

Chapter 19. "Inequality, Identity, and the Long-Run Evolution of Political Cleavages in Israel 1949-2019"

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Appendix: Figures, tables and raw results

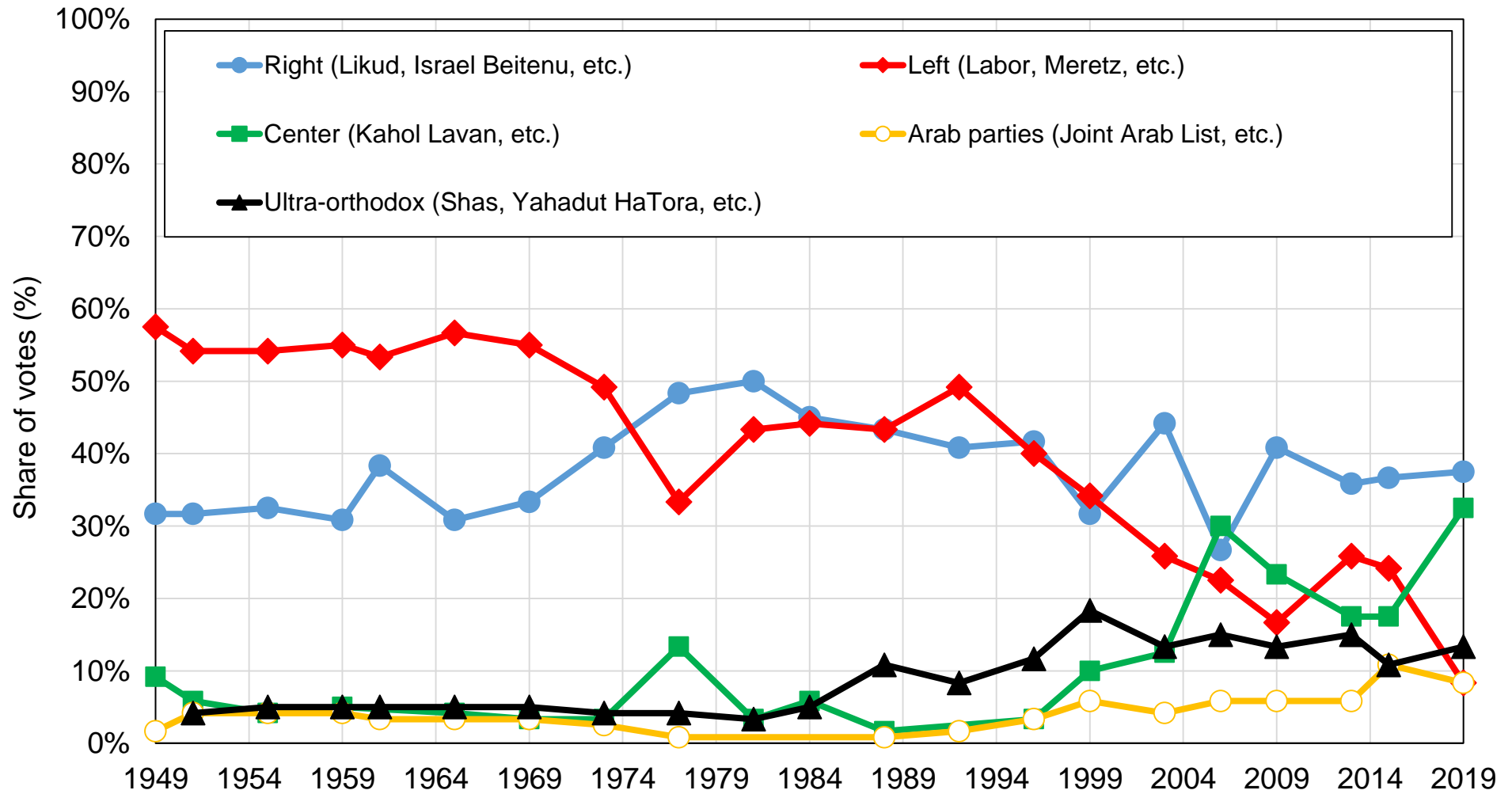
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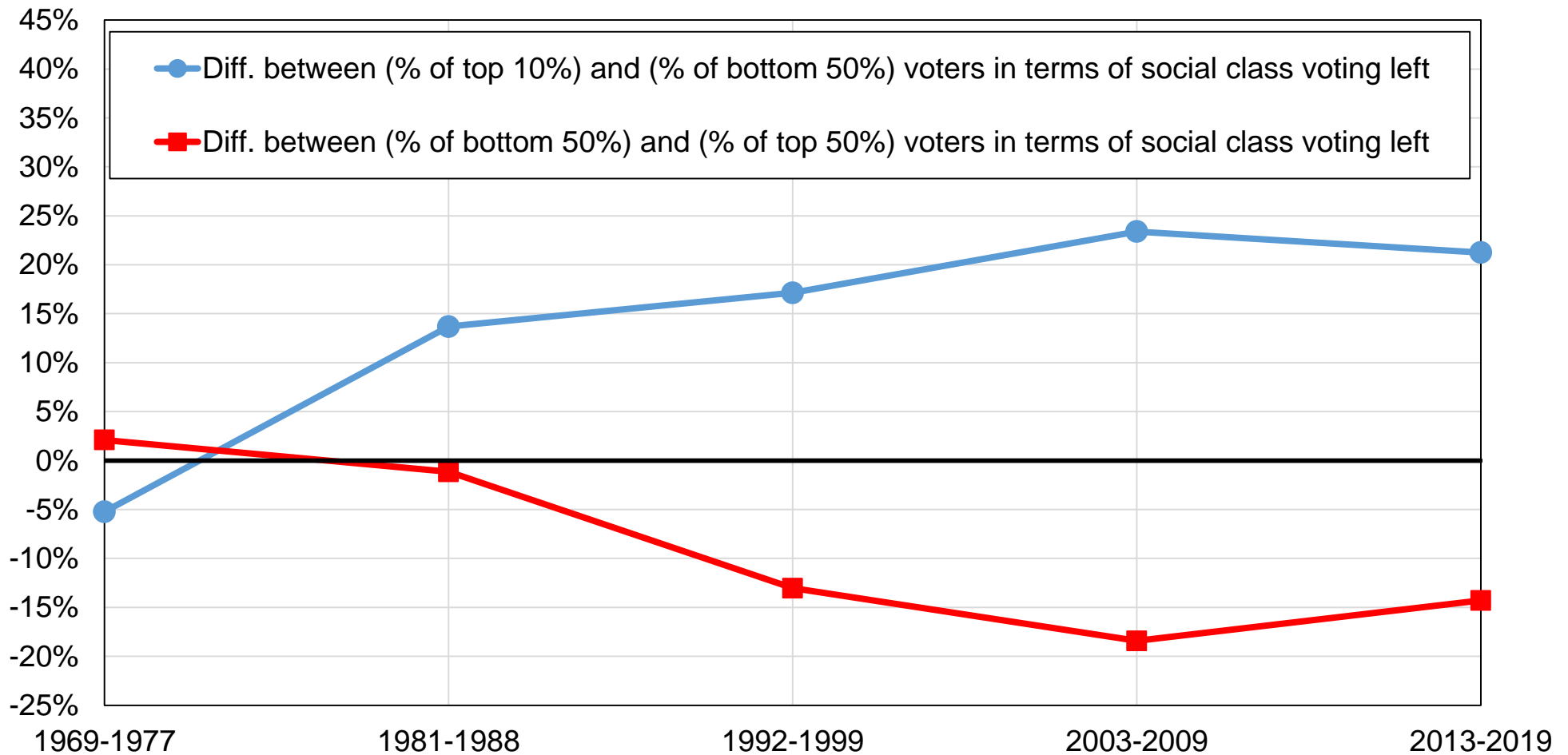
Figure 18.1 - Legislative election results in Israel, 1949-2019



Source: author's computations using official election results (see wpid.world).

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by different political blocs in Israel. The definition of each party by bloc and a historical breakdown of blocs by party are given in appendix Table A1 (see wpid.world).

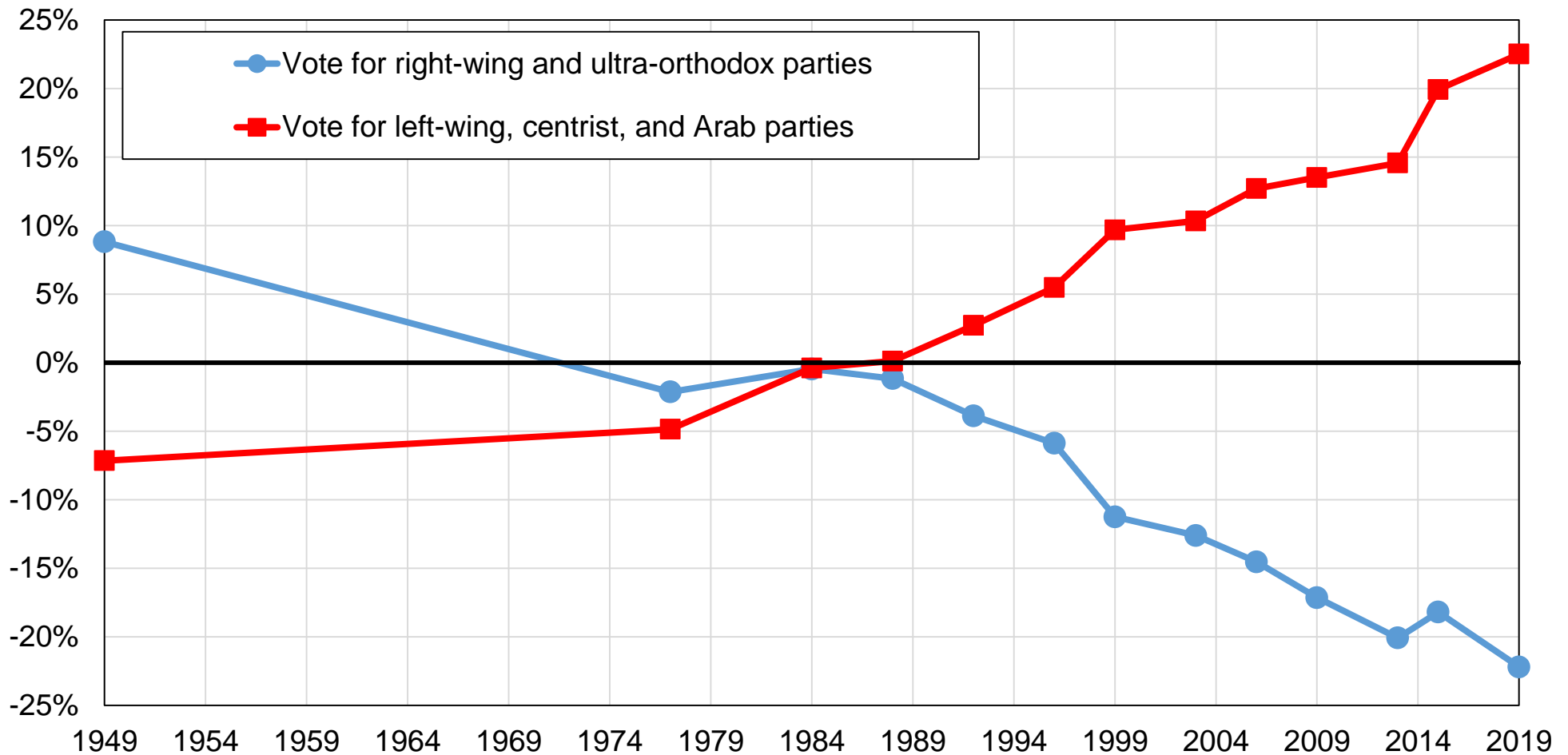
Figure 18.2 - Class cleavages in Israel, 1969-2019



Source: author's computations using INES election surveys (see wpid.world).

Note: the figure shows how the vote for left-wing parties depends on self-reported social class, after controlling for age, gender, education, and household size. Until the late 1980s, lower classes were as likely to vote left (including center and Arab parties) as the general public. They became much less likely to do so during the last three decades. The opposite occurred, to a lower extent, among the top 10% upper classes.

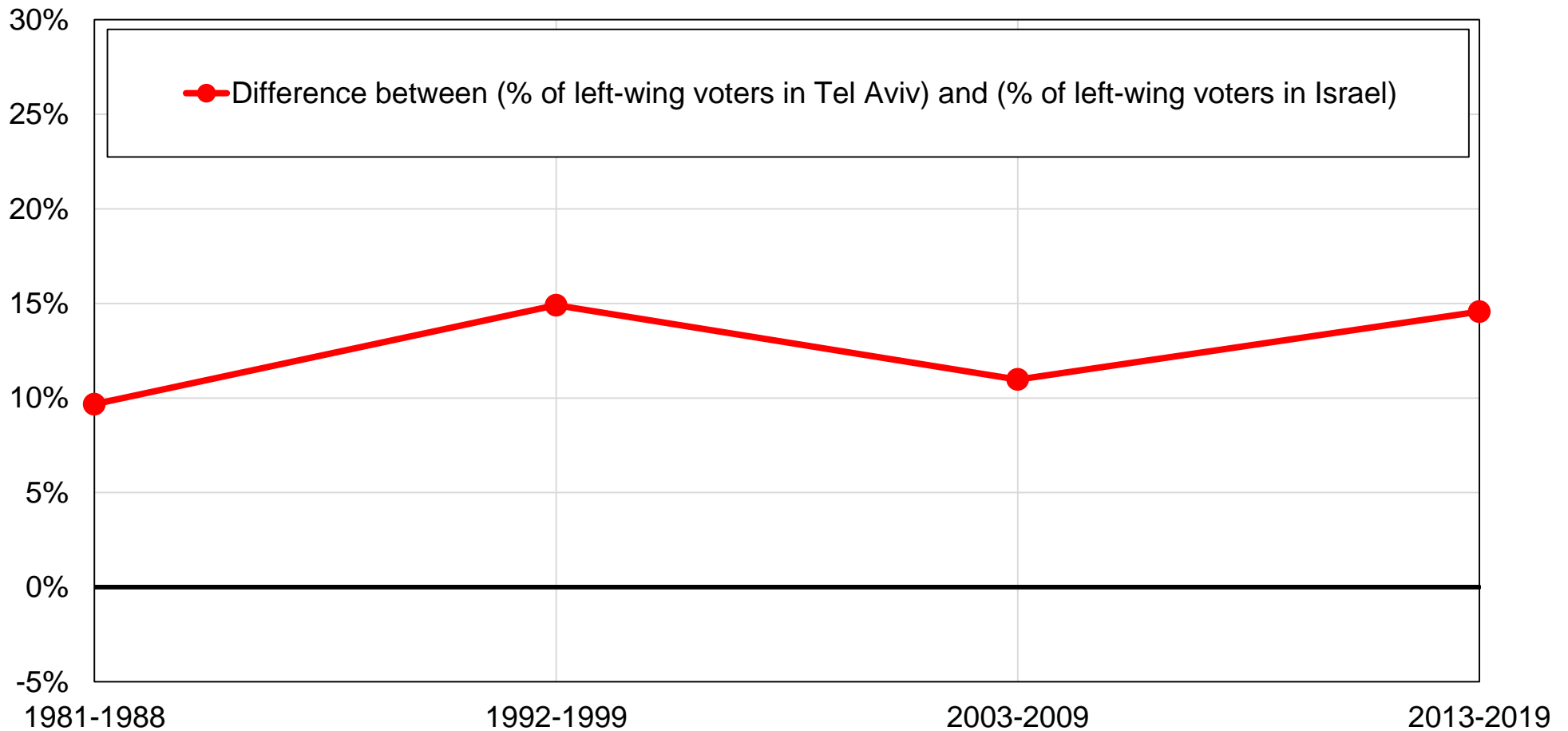
Figure 18.3 - Vote for right and left in Tel Aviv, Israel, 1949-2019



Source: author's computations using historical election results (multiple sources) (see wpid.world).

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of votes received by right-wing parties (including ultra-orthodox parties) in Tel Aviv and the share of votes received by right-wing parties in Israel as a whole, as well as the same difference for left-wing parties (including center and Arab parties). Tel Aviv used to be more right-leaning and less left-leaning than the general public in the first election. It gradually became more left-leaning.

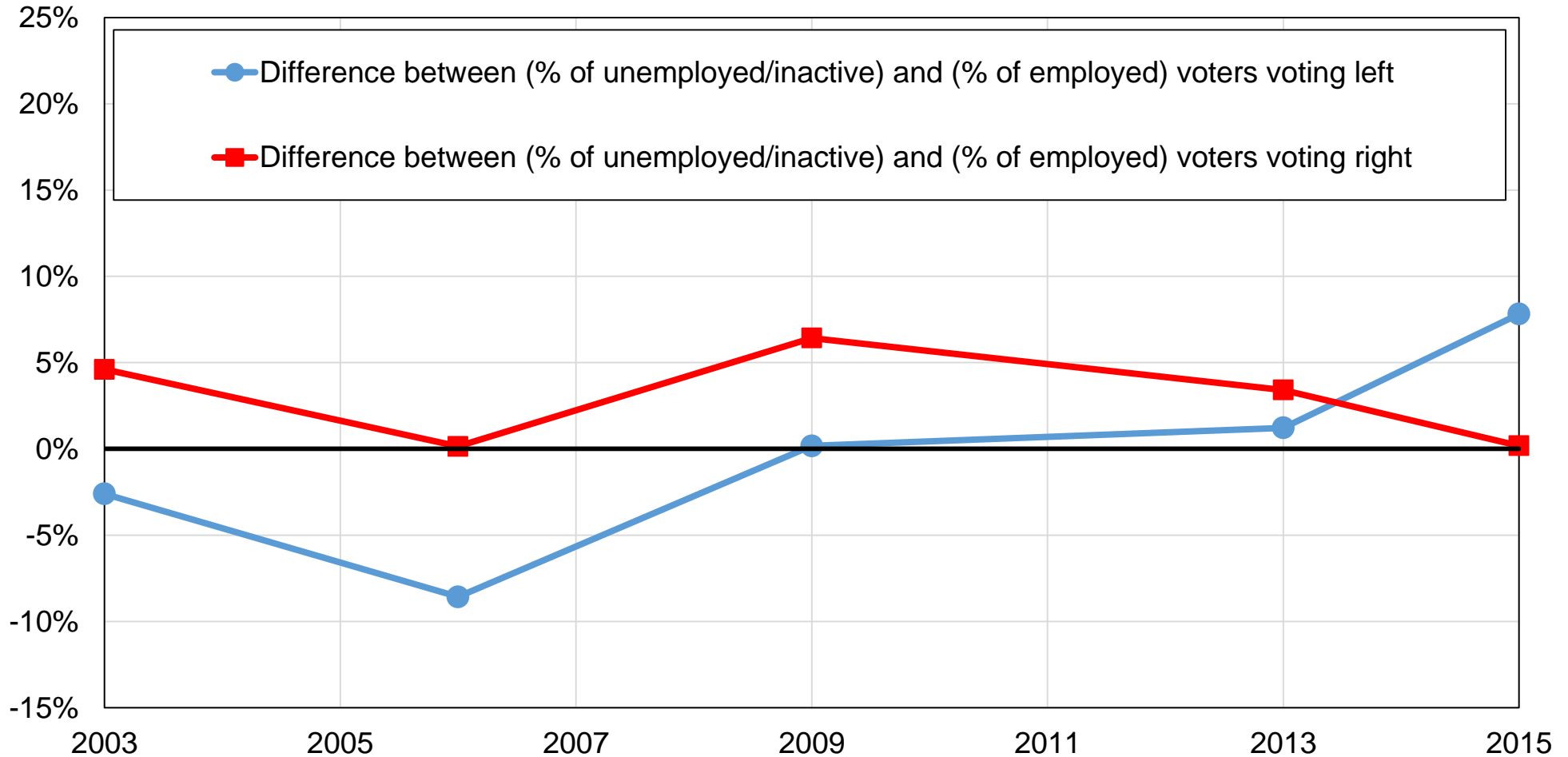
Figure 18.4 - Residual identity component in Tel Aviv, Israel, 1981-2015



Source: author's computations using INES election surveys (see wpid.world).

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of votes received by left-wing parties in Tel Aviv and the share of votes received by left-wing parties in the rest of Israel, after controlling for self-reported social class, ethnicity, religiosity, gender, education, household size, and age. It illustrates a stable residual left-leaning identity component in Tel Aviv.

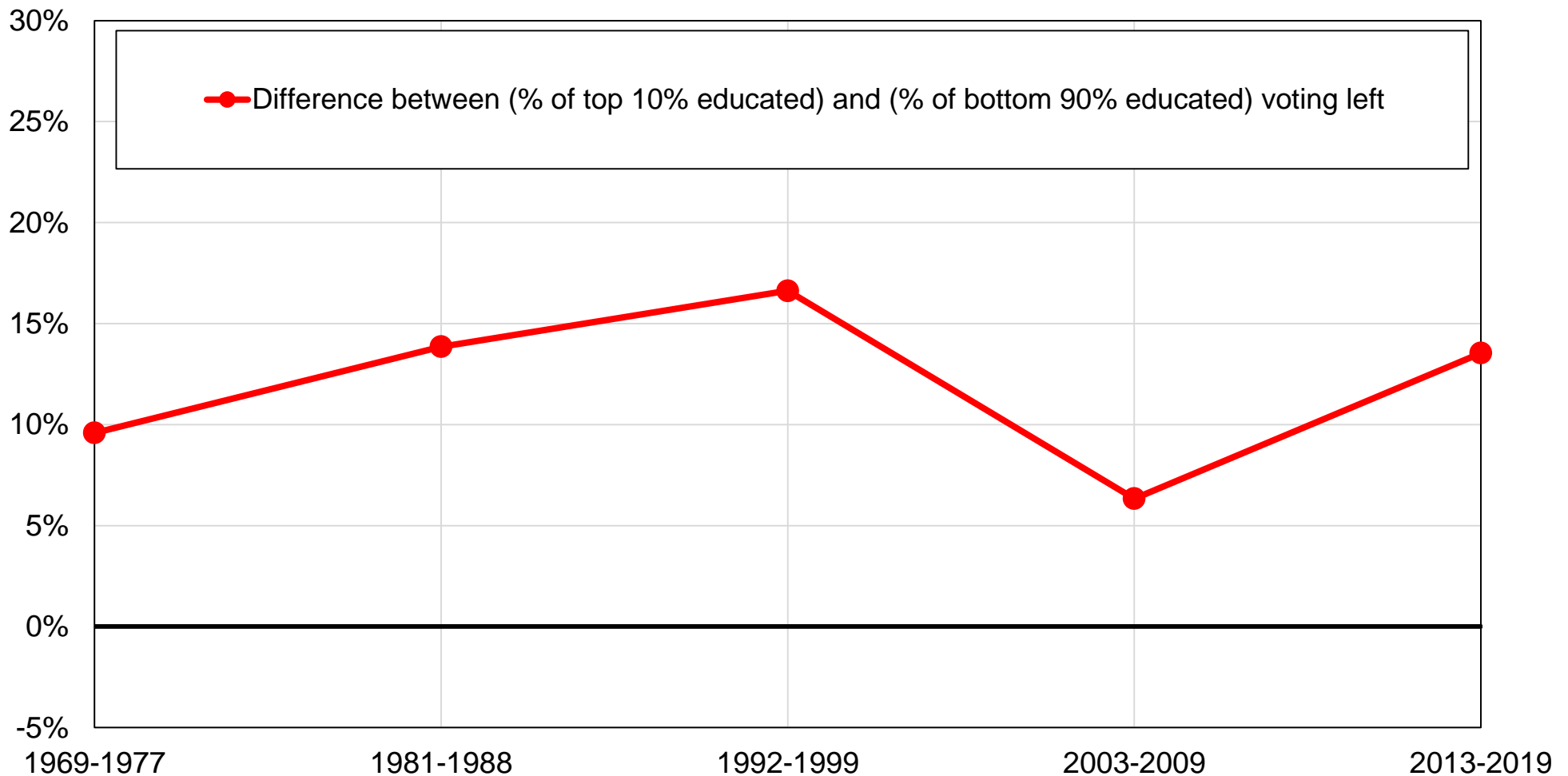
Figure 18.5 - Vote for right-wing and left-wing parties among unemployed and inactive voters in Israel, 2003-2015



Source: author's computations using INES election surveys (see wpid.world).

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of unemployed/inactive voters voting for left/right-wing parties and the share of employed voters voting for left/right-wing parties. There is a mild trend of increasing support for right-wing parties among unemployed and inactive voters in recent years.

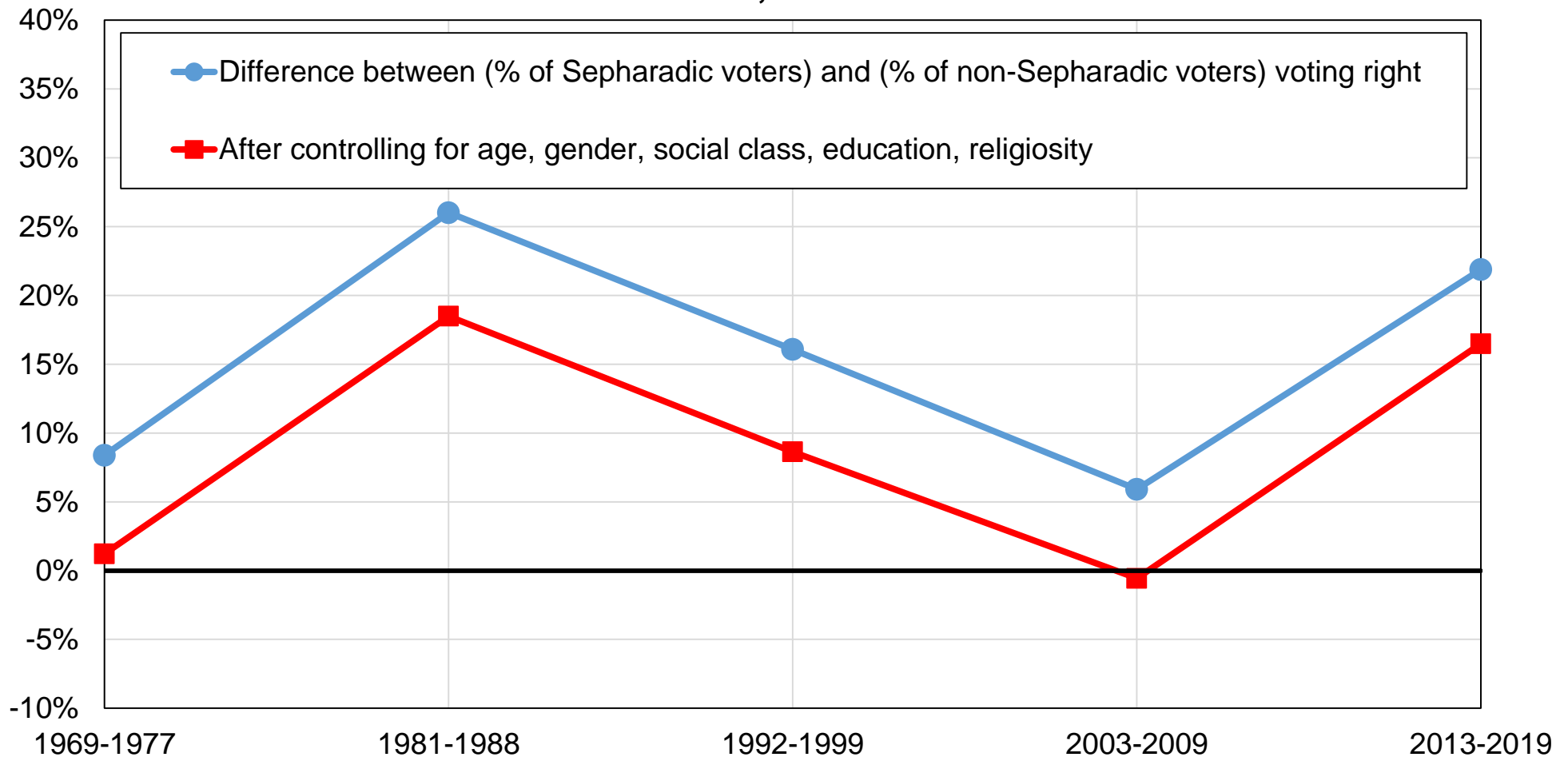
Figure 18.6 - The educational cleavage in Israel, 1969-2019



Source: author's computations using INES election surveys (see wpid.world).

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% educated voters and the share of bottom 90% educated voters voting for left-wing parties, after controlling for age, social class, religiosity, ethnic origin, household size, and gender. In 2013-2019, higher-educated voters were more likely to vote for left-wing parties by 14 percentage points.

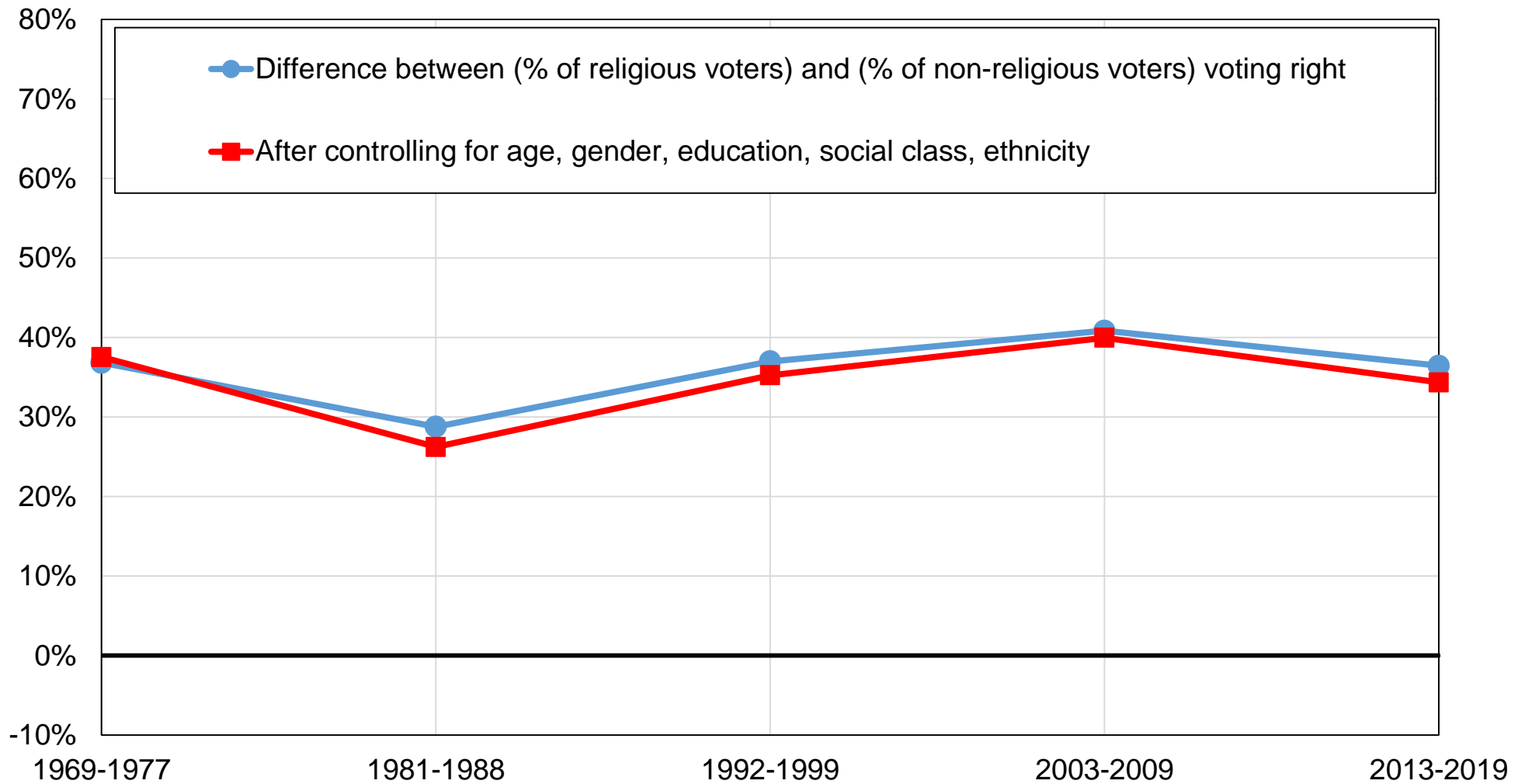
Figure 18.7 - Vote for right-wing parties among Sepharadic voters in Israel, 1969-2019



Source: author's computations using INES election surveys (see wpid.world).

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of Sepharadic (or Mizrachi) voters and the share of non-Sepharadic voters voting for right-wing parties, before and after controls. In 2013-2019, Sepharadic voters were more likely to vote for right-wing parties by 22 percentage points.

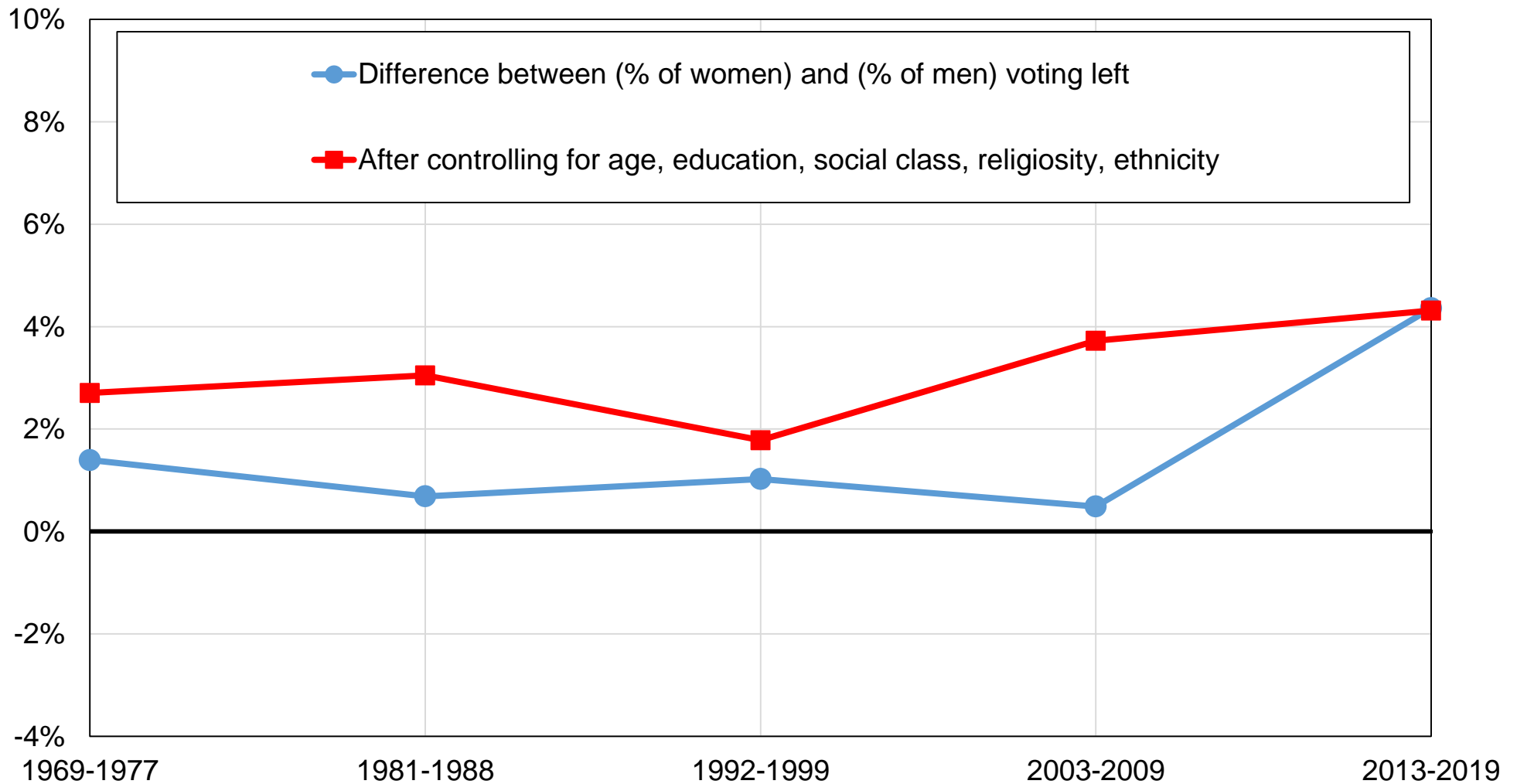
Figure 18.8 - The religious cleavage in Israel, 1969-2019



Source: author's computations using INES election surveys (see wpid.world).

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of religious voters and the share of non-religious voters voting for right-wing parties. In 2013-2019, religious voters were more likely to vote for right-wing parties by 36 percentage points.

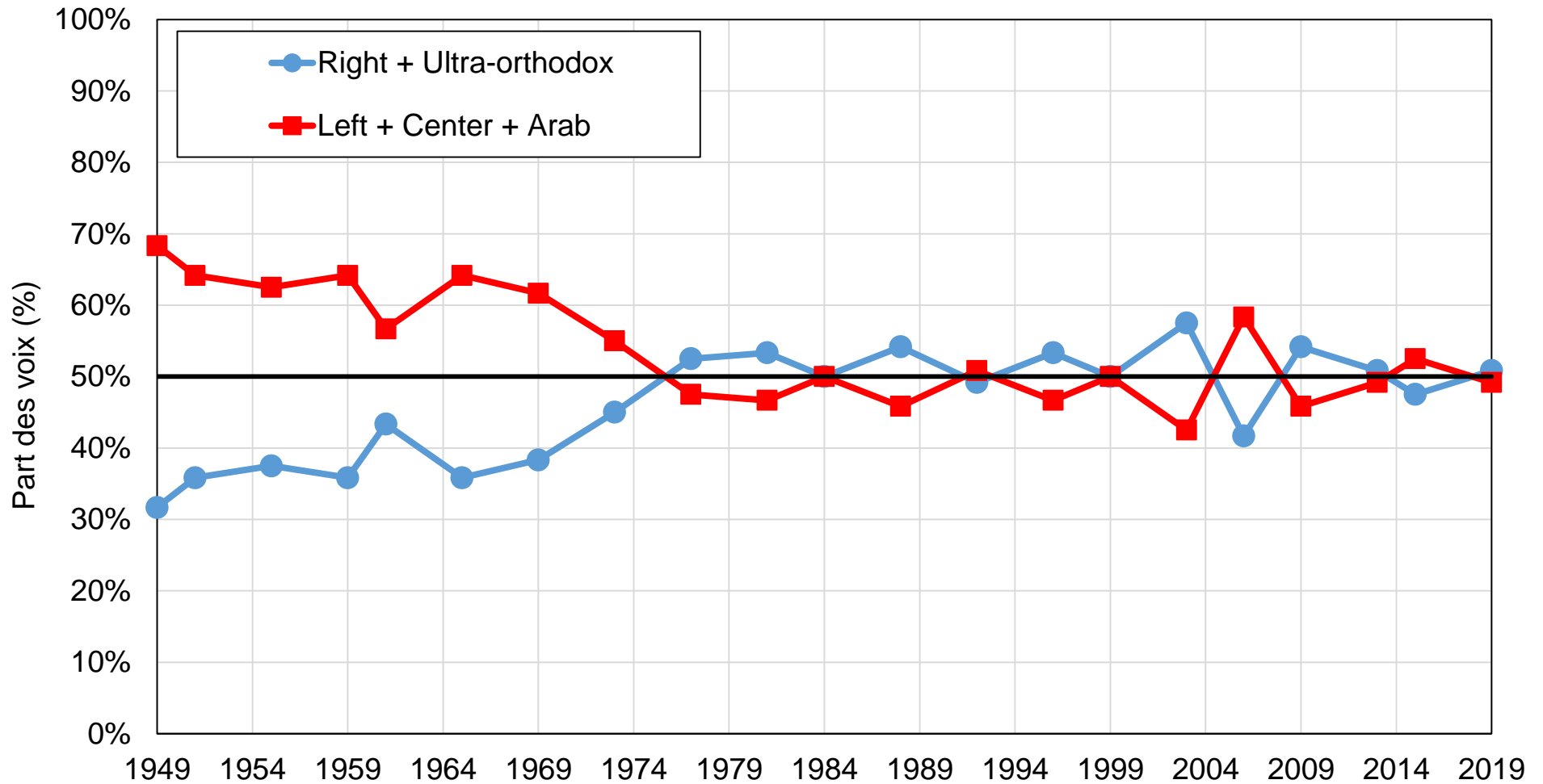
Figure 18.9 - The gender cleavage in Israel, 1969-2019



Source: author's computations using INES election surveys (see wpid.world).

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of women and the share of men voting for left-wing parties. Women have consistently been more left-leaning than men, but only to a rather small degree, and only when controlling for other effects.

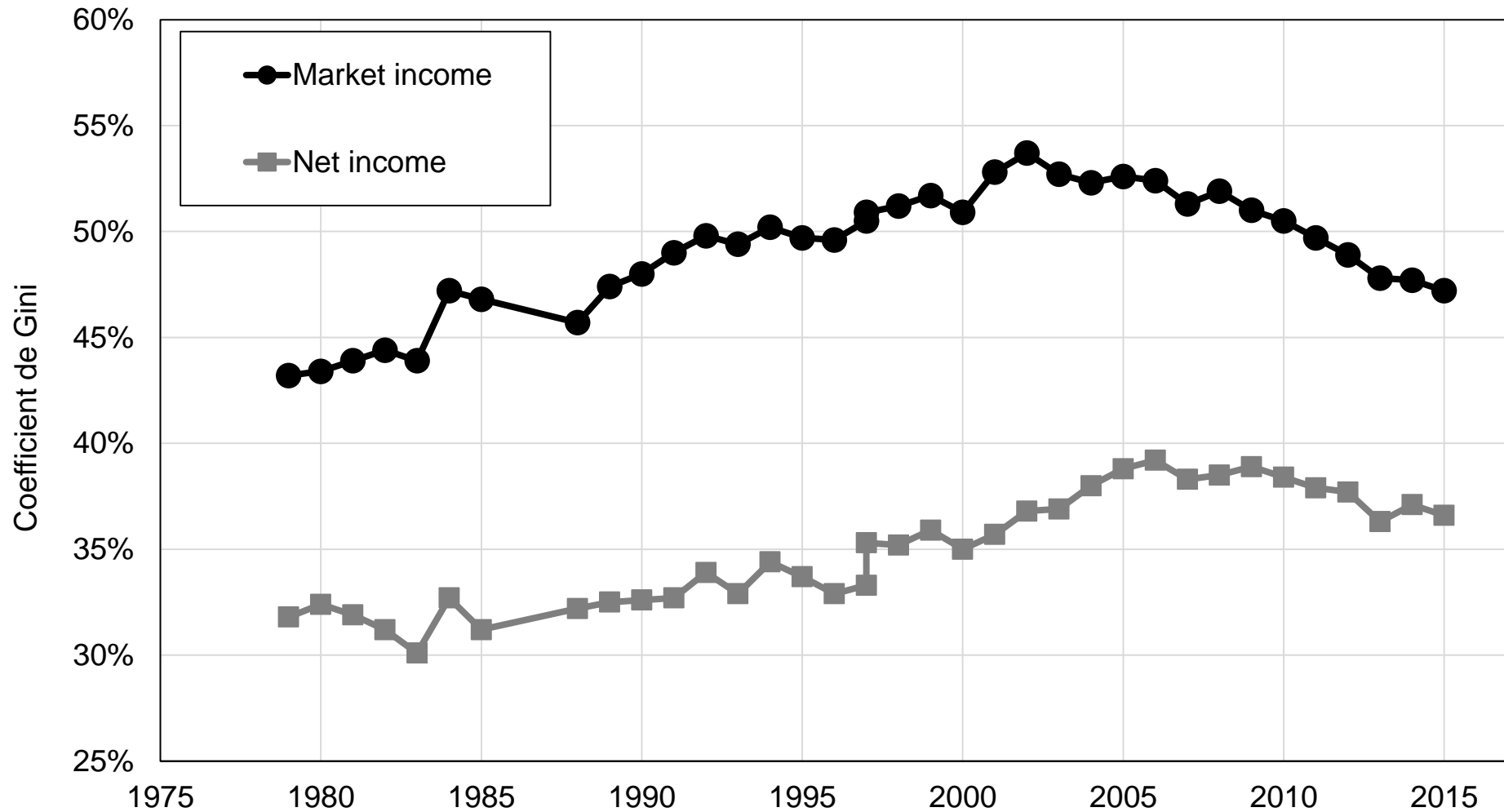
Figure A1 - General election results in Israel by bloc, 1949-2019



Source : author's computations using official election results (see wpid.world).

Note : the figure shows the share of votes received by different political blocs. The definition of each party by block, and a historical breakdown of left and right blocks by party are given in Table A1.

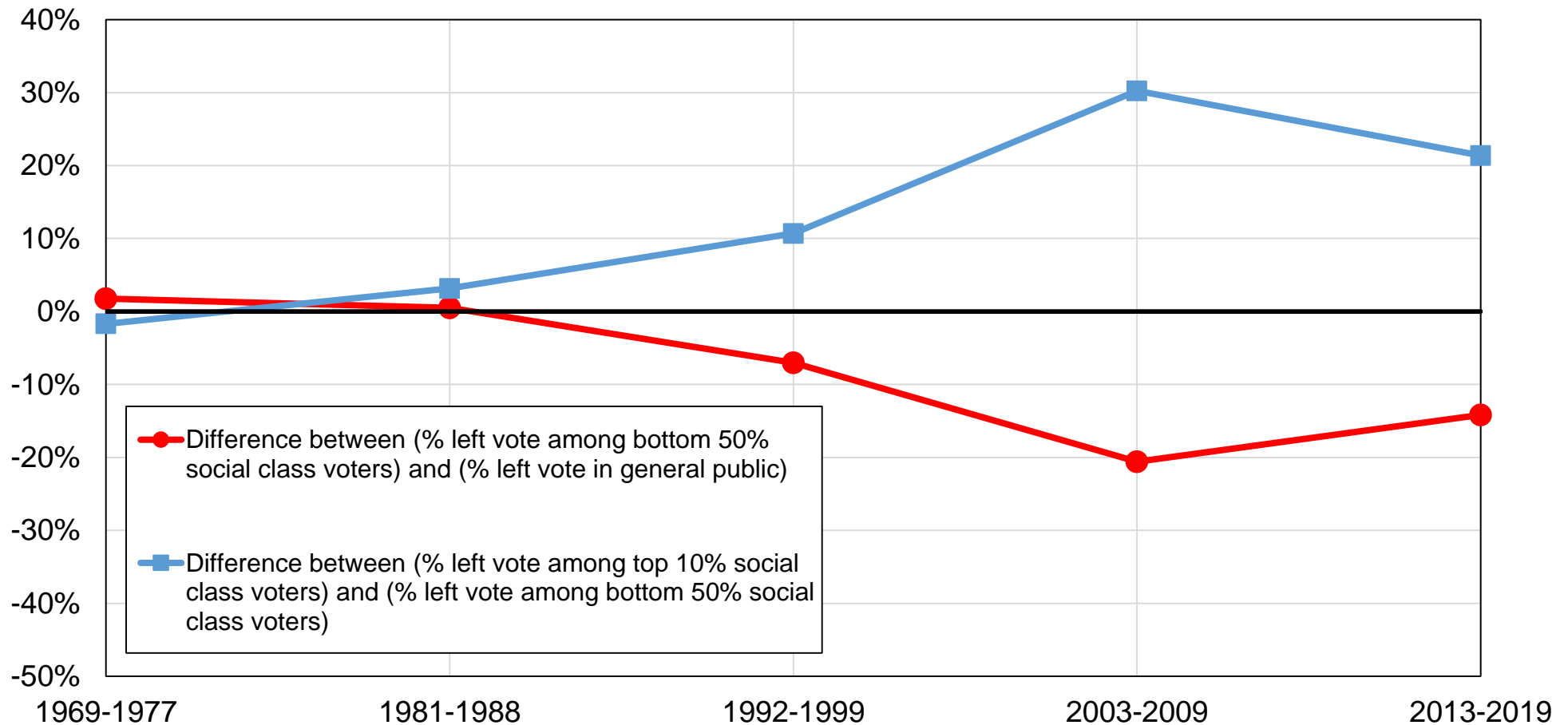
Figure A2 - Income inequality in Israel, 1979-2015



Source : Dahan (2017) (see wpid.world).

Note : the figure shows the evolution of income inequality in Israel quantified using the Gini coefficient. It is estimated for market income, i.e. without including taxes and transfers, and for net income

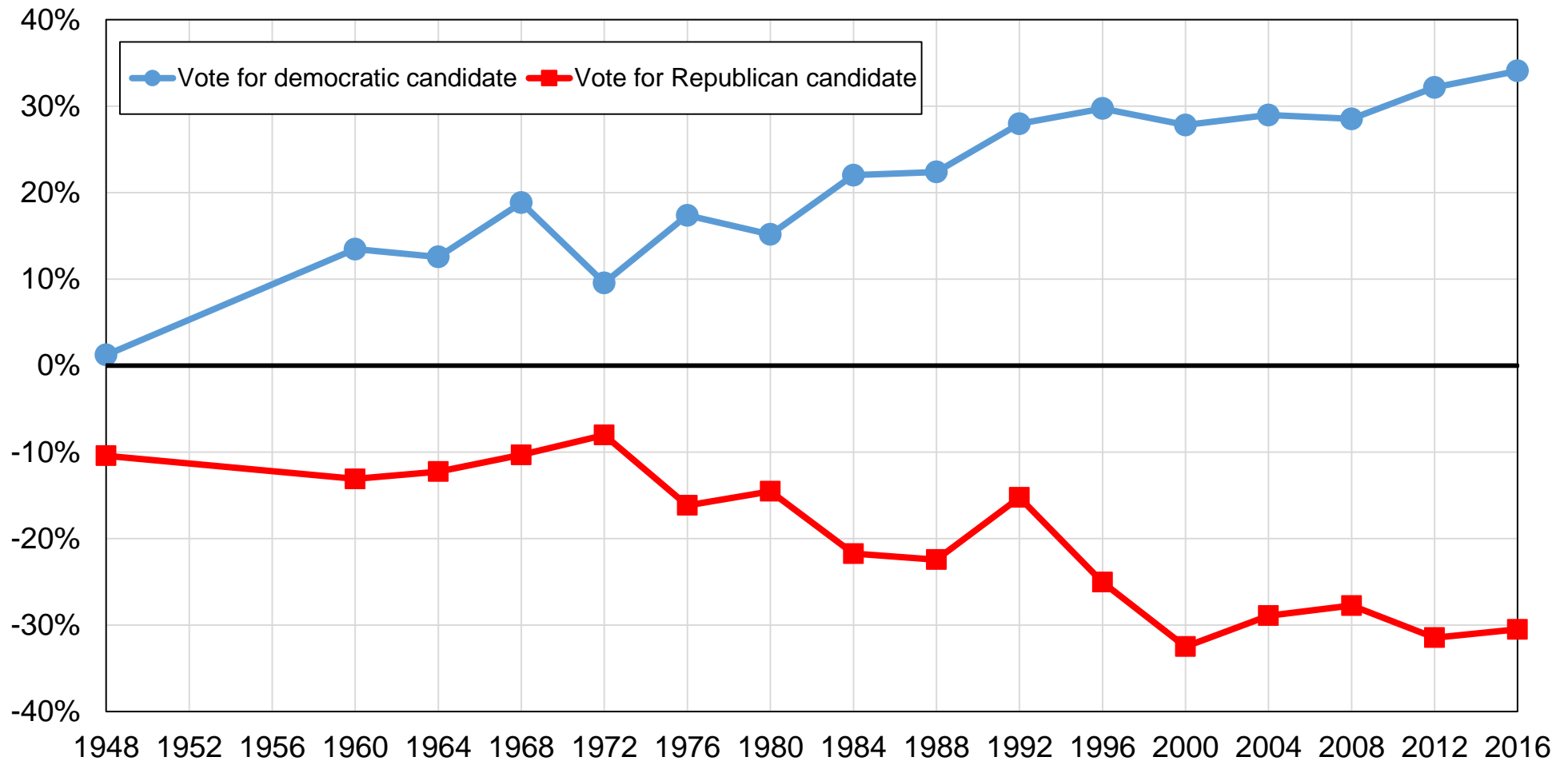
Figure A3 - Vote for left by social class (excluding center and Arab parties), 1969-2019



Source : author's computations using INES election surveys (see wpid.world).

Note : the figure shows how left vote depends on self-reported social class, controlling for age, gender, education and household size. Here center parties and Arab parties were excluded from the definition of left. Compare with Figure 2

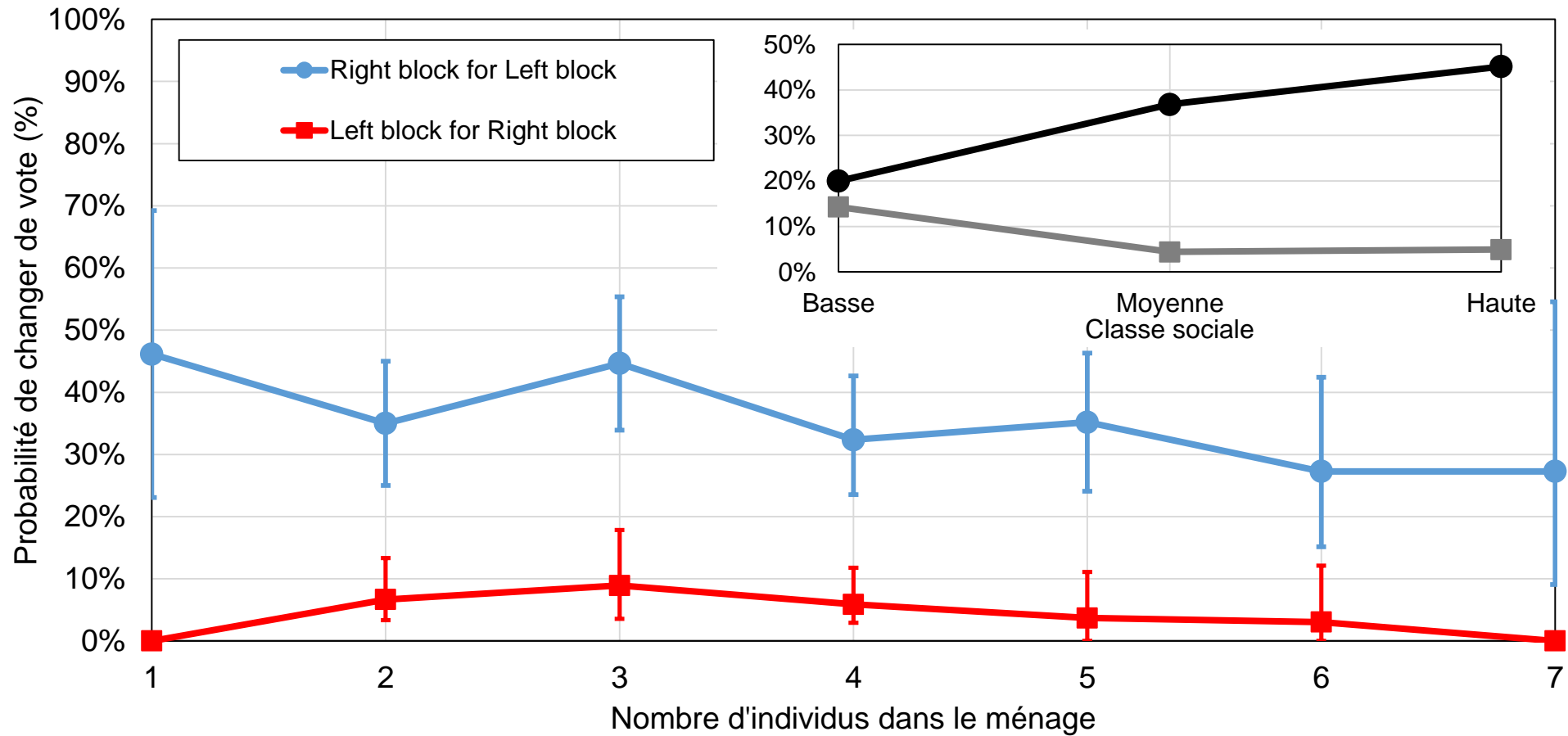
Figure A4 - Vote for the Republican and Democratic candidates in New York City, 1948-2016



Source : author's computations using the Atlas of U.S. Presidential Elections (see wpid.world).

Note : the figure shows the difference (in percentage points) between the share of votes to the Republican and Democratic candidates in New York City and the general public in the United States (compare with Figure 4).

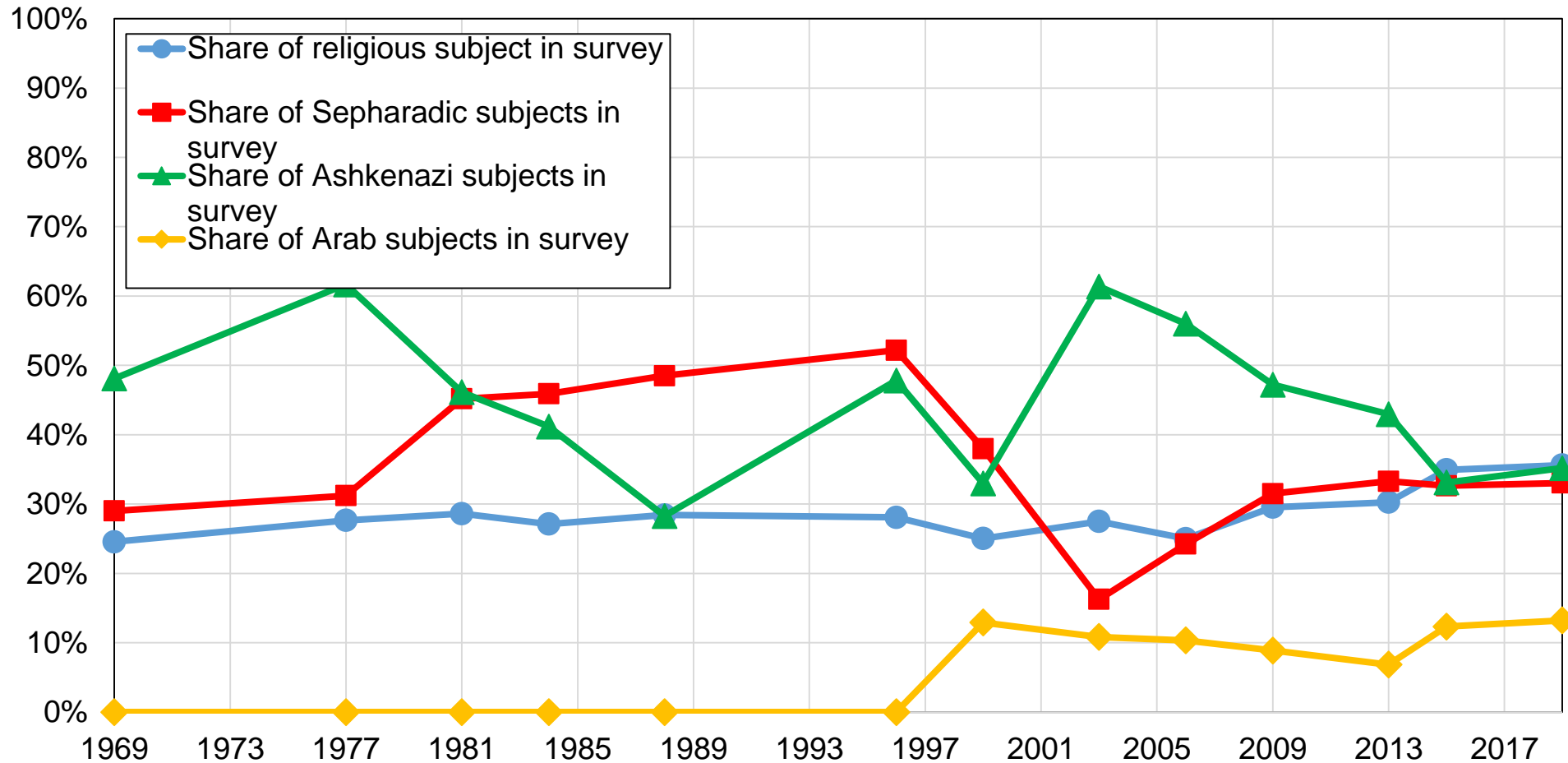
Figure A5 - The effect of the 2003 reforms on left and right vote



Source : author's computations using INES election surveys (see wpid.world).

Note the figure shows the probability for right bloc voters in the 2003 election to change their vote to the left bloc (blue) or to left (red) in the 2006 election by household size. The inset shows the probability to change from right to left (black) and from left to right (grey) between 2003 and 2006 by self-reported social class.

Figure A6 - Share of voters by ethnicity and religiosity, 1969-2019



Source : author's computations using INES election surveys (see wpid.world).

Note : this figure shows the share of religious voters in the INES election surveys, as well as voters of different ethnic origin. See endnotes for the definitions of religious subjects and subjects of different ethnic origin. All shares are computed from the number of subjects intending to vote in the upcoming election.

Table A1 - Division of parties to blocs

Election year	Right (actual)	Right (survey)	Left (actual)	Left (survey)	Center (actual)	Center (survey)	Arab (actual)	Arab (survey)	Ultra-orthodox (actual)	Ultra-orthodox (survey)
1949	Herut; General Zionists; Fighters' list; United Religious Front		Mapai; Mapam; Maki		Wizo; Progressive Party; Yemenite Association; Sepharadim and Oriental Communities		Democratic List of Nazareth			
1951	Herut; General Zionists; Hapoel HaMizrachi; Mizrachi		Mapai; Mapam; Maki		Progressive Party; Yemenite Association; Sepharadim and Oriental Communities		Progress and Work; Agriculture and Development; Democratic List for Israeli Arabs		Poalei Agudat Israel; Agudat Israel	
1955	Herut; General Zionists; National Religious Front		Mapai; Mapam; Maki; Ahdut HaAvoda		Progressive Party		Progress and Work; Agriculture and Development; Democratic List for Israeli Arabs		Religious Torah Front	
1959	Herut; General Zionists; Mafdal		Mapai; Mapam; Maki; Ahdut HaAvoda		Progressive Party		Progress and Work; Agriculture and Development; Democratic List for Israeli Arabs; Cooperation and Brotherhood		Religious Torah Front	
1961	Herut; Liberal Party; Mafdal		Mapai; Mapam; Maki; Ahdut HaAvoda		-		Cooperation and Brotherhood; Progress and Development		Poalei Agudat Israel; Agudat Israel	
1965	Gahal; Mafdal; Independent Liberals		Alignment (Labor); Rakah; Maki; HaOlam Haze; Mapam; Rafi		-		Cooperation and Brotherhood; Progress and Development		Poalei Agudat Israel; Agudat Israel	
1969	Gahal; Mafdal; Free Center	Gahal; Mafdal; Free Center	Alignment (Labor); National List; Rakah; Maki; HaOlam Haze	Alignment (Labor); National List; Rakah; Maki; Haolam Haze	Independent Liberals	Independent Liberals	Cooperation and Brotherhood; Progress and Development	Cooperation and Brotherhood; Progress and Development	Poalei Agudat Israel; Agudat Israel	Poalei Agudat Israel; Agudat Israel
1973	Likud; Mafdal	Likud; Mafdal; Free Center; Reshima Ezrachit	Alignment (Labor); Moked; Rakah; Ratz	Alignment (Labor); Rakah; Maki; Haolam Haze	Independent Liberals	Independent Liberals	Progress and Development; Arab List for Bedouin and Villagers	Progress and Development; Arab List for Bedouin and Villagers	Religious Torah Front	Poalei Agudat Israel; Agudat Israel
1977	Likud; Mafdal; Shlomzion	Likud; Mafdal; Shlomzion	Alignment (Labor); Hadash; Sheli; Ratz	Alignment (Labor); Rakah; Ratz; Meri; Women's party; Moked	Independent Liberals; Dash; Peace and Development	Independent Liberals; Dash	United Arab List	-	Poalei Agudat Israel; Agudat Israel	Religious Torah Front
1981	Likud; Mafdal; Tami; Hatehia	Likud; Mafdal; Hatehia	Alignment (Labor); Hadash; Ratz	Alignment (Labor); Rakah; Sheli; Ratz	Telem; Shinui	Telem; Shinui	-	-	Agudat Israel	Poalei Agudat Israel; Agudat Israel
1984	Likud; Mafdal; Morasha; Tami; Kach; Hatehia	Likud; Mafdal; Morasha; Tami; Hatehia; Flatto-Sharon	Alignment (Labor); Hadash; Ratz; Progressive list for peace	Alignment (Labor); Hadash; Ratz; Sheli; Yahad; Lova Eliav	Shinui; Yahad; Ometz	Shinui; Yahad; Ometz	-	-	Agudat Israel; Shas	Agudat Israel; Shas
1988	Likud; Mafdal; Tzomet; Moledet; Hatehia	Likud; Mafdal; Tzomet; Moledet; Hatehia; Kach	Labor; Mapam; Ratz; Progressive list for peace; Hadash	Labor; Mapam; Ratz; Progressive list for peace	Shinui	Shinui; Meimad	Mada	-	Agudat Israel; Shas; Degel Hator	Agudat Israel; Shas; Pagi
1992	Likud; Mafdal; Tzomet; Moledet	Likud; Mafdal; Tzomet; Moledet; Hatehia; Modai (new liberal party)	Labor; Meretz	Labor; Meretz	-	Shinui; Meimad; Russian immigrant party	Hadash	Progressive list for peace	Yehadut Hatora; Shas	Yehadut Hatora; Shas
1996	Likud-Gesher-Tzomet; Mafdal; Moledet; Israel Bealila	Likud-Gesher-Tzomet; Mafdal; Moledet; Israel Bealila	Labor; Meretz	Labor; Meretz	Third way party	Third way party	Hadash-Balad; Mada-Raam	Hadash-Balad; Mada-Raam	Yehadut Hatora; Shas	Yehadut Hatora; Shas
1999	Likud; Israel Beitenu; Mafdal; Moledet; National Union; Israel Bealila	Likud; Israel Beitenu; Mafdal; Moledet; National Union; Israel Bealila; Tzomet	Israeli Ahat (Labor); Meretz; One nation	Israeli Ahat (Labor); Meretz; One nation; Women's party	Center party; Shinui	Center party; Shinui; Third way party; Green party; Green leaf; Pnina Rosenblum	Hadash; Balad; Raam	Hadash; Balad; Raam; Mada	Yehadut Hatora; Shas	Yehadut Hatora; Shas
2003	Likud; Mafdal; National Union	Likud; Mafdal; National Union; Tzomet; Israel Beitenu; Herut	Labor; One nation; Meretz	Labor; Bronfman; One nation; Meretz; Women's party	Shinui; Israel Bealila	Shinui; Israel Acheret; Green party; Green leaf; Israel Bealila	Hadash; Balad; Raam	Hadash; Balad; Raam; Mada; Ahmad Tibi	Yehadut Hatora; Shas	Yehadut Hatora; Shas; Ahavat Israel
2006	Likud; Israel Beitenu; National Union - Mafdal	Likud; National Union - Mafdal; Tzomet; Israel Beitenu; Herut; Hazit Leumit Yehudit	Labor; Meretz	Labor; Meretz; Lehem	Kadima; Pensioners	Kadima; Hetz; Shinui; Green party; Green leaf; Tafnit; War on banks; Pensioners	Hadash; Balad; Raam-Taal	Hadash; Balad; Raam-Taal	Yehadut Hatora; Shas	Yehadut Hatora; Shas
2009	Likud; Jewish home; Israel Beitenu; National Union	Likud; Jewish home; Israel Beitenu; National Union	Labor; Meretz	Labor; Meretz	Kadima	Kadima; Green movement - Meimad; Green party; Pensioners	Hadash; Balad; Raam-Taal	Hadash; Balad; Raam-Taal	Yehadut Hatora; Shas	Yehadut Hatora; Shas
2013	Likud-Israel Beitenu; Jewish home	Likud; Jewish home; Israel Beitenu; National Union; Otzma L'Israel	Labor; Meretz	Labor; Meretz; Daam; Eretz Hadasha; Koah Lehashpia	Yesh Atid; Kadima; Hatnua	Yesh Atid; Kadima; Hatnua	Hadash; Balad; Raam-Taal	Hadash; Balad; Raam-Taal	Yehadut Hatora; Shas	Yehadut Hatora; Shas
2015	Likud; Jewish home; Israel Beitenu	Yahad; Likud; Jewish home; Israel Beitenu	Zionist bloc (labor); Meretz	Zionist bloc (labor); Meretz	Kulanu; Yesh Atid	Kulanu; Yesh Atid; Green party; Green leaf	Joint list	Joint list	Yehadut Hatora; Shas	Yehadut Hatora; Shas; Bizchutan
2019	Likud; Israel Beitenu; Right Parties Union	Likud; Israel Beitenu; Right Parties Union; The New Right; Otzma Yehudit; Zehut	Labor; Meretz	Labor; Meretz	Kahol Lavan; Kulanu	Kahol Lavan; Kulanu; Gesher	Hadash-Taal; Balad-Raam	Hadash-Taal; Balad-Raam	Yehadut Hatora; Shas	Yehadut Hatora; Shas

Note: this tables details how political blocs are defined in each election. The definitions in the surveys slightly differ from the actual one block definitions - some surveys were conducted before the elections, so that "last-minute" changes in the structure of different blocs occurred between the survey and election. Also, as the surveys were conducted from 1969 onward, the definitions before 1969 only refer to the actual election results.

Table A2 - The effect of the 2003 reforms on right vote

	Household size effect		Lower class effect	
	Right to non-right	Right to left	Right to non-right	Right to left
Household size	-0,044	-0,020		
SE	0,067	0,032		
Lower class dummy			-0,178	-0,044
SE			0,097	0,046
Observations	294	294	294	294

Source: author's computations using INES election surveys (see wpid.world).

Note: the table shows the results of a linear probability regression used to test whether changing vote from right to non-right or from right to left between 2003 and 2006 depended on the number of people in the household or on belonging to the lower social class. We control for religiosity, gender, ethnic origin, income and education. The table shows that the dependence of the probability of a right voter in 2003 to switch to non-right or left in 2006 cannot be explained by either household size or belonging to the lower class, after controlling for other socio-demographic variables. The only statistically significant result is that being of lower class reduced the probability of changing vote from right to non-right.