

**Political Cleavages and Social Inequalities**  
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**Luxembourg**

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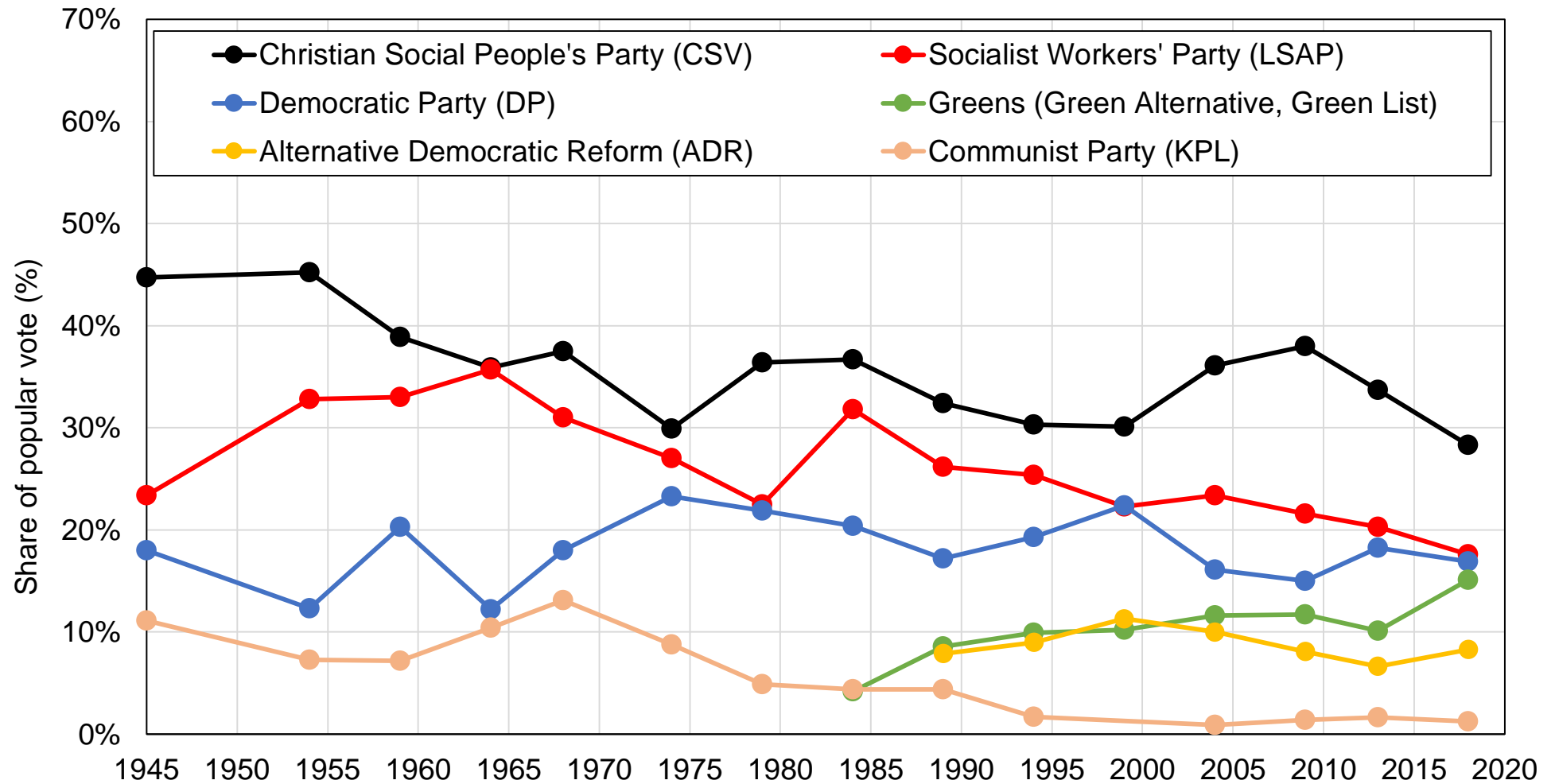
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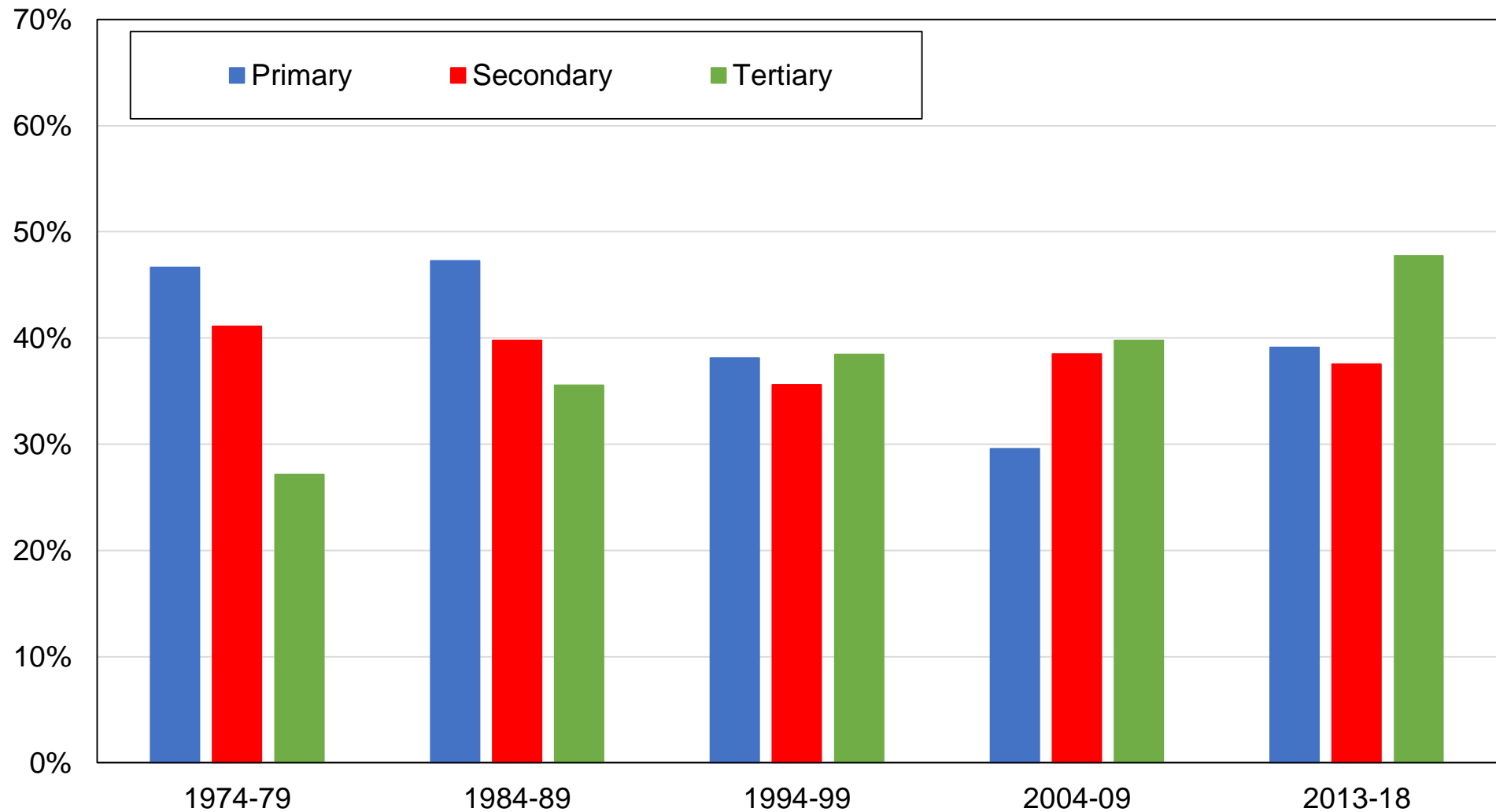
**Figure 1 - Election results in Luxembourg, 1945-2018**



**Source:** authors' computations using official election results.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by selected groups of Luxembourg political parties in general elections between 1945 and 2018.

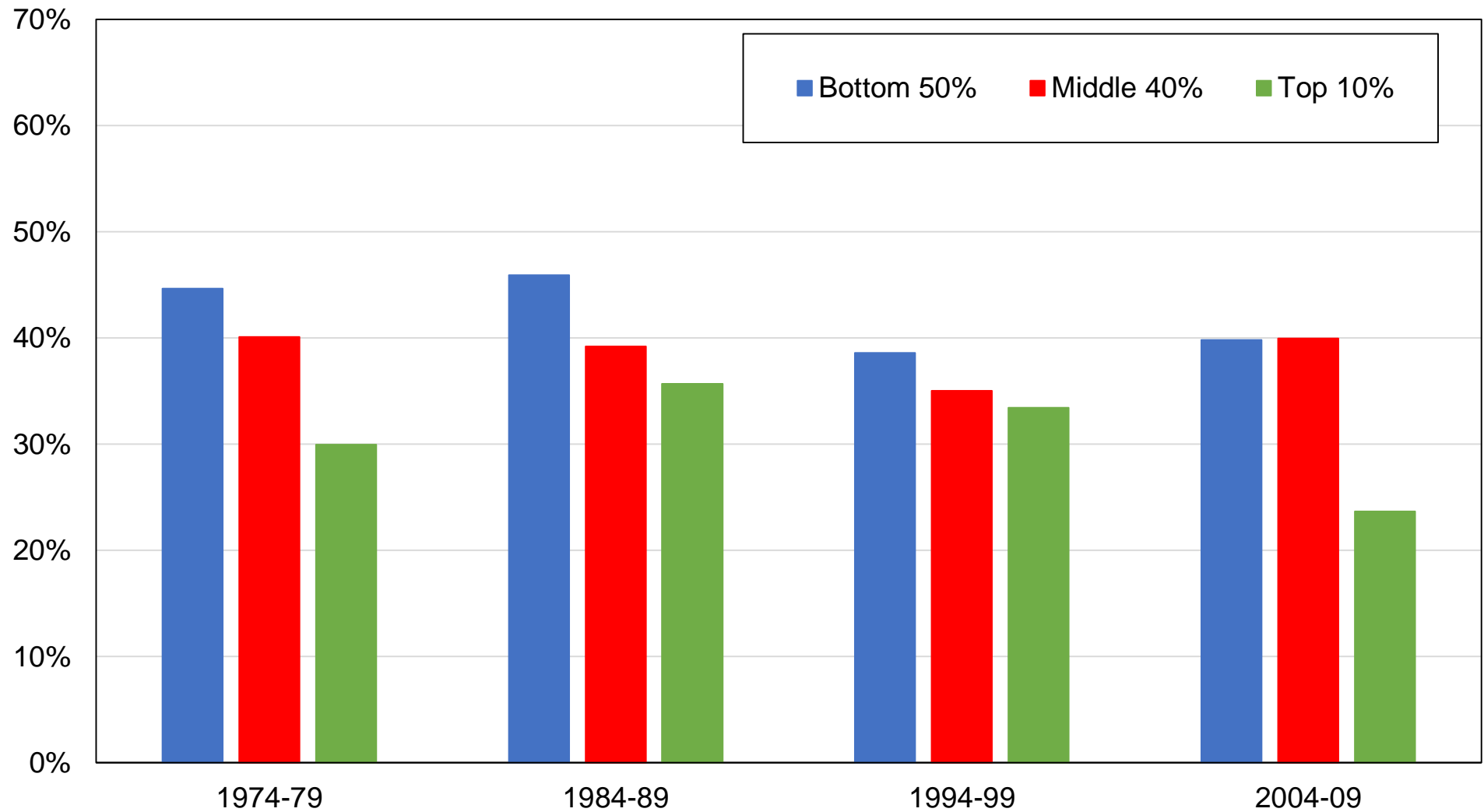
**Figure 2 - Vote for LSAP / Greens / Other left by education level**



**Source:** authors' computations using Luxembourg political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by LSAP / Greens / Other left by education level.

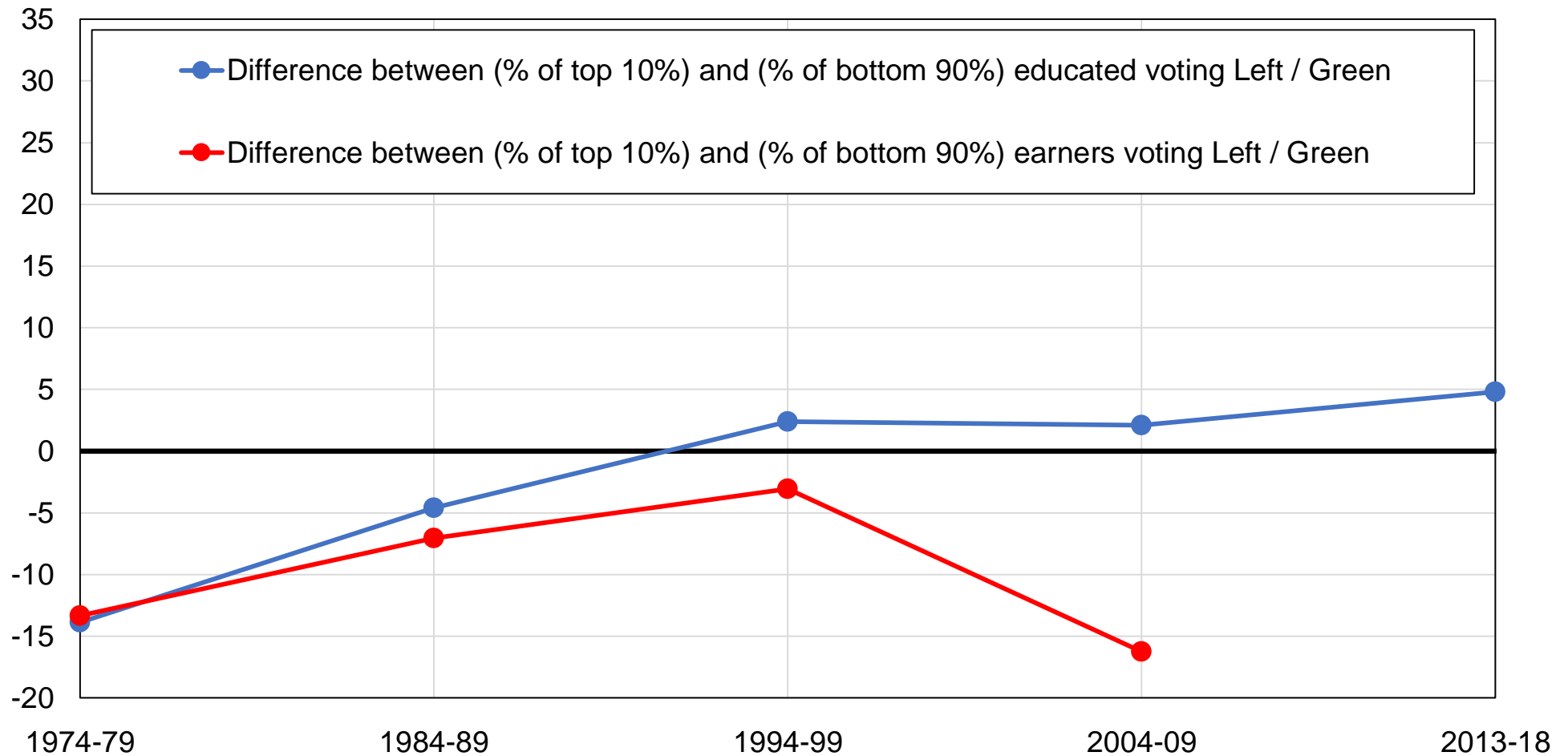
**Figure 3 - Vote for LSAP / Greens / Other left by income group**



**Source:** authors' computations using Luxembourg political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by LSAP / Greens / Other left by income group.

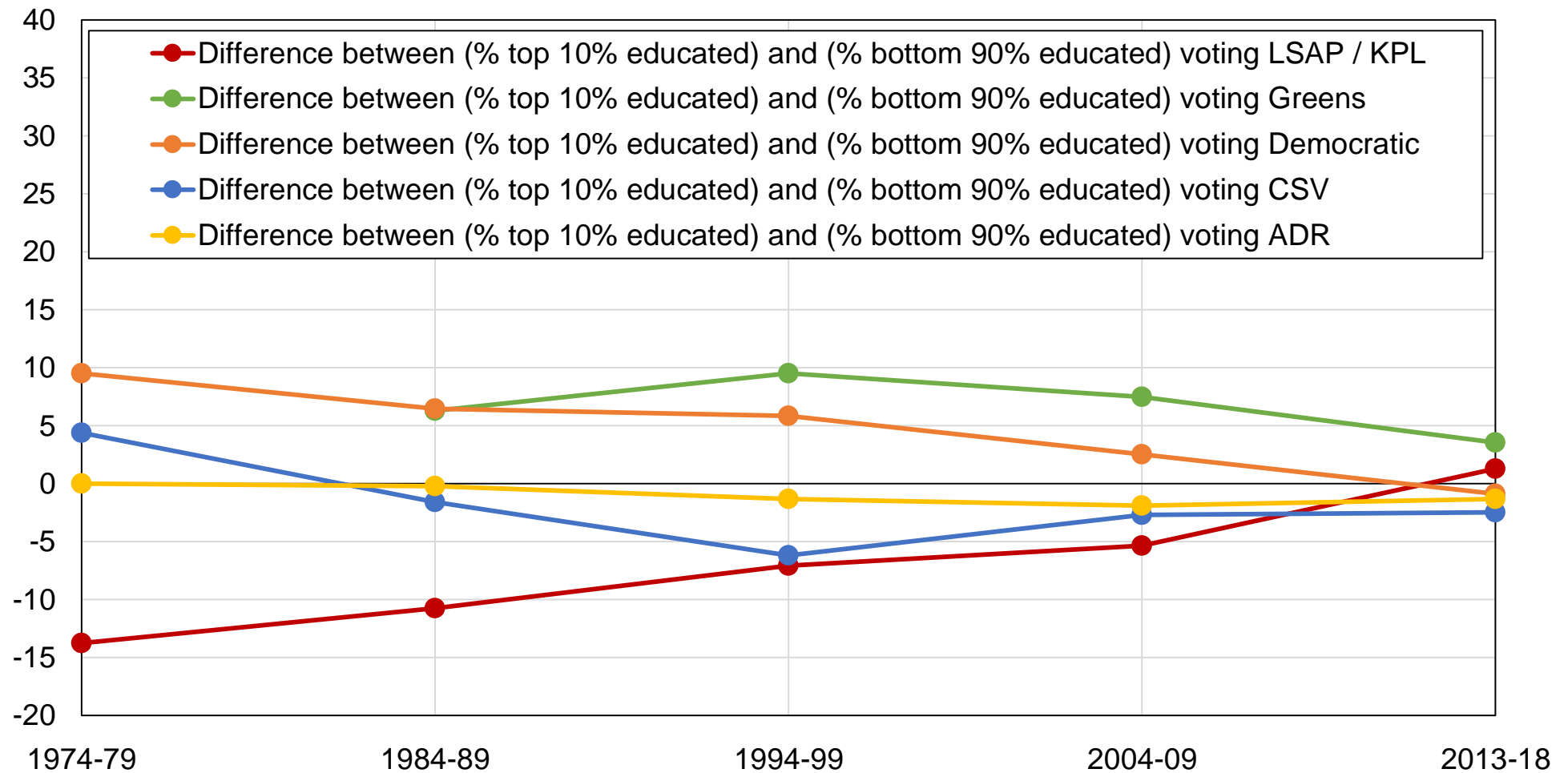
**Figure 4 - Vote for LSAP / Greens / Other left among highest-educated and top-income voters**



**Source:** authors' computations using Luxembourg political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the support for LSAP / Greens / Other left among highest-educated and top-income voters.

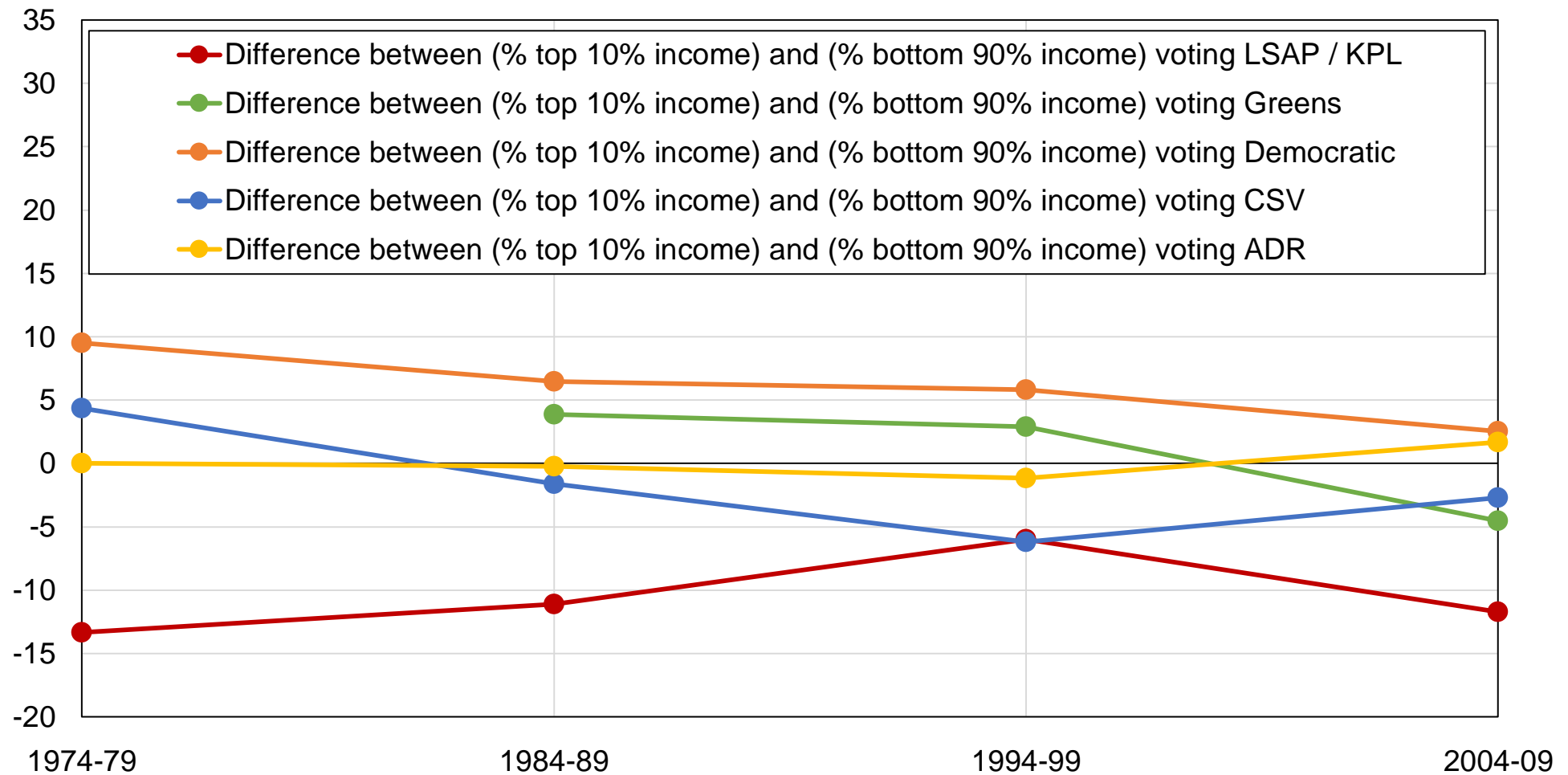
**Figure 5 - The education cleavage in Luxembourg**



**Source:** authors' computations using Luxembourg political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the bias of highest-educated voters towards the the Socialist Workers' Party (LSAP) and the Communist Party (KPL), green parties, the Democratic Party, the Christian Social People's Party (CSV), and the Alternative Democratic Reform Party (ADR).

**Figure 6 - The income cleavage in Luxembourg**



**Source:** authors' computations using Luxembourg political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the bias of top-income voters towards the Socialist Workers' Party (LSAP) and the Communist Party (KPL), green parties, the Democratic Party, the Christian Social People's Party (CSV), and the Alternative Democratic Reform Party (ADR).



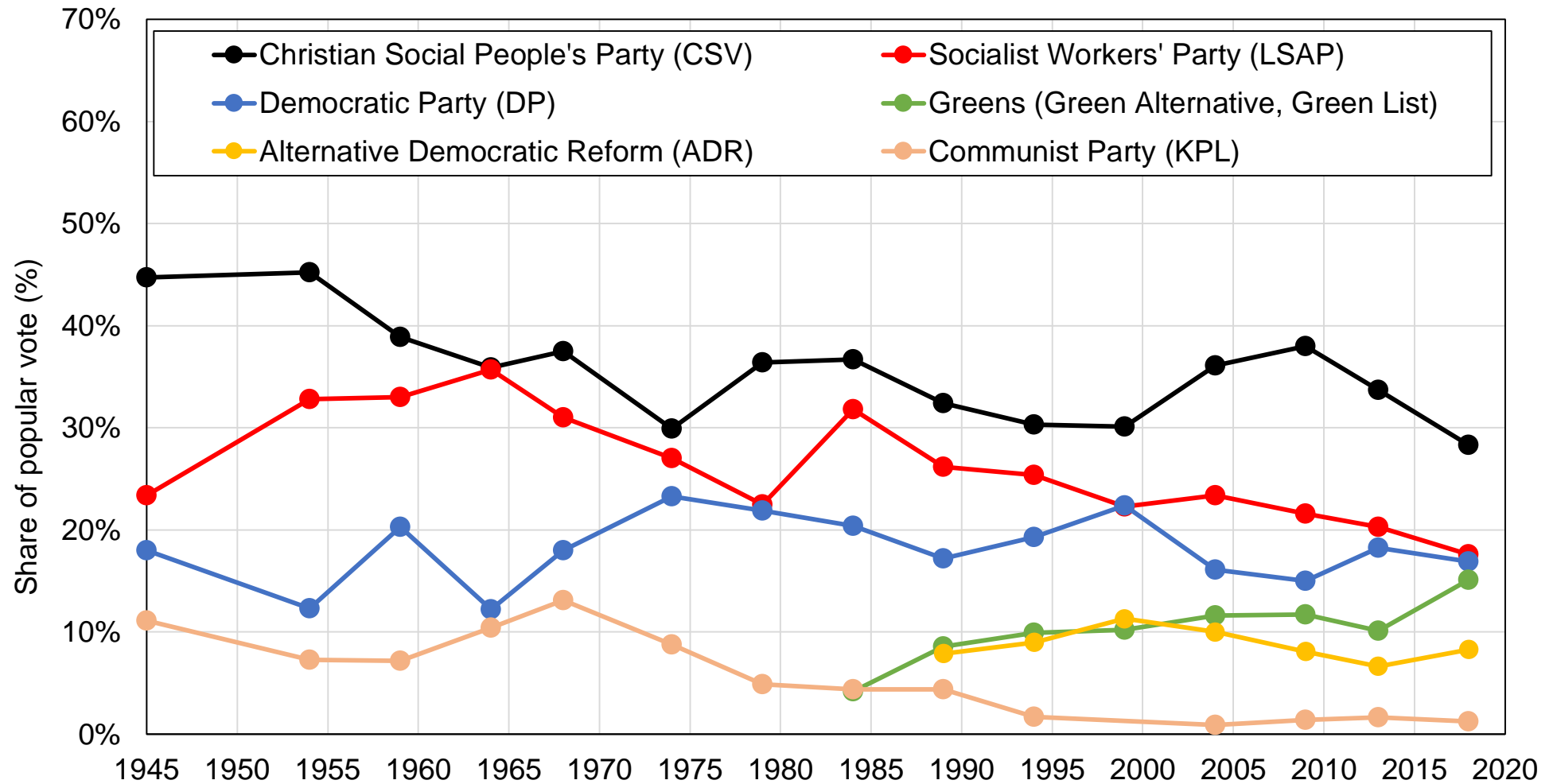
**Table 1 - The structure of political cleavages in Luxembourg, 2004-2018**

	Share of votes received (%)				
	LSAP / KPL	Greens	Democratic	CSV	ADR
<b>Overall vote share</b>	25%	17%	19%	35%	4%
<b>Education</b>					
Primary	28%	8%	16%	41%	6%
Secondary	25%	13%	20%	37%	5%
Tertiary	25%	20%	19%	33%	2%
<b>Income</b>					
Bottom 50%	31%	9%	13%	40%	7%
Middle 40%	26%	14%	15%	42%	3%
Top 10%	17%	7%	12%	58%	7%
<b>Location</b>					
Urban	27%	19%	22%	29%	2%
Rural	22%	18%	19%	36%	5%
<b>Religion</b>					
No religion	30%	26%	21%	20%	3%
Catholic	21%	10%	17%	48%	4%
Protestant	30%	19%	25%	25%	1%
<b>Church attendance</b>					
Never	35%	20%	16%	26%	3%
Less than monthly	22%	13%	20%	41%	4%
Monthly or more	13%	9%	13%	63%	2%

**Source:** authors' computations using Luxembourg political attitudes surveys.

**Notes:** the table shows the average share of votes received by the main political parties by selected individual characteristics over the 2004-2018 period. Vote shares by group are those reported in surveys and may not match exactly official election results.

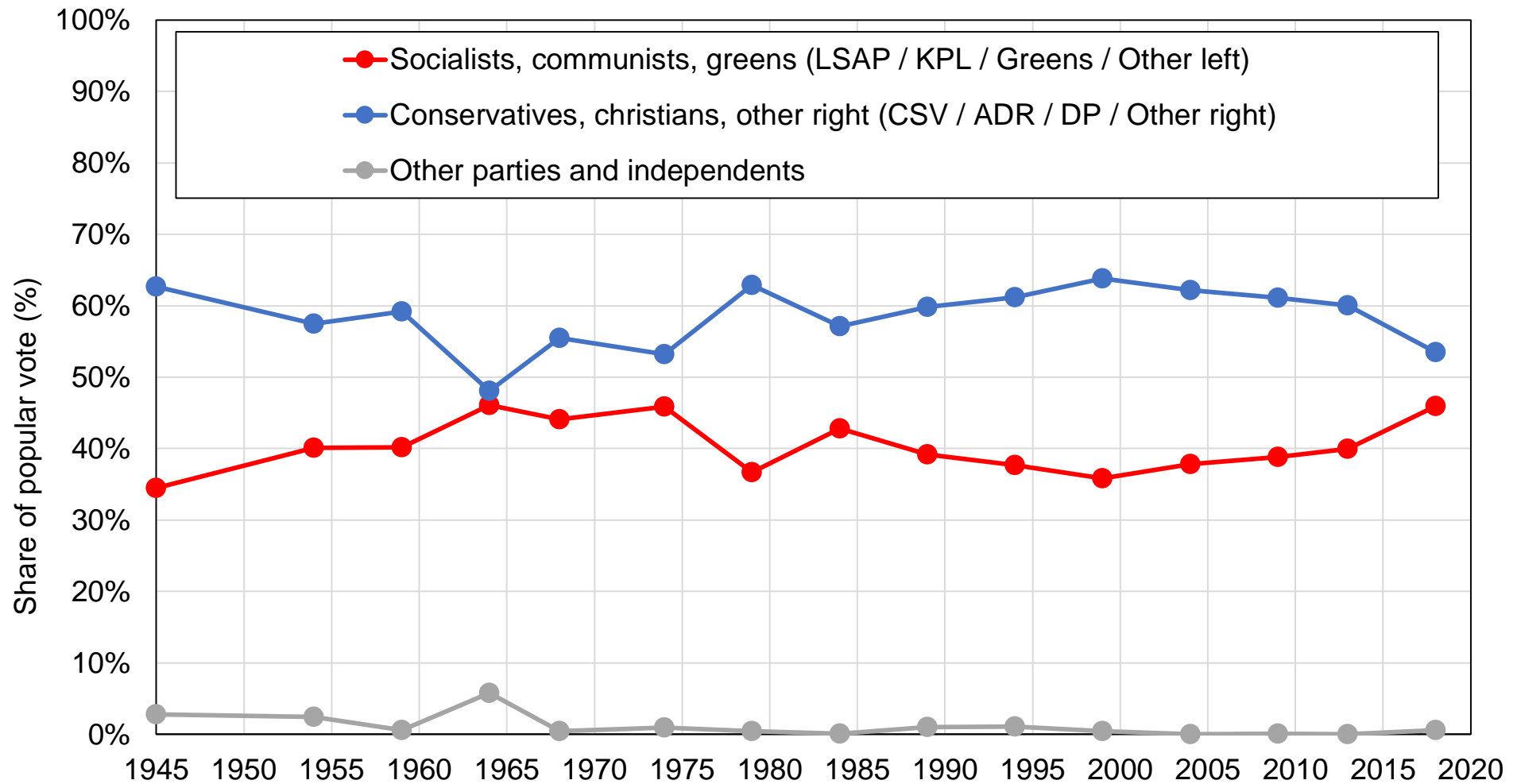
**Figure A1 - Election results in Luxembourg, 1945-2018**



**Source:** authors' computations using official election results.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by selected groups of Luxembourg political parties in general elections between 1945 and 2018.

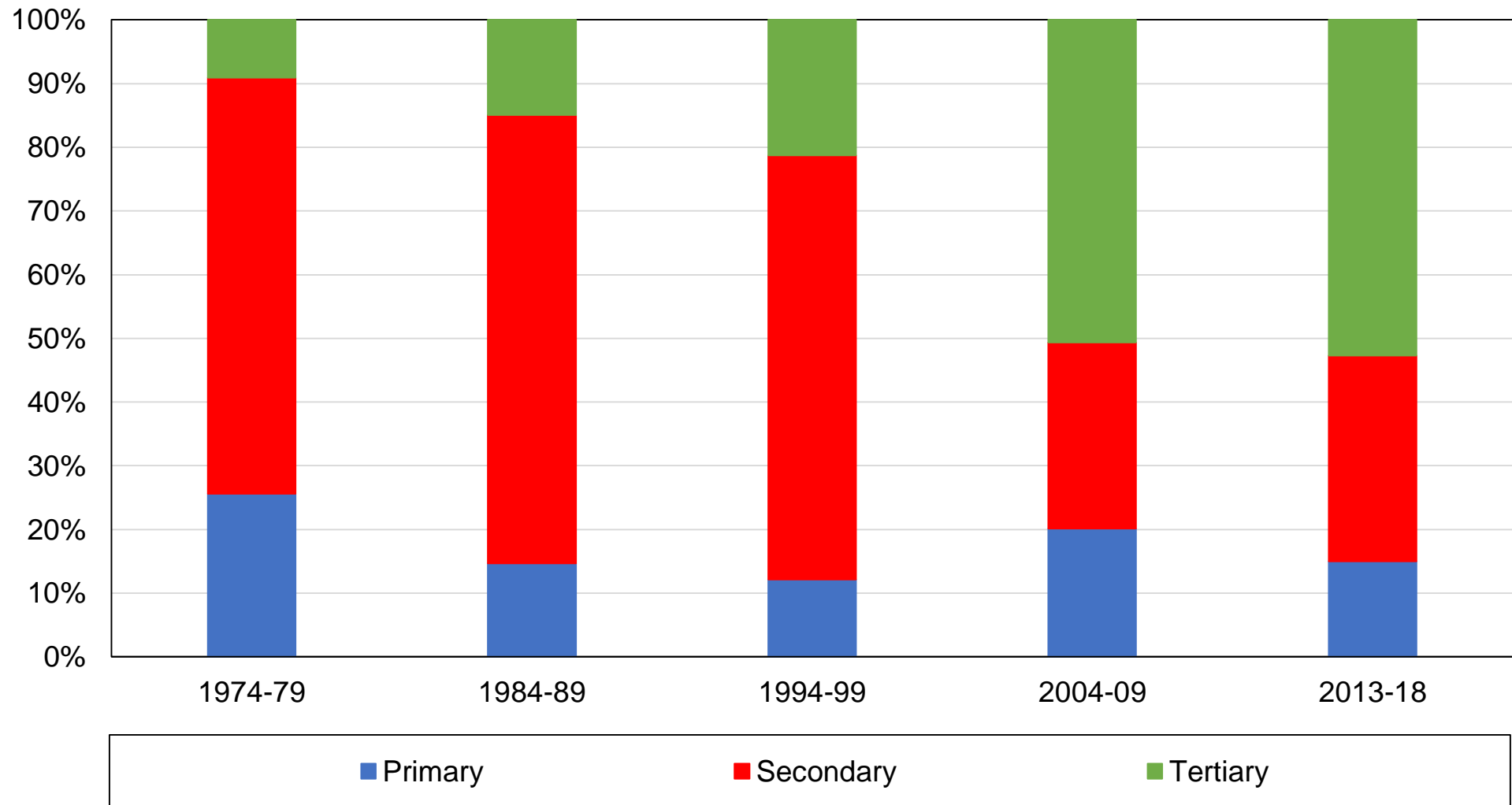
**Figure A2 - Election results in Luxembourg by group, 1945-2018**



**Source:** authors' computations using official election results.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by selected groups of Luxembourg political parties in legislative elections between 1945 and 2018.

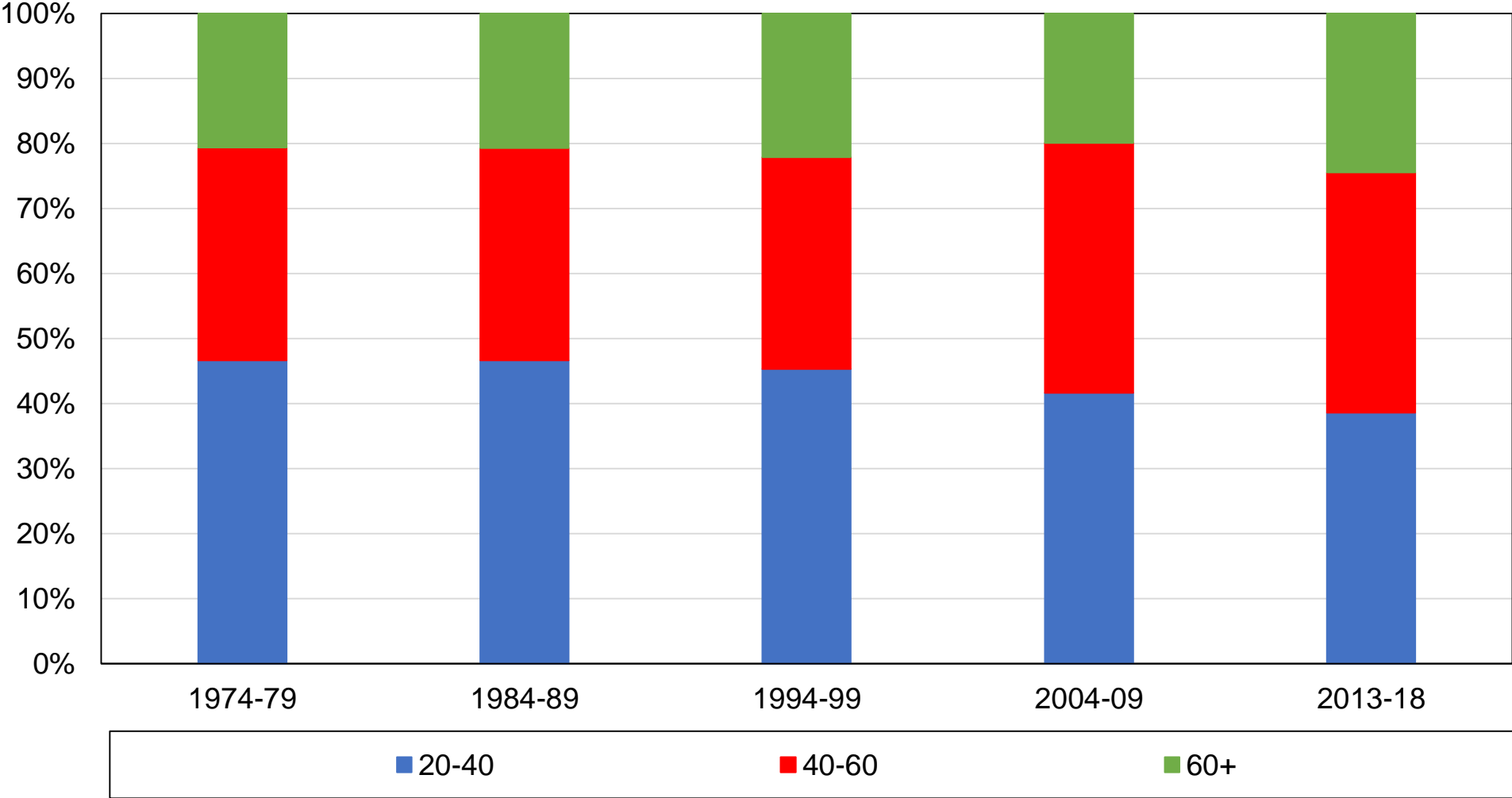
**Figure A3 - The composition of the electorate by education level**



**Source:** authors' computations using Luxembourg political attitudes surveys.

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

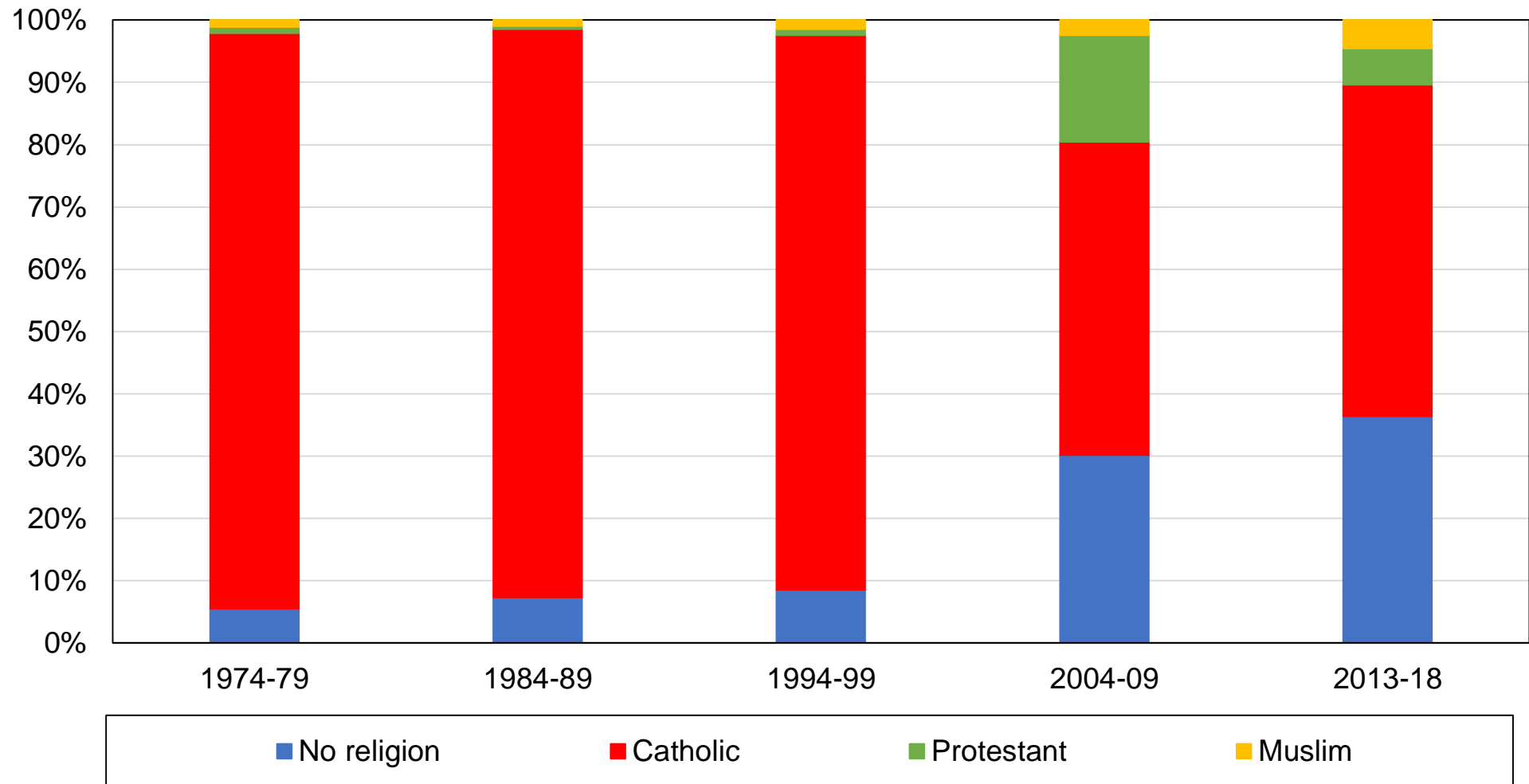
**Figure A4 - The composition of the electorate by age group**



**Source:** authors' computations using Luxembourg political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the composition of the electorate by age group.

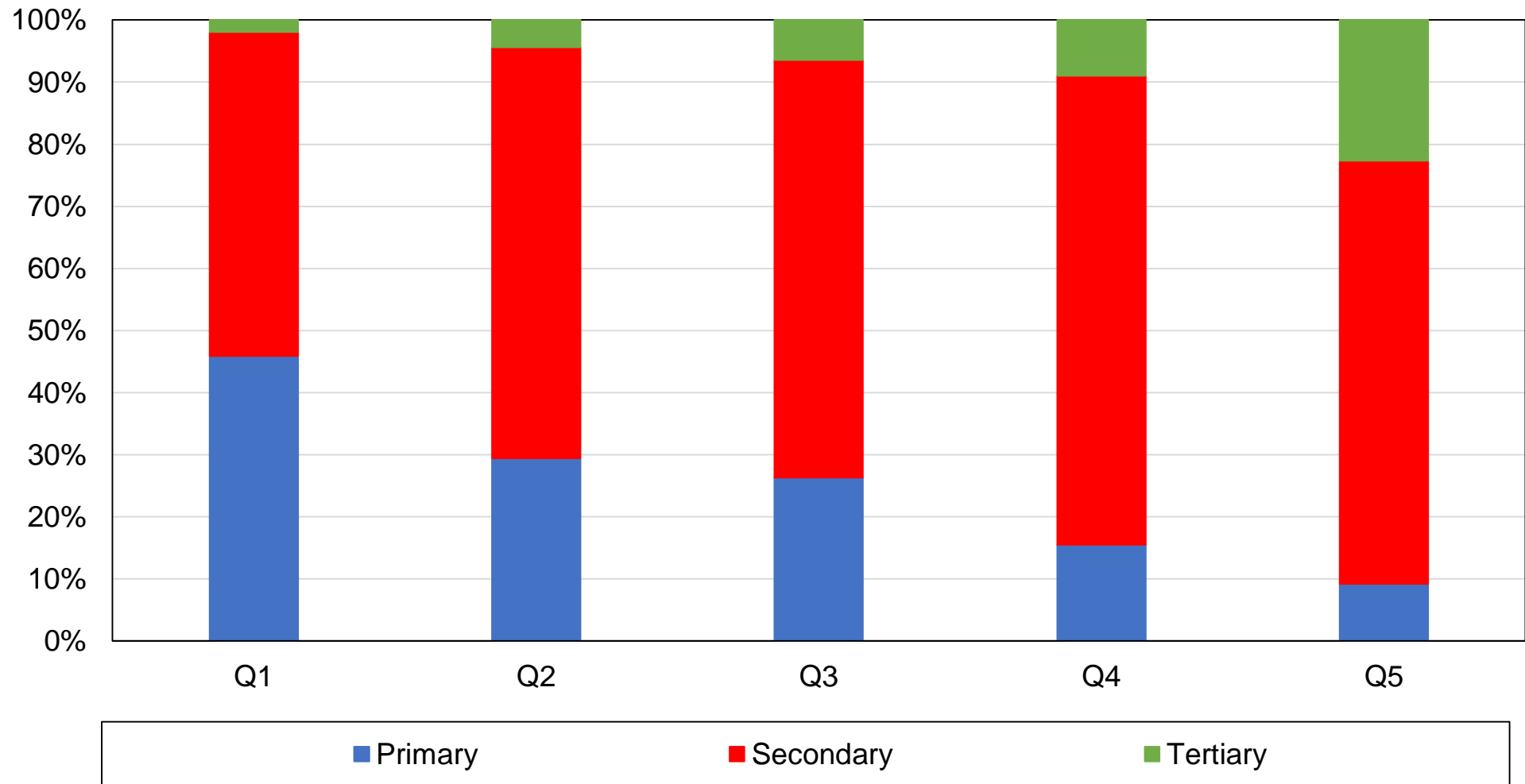
**Figure A5 - The composition of the electorate by religion**



**Source:** authors' computations using Luxembourg political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the composition of the electorate by religion.

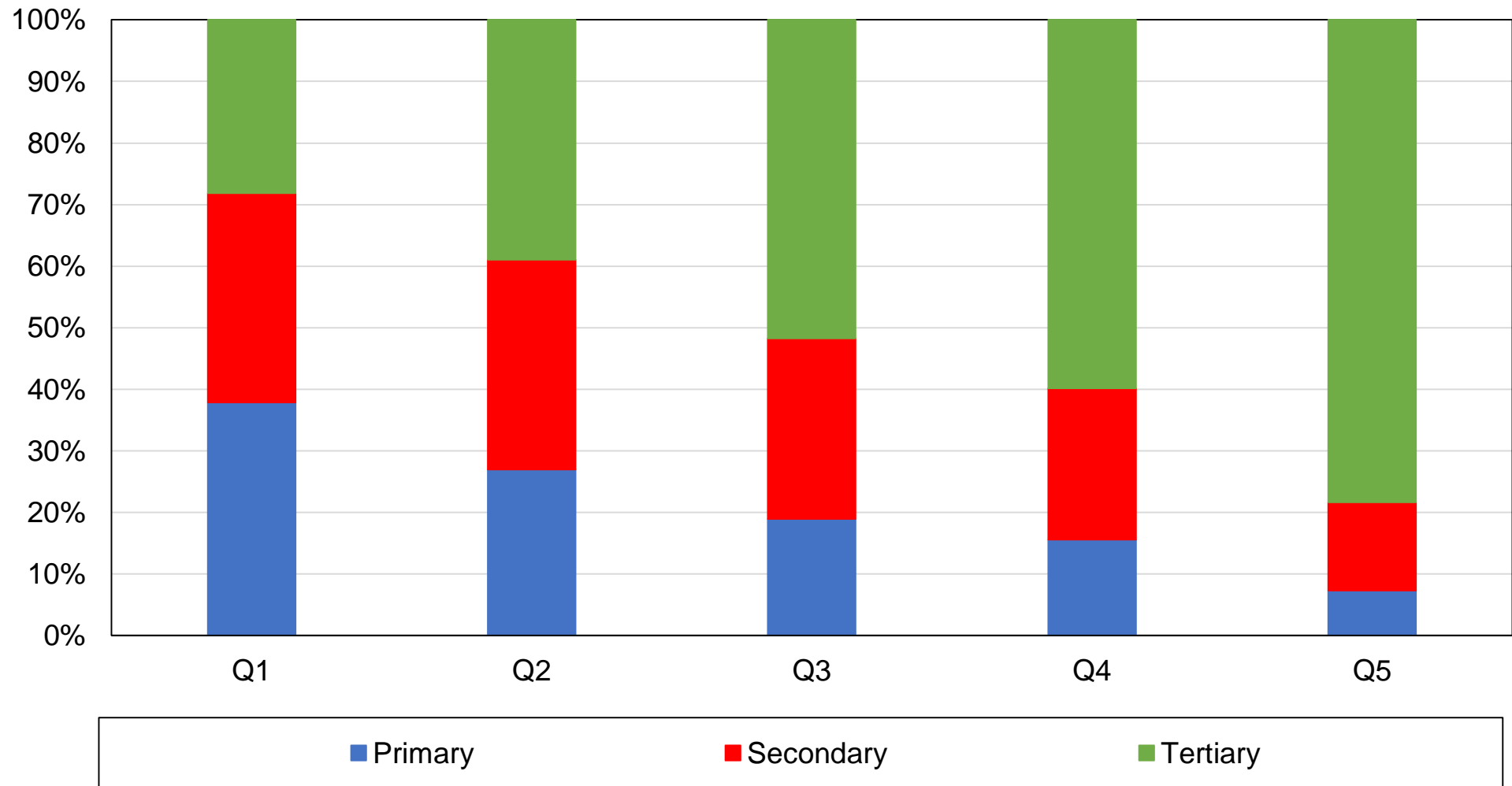
**Figure A6 - Composition of income quintiles by education level, 1970s**



**Source:** authors' computations using Luxembourg political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the composition of income quintiles by education level in the 1970s.

**Figure A7 - Composition of income quintiles by education level, 2010s**

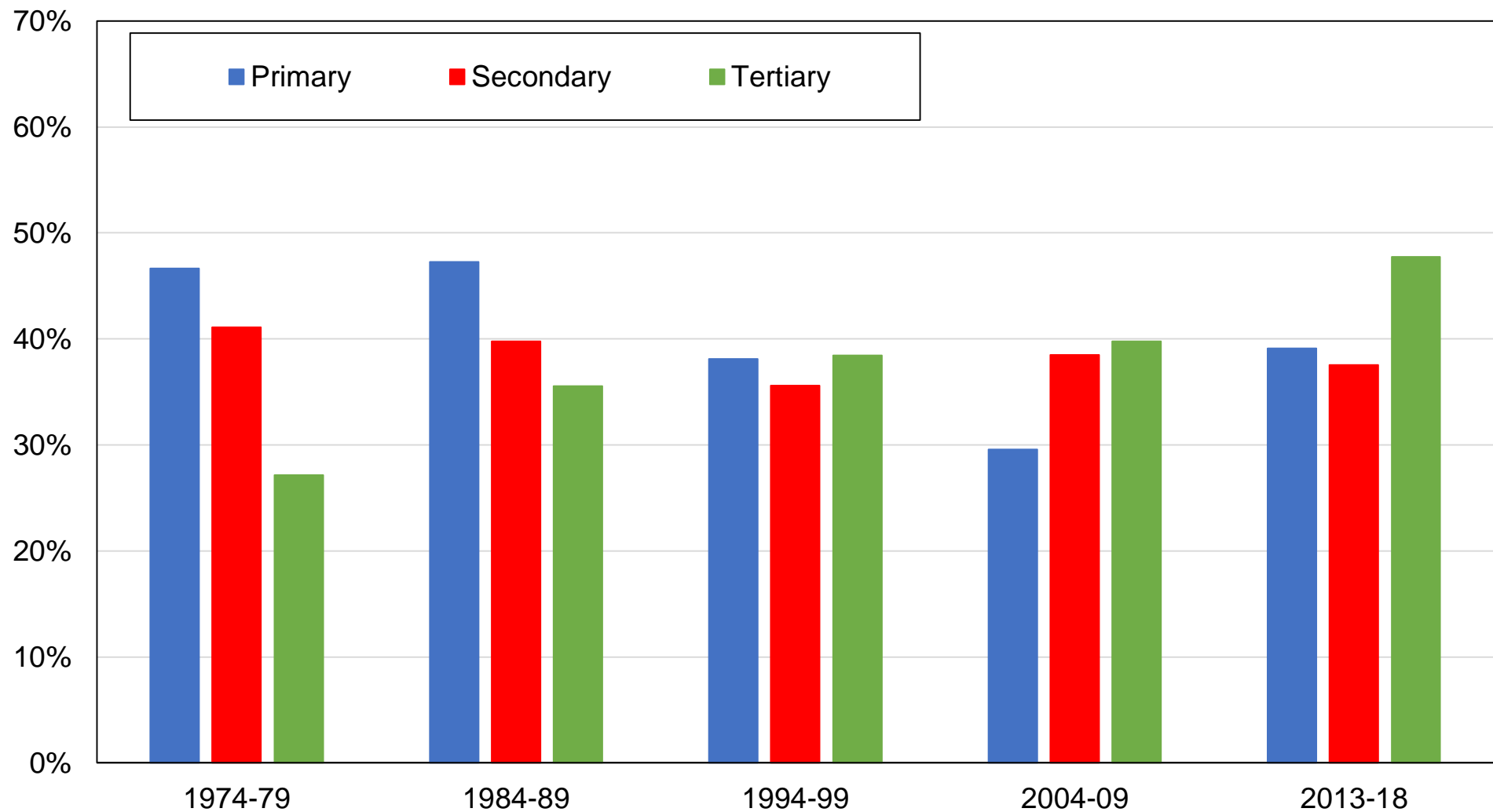


**Source:** authors' computations using Luxembourg political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the composition of income quintiles by education level in the 2010s.



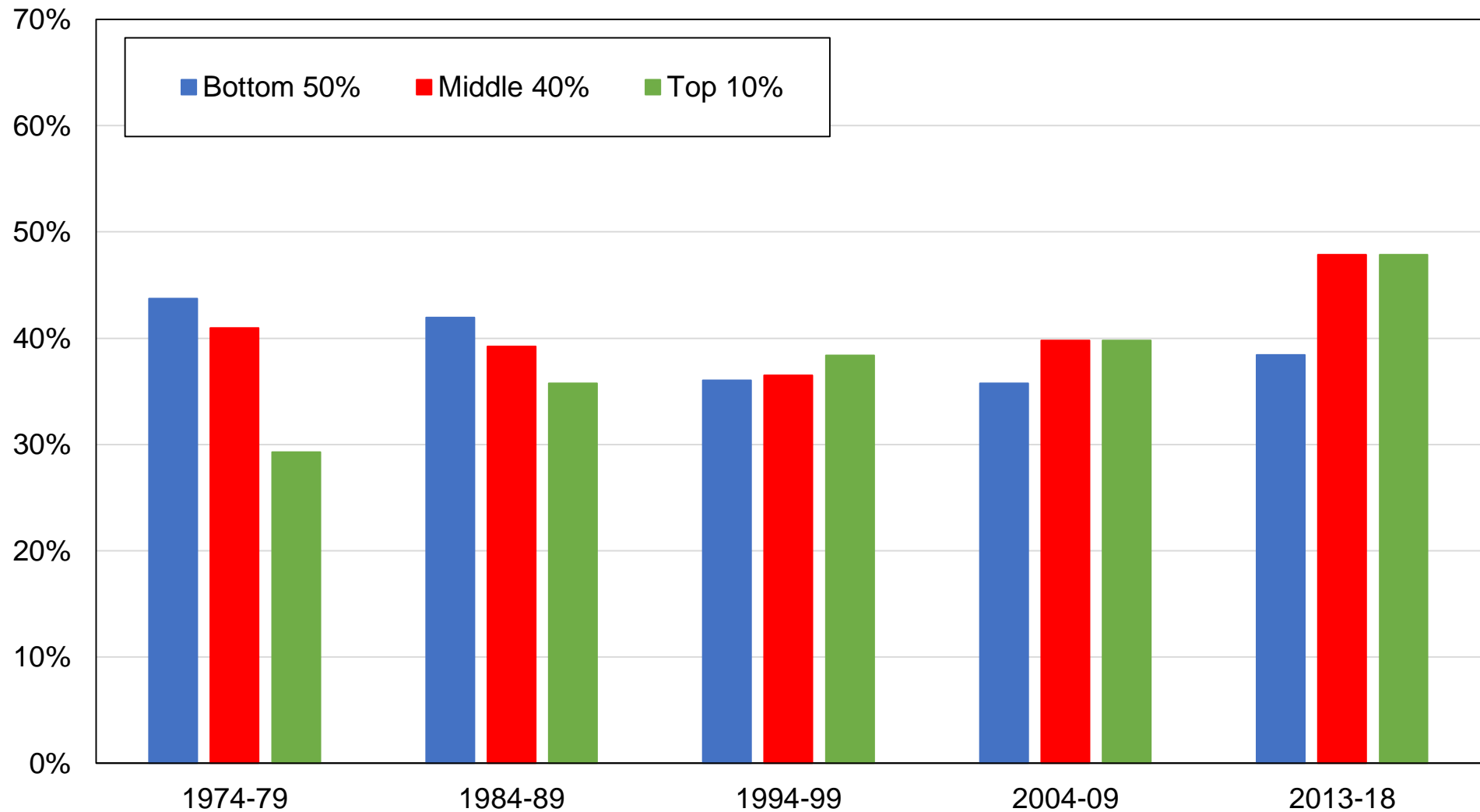
**Figure B1 - Vote for LSAP / Greens / Other left by education level**



**Source:** authors' computations using Luxembourg political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by LSAP / Greens / Other left by education level.

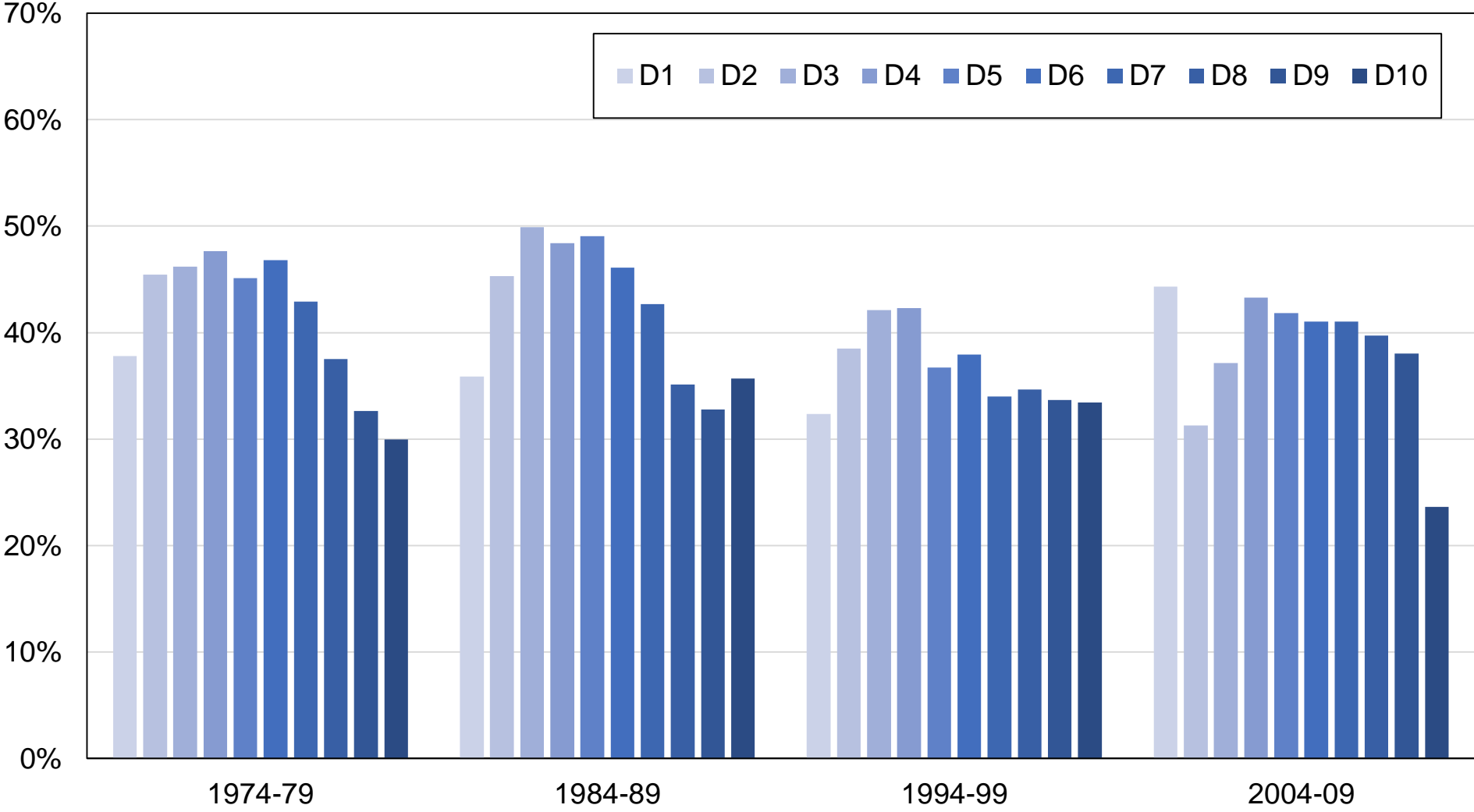
**Figure B2 - Vote for LSAP / Greens / Other left by education group**



**Source:** authors' computations using Luxembourg political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by LSAP / Greens / Other left by education group.

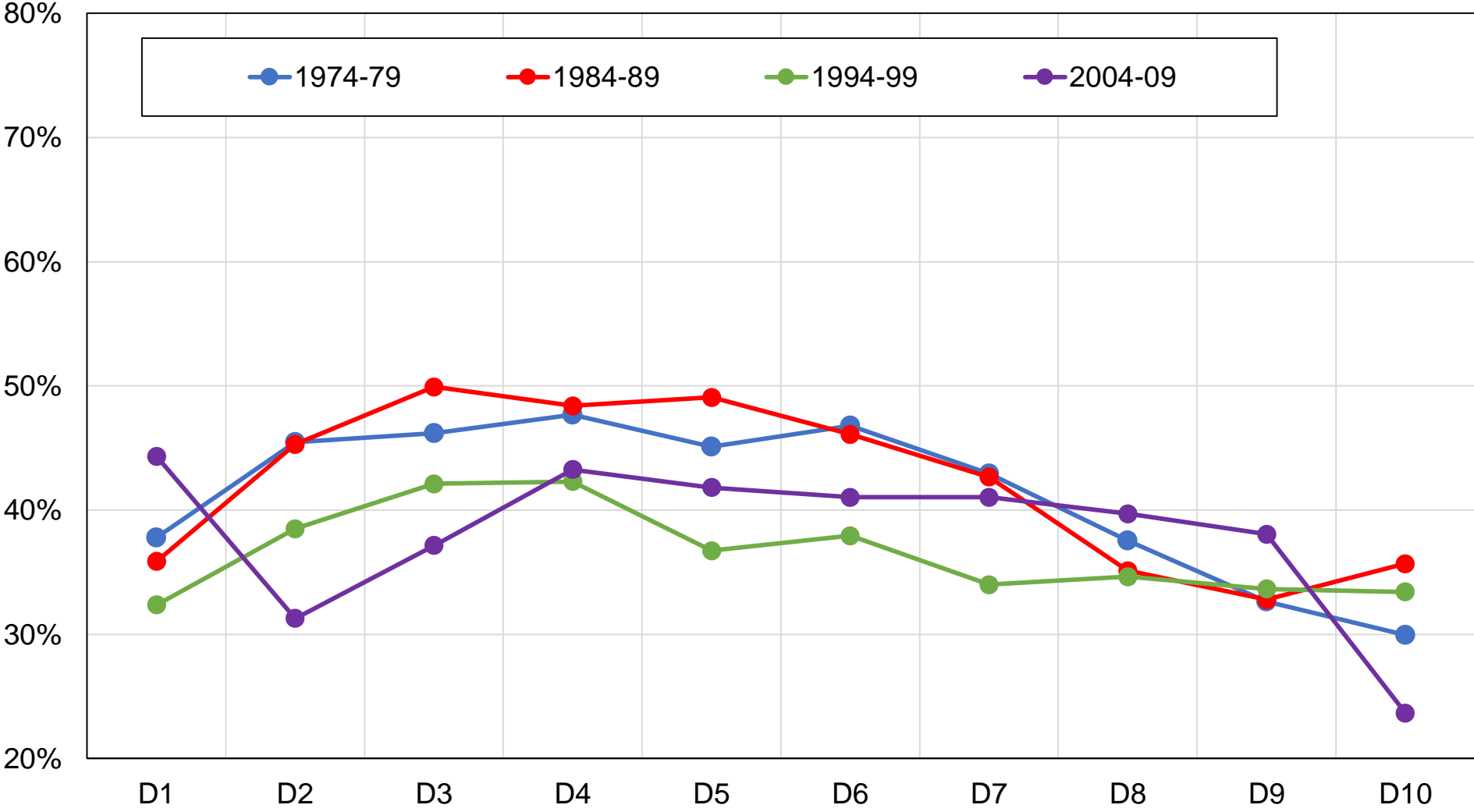
**Figure B3 - Vote for LSAP / Greens / Other left by income decile**



**Source:** authors' computations using Luxembourg political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by LSAP / Greens / Other left by income decile.

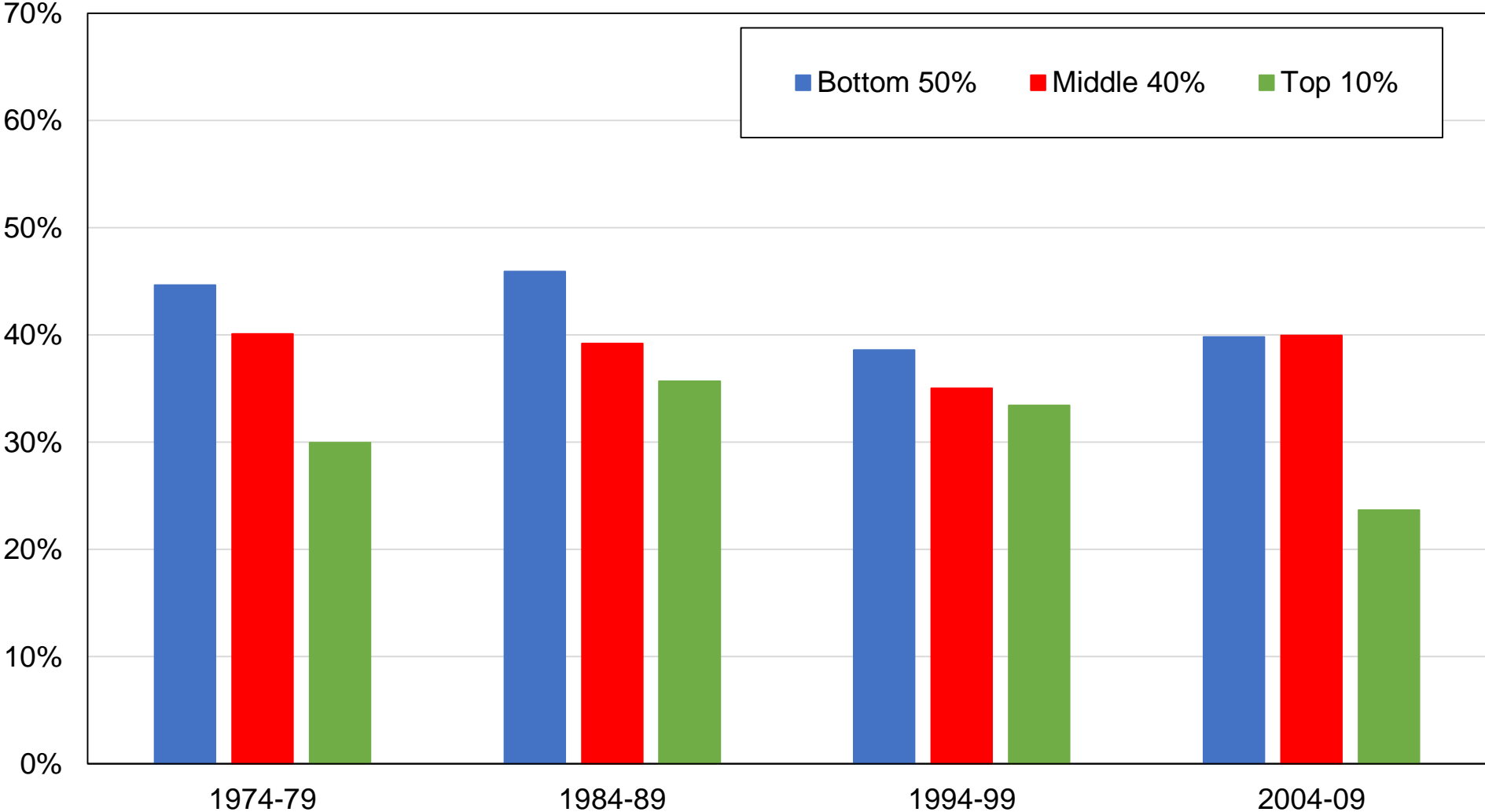
**Figure B4 - Vote for LSAP / Greens / Other left by income decile**



**Source:** authors' computations using Luxembourg political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by LSAP / Greens / Other left parties by income decile.

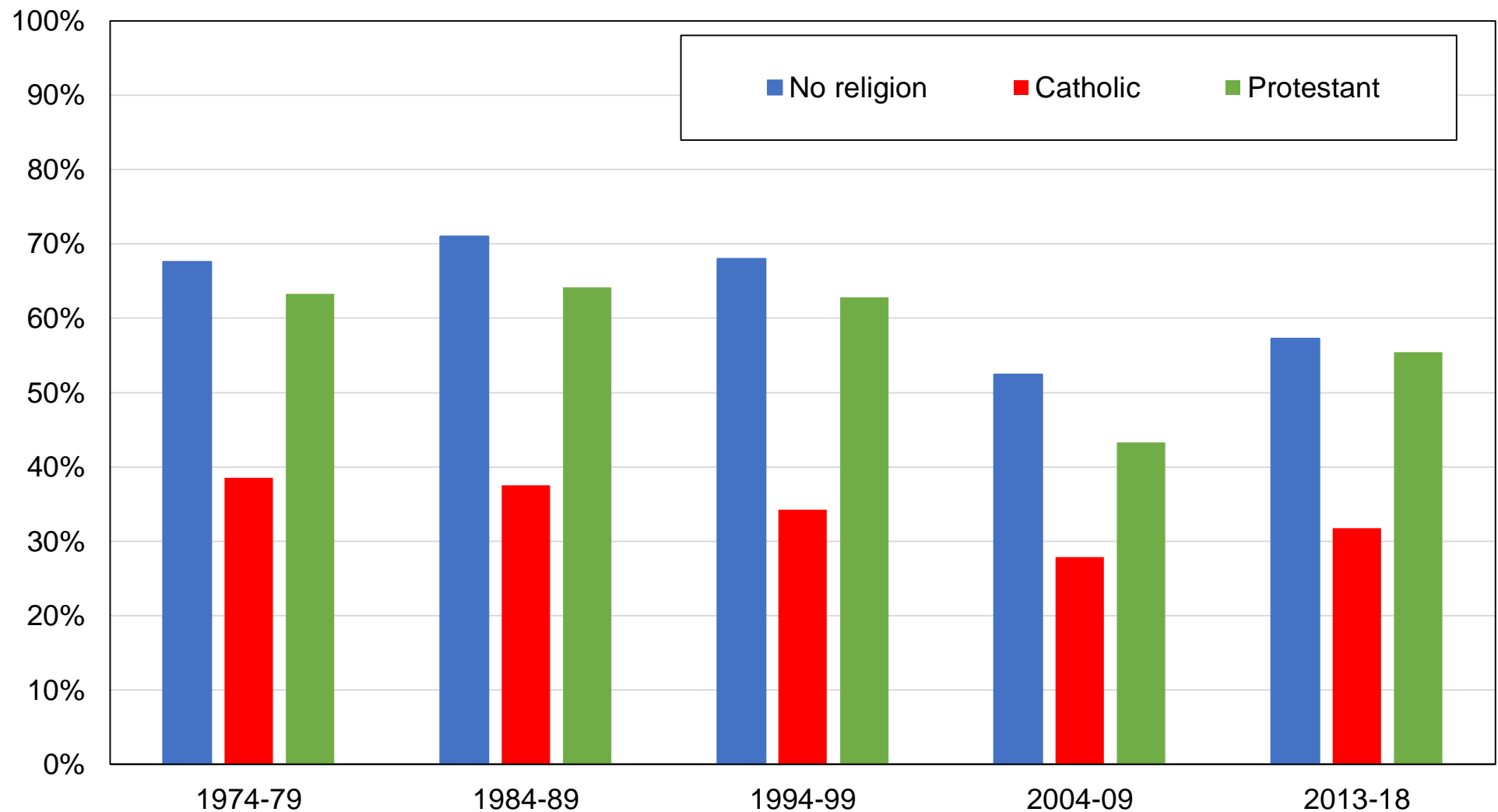
**Figure B5 - Vote for LSAP / Greens / Other left by income group**



**Source:** authors' computations using Luxembourg political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by LSAP / Greens / Other left by income group.

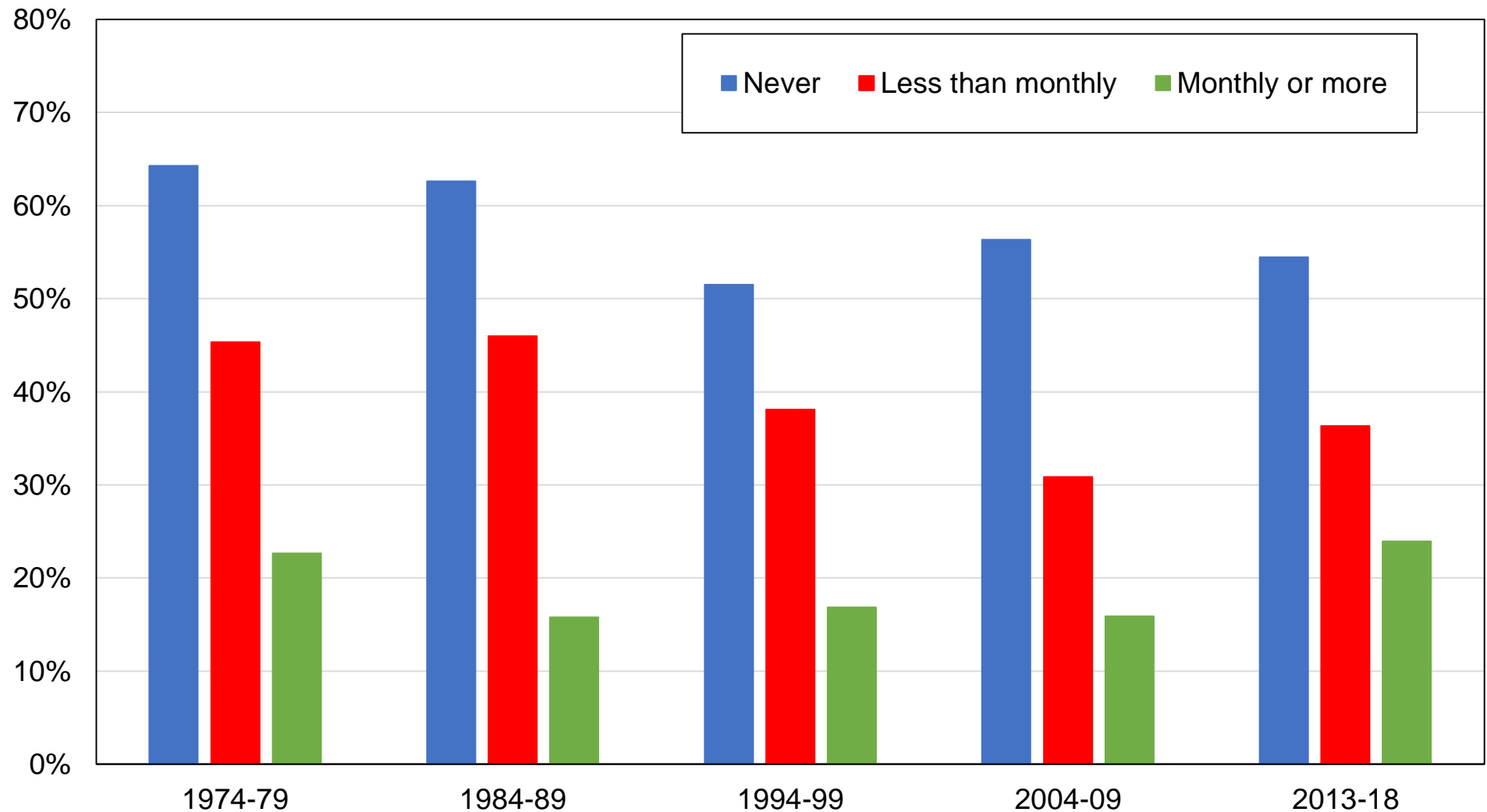
**Figure B6 - Vote for LSAP / Greens / Other left by religious affiliation**



**Source:** authors' computations using Luxembourg political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by LSAP / Greens / Other left by religious affiliation.

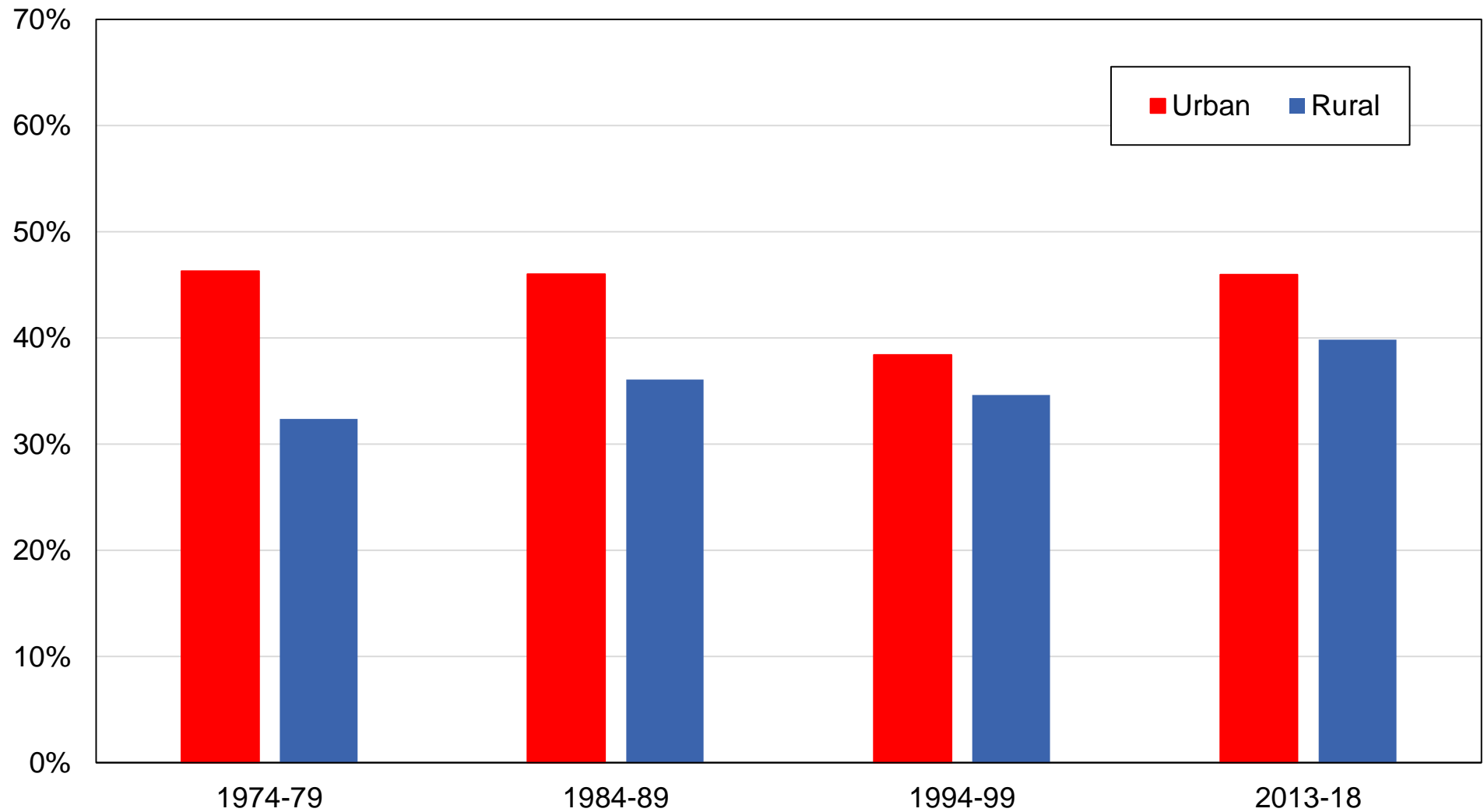
**Figure B7 - Vote for LSAP / Greens / Other left by church attendance**



**Source:** authors' computations using Luxembourg political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by LSAP / Greens / Other left by frequency of church attendance.

**Figure B8 - Vote for LSAP / Greens / Other left by location**

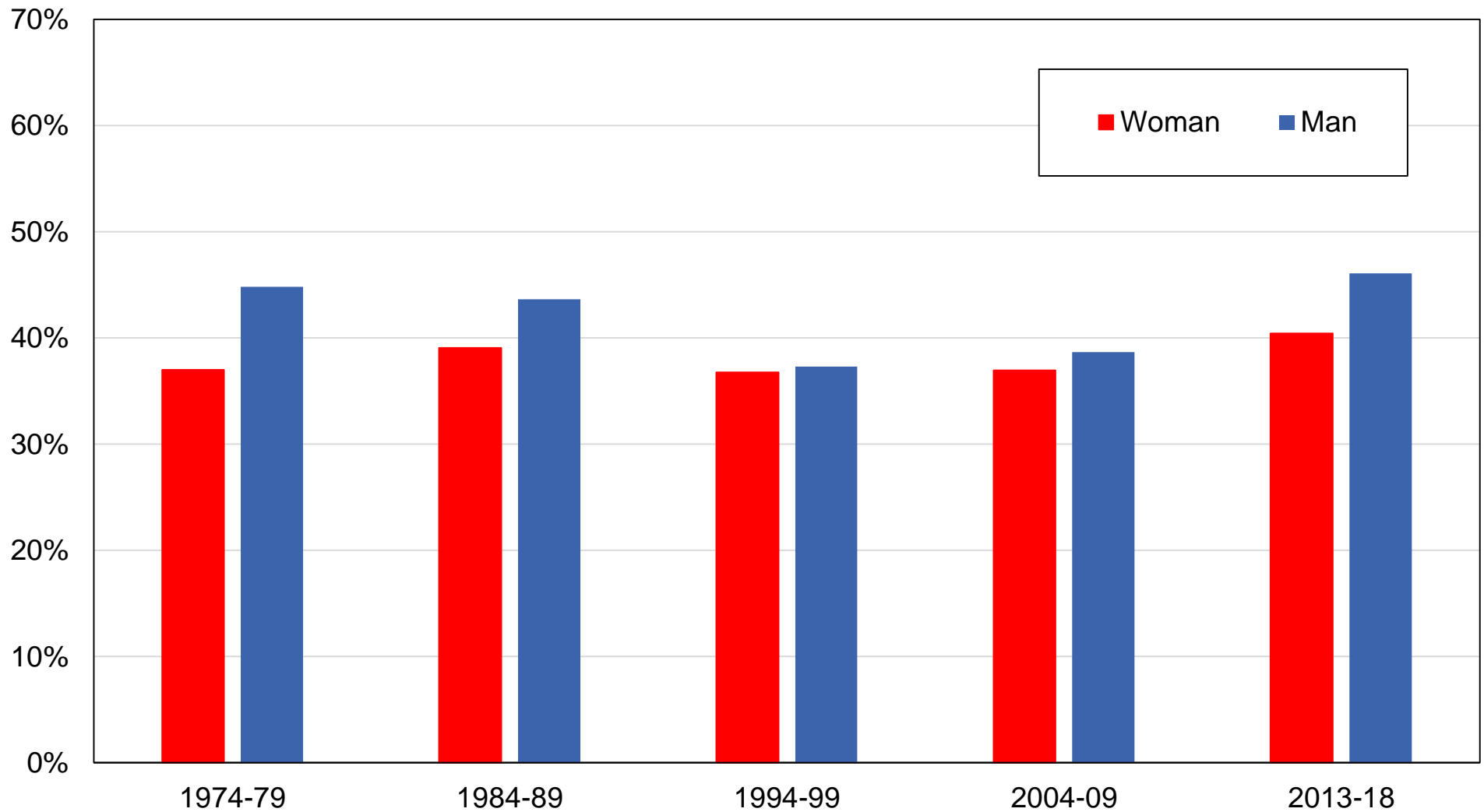


**Source:** authors' computations using Luxembourg political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by LSAP / Greens / Other left by rural-urban location.



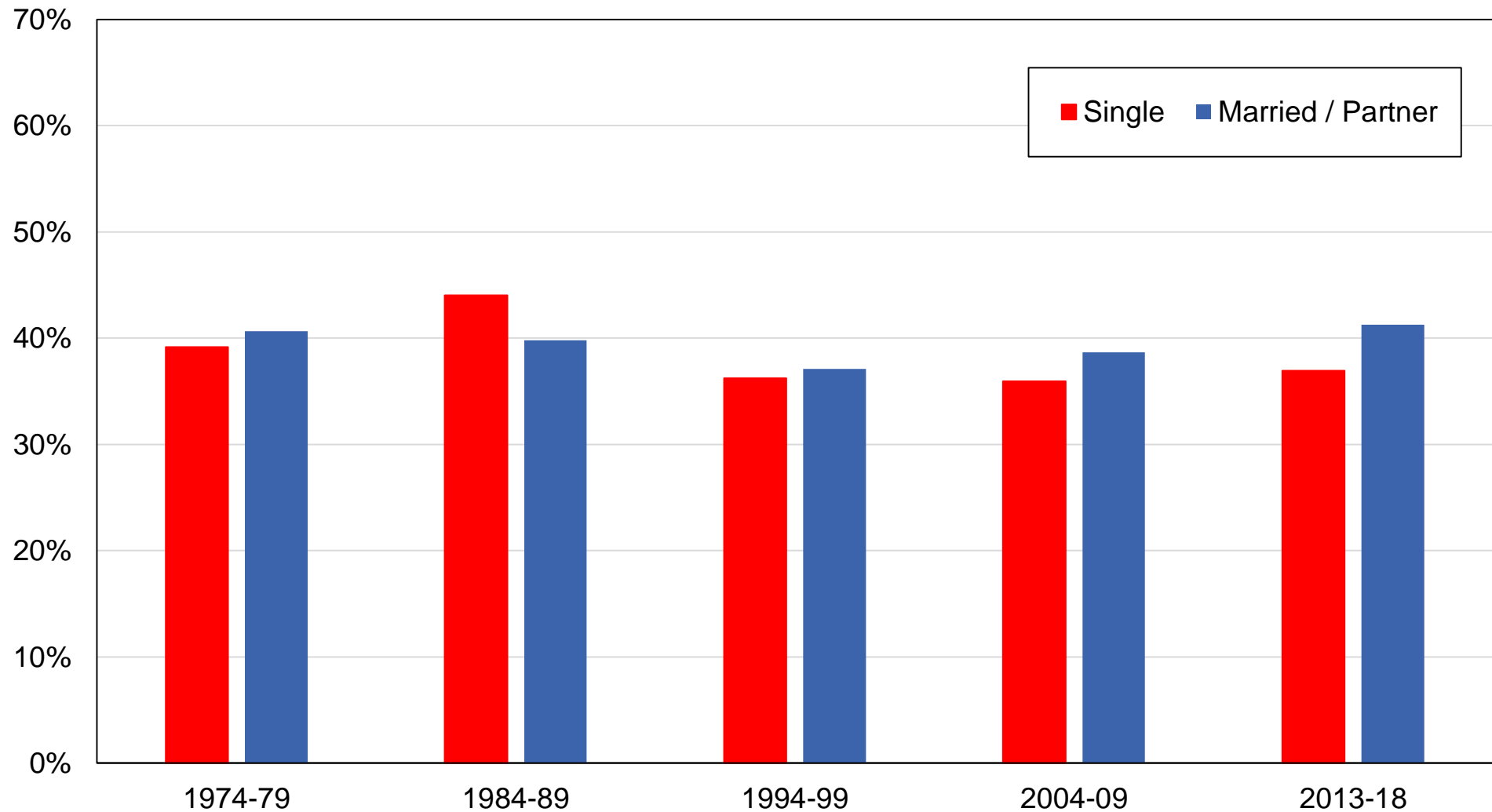
**Figure B9 - Vote for LSAP / Greens / Other left by gender**



**Source:** authors' computations using Luxembourg political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by LSAP / Greens / Other left by gender.

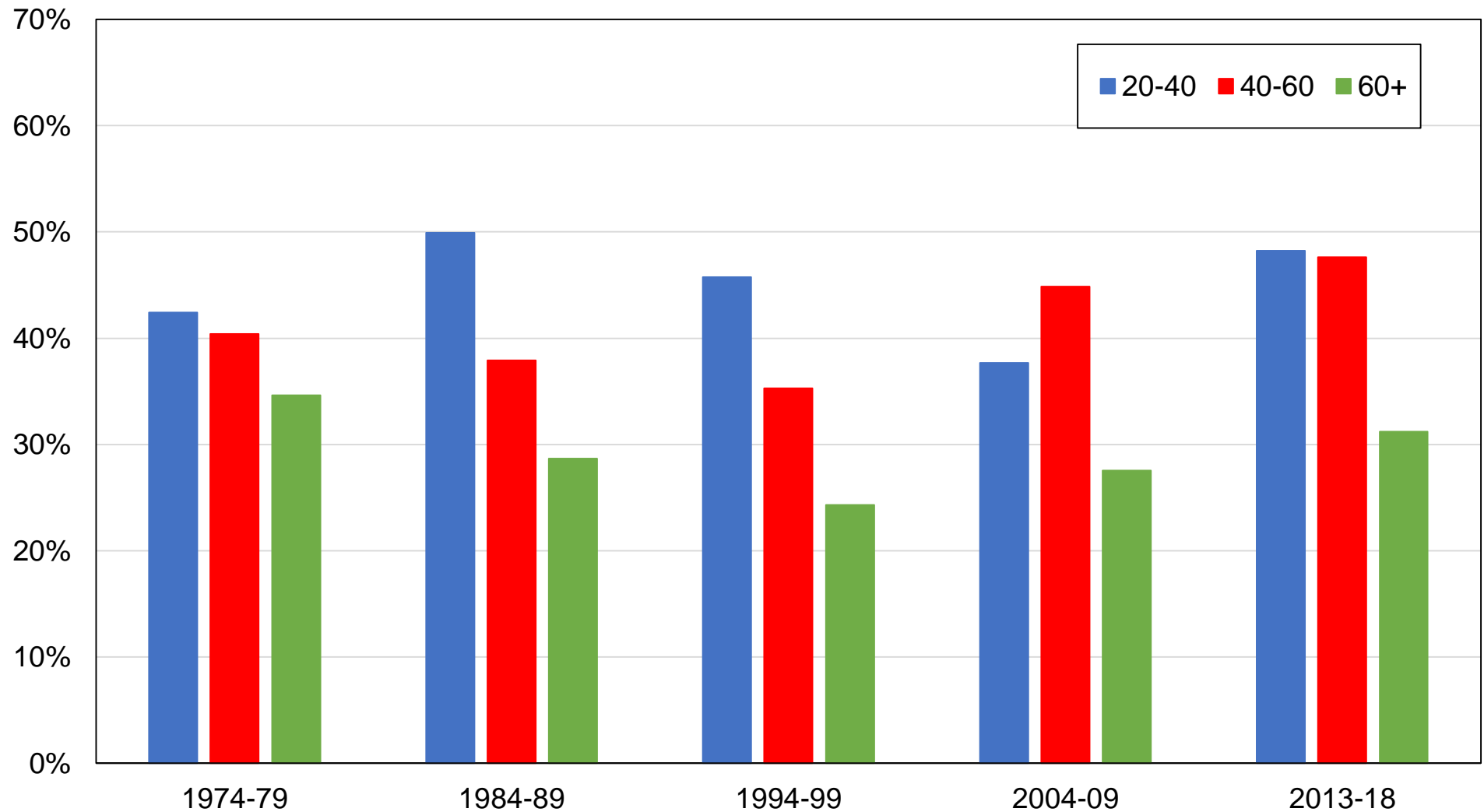
**Figure B10 - Vote for LSAP / Greens / Other left by marital status**



**Source:** authors' computations using Luxembourg political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by LSAP / Greens / Other left by marital status.

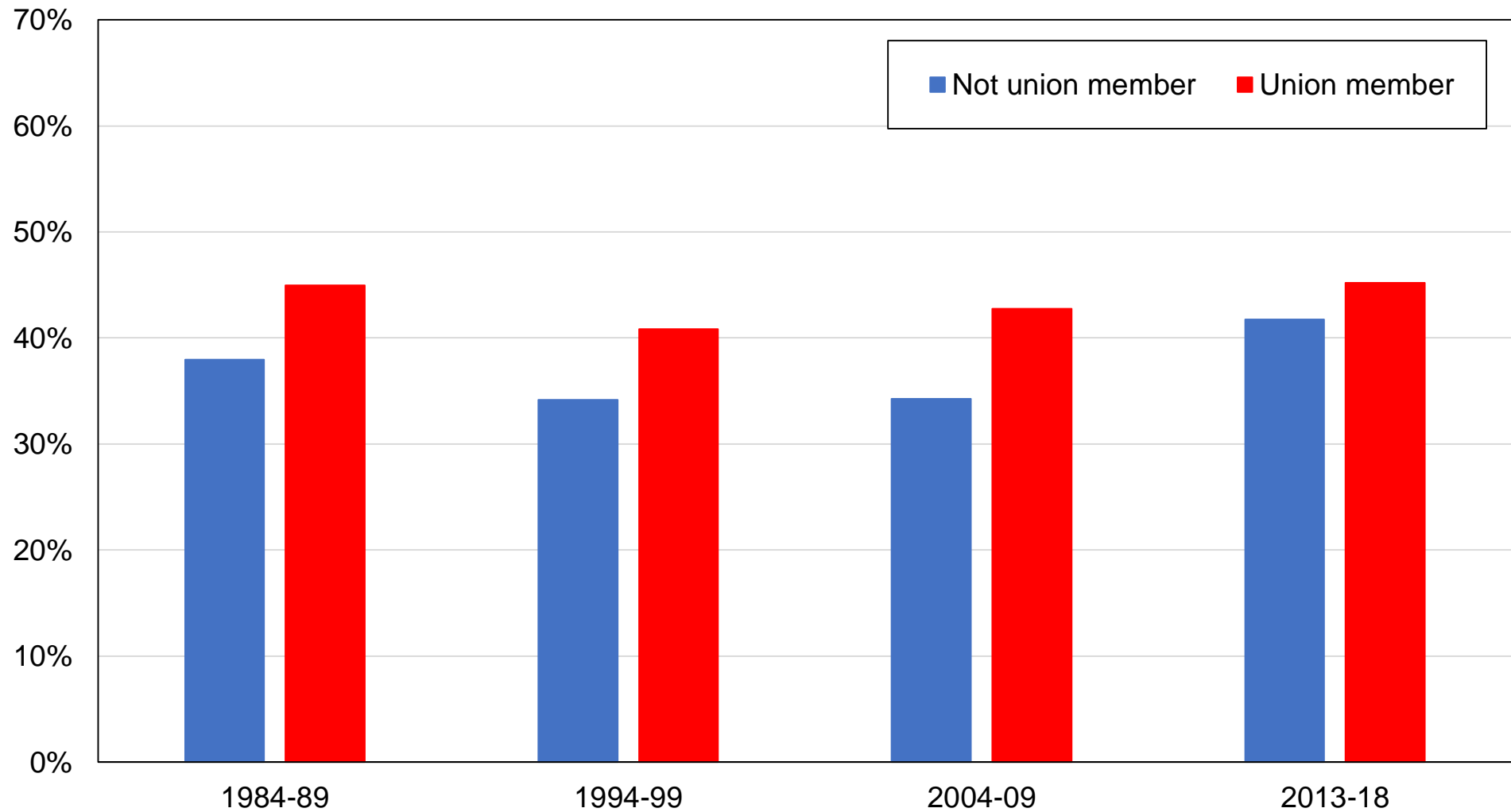
**Figure B11 - Vote for LSAP / Greens / Other left by age**



**Source:** authors' computations using Luxembourg political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by LSAP / Greens / Other left by age group.

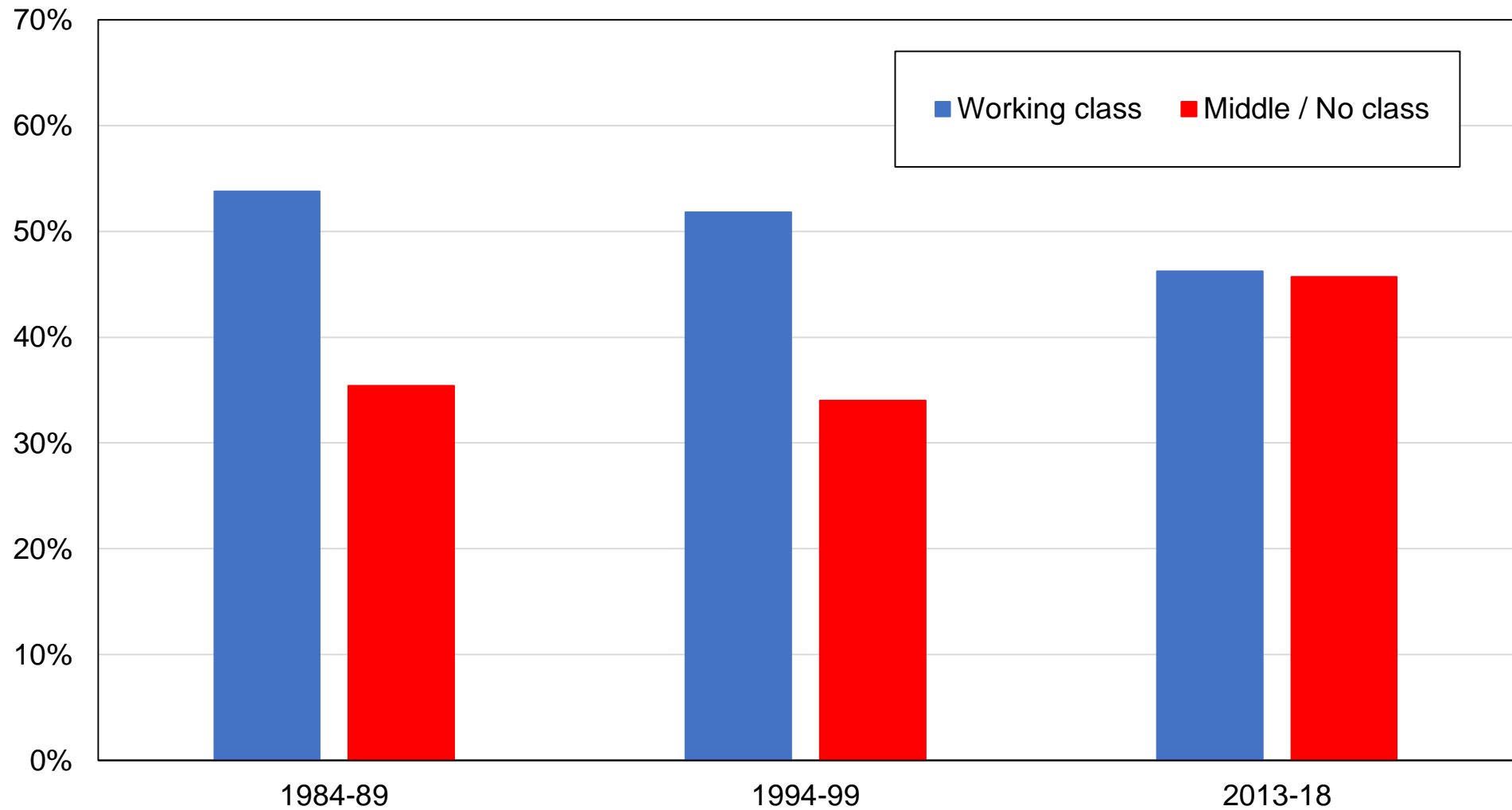
**Figure B12 - Vote for LSAP / Greens / Other left by union membership**



**Source:** authors' computations using Luxembourg political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by LSAP / Greens / Other left by union membership.

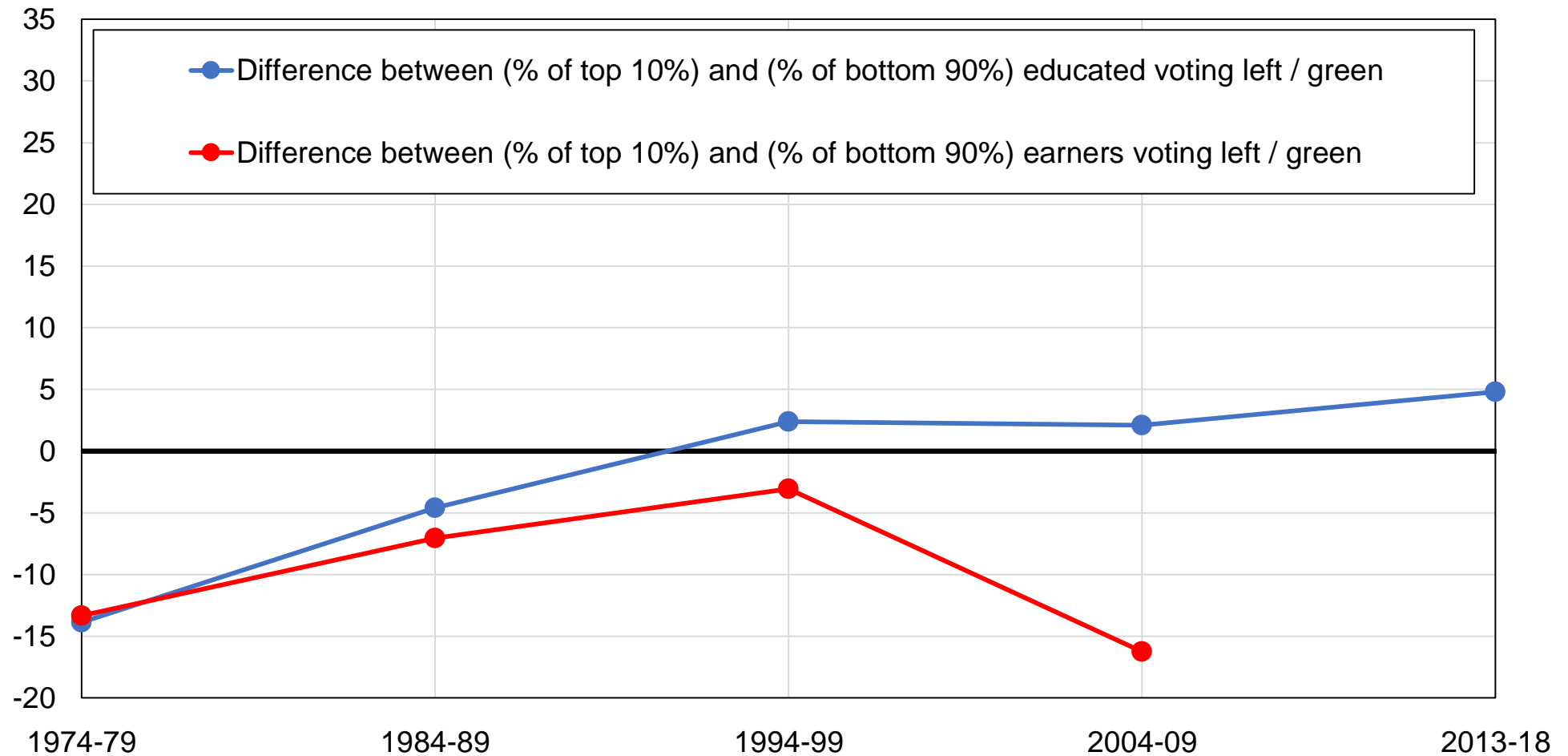
**Figure B13 - Vote for LSAP / Greens / Other left by subjective class**



**Source:** authors' computations using Luxembourg political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by LSAP / Greens / Other left by subjective social class.

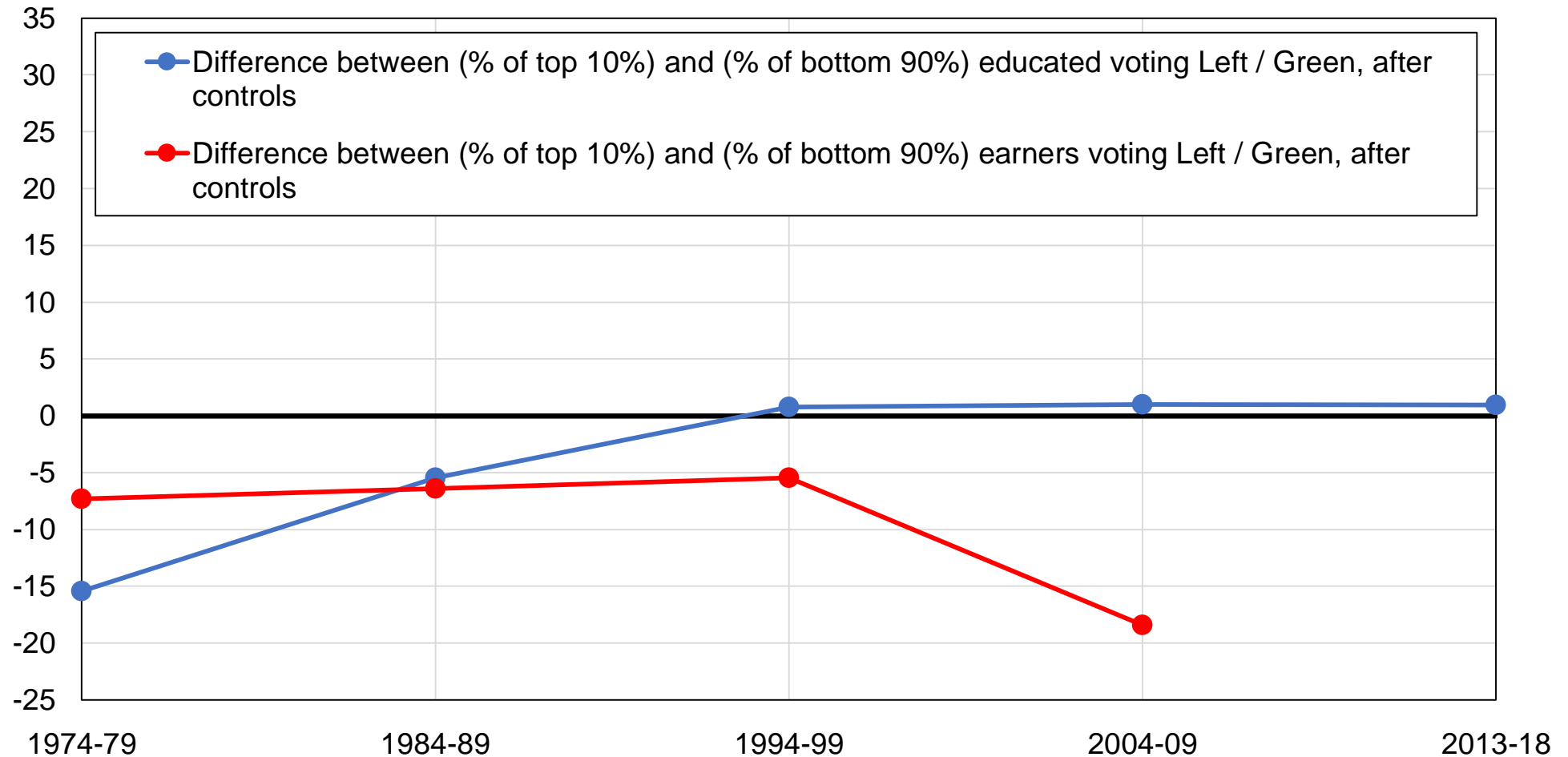
**Figure C1 - Vote for LSAP / Greens / Other left among highest-educated and top-income voters**



**Source:** authors' computations using Luxembourg political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the support for LSAP / Greens / Other left among highest-educated and top-income voters.

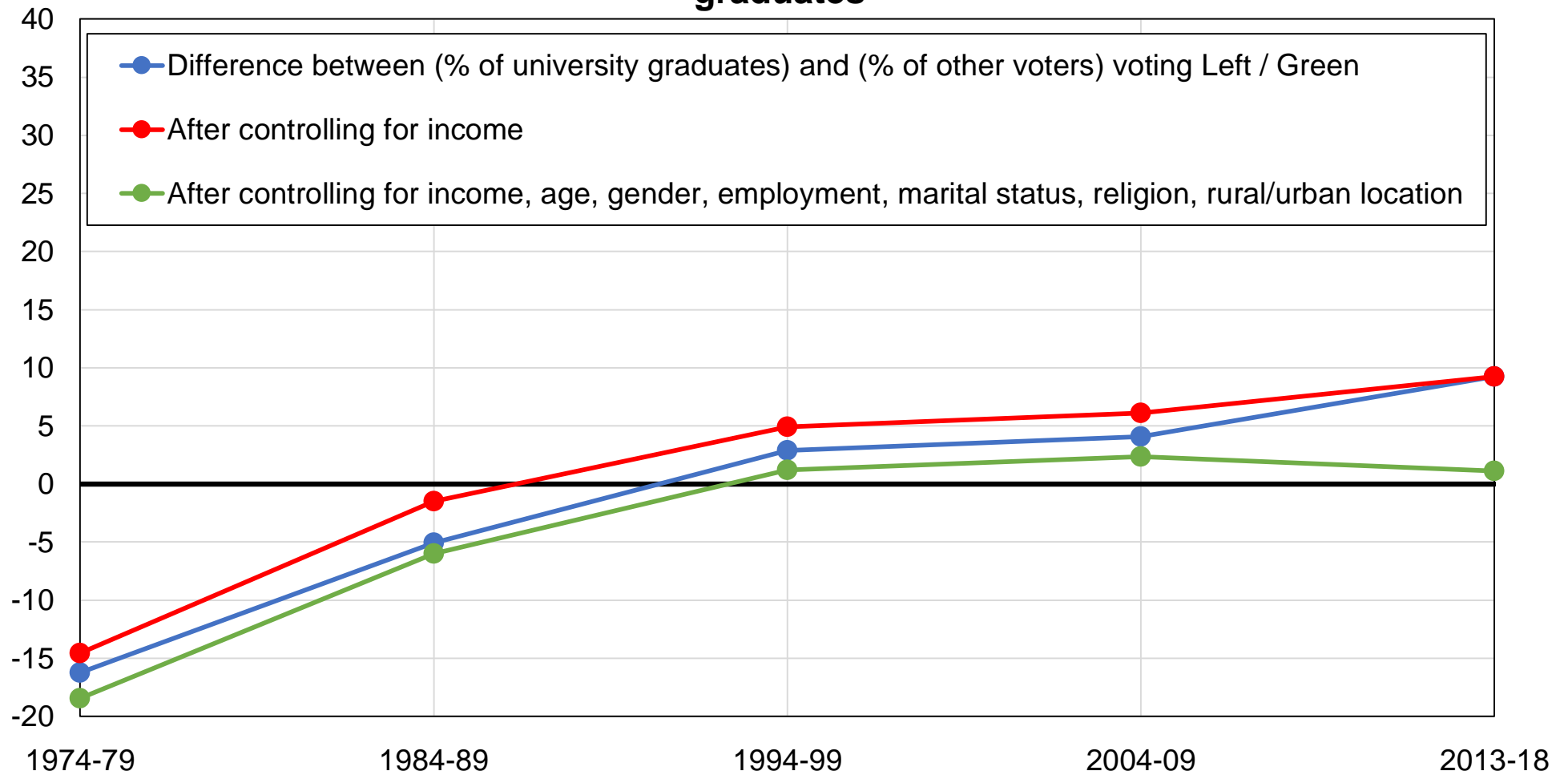
**Figure C2 - Vote for LSAP / Greens / Other left among highest-educated and top-income voters, after controls**



**Source:** authors' computations using Luxembourg political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the support for LSAP / Greens / Other left among highest-educated and top-income voters, after controlling for other variables.

**Figure C3 - Vote for LSAP / Greens / Other left among university graduates**

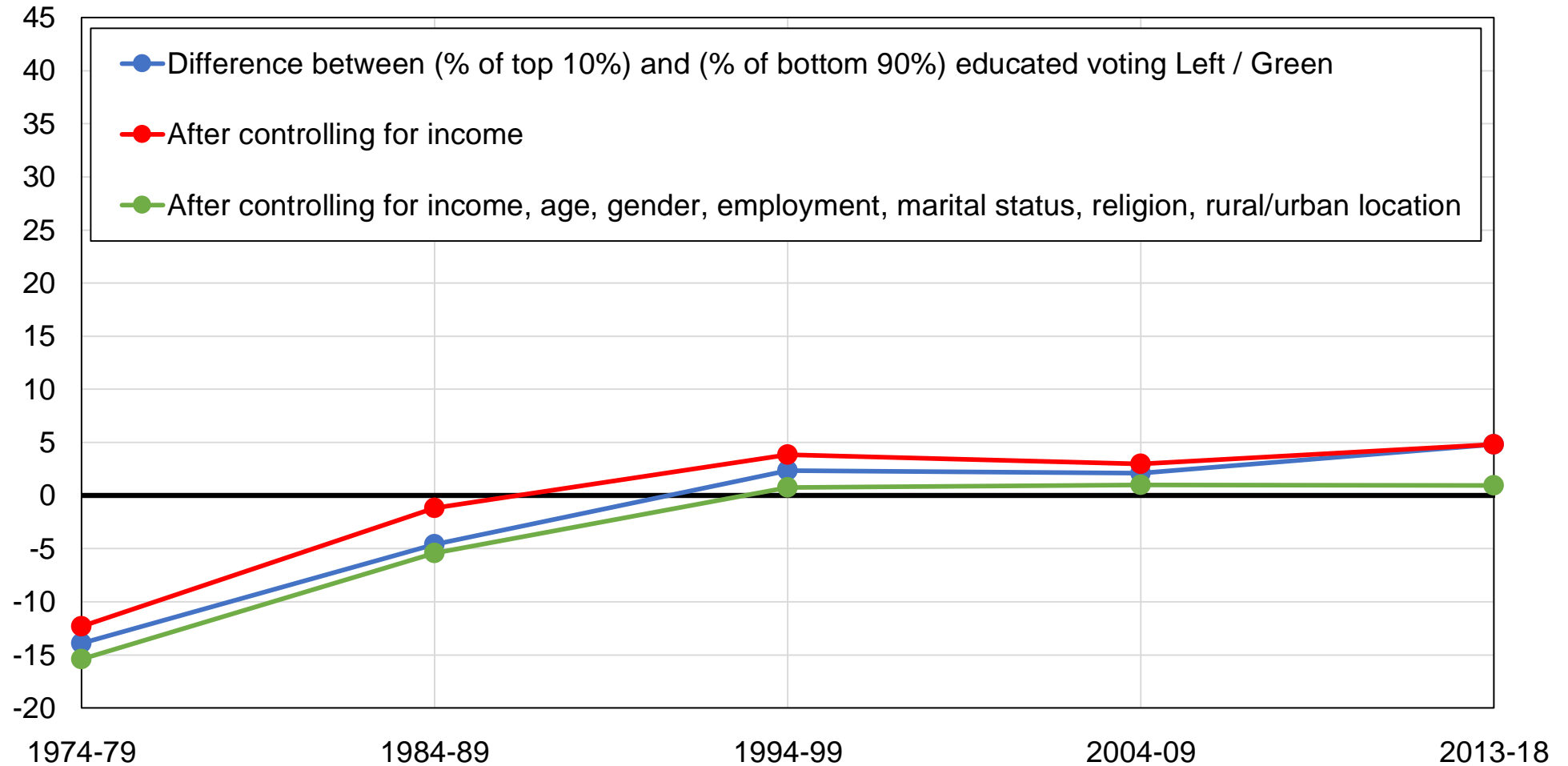


**Source:** authors' computations using Luxembourg political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of university graduates and the share of other voters voting for LSAP / Greens / Other left, before and after controlling for other variables.



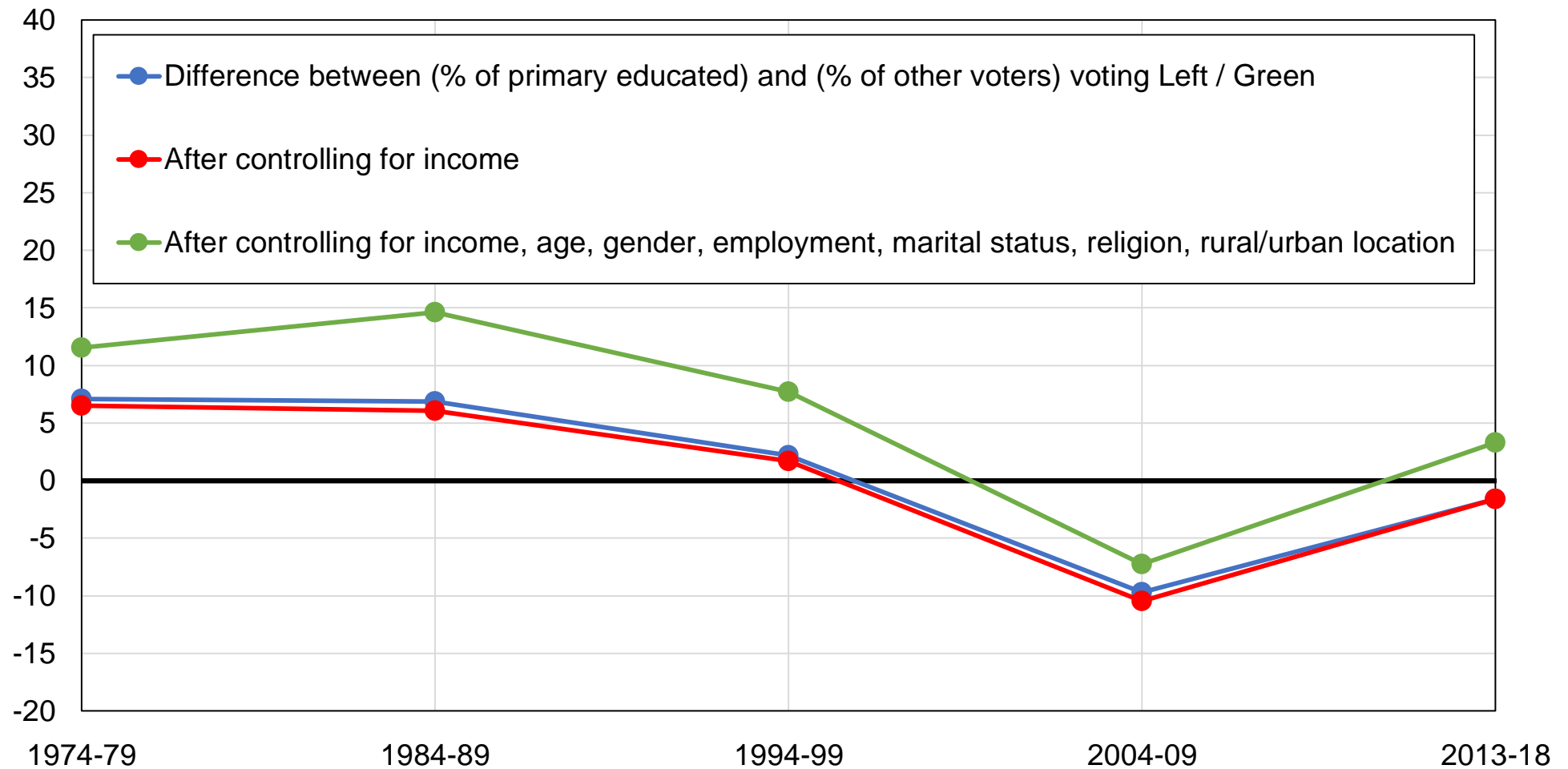
**Figure C4 - Vote for LSAP / Greens / Other left among highest-educated voters**



**Source:** authors' computations using Luxembourg political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% educated voters and the share of other voters voting for LSAP / Greens / Other left, before and after controlling for other variables.

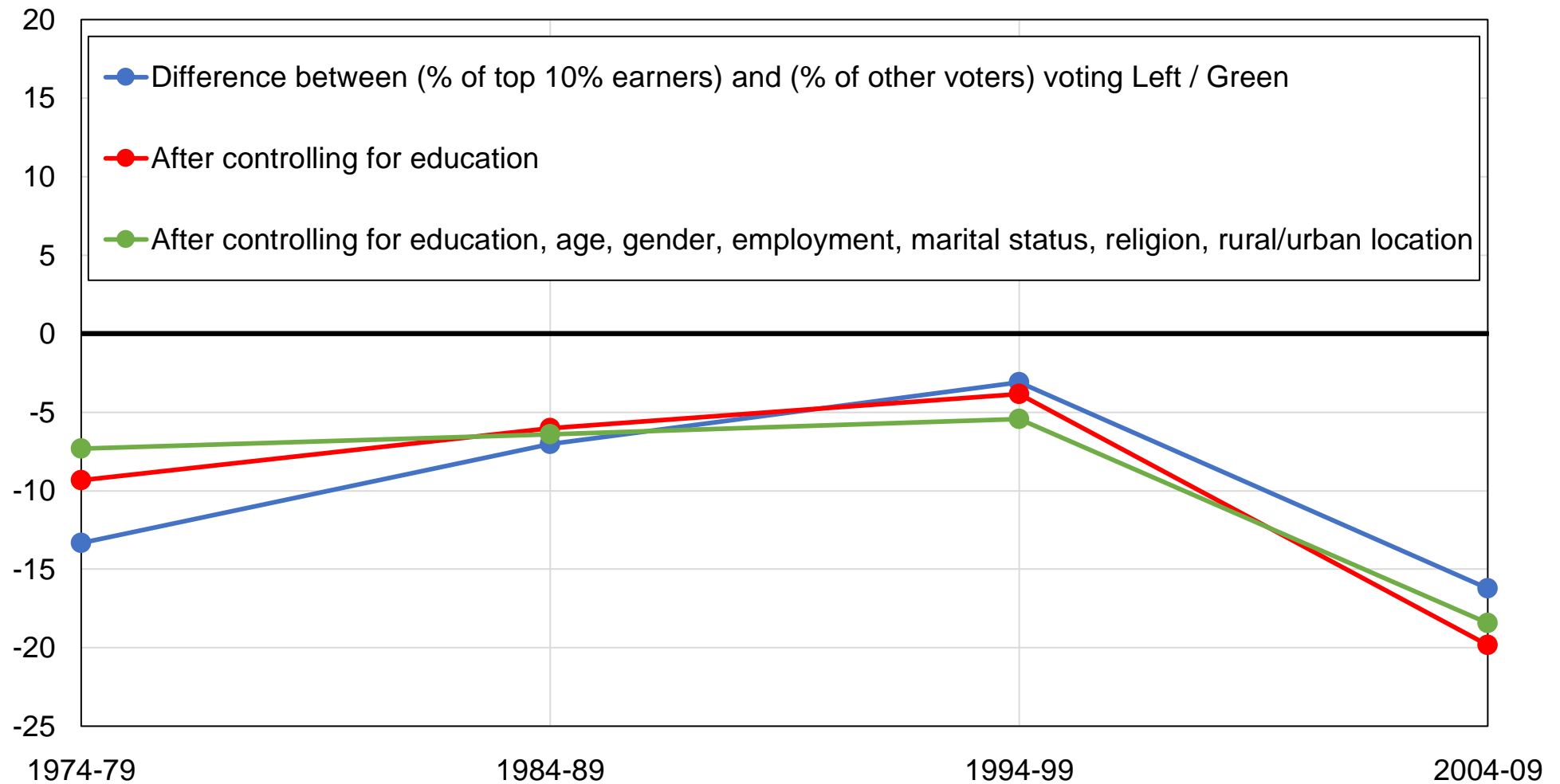
**Figure C5 - Vote for LSAP / Greens / Other left among primary-educated voters**



**Source:** authors' computations using Luxembourg political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of primary-educated voters and the share of other voters voting for LSAP / Greens / Other left, before and after controlling for other variables.

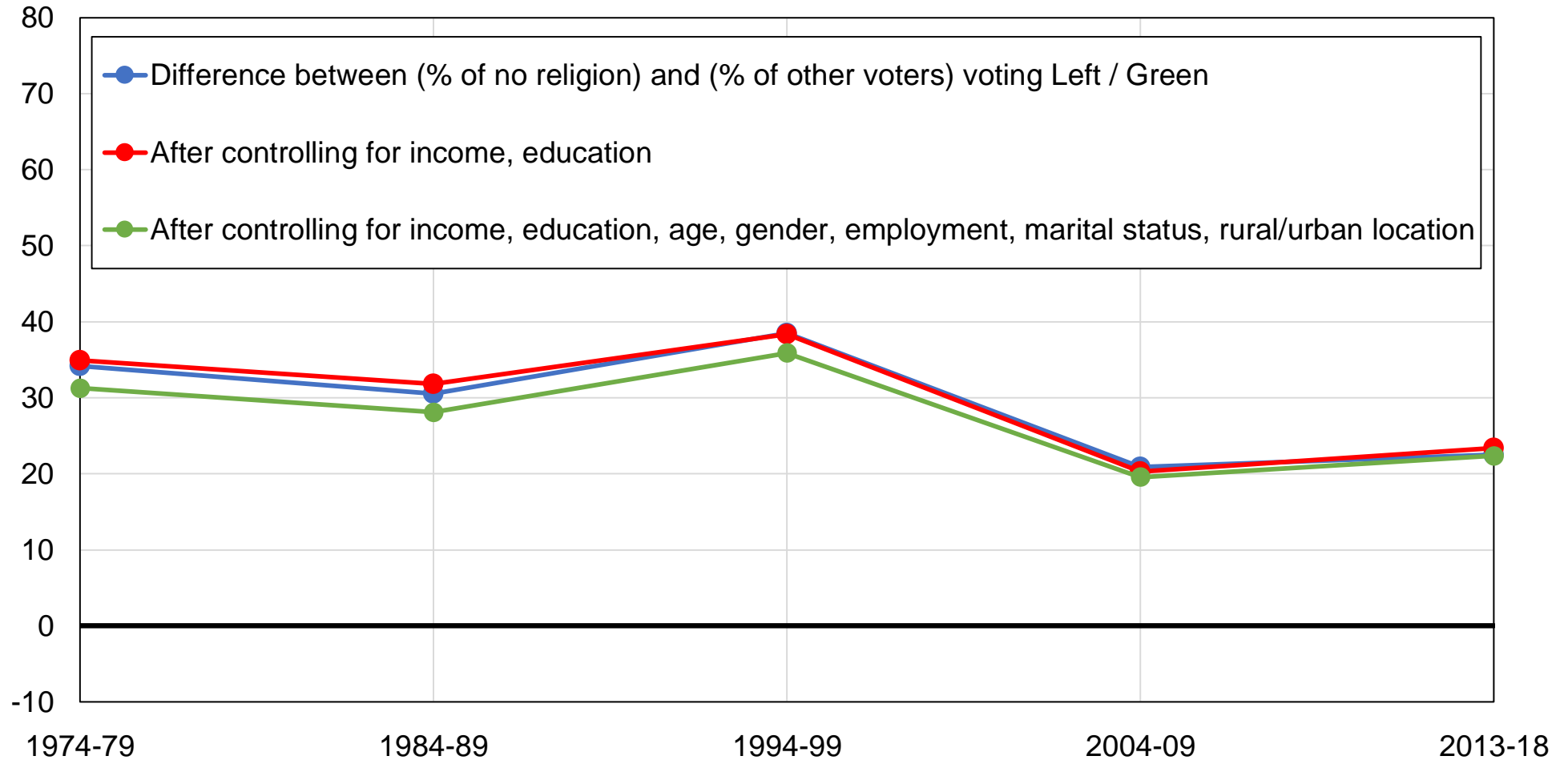
**Figure C6 - Vote for LSAP / Greens / Other left among top-income voters**



**Source:** authors' computations using Luxembourg political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% earners and the share of other voters voting for LSAP / Greens / Other left, before and after controlling for other variables.

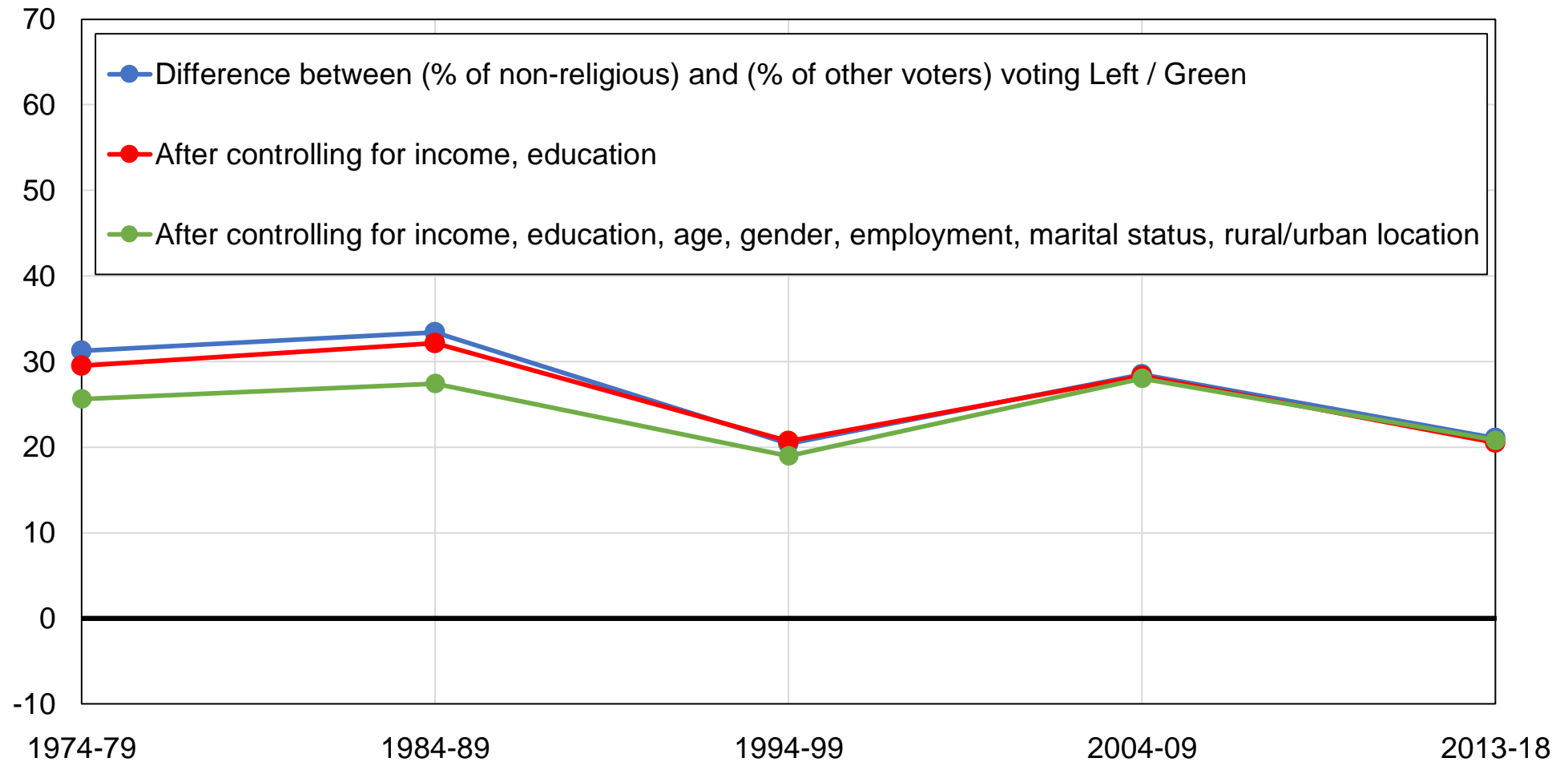
**Figure B7 - Vote for LSAP / Greens / Other left among voters with no religion**



**Source:** authors' computations using Luxembourg political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of voters declaring no religion and the share of other voters voting for LSAP / Greens / Other left, before and after controlling for other variables.

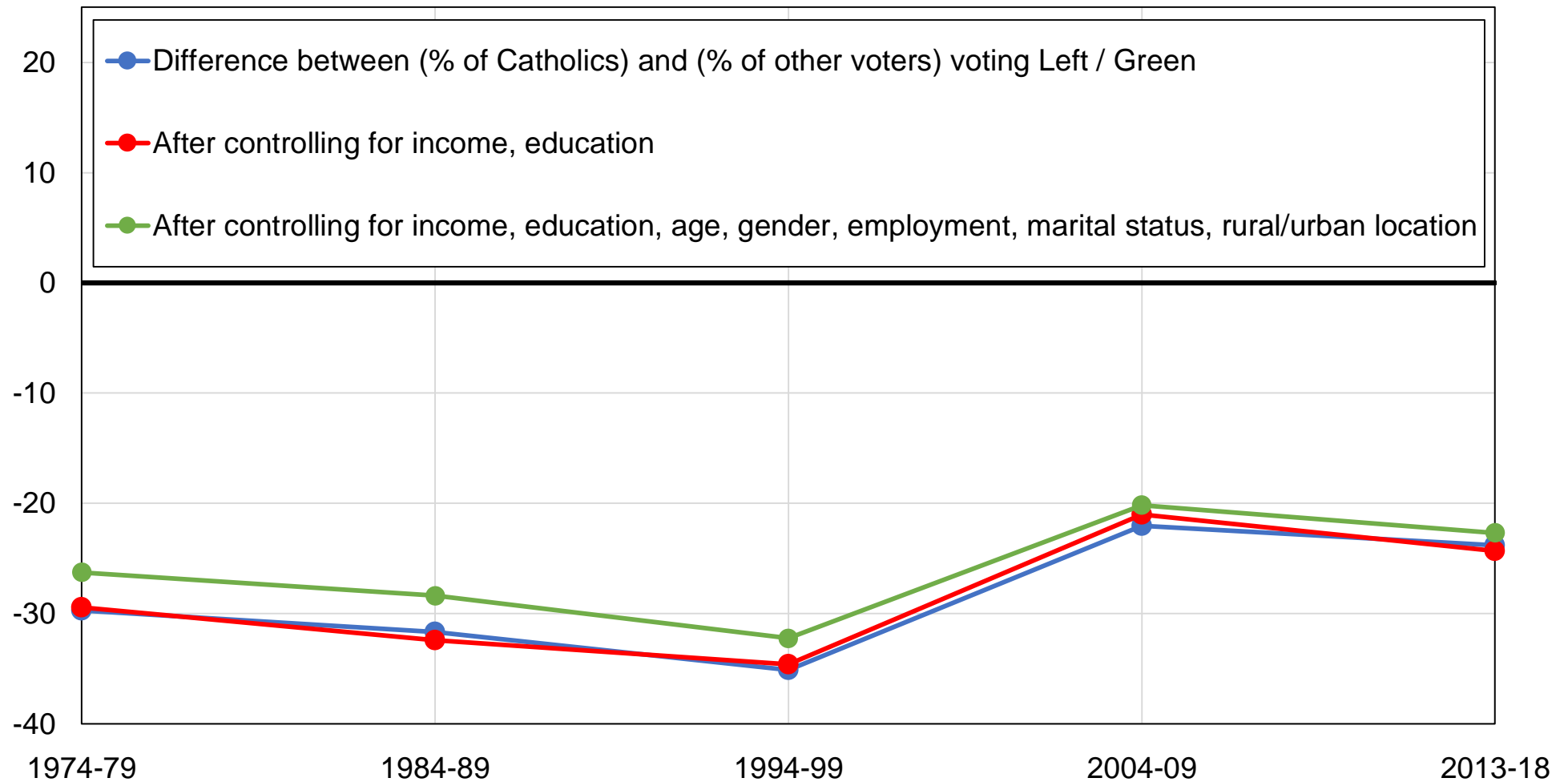
**Figure C9 - Vote for LSAP / Greens / Other left among non-religious voters**



**Source:** authors' computations using Luxembourg political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of voters never going to church and the share of other voters voting for LSAP / Greens / Other left, before and after controlling for other variables.

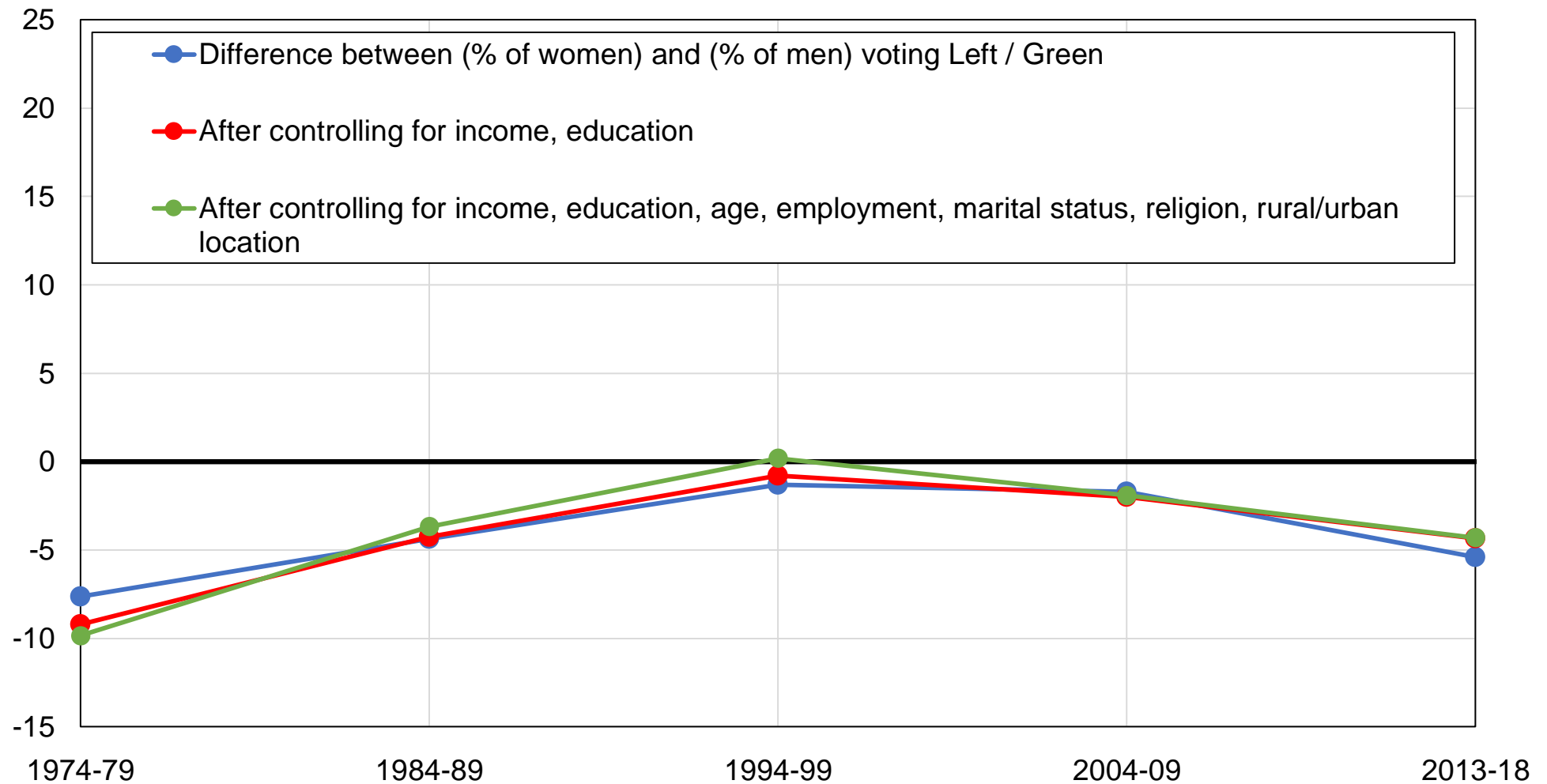
**Figure C8 - Vote for LSAP / Greens / Other left among catholics**



**Source:** authors' computations using Luxembourg political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of Catholic voters and the share of other voters voting for LSAP / Greens / Other left, before and after controlling for other variables.

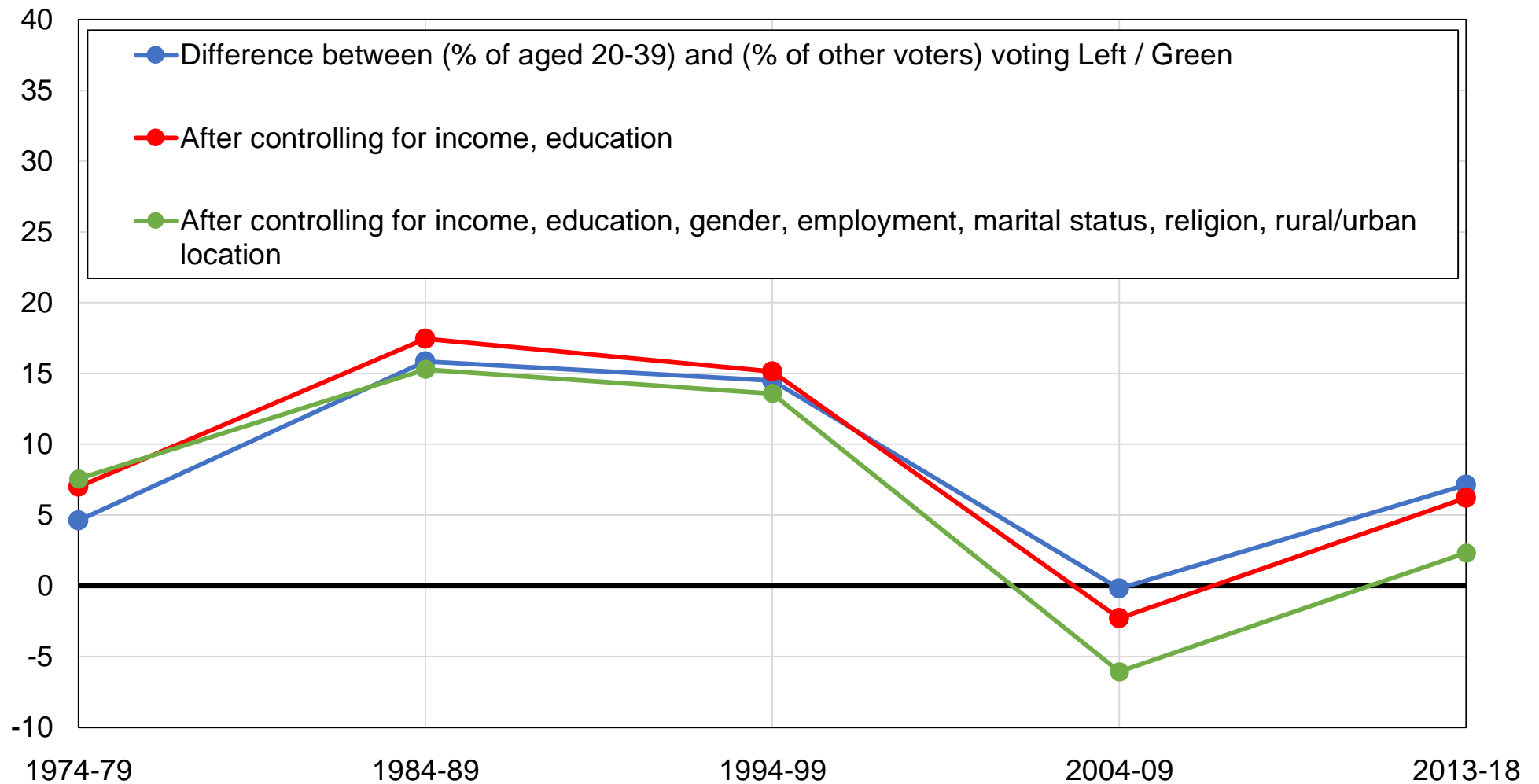
**Figure C10 - Vote for LSAP / Greens / Other left among women**



**Source:** authors' computations using Luxembourg political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of women and the share of men voting LSAP / Greens / Other left, before and after controlling for other variables.

**Figure C11 - Vote for LSAP / Greens / Other left among young voters**

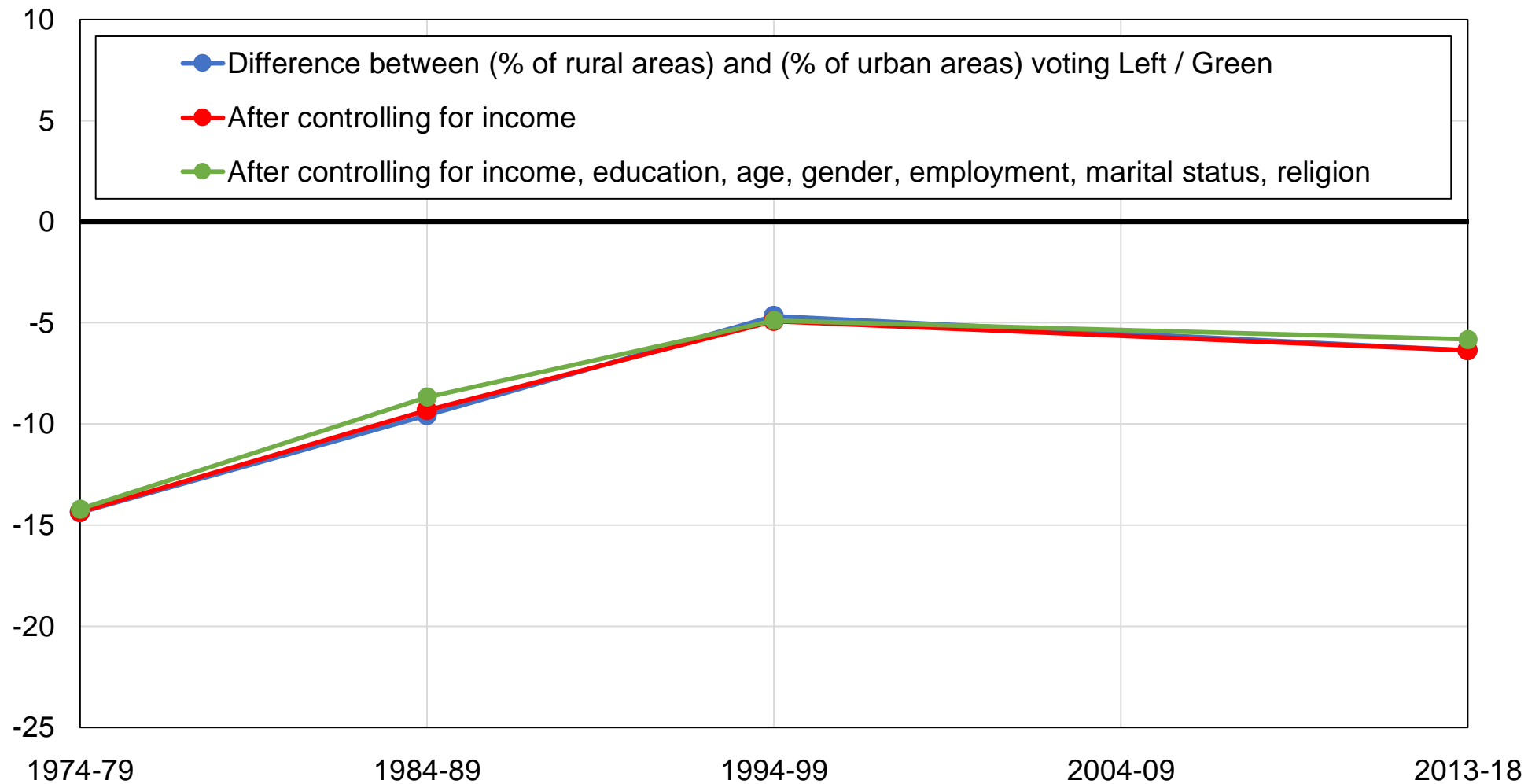


**Source:** authors' computations using Luxembourg political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of voters aged 20-39 and the share of voters older than 40 voting for LSAP / Greens / Other left, before and after controlling for other variables.



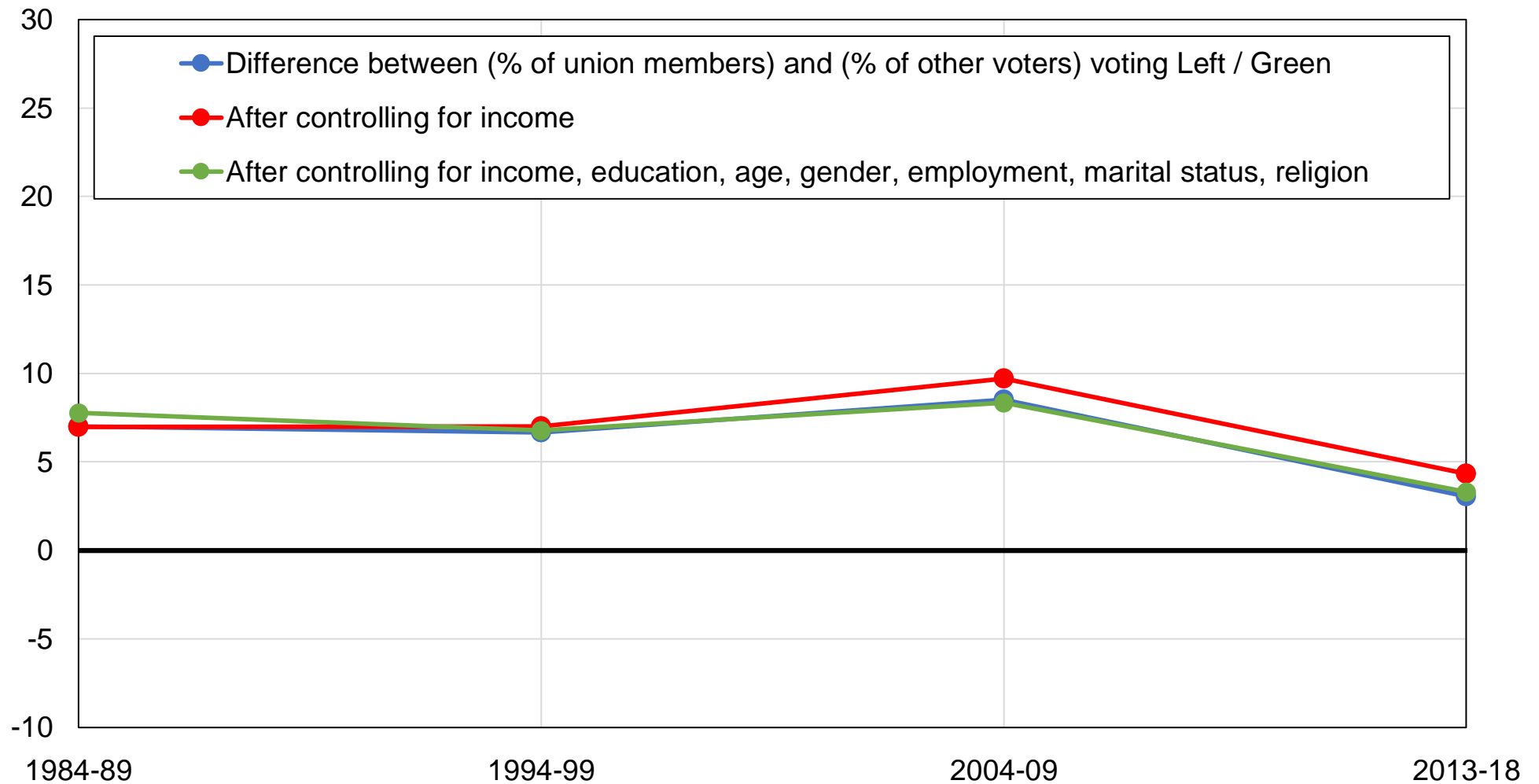
**Figure C12 - Vote for LSAP / Greens / Other left among rural areas**



**Source:** authors' computations using Luxembourg political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of rural areas and the share of urban areas voting for LSAP / Greens / Other left, before and after controlling for other variables.

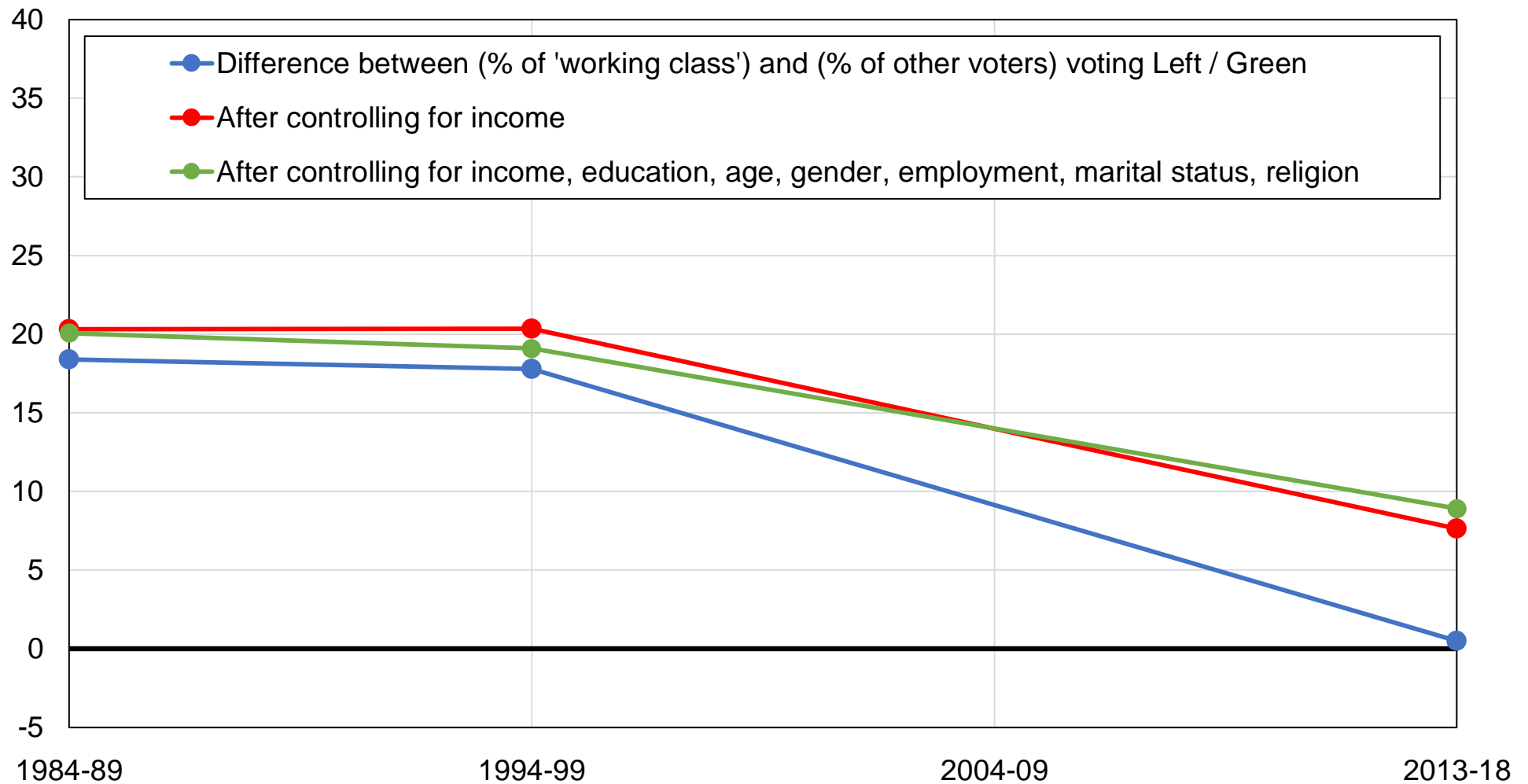
**Figure C13 - Vote for LSAP / Greens / Other left among union members**



**Source:** authors' computations using Luxembourg political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of union members and the share of other voters voting for LSAP / Greens / Other left, before and after controlling for other variables.

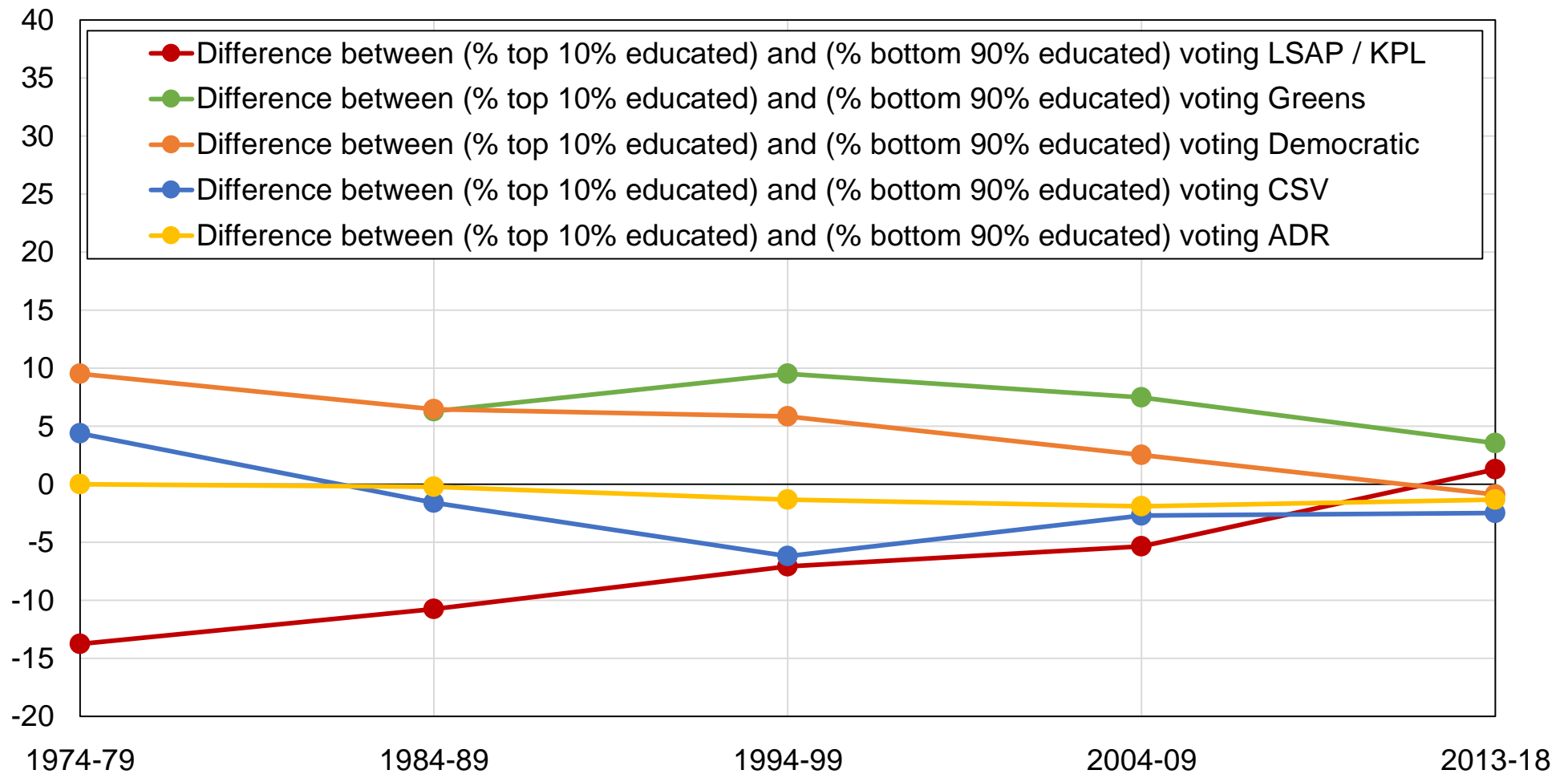
**Figure C14 - Vote for LSAP / Greens / Other left among the working class**



**Source:** authors' computations using Luxembourg political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of voters perceiving themselves as "working class" and other voters voting for LSAP / Greens / Other left, before and after controlling for other variables.

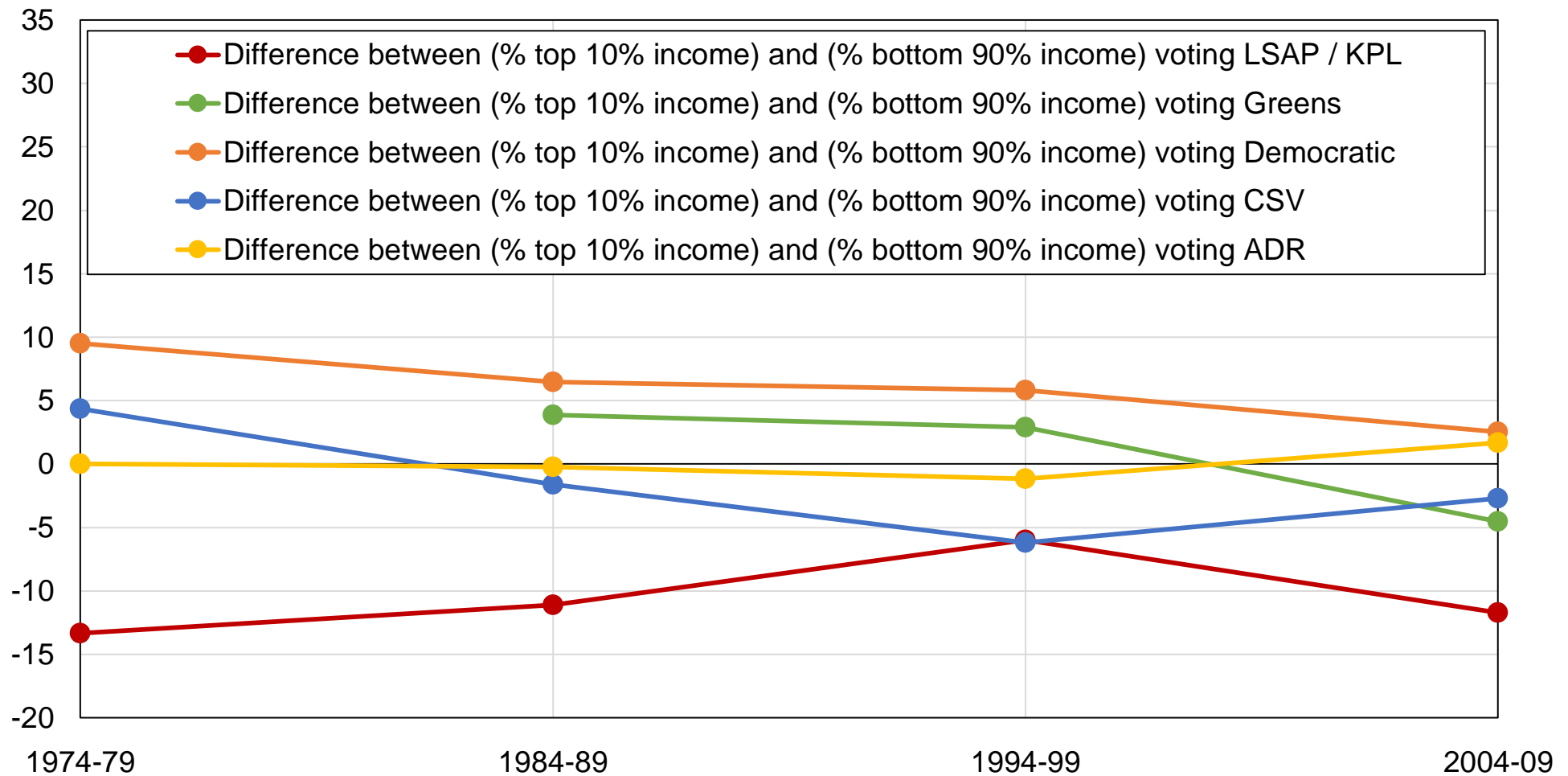
**Figure C15 - The education cleavage in Luxembourg**



**Source:** authors' computations using Luxembourg political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the bias of highest-educated voters towards the the Socialist Workers' Party (LSAP) and the Communist Party (KPL), green parties, the Democratic Party, the Christian Social People's Party (CSV), and the Alternative Democratic Reform Party (ADR).

**Figure C16 - The income cleavage in Luxembourg**



**Source:** authors' computations using Luxembourg political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the bias of top-income voters towards the Socialist Workers' Party (LSAP) and the Communist Party (KPL), green parties, the Democratic Party, the Christian Social People's Party (CSV), and the Alternative Democratic Reform Party (ADR).

**Table A1 - Survey data sources**

Year	Survey	Source	Sample size
1974	Eurobarometers Mannheim Trend File, various years	GESIS	1818
1979	Eurobarometers Mannheim Trend File, various years	GESIS	3589
1984	Eurobarometers Mannheim Trend File, various years	GESIS	2998
1989	Eurobarometers Mannheim Trend File, various years	GESIS	4743
1994	Eurobarometers Mannheim Trend File, various years	GESIS	10183
1999	Eurobarometers Mannheim Trend File, various years	GESIS	9055
2004	European social survey	ESS	1635
2013	European election studies	EES	488
2018	European election studies	EES	505

**Source:** authors' elaboration. Gesis: Gesis – Leibniz Institute for the Social Sciences (<https://www.gesis.org/home>). ESS: <https://www.europeansocialsurvey.org/>. EES: <http://europeanelectionstudies.net/>.

**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 decade**

	1974-79	1984-89	1994-99	2004-09	2013-18
Age: 20-40	47%	47%	45%	42%	39%
Age: 40-60	33%	33%	33%	39%	37%
Age: 60+	21%	21%	22%	20%	24%
Education: Primary	26%	15%	12%	20%	15%
Education: Secondary	65%	70%	67%	29%	32%
Education: Tertiary	9%	15%	21%	51%	53%
Employment status: Employed	51%	47%	48%	54%	66%
Employment status: Unemployed	1%	1%	2%	3%	1%
Employment status: Inactive	48%	52%	50%	43%	33%
Marital status: Married or with partner	64%	62%	62%	64%	68%
Religion: No religion	5%	7%	9%	30%	36%
Religion: Catholic	92%	91%	89%	50%	53%
Religion: Protestant	1%	1%	1%	17%	6%
Religion: Other	1%	1%	1%	2%	5%
Church attendance: Never	16%	19%	19%	33%	36%
Church attendance: Less than monthly	39%	50%	54%	54%	52%
Church attendance: Monthly or more	45%	31%	27%	14%	12%
Rural-urban: Rural areas	46%	48%	47%		43%
Gender: Man	49%	48%	48%	49%	50%

**Source:** authors' computations using Luxembourg political attitudes surveys.

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

**Table A3 - The structure of political cleavages in Luxembourg, 2004-2018**

	Share of votes received (%)				
	LSAP / KPL	Greens	Democratic	CSV	ADR
<b>Overall vote share</b>	25%	17%	19%	35%	4%
<b>Education</b>					
Primary	28%	8%	16%	41%	6%
Secondary	25%	13%	20%	37%	5%
Tertiary	25%	20%	19%	33%	2%
<b>Income</b>					
Bottom 50%	31%	9%	13%	40%	7%
Middle 40%	26%	14%	15%	42%	3%
Top 10%	17%	7%	12%	58%	7%
<b>Location</b>					
Urban	27%	19%	22%	29%	2%
Rural	22%	18%	19%	36%	5%
<b>Religion</b>					
No religion	30%	26%	21%	20%	3%
Catholic	21%	10%	17%	48%	4%
Protestant	30%	19%	25%	25%	1%
<b>Church attendance</b>					
Never	35%	20%	16%	26%	3%
Less than monthly	22%	13%	20%	41%	4%
Monthly or more	13%	9%	13%	63%	2%

**Source:** authors' computations using Luxembourg political attitudes surveys.

**Notes:** the table shows the average share of votes received by the main political parties by selected individual characteristics over the 2004-2018 period. Vote shares by group are those reported in surveys and may not match exactly official election results.