PROFECI

PROFECI WORKING PAPER 02/2021

PROFECI CODEBOOK: ISRAELI ELECTIONS 2019-2021 & US ELECTIONS 2016/2020

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Working Paper Series of the ERC-funded project
Mediating the Future: The Social Dynamics of Public Projections (PROFECI)
Principal Investigator: Keren Tenenboim-Weinblatt

erc

Grant No. 802990

האוניברסיטה העברית בירושלים
THE HEBREW UNIVERSITY OF JERUSALEM

Acknowledgement:
This Codebook was refined and tested in collaboration with our six excellent research assistants: Shahar Birotker, Keshet Galili, Dina Michaeli, Aviv Mor, Sonia Olvovsky and Michal Salamon.

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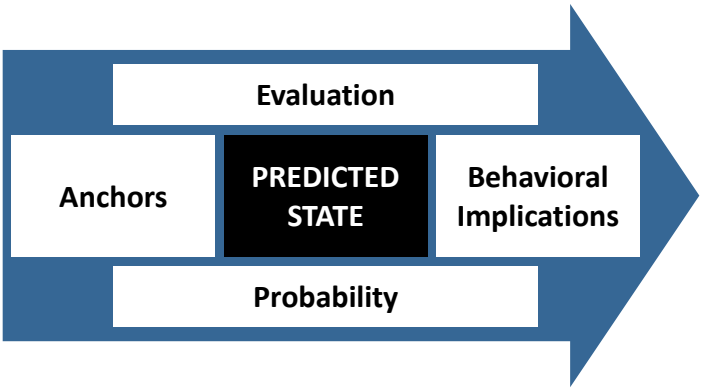
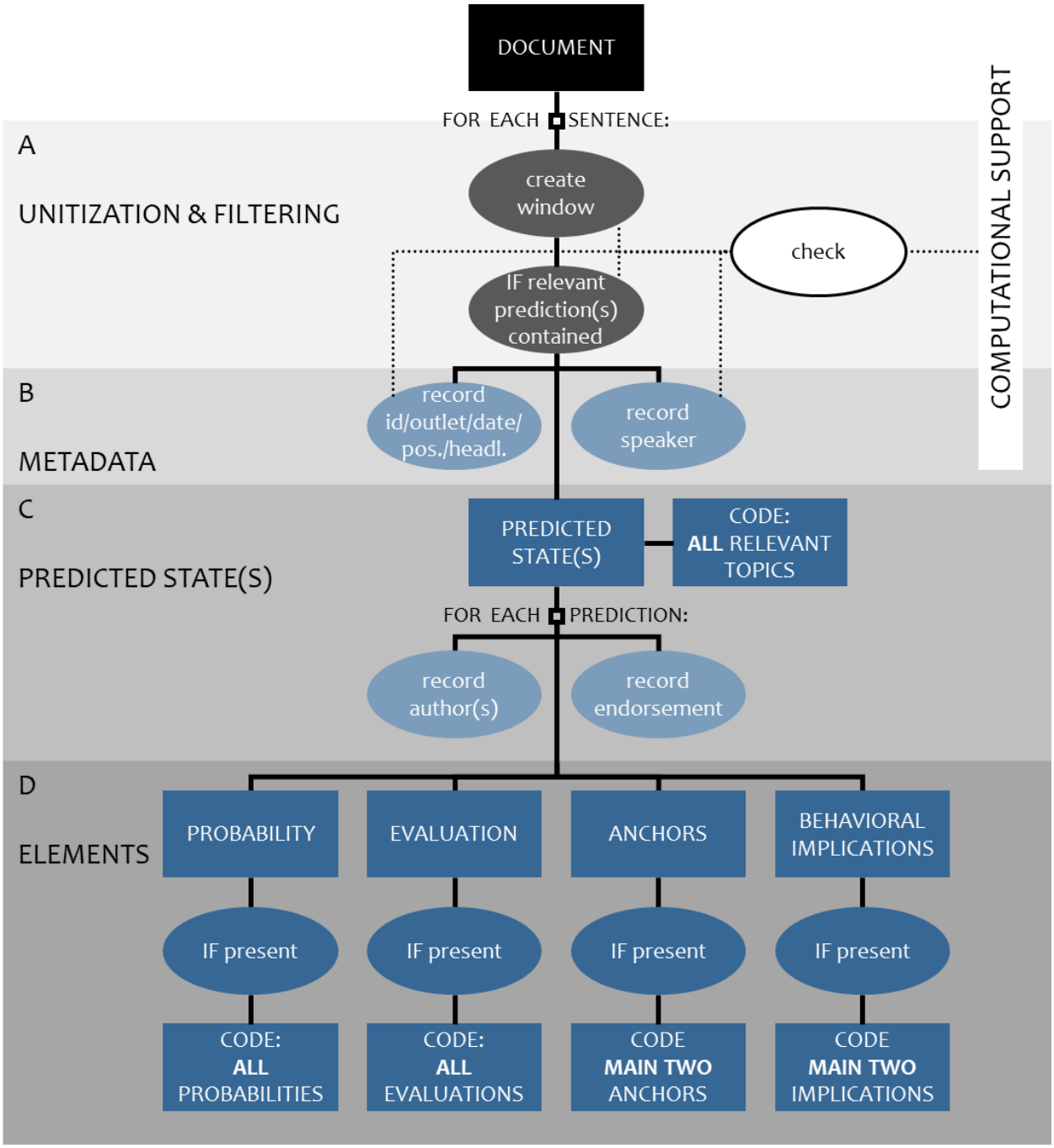
CODING PROCESS

Political projections are scenarios about the expected outcomes and implications of political events, such as elections, referenda, crises, and wars. Much previous work has focused on the challenges and cognitive biases associated with the attempt to accurately predict the future (e.g., Silver, 2012; Tetlock & Gardner, 2015; Kahneman, 2011). However, the attempt to get it right is not the only motivation for projections. For instance, future scenarios encapsulated in campaign slogans such as "Bibi or Tibi" (a Likud slogan juxtaposing Netanyahu and an Arab-Israeli politician) or "Kahol Lavan or Erdoğan" (a Blue & White [Kahol Lavan] slogan likening Netanyahu to the Turkish president) portray binary future outcomes that play to the fears of the respective parties' constituencies for purposes of voter mobilization. Moreover, projections can affect political reality regardless of whether they are accurate: they can propel political action aimed at bringing about desirable futures or avoid undesirable scenarios, and sometimes trigger self-fulfilling and self-defeating dynamics (Merton, 1948; Tenenboim-Weinblatt, 2018).

Consequently, projections can be conceptualized as dynamic discursive constructs with social implications. Projections center upon the expected outcome (Predicted State), qualified by its estimated likelihood (Probability), as well as its desirability (Evaluation). Furthermore, expected outcomes may be warranted by specific considerations (Anchors) and imply suitable responses (Behavioral Implications). To speak of a projection, a predicted state is required. Each projected state can be qualified by both its probability and its evaluation, but these qualities may also remain unspecified. Any projected state can be justified by none to multiple anchors, and raise none to multiple behavioral implications.



PUBLIC PROJECTIONS \ **DECISION TREE**



Projections come in a wide variety of forms and contents, and may discuss almost any possible future event or state. While the sampling of texts included in the corpus should generally ensure that the texts bear at least some relation to the focal issues, not all projections included in each text are necessarily relevant to the study.

In order to focus the analysis on specific election-related projections, the coding procedure takes place in four subsequent steps:

A. UNITIZATION & FILTERING. Identify any sentences that include any projections within the document1 and determine whether these are related to the focal issue (here: one of the Israeli general election rounds in 2019-2021 / one of the US presidential election rounds in 2016 and 2020). For each core sentence containing one or more projections, construct a window of up to two preceding and up to two succeeding sentences around each core sentence.

B. METADATA. Record the date, outlet, document ID and window position, as well as the speaker of all relevant predictions.

C. PREDICTED STATE. For each relevant prediction included in the core sentence, determine what is the predicted state and classify it according to the codebook. In addition, record the prediction's author(s), as well as the speaker's endorsement.

D. ELEMENTS. Identify claims that refer to any of the predicted states included in the core sentence and express information relevant to their evaluation, probability, anchor, or behavioral implications, and classify them based on the codebook.

[1] A document is defined in slightly different ways depending on the corpus. For print and online news, a document encompasses one news item as represented as a contiguous text on the page/web page, including possible additional, embedded textual contents (e.g., info boxes, picture captions, but not the pictures or info graphics) so long as these are editorial content or provided by the author of the item (i.e., excluding advertisements or links to further information available elsewhere). In transcripts from television or radio news shows, a document is defined as one news item embedded within a longer news cast, delimited by a shift of a) authorship (e.g., clips authored by specific reporters constitute separate items; key indicator is that the anchor hands over the narrative to a reporter for a limited time; the announcement and possible wrap-up sentences by the anchor that merely frame the clip are considered part of the same document; however, clips that are merely inserted as illustrations while the speaker's narrative continues afterwards do not constitute separate documents); b) topic (e.g., an item ends and a new one begins when the anchor announces a new topic; key indicators are headlines presented at the beginning of the news cast, as well as all sequencing statements [e.g., "next"] in the anchor's narrative; topical segments may also be delimited by pauses); and reporting vs. analysis perspective (e.g., a discussion with an expert panel or studio guest constitutes a separate document from possible adjacent clips provided by reporters; key indicator is the change of the communicative interaction, from anchor-reporter to anchor-guest or anchor-commentator or vice versa; for instance, an interaction between anchor and reporter following a clip report by the same reporter is still part of the same document as the clip, but once the anchor addresses anyone else, the document is ended. However, preceding segments of the same news cast can be part of the context unit of later segments, if the latter refer to them. To ensure that context knowledge is available for the coding process, multiple documents separated from the same news transcript are to be coded in sequence and by the same coder. Interactive interviews are generally treated as one document, unless there are clearly marked breaks (e.g., ad breaks, clip inserts that introduce new topics) and topic shifts whereafter the topical focus does not return to the preceding topic (if it does, all is treated as one document). For social media posts, the document includes the full text of the post, excluding any text embedded in posted visuals and/or text automatically loaded onto the page by posted links (e.g., captions of linked news items). Focus group transcripts are not at present considered.

FORMATTING NOTE:

In the following, BLACK headings are chapter headings. GREEN headings refer to steps where computational support pre-codes the material, but a manual check is required. YELLOW headings indicate steps where a manual text entry is required. GRAY headings indicate the need to select one out of several relevant variables. BLUE headings, finally, indicate the need to select all options that apply. We will first detail the main stages of the coding process, before the coded categories are introduced. In the coding instructions, DARK SHADES mark variables that are considered under any circumstances, while LIGHT SHADES mark variables that are only considered if specific superordinate categories are coded.

A. UNITIZATION & FILTERING

UNITIZATION [check]

Any document may contain one or multiple projections. To identify all included projections, we proceed from top to bottom through the document to consider every sentence separately. To evaluate each sentence's meaning, up to two preceding and up to two succeeding sentences are regarded as relevant context.

Each textual unit of core sentence and surrounding context is automatically extracted by a computer algorithm. Check if the unit is extracted correctly and augment cut-off parts if necessary (e.g., if the computer misses part of a context sentence).

PRESENCE OF A PROJECTION [check]

Every sentence that formulates at least one assertive claim about the future is further considered, while all sentences that do not are discarded. The same sentence may include more than one projection.

A computer algorithm automatically identifies any sentences that might contain at least one projection, but a manual check needs to confirm this.

RELEVANCE TO FOCAL ISSUE [check]

A projection is considered related to the focal issue if its predicted state directly relates to the focal issue, in the sense that it would change in meaning or substance if the focal issue were to be removed.

For instance, for the issue of the Israeli elections, the focal issue is defined as the elections, including the processes leading up to the electoral competition (list formation, campaign tactics, voter preferences), the election and its outcome itself, as well as its broader implications as far as these are seen as direct consequences of distinct electoral outcomes. Accordingly, "There is no way that Zalikha's campaign mobilizes enough support" is relevant, since it predicts an event that is part of the electoral campaign; likewise, "No matter who will be the next PM, the Ultra-Orthodox will continue to gain influence" will be relevant, as it predicts an outcome that is presented as a consequence of the election outcome (in this case, any election outcome supports the same prediction). Predictions that target events that are not related to the elections themselves can thus still be relevant if they carry specific implications that can be understood only in the context of the focal issue. In both cases, if there were no elections, the meaning of the prediction would change. By contrast, "Channel 11's ratings have been going down and they will continue to fall" predicts exactly the same thing regardless of whether it is said in the context of the election, and is thus not relevant; likewise "if they continue attacking Bibi like this, channel 12 will only lose ratings" may be contextually related to the elections (as the attacks take

place during the campaign), but the prediction is not about the elections or their wider implications, and hence irrelevant.

If multiple projections exist in the same sentence, it is sufficient if at least one of these is relevant. Only relevant projections will be coded below.

A computer algorithm automatically identifies any sentences that might relate to the focal issue, but a manual check needs to confirm this.

B. METADATA

If at least one projection included in the core sentence is screened as relevant, the passage is recorded with the following metadata:

DOCUMENT ID [auto-coded]

The document ID of the embedding document, as assigned by JAmCAT. Note that multiple documents as defined in footnote 1 above can have the same Document ID, for example, if multiple separate passages from the same TV transcript constitute separate news items and thus separate documents. This entry is provided by the computer algorithm and can be taken over.

OUTLET [auto-coded]

Outlet: The outlet from which the document is taken (e.g., news media outlet, Twitter account). This entry is provided by the computer algorithm and can be taken over.

DATE [auto-coded]

The date recorded for the document. This entry is provided by the computer algorithm and can be taken over.

CORE SENTENCE POSITION [auto-coded]

For every projection that is related to the focal issue, its position in the document is recorded as the ordinal number of the first word included in the core sentence. This entry is provided by the computer algorithm and can be taken over.

HEADLINE [select one]

In addition, it is recorded whether the core sentence is part of the Headline, a Subheading (either the one below the main headline, or an inserted subheading within the main text), another kind of Highlight in the text (if applicable), or neither of these. While Headline status is recognized automatically, the other possibilities need to be checked manually.

1. HEADLINE. Headline is automatically coded for any text that is part of the headline of the article.

2. SUBHEADING/HIGHLIGHT. Subheading is coded for any text that elaborates on the main headline (e.g., as roof or subtitle) but is not part of the main text of the article. It is also coded for any headings inserted within the flow of the text (i.e. between different passages of main text). Lead paragraphs, which are sometimes also accentuated in the news, are not considered highlights.

3. TEXT. All core sentences that are neither part of a headline, subheading or highlight are treated as part of the main text.

SPEAKER [list any]

If a projection is found relevant, its speaker is recorded. As speaker counts the person who controls the text, that is, the author (or multiple authors) in case of an authored text (e.g., news articles), or the speaker in case of an interactive conversation (e.g., in an interview, a transcript from a news panel discussion). Quoted but absent authors are not considered as speakers (i.e., if a text or news anchor quotes Netanyahu, the speaker is still the author of the text/the news anchor; Netanyahu may still be coded as → Author or → Source, though). In social media, the speaker is the person who last contributed to a present post, which can be the person creating a post (original posts); or the person sharing or retweeting the post, with or without comment: If A posts a link to an article written by B, or A retweets B, A is the speaker, even if A does not add any content of her own. Speakers can be individuals (e.g., the authors of a news article) or collective actors (e.g., the institution signed as responsible for a text, such as a report or an editorial); their names are recorded as indicated in the byline, metadata, or transcript (e.g., the person marked as speaker before a colon). If there are multiple speakers controlling the same core sentence, list all speakers.

C. PREDICTED STATES

If there is at least one projection included in a sentence that is relevant, the next step is to delineate exactly which relevant predicted state(s) are presented in that sentence. Every projection requires a predicted state, so this element must always be assigned. If there is exactly one claim about a relevant future prediction included in the core sentence, this claim formulates the predicted state. If there is more than one such claim, there may be multiple predicted states in the same sentence, but they will all be coded as part of the same sentence.

To qualify as a predicted state marked in a core sentence, the expression that states *that* something will or might happen in the future (future reference plus some reference to the thing that is expected) must be part of the core sentence. However, it is possible that additional information in the adjacent sentences adds to the predicted state. For instance, in "We've long worried about X. I think it will happen.", "will happen" marks the future reference and "it" contains the prediction, so when the second sentence is the core sentence, this will be coded; however, what "it" means is specified in the preceding sentence, so that information is part of the predicted state despite it being in a different sentence. Nearby sentences may also elaborate on the scenario (e.g., "The economy will continue to grow, regardless of who governs. People are getting richer, they buy more stuff, more stuff is produced…"), or otherwise add information that is logically part of the predicted state marked in the core sentence. Any additional projections that may be included in the five-sentence window, but where the statement that these are expected is marked in a sentence other than the core sentence, are not considered: These will be coded separately, when the respective other sentence will be the core sentence.

While any relevant predicted states included in the core sentence will be coded, it may be useful to decide first whether multiple future-oriented claims are part of the same or distinct projections. Projections are *distinct* if they represent alternative outcomes, such that one projection argues that one and thus not the other outcome will manifest itself, and vice versa (e.g., "most polls suggest that Netanyahu will win, however, Shemesh maintains that the most likely winner is Saar"); or if they are independent of one another, such that if projection A comes true, projection B is still undetermined, and neither projection constitutes a precondition for the other (e.g., "prices are going to go up, but at least we might have a different government" includes two projections). Adjacent but distinct projections are typically separated in the text by using variants of "but" or "by contrast" and similar expressions. Inversely, projections are considered as *one* if they formulate a possibly complex but integrated scenario, wherein all elements are expected to manifest together (e.g., "they'll kick the religious people out of government and finally make some policy for the seculars, they'll legalize marrying without Kosher certificate, riding a bus on shabbat…"); when one part merely further specifies the other (e.g., "we will have a new prime minister, and maybe even an honest one"; "I think Netanyahu will win, probably by a wide margin"); if one part follows logically from the other (e.g., "Trump will win and Biden will lose"); or when the point of the prediction is not to say exactly what will happen, but to delineate a range of likely or possible

outcomes from other, unlikely or impossible ones (e.g., "he will offer a key ministry to Gantz, either defense or foreign affairs"; "Labor will either join with Huldai, or it will sink"). Single projections that contain multiple elements typically use conjunctions such as "and" or "also". The mere rejection of a projection does not constitute a separate projection (e.g., "Trump's expectations of victory seem overconfident"), but will be coded as the one projection (namely, that others project as stated) while the rejection by the speaker is captured above under → Endorsement.

The distinction of one or multiple projections as described above is not coded (all codes relevant to the same core sentence are recorded in the same data line), but may be helpful for the classification of projection elements. The classification of predicted states, as well as all other elements related to these, is repeated for all projections included in the same core sentences, using the codebook below, but added to the same line (so if a sentence contains two separate predictions, one about the Economy and one about the Arab Parties, both categories are present; if separate predictions both concern the Economy, only this one category will be present). For the detailed classification of predicted states, please see the category system presented below.

In addition to identifying all relevant predicted states, two more variables are recorded with regard to the predicted state:

AUTHOR [list any]

The author is the person or actor who issued or ideated a presented prediction. If the prediction is formulated by the speaker, the Speaker is also recorded as the Author of the projection. If one Speaker controls the text but quotes another person who makes the prediction (e.g., "I heard that Trump believes there will be election fraud"), then that other person is recorded as the Author of the prediction. On social media, the author is the actor who formulated the prediction – which may be the speaker of an original post or another author quoted therein, the speaker of a comment upon a shared or retweeted post if the prediction is in the comment, or the author of the shared or retweeted post, or another author quoted therein, if the prediction is part of the shared or retweeted content. Authors can be natural or collective actors (e.g., in "According to Channel 20, the Likud will get 31 seats", Channel 20 is the author), their names are recorded as indicated in the text, but resolved in case of anaphoric references (e.g., in "they say there will be no problem", "they" needs to be resolved) or other indirect references (e.g., "the man in Balfour" is resolved as Benyamin Netanyahu). If no resolution is possible, but the Author is not identical with the Speaker (e.g., "Some say…"), "unclear" is recorded as Author. If a projection is attributed to someone else, who in turn is said to refer to sources, only the former is recorded as Author, while all further references will be → Sources. If multiple projections are made in the core sentence, an Author is recorded for each projection.

ENDORSEMENT [select one]

Endorsement records to what extent a projection is endorsed by the → Speaker (i.e., the person controlling the text, which may or may not coincide with the author of the projection). For the judgment of endorsement, the sole relevant viewpoint is that of the Speaker. Endorsement is coded according to four categories:

1. ENDORSEMENT. Endorsement is coded if the speaker explicitly presents a projection as something that she/he believes in herself, or otherwise declares her/himself in agreement with a projection made by someone else. This can be the case if a speaker refers to her/himself believing it, or expressly qualifying it as valid. Merely referring to data or other authors predicting something does not constitute endorsement. If the speaker is also the author of the projection, it is assumed that the speaker endorses her own projection unless she expressly distances herself (e.g., "I used to think that X, but today I am not so sure").

2. CHALLENGE. Challenge is coded if the speaker explicitly presents a projection as something that she/he does not believe in, that has flaws or issues, or otherwise declares her/himself in disagreement with a projection made by someone else. This can be the case if the speaker expressly declares to not subscribe to a referenced projection, if she/he points out inaccuracies/flaws in the projection, or expressly qualifies it as problematic. This requires some explicit marker (e.g., "but", "however", "delude themselves", "unrealistic", "not sure") that clearly expresses the speaker's disagreement on any of the projection's components. Challenge is coded whenever there is such an explicit marker, even if there is substantively no disagreement (e.g., in "They give him maximum 35% chance but I think it's possible", "but" marks disagreement, even if both expressed projections do not really disagree). Inversely, if there is no marker, the mere fact that one can know the speaker's words to express disagreement is not considered sufficient (e.g., "Everybody says Trump will win, I say Biden" is not coded as Challenge, but if a "but" is inserted, it is coded).

3. REFERRAL. For social media communications, but not for any other kinds of documents, *Referral* is coded if a speaker retweets/shares a projection either without comment, or with commentary that expresses no more than this projection is recommended to attention (e.g., "Check this out:"). Commented-upon retweets/shares including an endorsement are coded as → Endorsement, while retweets/shares including a challenge are coded as → Challenge.

4. OTHER/NONE. Other/None is coded whenever none of the above criteria apply. This includes the case where a projection is distanced ("They say…") but not challenged; when it is presented but not endorsed ("The latest prediction is…"); when it is interpreted but not evaluated (e.g., "They say he has better chances than everyone else, so it is actually not that unlikely…"); or if the Speaker's words permit no conclusion concerning her or his stance toward the projection.

D. ELEMENT IDENTIFICATION.

For every identified projection, the final step is to identify which elements of the projection are present, and to classify these based on the codebook below. Other than the predicted state, the other four elements are optional and may be absent. Elements are recognized and coded if they are expressed anywhere within the five-sentence window and clearly related to any of the predicted states recognized in the core sentence (see above; e.g., in "I think X will win. Unfortunately.", the "unfortunately" evaluates the projection expressed in the preceding sentence). Any claims that may serve as probabilities, evaluations, anchors or behavioral implications, but do not directly refer to any of the predicted states expressed in the core sentence are disregarded.

Generally, it may be that the same text passages contribute to more than one element (e.g., "this will be a catastrophe" both contributes to the predicted state and the evaluation; "Bibi always finds a way to win" contributes to the predicted state and the anchor; "the only optimistic scenario" contributes to the evaluation and the probability). The same projection can have multiple associated anchors and behavioral implications, the most important two of which will be coded; there can be multiple evaluative statements about the same predicted state (e.g., something can be normatively undesirable and good for a specific actor); and there may be multiple probabilities expressed about a predicted state (e.g., if a projection is quoted from another Author with one probability and the speaker then challenges this by proposing a different probability). In some cases, the same textual passages may contribute to elements in multiple projections.

Within each core sentence, the identification of related elements is repeated for every relevant predicted state, but coded into the same data line.

CODING SCHEME

PREDICTED STATE (PS)

DEFINITION: Predicted states are any statements asserting a belief about a future state of the world that is still uncertain and unknown to the speaker.

The predicted state refers to the expected outcomes of future events – e.g., who will win the elections, or how will the elections affect the economic situation in the years to come. From a discursive perspective, the predicted state can be viewed as an assertive speech act that expresses a belief in a future state of the world. As such, it differs from other future-oriented speech acts (e.g., promises, calls for action), which express a desire for specific future states (Searle, 1979; see also Kampf, 2013; Stalpouskaya, 2020). Predicted states may refer to specific outcomes within a pre-structured set of possibilities (e.g., the winning candidates, allocation of seats in parliament), or lay forth open-ended scenarios (e.g., about the security situation in Israel); they may pertain to fixed points in time (e.g., election day), or to an indefinite future (Neiger & Tenenboim-Weinblatt, 2016). In Israel, the composition of the government, as well as the identity of the prime minister (PM), are determined by coalition negotiations rather than the popular vote alone, elevating the relevance of narrative projections beyond the immediate election results.

CRITERIA: To qualify as a predicted state, statements can be re-formulated as "he/she predicts that X" without changing in meaning. The direction of fit is word-to-world, i.e., the truth of the statement depends on the future state of the world. They require an expressed belief in a future state, as well as some relevant amount of uncertainty in the sense that neither the speaker's own actions, nor any other parts of the present that are known to the speaker, already control or determine the predicted future.

Any expressions that attempt to shape or prescribe a future state of the world to match the statements (e.g., desires, normative demands, agendas, calls for action) are excluded; likewise excluded are any attempts to characterize the future behavior of the speaker herself, of groups that the speaker exercises significant control over (e.g., plans, intentions; the prime minister cannot "predict" future governmental action as long as she can expect to shape it), and of any future states of the world that are already decided upon and known to the speaker (e.g., announcements, outcomes of ongoing trends and processes, others' declared plans), even if she does not directly influence these. If a speaker speculates about a third actor's plan, that may constitute a projection as it is not known what that actor will do; however, if the plan has already been announced, and is thus known, it cannot constitute a projection.

EXPRESSION: Predicted states require some form of direct or indirect future reference, which can take the form of future tense, but can also be expressed in different ways. Future-oriented statements that are qualified using markers of probability or limited certainty ("I think…") almost always constitute predicted states. First

person pronouns (I, We) in the subject position of active future-oriented statements (e.g., "I/We will…") typically indicate that a predicted future is to some important extent controlled by the speaker, and hence not a projection, unless the activity that follows is such that one can clearly not control it (e.g., "we will win" is a prediction, as winning is not controlled by the speaker). By contrast, their appearance as objects (e.g., will benefit us) or in passive statements (e.g., we will be screwed) likely indicate predicted states. Subjunctive modal verbs (could, might,עשוי, עלול) or expressions of hope, anxiety or fear in relation to future-oriented expressions tend to indicate predicted states, unless these are used in a prescriptive sense (e.g., they should; one can only hope that).

The use of present progressive tense in relation to the future state typically indicates that the described state is to some important extent controlled by the present, and thus not a predicted state (e.g., trends and ongoing processes; "a blue wave is forming"). Projections made in the past are considered only if the predicted state still lies in the future and is still undetermined; references to past projections about events that have already passed are not considered.

Predicted states can be expressed quantitatively (e.g., polls predicting the number of expected mandates for each party) or in narrative form.

As all elements, predicted states can appear in lists or chains of dependent predictions, possibly conditional upon one another. Many expressions of predicted states simultaneously express parts of the other projection elements (notably, evaluation by means of connoted lexical choices; probability by means of modality), and are then classified toward all elements touched upon.

Future-oriented expressions that do *not* suffice to indicate projections include desires ("I want her to win the elections."); normative demands ("She should win the elections, that's the best for the country."); calls for action ("We need to make sure that she wins the elections."); plans, promises and intentions ("We will work hard to ensure that everyone gets his vaccine"; distinguishing criterion here is that the speaker has control over the outcome, so she is not predicting but promising); announcements ("In two weeks Israel will receive the first batch of vaccines"; distinguishing criterion is that the speaker has knowledge of decisions about the future that have already been made, so she is not predicting but informing); and past projections ("We were absolutely convinced that Hillary Clinton would win the elections, and then we were shocked.")

Note: For many expressions of likelihood in relation to a predicted state, which include some form of negation, very similar predictions can often be made with different formulations: For instance, "she is likely to lose" is very similar to "she is unlikely to win" and "she will likely not win". In these cases, if one reads the negation as a property of the predicted state, a different coding follows compared to the case if the negation is read as part of the likelihood – either the outcome "not win" (→ PS.?.iii Lose (US) / Not Become Prime Minister (IL)) is "likely" or the outcome "win" (→ PS.?.i. Win (US) / Become Prime Minister(IL)) is "not

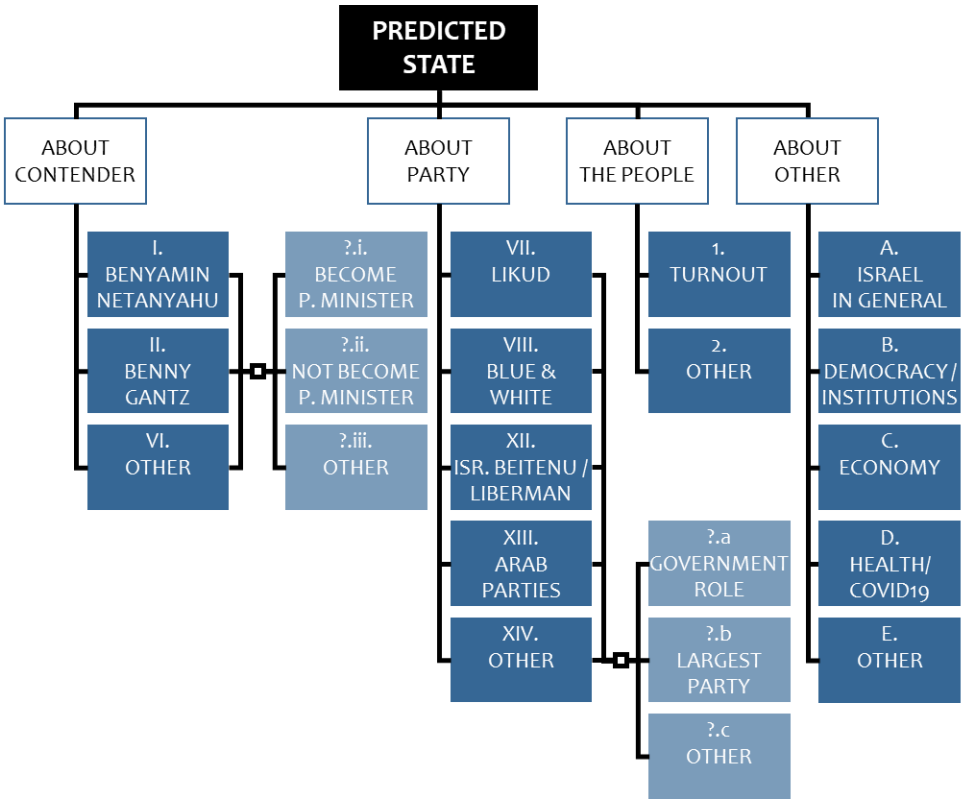
likely"[2]; similarly, "He will not make it" can be read as impossibility that he might "make it" (→ PS.?.i. Win (US) / Become Prime Minister(IL)) or as certitude that he will "not make it" (→ PS.?.iii. Lose (US) / Not Become Prime Minister (IL)). In such cases, the predicted state is separated from the → Likelihood following two rules. First, the text is taken literally: if a formulation is chosen that attributes the negative to the likelihood (e.g., "unlikely") or the outcome (e.g., "lose"), this formulation is followed: "likely lose" is → PS.?.iii Lose (US) / Not Become Prime Minister (IL) and "unlikely win" is → PS.?.i. Win (US) / Become Prime Minister(IL). Second, if both readings are equally possible, the negation is attributed to the → Likelihood, not the predicted state: "likely not win" is → PS.?.i. Win (US) / Become Prime Minister(IL) with a → Likelihood "not likely", and "will not lose" is → PS.?.iii. Lose (US) / Not Become Prime Minister (IL) with a → Likelihood "will not".

[2] The categorization of the examples is based on the categories and subcategories of predicted states, as presented in the decision trees below. For instance, PS.?.i suggests that the category is part of the classification of predicted states (PS) and belongs there to the second-level subcategory i. (Win / Become Prime Minister). The question mark indicates that this subcategory can further specify several different categories on the first classification level (e.g., PS.V.i. indicates that a predicted state refers to the subcategory i. "Win" in relation to the contender V. "Naftali Bennett").

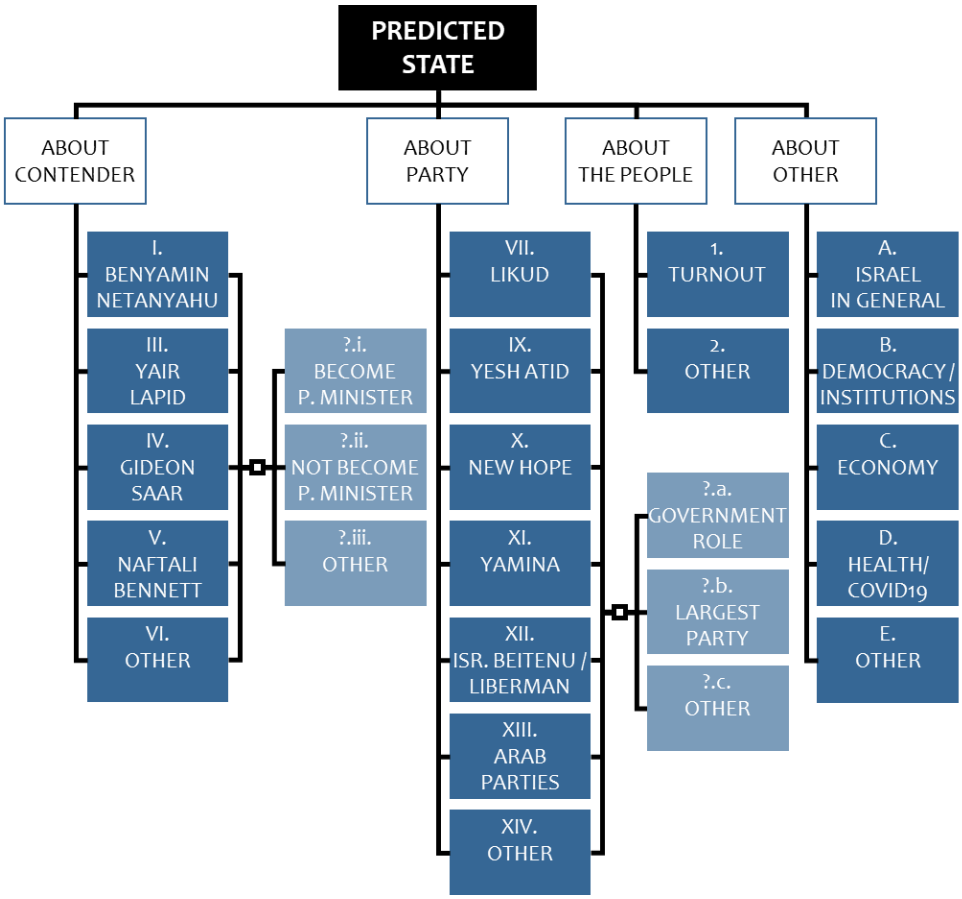
PREDICTED STATE \ **DECISION TREES**

Note: As the Predicted State is context sensitive, different Decision Trees apply for the Israeli and the US Election studies, and in Israel, between the first three Election Waves and the final, fourth one, and in the US, between the 2016 and the 2020 Presidential Elections.

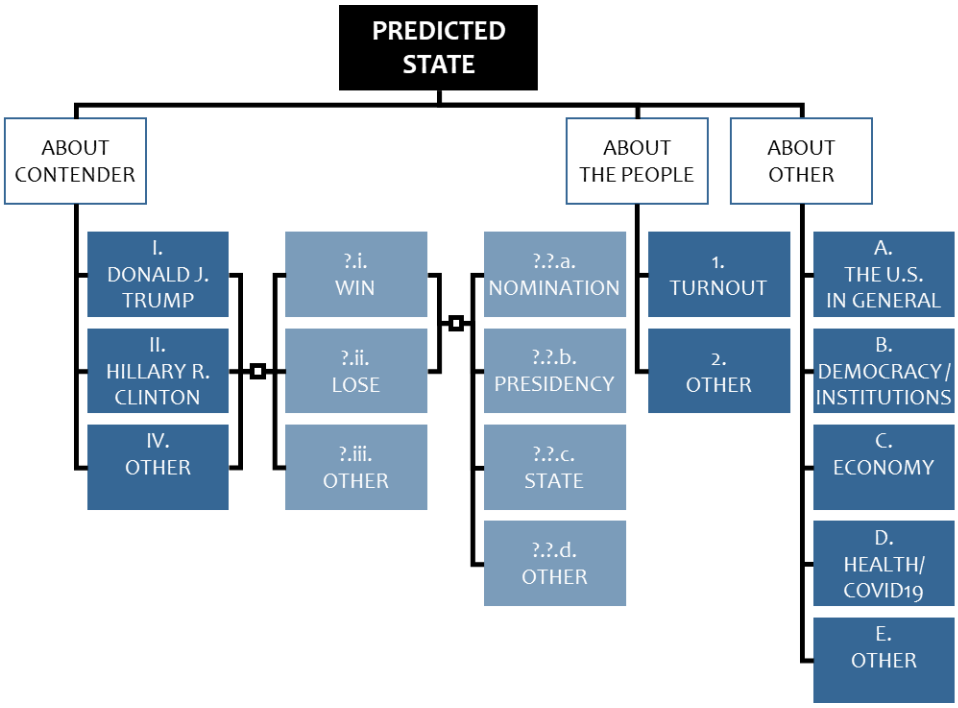
PREDICTED STATE \ DECISION TREE \ **ISRAEL \ ELECTION ROUNDS I, II, III**



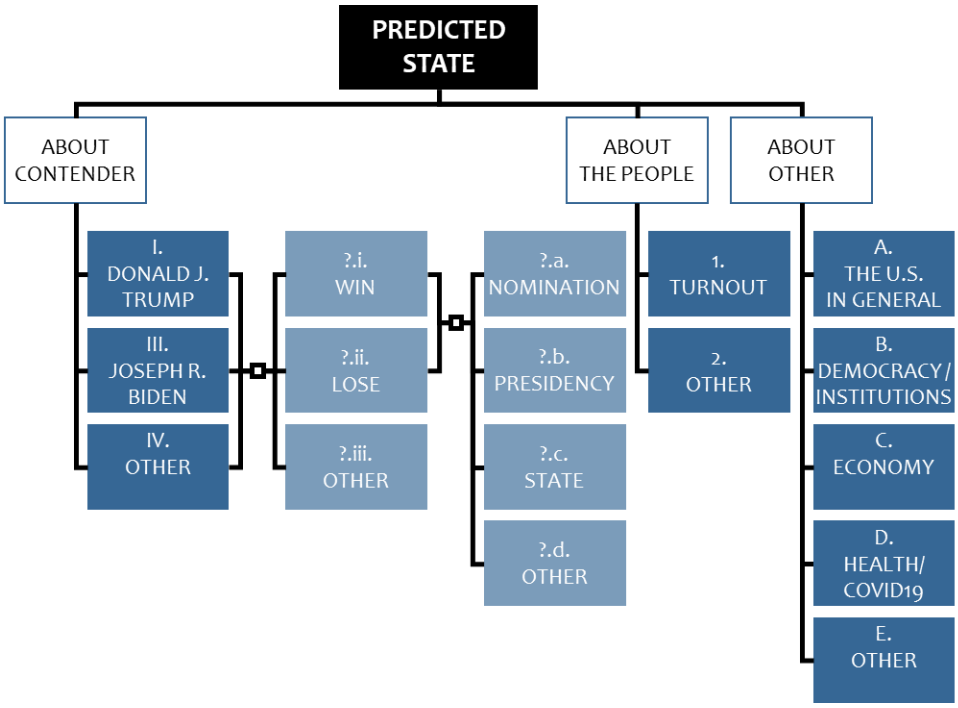
PREDICTED STATE \ DECISION TREE \ **ISRAEL** \ **ELECTION ROUND IV**



PREDICTED STATE \ DECISION TREE \ **UNITED STATES \ 2016 ELECTIONS**



PREDICTED STATE \ DECISION TREE \ **UNITED STATES \ 2020 ELECTIONS**



PREDICTED STATE \ **TOPIC** [channeling decision]

PS.ABOUT CONTENDER. Predictions about contenders include any statements that refer to predicted states concerning the successes, failures, future behaviors and situations of political candidates for (any) public office. References to contenders include also any indirect references. For instance, "the Likud leader" is → PS.IL.I. Benyamin Netanyahu and not → PS.IL.VII. Likud, even though his name is not used and instead, his party is mentioned. Likewise, "all the right wing parties" is coded as → PS.IL.VII. Likud, PS.IL.X. New Hope, PS.IL.XI. Yamina, and possibly also PS.IL.XII. Israel Beitenu, if the text suggests that the author also includes that party; "Any sitting Israeli PM" would be coded to include → PS.IL.I. Netanyahu: Even though he is not the only member of this group, he is the only one of those referred to that is coded here. Thus, the coding does not refer to literal mentions, but requires that the meaning of references is decoded before it can be decided which contender, if any, a prediction is about.

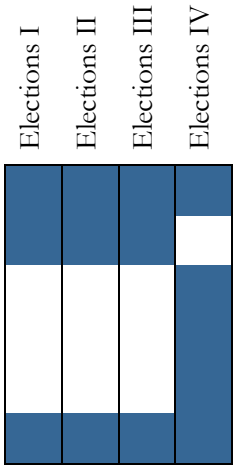
PS.ABOUT PARTY. **In Israel, but not in the U.S**., we also consider mentioned contending party in addition to the contending candidates. For parties and lists that comprise multiple smaller parties, any reference to any constituent party is coded as well. For references to individuals that substantively stand in for their parties (e.g., "Saar will go with Bibi"), the party (→ PS.IL.X. New Hope) is coded; however, if the prediction is really about the personal future of other party-affiliated individuals, this is coded as → PS.IL.XIV. Other. For predictions concerning parties that were at that time not yet formed (e.g., "I believe Saar will form his own party"), these are coded if the predicted party eventually came to exist and is listed below (e.g., New Hope).

PS.ABOUT THE PEOPLE. Predictions about the people include any statements that refer to predicted states concerning the future behavior and situations of parts of the electorate (including very small parts, such as one's family or even individual voters, e.g., "I don't think Amit Segal will vote for Saar"), or the electorate as a whole, in its role as electorate (i.e., "the people will suffer from recession" addresses the people not as electorate, but as economic actors, and is thus coded under → PS.C. Economy):

PS.ABOUT OTHER. Predictions about other include any statements that refer to predicted states related to the focal issue (the elections and their implications) that neither refer to specific political → PS.Contenders or their → PS.Parties nor to → PS.The People in their role as the electorate).

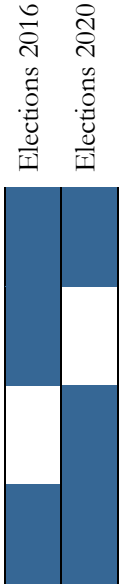
PREDICTED STATE \ ABOUT CONTENDER \ **CONTENDER \ ISRAEL** [tick all that apply]

References to contenders are coded as long as a predicted state concerns a specific person competing to become Prime Minister of Israel. References include also indirect references by nickname, address, or other circumscriptions, as long as the focal meaning concerns the person competing for office. If multiple categories are touched upon by the predicted state, code all categories that apply.



PREDICTED STATE \ ABOUT CONTENDER \ **CONTENDER \ U. STATES** [tick all that apply]

References to contenders are coded as long as a predicted state concerns a specific person competing to become President of the United States. References include also indirect references by nickname, address, or other circumscriptions, as long as the focal meaning concerns the person competing for office. If multiple categories are touched upon by the predicted state, code all categories that apply.



PS.US.I. DONALD J. TRUMP. This includes references that formally refer to the GOP/ Republican party but substantively concern Trump's fate as presidential candidate.

PS.US.II. HILLARY R. CLINTON. This includes references that formally refer to the Democratic party but substantively concern Clinton's fate as presidential candidate.

PS.US.III. JOSEPH R. BIDEN. This includes references that formally refer to the Democratic party but substantively concern Clinton's fate as presidential candidate.

PS.US.IV. OTHER. This includes any other contenders for U.S. President, including those running for third parties.

PREDICTED STATE \ ABOUT CONTENDER \ **PARTY \ ISRAEL** [tick all that apply]

References to parties are coded as long as a predicted state concerns a specific party competing in the Israeli General Elections. References include also indirect references by nickname, address, or other circumscriptions, as long as the focal meaning concerns the party competing for office. References to party-affiliated individuals competing in the elections, where the focus is not on the party's but on the individual's fate in the context of the elections, are coded → PS.IL.XIV. OTHER. If multiple categories are touched upon by the predicted state, code all categories that apply.

	Elections I	Elections II	Elections III	Elections IV
PS.IL.VII. LIKUD.	■	■	■	■
PS.IL.VIII. BLUE & WHITE.	■	■	■	
PS.IL.IX. YESH ATID.				■
PS.IL.X. NEW HOPE.				■
PS.IL.XI. YAMINA.				■
PS.IL.XII. ISRAEL BEITENU / AVIGDOR LIBERMAN. Code also for references to party leader Avigdor Liberman as an individual political actor.	■	■	■	■
PS.IL.XIII. ARAB PARTIES. Code for the Joint List, all or any of its constituent parties, as well as their leaders.	■	■	■	■
PS.IL.XIV. OTHER.	■	■	■	■

PREDICTED STATE \ ABOUT THE PEOPLE \ **THE PEOPLE** [tick all that apply]

Predicted States concerning the people are coded identically in Israel and in the U.S.. Code only projections that refer to the people in relation to the elections. If multiple categories are touched upon by the predicted state, code all categories that apply.

PS.1. TURNOUT. Code any references to predicted states concerning parts of the electorate, or the entire electorate, turning out or failing to turn out to vote, including possible election boycotts; however, voting "blank" is not coded here, as it does not affect turnout.

PS.2. OTHER. Code any other reference to predicted states concerning parts of the electorate, or the entire electorate.

PREDICTED STATE \ ABOUT OTHER \ **THEME** [tick all that apply]

Predicted States concerning other themes are coded identically in Israel and in the U.S.. Code only projections that raise any of these themes in relation to the elections. If multiple themes are touched upon by the predicted state, code all categories that apply.

PS.A. ISRAEL/THE U.S. IN GENERAL. Code any other reference to predicted states that concern the fate of the country as a whole, as far as these do not fall under the more specific categories → PS.B. Democracy, → PS.C. Economy, or → PS.D. Health/Covid19. Code also for references to the positioning of the country in foreign policy and conflicts. Do not code for references to only specific parts of the country or specific populations therein.

PS.B. DEMOCRACY/INSTITUTIONS. Code any other reference to predicted states that concern the future of Israeli/U.S. democracy and/or the major constitutional institutions at a national level, i.e., any institution defined or protected by the constitution, e.g., Congress, the Knesset, the Supreme Court, but also the Media, free speech, etc.

PS.C. ECONOMY. Code any other reference to predicted states that concern future economic events, states or developments, such as growth/recession, unemployment, price levels, etc.; only predictions that are in some sense under the responsibility of governmental economic/finance policy, or are presented as such even if they are not, are considered here).

PS.D. HEALTH/COVID19. Code any other reference to predicted states that concern future events, states or developments in public health, such as the introduction of new health insurance models, as well as any developments in the Covid-19 pandemic; note: only health-related aspects of the pandemic are coded here (e.g., if a projection states that hospitals will run out of capacities or funding), whereas economic fallouts from the pandemic fall under → PS.C. Economy).

PS.E. OTHER. Code any other reference to predicted states that does not fit into any of the other categories.

PREDICTED STATE \ CONTENDER \ **OUTCOME** \ **ISRAEL** [tick all that apply]

For the main candidates for Israeli Prime Minister, we code whether the predicted state concerns whether any of them (or multiple; for instance, if a rotation between Gantz and Netanyahu is predicted, both contenders are coded) will become prime minister.

Note: If the prediction is that one will lose to the other, losing is in focus and coded (attached to the grammatical subject), while the implicit prediction that the other will win is not explicated and therefore not coded (i.e., the subject will → PS.IL.?.ii. Not Become Prime Minister). If the prediction is that one will win and the other will lose, only the winning prediction is coded.

PS.IL.?.i. BECOME PRIME MINISTER. Code any reference to predicted states that focus on any contender becoming future prime ministers of Israel. This also includes references to expected success of any of the contenders in obtaining the mandate to form a government, bringing together 61 seats in the Knesset or forming a government.

PS.IL.?.ii. NOT BECOME PRIME MINISTER. Code any reference to predicted states that focus on any contender *not* becoming future prime ministers of Israel. This also includes references to expected failure of any of the contenders in obtaining the mandate to form a government, bringing together 61 seats in the Knesset or forming a government.

PS.IL.?.iii. OTHER. Code any reference to predicted states that focus on any contender but neither imply their becoming or not becoming prime minister of Israel (e.g., predictions about their future actions or fate beyond winning the premiership).

PREDICTED STATE \ PARTY \ **ROLE** \ **ISRAEL** [tick all that apply]

For the parties competing in the Israel General Elections, we code whether the predicted state concerns either of the following possible predictions:

PS.IL.?.a. GOVERNMENT ROLE. Code any reference to predicted states concerning any contending party ending up in a government role. This includes predictions stating that any future government will contain a party – whether or not it may also provide the prime minister; possible roles of parties or their members as part of the coalition, ministers, or in the role of supporting a minority government, including any references to a future prime minister other the codable contenders; do *not* code if the prediction is that the party/contender will *not* enter the government.

PS.IL.?.b. LARGEST PARTY. Code any reference to predicted states concerning any party gaining more seats or more votes than all other parties; predictions of a tie are coded as → PS.IL.?.c. Other.

PS.IL.?.c. OTHER. Code any other reference to predicted states concerning any coded contending party that does not fit either of the preceding categories.

PREDICTED STATE \ CONTENDER \ **OUTCOME** \ **UNITED STATES** [tick all that apply]

For contenders for U.S. President, we code whether the predicted state does concern whether they will win or lose specific parts of the elections.

Note: If the prediction is that one will lose to the other, losing is in focus and coded (attached to the grammatical subject), while the implicit prediction that the other will win is not explicated and therefore not coded (i.e., the subject will → PS.US.?.ii. Lose). If the prediction is that one will win and the other will lose, only the winning prediction is coded.

PS.US.?.i. WIN. Code any reference to predicted states that focus on any contender being predicted to win a vote in a primary or the general elections, both on the state and federal level. Also code any references to successes along the way that are presented in the text as paving the way toward such an outcome (e.g., securing critical endorsements, winning a legal appeal concerning the election results).

PS.US.?.ii. LOSE. Code any reference to predicted states that focus on any contender being predicted to lose a vote in a primary or the general elections, both on the state and federal level. Also code any references to failures along the way that are presented in the text as undermining the way toward electoral success (e.g., failing to securing critical endorsements, losing a legal appeal concerning the election results).

PS.US.?.iii. OTHER. Code any reference to predicted states that focus on any contender but neither imply their becoming or not becoming US President (e.g., predictions about their future actions or fate beyond winning the presidency).

PREDICTED STATE \ CONTENDER \ OUTCOME \ **LEVEL \ UNIT. STATES** [tick all that apply]

For any predicted victories or defeats by either of the three main candidates for U.S. President, we code whether the predicted state concerns an outcome at the federal or state level.

PS.US.?.?.a. NOMINATION. Code any reference to predicted states that focus on any contender being predicted to win or lose their party's nomination to run for presidency.

PS.US.?.?.b. PRESIDENCY. Code any reference to predicted states that focus on any contender being predicted to win or lose the presidency.

PS.US.?.?.c. STATE. Code any reference to predicted states that focus on any contender being predicted to win or lose a primary vote, the popular vote in the general elections, or the electoral college votes of one or multiple states.

PS.US.?.?.d. OTHER. Code any reference to other predicted states concerning victories and/or defeats, such as winning the vote among certain demographics.

PROBABILITY (PR)

DEFINITION: Probabilities are any statements that qualify the believed probability that a predicted state will materialize. Probabilities thus are attributes of the predicted state and refer directly to the specific outcome predicted therein.

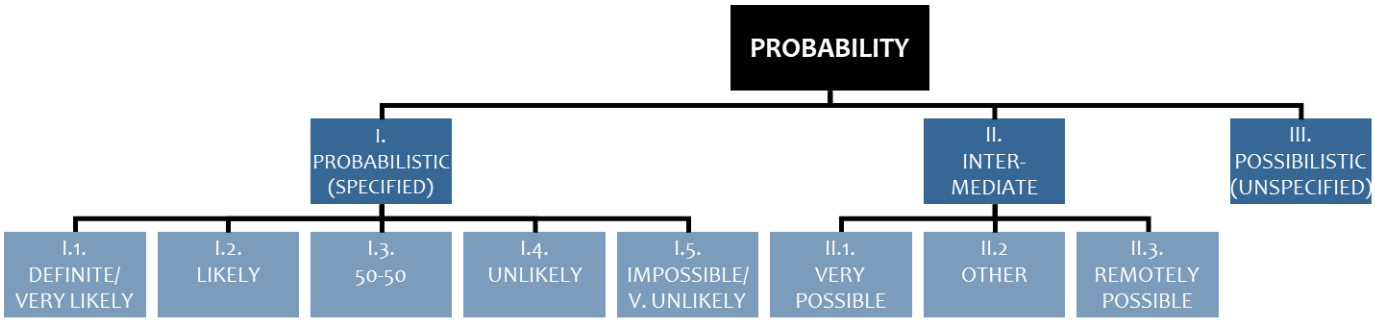
Besides estimates of low to high chances, assessments of probability may also eschew specified likelihood and concentrate on whether a proposed outcome is possible and worth considering at all. Specified probabilities can be expressed numerically (e.g., one-in-ten, 95% chance), graphically (see Pentzold & Fechner, 2020), or verbally (e.g., unlikely, certain), whereas possibilities are usually expressed in verbal, narrative forms (e.g., "there is a chance", "you can't rule it out"). Specific probability estimates have been considered key to professional forecasting and have largely dominated the literature on political predictions (Silver, 2012; Tetlock, 2005; Tetlock & Gardner, 2015). At the same time, numerical probabilities appear relatively alien to laypeople's thinking about the future (Kahneman, 2011; Westwood, Messing, & Lelkes, 2020) – especially under conditions of radical uncertainty (Kay & King, 2020), when projections might lend themselves better to possibilistic rather than probabilistic reasoning.

EXPRESSION: Probability may be expressed in a variety of ways (ontological probability, epistemic confidence, logical conditions, ...). Confidence is not coded in its own right, but serves only as an indicator for the presented probability of a predicted state (e.g., in "I am certain that he has a chance", the outcome is qualified in a possibilistic fashion, while the expressed confidence does not mean that the outcome is likely; by contrast, "I'm highly confident about Gantz' victory" qualifies as very likely). Specifications of probability may be expressed directly by the author or by reference to others' probability estimates (e.g., "The polls say they have only a 10% chance to make it past the threshold"). All probabilities are coded from the point of view of the respective author of a statement (i.e., the → Speaker, if the probability is expressed by the speaker, or the → Author in the case of quoted authors).

All probability estimates are coded, unless they are directly discarded as invalid: For instance, in "people used to think it is not possible, but it clearly is", the claimed impossibility is qualified as incorrect and therefore ignored; instead, the statement specifies that an outcome is possible, which is coded as → PR.I. Probabilistic (Unspecified Probability). By contrast, if different probability estimates are presented by or attributed to different actors, but not discarded as invalid, each is coded, even if different actors disagree with one another (e.g., "The polls suggest there is a small chance only but I think they'll make it in" expresses that an outcome is both → PR.I.4. Unlikely according to the polls, and → PR.I.2. Likely according to the speaker).

If in doubt, we take text literally. If it is plausible that a statement that literally expresses one probability but is colloquially used to express another one, we stick to the text unless there is no doubt that the colloquial meaning is the only possible one.

PROBABILITY \ **DECISION TREE**



Expressions of probability can be understood based on two primary distinctions: On the one hand, probabilities can be high or low, ranging from certitude, through even chances, to impossibility. On the other hand, the specific probability of a projected state can be in focus or out of focus, in which case statements focus on the fact that an event is possible, regardless of its probability.

PROBABILITY \ **SPECIFICATION** [tick all that apply]

The focus of probability concerns the extent to which a statement tries to specify the likelihood with which an outcome will occur. → PR.I. Probabilistic expressions seek to differentiate outcomes that have a high likelihood of occurring from others that have a low likelihood. At the opposite end of the scale, → PR.III. Possibilistic expressions are content with expressing that an outcome has a non-zero likelihood (i.e., it is possible), but do not seek to specify how likely it is. In between both foci, → PR.II. Intermediate expressions are those that do not specify a likelihood, but differentiate between possibilities that are important and thus recommended to attention, and other possibilities that are less important and can be disregarded.

PR.I. PROBABILISTIC (SPECIFIED PROBABILITY). Probabilistic expressions of probability include any statements wherein a predicted state is explicitly or implicitly rated with regard to its likelihood of materializing: The statement focuses on the likelihood and tries to render an estimate, so there is an answer to the question how likely that event is.

PR.II. INTERMEDIATE/OTHER. Intermediate expressions of probability include any statements that do not explicitly or implicitly rate the likelihood of an event, but restrict the range of considered possibilities to a finite set of options that are particularly relevant to consider. Such statements may present specific options that are qualified as more relevant or less relevant to consider, without actually addressing their likelihood; or they may list those possible outcomes that are considered relevant.

Intermediate focus can be expressed by retracting probabilistic claims (e.g., "not impossible", "not certain", "not clear how likely"), thus expressing that there is an interest in likelihood but no specific answer; and they

may be expressed by qualifying possibilistic claims (e.g., "it's possible, but…", "very real possibility") without actually specifying their likelihood.

Also included as other expressions are probability claims that present alternate options or outcomes whose materialization still depends on conditions of unspecified likelihood (e.g., "only if…", "in case that X, …").

Logic: Possible + Further Information, but no known Likelihood. Code if an outcome is qualified as possible and further qualified by specifying conditions, evaluating how relevant the possibility is to consider, or juxtaposing alternate possibilities; or if there is a reference to likelihood but the likelihood is expressly said to be unknown (Note: "I don't know, could be 60%, could be 80%" specifies a bandwidth of likelihoods and is thus treated as specified probability); or for probabilities that remain conditional on other events that are yet to materialize.

PR.III. POSSIBILISTIC (UNSPECIFIED PROBABILITY). Possibilistic expressions of probability are fully unspecified with regard to the higher or lower likelihood or relevance of specific outcomes, and focus entirely on the fact that a specific outcome is possible. Its likelihood is undetermined and cannot be rated.

Logic: Possible + No Further Information. Code if an outcome is qualified as possible (e.g., "maybe"), or there is reference to the unpredictability of what will happen (e.g., "many things are possible", "who knows"), or that there are additional possible outcomes, but no likelihood is specified (e.g., "there can always be a surprise"; "I hope"/"I worry").

PROBABILITY \ I. PROBABILISTIC \ **LIKELIHOOD** [tick all that apply]

If the probability of an outcome is specified (probabilistic), its likelihood can be rated from high to low likelihood.

Note: For many expressions of likelihood in relation to a → Predicted State, which include some form of negation, very similar predictions can often be made with different formulations: For instance, "she is likely to lose" is very similar to "she is unlikely to win" and "she will likely not win". In these cases, if one reads the negation as a property of the predicted state, a different coding follows compared to the case if the negation is read as part of the likelihood – either the outcome "not win" is "likely" (→ PR.I.2. Likely) or the outcome "win" is "not likely" (→ PR.I.4. Unlikely); similarly, "He will not make it" can be read as → I.5. Impossible that he might "make it" or as → PR.I.1. Definite that he will "not make it". In such cases, the predicted state is separated from the likelihood following two rules. First, the text is taken literally: if a formulation is chosen that attributes the negative to the likelihood (e.g., "unlikely") or the outcome (e.g., "lose"), this formulation is followed: "likely lose" is → PR.I.2 Likely and "unlikely win" is → PR.I.4. Unlikely. Second, if both readings are equally possible, the negation is attributed to the likelihood, not the predicted state: "likely not win" is → PR.I.4. Unlikely with a predicted state "win", and "will not lose" is → PR.I.5. Impossible, with a predicted state "lose".

PR.I.1. DEFINITE/VERY LIKELY. This category includes any statements asserting that a specific outcome is certain or very likely. Such can be expressed directly (e.g., by stating that the actualization of a projected state is very likely or definite), in terms of confidence (e.g., expressing that the speaker is very confident or certain that said state will materialize; Note though that not all expressions of confidence denote high likelihood: If a pollster expresses high confidence that the probability estimate of 27% chance is accurate, the likelihood is still low → PR.I.4. Unlikely), or by treating the projected state as obvious, naturalized future outcome (i.e., expressions that state future outcomes as facts about whose actualization there is no question: "she will win"). However such statements are only coded as → PR.I.1. Definite if the text does not qualify (e.g., "maybe he will" is → PR.III. Possibilistic, as the "maybe" qualifies the grammatical form) or distance this grammatical certitude (e.g., "He says he will" distances the "will" as something not necessarily endorsed by the speaker or author, so it is not coded here – while the same, with the continuation "and I believe him" will be coded).

Logic: Likely + Reinforcement / High Confidence / Naturalization. Code if an outcome is marked as certain or almost certain, or as likely and additionally reinforced (e.g., "very likely"; "best chance by far"); if it is attributed a chance of 95% or more; if it is expected with high confidence (e.g., "I am sure"; ambiguous modifiers such as "pretty" or "quite", are disregarded); or if it is said to happen, without further qualification.

Examples: "It is very likely that Gantz will win." "I'm highly confident about Gantz' victory." "Gantz will win without any doubt." "I'm sure that she won't lose."

PR.I.2. LIKELY. This category includes any statements asserting that a specific outcome is comparatively likely, but not certain or very likely. Such can be expressed directly (by stating that the actualization of a projected state is likely, without further reinforcement, or notably more likely than alternative outcomes) or in terms of confidence (e.g., by expressing that the speaker believes that said state will materialize, but is not certain).

Logic: Likely + No Reinforcement / Limited Confidence. Code if an outcome is marked as likely and not further reinforced (e.g., "likely"; ambiguous modifiers such as "pretty" or "quite", are disregarded, so "pretty likely" is still just likely), or as more likely than other options or than random chance; if it is attributed a chance of 60% and more, but less than 95%; if it is expected without high confidence (e.g., "best guess"),

Examples: "She will probably win." "She has good chances to win." "It is not unlikely that she will win." "According to the polls, she has a 90% chance to win." "I am optimistic that this will happen"

PR.I.3. 50-50. This category includes any statements asserting that a specific outcome has a likelihood somewhere around even chance. Such can be expressed directly (e.g., by stating that the actualization of a projected state has a likelihood around even chance, or is similarly likely as alternative outcomes) or in terms of confidence (e.g., expressing that the speaker is not able to say which out of alternative outcomes is more likely).

Logic: Specific Likelihood Close to Even Chance. Code if an outcome is marked as roughly equally likely, or only marginally more or less likely than other outcomes; if it is attributed a chance above 40% but below 60%. Code only if there is some reference to likelihood – if it is said that the likelihood is unknown, this does not qualify as probabilistic.

Examples: "Both candidates have good chances to win." (?), "It will be a close match." (?), "both candidates have equal chances to win."

PR.I.4. UNLIKELY. This category includes any statements asserting that a specific outcome is comparatively unlikely, but not impossible or very unlikely. Such can be expressed directly (by stating that the actualization of a projected state is unlikely, without further reinforcement, or notably less likely than alternative outcomes) or in terms of confidence (e.g., by expressing that the speaker believes that said state will not materialize, but is not certain).

Logic: Unlikely + No Reinforcement / Limited Confidence. Code if an outcome is marked as unlikely and not further reinforced (e.g., "unlikely"; ambiguous modifiers such as "pretty" or "quite", are disregarded, so "quite unlikely" is still just unlikely), or as less likely than other options or than random chance; if it is attributed a chance of 40% and less, but more than 5%; if it is not expected without high confidence (e.g., "probably not"),

Examples: "He probably won't win this time." "It would be surprising if he wins." "I doubt that he will win." "Polls give him a 10 per cent chance to win. "It is not very likely that he will win." "…but I am pessimistic about that"

PR.I.5. IMPOSSIBLE/VERY UNLIKELY. This category includes any statements asserting that a specific outcome is impossible or very unlikely. Such can be expressed directly (e.g., by stating that the actualization of a projected state is very unlikely or excluded), in terms of confidence (e.g., expressing that the speaker is very confident or certain that said state will not materialize), or by treating the projected state as obviously irrelevant or absurd. Likewise, impossibility can be expressed by presenting it as obvious, naturalized that future outcome will not happen (i.e., expressions that state future outcomes as facts about whose actualization there is no question: "she will not win"). However such statements are only coded as → PR.I.5. Impossible if the text does not qualify (e.g., "most likely, he will not" is → PR.I.2. Likely, as the "likely" qualifies the grammatical form) or distance this grammatical certitude (e.g., "He says he will not" distances the "will" as something not necessarily endorsed by the speaker or author, so it is not coded here – while the same, with the continuation "and I believe him" will be coded).

Logic: Unlikely + Reinforcement / High Confidence / Naturalization. Code if an outcome is marked as impossible or almost almost impossible, or as unlikely and additionally reinforced (e.g., "very unlikely"); if it is

attributed a chance of 5% or less; if it is not expected with high confidence; or if it is said to not happen, without further qualification (e.g., "no way").

Examples: "She will not lose." "I would be very surprised if she wins." "There is no way that …"

PROBABILITY \ II. INTERMEDIATE/OTHER \ **RELEVANCE** [tick all that apply]

If the probability of a projected state is neither in focus nor fully unspecified, probabilities can be rated according to the relevance attributed to considering presented option. It is best understood as the residual category for expressions of probability that are neither → PR.I. Probabilistic nor → PR.III. Possibilistic.

PR.II.1. VERY POSSIBLE. This category includes any statements asserting that a specific outcome is one of the more relevant possibilities to be considered. Such can be expressed directly (e.g., by qualifying an outcome as very possible or an important possibility), in the form of conditionals that specify a default outcome (e.g., by suggesting that an outcome will materialize unless certain conditions are met), or by suggesting that many or most scenarios indicate a certain outcome, even if it is unknown how likely these are. The same category is coded if a very high likelihood is retracted (e.g., "it is not certain", "not necessarily").

Logic: Possible + In Focus. Code if an outcome is marked as expected by default unless something interferes; follows from many or most scenarios; is marked as possible and reinforced or recommended for attention. Code only if there is no explicit qualification of likelihood, i.e., this can be read as likely only by making additional assumptions.

Examples: "I think that he might actually win." "It is possible that we get the vaccine soon." "Unless something unexpected happens, he will win." "An infusion of money dedicated to voter turnout could ensure that she enters the White House with a solid Senate majority." "very real concern that he will…" "Finally, we can hope…" "not necessarily"

PR.II.2. OTHER. This category is coded whenever there is a reference to some form of probability, but it does not fit any other category. This can be the case if a) unqualified statements of likelihood are distanced (e.g., "some say it will/will not happen") but there is no further qualification or naturalization (in which case, the same would be coded as →PR.I.1. Definite or I.5. Impossible, respectively); if b) an outcome is rendered dependent on future conditions, but in a way that neither suggests that the outcome is more or less likely (→ PR.I. Probabilistic), nor that it is more or less relevant (→ PR.II.1. Very Possible, PR.II.3. Remotely Possible); if c) a statement asserts that one out of a finite set of possible outcomes will materialize, but without indicating whether either of them is more or less likely; or d) if there are other markers of probability that cannot be assigned to any other category.

Examples: "The results allow both for a new coalition or for the continuation of the former government." "Civil unrest will continue if the police won't be reformed." "We don't know yet who has best chances to win the elections." "Some say he will still change" "How likely is it?" (without an answer)

PR.II.3. REMOTELY POSSIBLE. This category includes any statements asserting that a specific outcome is one of the less relevant possibilities to be considered. Such can be expressed directly (e.g., by qualifying an outcome as remotely possible or an unimportant possibility), in the form of conditionals (e.g., by suggesting that an outcome will materialize only if certain conditions are met), or by suggesting that few or hardly any scenarios indicate a certain outcome, even if it is unknown how likely these are. The same category is coded if a very low likelihood is retracted (e.g., "not impossible"; note that this is *not* → PR.III. Possibilistic because the formulation implies that this is still a remote option, so there is more information than just that something is possible.)

Logic: Possible + Diminished Focus. Code if an outcome is marked as expected only if something interferes, not by default; follows from few scenarios; is marked as possible but diminished or marked as less worthy of attention. Code only if there is no explicit qualification of likelihood, i.e., this can be read as unlikely only by making additional assumptions.

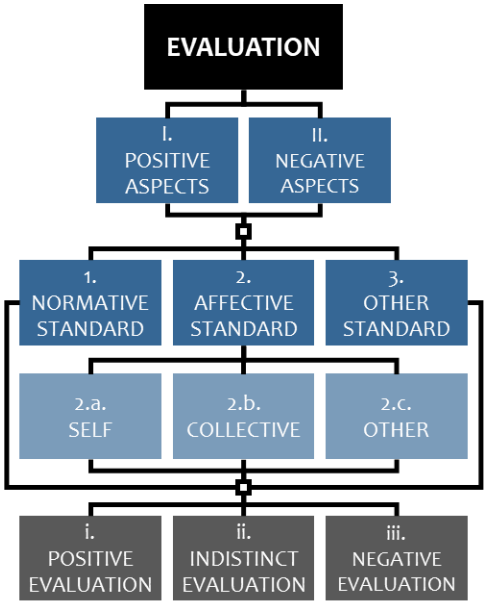
Examples: "Even then, it will still be difficult for him to win." "Only in this case he might still have a chance to win." "I don't dare to hope" "exaggerated fear that" "not excluded"

EVALUATION (EV)

DEFINITION: Evaluations include any explicit or implicit assessments of the desirability of the predicted state. Evaluations are necessarily object-specific, that is, they require both some evaluative statement, which can be expressed directly or indirectly via cultural connotation, and a connection to the evaluated object – in our case, the predicted state (Overbeck et al., 2021; Liu & Zhang, 2012).

People can identify positive, desirable as well as negative, undesirable aspects of a predicted future state, or evaluate future scenarios as overall desirable or undesirable, invoking a variety of evaluative standards. Besides normative considerations (i.e., whether the predicted state satisfies specific values), people can refer to affective evaluations (i.e., how a person feels or expects to feel about the predicted future; "affective forecasting"; see Wilson & Gilbert, 2003; Tenenboim-Weinblatt et al., 2020), as well as interest-based assessments (e.g., whether it serves an actor's aspirations) and a wide range of other evaluative standards.

EVALUATION \ **DECISION TREE**



While evaluations are primarily distinguished by their evaluative tendency, evaluative tendencies are often complex (e.g., invoking both positive and negative aspects). Accordingly, we resolve this complexity by breaking down the overall evaluation into different evaluative aspects, which may refer to different viewpoints, assume different evaluative standards, and express different evaluative tendencies. If multiple expressions contribute to the evaluation, it is possible that both positive and negative evaluations and different evaluative standards are simultaneously present. For instance, "Netanyahu will be disappointed from the outcome of the elections,

but I will be very happy about it, I think it is will be good for democracy." contains three evaluative expressions: One negative, affective (attributed to Netanyahu), one positive, affective (attributed to the speaker), and one positive, normative evaluation. Every expression in the text that expresses evaluative sentiment is considered in turn, to decide whether positive or negative aspects are mentioned at all, and what evaluative standards they refer to. Only after this one-by-one appraisal of any expressions used to evaluate the predicted state, it is evaluated whether the predicted state is overall presented as positive or negative by the speaker.

For the classification of evaluative → Aspects, → Standards and → Perspectives, all expressions in the text that are used to evaluate the predicted state. If there are multiple evaluations of the same projection, each is regarded in turn.

Evaluations may be presented by the speaker or any other quoted voice, as long as they express that someone perceives specific desirable or undesirable aspects of a predicted state. There may be multiple evaluations from the same perspective (e.g. "this may be noble but it is stupid and dangerous") and from different perspectives (e.g., "The Democrats are elated, while the Trump camp is worried"; "Many are optimistic, and I believe the prospects are good"). Evaluative expressions are considered also if the speaker disagrees with them, as long as they are not disqualified as invalid: For instance, "many are optimistic, but I fear this may turn out much less of a blessing" contains both positive and negative evaluations.

By contrast, evaluative aspects and standards are *not* coded if the author of an evaluative expression expressly discounts or rejects these as invalid – for instance, in "I fear the Nazis are celebrating" or "unfortunately, that's great news for the conspiracy theorist whackos", the author expresses that a positive evaluation attributed to another perspective is in fact not something positive. To distinguish invalidated evaluations (which are not coded) from valid ones that someone merely disagrees with (which are coded), consider this: If someone evaluates as positive/negative *that* someone else evaluates an outcome as positive/negative, the former evaluation invalidates the latter ("It is <u>good</u> that they are ~~frustrated~~"; only "good" is coded); If someone evaluates *something* as positive/negative that someone else evaluates otherwise, both evaluations are valid and coded ("It's <u>good</u>, but they are <u>frustrated</u>"; both evaluations are coded). For instance, "this will give Trump a boost" includes a positive aspect – good for Trump – but "unfortunately, this will give Trump a boost" evaluates negatively that something is good for Trump, so that latter perspective is rejected as invalid, and only the negative aspect – "unfortunately" – is coded.

EVALUATION \ **EVALUATIVE ASPECTS** [tick all that apply]

The coding of Evaluative Aspects recognizes whether desirable and undesirable aspects are mentioned at all, from any perspective raised in the text and presented as valid, even if the speaker may disagree with them (see above). To do so, the coding identifies any evaluative claims about the predicted state and considers whether

they are presented as valid evaluations. Evaluative aspects can be expressed by means of explicit evaluation, or by means of connotated expressions, so long as it is clear that the connoted terms are used in line with their conventional evaluative charge (e.g., "there will be inflation" usually expresses a negative evaluation, but if a speaker expresses that such is desirable – "I hope there will be inflation" – the negative connotation does *not* constitute a countervalent, negative aspect). Subsequently, it is recognized whether any of the evaluative aspects raised are clearly positive, or clearly negative. Aspects with unclear or ambivalent evaluation are disregarded here (but will be considered still under → EV.Evaluative Standard and → EV.Evaluative Perspective).

EV.I. DESIRABLE ASPECTS. Desirable aspects include all cases where it is stated or directly implied that a projection is desirable from some marked standpoint (e.g., for someone, or generally), which may be the speaker's or anyone else's, as long as that perspective is not rejected as invalid (see above).

EV.II. UNDESIRABLE ASPECTS. Undesirable aspects include all cases where it is stated or directly implied that a projection is undesirable from some marked standpoint (e.g., for someone, or generally), which may be the speaker's or anyone else's, as long as that perspective is not rejected as invalid (see above).

If both → EV.I. Desirable Aspects and → EV.II. Undesirable Aspects are mentioned, code both categories as present.

EVALUATION \ **EVALUATIVE STANDARD** [tick all that apply]

For each evaluative expression considered in the previous step (including those with unclear or ambivalent evaluative tendency, which were considered but not coded), the next question concerns the base of evaluation: Evaluations differ depending on what grounds a predicted state is qualified as desirable or undesirable. Specifically, we distinguish normative evaluations, which refer to some general kind of value or norm, and affective standards, which refer to subjective feelings about a projected state. We do not distinguish interest-based (e.g., "good for Biden"), unspecified (e.g., "that's positive"), or unclear evaluative standards, which are all grouped under → EV.3. Other Standard.

EV.1. NORMATIVE STANDARD. Normative evaluations include any value-based judgments of desirability, that is, expressions referring to how good (or bad) a future scenario will be from a normative perspective. We count both direct references to general values (e.g., "justice", "ugly", "profitable") and normatively connoted terminology (e.g., "a massacre", "embarrassing") as normative references, as well as expressions that indicate that a predicted state is good or bad for abstract (non-human) entities (e.g., good for the economy, for democracy, bad for the country).

Also ideological evaluations are considered as normative, as long as the ideology is presented as generally valid (e.g., "good for the Faith", "bad for the economy" counts as normative reference unless "the Faith"/"the economy" is identified with particular social groups, such that what is good for them is not necessarily seen as

good for others) and not just attributed to some particular group (e.g., "good for big business"). For instance, "That way, we can finally restore the rule of the Torah" assumes that this is generally good and will be coded; "That's great for those who want to restore the Kingdom of the Messiah" does not assume that this is generally good, but merely in the interest of some group, and will thus be coded as → EV.3. Other Standard). As long as the text suggests that the author of the evaluation regards a norm as generally valid, it does not matter whether anyone else agrees.

Key criterion is that the question for whom something is good or bad does not arise, as the evaluation refers to a "higher" standard (e.g., "impeaching him will be the right thing to do" – which is clearly not in "his" interest, but that is not the point here). Don't make assumptions, however: If something is "good for the nation", this does not yet imply that it is bad for the Palestinians (or vice versa) unless there is some reference to competing interests in the text.

Also code if there is no specification at all in what way something is good or bad (e.g., "will be good")

EV.2. AFFECTIVE STANDARD. Affective evaluations include any judgments of desirability that arise from certain actors' present or future affective or emotional response to a given projected state (e.g., present desires, enthusiasm, hope, fear, worry about the future; expectations to feel good or bad). Code only if the expressed affect is not merely a reference to specific interests (e.g., he hopes he can avoid indictment if he is reelected), but serves as the primary base for evaluation.

Code for any evaluation rendered based on how someone is feeling, or will be feeling, in relation to a predicted state.

EV.3. OTHER STANDARD. Other evaluations include any judgments of desirability that are neither normative nor affective.

EVALUATION \ 2. AFFECTIVE STANDARD \ **VIEWPOINT** [tick all that apply]

If an evaluation is expressed based on an → EV.2. Affective Standard, it is additionally coded from whose viewpoint the presented evaluation is rendered. Specifically, we distinguish between personal, collective (ingroup) and other (individual or collective) attributions. Primary criterion is to whom an evaluation refers semantically (e.g., "If I were in their place, I'd be happy" substantively expresses that "they" will be happy); however, if multiple readings are possible, we take the text literally (e.g., "I'd be very happy" counts as personal then). For this classification, "Self" is identified with the speaker (which may not be the author) of an evaluative expression (e.g., if a journalists quotes someone else declaring "I will be very disappointed", the viewpoint is still that of → EV.2.c. Other, as the "I" does not refer to the speaker).

EV.2.a. SELF. Self is coded if the affective evaluation is presented from the point of view of the speaker herself or himself, i.e., the affect is ascribed to the speaker, or listed individuals that include the speaker but form no recognizable → 2.b. Collective.

EV.2.b. COLLECTIVE. Collective is coded if the affective evaluation is presented from the point of view of the some group or collective that includes the speaker. This may be achieved by reference to groups that include the speaker (e.g., "the people are sad…") or by means of first-person plural pronouns (e.g., "we", "us"). Relevant collectives can be small (e.g., my family, this town), large (e.g., national, ethnic, socio-economic), or universal (e.g., everybody will be happy), they can be well-specified or unspecified (e.g., good for us). If it is not clear whether the speaker includes herself in the collective, → EV.2.b. Collective is still coded, while → EV.2.c. Other is coded only if it is indicated that the speaker dissociates herself from the collective (e.g., "the people will be happy, but I…").

Logic: In-group beyond oneself. Code whenever a group is taken as a reference point that includes, or can be thought to include, the speaker.

EV.2.c. OTHER. Any affective evaluations attributed to actors or groups that exclude the speaker. This may be achieved by reference to third actors or actor groups (e.g., "the Likud is worried") or by means of second- or third-person pronouns (e.g., "you", "she", "they"). Others can be other individuals (e.g., she hopes; Netanyahu is weeping) or other collectives (e.g., rival political camps, other communities, foreigners).

Code only if it is clear that the referenced collective constitutes an outgroup, i.e., it excludes the speaker; if a collective is mentioned and it is unclear whether the author includes herself in that group, this is coded as → EV.2.b. Collective (e.g., the little people will be disappointed). Code also for outgroups that the speaker may sympathize with: Criterion is that the speaker cannot be thought of as part of the referenced collective.

EVALUATION \ **OVERALL TENDENCY** [select one]

Finally, it is coded once for every predicted state whether it is presented as overall desirable, undesirable, or neither, by the speaker. The considered perspective is strictly the one of the speaker only, and not of quoted authors or sources: To be coded as overall desirable or undesirable, it needs to be clearly marked in the text that the speaker her/himself regards a presented projection as such. It is not sufficient if the speaker quotes someone who expresses her own strong evaluation about a predicted future, unless there is a clear indication that the speaker agrees or disagrees with the quoted evaluation.

Note that this tendency is not a simple function of the aspects raised above. Of course, if most or all raised evaluative aspects are positive, it is likely that the overall tendency is positive, and vice versa. However, for this coding decision, it is important to consider how the speaker relates to the presented evaluative aspects. For instance, it is possible that a speaker quotes evaluations by other authors, but never assumes a stance herself –

which is often the case in highbrow news journalism. It is even possible that most quoted evaluations express one tendency, but it is indicated that the speaker disagrees with these. In this way, it is possible that an overall tendency may dominate even if there is no immediate evaluative statement in this direction (e.g., "With their consistent talent to get everything exactly wrong, they say this will be bad and dangerous, well, don't listen to them, let's do this," contains no negative aspect, but the overall tendency is positive.

For an evaluation to be coded as positive or negative, it is not required that no countervalent aspects are raised: Rather, the criterion is that it is clear from the text that from the speaker's point of view, one tendency clearly outweighs the other. Whenever such is not clear, it is coded as ambivalent.

EV.i. POSITIVE EVALUATION. Positive evaluations include all cases where it is stated or directly implied that a projection is regarded as overall desirable by the speaker. This can be expressed by direct evaluations or connoted language used by the speaker, or by evaluations presented by other quoted authors if it is expressed that the speaker agrees or disagrees with this evaluation. Mere background knowledge that the speaker likely agrees or disagrees with an evaluation presented by a quoted author does not suffice.

Positive Evaluation can be coded also if specific negative aspects or evaluations are mentioned, as long as it is expressed that the positive sides clearly outweigh the negative ones.

If there is any doubt about the dominant evaluation, code as → EV.ii. Indistinct Evaluation

EV.ii. INDISTINCT EVALUATION. Indistinct evaluations include all cases where a) no evaluative tendencies are present that express the speaker's evaluation of a projection (this may be the case even if there are salient evaluative statements quoted from other authors); b) the speaker directly qualifies a projection as ambivalent, by expressing that there are positive and negative aspects, but neither side clearly outweighs the other; c) the speaker's evaluation is explicitly marked as unclear (e.g., "Not clear if that is good or bad"; "They will then have to evaluate this"); d) if the speaker presents some evaluation of the projection, but it is unclear whether this is positive or negative; e) any other cases that qualify neither clearly as → EV.i. Positive Evaluation nor as → EV.iii. Negative Evaluation.

EV.iii. NEGATIVE EVALUATION. Negative evaluations include all cases where it is stated or directly implied that a projection is regarded as overall undesirable by the speaker. This can be expressed by direct evaluations or connoted language used by the speaker, or by evaluations presented by other quoted authors if it is expressed that the speaker agrees or disagrees with this evaluation. Mere background knowledge that the speaker likely agrees or disagrees with an evaluation presented by a quoted author does not suffice.

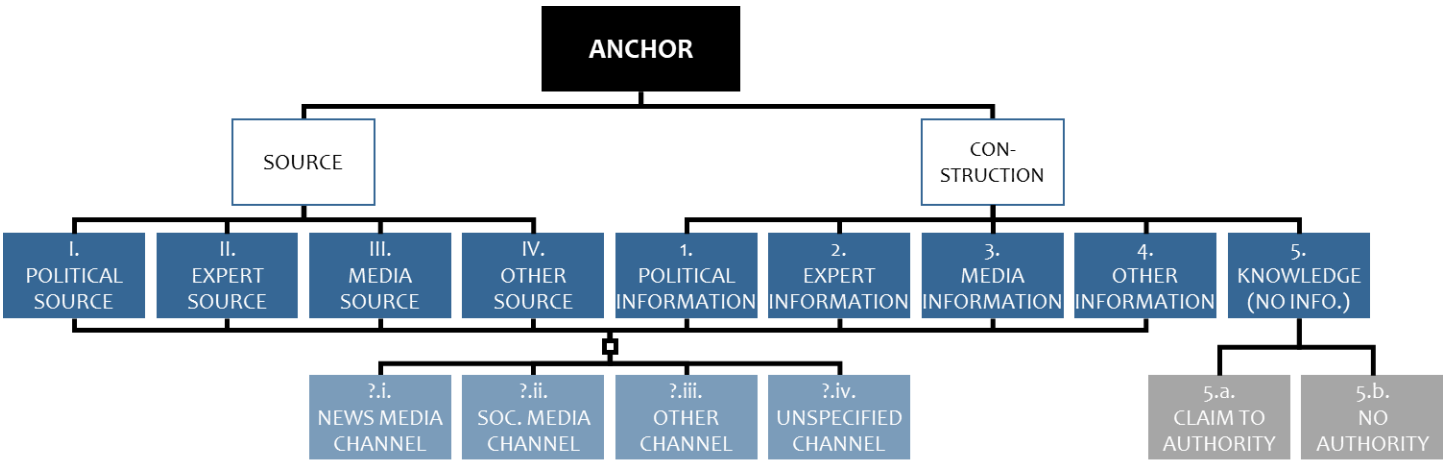
Negative Evaluation can be coded also if specific positive aspects or evaluations are mentioned, as long as it is expressed that the negative sides clearly outweigh the positive ones.

If there is any doubt about the dominant evaluation, code as → EV.ii. Indistinct Evaluation

ANCHOR (AN)

DEFINITION: Anchors capture any information and reasoning suitable to explain and justify the projection. People infer likely future events or developments from presently available knowledge, following two main strategies: First, they can rely on projections made by sources that putatively know something about likely future events, such as political commentators, pollsters, politicians, or trusted friends. Second, they can make their own inferences, extrapolating future developments from present or past states of the world (e.g., predicting the identity of the next PM based on a contender's character and believed intentions, observable behavior, track record, standing in the polls, or historical analogies; Baden et al., 2021).

ANCHOR \ **DECISION TREE**



ANCHOR \ **TYPE** [channeling decision]

Within all references to information suitable to justify a presented projection, Anchors are distinguished based on the type of anchoring information. There are, in essence, two broad types of anchoring information:

AN.SOURCE. Projections can be anchored in the fact that some source that putatively knows something about likely future events projected the same or similar outcomes. Sources are thus any references to claims made by others about projected future events or developments. Key criteria are: a) Direct or indirect reference to some second or third party that stated something, i.e., it is not sufficient to refer to the behavior of others (e.g., working on some plan); in interactive discourse, a reference to an interlocutor's projection (second party) does count as potential source; b) The information referred to refers to the future, i.e., it is not sufficient that a referred-to claim expresses present intentions or developments (e.g., in "the polls show a drop in support"; "she has got no chance, according to the polls", the polls act as a reflection of the present that justify a →

AN.a. Construction; they do not themselves entail a prediction; in "all the polls predict", the polls are taken to speak for themselves and predict the future, so they can be a source); c) A made projection is anchored by taking over (parts of) the referenced claims – i.e., a reference to someone else's projection does not count as a source if that projection is not taken over, but quoted as something that is believed to cause future developments (e.g., "his doomsday scenarios will depress turnout")

Rule: Every → Author that is quoted stating a projection, who is not identical with the → Speaker, is necessarily a → AN.a. Source, as the speaker is quoting the other author in order to justify a projection.

However, not every source is necessarily an → Author. Sources can also be referred to without being quoted – e.g., by stating a projection and then referring to others who allegedly said the same (e.g., "I think he will win, my wife said he will and she is usually right").

AN.CONSTRUCTION. One can anchor a projection by applying some inferential mechanism/heuristic to extrapolate from present or past states of the world, which are believed to be causally responsible for likely future developments or otherwise indicative of what will happen. Constructions include any references to available data (e.g., "the economy is doing fine, so I think he will be re-elected") or observations (e.g., "she looks exhausted, I doubt…") that are raised in connection to a projection in a legitimizing function; also general rules (e.g. "leftwingers cannot be elected in Israel", "the people vote for the leader when they are afraid") and heuristics (e.g., "it's usually the taller guy that wins"), general statements of impossibilities (e.g., "nobody can…"), precedents (e.g., "has never happened") and teleologies (e.g., "there will have to be some solution, so…") can sustain constructions.

Generally, any information invoked to support a projection that refers to present or past states or events and is not a source is part of a construction; the same is true for any inferencing rules or strategies for determining likely future outcomes that are not sources.

ANCHOR \ SOURCE \ **SOURCE TYPE** [tick all that apply]

If a projection is anchored in a source i.e., someone who or some document that is credited with having presented specific information, this source is further classified by type. For the classification of source type, the key question is who created a projection referred to as a → AN.Source. While it is possible that there are multiple sources of different types, every projection referred to as source must be created by someone or included in some document, so it must have a source type.

There can be multiple sources for the same projection, which are then all classified (e.g., "Liberman says so, Lapid says so, and even on Channel 12, they said the same"). Sourcing can also "stack": It is possible that a → Speaker quotes another → Author (who then is regarded as a → AN.Source here), and that this author in turn raises additional sources where she got her projection from. In that case, both the author (quoted as a source

by the speaker) and the secondary source (invoked as a source by the author) are regarded as sources and both are classified. It is rare, but technically possible that the → Speaker of the coded document refers to her or his own past sayings or writings as the source of a projection (e.g., "As I wrote 3 years ago in my book, …").

Sources can be individuals (e.g., "my husband"), collective actors and organizations (e.g., "The Likud executive board", "Channel 12") or documents (e.g., books, reports, but *not* data such as polls, because data do not predict but merely reflect present or past states): What is classified is the type of the actor or document that presented the projection. Accordingly, the source type may or may not coincide with the → AN.Channel wherein the information was encountered. For instance, in "Yedioth Ahronot said so", the newspaper acts as both the creator of the projection (→ AN.Source Type) and the → AN.Channel. However, one may also have read a news article (→ AN.III. Media Source) on Facebook (→ AN.?.ii. Social Media Channel; e.g., "I found saw this text by Verter on Twitter"); or refer to a politician's statement (→ AN.I. Political Source) that one saw in a news cast (→ AN.i. News Media Channel; e.g., "Zandberg said yesterday in an interview on the news").

AN.I. POLITICAL SOURCE. Political sources include any statements indicating that a projection was originally presented by or adopted from a politician or political official, or a document issued by a political actor or collective actor. Political actors include any elected officials, the institutions and members of the executive or legislative branch (government, ministries, parliament, committees, municipal administrations) and political parties, as well as candidates for such offices. Political documents include any reports/papers/press releases published by said organizations, campaign publications, etc. If the source is specified but the identified actor/document has more than one affiliation or role, code by the role that is most relevant to the information. If the exact source is unspecified, code only if it is clear from the statement that, whoever or whichever document may be meant, it certainly falls under these criteria.

Note: The legal names or brand names of all political sources are captured as open text (e.g., for natural persons, such as "Bibi", the author is "Binyamin Netanyahu"; for organizational/collective actors, such as "the Likud campaign", the author is "Likud").

AN.II. EXPERT SOURCE. Expert sources include any statements indicating that a projection was originally presented by or adopted from an expert actor or data analyst (including pollsters), or in a document issued by an expert actor or collective actor (including studies, data models, polls). Experts include any professionals whose job focuses on the creation of knowledge (e.g., researchers, analysts, pollsters, consultants), organizations dedicated to the creation of knowledge (e.g., universities, research centers, analytics companies) and individuals who otherwise earn their income by knowing things, and acting in such capacity. Expert documents include any studies/reports/papers/press releases published by said organizations, data releases, etc. If the source is specified but the identified actor/document has more than one affiliation or role, code by the role that is most

relevant to the information. If the exact source is unspecified, code only if it is clear from the statement that, whoever or whichever document may be meant, it certainly falls under these criteria.

Note: The legal names or brand names of all expert sources are captured as open text (e.g., for natural persons, such as "Mina on Channel 12", the author is "Mina Tzemach"; for organizational/collective actors, such as "a team of researchers at Ben Gurion University", the author is "Ben Gurion University of the Negev").

AN.III. MEDIA SOURCE. Media sources include any statements indicating that a projection was originally presented by or adopted from a journalist or other professional media actor, or in a document issued by a media actor or collective actor. Media actors are all journalistic organizations, their staff members and freelancers, as well as individuals who otherwise earn their income by appearing in news-related formats in the mass media. Media documents include any contents of professional media publications, but also statements published by media actors outside of these (e.g., social media posts). If the source is specified but the identified actor/document has more than one affiliation or role, code by the role that is most relevant to the information. If the exact source is unspecified, code only if it is clear from the statement that, whoever or whichever document may be meant, it certainly falls under these criteria.

Note: The legal name or brand names of all media sources captured as open text (e.g., for natural persons, such as "Segal", the author is "Amit Segal"; for organizational/collective actors, such as "Gav HaUma", the author is "Gav HaUma").

AN.IV. OTHER SOURCE. Other sources include any statements indicating that a projection was originally presented by or adopted from an individual or collective actor without a professional role as defined in the above three categories (e.g., social media influencers, artists, laypeople), a document issued by such an actor, or an unknown actor. If the source is specified but the identified actor/document has more than one affiliation or role, code by the role that is most relevant to the information.

Note: The legal name or brand name of all other sources captured as open text, if it is specified (e.g., for natural persons, such as "my neighbor Shlomo Cohen", the author is "Shlomo Cohen"). If the name is not sufficiently specified, please enter what is known.

ANCHOR \ CONSTRUCTION \ **INFORMATION TYPE** [tick all that apply]

If a projection is anchored in a construction i.e., some data, observation, inference rule or other logic suitable to infer what might happen in the future, the presented information is further classified by information type. For the classification of information type, the key question is who created the information referred to in order to construct a projection.

There can be multiple pieces of information that serve as construction anchors for the same projection, which are then all classified (e.g., "The polls suggest that Liberman's voters may prefer Bibi to Lapid, but I

think he is so mad at Bibi, and by now he can't go back on his word"; in this case, there is one piece of → AN.2. Expert Information – the polls – and two pieces of → AN.5. Knowledge). It is rare, but technically possible that the → Speaker of the coded document refers to her or his own past sayings or writings as information to construct a projection from (e.g., "As I wrote 3 years ago in my book, …").

The information used in construction anchors can be obtained from individuals (e.g., "Trump promised"), collective actors and organizations (e.g., "The DNC said it is well aware of the risk", "Just watch CNN") or documents (e.g., books, reports, data): What is classified is the type of the actor or document that the anchoring information is derived from. Accordingly, the information type may or may not coincide with the → AN.Channel wherein the information was encountered. For instance, in "Yedioth Ahronot listed all the ways in which this government failed", the newspaper acts both as the creator of the anchoring information (→ AN.Information Type) and as the channel where this information is encountered (→ AN.Channel). However, one may also have read an article (→ AN.3. Media Information) on Facebook (→ AN.?.ii. Social Media Channel); or refer to a politician's statement (→ AN.1. Political Information) that one saw in a news cast (→ AN.?.i. News Media Channel; e.g., "Zandberg said yesterday in an interview on the news").

AN.1. POLITICAL INFORMATION. Political information includes any statements indicating that information relevant for constructing a future projection was presented by a politician or political official, political institutions, or a document issued by a political actor or collective actor. Political actors include any elected officials, the institutions and members of the executive or legislative branch (government, ministries, parliament, committees, municipal administrations) and political parties, as well as candidates for such offices. Political documents include any reports/papers/press releases published by said organizations, campaign publications, etc. If the information is specified but the identified actor/institution/document has more than one affiliation or role, code by the role that is most relevant to the information. If the information is too vague to identify whom or what exactly it is derived from, code only if it is clear from the statement that, whoever or whichever document may be meant, it certainly falls under these criteria.

AN.2. EXPERT INFORMATION. Expert information includes any statements indicating that information relevant for constructing a future projection was presented by an expert actor or data analyst (including pollsters), epistemic institutions (e.g., the experts, research) or in a document issued by an expert actor or collective actor (including studies, data models, polls). Experts include any professionals whose job focuses on the creation of knowledge (e.g., researchers, analysts, pollsters, consultants), organizations dedicated to the creation of knowledge (e.g., universities, research centers, analytics companies) and individuals who otherwise earn their income by knowing things, and acting in such capacity. Expert documents include any studies/reports/papers/press releases published by said organizations, data releases, etc. If the information is specified but the identified actor/institution/document has more than one affiliation or role, code by the role

that is most relevant to the information. If the information is too vague to identify whom or what exactly it is derived from, code only if it is clear from the statement that, whoever or whichever document may be meant, it certainly falls under these criteria.

AN.3. MEDIA INFORMATION. Media information includes any statements indicating that information relevant for constructing a future projection was presented by, a journalist or other professional media actor, or in a document issued by a media actor or collective actor. Media actors are all journalistic organizations, their staff members and freelancers, as well as individuals who otherwise earn their income by appearing in news-related formats in the mass media. Media documents include any contents of professional media publications, but also statements published by media actors outside of these (e.g., social media posts). If the information is specified but the identified actor/institution/document has more than one affiliation or role, code by the role that is most relevant to the information. If the information is too vague to identify whom or what exactly it is derived from, code only if it is clear from the statement that, whoever or whichever document may be meant, it certainly falls under these criteria.

AN.4. OTHER INFORMATION. Other information includes any statements indicating that information relevant for constructing a future projection was presented by, an individual or collective actor without a professional role as defined in the above three categories (e.g., social media influencers, artists, laypeople), a document issued by such an actor, or an unknown actor. If the information is specified but the identified actor/institution/document has more than one affiliation or role, code by the role that is most relevant to the information.

AN.5. KNOWLEDGE. Knowledge includes any statements that do not indicate that information relevant for constructing a future projection was presented by any particular actor, institution, or document. This may be because information is presented as general knowledge ("everyone knows…"), personal knowledge, derived by observation or experience, as self-evident or God-given, or otherwise not in need of a specific information source.

ANCHOR \ [SOURCE \ I.-IV.] OR [CONSTRUCTION \ 1.-4.] \ **CHANNEL** [tick all that apply]

Subsequently, if a projection was anchored by presenting either a → AN.Source or by relying on information for → AN.Construction that was derived by observing or presented by any specific actor, institution or document, we further classify via which channel, if any, this source or information was published or encountered. This classification thus does *not* regard who is responsible for formulating a projection (→ AN.Source Type) or offering information (→ AN.Information Type), but in what way this information was obtained, *if such is specified.* For instance, a politician seen on a news show is encountered via a → AN.?.i. Media Channel; a tweet by a journalist is received via a → AN.?.ii. Social Media Channel. This category must be left

unspecified if the channel is not identified, even if we could guess, however, indications suffice as specification (e.g., "Segal said on yesterday's evening news" specifies the news show, so this can be coded as → AN.i. News Media Channel, even if it is possible that the speaker actually saw the news cast via Youtube. However, "Lior Shlein said" does not suffice to guess that this was probably on his comedy show, Gav HaUma, and would be coded as → AN.iv. Unspecified channel.

AN.i. NEWS MEDIA CHANNEL. Media channels include any statements or documents encountered within professional news media publications (e.g., newspapers, news sites, tv shows, radio shows). Key criterion to count as media channel is that it is controlled by professional media organizations and part of their official news production. Please enter the name of the channel or show as open text.

AN.ii. SOCIAL MEDIA CHANNEL. Social media channels include any statements or documents encountered on social media (e.g., Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, TikTok), including messenger channels (e.g., WhatsApp, Telegram) as long as these are such that they are available for public access (e.g., subscription) without the need to be personally familiar with the sender. Please enter the name of the platform or channel as open text.

AN.iii. OTHER CHANNEL. Other channels include any statements or documents encountered in other identified ways than media or social media (e.g., in a book, in a report, on a poster, through personal communication, email). Please enter the name of the channel as open text.

AN.iv. UNSPECIFIED CHANNEL. Unspecified channels include any cases where the identity of the channel through which an anchoring projection was distributed is not known.

ANCHOR \ [SOURCE OR CONSTRUCTION] \ **SOURCE/INFO. TYPE × CHANNELS**

	i. NEWS MEDIA CHANNEL	ii. SOCIAL MEDIA CHANNEL	iii. OTHER CHANNEL	iv. UNSPECIFIED CHANNEL
I. POLITICAL SOURCE / 1. POLITICAL INFORMATION	e.g., Liberman said on Army Radio; I watched the Knesset debate on Channel 99, and someone said…	e.g., according to the Likud Facebook page; I read on Twitter, either Lapid or Gantz wrote..	e.g., I spoke with Nissenkorn, he is my neighbor; in Olmert's book, he says	e.g., in the government, they think; the government thinks; Bennett wrote
II. EXPERT SOURCE / 2. EXPERT INFORMATION	e.g., Channel 12 cited a report by the Census bureau; I heard on Army Radio, there is this study in the Lancet	e.g., Prof. Weiman posted this; In the University's YouTube channel; Fuchs' comments on Twitter	e.g., Harari said in his book; my daughter is an analyst and she said; there was this report that said…	e.g., Mina Tzemach thinks; all the experts agree
II. MEDIA SOURCE / 2. MEDIA INFORMATION	e.g., Yossi Verter wrote in his column; in this episode of Gav HaUma	e.g., Amit Segal tweeted yesterday; I saw this news article on Facebook	e.g., in this ad by Channel 7; there was this reporter at the protests and she said	e.g., Lior Shlein said; all the media say so
IV. OTHER SOURCE / 4. OTHER INFORMATION	e.g., they interviewed this guy on the Channel 13 news; there was this letter to the editor	e.g., I read on Facebook; my friend, he's really smart, he tweeted yesterday	e.g., it's all there in the Bible; I saw this ad	e.g., someone said; my wife thinks

Note: The distinction between Source and Information depends on whether the referred-to anchoring expresses a projection that is taken over (→ AN.Source) or a piece of information from which a projection is constructed (→ Construction); the attribution to types and channels takes the same form.

ANCHOR \ CONSTRUCTION \ 5. KNOWLEDGE \ **AUTHORITY** [select one]

If information used to anchor a construction is presented without reference to particular way in which it was obtained (i.e., by observing specific actors, reading specific documents, listening to specific actors: → 5. Knowledge), but positioned as (personal, general, or otherwise characterized) knowledge, it is coded whether the speaker presenting the information legitimizes this information by claiming any form of personal authority for knowing this knowledge.

AN.5.a. CLAIM TO AUTHORITY. Claims to personal authority include any statements suitable to legitimize the presented knowledge. This can take a variety of forms, such as references to personal expertise or experience (e.g., "I have seen this myself", "I live nearby and…"), references to special qualifications, education or professional knowledge ("I'm an economist, …"), references to special personal skills ("I'm usually right about these things"), or any other form of expertise that does not involve a source.

AN.5.b. NO AUTHORITY. No claims to personal expertise are coded whenever some anchoring information is presented as knowledge, but the previous category is not applicable.

BEHAVIORAL IMPLICATION (BI)

DEFINITION: Behavioral implications are any statements that express a present behavior, or an intention/request to engage in a specific behavior, in response to the expectation of some projected future.

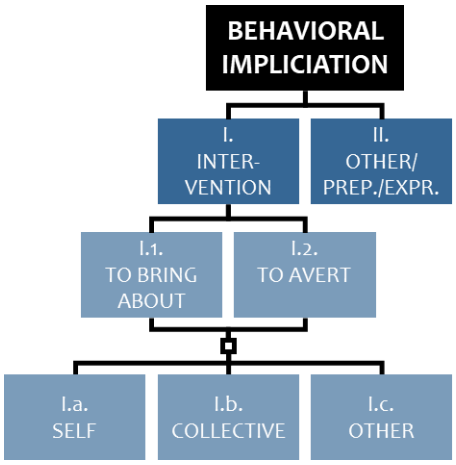
Projections raise behavioral implications especially if predicted outcomes affect people in important ways, or may still be shaped by individual or collective actions. If a predicted state is viewed as undesirable, it may trigger attempts to avert it, dodge its impact (e.g., adjust voting intentions, protest, migrate to another country), protest it or otherwise express concern. Conversely, a desirable predicted state may motivate people to work toward achieving it (e.g., donate to a campaign, help mobilizing voters, or just turn out to vote), or put themselves into a position to benefit from this predicted state (e.g., buy stocks).

CRITERIA: The specified behavior takes place while the projected future is still uncertain and in the future (i.e., its manifestation is not yet ascertained and has not yet commenced). Behavior is defined in a wide sense as adoption or maintenance of specific actions or physical states (which may include not acting or changing anything). A behavior is regarded as a response to a projection if it is presented as an outcome of reasoning informed by the specific expectation (e.g., efforts to get ready for an expected future or affect its probability and shape, but also a decision to not spring into action).

Behaviors to be adopted if and after a projected future has occurred are not considered behavioral responses to that projection (e.g. people expressing the intention to leave the country if X gets reelected does not qualify, whereas applying for a visa in preparation for such an outcome does qualify as Behavioral implication).

EXPRESSION: Behavioral responses can be expressed directly (e.g., "we need to prevent this from happening", "I am getting ready") or indirectly by evaluating possible behavioral choices or by depicting uniquely valenced outcomes to be conditional upon the adoption of certain behavior (e.g., "failure to X will be catastrophic"; "it may help to X"; "if now we (do not) X, bad things will happen"). In any case, the suggested behavior (X), which may be to refrain from doing something, needs to be explicated as recommended behavior (e.g., "X will only make the bad guy stronger" implies a call to not do X and qualifies, whereas "X will not help" does not imply that either X or non-X should be done, and therefore does not qualify as Behavioral Implication; likewise, "maybe, they should X" implies a recommendation to "them", whereas "maybe they will X" does not and therefore constitutes no Behavioral Implication, but a projection – unless it continues "maybe they will X, that might help", in which case it is both; any behavior that is already being adopted by someone is regarded as endorsed at least by this someone).

BEHAVIORAL IMPLICATION \ **DECISION TREE**



BEHAVIORAL IMPLICATION \ **INTENTION** [tick all that apply]

Behavioral implications (including calls for abstaining from acting) can be further subdivided based on what the suggested behavior is intended to achieve.

BI.I. INTERVENTION. Interventions include any behavioral implications intended to affect the probability/manifestation of the projected state. For an intervention, the actualization of the specific projected state must be understood as still uncertain and possibly subject to being influenced, and the proposed behavior must be understood as suitable to affect the probability or manner in which the projected state will be manifested.

BI.II. PREPARATION/EXPRESSION/OTHER. All other behavioral implications that do not intend to affect the probability/manifestation of the projected state. Such can take the form of preparations, which include any behavioral implications intended to affect the way in which a projected state will impact oneself or reality in some wider sense. Preparation takes the expectation of the projected state as given, while the proposed behavior is understood as suitable to influence the conditions that oneself or some other part of reality is in when the projected state materializes, so as to alter its impact (e.g., getting ready). Another variant are expressions, which include any behavioral implications intended neither to affect the probability/manifestation of the projected state, nor its impact upon oneself or some other part of reality, but rather aim to express certain stances, evaluations, or affects, manage one's own mental state, or otherwise respond to a projected state whose probability/manifestation and impact are treated as given (e.g., protest, vote blank).

BEHAVIORAL IMPLICATION \ I. INTERVENTION \ **DIRECTION** [tick all that apply]

If a behavioral implication is intended to intervene in the probability/manifestation of a projected state, we can distinguish between interventions intended to increase or decrease the probability of a projected state, that is, to help bring about or avert a projected outcome.

BI.I.1. BRING ABOUT AN OUTCOME. Bringing about an outcome includes any behavioral implications intended to increase the probability of a predicted state or ensure its actualization in the specified way.

BI.I.2. AVERT AN OUTCOME. Averting an outcome includes any behavioral implications intended to decrease the probability of a predicted state, prevent its actualization, or alter its shape from the specified way.

BEHAVIORAL IMPLICATION \ I. INTERVENTION \ **ACTOR** [tick all that apply]

If a behavioral implication is intended to intervene in the probability/manifestation of a projected state, we furthermore distinguish who is called upon to act and intervene:

BI.I.a. SELF. Interventions that expressly are to be undertaken by the speaker her/himself or listed individuals that include the speaker but form no recognizable → BI.I.b. Collective.

BI.I.b. COLLECTIVE. Interventions that address some collective that the speaker is a part of. This may be achieved by reference to groups known to include the speaker (e.g., "the voters will have to…") or by means of first person plural pronouns (e.g., "we", "us"). Relevant collectives can be small (e.g., my family, this town), large (e.g., national, ethnic, socio-economic), or universal (e.g., everybody will have to do their part), they can be well-specified or unspecified.

Logic: In-group beyond oneself. Code whenever a group is taken as a reference point that includes, or can be thought to include, the speaker.

BI.I.c. OTHER. Any interventions to be achieved by actors or groups that exclude the speaker. This may be achieved by reference to third actors or actor groups (e.g., "the Likud would be well-advised to") or by means of second- or third-person pronouns (e.g., "you", "she", "they"). Others can be other individuals (e.g., she should; Netanyahu will have to) or other collectives (e.g., rival political camps, other communities, foreigners). Code only if it is clear that the referenced collective constitutes an outgroup, i.e., it excludes the speaker; if a collective is mentioned and it is unclear whether the author includes herself in that group, this is coded as → BI.I.b. Collective (e.g., the little people will be disappointed). Code also for outgroups that the speaker may sympathize with: Criterion is that the speaker cannot be thought of as part of the referenced collective.

UNCODED CATEGORIES

The categories listed hereunder were developed as part of the conceptual framework for the classification of public projections, but removed from the codebook owing to pragmatic considerations. They are not coded as part of PROFECI's textual content analysis.

PREDICTED STATE \ **TIME HORIZON** [tick all that apply]

Note: This variable was removed because it was deemed partly redundant with the classification of outcomes and topics: Election outcomes tend to be → PS.?. In The Elections, those outcomes concerning the country, the economy, etc. tend to be → PS.?. After The Elections, and most outcomes coded about contenders and parties but not about winning the key office should be → PS.?. Before The Elections. The value added by this variable was therefore not deemed worth the added effort.

PS.?. BEFORE THE ELECTIONS. Predictions that refer to events before the elections include any statements that refer to predicted states in the context of the electoral race and campaigns that are predicted to occur prior to the general elections (e.g., campaign events/behaviors, party unifications, mobilization efforts, civil society engagement, primaries).

Examples: "The two parties are expected to run together in these elections", "Clinton is going to be elected as the Democratic presidential candidate"

PS.?. IN THE ELECTIONS. Predictions that refer to events in the elections include any statements that refer to predicted states determined directly by the general election itself based on the counting of votes. In the U.S., the votes of the Electoral College, and thereby, who wins the presidency itself are treated as determined by the vote counts (e.g., "Trump will be re-elected" counts as a result of the elections), unless the prediction specifies otherwise (e.g., "the Republicans will find a way to flip electors"). Other outcomes that are to some extent pre-determined by these results but still depend on legitimate and due negotiations or decisions to be made after the elections (e.g., who will be the next prime minister, who will get the mandate to form a coalition) are considered → PS.?. After the elections.

Examples: "His party is expected to receive the largest share of votes"; "rightwing parties will have a majority in the Knesset"

PS.?. AFTER THE ELECTIONS. Predictions that refer to events after the elections include any statements that refer to predicted states that depend on the election outcomes in some ways, but are not yet fully determined by the election results themselves (e.g., who will be the next Israeli prime minister, who will join the coalition, future policies, developments shaped by future policies).

Examples: "Bibi is not going to be the next prime minister", "The result may be a coalition between the left and the green party", "Her first move will be to undo all decisions that have been taken by her predecessor", "This outcome might lead to civil unrest", "I think a Biden government will be good to bring down consumer prices"

EVALUATION \ **EVALUATIVE STANDARD** [tick all that apply]

Note: Within the classification of evaluative standards, we decided to merge → EV.?. Interest-Based Standard into the residual category → EV.3. Other. While logically a separate form of evaluation, interest-based evaluations are very common and relatively uninformative in the context of an election, which are to some extent a paradigmatic case of a zero-sum game: Most predictions that are good for one are bad for someone else. Accordingly, we suspended this category.

[…]

EV.?. INTEREST-BASED STANDARD. Interest-based evaluations include any judgments of desirability that refer to the specific goals, objectives or interests of certain actors (e.g., satisfying political aspirations, creating benefits or causing harm to them). Key criterion is that the base of evaluation needs to refer to some individual (e.g., politician, oneself), organized group (e.g., parties, unions), or collectives (e.g., ethnic groups, socio-economic groups) that stands to benefit or suffer from the predicted state.

Code for any evaluations rendered based on the interest, i.e., specific purposes or goals that some pursue or are said to pursue. Key criterion is that one can phrase the evaluation in terms of something being "good/bad for someone", wherein someone must be a sentient being or collective thereof. Where the referenced collective can also be interpreted as an abstract entity (e.g., "good for the nation"), interest-based evaluation is coded if the evaluation is viewed as particular to the social group, as opposed to other groups; but as → EV.1. Normative if the evaluation is viewed as shared by anyone within the present frame of reference.

[…]

ANCHOR \ CONSTRUCTION \ **LOGIC** [tick all that apply]

Constructions can be classified based on what kind of logic sustains the extrapolation from present/past information or general truths toward future events. The classification focuses on what is the primary mechanism by which the future is shaped by the present/past.

Note: This variable was removed from the codebook for pragmatic reasons: While interesting, it was deemed too complex for reliable manual coding, and extremely difficult to operationalize via computational classification. We intend to return to it at some point in the future.

AN.?. ELITE AGENCY. Elite agency includes any statements indicating that a specific future state may come about as effect of the discretionary (inter-)actions of powerful elite actors: The future is primarily determined by what powerful actors do. Accordingly, predicting the future requires knowing the (present) intentions and capabilities of these actors, and understanding the mechanisms of state politics.

AN.?. ELECTORATE AGENCY. Electorate agency includes any statements indicating that a specific future state may come about as effect of the aggregated actions of very many common people: The future is primarily determined by what the people do. Accordingly, predicting the future requires knowing the (present) sentiments and priorities of the electorate, its composition and loyalties, propensity to vote on certain impulses, and so on.

AN.?. SYSTEMIC DYNAMICS. Systemic dynamics includes any statements indicating that a specific future state may come about as the effect of the mechanisms and conditions of institutional, cultural or other systems beyond the discretionary control of elites or the people: The future is primarily determined by the inherent dynamics of given structures and social systems. Accordingly, predicting the future requires understanding the logic of such systems: How is the present electoral system set up, what are the present trends in the party system, and how do these translate into predictable system responses (e.g., failing to pass the electoral threshold).

AN.?. CONTINUITY. Continuity includes any statements indicating that a specific future state may come about as the continuation of states or trends that are already in evidence in the present or past: The future is primarily determined by the present state. Accordingly, predicting the future requires knowing what is presently true and unlikely to change.

AN.?. DETERMINISM/TELEOLOGY. Determinism/Teleology includes any statements indicating that a specific future state may come about because it is preordained, necessary or otherwise predetermined, regardless of the present or past: The future is primarily determined by external forces (fate, God, nature, …). Predicting the future thus requires knowing or feeling what is preordained.

AN.?. OTHER. Other includes any statements indicating that a specific future state may come about for other reasons, i.e., any reason not captured above or not reducible to any one category statements.

If there are multiple logics present in a construction, code all without which the projected future would not follow (e.g., if too many voters abandon a party so the party's leader won't be able to block a coalition option, both elite and electoral agency matter; if the voters abandon the party, embarrassing its leader, electorate agency matters, whereas elite agency does not; if a political leader will not join a certain coalition even if she gets enough votes, elite agency matters, whereas electorate agency does not).

BEHAVIORAL IMPLICATION \ **INTENTION** [tick all that apply]

Note: We decided to merge the below category and its subcategories with the residual → BI.II. Other category for pragmatic reasons. While there are many cases where a predicted state may motivate behavioral responses to prepare through some form of agency or behavior for their expected materialization, the category is difficult to delimit both conceptually and operationally from more low-key means of preparation, such as getting mentally ready, bracing for impact or getting one's hopes up, which share a broad gray area with expressive and other responses. Accordingly, we merged these variants, which are of lesser interest for the purpose of the study.

[…]

BI.?. PREPARATION. Preparations include any behavioral implications intended to affect the way in which a projected state will impact oneself or reality in some wider sense. For preparation, the probability or possibility of a projected state must be treated as given. Instead, the proposed behavior must be understood as suitable to influence the conditions that oneself or some other part of reality is in when the projected state materializes, so as to alter its impact.

BEHAVIORAL IMPLICATION \ ?. PREPARATION \ **DIRECTION** [select one]

If a behavioral implication is intended to alter the way in which a predicted state impacts oneself or some other part of reality, we can distinguish between preparations intended to benefit from possible positive impacts and preparations intended to mitigate or dodge possible negative impacts.

BI.?.?. PREPARATION FOR POSITIVE IMPACTS. Preparations for positive impacts include any behavioral implications intended to get ready to benefit from specific positive impacts of a predicted state.

BI.?.?. PREPARATION FOR NEGATIVE IMPACTS. Preparations for negative impacts include any behavioral implications intended to get ready to mitigate, avoid or dodge specific negative impacts of a predicted state.

[…]

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