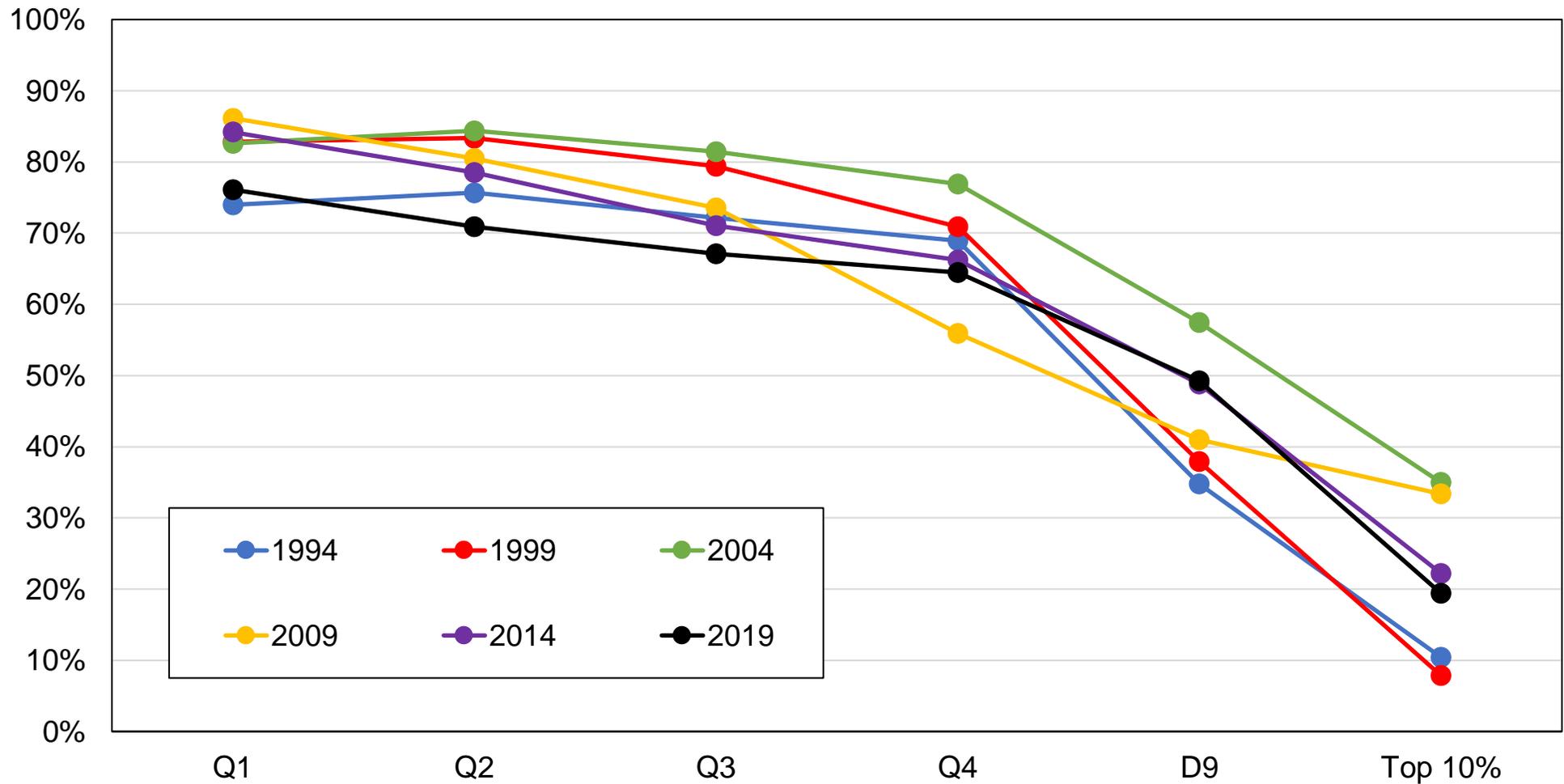
Figure 16.3 - Racial cleavages in South Africa



Source: author's computations using South African political attitudes surveys.

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 controlling for other variables. Africans have always been more likely to support the ANC than other population groups by at least 60 percentage points.

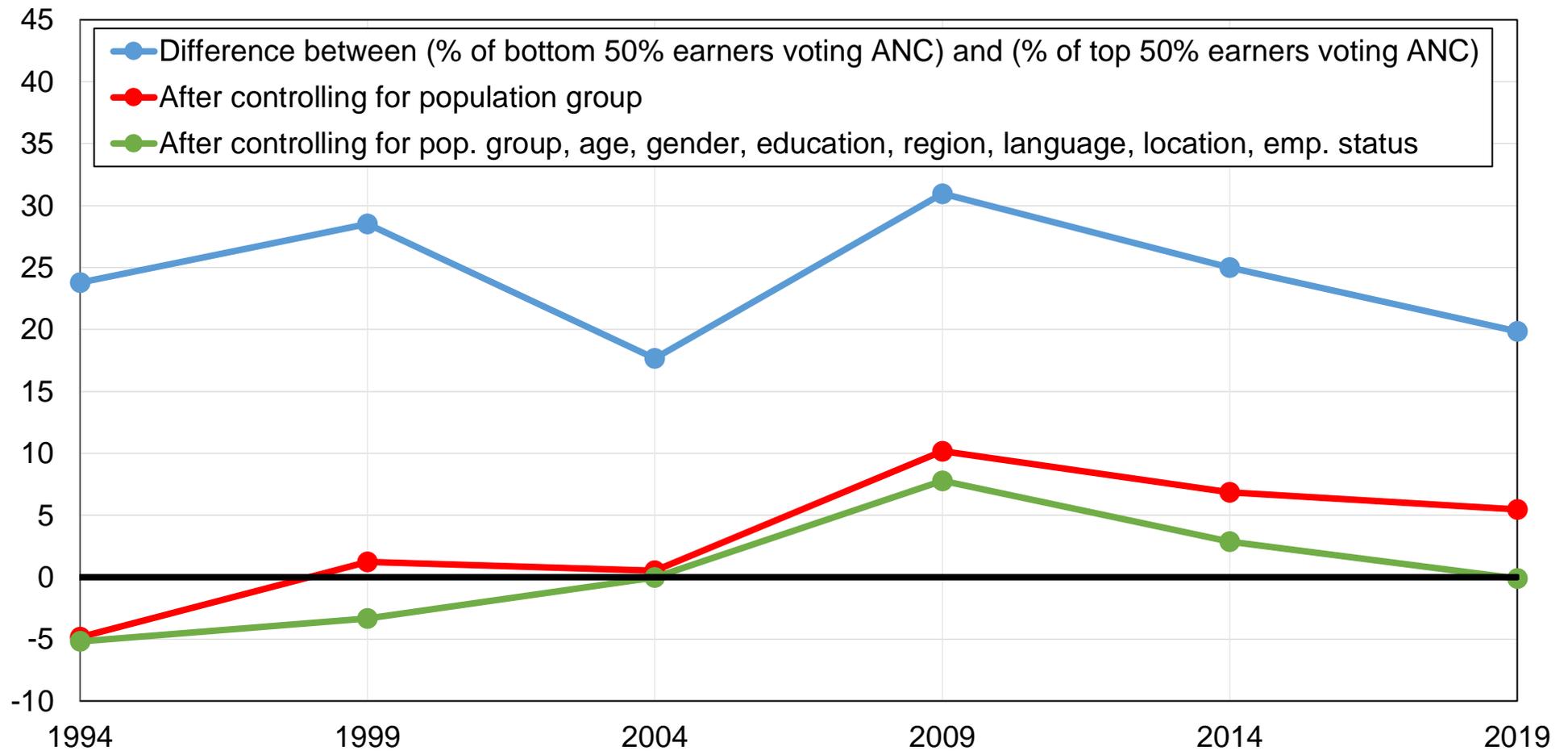
Figure 16.4 - Vote for the ANC by income group in South Africa



Source: author's computations using South African political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of voters supporting the ANC in general elections by income quintile and among the ninth decile and the top 10% of earners. Between 70% and 85% of bottom 20% earners have supported the ANC in all years, as compared to between 5% and 35% of those belonging to the top 10%.

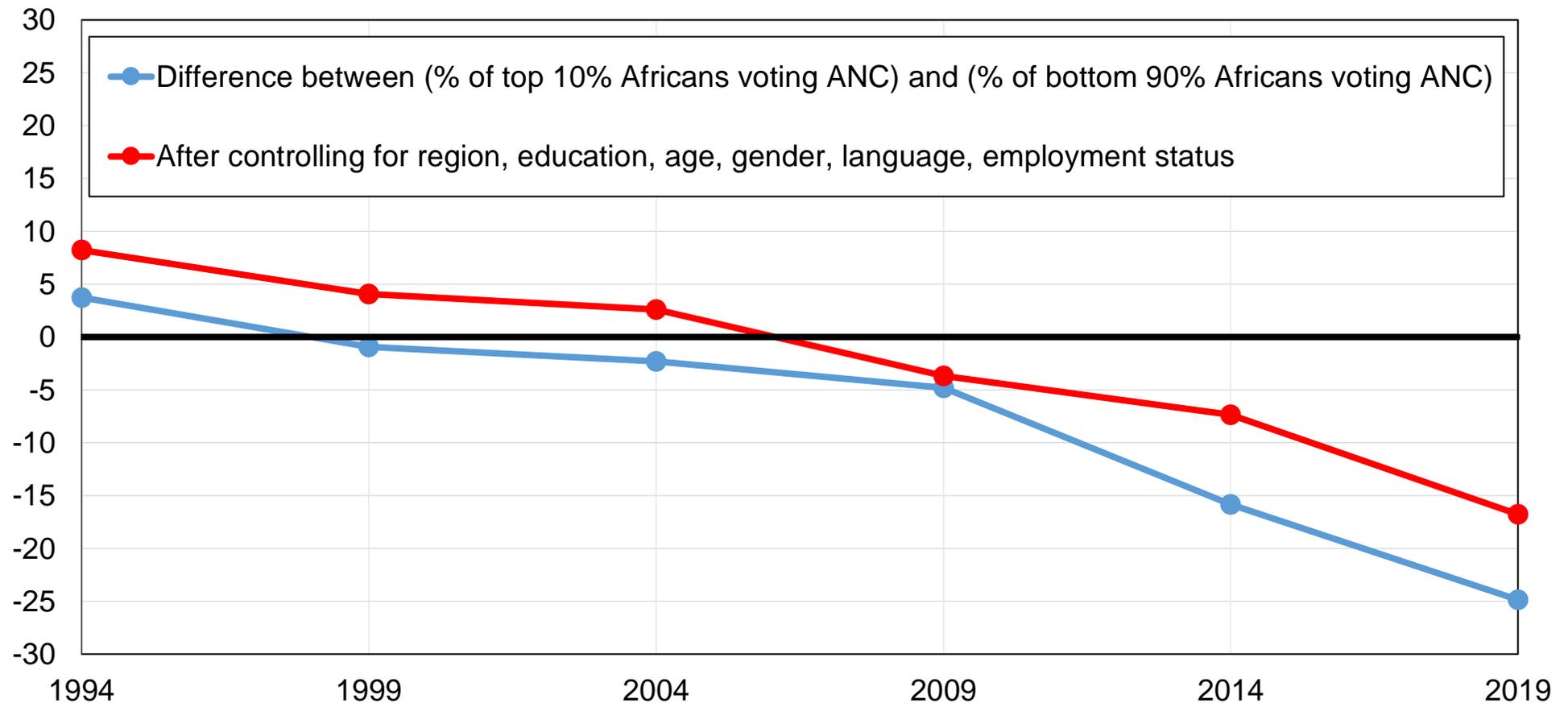
Figure 16.5 - Vote for the ANC among low-income voters in South Africa



Source: author's computations using South African political attitudes surveys.

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. After controlling for population group, this difference is reduced to between -5 and 10 percentage points.

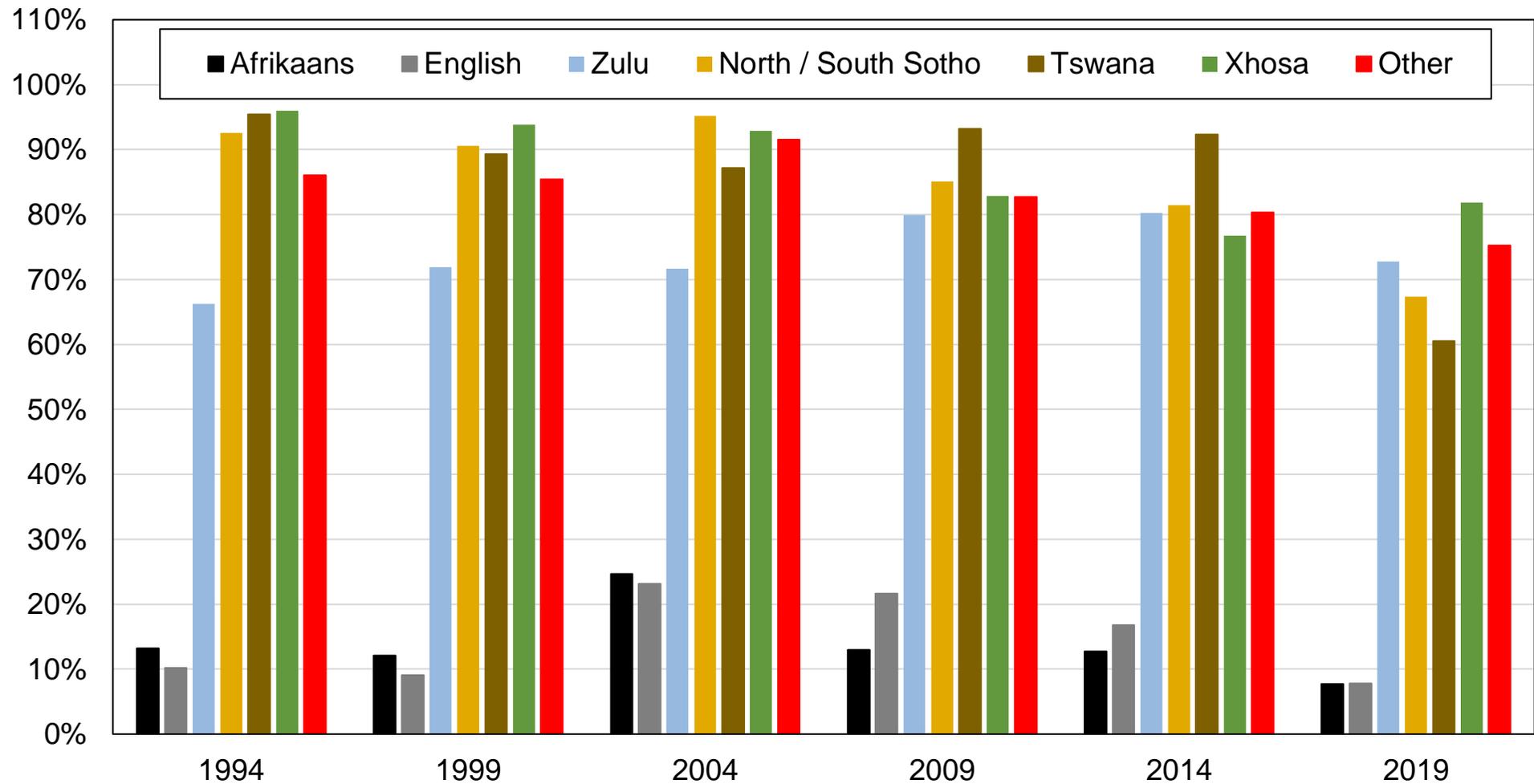
Figure 16.6 - Vote for the ANC among top African income groups in South Africa



Source: author's computations using South African political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% African voters 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 in 2019 by 25 percentage points.

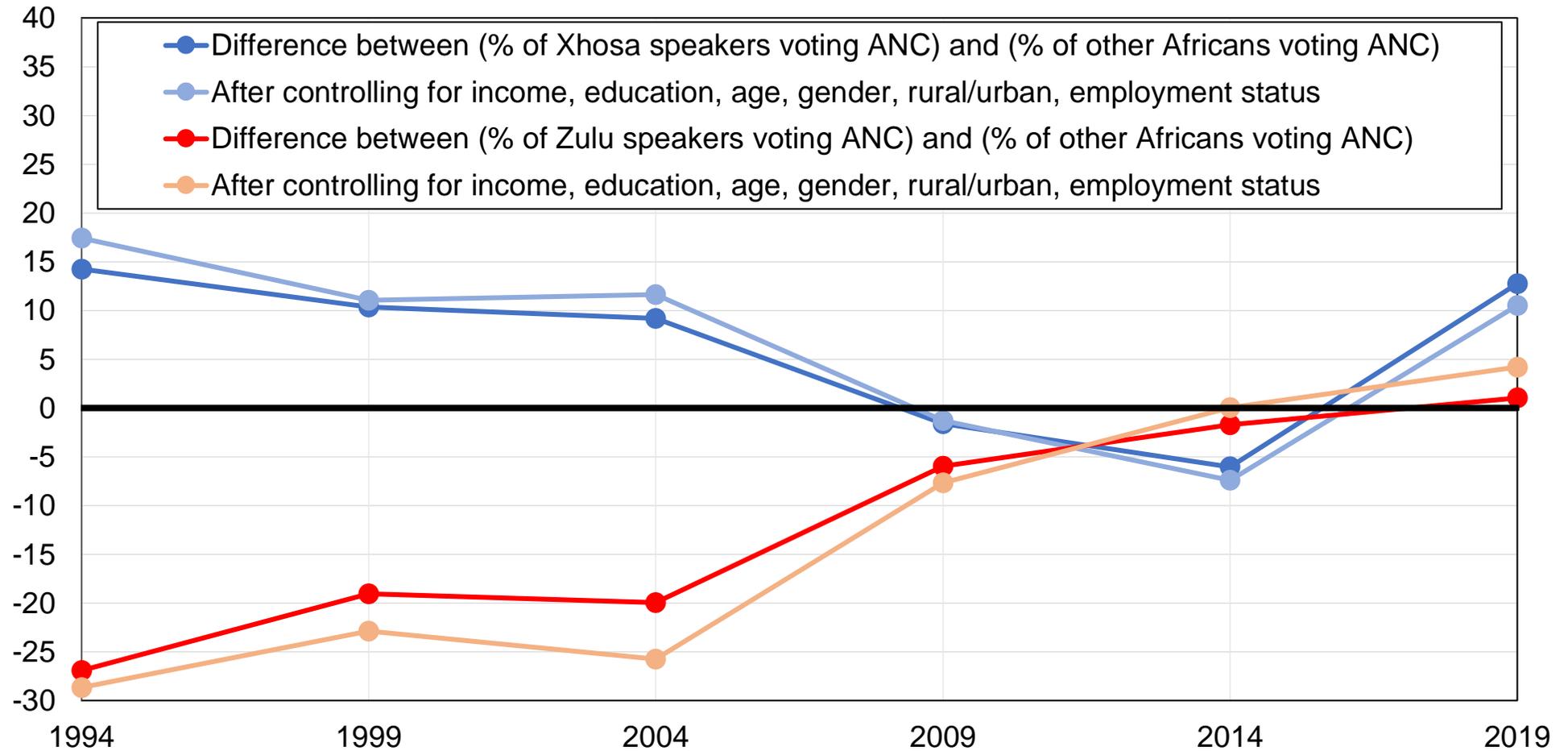
Figure 16.7 - Vote for the ANC by language in South Africa



Source: author's computations using South African political attitudes surveys.

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 all years, compared to more than 60% of Sotho and Tswana speakers.

Figure 16.8 - Ethnolinguistic cleavages in South Africa



Source: author's computations using South African political attitudes surveys.

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, before and after controls, and the same difference between xhosa speakers and other African voters. Zulu speakers used to be less likely to vote for the ANC by 19 percentage points. This difference had come close to zero in 2014.

Table 16.1 - The structure of the South African voting age population, 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.

Note: the table shows descriptive statistics for selected variables. In 2014, 74% of the voting age population considered itself to be Black, while 13% were White.

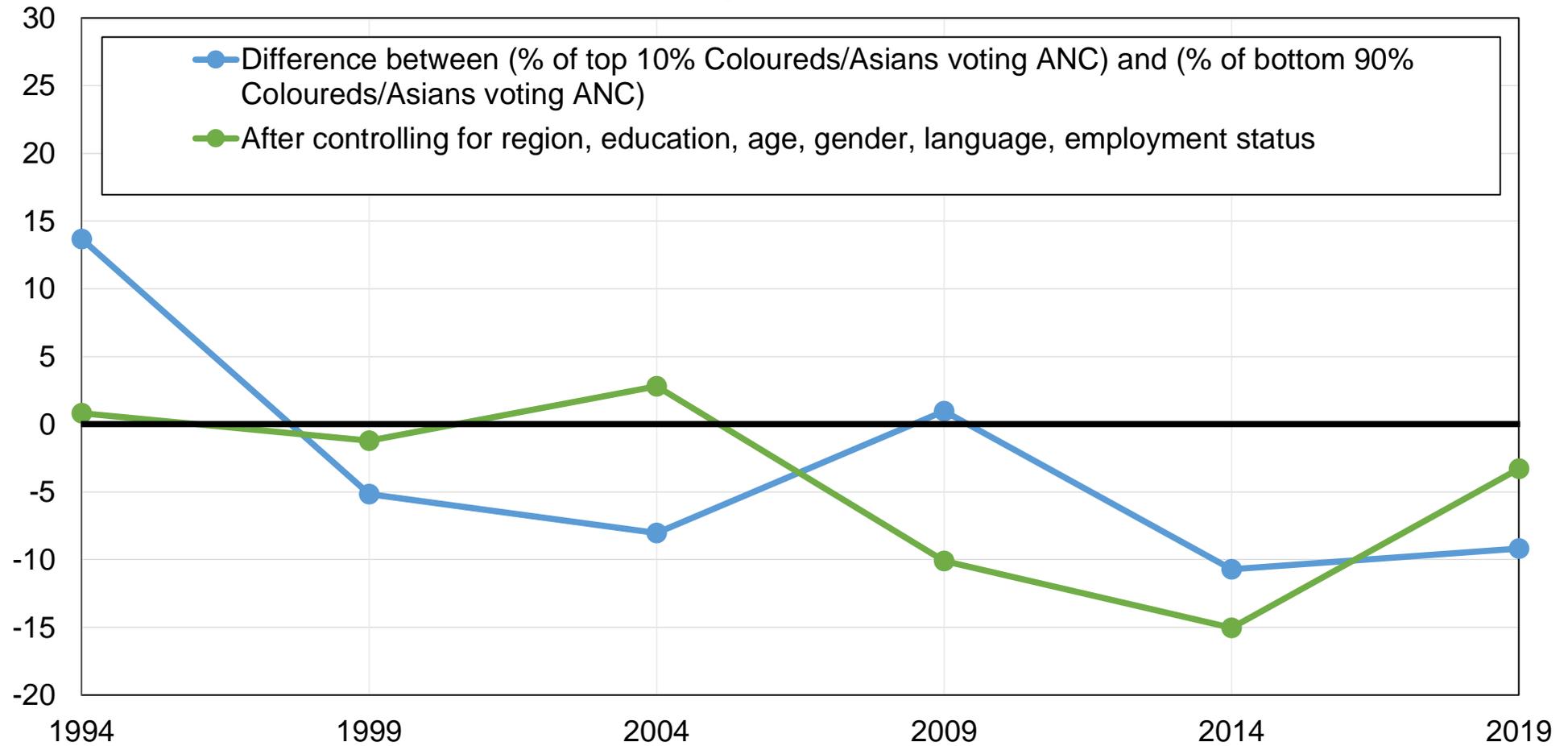
Table 16.2 - Political opinions of Black South Africans by income group, 2017

	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.

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

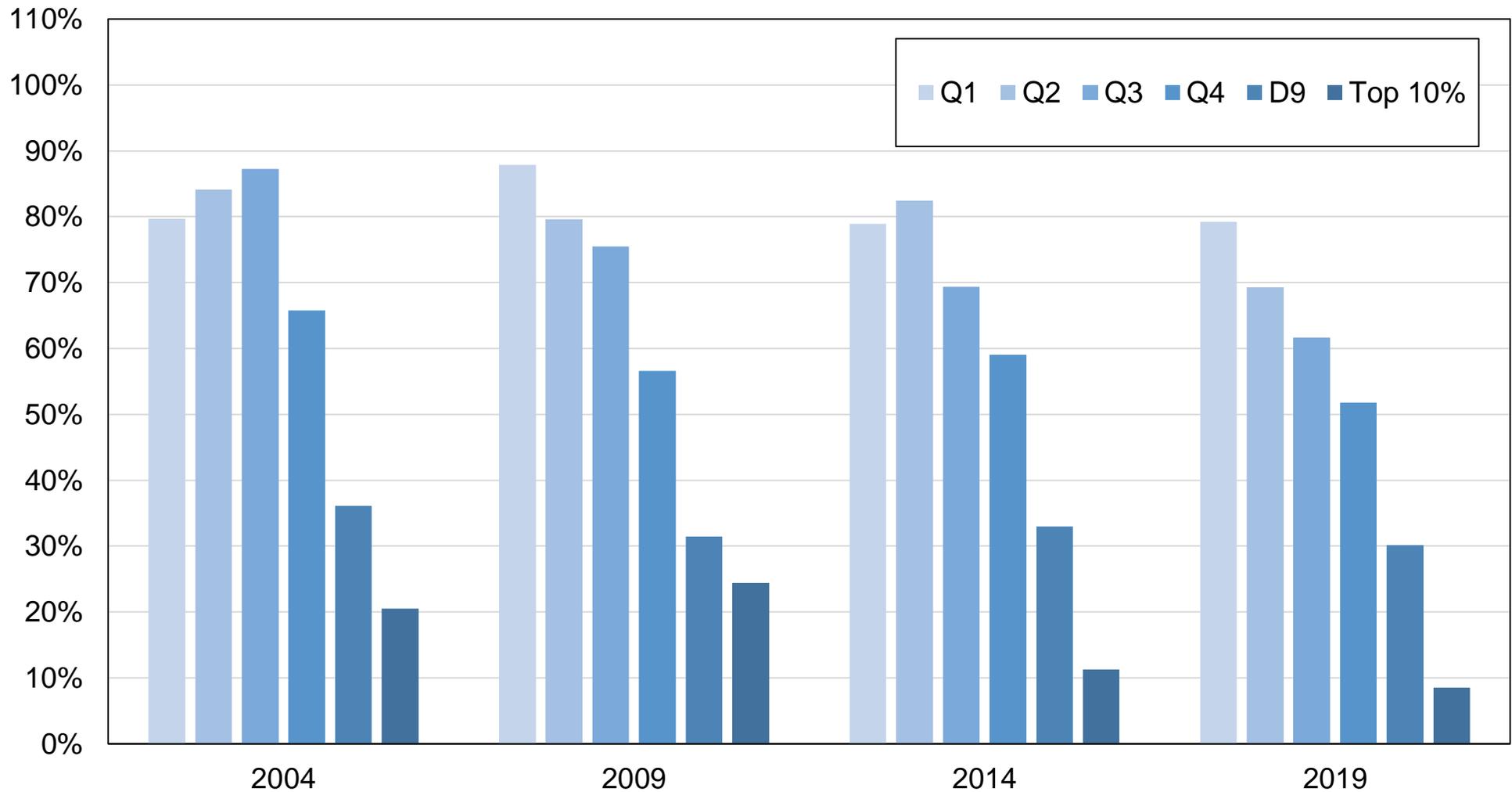
Figure A1 - Vote for the ANC among top Coloured / Asian income groups, 1994-2019



Source: author's computations using South African political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% Coloured / Asian voters voting ANC and the share of bottom 90% Coloured / Asian voters voting ANC in general elections, before and after controls.

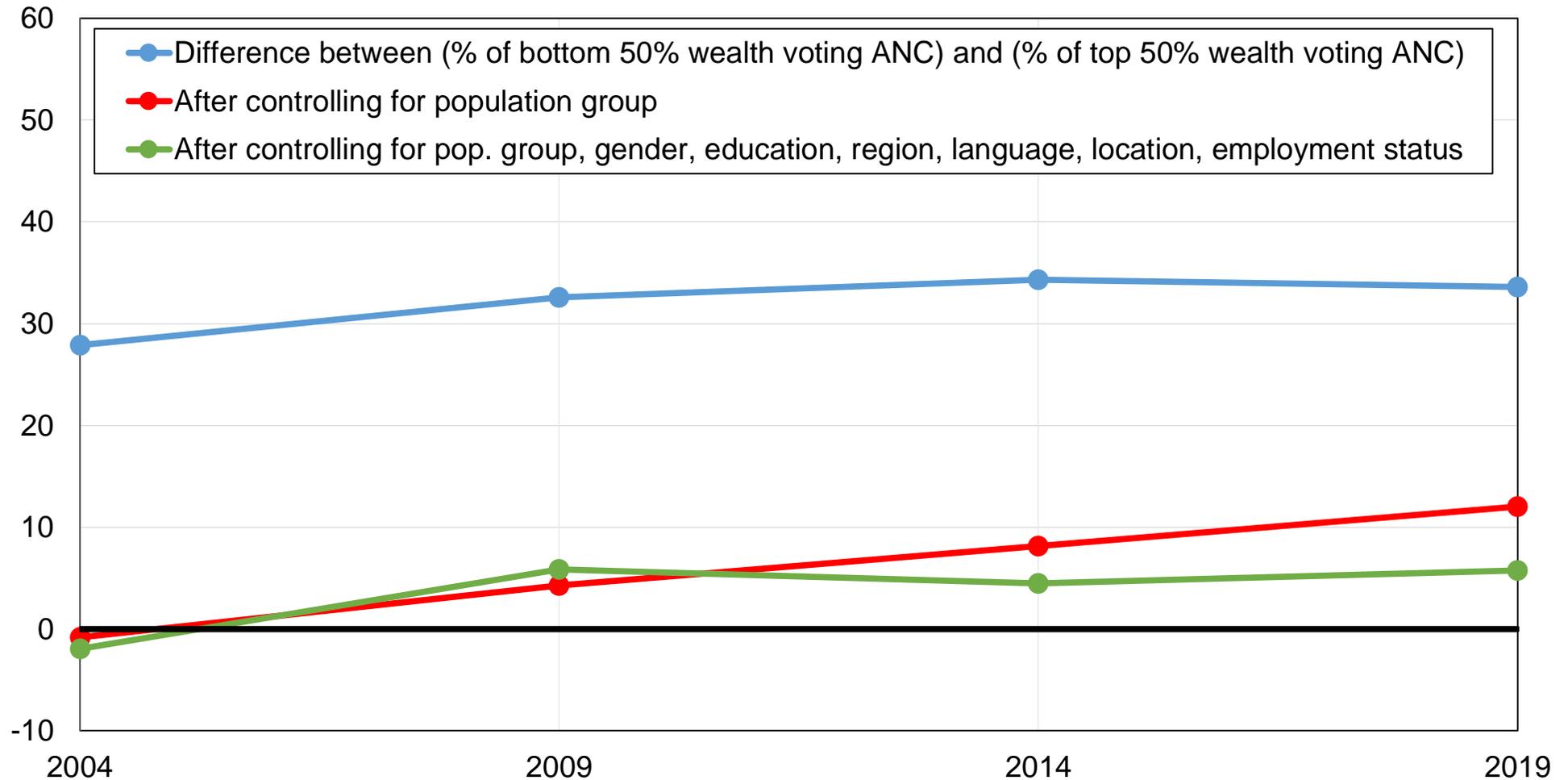
Figure A2 - Vote for ANC by wealth group, 2004-2019



Source: author's computations using South African political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of voters supporting the ANC in general elections by wealth quintile and among the ninth decile and the top 10% of wealth owners.

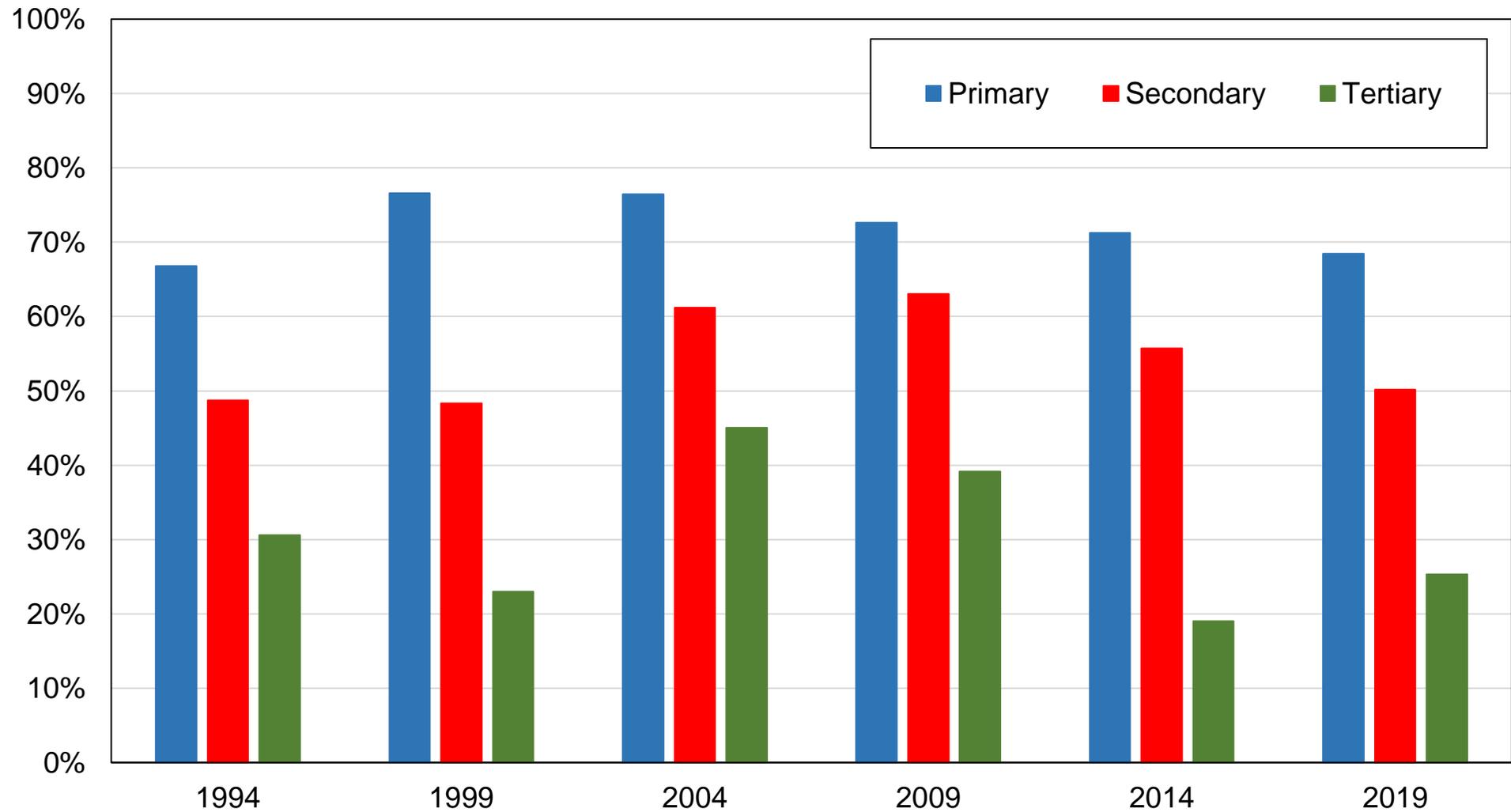
Figure A3 - Vote for the ANC among bottom wealth groups, 2004-2019



Source: author's computations using South African political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of poorest 50% voters in terms of wealth voting ANC and the share of other voters voting ANC in general elections, before and after controls.

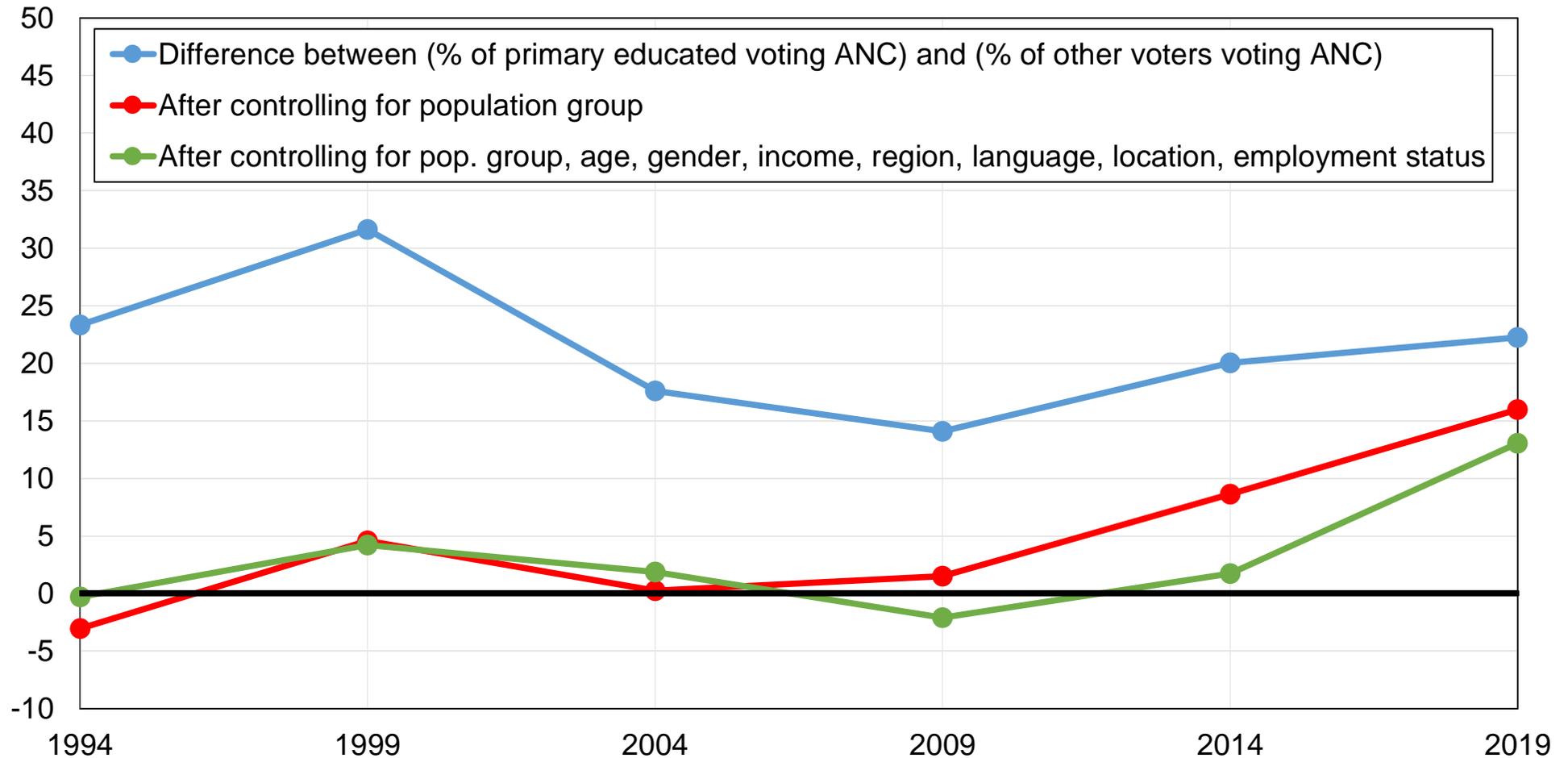
Figure A4 - Vote for the ANC by education level, 1994-2019



Source: author's computations using South African political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of voters supporting the ANC in general elections by level of education. Primary education includes those with no education at all.

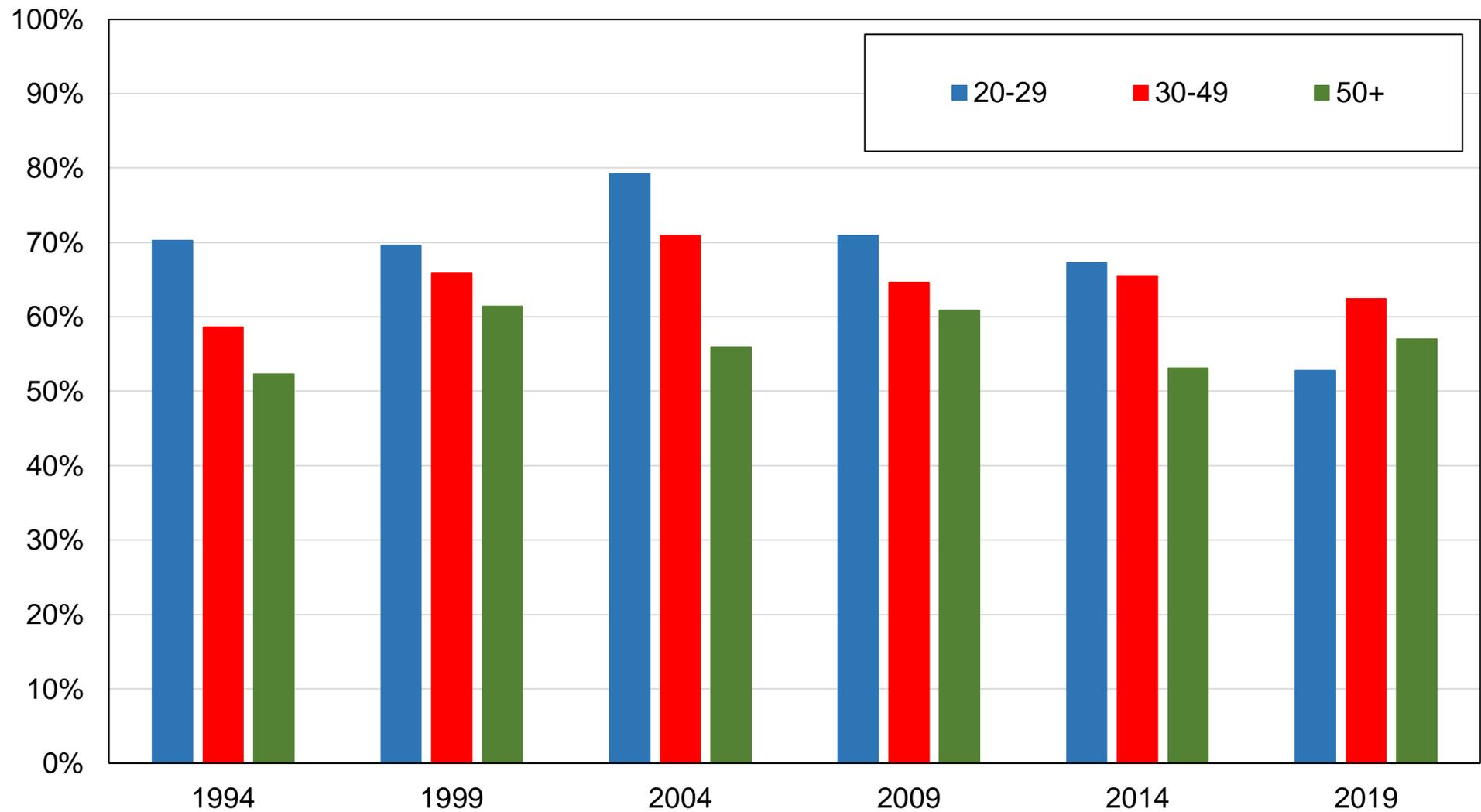
Figure A5 - Vote for the ANC among the primary educated, 1994-2019



Source: author's computations using South African political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of primary educated voters voting ANC and the share of secondary/tertiary educated voters voting ANC in general elections, before and after controls.

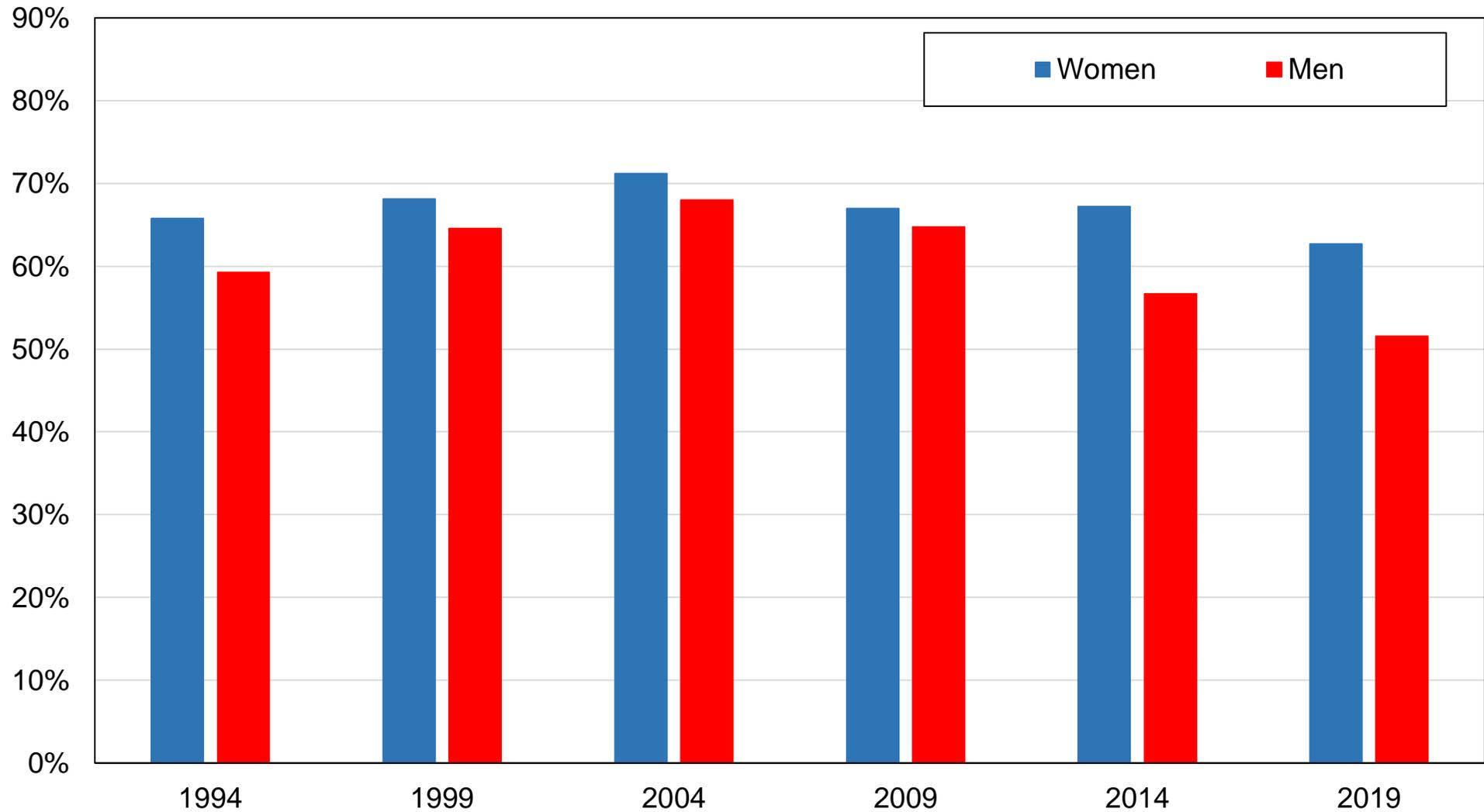
Figure A6 - Vote for the ANC by age group, 1994-2019



Source: author's computations using South African political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of voters supporting the ANC in general elections by age group.

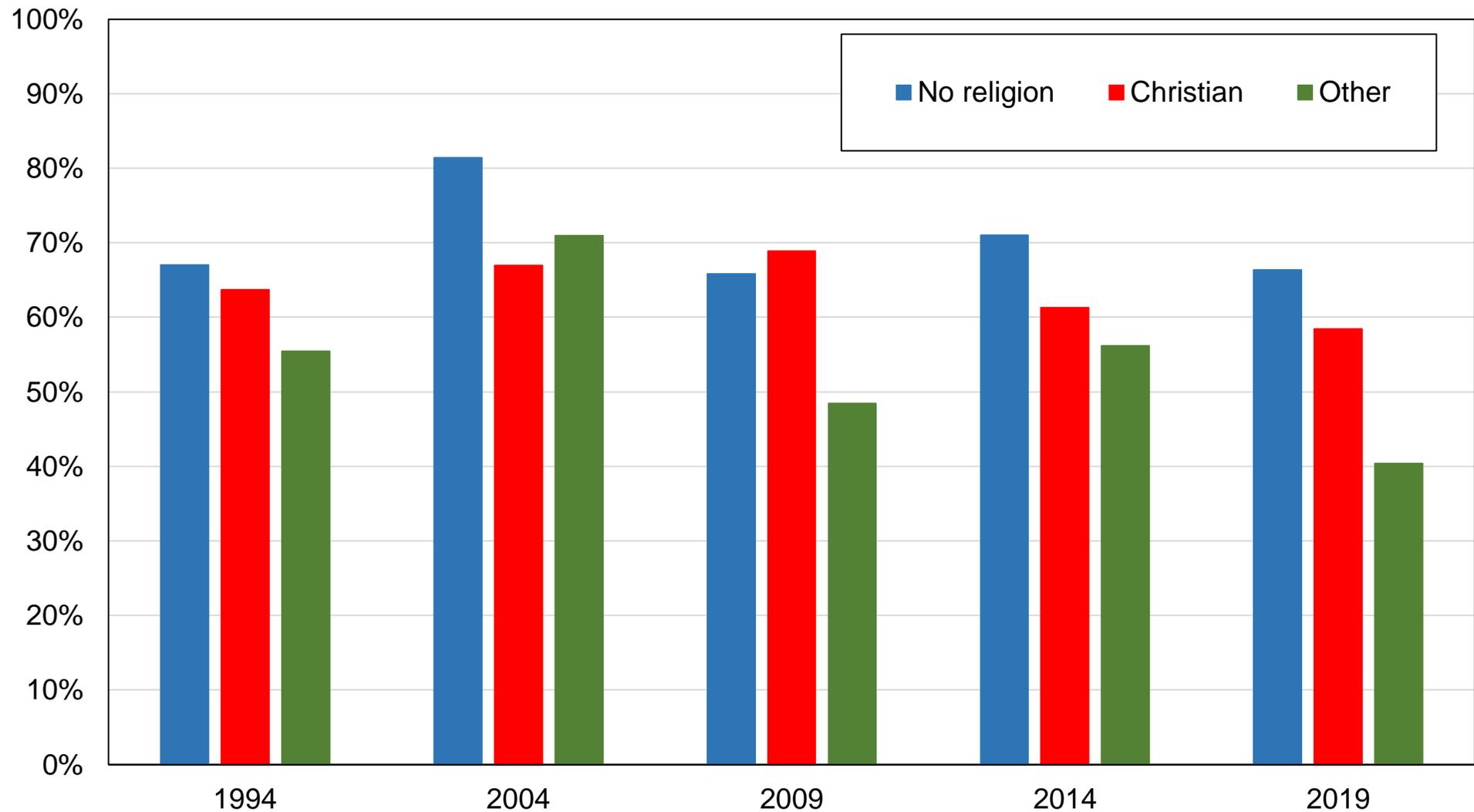
Figure A7 - Vote for the ANC by gender, 1994-2019



Source: author's computations using South African political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of voters supporting the ANC in general elections by gender.

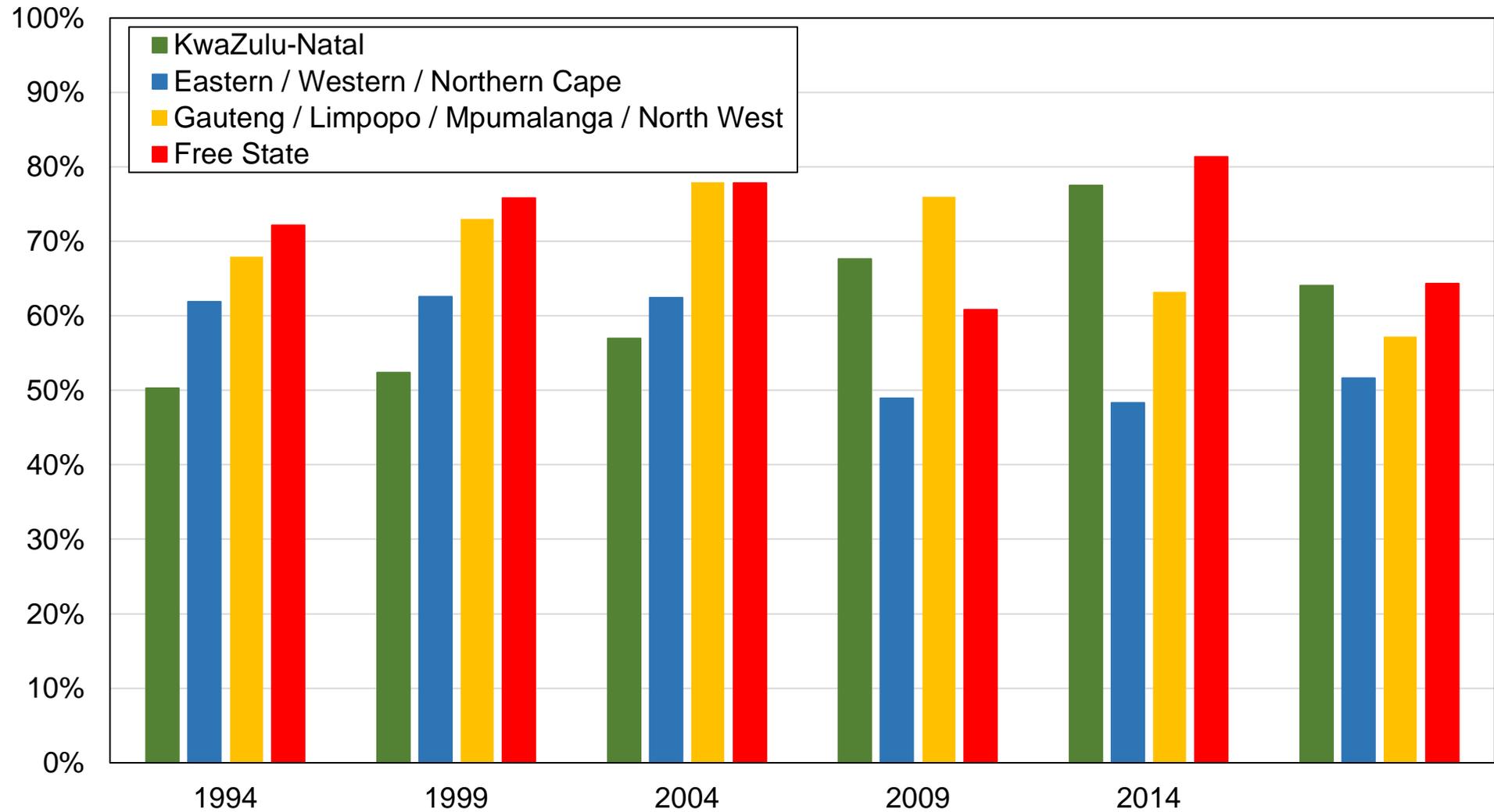
Figure A8 - Vote for the ANC by religious affiliation, 1994-2019



Source: author's computations using South African political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of voters supporting the ANC in general elections by religious affiliation.

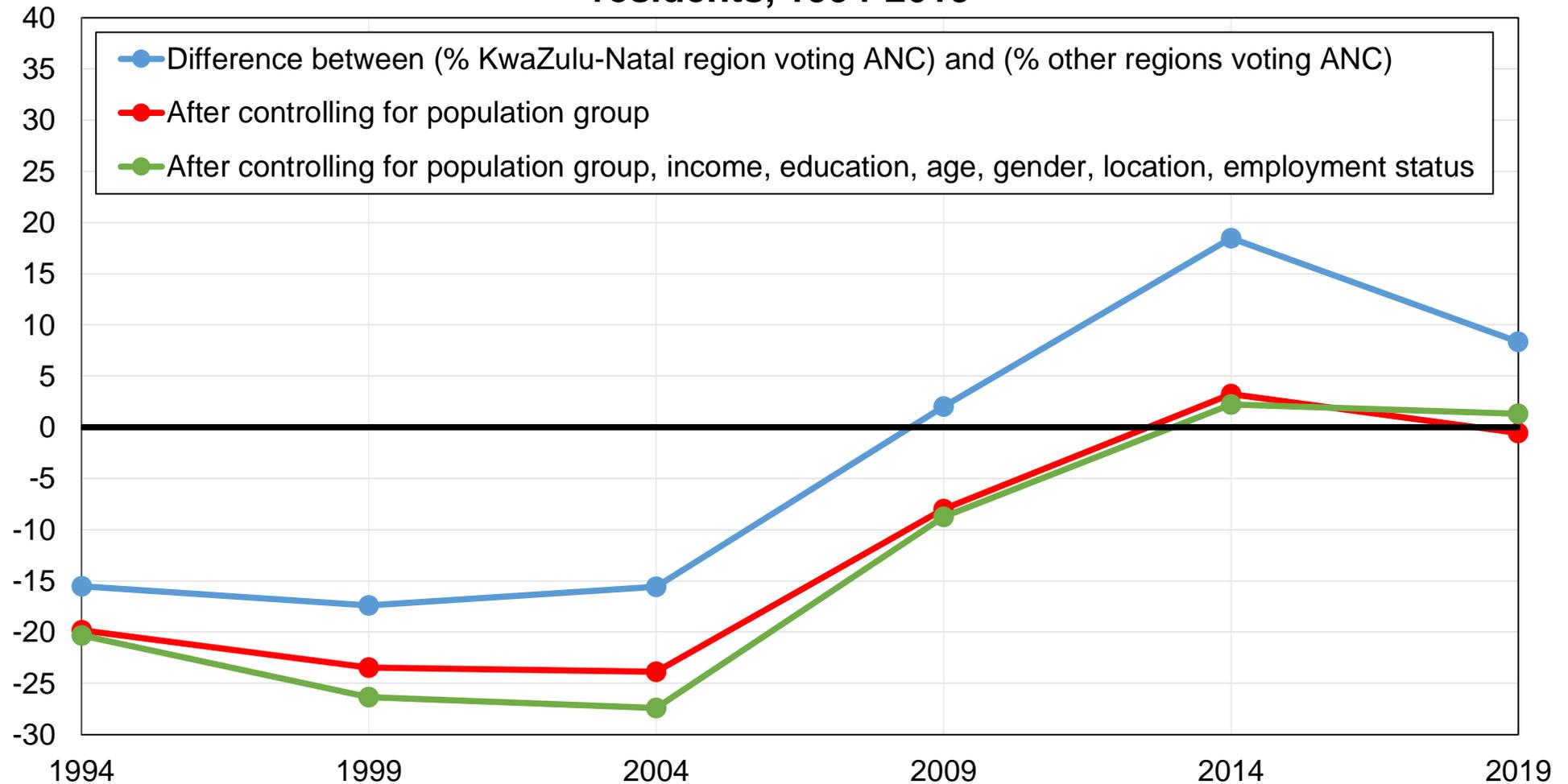
Figure A9 - Vote for the ANC by region, 1994-2019



Source: author's computations using South African political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of voters supporting the ANC in general elections by region.

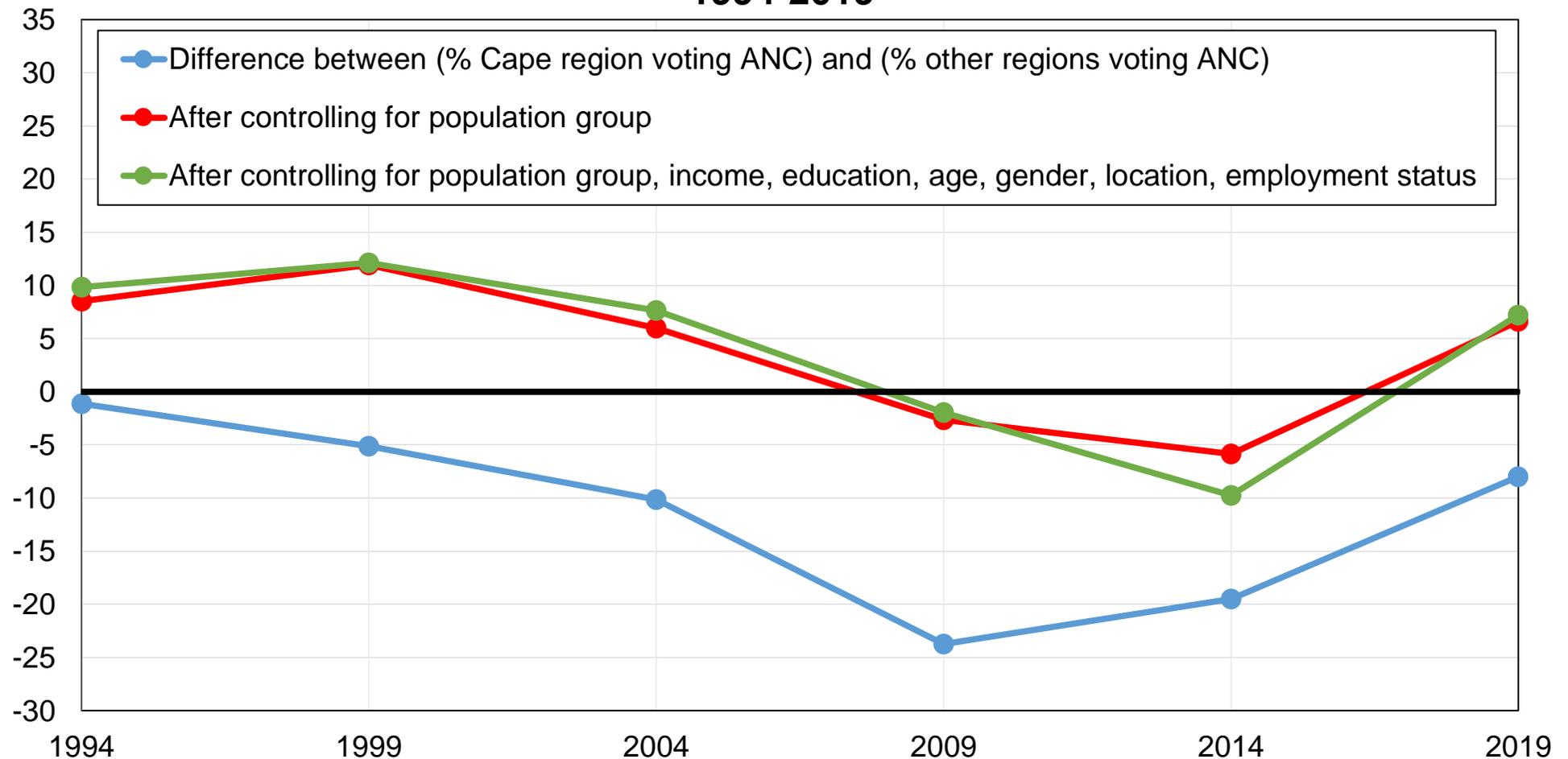
Figure A10 - Vote for the ANC among KwaZulu-Natal province residents, 1994-2019



Source: author's computations using South African political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of voters living in KwaZulu-Natal voting ANC and the share of voters living in other regions voting ANC in general elections, before and after controls.

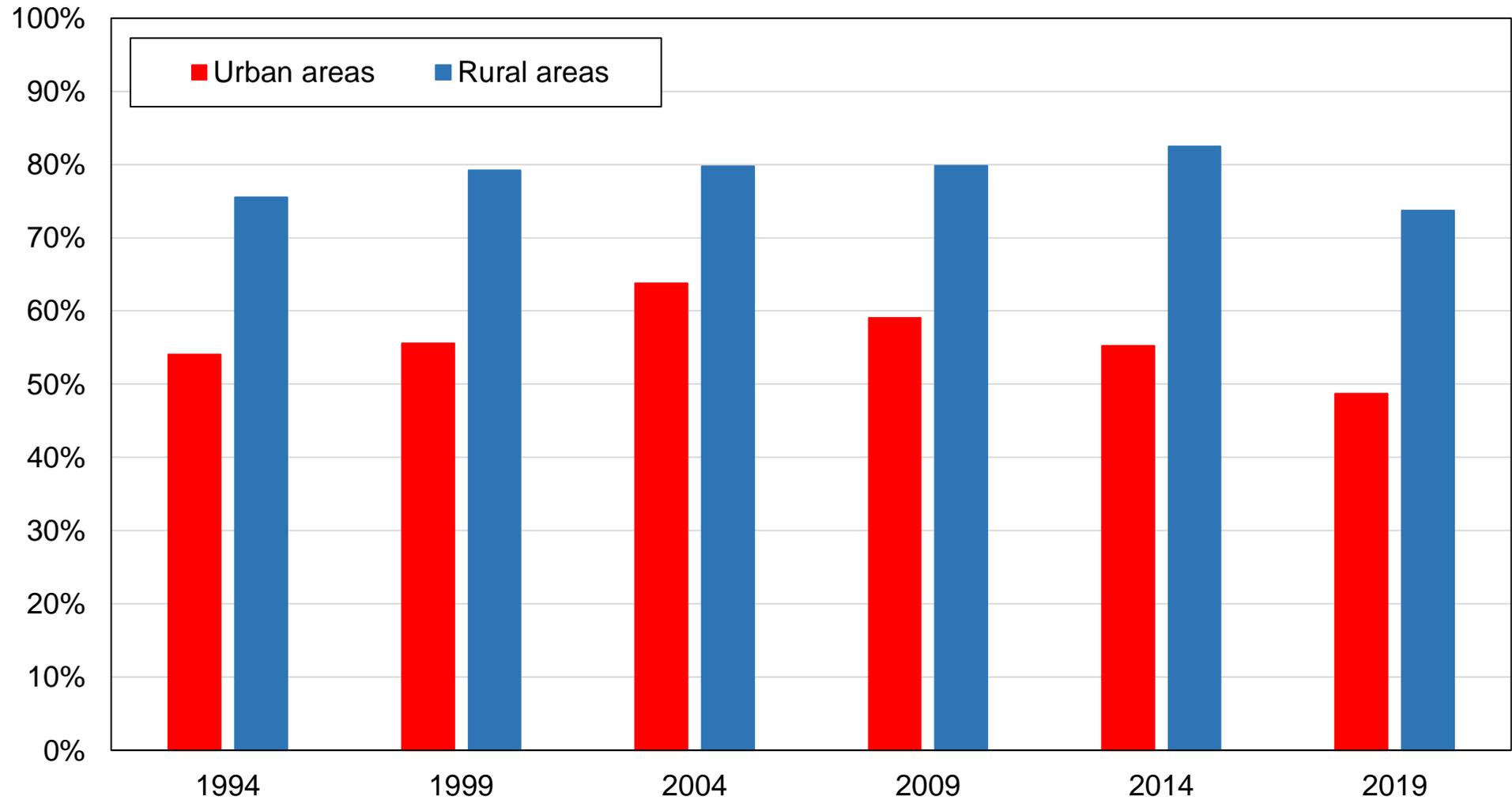
Figure A11 - Vote for the ANC among residents of the Cape region, 1994-2019



Source: author's computations using South African political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of voters living in the Eastern, Northern or Western Cape voting ANC and the share of voters living in other regions voting ANC in general elections, before and after controls.

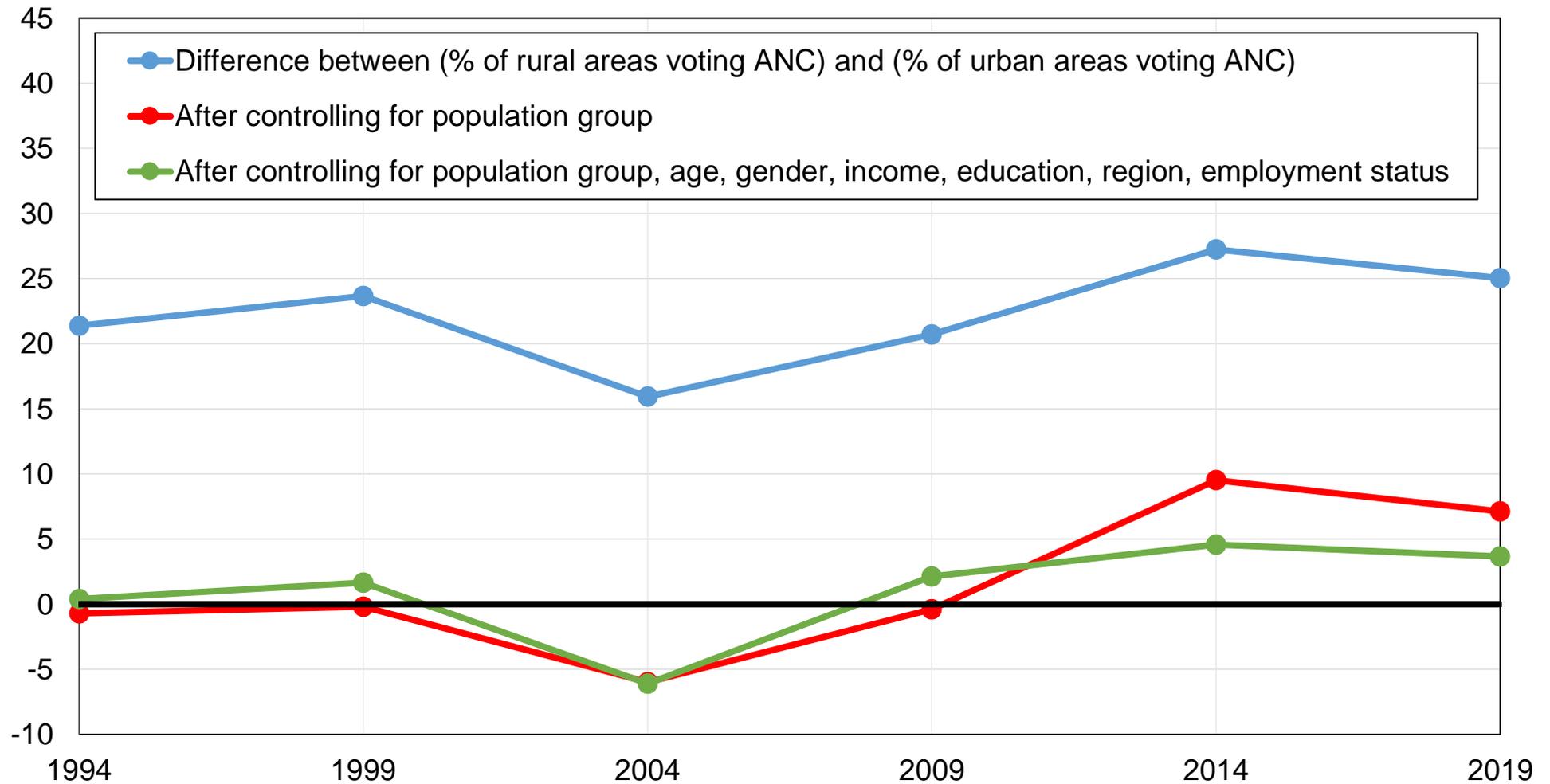
Figure A12 - Vote for the ANC by location, 1994-2019



Source: author's computations using South African political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of voters living in urban areas voting ANC and the share of voters living in rural areas voting ANC in general elections.

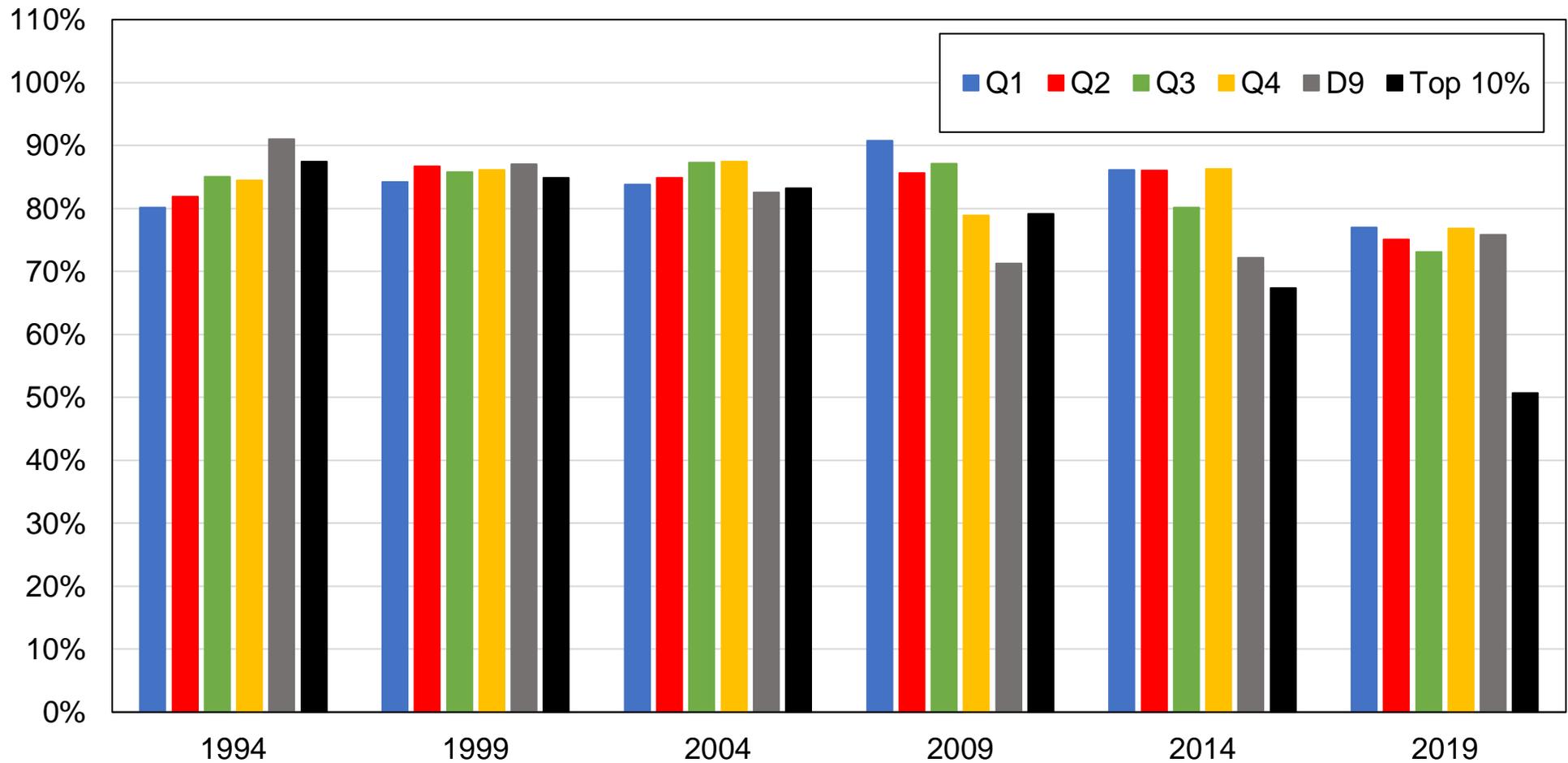
Figure A13 - Vote for the ANC among rural areas, 1994-2019



Source: author's computations using South African political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of voters living in rural areas voting ANC and the share of voters living in urban areas voting ANC in general elections, before and after controls.

Figure A14 - Vote for ANC by income among Africans in South Africa



Source: author's computations using South African political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of Africans supporting the ANC in general elections by income quintile and among the ninth decile and the top 10% of earners. Between 80% and 90% of bottom 20% African earners have supported the ANC in all years. The share of top 10% African voters supporting the ANC has decreased from 87% in 1994 to 67% in 2014.

Table A1 - Survey data sources

Year	Survey	Source	Sample size
1994	IDASA National Election Surv	Datafirst	2517
1999	IDASA Opinion 99	Datafirst	3384
2004	SASAS 2004	Datafirst	5583
2009	SASAS 2009	Datafirst	3305
2014	SASAS 2014	Datafirst	3124
2019	SASAS 2017	Datafirst	3173

Source: author's elaboration.

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

Table A2 - Complete descriptive statistics

	1994	1999	2004	2009	2014	2019
Age: 20-40	44%	39%	44%	42%	41%	42%
Age: 40-60	39%	39%	34%	34%	34%	35%
Age: 60+	18%	22%	22%	24%	24%	23%
Education: Primary	82%	73%	63%	53%	55%	51%
Education: Secondary	13%	24%	32%	38%	40%	42%
Education: Tertiary	5%	4%	5%	8%	5%	8%
Language: Afrikaans	19%	18%	18%	18%	16%	14%
Language: English	12%	11%	11%	11%	10%	10%
Language: North Sotho	7%	10%	9%	7%	9%	10%
Language: Other	9%	8%	10%	11%	12%	12%
Language: South Sotho	8%	9%	8%	7%	8%	9%
Language: Tswana	8%	9%	7%	8%	9%	9%
Language: Xhosa	14%	16%	14%	16%	16%	14%
Language: Zulu	23%	20%	24%	22%	20%	22%
Population group: Black	69%	71%	72%	72%	74%	76%
Population group: White	19%	17%	15%	14%	13%	11%
Population group: Coloured	10%	9%	10%	11%	10%	10%
Population group: Indian	3%	3%	3%	3%	3%	3%
Province: Cape	31%	27%	27%	29%	27%	25%
Province: Free State	6%	7%	6%	6%	5%	5%
Province: Kwazulu-Natal	22%	21%	21%	20%	18%	19%
Province: Northern	40%	45%	46%	45%	50%	51%
Rural areas	39%	44%	34%	33%	25%	31%
Gender: Men	48%	48%	47%	48%	49%	49%

Source: author's computations using South African political attitudes surveys.

Note: the table shows descriptive statistics for selected available variables. In 2014, 74% of the voting age population considered itself to be Black, while 13% were White.

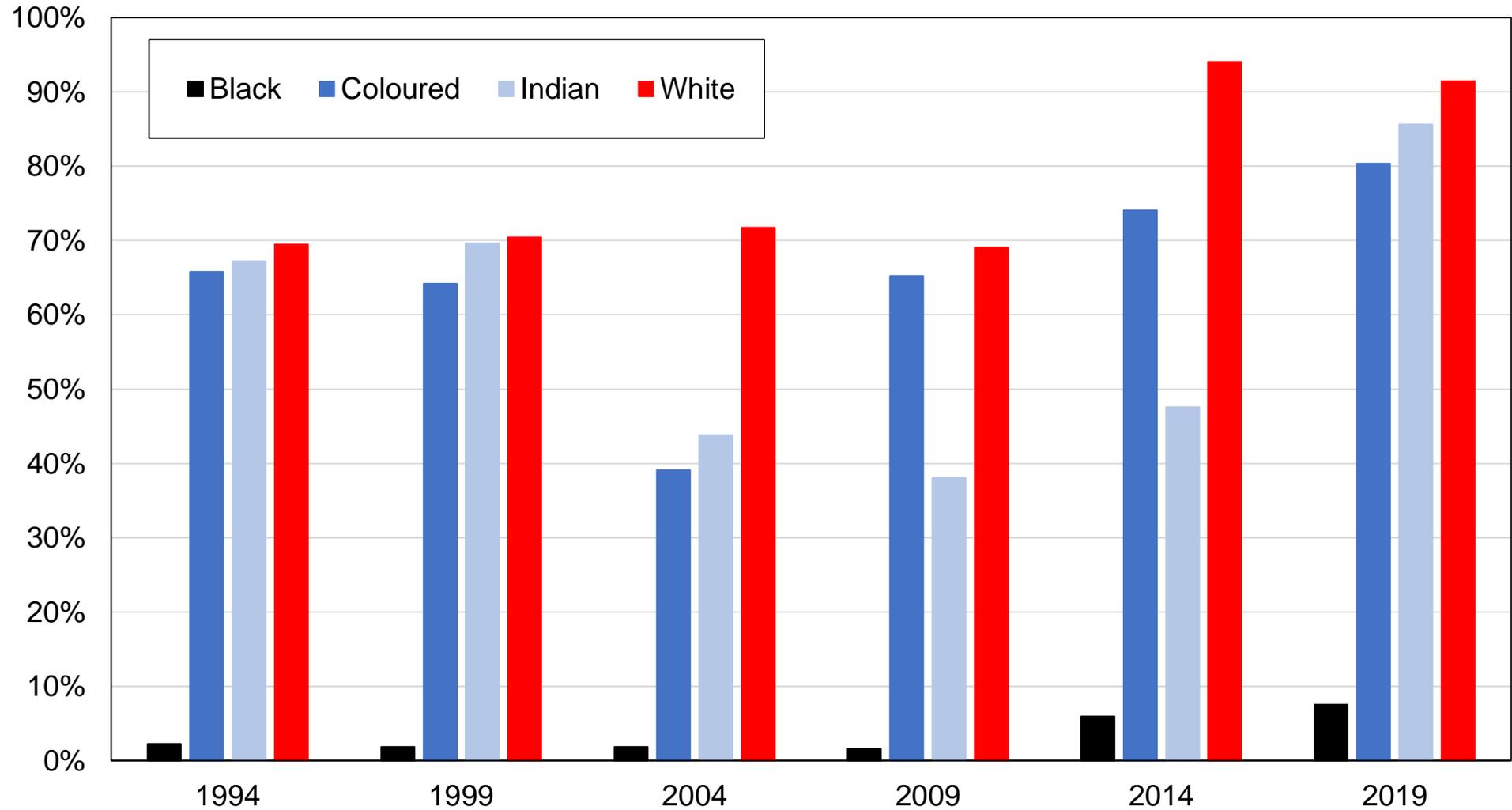
Table A3 - Structure of the vote for opposition parties in South Africa, 2014-2019

	Democratic Alliance		Economic Freedom Fighters	
	All	Blacks	All	Blacks
Population group				
Black	10%		10%	
White	96%		1%	
Coloured	77%		2%	
Indian	70%		1%	
Education				
Primary	21%	6%	5%	6%
Secondary	33%	13%	12%	15%
Tertiary	63%	20%	9%	18%
Income				
Bottom 50%	13%	8%	8%	8%
Middle 40%	26%	10%	8%	7%
Top 10%	68%	15%	11%	25%
Location				
Urban	37%	11%	8%	11%
Rural	11%	7%	8%	9%
Region				
Cape	38%	5%	7%	10%
Free State	14%	8%	9%	10%
Kwazulu-Natal	21%	13%	4%	4%
Northern	28%	10%	10%	12%
Gender				
Woman	27%	10%	5%	6%
Man	31%	9%	11%	14%
Age				
20-30	22%	12%	16%	18%
30-50	26%	8%	5%	7%
50+	41%	7%	1%	2%
Language				
Afrikaans / English	85%	32%	1%	4%
Other	9%	8%	13%	13%
Xhosa	6%	6%	9%	9%
Zulu	13%	13%	5%	5%

Source: author's computations using South Africa political attitudes surveys.

Note: the table shows the share of votes received by the Democratic Alliance and the Economic Freedom Fighters among the overall population and among Blacks by selected individual characteristics, averaged over the 2014-2019 period.

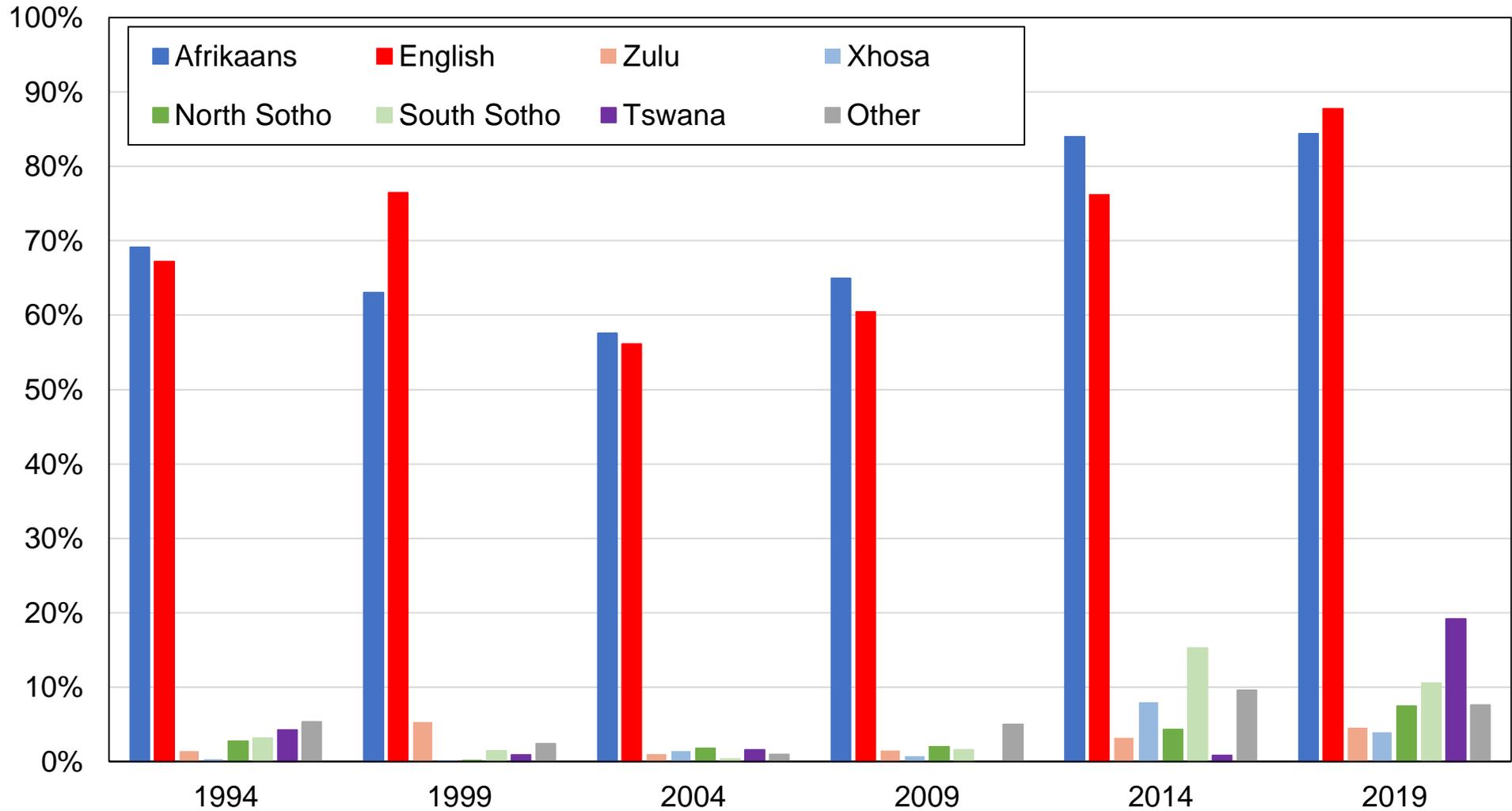
Figure B1 - Vote for DA / NP / NNP by population group



Source: author's computations using South African political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of voters supporting the Democratic Party / National Party / New National Party in general elections by population group.

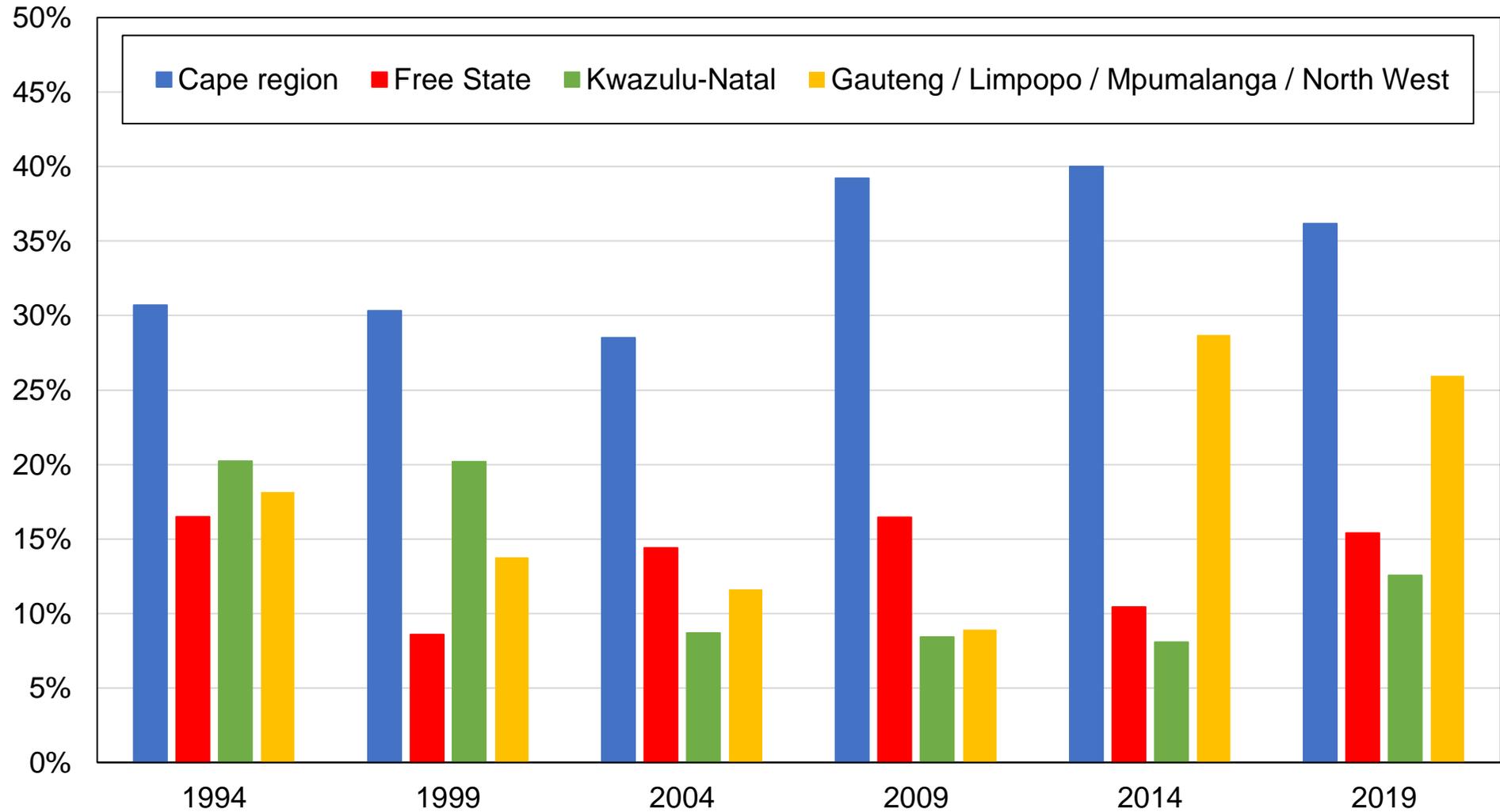
Figure B2 - Vote for DA / NP / NNP by language



Source: author's computations using South African political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of voters supporting the Democratic Party / National Party / New National Party in general elections by language most spoken at home.

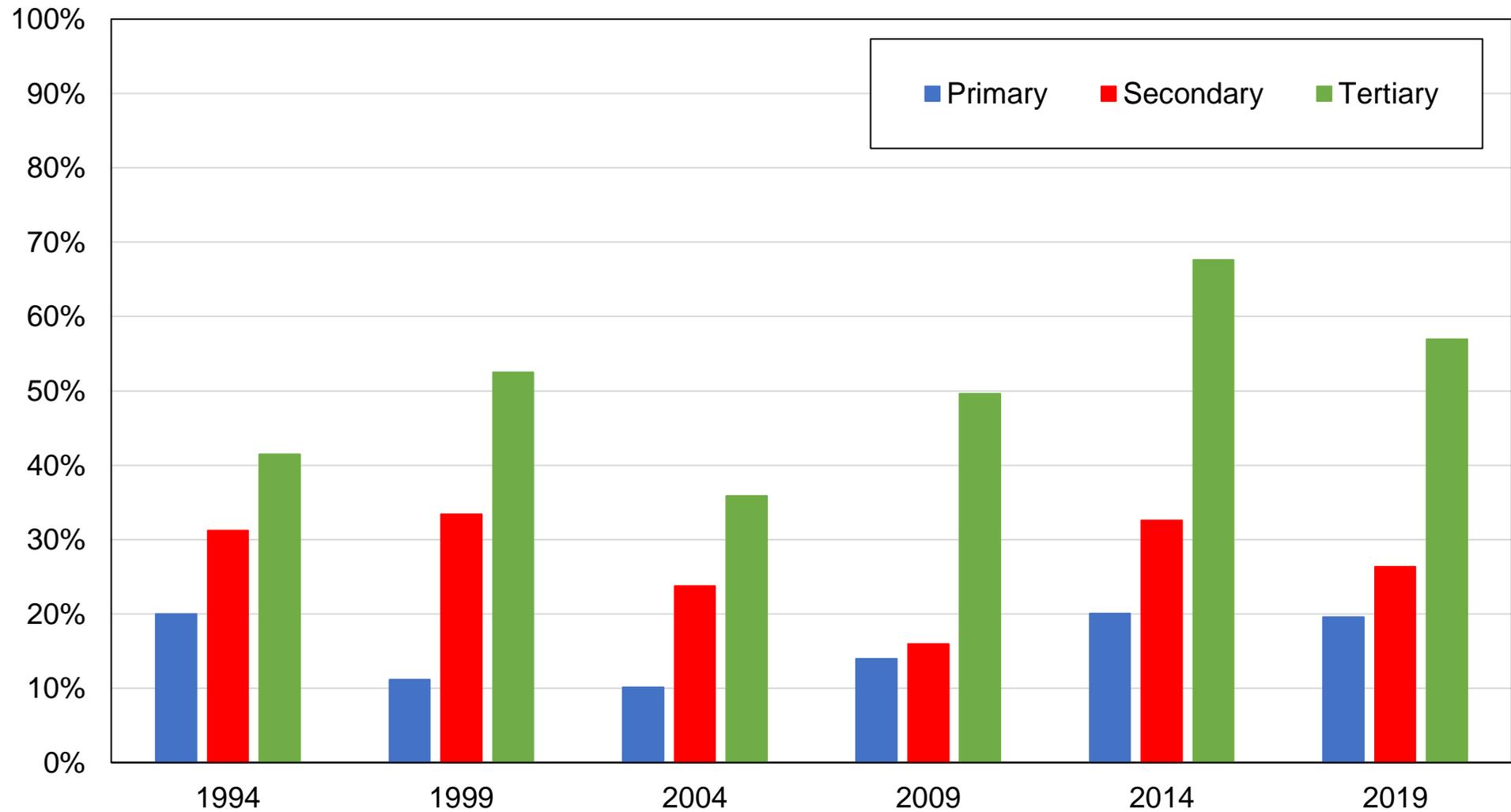
Figure B3 - Vote for DA / NP / NNP by region



Source: author's computations using South African political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of voters supporting the Democratic Party / National Party / New National Party in general elections by region.

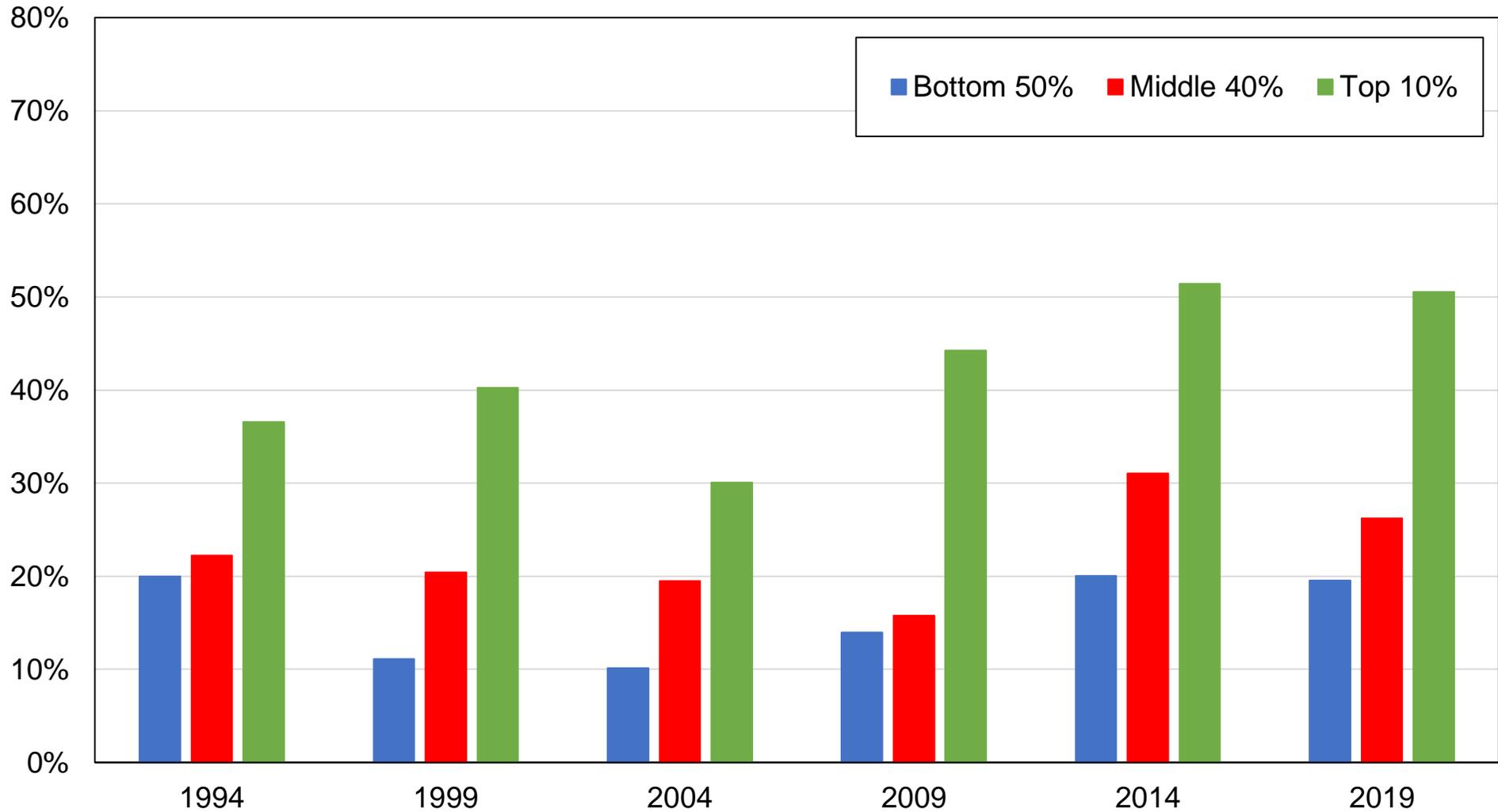
Figure B4 - Vote for DA / NP / NNP by education level



Source: author's computations using South African political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of voters supporting the Democratic Party / National Party / New National Party in general elections by level of education. Primary education includes those with no education at all.

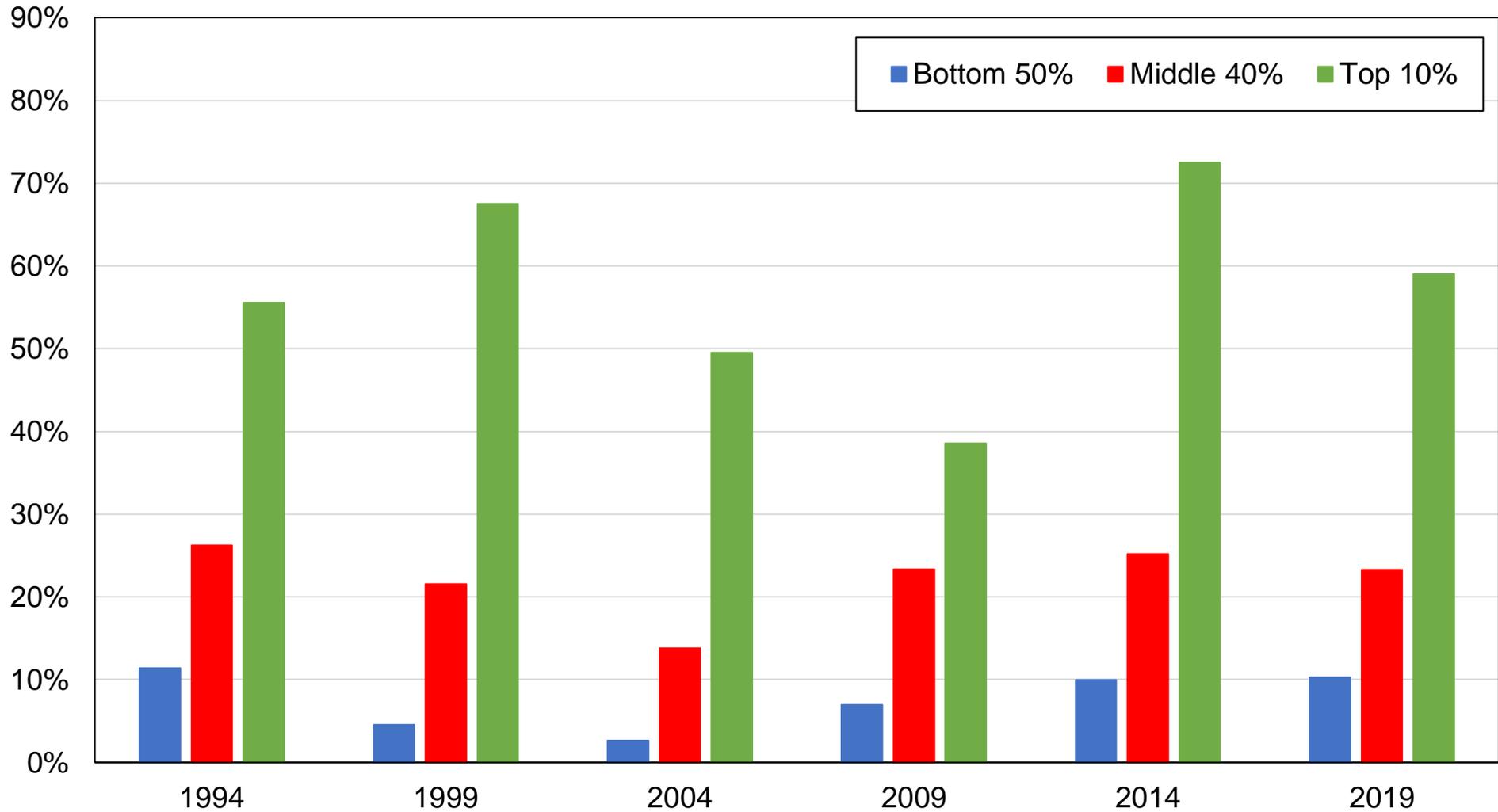
Figure B5 - Vote for DA / NP / NNP by education group



Source: author's computations using South African political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of voters supporting the Democratic Party / National Party / New National Party in general elections by education rank.

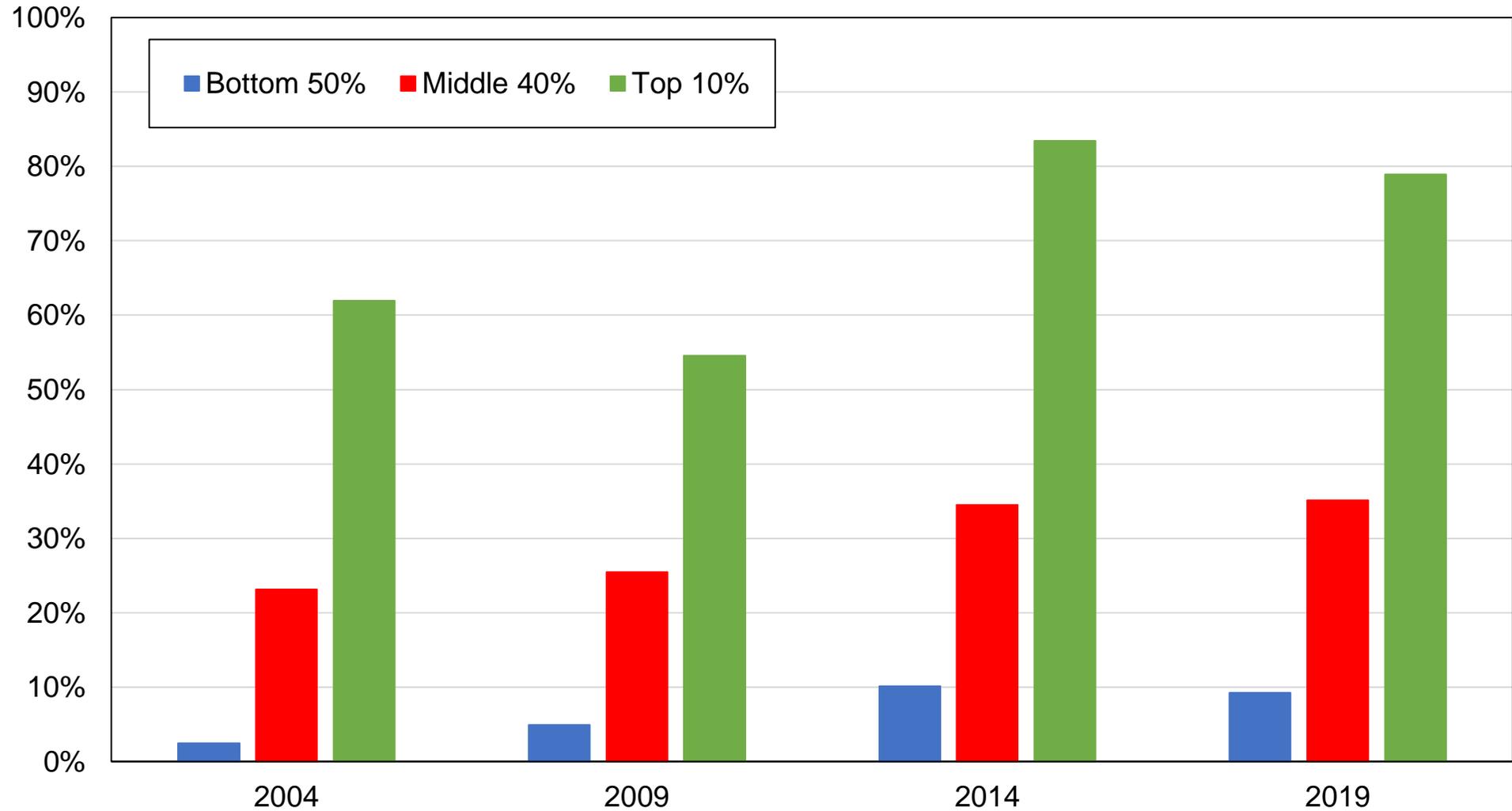
Figure B6 - Vote for DA / NP / NNP by income group



Source: author's computations using South African political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of voters supporting the Democratic Party / National Party / New National Party in general elections by income group.

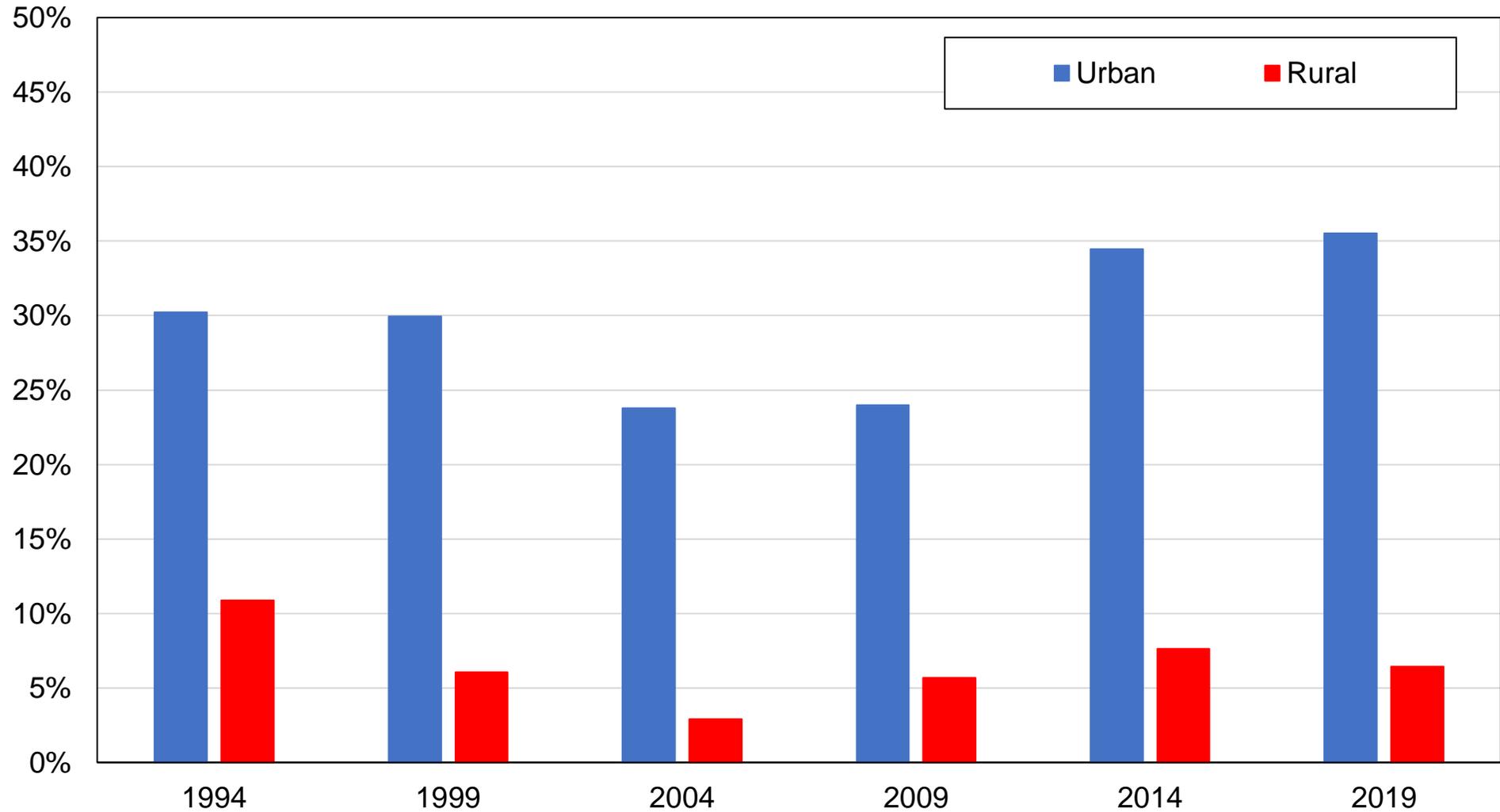
Figure B7 - Vote for DA / NP / NNP by wealth group



Source: author's computations using South African political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of voters supporting the Democratic Party / National Party / New National Party in general elections by wealth group.

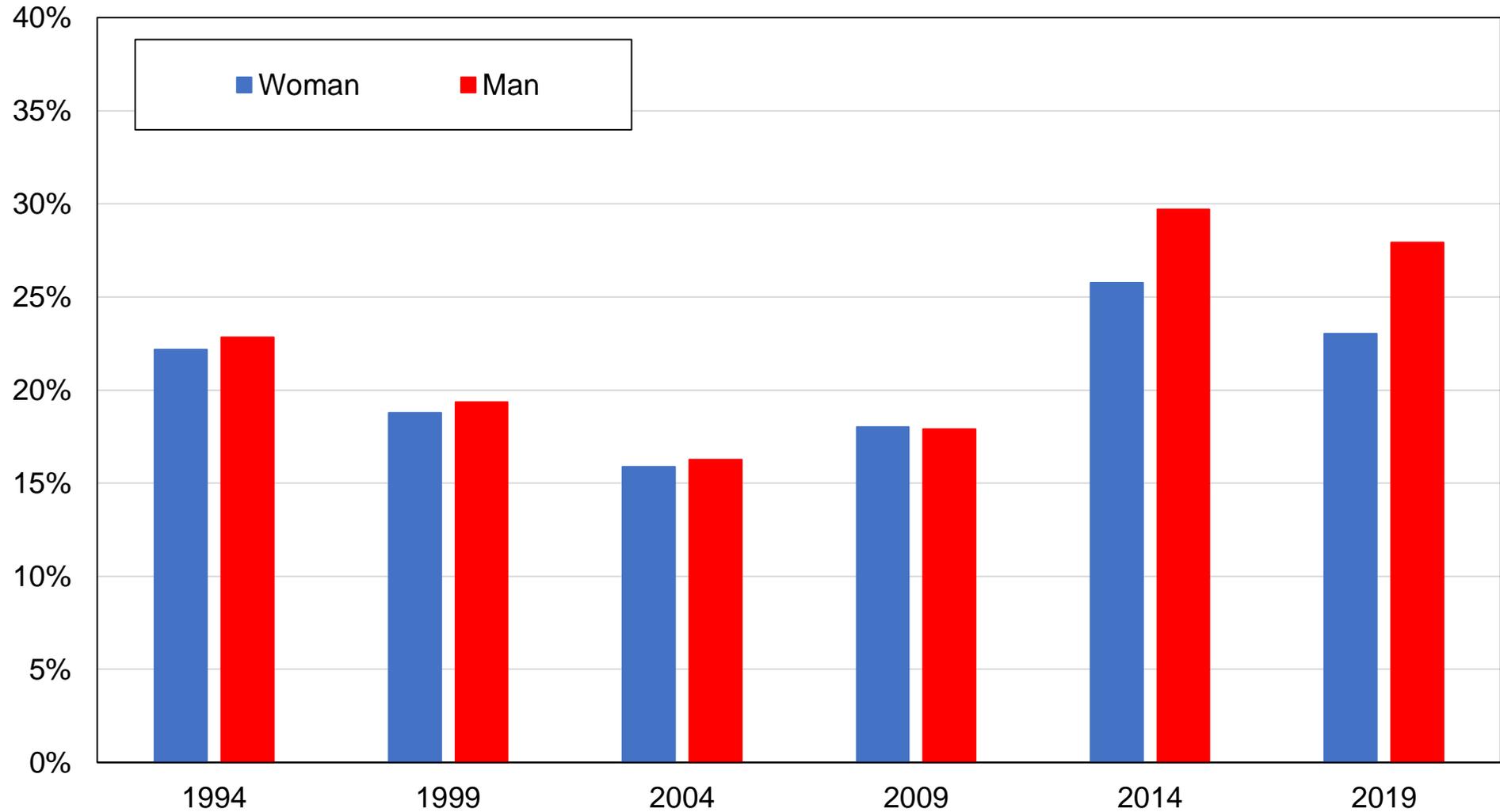
Figure B8 - Vote for DA / NP / NNP by location



Source: author's computations using South African political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of voters supporting the Democratic Party / National Party / New National Party in general elections by rural-urban location.

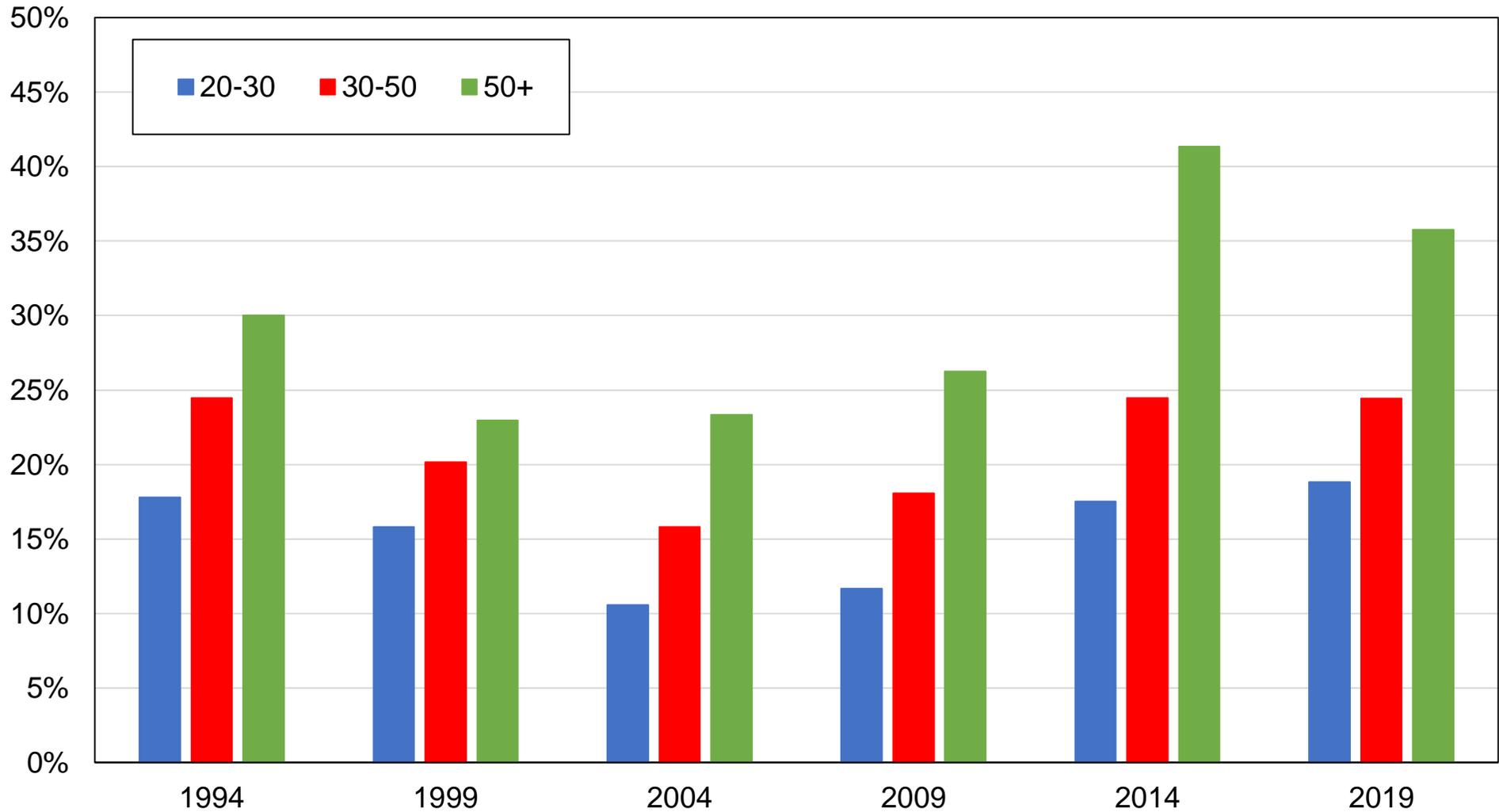
Figure B9 - Vote for DA / NP / NNP by gender



Source: author's computations using South African political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of voters supporting the Democratic Party / National Party / New National Party in general elections by gender.

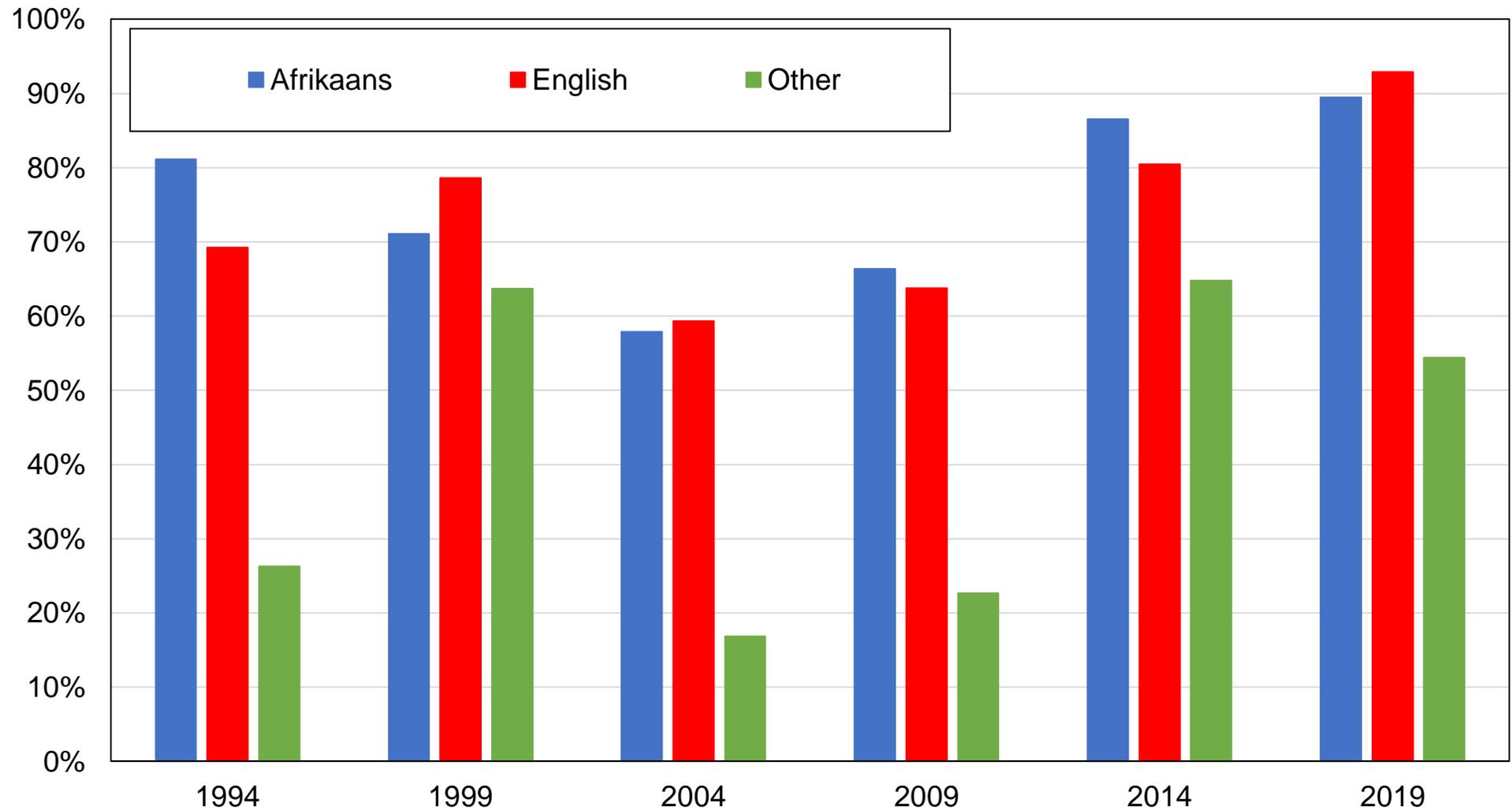
Figure B10 - Vote for DA / NP / NNP by age group



Source: author's computations using South African political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of voters supporting the Democratic Party / National Party / New National Party in general elections by age group among non-Blacks.

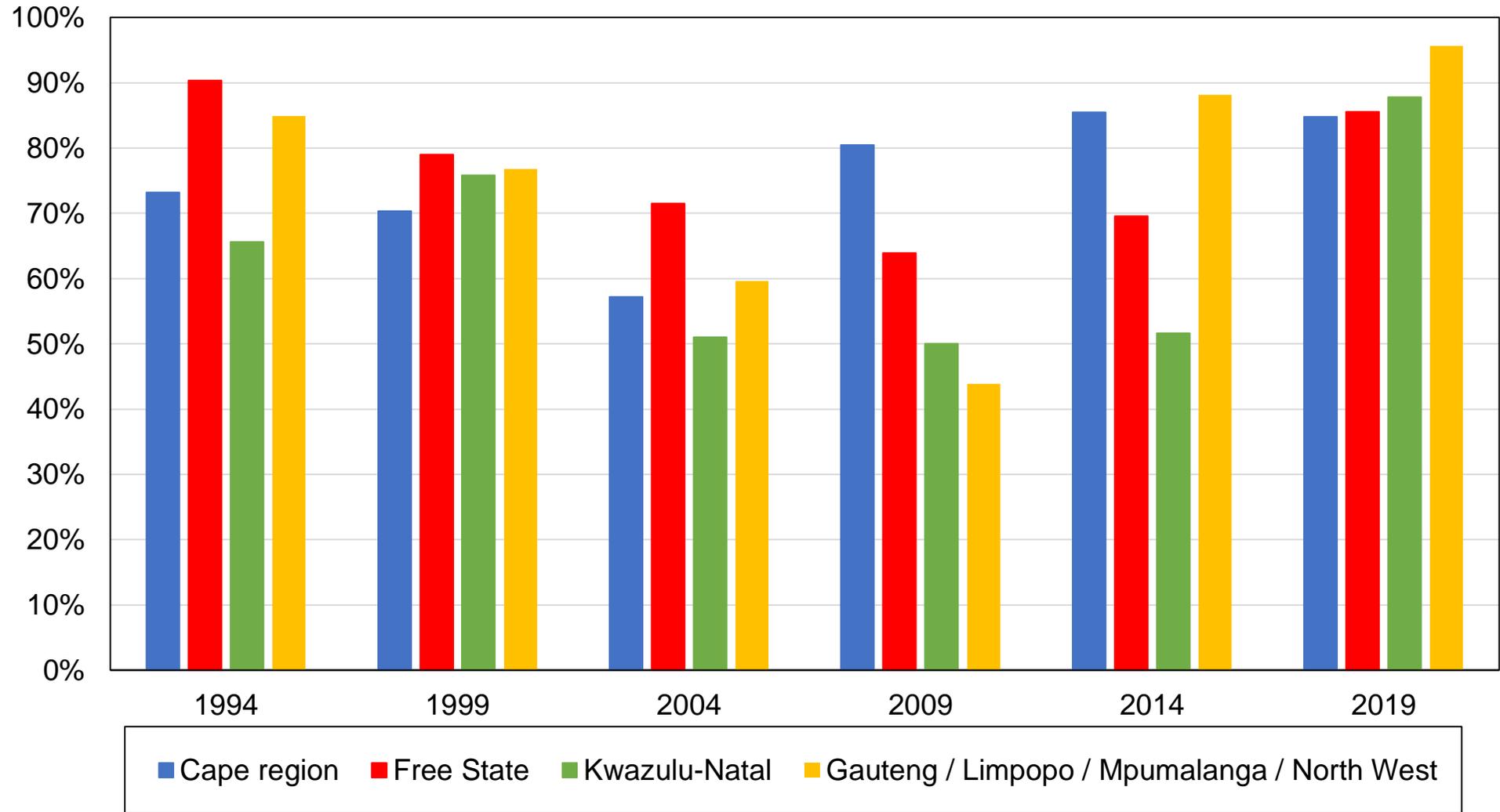
Figure B11 - Vote for DA / NP / NNP by language among non-Blacks



Source: author's computations using South African political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of voters supporting the Democratic Party / National Party / New National Party in general elections by language most spoken at home among non-Blacks.

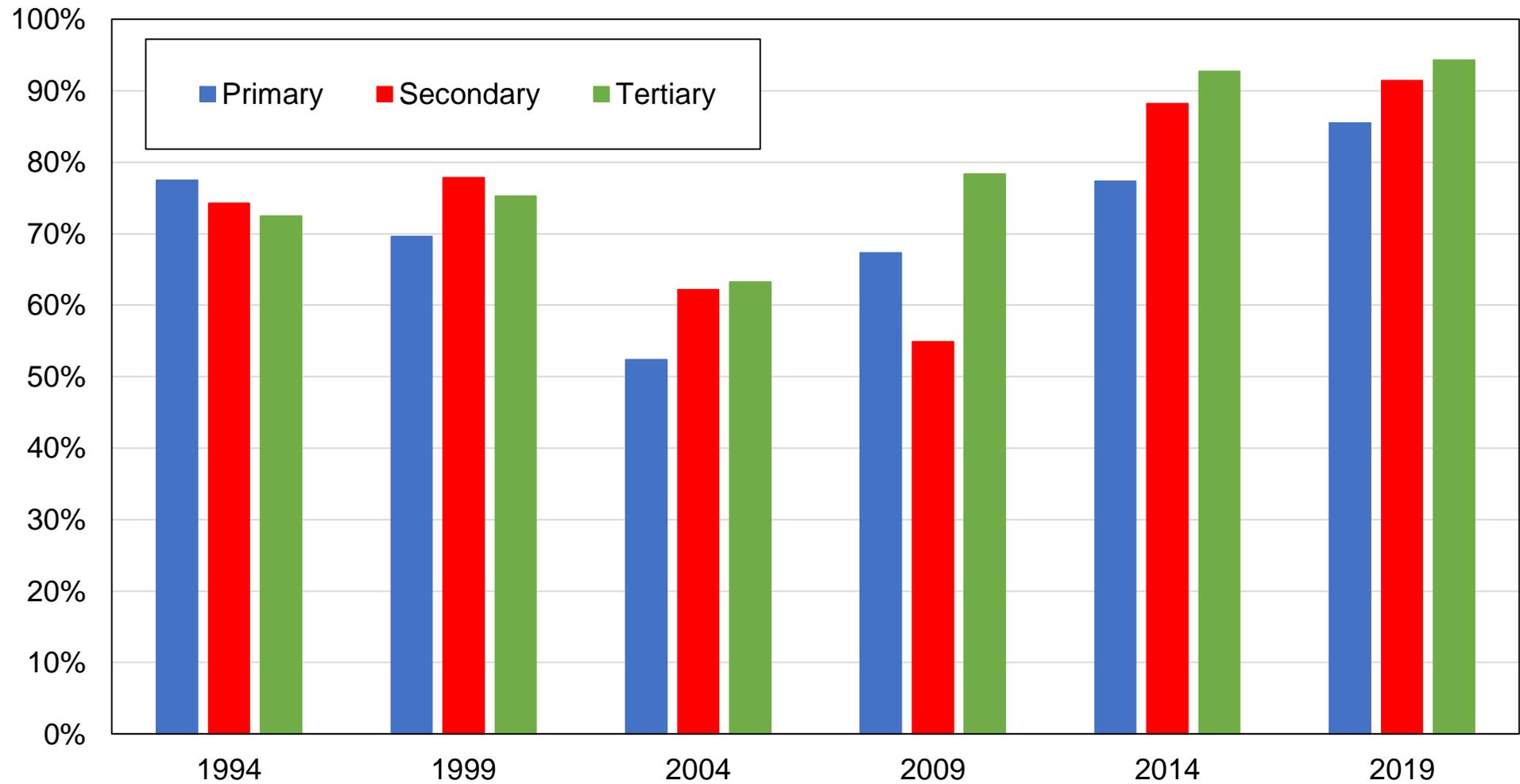
Figure B12 - Vote for DA / NP / NNP by region among non-Blacks



Source: author's computations using South African political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of voters supporting the Democratic Party / National Party / New National Party in general elections by region among non-Blacks.

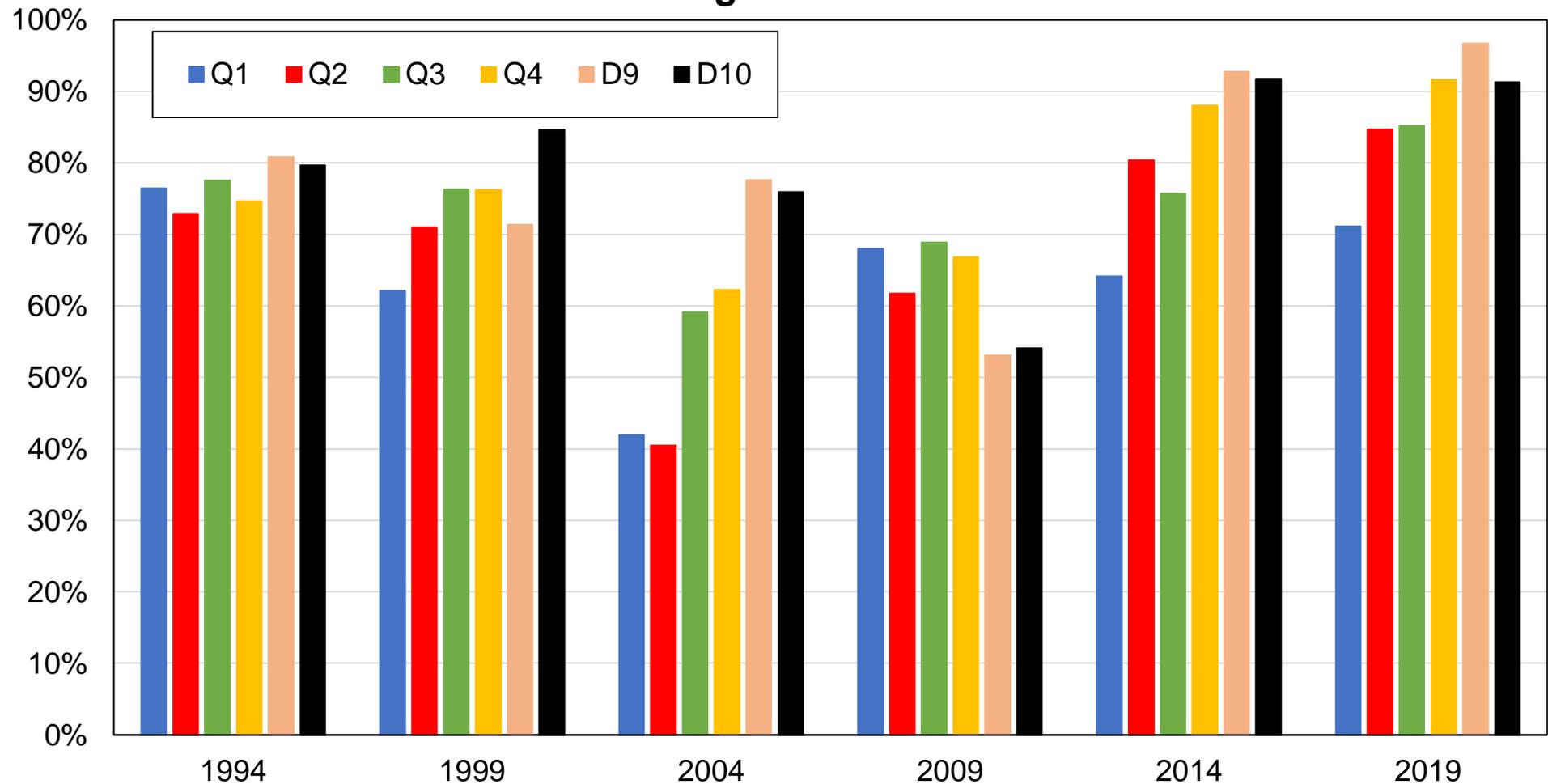
Figure B13 - Vote for DA / NP / NNP by education among non-blacks



Source: author's computations using South African political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of voters supporting the Democratic Party / National Party / New National Party in general elections by level of education among non-black voters. Primary education includes those with no education at all.

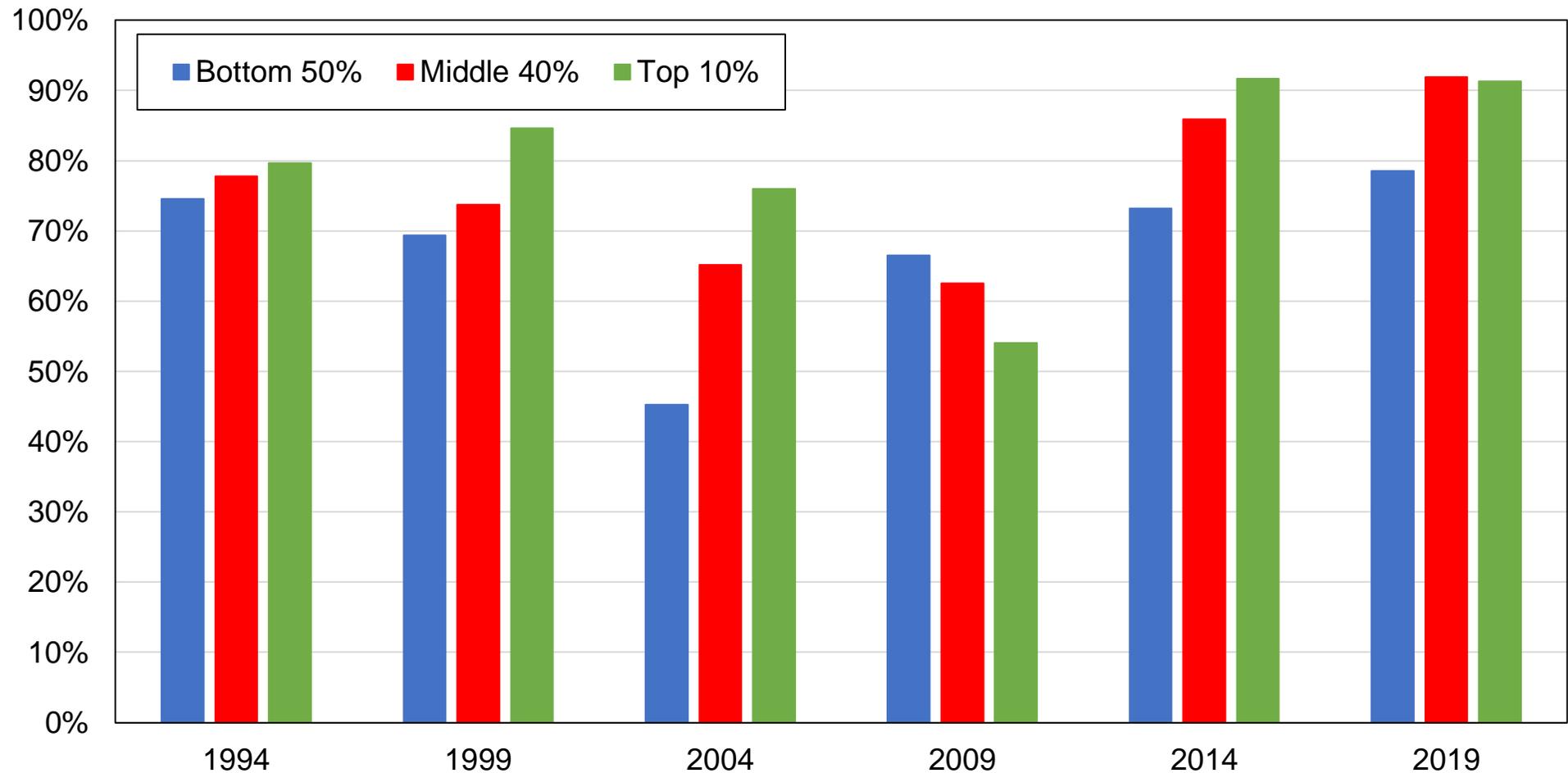
Figure B14 - Vote for DA / NP / NNP by income quintile/decile among non-Blacks



Source: author's computations using South African political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of voters supporting the Democratic Party / National Party / New National Party in general elections by income quintile and among the ninth decile and the top 10% of earners among non-Blacks.

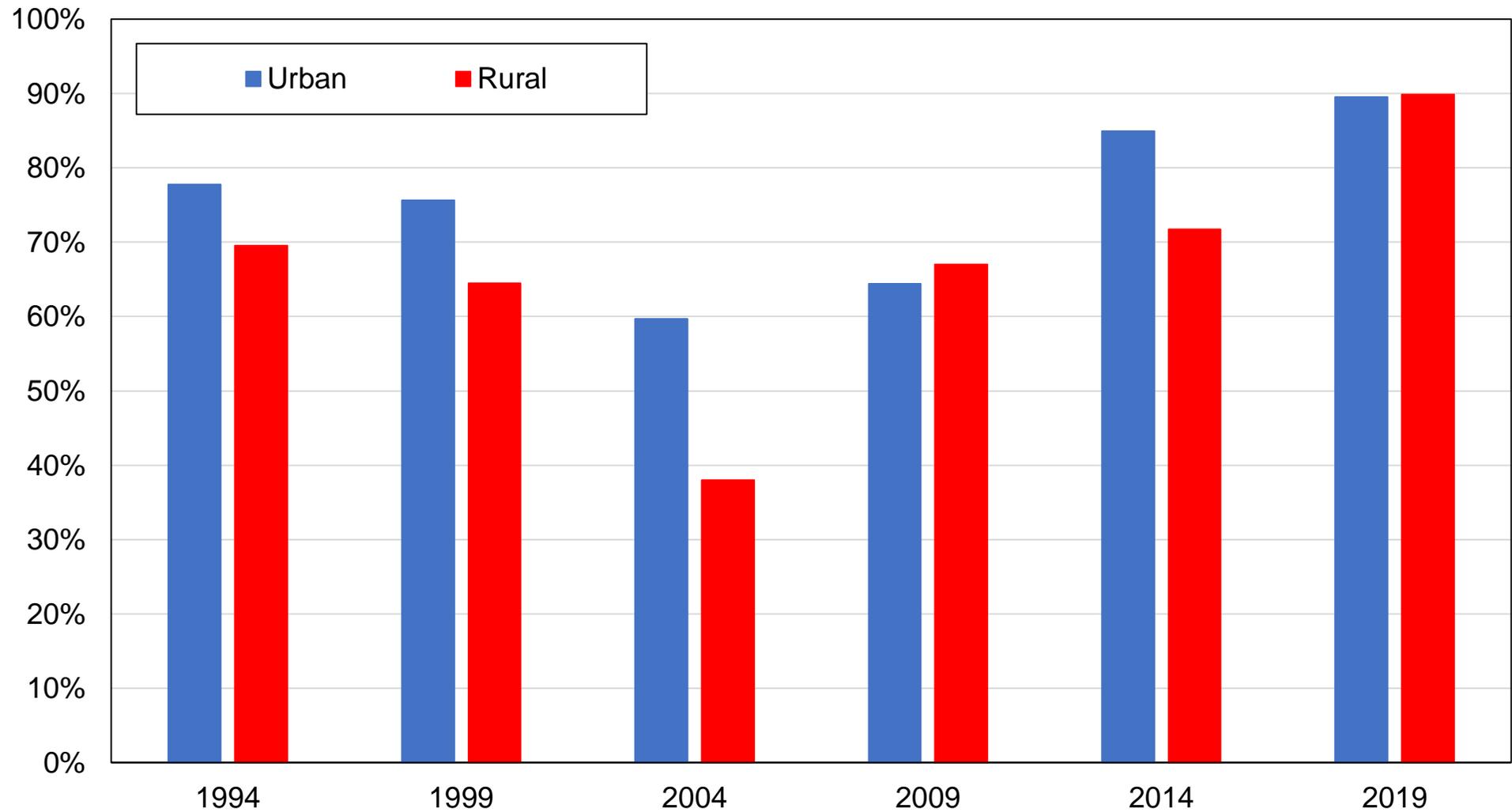
Figure B15 - Vote for DA / NP / NNP by income group among non-Blacks



Source: author's computations using South African political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of voters supporting the Democratic Party / National Party / New National Party in general elections by income group among non-Blacks (individuals are ranked according to their income position in the non-Black population).

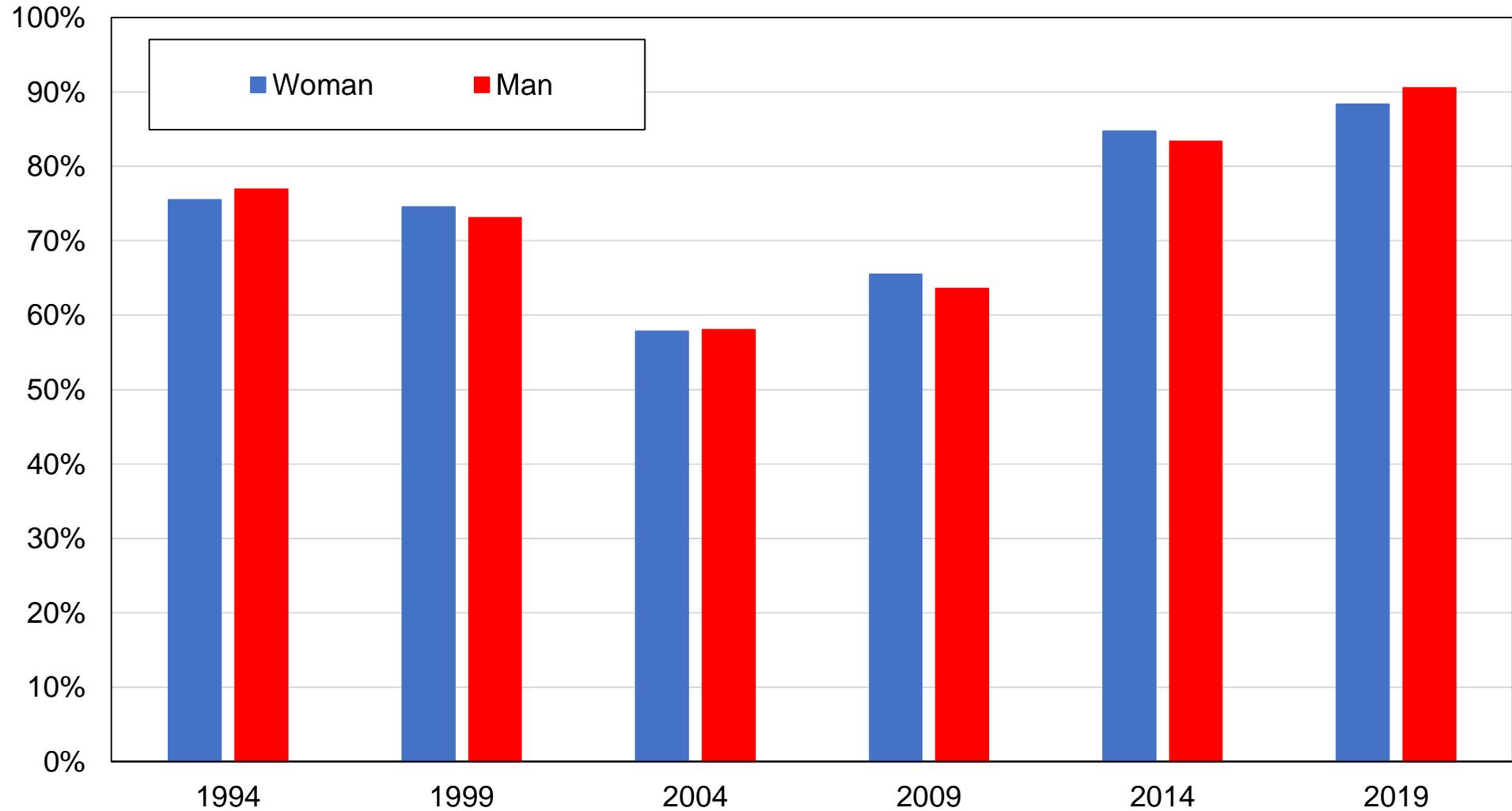
Figure B16 - Vote for DA / NP / NNP by location among non-Blacks



Source: author's computations using South African political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of voters supporting the Democratic Party / National Party / New National Party in general elections by rural-urban location among non-Blacks

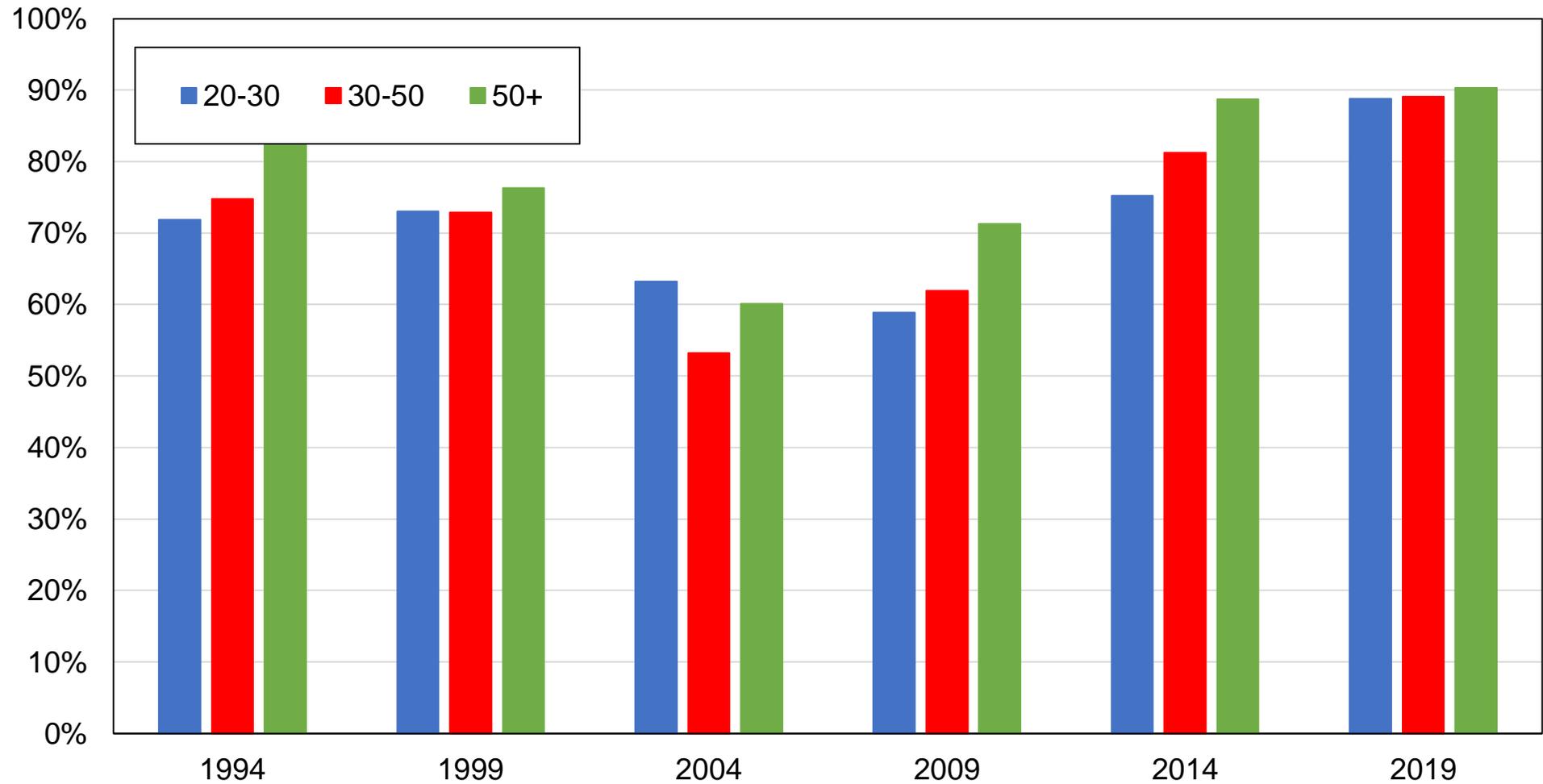
Figure B17 - Vote for DA / NP / NNP by gender among non-Blacks



Source: author's computations using South African political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of voters supporting the Democratic Party / National Party / New National Party in general elections by gender among non-Blacks.

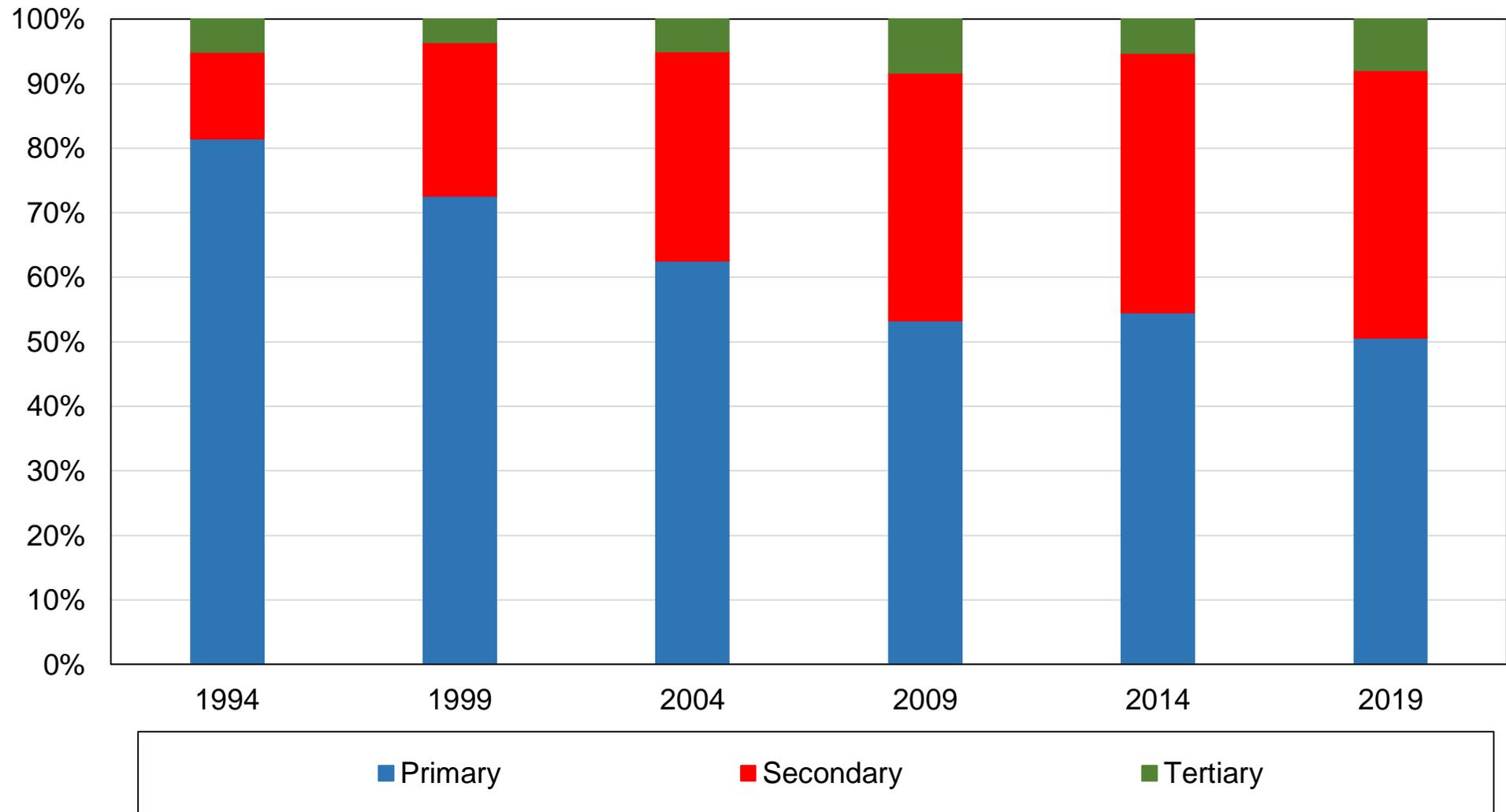
Figure B18 - Vote for DA / NP / NNP by age group among non-Blacks



Source: author's computations using South African political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of voters supporting the Democratic Party / National Party / New National Party in general elections by age group among non-Blacks.

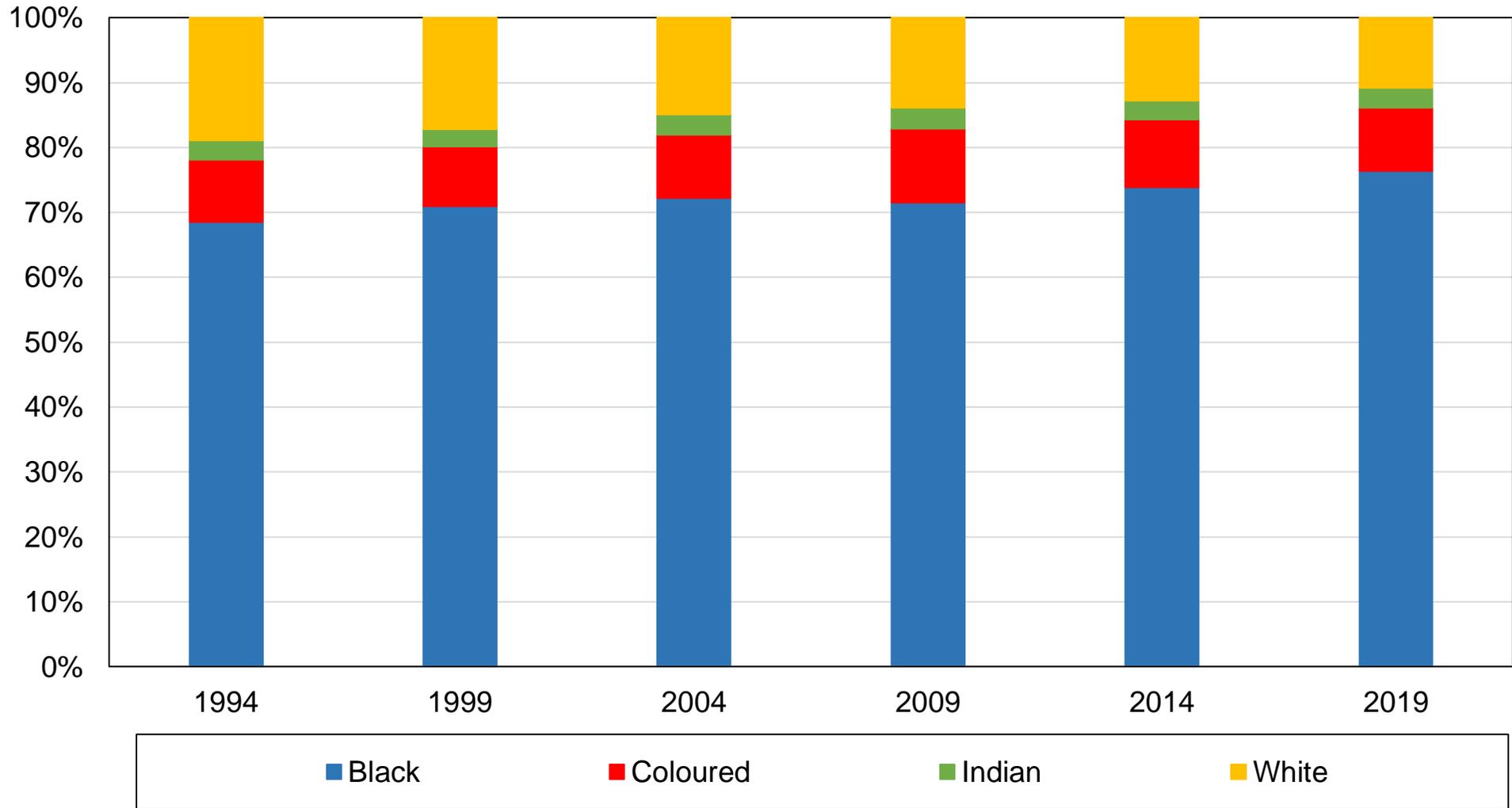
Figure C1 - The distribution of education levels in South Africa



Source: author's computations using South African political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the composition of the South African electorate by education level.

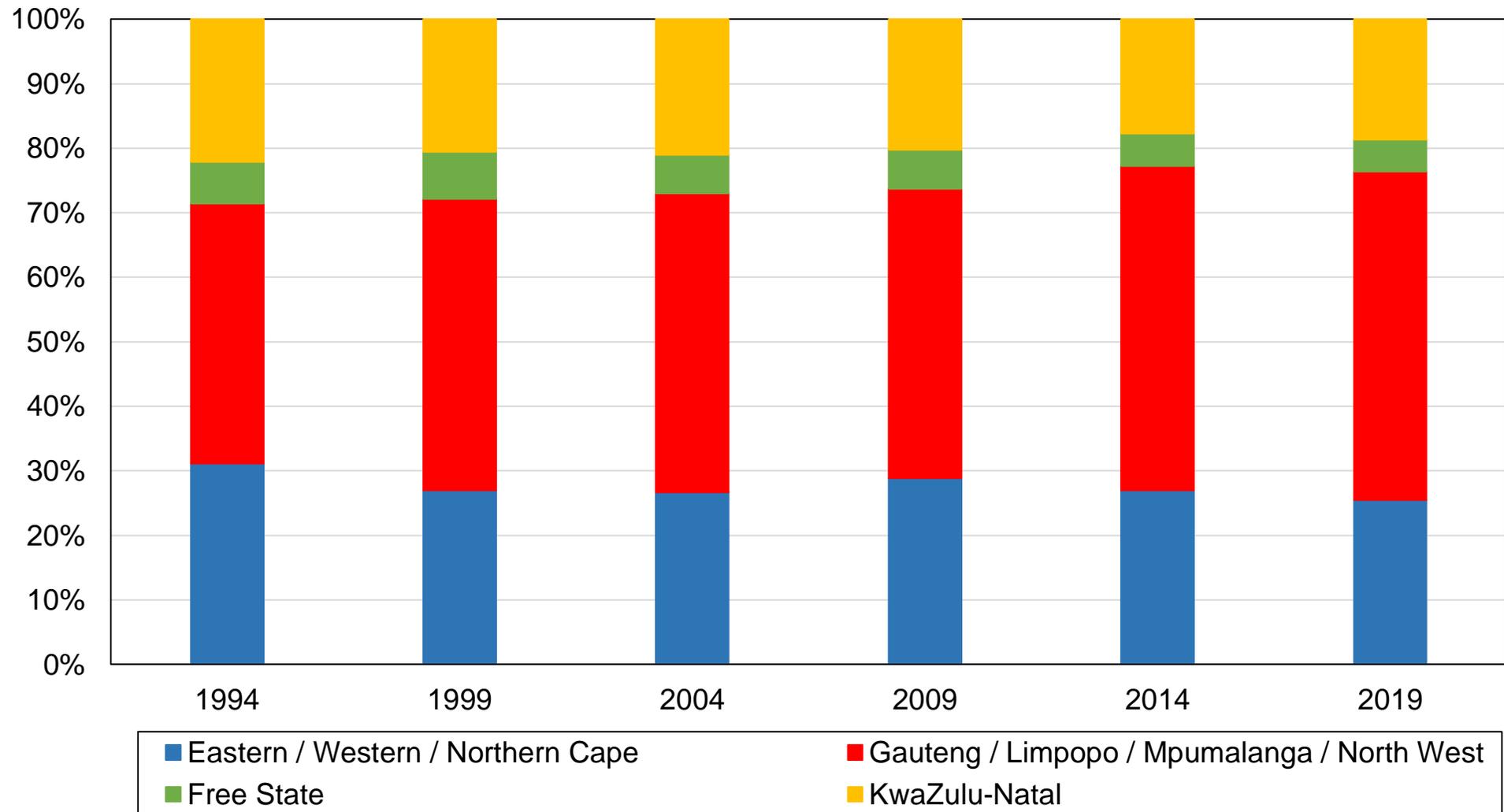
Figure C2 - The distribution of population groups in South Africa



Source: author's computations using South African political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the composition of the South African electorate by population group.

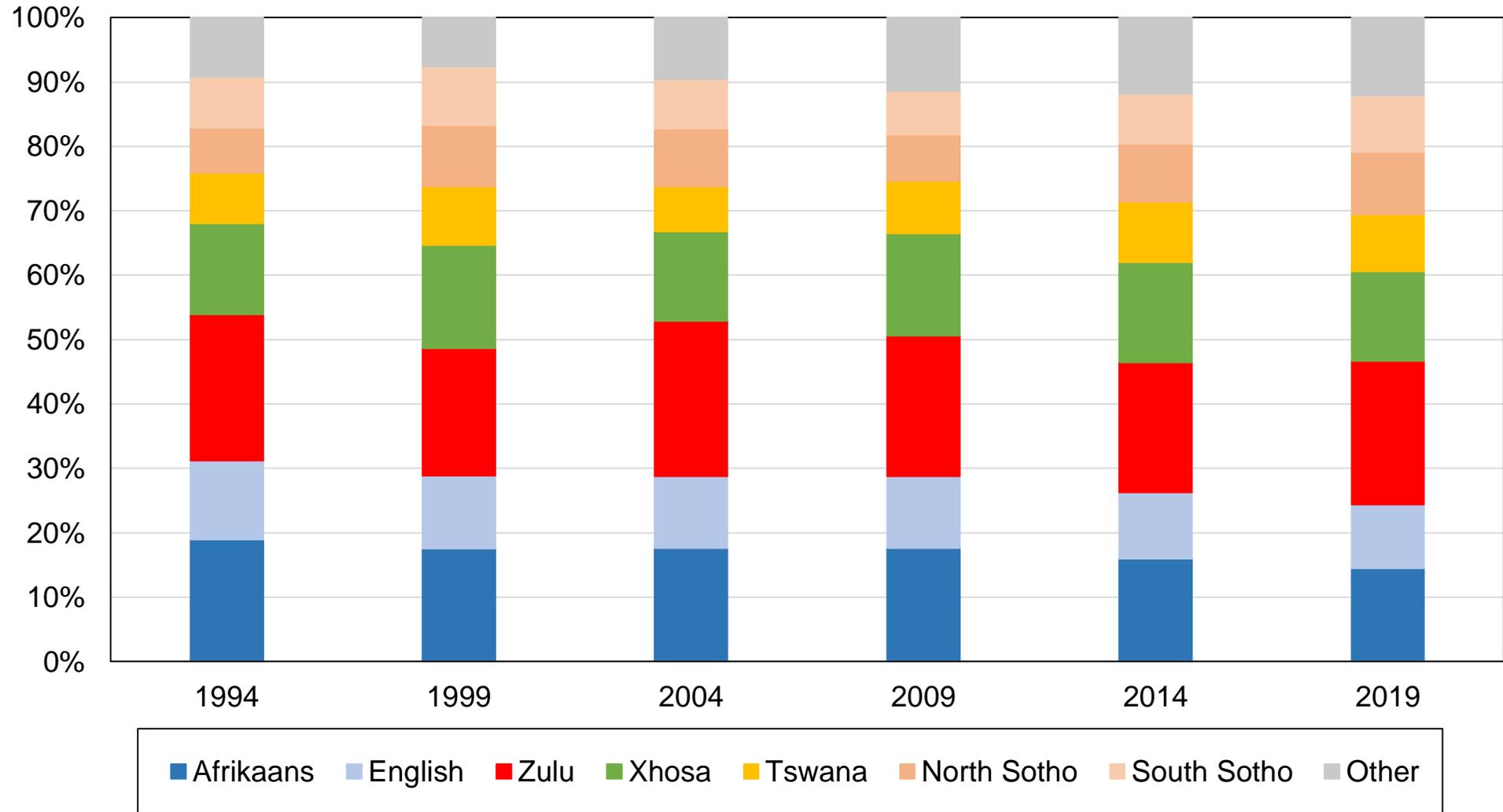
Figure C3 - The distribution of regions in South Africa



Source: author's computations using South African political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the composition of the South African electorate by region.

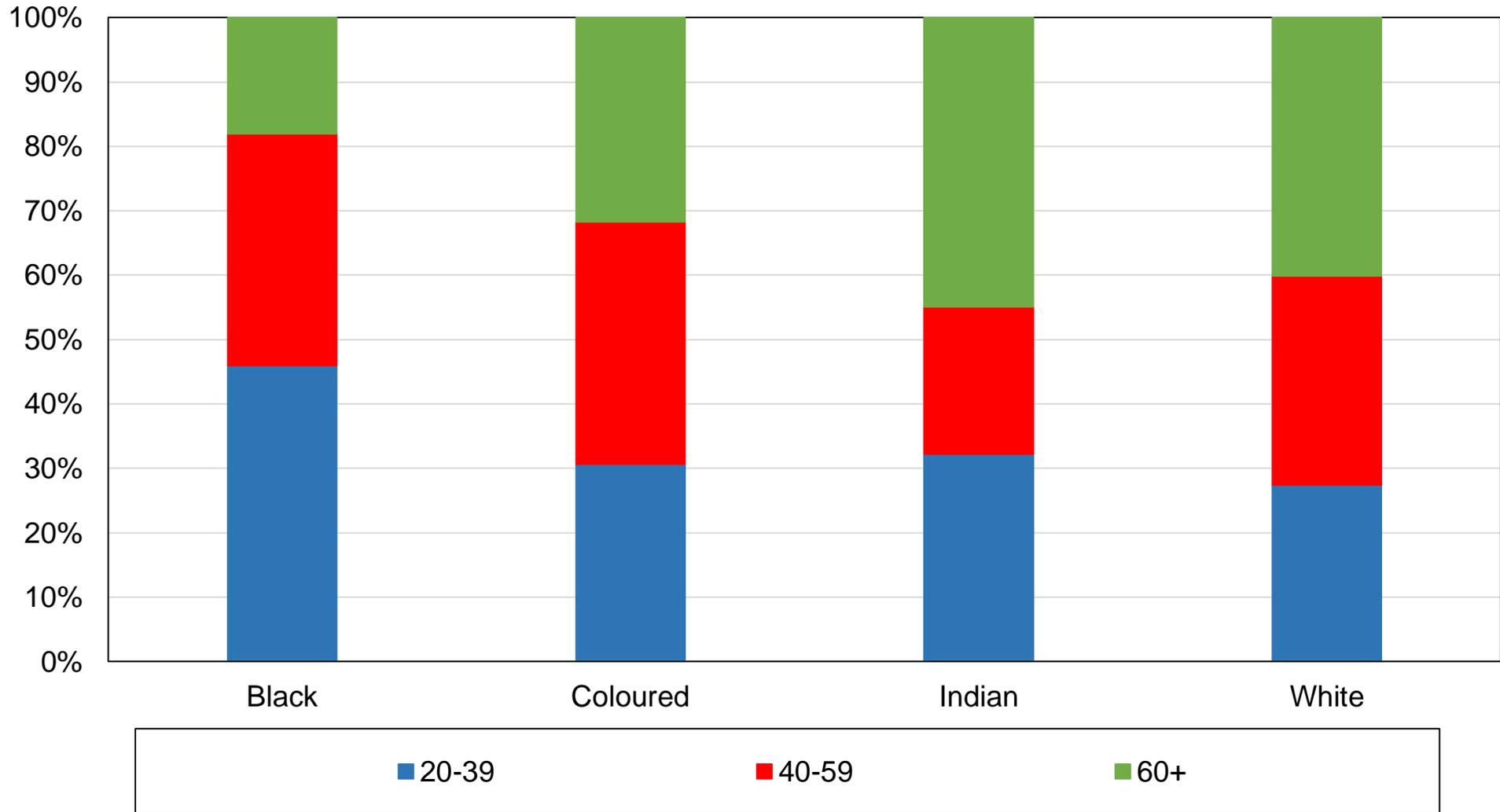
Figure C4 - The distribution of language in South Africa



Source: author's computations using South African political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the composition of the South African electorate by main language spoken at home.

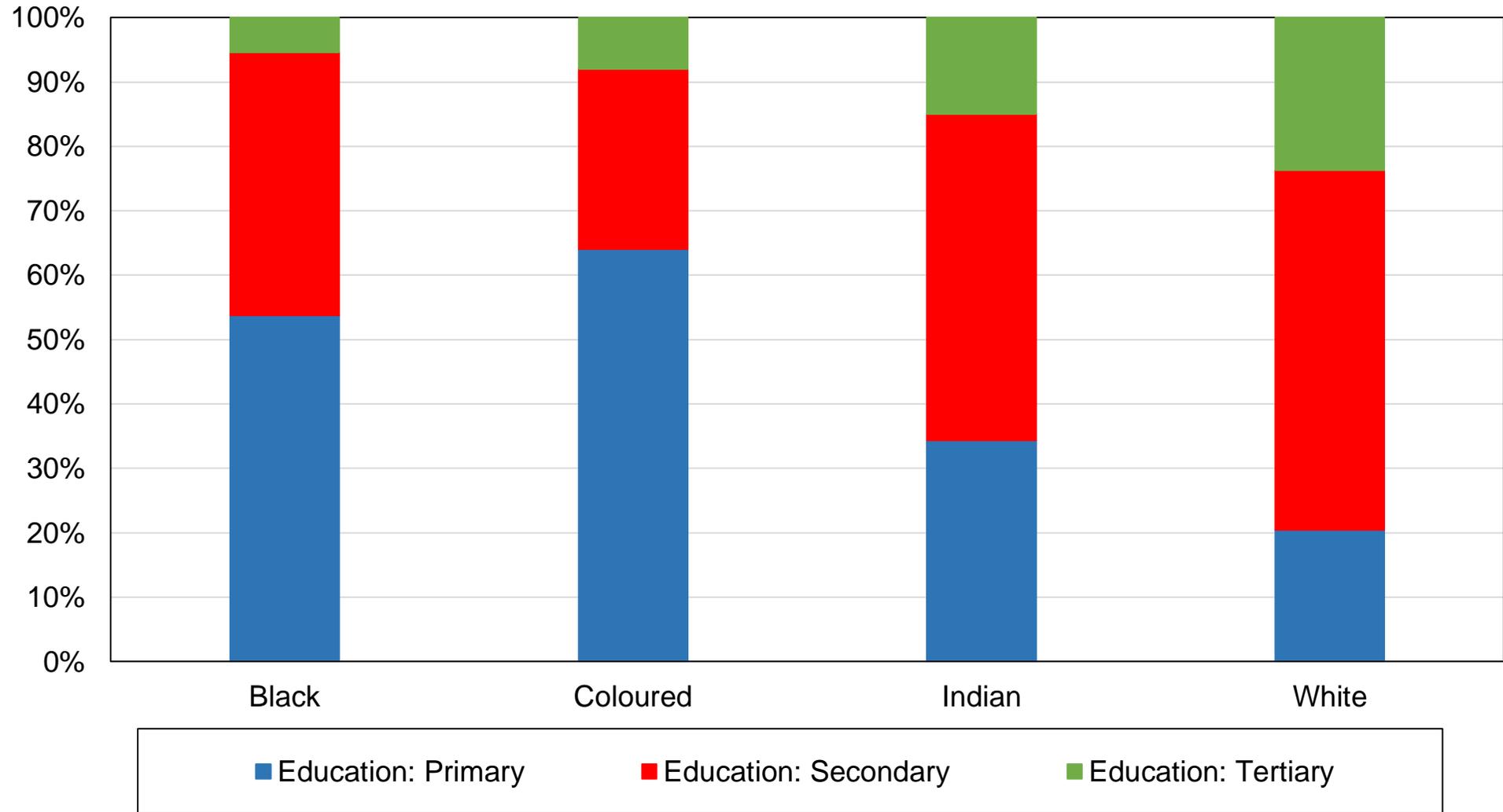
Figure C5 - Distribution of age by race, 2019



Source: author's computations using South African political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the composition of South African population groups by age group.

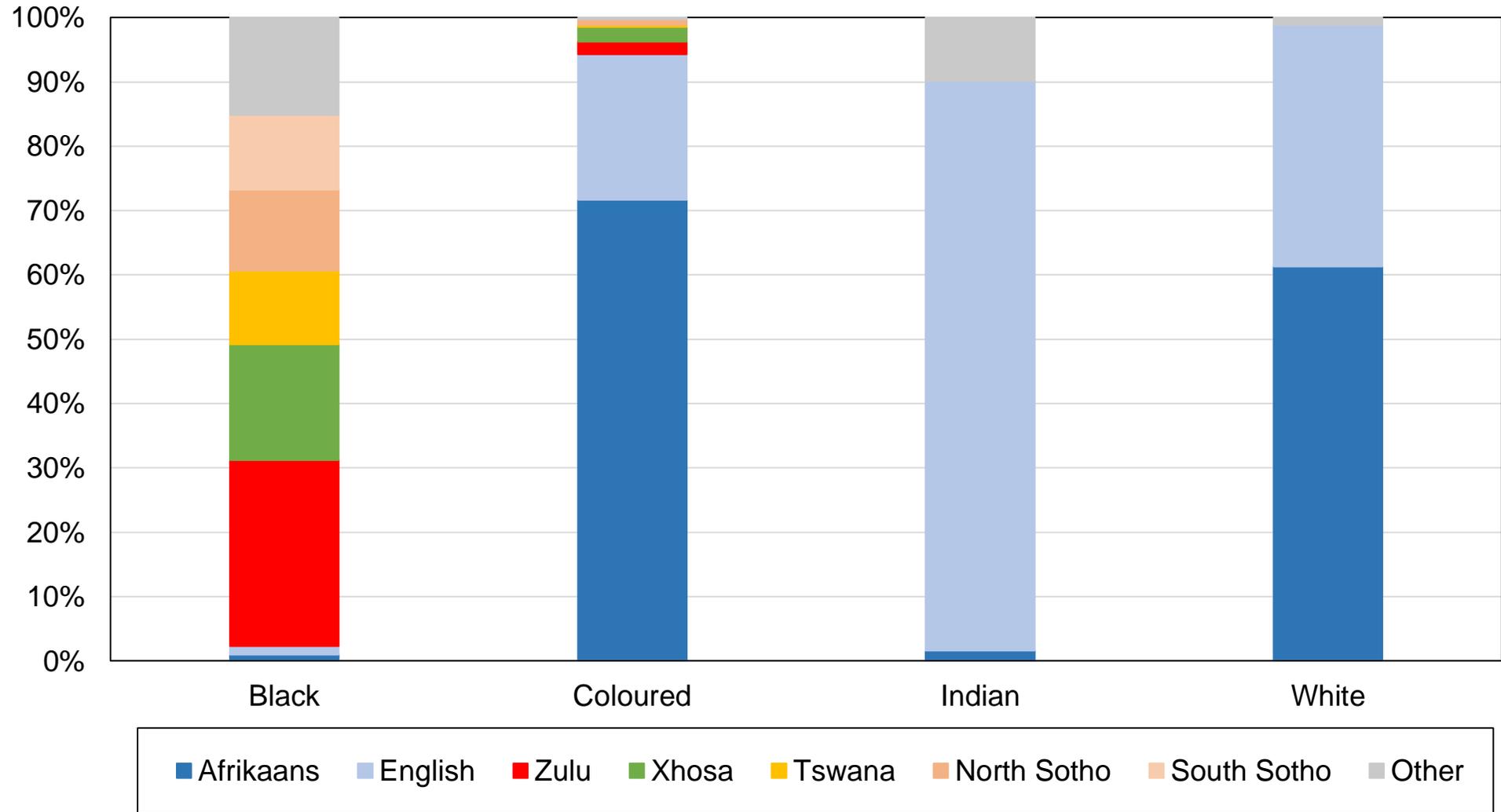
Figure C6 - Distribution of education by race, 2019



Source: author's computations using South African political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the composition of South African population groups by education level.

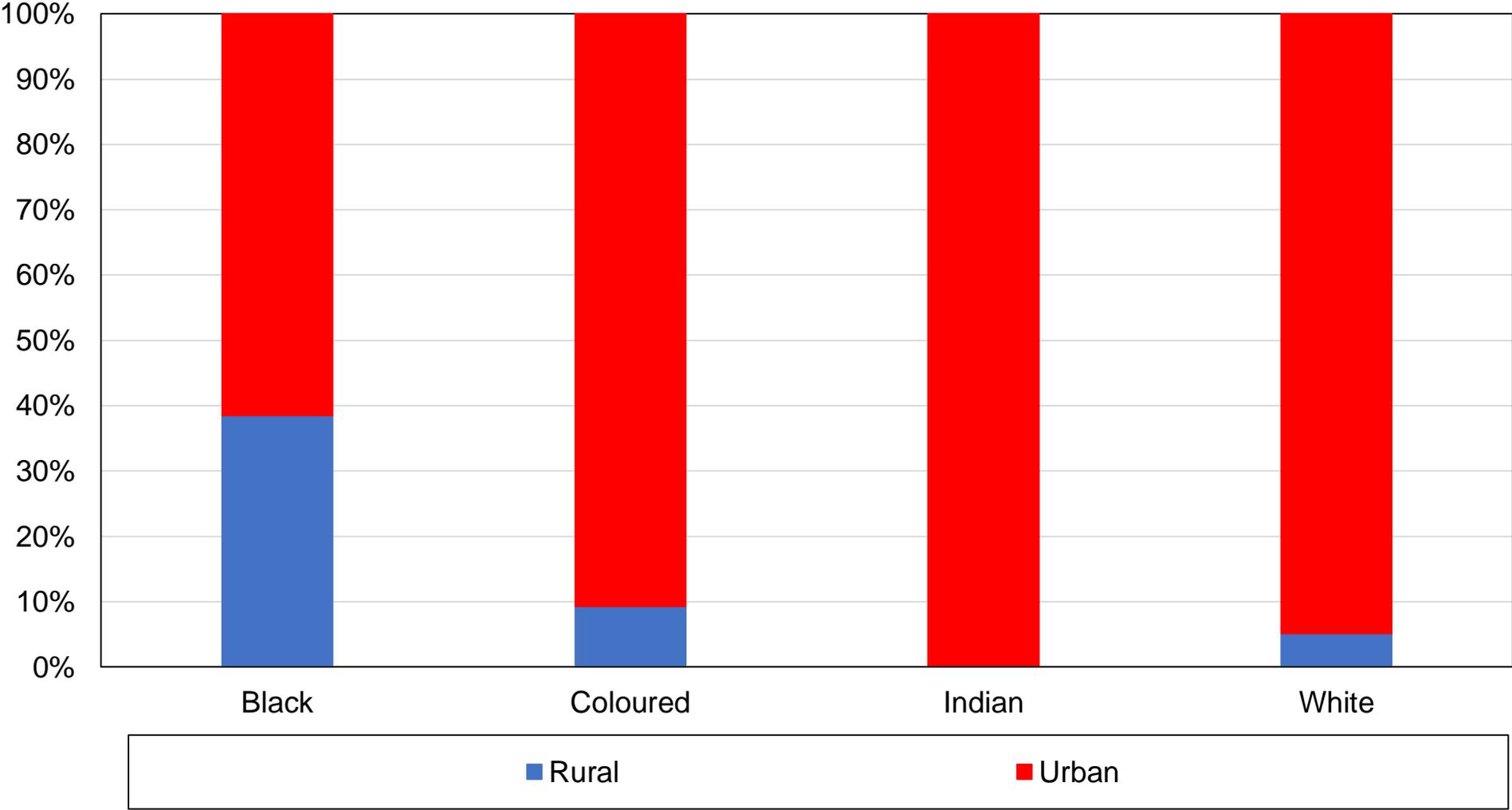
Figure C7 - Distribution of language by race, 2019



Source: author's computations using South African political attitudes surveys.

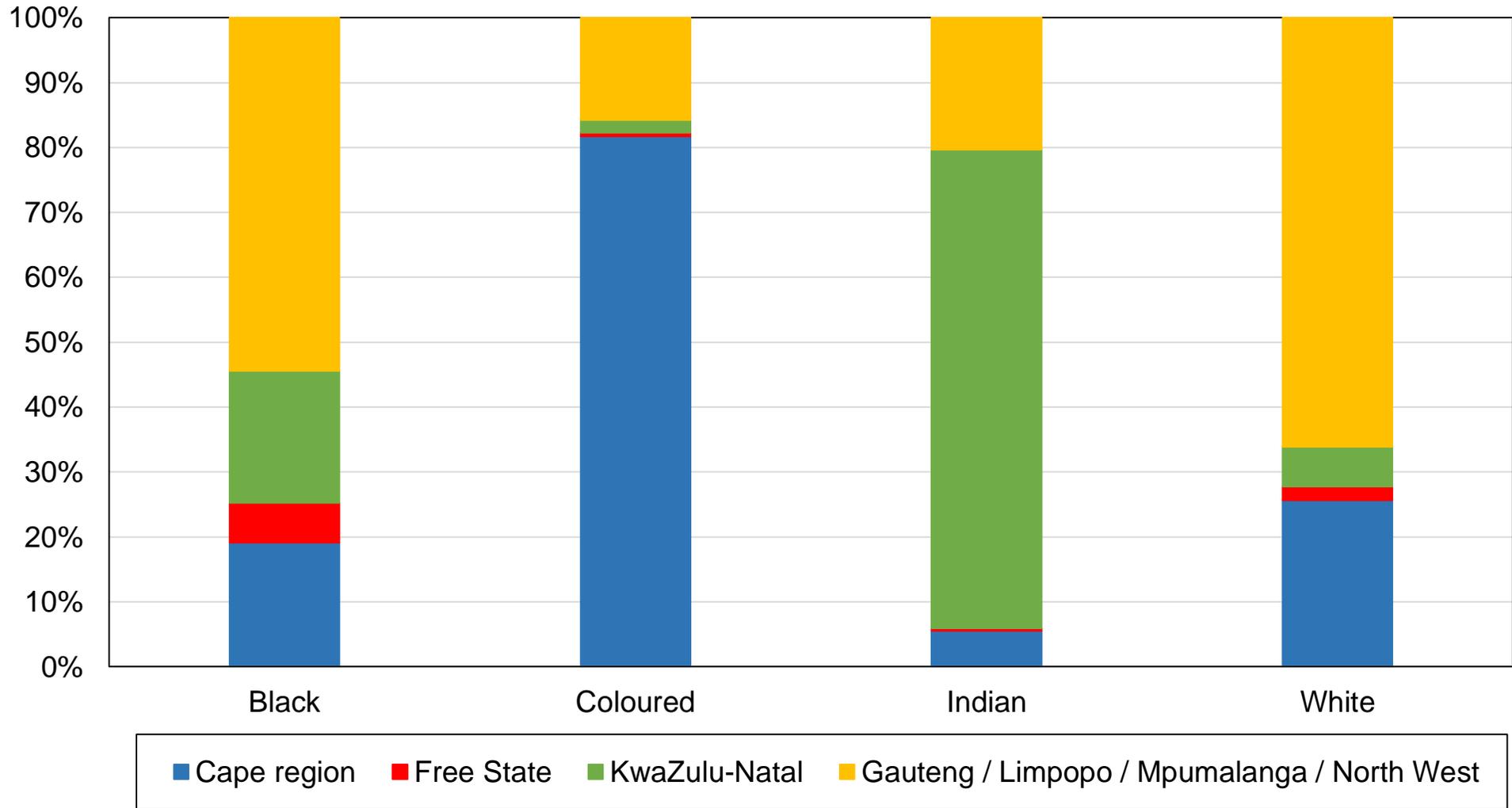
Note: the figure shows the composition of population groups by language most spoken at home.

Figure C8 - Distribution of rural-urban location by race, 2019



Source: author's computations using South African political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the composition of South African population groups rural-urban location.

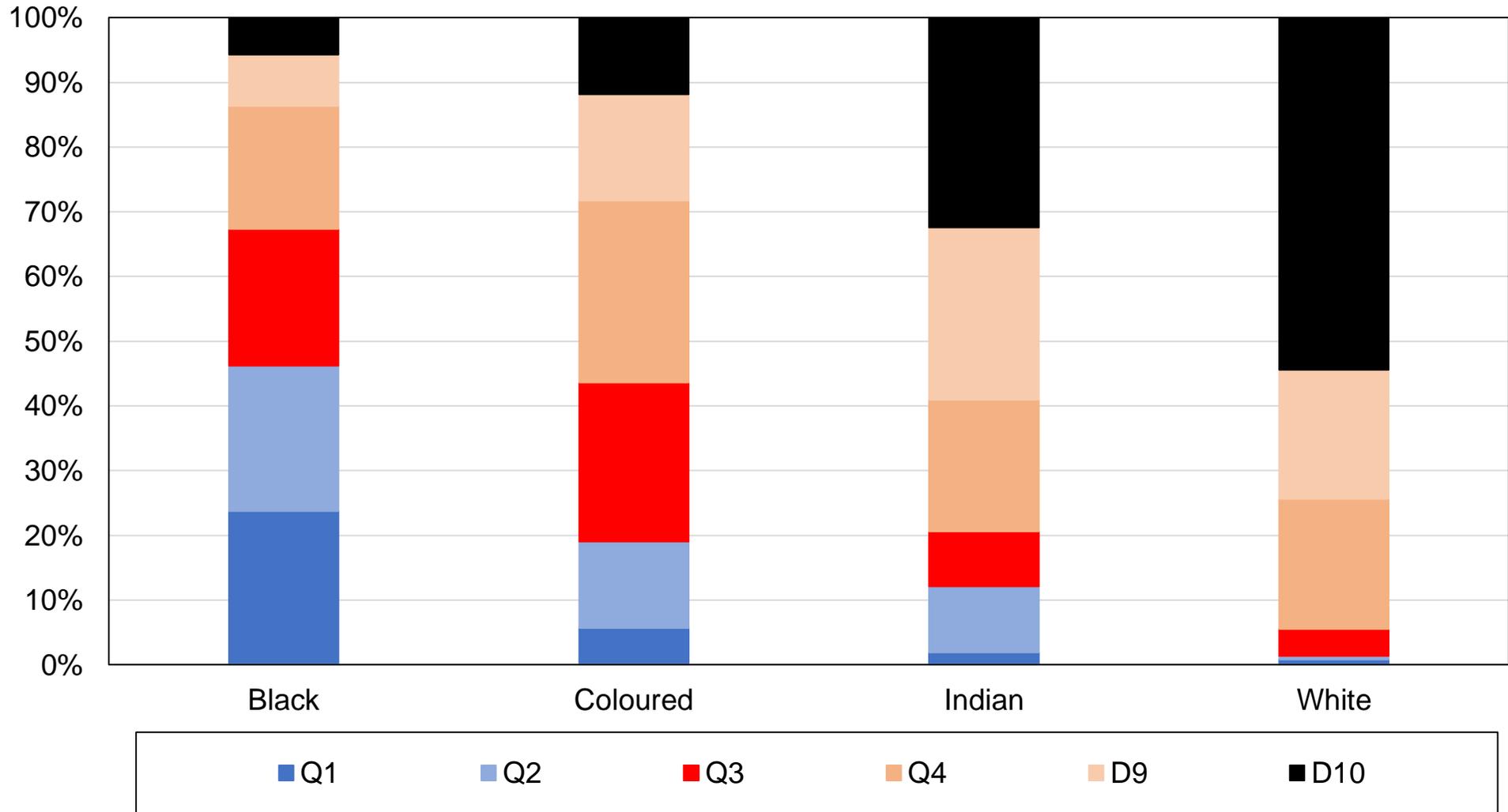
Figure C9 - Distribution of regions of residence by race, 2019



Source: author's computations using South African political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the composition of South African population groups by region of residence.

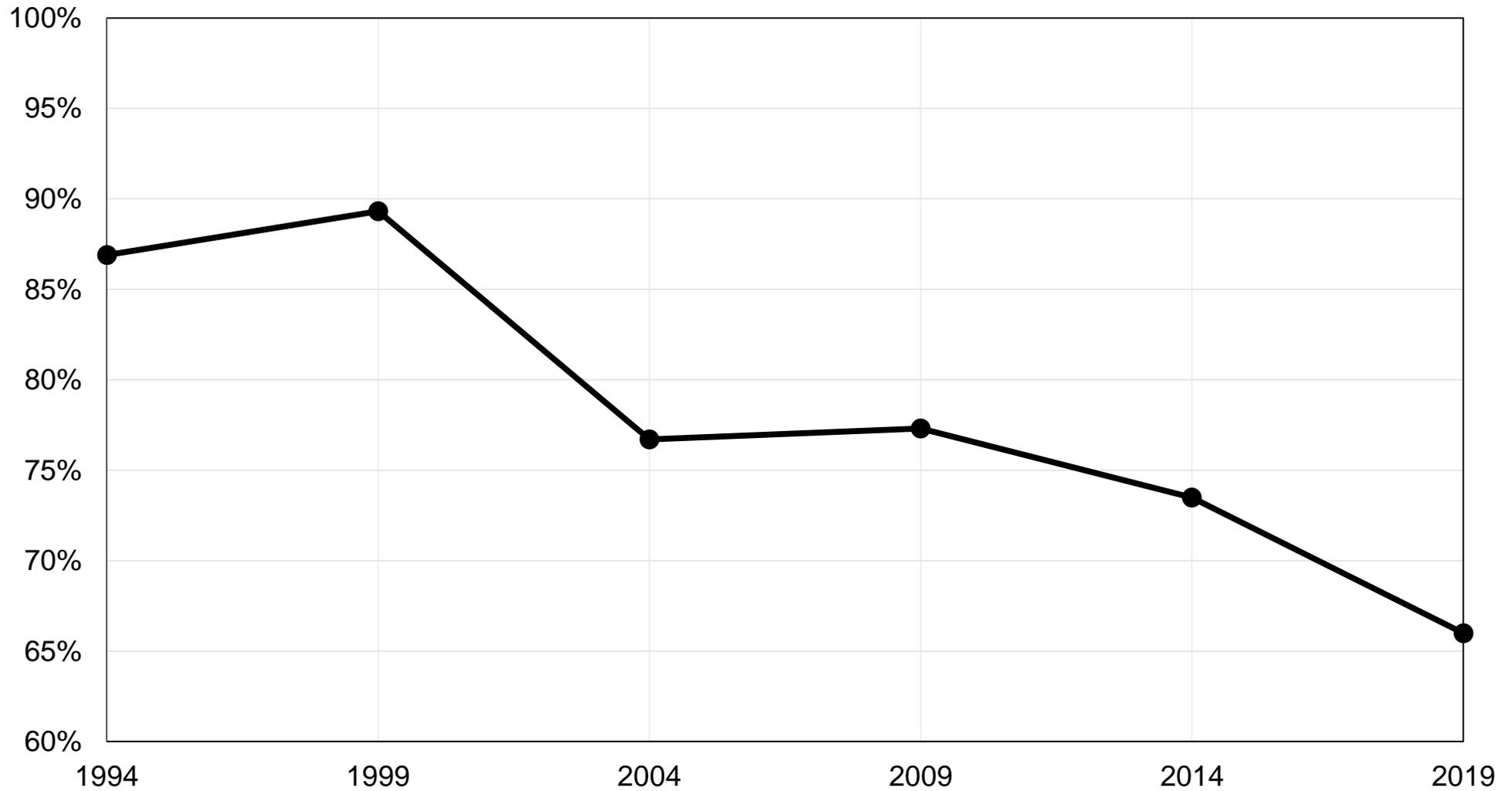
Figure C10 - Distribution of income quintiles / deciles by race, 2019



Source: author's computations using South African political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the composition of South African population groups by income quintile / decile.

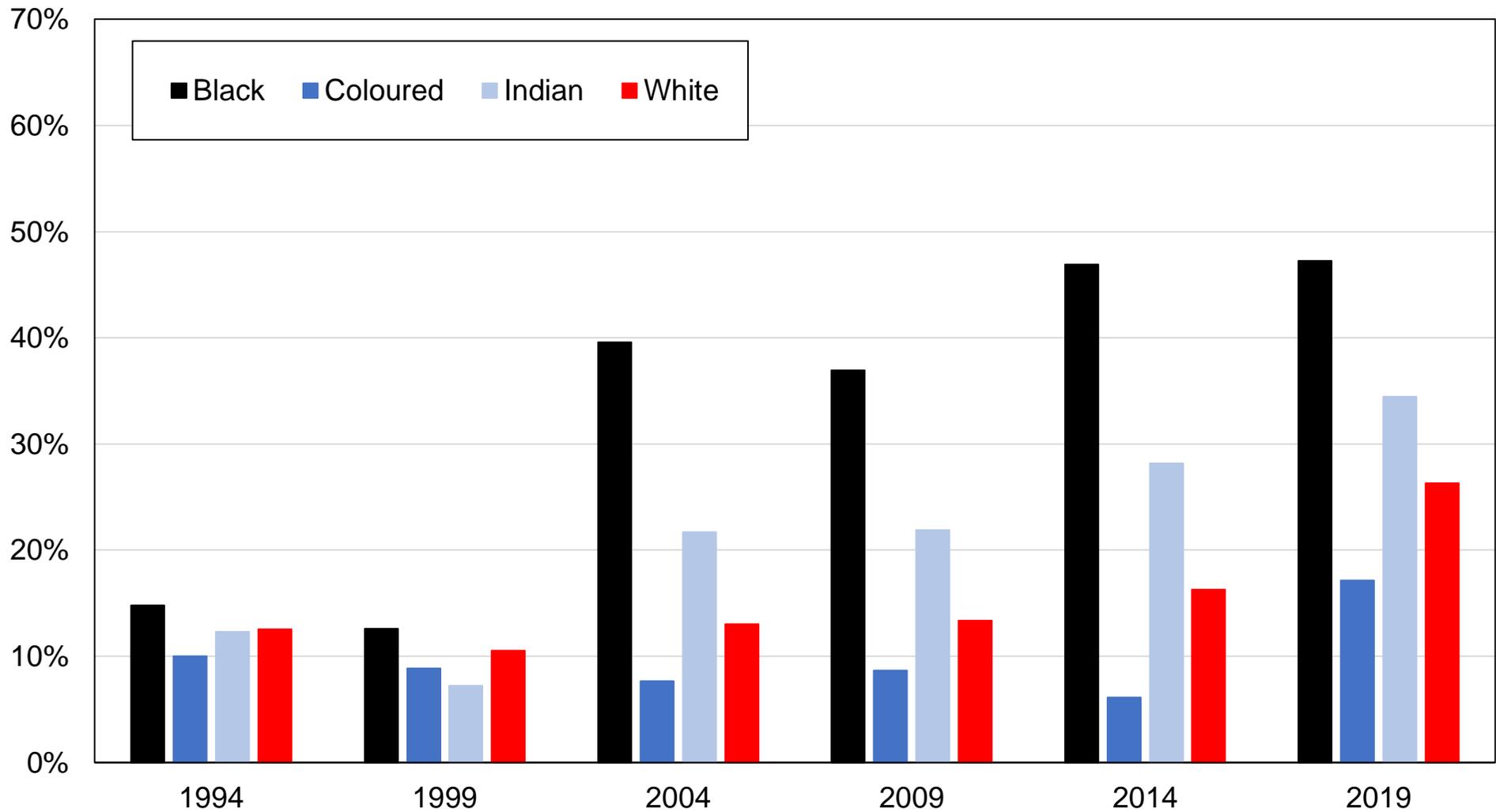
Figure D1 - Electoral turnout in South Africa, 1994-2019



Source: author's elaboration using official election results.

Note: the figure shows the evolution of electoral turnout in South Africa.

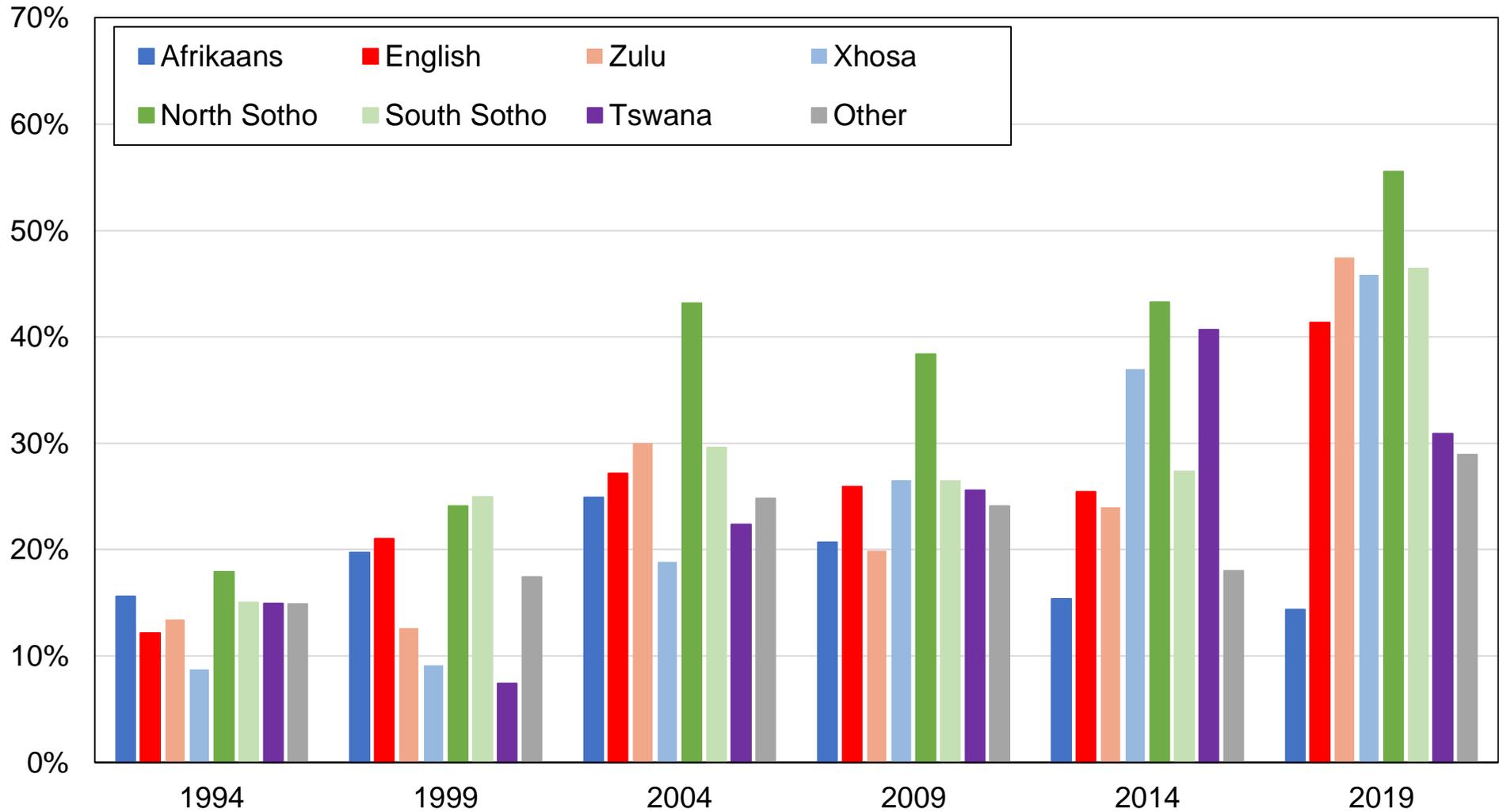
Figure D1 - Abstention by population group



Source: author's computations using South African political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of voters abstaining in general elections by population group.

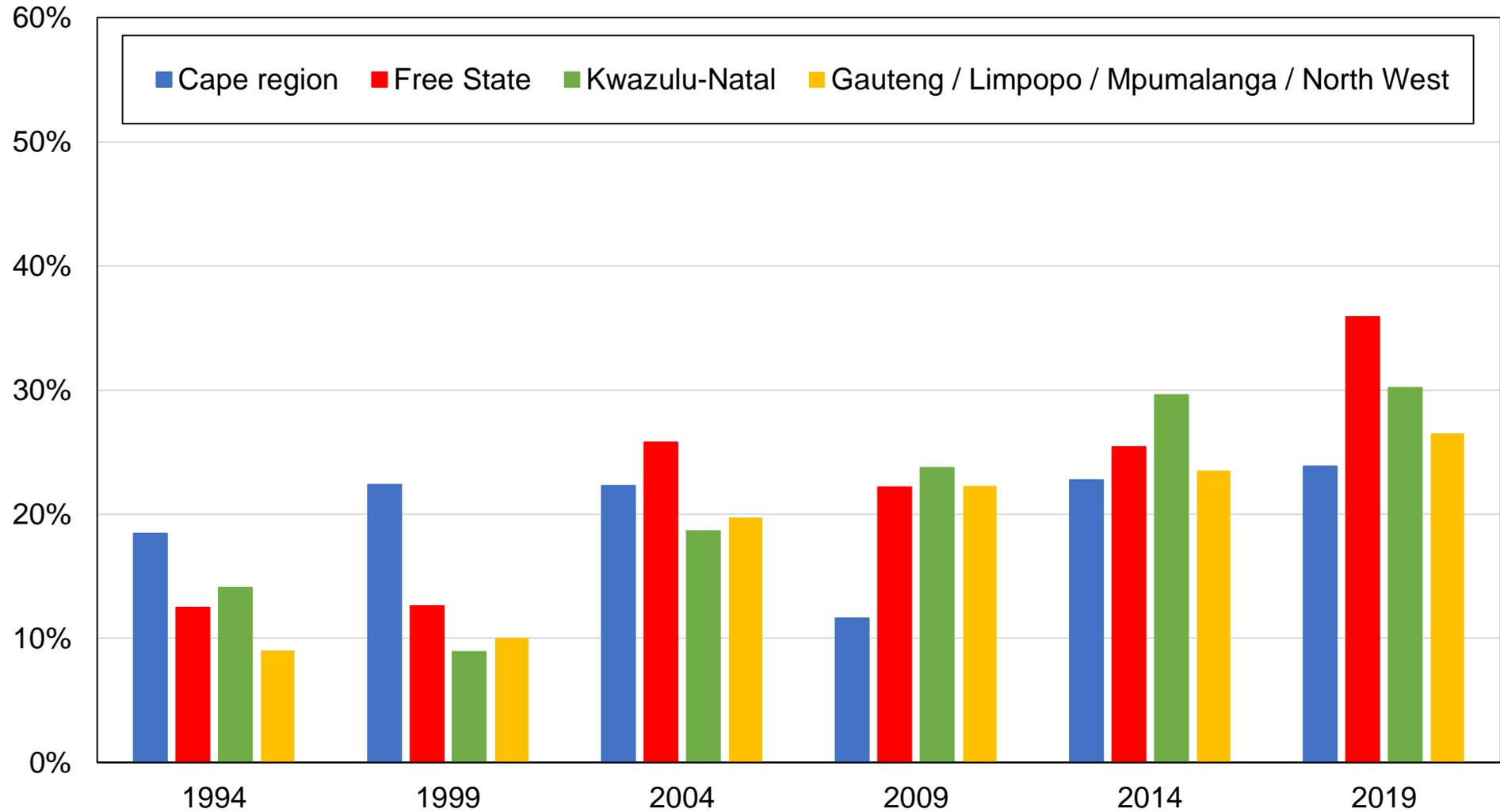
Figure D3 - Abstention by language



Source: author's computations using South African political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of voters abstaining in general elections by language most spoken at home.

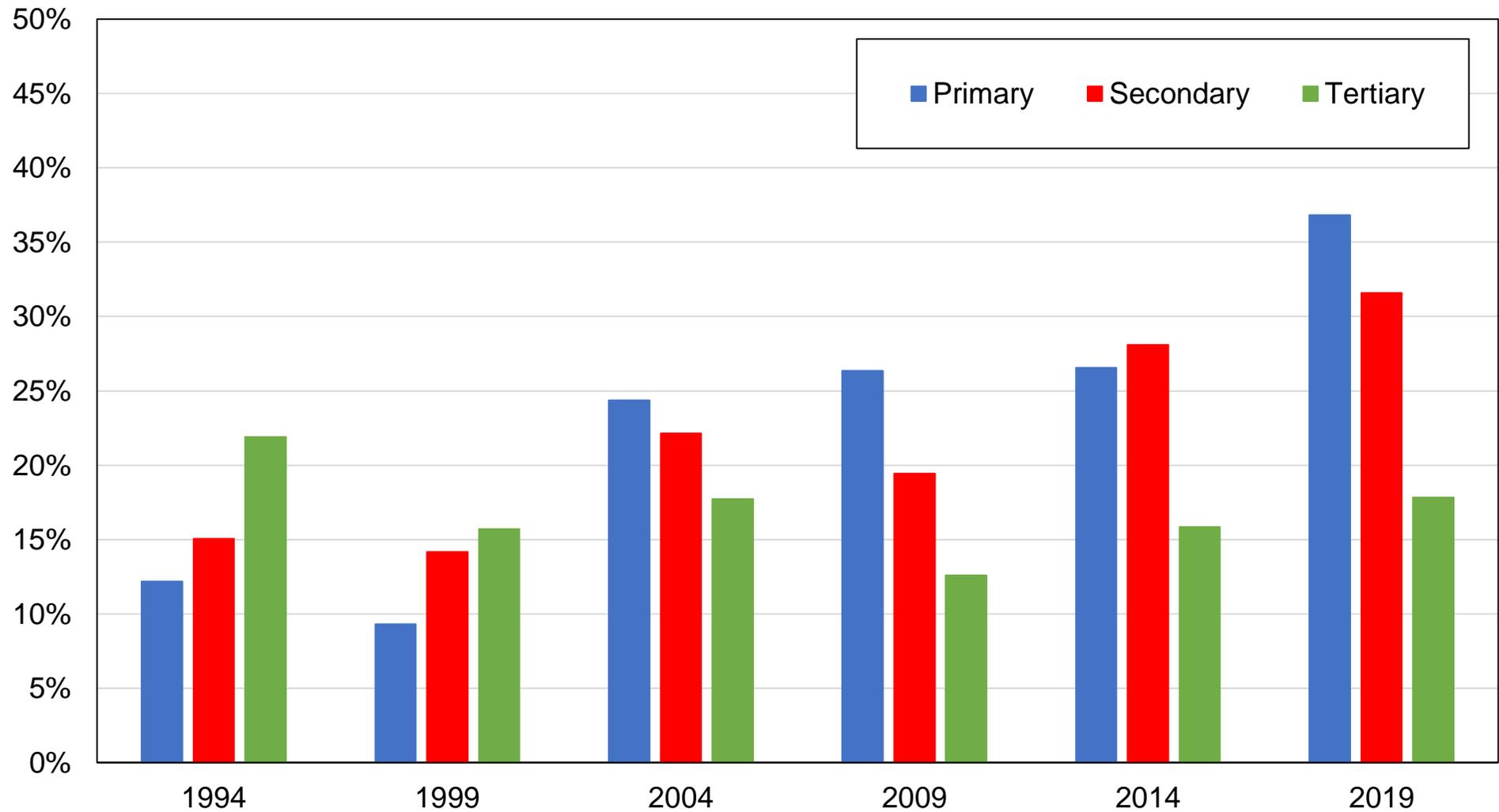
Figure D4 - Abstention by region



Source: author's computations using South African political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of voters abstaining in general elections by region.

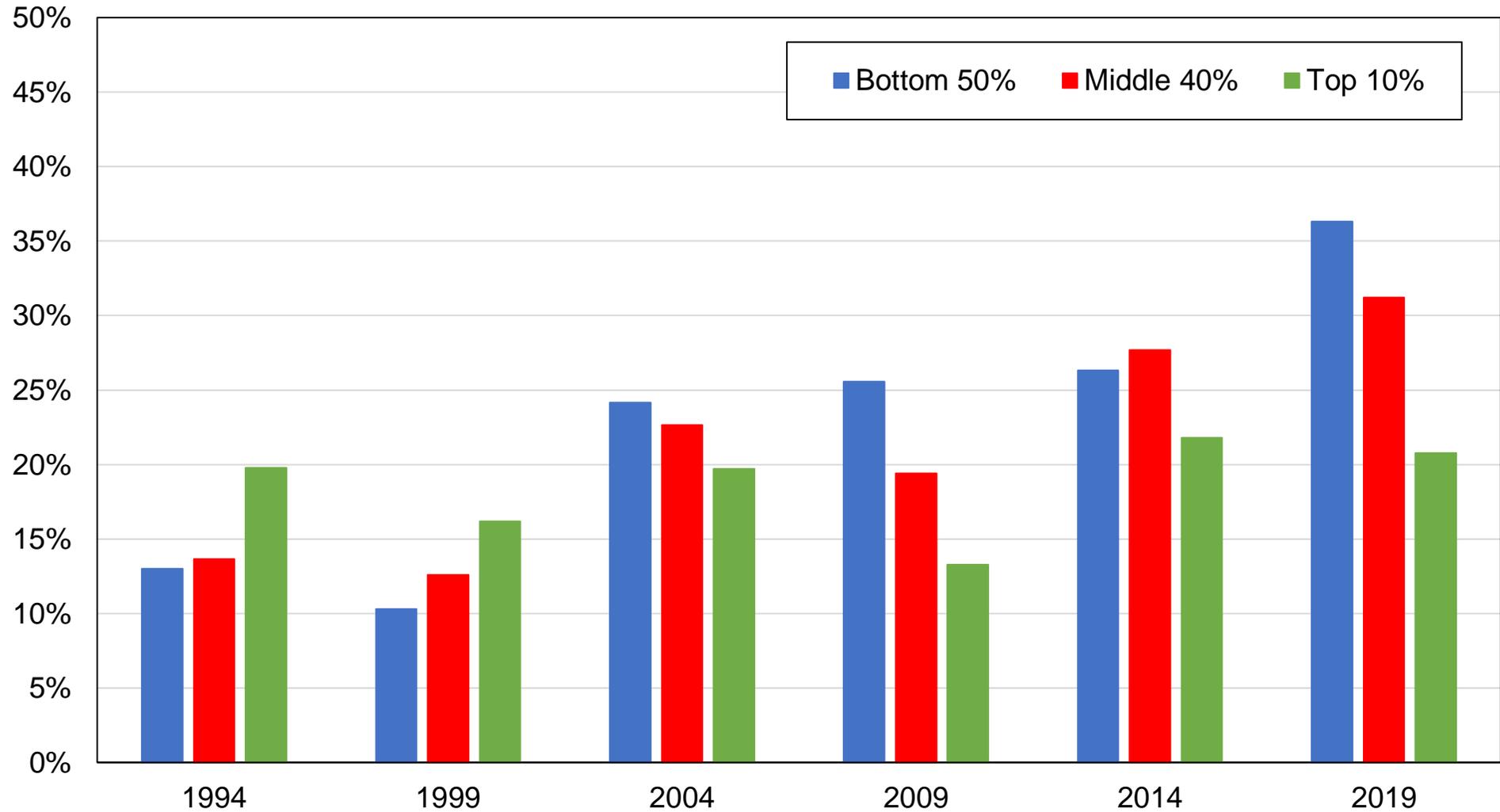
Figure D5 - Abstention by education level



Source: author's computations using South African political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of voters abstaining by level of education. Primary education includes those with no education at all.

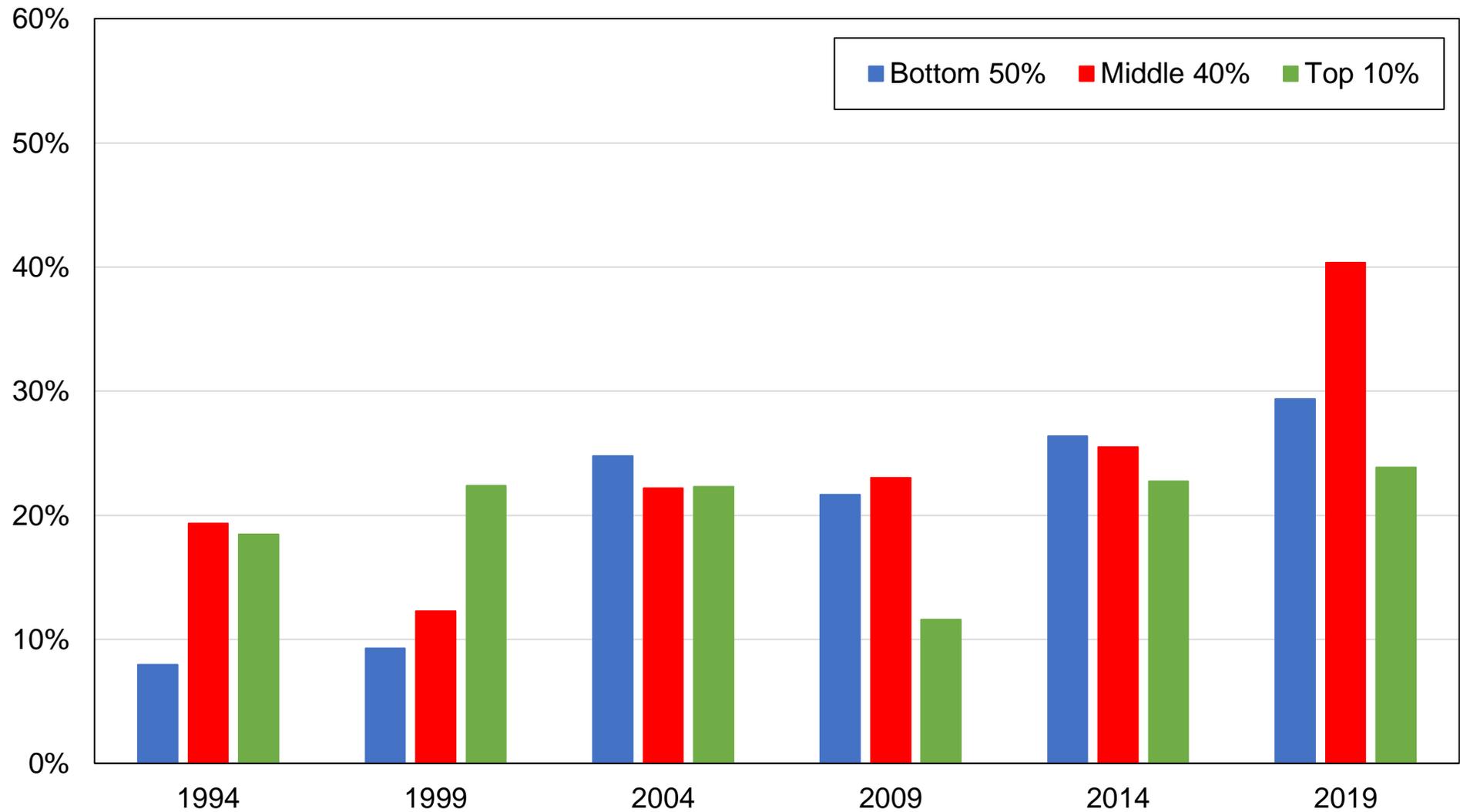
Figure D6 - Abstention by education group



Source: author's computations using South African political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of voters supporting the Democratic Party / National Party / New National Party in general elections by level of education. Primary education includes those with no education at all.

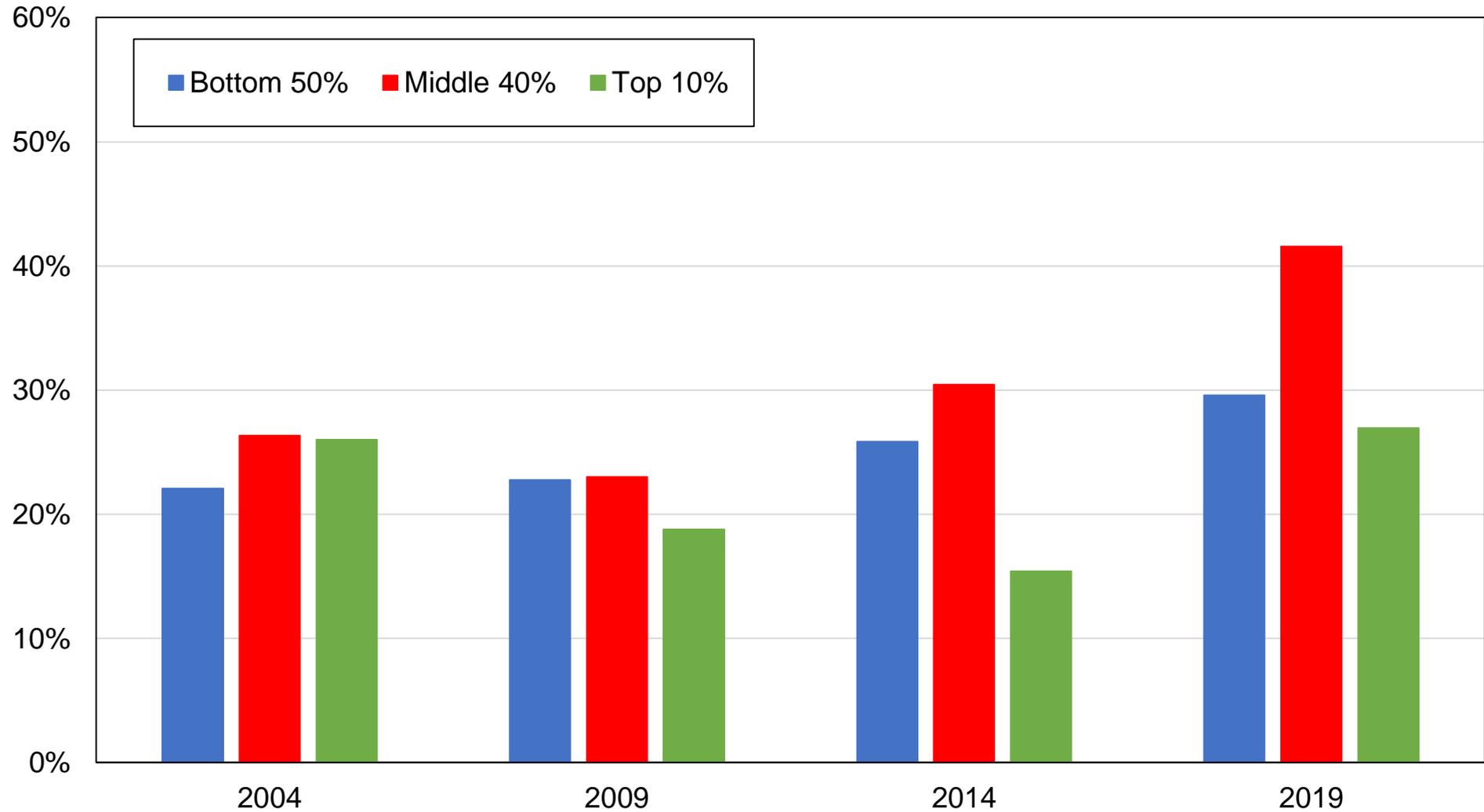
Figure D7 - Abstention by income group



Source: author's computations using South African political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of voters abstaining in general elections by income group.

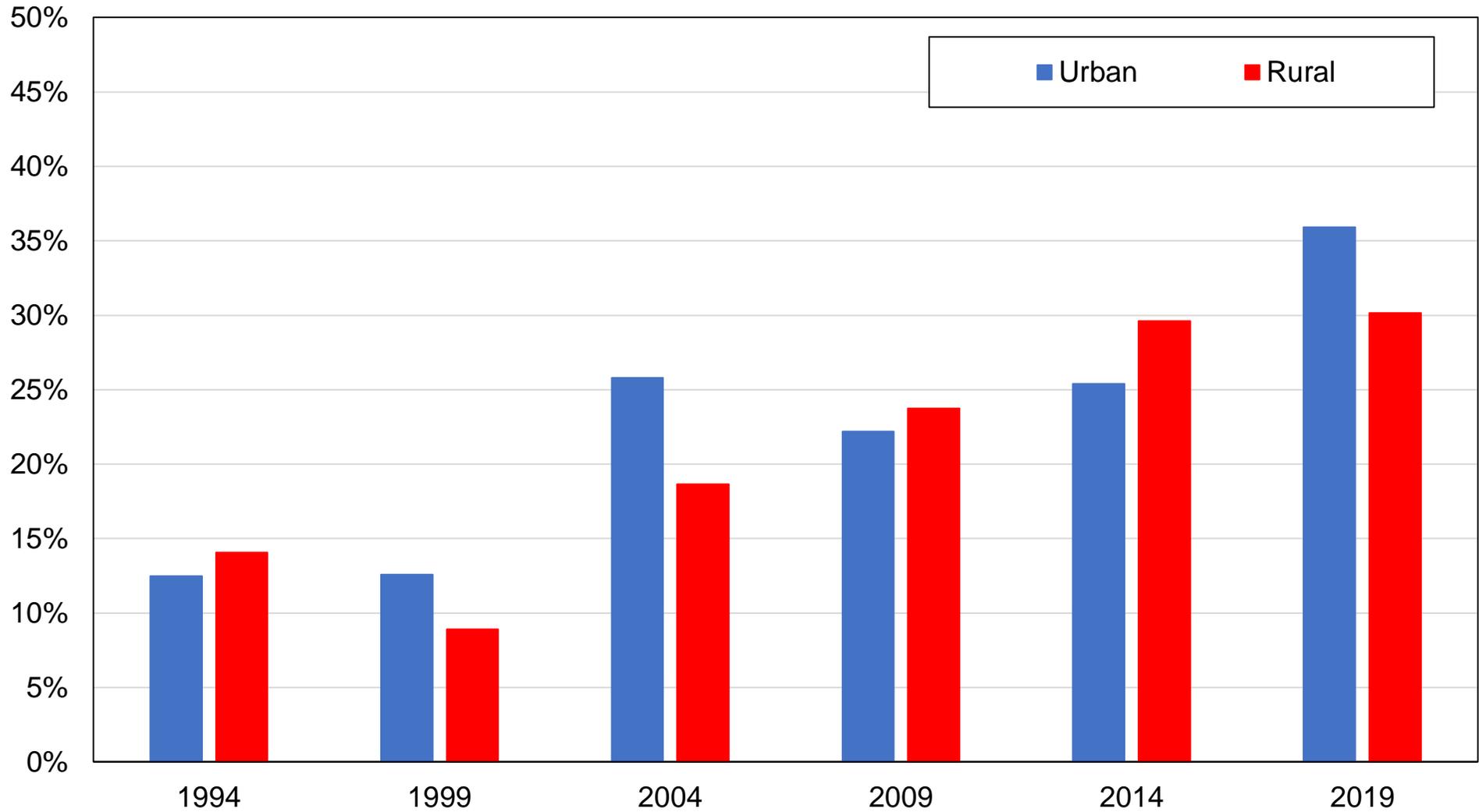
Figure D8 - Abstention by wealth group



Source: author's computations using South African political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of voters abstaining in general elections by wealth group.

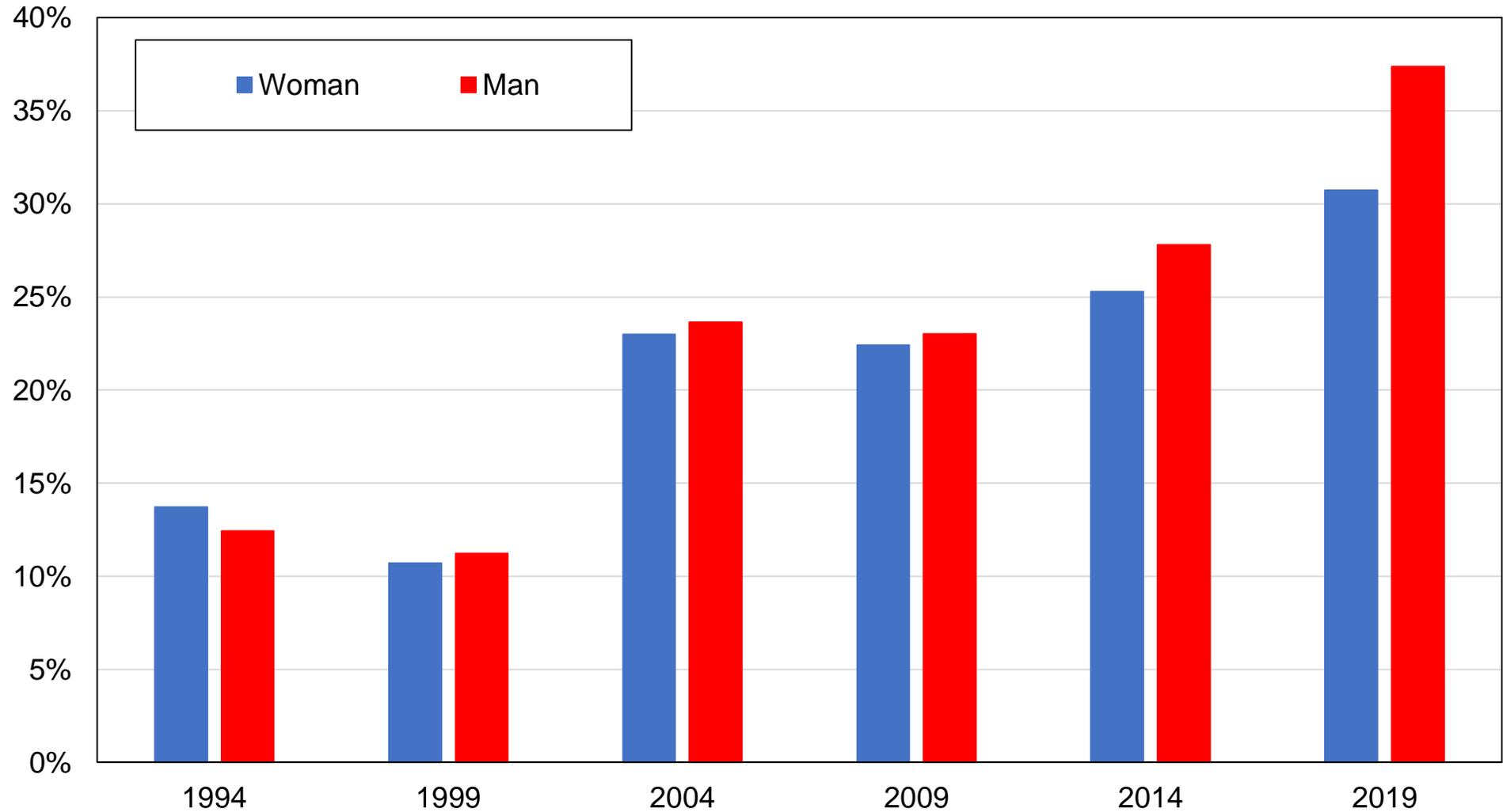
Figure D9 - Abstention by location



Source: author's computations using South African political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of voters abstaining in general elections by rural-urban location.

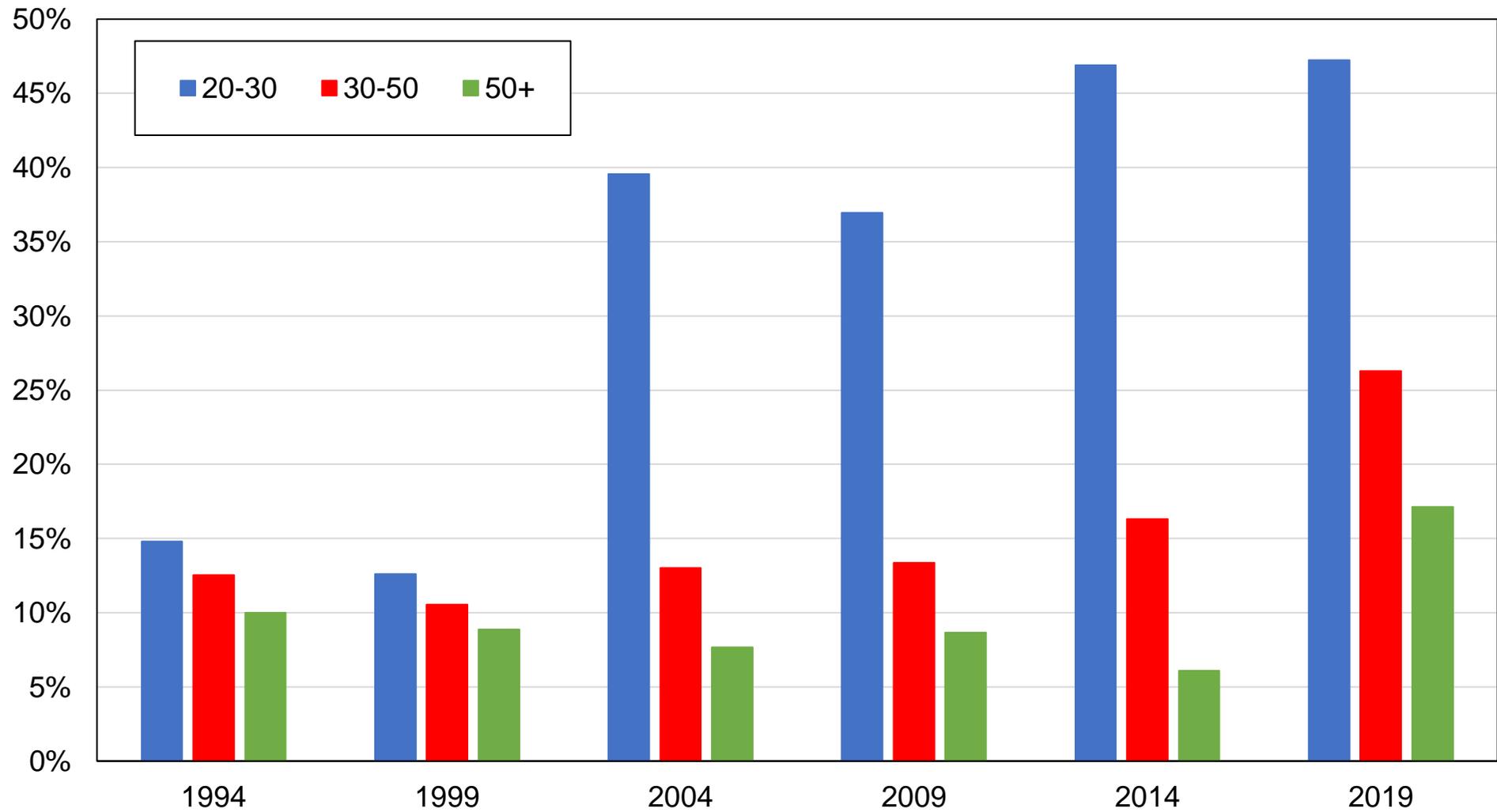
Figure D10 - Abstention by gender



Source: author's computations using South African political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of voters abstaining in general elections by gender.

Figure D11 - Abstention by age group



Source: author's computations using South African political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of voters abstaining in general elections by age group.