Codebook
2021/2022 Chapel Hill Expert Survey: Israel
January 2024

This dataset provides the data for the 2021 and 2022 Chapel Hill Expert Survey Israel on the positioning of 16 political parties (lists) on political ideology and policy positions. The surveys were administered during Spring 2022 (after the 2021 election) and Winter 2023 (after the 2022 election) to 50 experts specializing in political parties in Israel.[1]

The Chapel Hill expert survey was conducted by Roi Zur and Ryan Bakker.

The CHES_ISRAEL_means_2021_2022.dta Stata file contains average expert judgments per political party for each of the two waves. The ches_isr_expert_2021.dta and ches_isr_expert_2022.dta datasets provide information at the level of the individual expert and allows researchers to aggregate expert scores and estimate standard deviations among expert judgments. The survey questionnaire specifies the full question format.

*In papers or publications utilizing this dataset, we ask users to refer to the dataset as:
Zur, Roi., & Bakker, Ryan. (2023). The Israeli parties' positions in comparative perspective. Party Politics, 0(0). https://doi.org/10.1177/13540688231218917

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[1] 23 experts completed the 2021 survey (44% response rate) and 22 completed the 2022 survey (42% response rate). These are high numbers of complete surveys and response rates relative to a small country such as Israel. Most experts are academics studying political parties at Israeli universities, and the rest are placed at American, British, and German universities.

General Questions

COUNTRY = unique identifier for Israel (97).

Year = unique identifier for election year (2021/2022).

PARTY ID = unique identifier for each party.

PARTY = party name.

Party ID	Party Name	Party Name (Hebrew)	2021	2022
9701	Likud	ליכוד	V	V
9702	Yesh Atid	יש עתיד	V	V
9703	Shas	ש"ס	V	V
9704	B&W (Blue White)	כחול לבן	V	
9705	Yamina	ימינה	V	
9706	Labor	העבודה	V	V
9707	UTJ (United Torah Judaism)	יהדות התורה	V	V
9708	YB (Yisrael Beiteinu)	ישראל ביתנו	V	V
9709	RZ (the Religious Zionist Party)	הציונות הדתית	V	V
9710	Joint List	הרשימה המאוחדת	V	
9711	New Hope	תקווה חדשה	V	
9712	Meretz	מרצ	V	V
9713	Ra'am	הרשימה הערבית המאוחדת (רע"ם)	V	V
9714	State Camp	המחנה הממלכתי		V
9715	Hadash-Ta'al	חד"ש-תע"ל		V
9716	Balad	ברית לאומית דמוקרטית (בל"ד)		V

Section 1: Ideological Questions

LRECON = 1. Parties can be classified in terms of their stance on ECONOMIC ISSUES such as privatization, taxes, regulation, government spending, and the welfare state. Parties on the economic left want government to play an active role in the economy. Those on the economic right want a reduced role for government.

    0 = extreme left.
    :
    5 = center.
    :
    10 = extreme right.

LRECON_SALIENCE = We would now like you to think about the salience or importance of ECONOMIC ISSUES for a party. During 2022, how important were ECONOMIC ISSUES to the parties in their public stance?

    0 = No importance.
    :
    10 = Great importance.

GALTAN = Parties can be classified in terms of their views on social and cultural values. "LIBERTARIAN" or "POSTMATERIALIST" parties favor expanded personal freedoms, for example, abortion rights, divorce, and same-sex marriage. "TRADITIONAL" or "AUTHORITARIAN" parties reject these ideas in favor of order, tradition, and stability, believing that the government should be a firm moral authority on social and cultural issues. Where did political parties stand on LIBERTARIAN/TRADITIONAL issues in 2022?

    0 = Libertarian/postmaterialist.
    :
    10 = Traditional/authoritarian.

GALTAN_SALIENCE = During 2021 (2022), how important or SALIENT were LIBERTARIAN/TRADITIONAL issues to the parties in their public stance?

    0 = No importance.
    :
    10 = Great importance.

ISRAEL_PALESTINE = Parties can be classified in terms of their stance on Israeli-Palestinian Conflict issues such as the solution to the conflict, the settlements, and a Palestinian state. Parties on the left support a peaceful solution to the conflict, evacuation of the settlements, and a Palestinian state. Those on the right oppose negotiation with the Palestinian authority and a Palestinian state, and support annexation of the territories. During 2021 (2022), where did the parties stand on ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN CONFLICT ISSUES?

> 0 = Left.
>
> :
>
> 5 = Center.
>
> :
>
> 10 = Right.

ISRAEL_PALESTINE_SALIENCE = During 2021 (2022), how important or SALIENT were ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN CONFLICT ISSUES to the parties in their public stance?

> 0 = No importance.
>
> :
>
> 10 = Great importance.

LRGEN = And finally, please tick the box that best describes each party's OVERALL IDEOLOGY on a scale ranging from 0 (extreme left) to 10 (extreme right).

> 0 = Extreme left.
>
> :
>
> 5 = Center.
>
> :
>
> 10 = Extreme right.

Section 2: Policy Dimensions

JEWISH_IMMIGRATION = Where did political parties stand on Jewish immigration (Aliyah) in 2022?[2]

> 0 = Strongly favors a liberal policy on Jewish immigration.
>
> :
>
> 10 = Strongly favors a restrictive policy on Jewish immigration.

NON_JEWISH_IMMIGRATION = Position toward non-Jewish IMMIGRATION POLICY?

> 0 = Strongly favors a liberal policy on immigration.
>
> :
>
> 10 = Strongly favors a restrictive policy on immigration.

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[2] This question was asked only in the 2022 wave.

MULTICULTURISM = Next, what was their POSITION ON INTEGRATION OF NON-JEWISH IMMIGRANTS AND ASYLUM SEEKERS (multiculturalism vs. assimilation) in 2022?

      0 = Strongly favors multiculturalism.

      :

      10 = Strongly favors assimilation.

REDISTRIBUTION = Next, where did these political parties stand on REDISTRIBUTION in 2021 (2022)?

      0 = Strongly favors redistribution.

      :

      10 = Strongly opposes redistribution.

ENVIRONMENT = Position towards ENVIRONMENTAL SUSTAINABILITY in 2021 (2022).

      0 = Strongly supports environmental protection even at the cost of economic growth.

      :

      10 = Strongly supports economic growth even at the cost of environmental protection.

SPENDVTAX = Position on improving public services vs. reducing taxes in 2021 (2022).

      0 = Strongly favors improving public services.

      :

      10 = Strongly favors reducing taxes.

CIVLIB = Position on CIVIL LIBERTIES VS. LAW AND ORDER

      0 = Strongly favors civil liberties.

      :

      10 = Strongly favors tough measures to fight crime.

ABORTION = Position towards Abortion

      0 = Strongly opposes restrictions on abortion.

      :

      10 = Strongly supports restrictions on abortion.

JEWISH_SETTLEMENTS = Position towards Jewish settlements in Judea and Samaria.

      0 = Strongly favors evacuation of the Jewish settlements.

      :

      10 = Strongly favors increasing and supporting the settlements.

PALESTINIAN_STATE = Position towards a Palestinian state.

    0 = Strongly favors a Palestinian state.

    :

    10 = Strongly opposes a Palestinian state.

DEMOCRATIC_V_JEWISH_STATE = Parties can be classified in terms of their stance on the tension between "Democratic" and "Jewish" state. Parties on the "Democratic" extreme believe in equal rights and treatment to all Israelis, whether Jewish or not, and elimination of the special status of Judaism in public life (such as the law of return and the status quo agreement). Parties on the "Jewish" extreme believe that Israel is the homeland of the Jewish people, the Jewish culture should guide public life, and that the state should be governed by the Torah laws (Medinat Halacha). During 2021 (2022), where did the parties stand on DEMOCRACTIC VS. JEWISH ISSUES?

    0 = Strongly supports a democratic state.

    :

    10 = Strongly supports Jewish (Halacha) state.

GENDER_EQUALITY = Position toward policies supporting gender equality (e.g. family leave, equal pay).

    0 = Strongly supports policies promoting gender equality.

    :

    10 = Strongly opposes policies promoting gender equality.

ARAB_WORLD = Position toward the Arab world.

    0 = Strongly supports diplomatic engagement with Arab countries.

    :

    10 = Strongly opposes diplomatic engagement with Arab countries.

RELIGIOUS PRINCIPLES = Position on the role of RELIGIOUS PRINCIPLES in politics.[3]

    0 = Strongly opposes religious principles in politics.

    :

    10 = Strongly supports religious principles in politics.

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[3] This question was asked only in the 2022 wave.

Section 3: Characteristics of Political Parties

ANTI_ISLAM_RHETORIC = How salient was ANTI-ISLAM RHETORIC for the party leadership during 2021 (2022)?

    0 = Not important at all.
    :
    10 = Extremely important.

PEOPLE_VS_ELITE Some political parties take the position that 'THE PEOPLE' should have the final say on the most important issues, for example, by voting directly in referendums. At the opposite pole are political parties that believe that ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES should make the most important political decisions. Where did the parties fall on this dimension during 2021 (2022)?

    0 = Elected office holders should make the most important decisions.
    :
    10 = `The people', not politicians, should make the most important decisions.

ANTIELITE_SALIENCE = How salient has ANTI-ESTABLISHMENT AND ANTI-ELITE RHETORIC been to the party and the president over 2021 (2022)?

    0 = Not important at all.
    :
    10 = Extremely important.

CORRUPT SALIENCE = How salient has REDUCING POLITICAL CORRUPTION been to the party and the president over 2021 (2022)?

    0 = Not important at all.
    :
    10 = Extremely important.

UKRAINE_SUPPORT = Please share your perception of the position of each party toward Israel sending weapons and military equipment to support the Ukrainian army.

    0 = Strongly opposed to sending military aid to Ukraine.
    :
    10 = Strongly supports sending military aid to Ukraine.

Last updated: January 11, 2024.