

**Coalition-Targeted Duvergerian Voting:
How expectations Affect Voter Choice under Proportional Representation**

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Accompanying Materials

Question Wording: 2006 Israeli Election Study

The following list details the employed questions from the 2006 Israeli National Election Study.

Vote choice:

(73-74) If the elections for Knesset were held today, for which party would you vote for? (do not read answers)

Issue scales:

State-church (44): Do you think the Israeli government should or should not see to it that public life in Israel be conducted according to Jewish religious tradition? 1. Should definitely see to it; 2. Maybe should see to it; 3. I do not think the government should see to it; 4. The government should definitely not see to it.

Size of government (45): Regarding the economic structure of life in Israel, do you support a more socialist approach or a more capitalist one? 1. Definitely capitalist; 2. More capitalist than socialist; 3. More socialist than capitalist; 4. Definitely socialist.

Territories (15): In a peace agreement with the Palestinians, should Israel agree or disagree to a territorial compromise and to the evacuation of settlements in Judea and Samaria? 1. Should definitely agree 2. should agree 3. should disagree 4. should definitely disagree

Ideological placement:

Placement of Parties (11-23): How would you rate the following parties on the left-right scale from 0 to 10, 0 stands for left, and 10 stands for right and 5 is in the middle. Likud / Labor / Kadima / Shas / Ihud Leumi – Mafdal / Israel Beiteinu / Meretz

Placement of Respondent: 62. There is a lot of talk on right and left in politics. How would you rank yourself from 0 to 10, 0 means left and 10 means right, 5 is in the middle.

Left 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Right

Coalition expectations:

And now we would like to ask you about the chance of each one of the following parties to be a member of the coalition after the elections. Here you have a scale between 0 to 10, where 10 means you think there is no chance the party will be a member of the coalition, 50 means that the

party's chances are half and half, and 100 means that it will certainly be a member of the coalition.

75. Kadima?

78. Labor?

81. Likud?

And now we want to ask you about the chances of different coalitions after the elections. On a scale of 0 to 100, 0 means you give no chance for a certain coalition, 50 means that the coalition's chances are half and half, and 100 means that you are sure this coalition will exist. Naturally you can give any number between 0 to 100. On such a scale, what are the chances that after the elections, there will be a coalition between:

6. Kadima-Labor

9. Kadima-Likud

12. Kadima-Likud-Haredi parties (Shas and/or Yahadut Ha'tora)

15. Kadima-Labor-Haredi parties (Shas and/or Yahadut Ha'tora)

18. Kadima-Likud-right wing parties

21. Kadima-Labor-Meretz

24. Kadima, Labor, Likud, right wing parties and Haredi parties – national unity government

Coalition preference:

(34). And in the final analysis, among these possibilities, which would you prefer?

Kadima-Labor

Kadima-Likud

Kadima-Likud-Haredi parties (Shas and/or Yahadut Ha'tora)

Kadima-Labor-Haredi parties (Shas and/or Yahadut Ha'tora)

Kadima-Likud-right wing parties

Kadima-Labor-Meretz parties

Kadima, Labor, Likud, right wing parties and Haredi parties – national unity government

Kadima-Likud-Liberman parties

Likud-Labor parties

Kadima-Labor-Likud parties

Likud-Right-Haredim parties

Kadima-Labor-Meretz-Arabs parties

Likud-Labor-Haredim parties

Closeness to party (love/hate scales):

(59-64). Here is a scale from 1 to 10 to express support or rejection of a group or a person. "1" describes strong rejection/ hate, and "10" describes strong support/ love: Kadima / Labor / Likud / Meretz / Ihud Leumi – Mafdal / Israel Beiteinu

Political knowledge:

(51). To the best of your knowledge, what is the minimum threshold for representation in the Knesset? 1. Right answer: 2%; 2. Wrong answer; 3. I do not know

(52). To the best of your knowledge, what percentage of the government's budget goes to security? 1. Less than 10%; 2. Right answer: Between 10% - 40% 3. Between 40% - 75% 4. More than 75% 5. I do not know

(53). To the best of your knowledge, who is the Knesset's chairman? 1. Right answer: Reuven Rivlin 2. Wrong answer 3. I do not know

Socio-demographic variables:

Age (54): How old are you? _____

Education (75): How many years did you study? (including elementary school)

Religiosity (56): To what extent do you observe religious tradition? 1. Not at all 2. A little bit 3. A lot 4. I observe all of it

Former Russian Immigrant (61): For those who were not born here: When did you come to Israel? (62): if R came from the USSR after 1989, circle: 1. from the USSR.

Ethnicity:

(57-58) Where were you born?

(59-60) Where was your father born?

(62) Immigrated before 1989

Density (84-85): How many people are living in the house? (including soldiers)

Table 4. Conditional Logit Model of Voter Choice (Reduced Model)

	Meretz	Labor	Shas	Likud	Israel Beitenu	Ichud Leumi- Mafdal
Distance				-0.024 (0.004)		
Expected coalition	-0.001 (0.007)	-0.006 (0.004)	-0.002 (0.007)	0.018 (0.005)	0.000 (0.006)	-0.001 (0.006)
Coalition Preference	NA -	-0.723 (0.258)	0.763 (0.270)	1.186 (0.201)	0.971 (0.214)	0.847 (0.268)
Left-Right Position	-0.524 (0.103)	-0.304 (0.064)	0.097 (0.098)	0.229 (0.080)	0.270 (0.095)	0.522 (0.123)
Age	-0.011 (0.012)	-0.010 (0.008)	-0.040 (0.016)	-0.002 (0.009)	-0.002 (0.011)	-0.022 (0.013)
Female	0.736 (0.399)	-0.132 (0.252)	-0.713 (0.459)	-0.435 (0.309)	-0.040 (0.334)	-0.213 (0.413)
Education	0.056 (0.075)	-0.026 (0.042)	-0.082 (0.075)	-0.071 (0.052)	-0.028 (0.061)	0.120 (0.073)
Housing density	-0.250 (0.603)	0.129 (0.339)	0.848 (0.421)	-0.014 (0.394)	-0.976 (0.492)	-0.314 (0.487)
FSU immigrant	0.413 (0.764)	-1.721 (0.770)	N/A -	0.190 (0.431)	2.472 (0.432)	0.201 (0.747)
Religiosity	-0.486 (0.319)	0.368 (0.190)	1.426 (0.305)	0.300 (0.226)	0.187 (0.262)	1.053 (0.284)
Constant	-16.237 (1.588)	0.269 (0.942)	-3.800 (1.522)	-1.991 (1.147)	-2.791 (1.366)	-8.286 (1.689)
Log likelihood				-745.527		
Prob > χ^2				<0.001		
AIC				1613.045		
N				652		

Reference category=Kadima. Standard errors in parentheses.

Note: Regression parameters were estimated using R (2.8.0). NA cells in table represent combination of variables with no cases in the sample.

As mentioned on footnote 21, under an alternative coding scheme for non-responses to the coalition preference variable, the number of respondents slightly increases, but the coefficients on our key variable of interest—coalition expectations (see the coefficients for Labor and Likud voters in table 5 and 6 for the reduced and full model, respectively)—change only marginally. If we assume that non-response to the coalition preference item reflects indifference with respect to a left- or right- leaning coalition we can increase the number of respondents from 581 observations to 612 in the full model, and from 652 to 715 in the reduced model. While this assumption might seem plausible, it is just as plausible to assume that these respondents have an unreported preference. In the results reported in the article we take the conservative approach and exclude non-responses from the model.

**Table 5. Conditional Logit Model of Voter Choice (Reduced Model)
with Alternative Coding of Coalition Preference**

	Meretz	Labor	Shas	Likud	Israel Beitenu	Ichud Leumi- Mafdal
Distance				-0.025 0.004		
Expected coalition	-0.002 (0.006)	-0.009 (0.004)	0.001 (0.007)	0.021 (0.005)	0.000 (0.005)	0.002 (0.006)
Coalition Preference	-0.983 (0.467)	-0.665 (0.234)	0.769 (0.264)	1.153 (0.192)	0.977 (0.208)	0.789 (0.258)
Left-Right Position	-0.549 (0.097)	-0.329 (0.06)	0.079 (0.092)	0.207 (0.074)	0.263 (0.09)	0.535 (0.115)
Age	-0.009 (0.012)	-0.012 (0.007)	-0.037 (0.015)	-0.001 (0.009)	0.001 (0.010)	-0.017 (0.013)
Female	0.797 (0.384)	-0.111 (0.246)	-0.928 (0.439)	-0.351 (0.292)	-0.053 (0.321)	-0.068 (0.388)
Education	0.068 (0.07)	-0.047 (0.041)	-0.008 (0.074)	-0.066 (0.051)	-0.006 (0.059)	0.141 (0.071)
Housing density	-0.105 (0.550)	0.173 (0.316)	1.101 (0.391)	-0.168 (0.367)	-0.87 (0.462)	-0.167 (0.442)
FSU immigrant	0.031 (0.741)	-1.805 (0.771)	NA -	0.159 (0.408)	2.389 (0.409)	-0.015 (0.727)
Religiosity	-0.639 (0.306)	0.374 (0.178)	1.366 (0.273)	0.44 (0.206)	0.196 (0.244)	1.065 (0.260)
Constant	-0.207 (1.566)	0.732 (0.904)	-4.724 (1.473)	-2.093 (1.109)	-3.281 (1.329)	-8.992 (1.632)
Log likelihood				-818.8337		
Prob > χ^2				<0.001		
AIC				1759.667		
N				715		

Reference category=Kadima. Standard errors in parentheses.

Note: Regression parameters were estimated using R (2.8.0). NA cells in table represent combination of variables with no cases in the sample.

Table 6. Conditional Logit Model of Voter Choice with Preference Controls (Full Model) and Alternative Coding of Coalition Preference

	Meretz	Labor	Shas	Likud	Israel Beitenu	Ichud Leumi -Mafdal
Distance				-0.038 0.007		
Expected coalition	-0.002 (0.007)	-0.01 (0.005)	0.009 (0.008)	0.021 (0.006)	0.001 (0.006)	-0.001 (0.008)
Coalition Preference	-0.81 (0.504)	-0.907 (0.311)	0.743 (0.328)	1.101 (0.211)	0.806 (0.218)	0.479 (0.303)
Left-Right Position	-0.482 (0.113)	-0.248 (0.077)	0.107 (0.129)	0.219 (0.092)	0.281 (0.109)	0.515 (0.139)
State-religion	-0.226 (0.227)	-0.068 (0.15)	0.469 (0.315)	0.368 (0.173)	-0.073 (0.193)	0.711 (0.288)
Size of government	0.217 (0.206)	0.355 (0.142)	0.38 (0.262)	0.039 (0.163)	-0.217 (0.184)	0.131 (0.223)
Territories	-0.039 (0.272)	-0.052 (0.17)	0.59 (0.269)	0.359 (0.17)	0.335 (0.193)	1.156 (0.276)
Age	-0.01 (0.013)	-0.01 (0.009)	-0.04 (0.02)	0.01 (0.01)	-0.003 (0.011)	-0.014 (0.015)
Female	0.789 (0.424)	-0.102 (0.286)	-1.3 (0.555)	-0.491 (0.332)	0.119 (0.347)	-0.147 (0.477)
Education	0.025 (0.076)	-0.01 (0.047)	0.135 (0.1)	-0.033 (0.062)	0.036 (0.070)	0.224 (0.090)
Housing density	0.26 (0.652)	0.281 (0.435)	1.47 (0.571)	-0.035 (0.447)	-0.548 (0.503)	-0.364 (0.581)
FSU immigrant	-0.414 (0.936)	-1.406 (0.813)	-15.133 (1822.9)	-0.155 (0.465)	1.897 (0.460)	0.112 (0.829)
Religiosity	-0.616 (0.352)	0.294 (0.23)	1.353 (0.357)	0.344 (0.253)	0.287 (0.284)	0.762 (0.326)
Constant	0.072 (1.894)	-1.306 (1.25)	-11.235 (2.433)	-4.872 (1.526)	-4.242 (1.703)	-15.063 (2.417)
Log likelihood				-664.17		
Prob > χ^2				<0.001		
AIC				1486.341		
N				626		

Reference category=Kadima. Standard errors in parentheses.

Note: Regression coefficients were estimated using using R (Version 2.8.0).

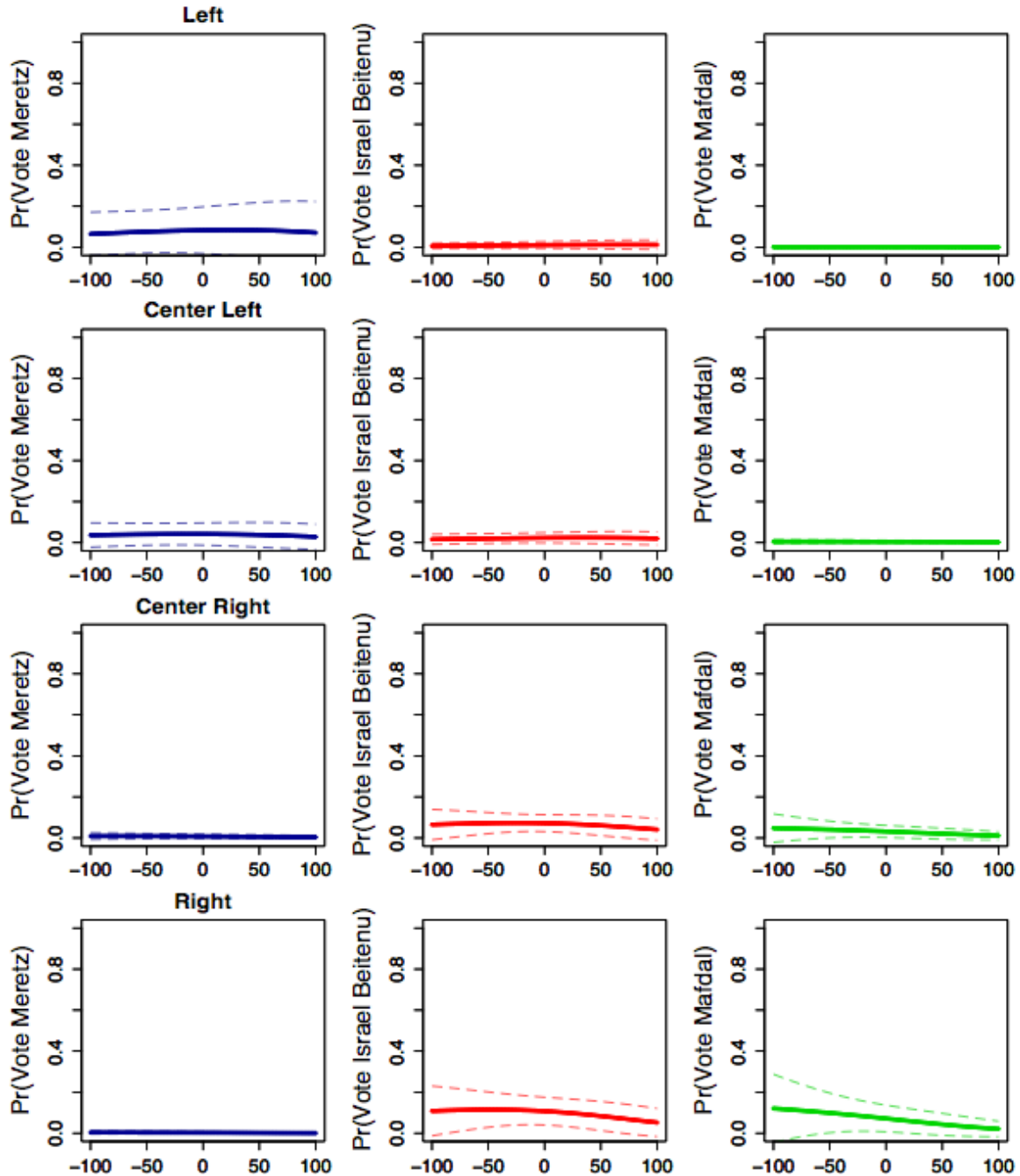


Figure 4: Predicted Probability of endorsing three "extreme" parties by coalition expectation

Note: Predicted probabilities are based on the estimation of Model I (Table 2). The model controls for coalition preference, ideological position, issue scales and ideological proximity, and socio-demographic variables. Coalition expectations vary from -100 (certainty that Labor will be in government) to 100 (certainty that Likud will be in government). Voter positions are set to 1 (left), 3 (moderate left), 7 (moderate right), and 9 (right). Other variables are set to their mean.