Is Terrorism Necessarily Violent? Public Perceptions of Nonviolence and Terrorism in Conflict Settings

Avishay Ben Sasson-Gordis
Harvard University
bensassongordis@g.harvard.edu

Alon Yakter
Tel Aviv University
ayakter@tauex.tau.ac.il

Supplementary Information (SI)

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A   Israeli Survey Design

A.1   Sample

The Israeli survey experiment uses an electorally representative sample of Israeli Jews. We fielded the survey online on May 17–18, 2022. While there have been some increased tensions in the months leading up to the survey, it was conducted at a relatively calmer time from an Israeli perspective. Data from the Meir Amit Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center verifies no meaningful Palestinian violence against Israeli civilians near the survey. Specifically, no rockets were shot at Israel throughout May and there was a single attack against Israeli civilians in the city of Elad on May 5, 2022. Moreover, recent research finds Israeli public reactions to Palestinian violence fade within weeks.[1]

The survey was fielded by Israeli online polling firm Midgam using quota sampling representing the party vote distribution of Israeli Jews in the 2021 election. Respondents' recalled votes were recorded by the firm independently of the survey. The survey sample includes 2,005 respondents of 13,127 invited panelists.

Table A1 summarizes the sample's key demographic distributions and compares them with the general Jewish population based on Israel's Central Bureau of Statistics 2021 Social Survey estimations. The distributions and chi-squared tests indicate that the sample is representative in terms of gender and is slightly younger, more educated, and more secular than the adult Israeli-Jewish population.

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[1]Yakter, Alon, and Liran Harsgor. Forthcoming. "Long-Term Change in Conflict Attitudes: A Dynamic Perspective." *British Journal of Political Science*.

Table A1: Key Sociodemographic Distributions of the Israeli Sample compared with the Adult Israeli-Jewish Population

Demographic Attributes	Sample	Population
Gender		
Male	48.8%	48.6%
Female	51.2%	51.4%
Chi-squared p-value		0.873
Geogragphical Region		
Jerusalem	12.7%	9.4%
North	9.6%	9.0%
Haifa	13.0%	11.1%
Center	26.0%	29.5%
Tel Aviv	19.6%	21.9%
South	12.1%	14.5%
West Bank (Judea and Samaria)	7.0%	4.7%
Chi-squared p-value		0.000*
Age Group		
18-24	9.6%	10.4%
25-34	24.5%	19.4%
35-44	27.0%	19.4%
45-54	22.1%	16.3%
55-65	10.8%	13.2%
65 and older	6.0%	21.3%
Chi-squared p-value		0.000*
Education		
Elementary school or lower	2.9%	7.6%
High school, without matriculation	5.5%	17.3%
High school, with matriculation	25.7%	23.0%
Non-academic degree/certificate	17.1%	13.7%
BA degree	31.1%	23.0%
MA degree	15.8%	13.6%
PhD degree	1.9%	1.8%
Chi-squared p-value		0.000*
Religious Identification		
Secular	53.5%	45.5%
Traditional (not so religious)	18.7%	19.3%
Religious / traditional-religious	14.1%	24.8%
Ultra-Orthodox (*Haredi*)	13.7%	10.5%
Chi-squared p-value		0.000*

*$p < 0.05$.

A.2 Survey Instrument

The following presents the survey instrument by question order. This is a translated version of the Hebrew questionnaire. Please feel free to contact the authors for the original Hebrew version.

Preliminary Questions

"The following questions refer to your overall political views:"

1. "It is common to speak of right and left in politics. How would you classify your political views between 1 (very right) and 7 (very left)?"

2. "If elections were held today, which party would you be most likely to vote for?"

Experimental Vignette

"The following questions deal with the Palestinian issue. We will present to you a topic that has recently come up in public discourse, followed by several short questions."

[New screen, respondents are randomly assigned to see one of eight prompts:]

- *Violence, no label*: "Israeli leaders recently condemned Palestinian attempts to kill and injure Israeli citizens."

- *Violence, terrorism label*: "Israeli leaders recently condemned Palestinian terrorism (expressed in attempts to kill and injure Israeli citizens)."

- *Economic boycott, no label*: "Israeli leaders recently condemned Palestinian attempts to promote an international economic boycott of Israel."

- *Economic boycott, terrorism label*: "Israeli leaders recently condemned Palestinian economic terrorism (expressed in attempts to promote an international economic boycott of Israel)."

- *Legal petition, no label*: "Israeli leaders recently condemned Palestinian petitions against Israel to the international court at the Hague."

- *Legal petition, terrorism label*: "Israeli leaders recently condemned Palestinian legal terrorism (expressed in petitions against Israel to the international court at the Hague)."

- *Illegal construction, no label*: "Israeli leaders recently condemned Palestinian attempts to build illegally in Area C territories in Judea and Samaria."

- *Illegal construction, terrorism label*: "Israeli leaders recently condemned Palestinian construction terrorism (expressed in attempts at illegal construction in Area C territories in Judea and Samaria)."

Post-Treatment Questions

[New screen, prompt remains, the following questions listed on a grid at random order:]

"On a scale of 1–10, where 1 signals complete disagreement and 10 signals complete agreement, to what degree do you agree with the following statements about the Palestinian action noted above?"

3. "The Palestinian action described here constitutes terrorism against Israel."

4. "Even if I disagree with it, the Palestinian action described here is legitimate."

5. "The Palestinian action described here makes me feel anxious and worried."

6. "The Palestinian action described here makes me feel angry."

7. "Israel would be justified to use force, including by security agencies (the IDF, Shin Bet, and Mossad) to prevent and hamper the Palestinian actions described here."

8. *[Attention check:]* "For this particular question, please select '9'."

[New screen:]

9. "In the previous screen, you ranked your agreement that the Palestinian action described is terrorism against Israel as *[respondent's score for Q3]* out of 10. Why did you choose this rating?" *[Open answer.]*

10. "In your opinion, what is the political ideology of the leaders whose statement about the Palestinian action was described earlier? Please answer on a scale between 1 (very right-wing) and 7 (very left-wing)."

A.3 Balance Test

The clean randomization should ensure sufficient demographic balance across groups.[2] Nevertheless, we verified that the different treatment groups are properly balanced. Table A2 presents the coefficients from a multinomial logit regression estimating the probability of treatment assignment by different demographic attributes and partisan blocs. Significance levels over the 95% threshold are marked with asterisks and bold-faced. The results do not reveal meaningful or consistent imbalances across treatment conditions.

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[2]For a critique of balance tests, see Mutz, Diana C., Robin Pemantle, and Philip Pham. 2019. "The Perils of Balance Testing in Experimental Design: Messy Analyses of Clean Data." *American Statistician* 73(1): 32–42.

Table A2: *Randomization Balance Test (Multinomial Logit Regression)*

	Violence No Label	Violence Terrorism	Economic No Label	Economic Terrorism	Legal No Label	Legal Terrorism	Construction No Label
Gender (Base: Male)							
female	0.203	0.279	0.202	0.190	0.296	0.238	0.182
Region (Base: Jerusalem)							
North	0.585	-0.214	-0.235	0.019	-0.016	0.061	0.170
Haifa	0.212	0.119	-0.467	-0.196	-0.303	0.301	0.169
Center	-0.220	0.122	-0.581	-0.386	-0.072	-0.191	-0.075
Tel Aviv	0.030	-0.220	-0.306	-0.270	-0.350	-0.275	0.026
South	-0.020	-0.167	-0.605	-0.682	-0.221	-0.134	-0.190
Judea and Samaria	0.492	-0.113	0.410	-0.255	-0.171	-0.101	0.003
Age Group (Base: 18-24)							
25-34	-0.212	0.299	-0.568	0.288	-0.074	0.724	-0.031
35-44	0.049	0.056	-0.130	0.624	-0.104	**0.874***	-0.212
45-54	-0.179	0.284	-0.171	0.297	-0.027	0.762	-0.184
55-65	0.201	0.629	0.035	0.573	0.284	0.836	0.110
65 and older	-0.216	0.080	-0.188	0.188	0.309	0.706	-0.586
Education (Base: None)							
8 years or under	0.267	1.046	-0.266	-15.087	-14.442	1.684	-13.998
9-10 years	-1.894	-1.307	-1.271	-16.196	-17.592	-1.106	-16.826
11-12 years	0.436	-0.494	0.227	-15.895	-15.260	-0.413	-15.672
HS student	-0.445	-2.082	-15.284	-17.317	-16.944	-1.872	-16.159
HS graduate	0.173	0.078	0.275	-15.131	-15.484	0.353	-15.647
Non-ac. post-HS student	-0.830	-1.212	-0.523	-15.640	-16.234	-0.147	-16.123
Non-ac. post-HS degree	0.047	-0.045	-0.339	-15.214	-15.687	0.240	-15.363
BA student	0.446	0.017	0.190	-14.837	-15.536	0.224	-16.026
BA graduate	0.151	0.085	0.112	-15.222	-15.524	0.131	-15.546
MA student	0.330	0.492	0.189	-15.026	-16.027	-0.588	-16.423
MA graduate	0.242	0.004	0.218	-14.702	-15.624	0.392	-15.623
PhD student	-14.090	-0.505	0.014	-16.279	-16.074	0.215	-16.094
PhD degree	0.577	-0.224	-0.523	-15.052	-15.929	-0.939	-15.961
Religious Id. (Base: Secular)							
Traditionalist	**-0.579***	-0.103	-0.354	-0.176	-0.135	0.001	-0.086
Religious	-0.611	-0.164	-0.385	-0.127	0.199	0.478	0.131
Haredi	-0.489	-0.394	-0.239	-0.078	0.090	-0.080	-0.680
Partisan Bloc (Base: Left)							
Center	0.532	0.014	0.605	-0.062	0.193	**0.814***	0.291
Right	**0.952****	0.197	0.619	0.564	0.065	**0.790***	0.295
Did not vote	**0.797***	0.053	**0.761***	0.246	-0.046	0.628	0.129
Attention Check (Base: Passed)							
Failed	-0.280	-0.229	-0.164	-0.295	-0.480	-0.104	-0.699

The baseline outcome category is illegal construction with a terrorism label. For brevity, only point estimates are presented.
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$. Coefficients above the 95% statistical significance threshold are shown in boldface.

A.4   Power Calculation

Our sample size (n=2,005) and random assignment produce eight groups with 244–259 respondents each. To verify that this design is sufficiently powered to identify mean-ingful effect sizes, we conducted a retrospective power analysis. Following Gelman and Carlin,[3] we examine three outcomes of interest: (1) *power*: the probability that the statistical test correctly rejects the null hypothesis; (2) *type S error*: the probability that the estimated sign is in the opposite direction from the true effect size; and (3) *type M*

[3]Gelman, Andrew, and John Carlin. 2014. "Beyond Power Calculations: Assessing Type S (Sign) and Type M (Magnitude) Errors." *Perspectives on Psychological Science* 9(6): 641–51.

error: the factor by which the magnitude of the estimated effect might be inflated.

To conduct the analysis, we plug in two required quantities based on our estimations. First, we assume degrees of freedom that fit our treatment group size and model (df=245). Second, per our estimations, we assume that the estimated treatment effect has a standard error of 0.15. We then examine the power, S-error rate, and M-error factor for four hypothetical true effect sizes: 0.3, 0.5, 1, and 1.5. We also assume a statistical significance threshold of 95%.

The analysis, detailed in Table A3, indicates that our design is sufficiently powered for true effect sizes greater than 0.3. In our findings, the labeling effect for the full sample (Table 3 in the paper) is estimated at around 0.3 and is indeed borderline significant at the 95% level. This inconclusiveness may thus be partly attributable to our sample size. Nevertheless, all our other meaningful findings, including partisan heterogeneity in labeling, surpass this effect size.

Table A3: Power Analysis for Israeli Sample

Effect Size	Assumed S.E.	Power	S Error	M Error
0.3	0.15	0.512	0.000	1.390
0.5	0.15	0.913	0.000	1.051
1	0.15	1.000	0.000	1.002
1.5	0.15	1.000	0.000	1.002

The assumed degrees of freedom are df=245.

A.5 Manipulation Check

The first dimension of our treatment manipulates the type of action presented to respondents. Our hypotheses suggest an action-type hierarchy by violence and harm: strict violence (violent actions), harmful nonviolence (economic and legal actions), and self-regarding nonviolence (illegal construction). Nevertheless, these actions differ in other dimensions as well (e.g., involvement of foreign actors or legality) that might potentially overshadow or cancel the intended differences in violence and harm levels. In such a case, our manipulation would be ineffective.

To rule out this potential concern, we ran a manipulation check using respondents' short open answers (for more details, see the full questionnaire and textual analysis in the paper). Specifically, we divided the treatment groups by action type and examined the most frequently used words in each subgroup. Table A4 presents the eight most frequent words by action type. Words that recur across multiple subgroups are marked in italics. Words that mention harm are bold-faced.

The results verify the effectiveness of our manipulation. All groups mention the words "terrorism" and "action", reflecting the question's explicit reference to these

Table A4: Word Frequency by Action-Type Treatment Subgroup

	Treatment Groups by Action Type			
Frequency Rank	Violence	Economic	Legal	Construction
1	*Terrorism*	*Terrorism*	*Terrorism*	*Terrorism*
2	Civilian	*Israel*	*Israel*	*Israel*
3	Murder	*Country*	*Country*	*Country*
4	Crime	*Action*	*Action*	*Action*
5	*Action*	*Step*	*Step*	Territory
6	Jewish	Economic	Is not	Construction
7	Killing	**Harmed**	**Harm**	Legal
8	**Harmed**	**Harm**	Want	Law

Words that appear across multiple groups are marked in *italics*. Words that note harm are marked in **boldface**.

aspects. As expected, only the violence treatment invokes frequent references to violence against civilians ("civilian", "murder", "crime", "killing"). However, references to harm ("harm", "harmed") are frequent in both the violence and the harmful nonviolence subgroups. Respondents asked about illegal construction, the self-regarding nonviolence subgroup, emphasize neither violence nor harm but the action's description ("construction"), its zero-sum nature ("territory"), and its illegality ("legal", "law"). These patterns, therefore, align well with our intended manipulation and research design.

B US Survey Design

B.1 Sample

The US replication uses a convenience sample drawn from a pool of volunteer subjects. The survey was fielded online by the Harvard Digital Laboratory for the Social Sciences (DLABSS) on August 11–30, 2022. According to Strange et al. 2019, the DLABSS volunteer pool has comparable quality to paid online pools and produces high-quality data, including replications of well-established social science findings.[4] The final US sample includes 1,135 respondents.

Table B1 presents the US sample's key demographic distributions and compares them with the general adult population based on the 2021 US Census Bureau estimations. The distributions and chi-squared tests show that the sample overrepresents male, older, more educated, and white Americans.

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[4]Strange, Austin, Ryan Enos, Mark Hill, and Amy Lakeman. 2019. "Online Volunteer Laboratories for Human Subjects Research." *PLOS ONE* 14: e0221676.

Table B1: Key Sociodemographic Distributions of the US Sample compared with the Adult US Population

Demographic Attributes	Sample	Population
Gender		
Male	32.0%	49.5%
Female	68.0%	50.5%
Chi-squared p-value		0.000*
Age Group		
18-24	0.8%	8.6%
25-34	8.9%	18.1%
35-44	11.9%	17.5%
45-54	13.7%	16.3%
55-65	21.3%	17.2%
65 and older	43.4%	22.4%
Chi-squared p-value		0.000*
Education		
Some high school	0.7%	10.8%
High school graduate	15.8%	44.3%
Associate's Degree	11.7%	12.5%
BA/BS degree	31.2%	20.3%
Graduate or professional degree	40.7%	12.2%
Chi-squared p-value		0.000*
Race		
White	86.3%	59.0%
Black, African-American	2.3%	11.4%
Hispanic or Latino	1.7%	16.3%
American Indian or Alaska Native	1.4%	0.9%
Asian	1.4%	5.8%
Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander	0.1%	0.2%
Other	6.8%	6.5%
Chi-squared p-value		0.000*

B.2   Survey Instrument

Experimental Vignette

"The following questions deal with a major foreign policy issue. You will be presented with a short statement about recent events followed by a series of questions."

[New screen, respondents are randomly assigned to see one of eight prompts:]

- *Violence, no label*: "US leaders recently condemned Iranian attempts to kill and maim US civilians abroad."

- *Violence, terrorism label*: "US leaders recently condemned Iranian terrorism (manifested in Iranian attempts to kill and maim US citizens abroad)."

- *Economic boycott, no label*: "US leaders recently condemned Iranian attempts to promote economic boycotts against the US."

- *Economic boycott, terrorism label*: "US leaders recently condemned Iranian economic terrorism (manifested in Iranian attempts to promote economic boycotts against the US)."

- *Legal petition, no label*: "US leaders recently condemned Iranian attempts to advance legal action against the US in international courts."

- *Legal petition, terrorism label*: "US leaders recently condemned Iranian legal terrorism (manifested in Iranian attempts to advance legal action against the US in international courts)."

- *Financial evasion, no label*: "US leaders recently condemned Iranian attempts to violate US sanctions on trade."

- *Financial evasion, terrorism label*: "US leaders recently condemned Iranian financial terrorism (manifested in Iranian attempts to violate US sanctions on trade)."

Post-Treatment Questions

[New screen, prompt remains, the following questions listed on a grid at random order:]

"On a scale of 1–10, where 1 signals complete disagreement and 10 signals complete agreement, to what degree do you agree with the following statements about the Palestinian action noted above?"

1. "The Iranian action described here constitutes terrorism against the US."

2. "Even if I disagree with it, the Iranian action described here is legitimate."

3. "The Iranian action described here makes me feel anxious and worried."

4. "The Iranian action described here makes me feel angry."

5. "The US Government would be justified to use force, including by its security apparatus (including the US Military, FBI, and CIA), to prevent and hamper the Iranian actions described here."

6. *[Attention check:]* "For this particular question, please select '9'."

[New screen:]

7. "In the previous screen, you ranked your agreement that the Iranian action described is terrorism against the US as *[respondent's score for Q1]* out of 10. Why did you choose this rating?" *[Open answer.]*

8. "In your opinion, what is the political ideology of the US leaders who made the statement, where 1 signifies very liberal and 7 signifies very conservative?"

B.3 Balance Test

Table B2 presents the coefficients from a multinomial logit regression estimating the probability of treatment assignment by different demographic attributes and ideological lean. Significance levels over the 95% threshold are marked with asterisks and boldfaced. The results do not reveal meaningful or consistent imbalances across treatment conditions.

B.4 Power Calculation

Like our earlier discussion of the Israeli sample (see subsection A.4 above), we conduct a power analysis for the smaller US sample (n=1,135), where each treatment groups has 138–151 respondents. Based on this design and our model estimations, we assume 135 degrees of freedom and a standard error of 0.2. Table B3 summarizes the power, S-error rate and M-error factor for four hypothetical true effect sizes: 0.3, 0.5, 1, and 1.5 assuming a statistical significance threshold of 95%. The results suggest that the smaller US sample is sufficiently powered to detect true effect sizes greater or equal then 0.5.

Table B2: *Randomization Balance Test (Multinomial Logit Regression)*

	Violence No Label	Violence Terrorism	Economic No Label	Economic Terrorism	Legal No Label	Legal Terrorism	Financial No Label
Gender (Base: Male)							
Female	0.159	0.101	-0.335	0.038	0.201	0.064	**0.590***
Age Group (Base: 18-24)							
25-34	1.319	-0.085	0.872	16.559	1.037	15.186	0.464
35-44	2.326	0.800	1.713	17.010	1.308	15.523	1.305
45-54	1.727	0.617	0.995	16.486	1.421	14.641	0.382
55-65	1.339	0.542	1.328	17.190	1.090	15.213	0.683
65 and older	1.630	0.538	1.177	16.723	1.120	14.943	0.523
Race (Base: White)							
Black, African-American	0.688	1.843	0.794	1.514	0.814	1.612	1.239
Hispanic or Latino	-0.441	-0.028	-15.092	0.578	-0.532	-0.918	-1.081
American Indian or Alaska Native	0.419	0.583	0.628	-14.285	0.583	0.362	-0.052
Asian	-15.239	-0.538	-1.198	-0.244	-0.563	-0.451	-0.587
Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander	-22.284	-22.514	-22.421	-21.828	-22.048	-22.124	-22.781
Other	1.056	0.874	1.028	1.718*	1.085	0.949	0.856
Education (Base: Some high school)							
High school graduate	-0.967	15.682	0.082	-0.697	-0.203	13.987	15.631
Associate's degree	-0.143	16.289	1.133	0.414	1.095	15.645	15.697
BA/BS degree	-0.964	15.917	-0.005	-0.670	0.061	14.647	15.390
Graduate or professional degree	-0.742	15.863	0.211	-0.582	0.356	14.989	15.688
Ideology (Base: Liberal)							
Neither	0.267	**1.048***	0.390	0.480	0.760	0.132	**1.046***
Conservative	0.163	0.039	-0.060	0.162	0.464	0.148	0.371
Attention Check (Base: Passed)							
Failed	-1.182	-0.579	-1.221	-1.068	-1.051	**-2.299***	**-1.377***

The baseline outcome category is financial evasion with a terrorism label. For brevity, only point estimates are presented. Coefficients above the 95% statistical significance threshold are shown in boldface.

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$.

Table B3: *Power Analysis for US Sample*

Effect Size	Assumed S.E.	Power	S Error	M Error
0.3	0.2	0.317	0.001	1.761
0.5	0.2	0.699	0.000	1.198
1	0.2	0.999	0.000	1.004
1.5	0.2	1.000	0.000	1.002

The assumed degrees of freedom are df=135.

C Descriptive Statistics

C.1 Israeli Sample

Table C1: Descriptive Statistics: Israeli Sample

	Mean	S.D.	Min	Max
Denotation	7.766	2.733	1	10
Illegitimacy	8.061	2.604	1	10
Use of Force	7.920	2.657	1	10
Ideological Bloc: Left	0.097	0.296	0	1
Ideological Bloc: Center	0.176	0.381	0	1
Ideological Bloc: Right	0.517	0.500	0	1
Ideological Bloc: Did Not Vote	0.210	0.408	0	1
Attention	0.938	0.242	0	1
Observations	2,005			

Figure C1: Variable Distributions: Israeli Sample

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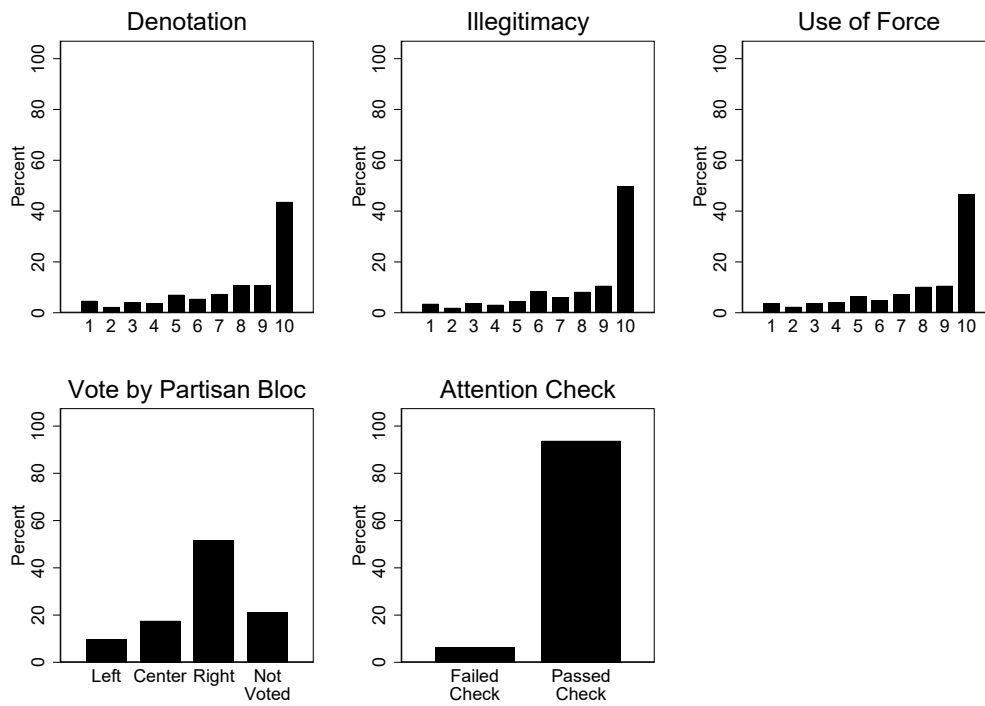
C.2   US Sample

Table C2: Descriptive Statistics: US Sample

	Mean	S.D.	Min	Max
Denotation	4.984	3.355	1	10
Illegitimacy	6.662	3.191	1	10
Use of Force	4.941	3.366	1	10
Ideological Lean: Liberal	0.394	0.489	0	1
Ideological Lean: Neither	0.106	0.308	0	1
Ideological Lean: Conservative	0.500	0.500	0	1
Attention	0.966	0.182	0	1
Observations		1,135		

Figure C2: Variable Distributions: US Sample
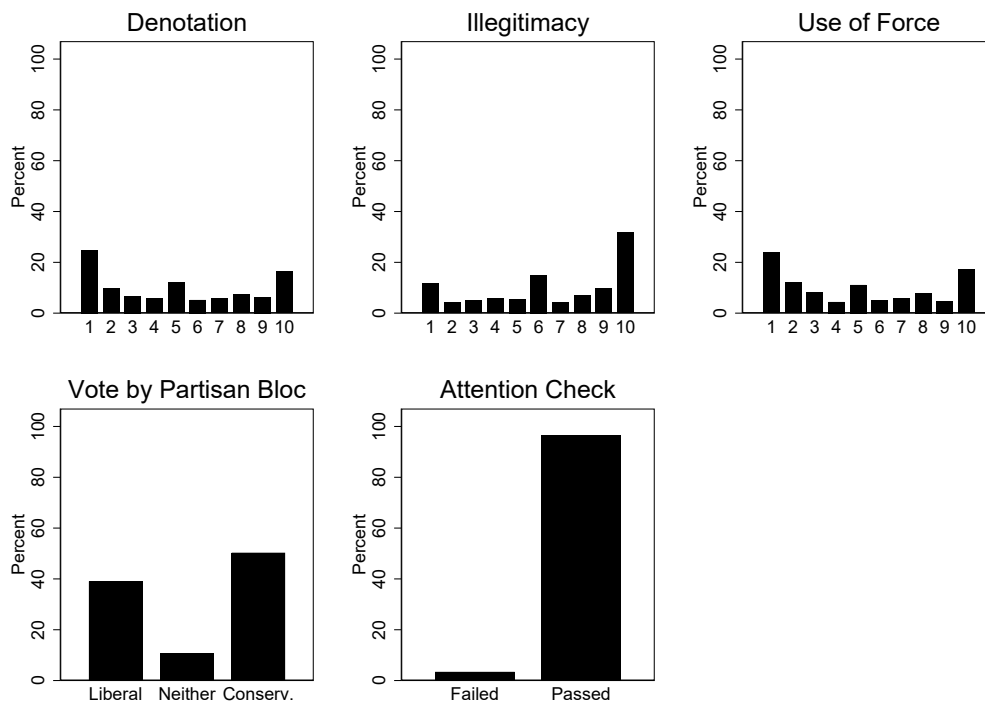
D Full Model Estimates

D.1 Interaction Models, Israeli Sample

The following tables detail the full regression estimates for the interaction models summarized in the paper with predicted values graphs (Figures 2 and 3). Table D1 presented the full model estimates from which the predicted values in Figure 2 were derived. Table D2 shows the estimates behind Figure 3. We calculated the predicted values post-estimation using the `margins` command in Stata.

Table D1: *Full OLS Regression Estimates: The Interacted Influence of Violent vs. Nonviolent Actions by Partisanship*

	(1) Terror Denotation	(2) Illegitimacy	(3) Use Force
Intercept (Violence, Left)	8.029***	8.035***	7.726***
	(0.395)	(0.403)	(0.385)
Nonviolence	-4.553***	-3.25***	-4.013***
	(0.378)	(0.385)	(0.369)
Partisanship: Center	0.208	0.155	0.198
	(0.408)	(0.416)	(0.398)
Partisanship: Right	0.372	0.501	0.895**
	(0.353)	(0.361)	(0.345)
Nonviolence×Center	1.956***	1.556**	1.994***
	(0.474)	(0.484)	(0.463)
Nonviolence×Right	3.538***	2.417***	2.886***
	(0.413)	(0.421)	(0.403)
Attention	0.885***	0.712**	0.880***
	(0.246)	(0.251)	(0.240)
N	1,583	1,583	1,583
R^2	0.268	0.161	0.260

Standard errors in parentheses, † $p < 0.1$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$.
The baseline category for Partisanship is Left.

D.2 Labeling Effect on High Support for Oppression by Centrists

In the paper, we demonstrate the substantive effect of labeling on Israeli centrists by estimating the probability that they show high levels of support for use of force (values of 8–10 on the 10-point scale) with and without this treatment. To do so, we coded a dummy variable indicating such high support and ran a logit regression estimating its probability by partisan camp.

The Model estimations are presented in Table D3. For ease of interpretation, Table D4 summarized the predicted probabilities for each partisan camp with and without labeling.

Table D2: *Full OLS Regression Estimates: The Interacted Influence of Terrorism Label by Partisanship*

	(1) Terror Denotation	(2) Illegitimacy	(3) Use Force
Intercept (No Label, Left)	3.673***	4.770***	4.035***
	(0.417)	(0.422)	(0.410)
Terror Label	0.238	0.108	-0.050
	(0.417)	(0.421)	(0.409)
Partisanship: Center	1.906***	1.675***	1.748***
	(0.359)	(0.363)	(0.352)
Partisanship: Right	3.882***	2.940***	3.736***
	(0.320)	(0.323)	(0.314)
Terror Label×Center	0.567	0.087	0.951†
	(0.517)	(0.523)	(0.507)
Terror Label×Right	0.028	-0.051	0.075
	(0.453)	(0.459)	(0.445)
Attention	0.557†	0.669*	0.570†
	(0.302)	(0.306)	(0.297)
N	1,178	1,178	1,178
R^2	0.230	0.136	0.221

Standard errors in parentheses, † $p < 0.1$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$.
The baseline category for Partisanship is Left.

Table D3: *Logit Estimates: The Probability of High-Support for Use of Power by Partisanship*

	(1)
Intercept (No Label, Left)	-2.380***
	(0.408)
Terror Label	0.259
	(0.436)
Center	1.170**
	(0.360)
Right	2.684***
	(0.338)
Terror Label×Center	0.348
	(0.503)
Terror Label×Right	-0.299
	(0.465)
Attention	0.779**
	(0.259)
N	1,178
Pseudo-R^2	0.127

Standard errors in parentheses, † $p < 0.1$,
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$.
The baseline category for Partisanship is Left.

Table D4: *Predicted Probabilities of High-Support for Use of Power by Partisanship*

Partisanship	Pr(High Support|No Label)	Pr(High Support|Terror Label)	Diff.
Left	16.3%	20.1%	3.8%
	[7.8%, 24.7%]	[10.7%, 29.5%]	
Center	38.4%	53.2%	14.8%
	[30.4%, 46.3%]	[44.4%, 62%]	
Right	73.6%	72.9%	-0.7%
	[69.2%, 78.1%]	[68.5%, 77.2%]	

95% confidence intervals in brackets.

D.3 Interaction Models, US Sample

The following tables detail the full regression estimates for the interaction models of the US replication, which are summarized in the paper with predicted values graphs (Figures 6 and 7). Table D5 presented the full model estimates from which the predicted values in Figure 6 were calculated. Table D6 shows the estimates underlying Figure 7.

Table D5: *Full OLS Regression Estimates: The Interacted Influence of Violent vs. Nonviolent Actions by Ideology, US Replication*

	(1) Terror Denotation	(2) Illegitimacy	(3) Use Force
Intercept (Violence, Liberal)	8.783***	9.050***	7.475***
	(0.536)	(0.550)	(0.540)
Nonviolence	-4.027***	-3.551***	-3.705***
	(0.318)	(0.327)	(0.321)
Ideology: Neither	1.264*	0.365	1.666**
	(0.568)	(0.583)	(0.573)
Ideology: Right	0.709†	-0.096	1.494***
	(0.372)	(0.382)	(0.375)
Nonviolence×Neither	-1.875**	-0.580	-1.377*
	(0.670)	(0.688)	(0.676)
Nonviolence×Conservative	0.488	1.564***	0.064
	(0.429)	(0.440)	(0.432)
Attention	-1.339**	-0.300	-0.662
	(0.478)	(0.491)	(0.482)
N	1,046	1,046	1,046
R^2	0.305	0.190	0.293

Standard errors in parentheses, † $p < 0.1$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$.
The baseline category for Ideology is Liberal.

Table D6: *Full OLS Regression Estimates: The Interacted Influence of Terrorism Label by Ideology, US Replication*

	(1) Terror Denotation	(2) Illegitimacy	(3) Use Force
Intercept (No Label, Liberal)	5.335***	6.194***	4.682***
	(0.598)	(0.573)	(0.597)
Terror Label	0.874**	0.495	0.150
	(0.325)	(0.311)	(0.324)
Ideology: Neither	-0.232	-0.186	0.188
	(0.488)	(0.467)	(0.486)
Ideology: Right	1.156***	1.229***	1.512***
	(0.307)	(0.294)	(0.306)
Terror Label×Neither	0.704	0.588	1.339†
	(0.706)	(0.676)	(0.704)
Terror Label×Conservative	-0.240	-0.364	-0.038
	(0.434)	(0.416)	(0.433)
Attention	-1.335*	-0.341	-0.708
	(0.560)	(0.537)	(0.558)
N	1,046	1,046	1,046
R^2	0.046	0.032	0.051

Standard errors in parentheses, † $p < 0.1$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$.

The baseline category for Ideology is Liberal.

E Robustness Tests

E.1 Demographic Controls

To confirm that our primary results are not influenced by unmeasured demographic traits, we re-estimated our analyses while controlling for sex, age group, religious identification, relative income, education, immigration, and geographic region.

Table E1 and Table E2 re-estimate the models in the paper's Table 2 and Table 3, respectively, with additional demographic controls. Figure E1 and Figure E2 re-plot the predicted values in the paper's Figure 2 and Figure 3, respectively, with the same controls. The results remain substantively the same.

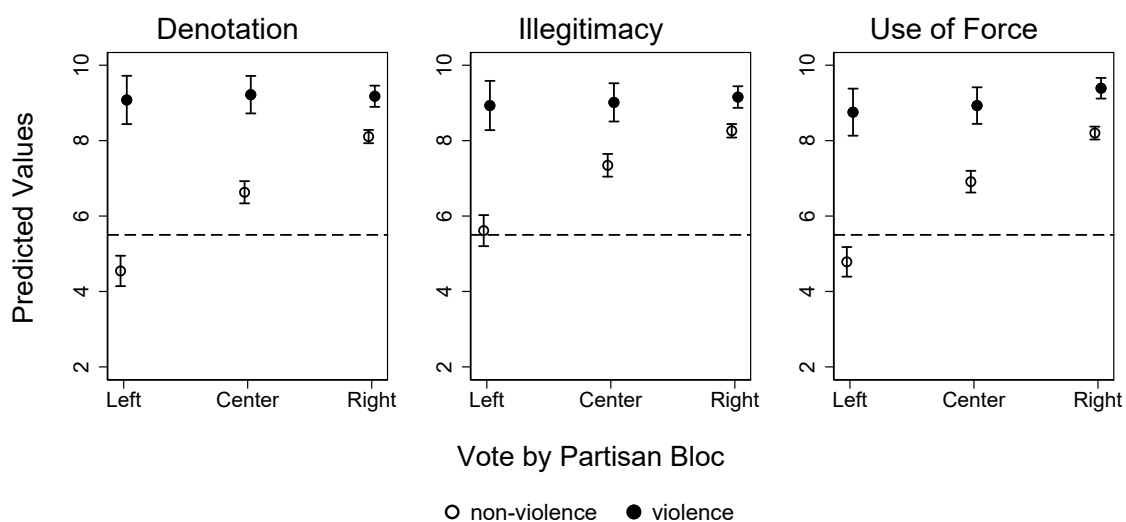*Figure E1:* *Demographic Controls: Predicted Values of Violent vs. Nonviolent Actions by Partisanship*

Figure E2: *Demographic Controls: Predicted Values of Terror Label by Partisanship*
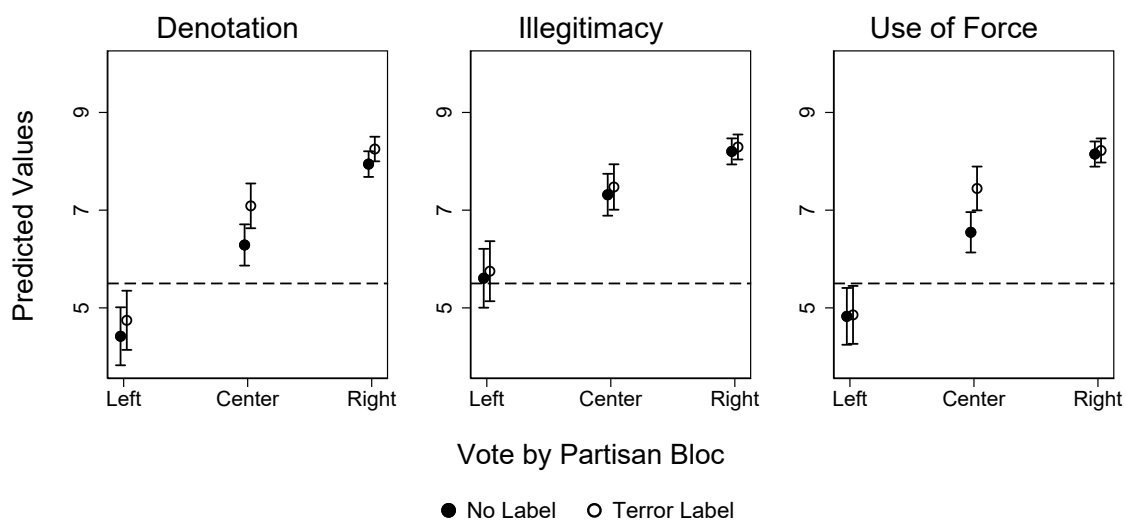
Table E1: *Demographic Controls: The Influence of Action Type on Perception of Terrorism (OLS Regression)*

	Terror Denotation		Illegitimacy		Use Force	
	(1) Violence	(2) Action	(3) Violence	(4) Action	(5) Violence	(6) Action
Intercept (Violence)	7.886***	7.913***	8.262***	8.247***	7.755***	7.730***
	(0.411)	(0.409)	(0.405)	(0.404)	(0.401)	(0.400)
Nonviolence	-1.921***		-1.373***		-1.741***	
	(0.129)		(0.127)		(0.126)	
Action: Economic		-1.499***		-1.151***		-1.616***
		(0.157)		(0.155)		(0.154)
Action: Legal		-1.952***		-1.604***		-2.000***
		(0.158)		(0.156)		(0.155)
Action: construct		-2.319***		-1.372***		-1.614***
		(0.157)		(0.156)		(0.154)
Attention	0.974***	0.986***	0.751**	0.756***	1.079***	1.081***
	(0.233)	(0.231)	(0.229)	(0.228)	(0.227)	(0.226)
Gender: Female	0.334**	0.322**	0.025	0.027	0.172	0.178
	(0.113)	(0.113)	(0.111)	(0.111)	(0.110)	(0.110)
Age Group	0.038	0.036	-0.111*	-0.109*	-0.016	-0.012
	(0.045)	(0.044)	(0.044)	(0.044)	(0.043)	(0.043)
Religious Id.: Traditional	0.808***	0.820***	0.588***	0.593***	0.924***	0.927***
	(0.154)	(0.153)	(0.151)	(0.151)	(0.150)	(0.149)
Religious Id. Religious	1.003***	1.026***	1.246***	1.273***	1.184***	1.208***
	(0.178)	(0.177)	(0.175)	(0.175)	(0.173)	(0.173)
Religious Id.: Haredi	1.409***	1.401***	1.133***	1.142***	1.622***	1.635***
	(0.193)	(0.192)	(0.190)	(0.189)	(0.188)	(0.188)
Education	-0.118***	-0.125***	-0.024	-0.026	-0.105***	-0.105***
	(0.024)	(0.024)	(0.024)	(0.024)	(0.023)	(0.023)
Immigrant	0.422**	0.432**	0.255†	0.260†	0.379**	0.381**
	(0.145)	(0.144)	(0.142)	(0.142)	(0.141)	(0.141)
Region: North	0.297	0.321	0.546*	0.553*	0.545*	0.546*
	(0.250)	(0.248)	(0.246)	(0.245)	(0.243)	(0.243)
Region: Haifa	0.034	0.074	-0.018	0.000	0.407†	0.416†
	(0.234)	(0.233)	(0.230)	(0.230)	(0.228)	(0.228)
Region: Center	0.258	0.302	0.187	0.206	0.606**	0.614**
	(0.203)	(0.202)	(0.200)	(0.200)	(0.198)	(0.198)
Region: Tel Aviv	-0.128	-0.101	-0.064	-0.067	0.321	0.310
	(0.212)	(0.211)	(0.208)	(0.208)	(0.206)	(0.206)
Region: South	0.397†	0.444†	0.214	0.236	0.629**	0.639**
	(0.232)	(0.231)	(0.228)	(0.228)	(0.226)	(0.226)
Region: West Bank	0.164	0.151	0.291	0.279	0.362	0.352
	(0.266)	(0.265)	(0.262)	(0.261)	(0.259)	(0.259)
N	2,005	2,005	2,005	2,005	2,005	2,005
R^2	0.162	0.174	0.107	0.111	0.159	0.163

Standard errors in parentheses, † $p < 0.1$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$.
The baseline category for gender is male, for religious identification is secular, and for region is Jerusalem.

Table E2: Demographic Controls: The Influence of Terror Label on Perception of Terrorism (OLS Regression)

	(1) Terror Denotation	(2) Illegitimacy	(3) Use Force
Intercept (No Label)	6.038***	6.867***	6.291***
	(0.499)	(0.484)	(0.488)
Terror Label	0.366**	0.064	0.233†
	(0.140)	(0.136)	(0.137)
Attention	0.631*	0.634*	0.779**
	(0.291)	(0.282)	(0.285)
Gender: Female	0.462**	0.074	0.231†
	(0.141)	(0.136)	(0.138)
Age Group	0.054	-0.081	-0.024
	(0.056)	(0.054)	(0.054)
Religious Id.: Traditional	1.056***	0.784***	1.122***
	(0.192)	(0.186)	(0.187)
Religious Id.: Religious	1.284***	1.486***	1.386***
	(0.219)	(0.212)	(0.214)
Religious Id.: Haredi	1.674***	1.434***	1.867***
	(0.237)	(0.230)	(0.232)
Education	-0.160***	-0.063*	-0.150***
	(0.030)	(0.029)	(0.029)
Immigrant	0.583**	0.374*	0.516**
	(0.180)	(0.174)	(0.175)
Region: North	0.235	0.643*	0.651*
	(0.310)	(0.300)	(0.303)
Region: Haifa	0.010	0.061	0.399
	(0.291)	(0.281)	(0.284)
Region: Center	0.276	0.293	0.680**
	(0.248)	(0.240)	(0.242)
Region: Tel-Aviv	-0.071	0.055	0.454†
	(0.258)	(0.250)	(0.252)
Region: South	0.312	0.349	0.598*
	(0.286)	(0.277)	(0.280)
Region: West Bank	0.041	0.393	0.327
	(0.326)	(0.315)	(0.318)
N	1,492	1,492	1,492
R^2	0.107	0.079	0.110

Standard errors in parentheses, † $p < 0.1$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$.
The baseline category for gender is male, for religious identification is secular, and for region is Jerusalem.

E.2 Control for Speaker's Partisanship

Our treatment mentions unnamed "Israeli leaders." Nevertheless, we verified that unobserved perceptions of speaker partisanship do not bias the results. After showing the treatment and measuring our outcome questions, we also asked respondents to place the noted speakers on a left-right scale from 1 to 7.

Table E3 and Table E4 re-estimate the models in the paper's Table 2 and Table 3, respectively, with additional control for perceived speaker ideology. Figure E3 and Figure E4 re-plot the predicted values in the paper's Figure 2 and Figure 3, respectively, with the same control. The results remain substantively the same.

Table E3: Speaker Ideology: The Influence of Action Type on Perception of Terrorism (OLS Regression)

	Terror Denotation		Illegitimacy		Use Force	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	Violence	Action	Violence	Action	Violence	Action
Intercept (Violence)	7.716***	7.752***	7.836***	7.811***	7.368***	7.315***
	(0.324)	(0.323)	(0.312)	(0.312)	(0.316)	(0.315)
Nonviolence	-1.929***		-1.304***		-1.702***	
	(0.154)		(0.149)		(0.151)	
Action: Economic		-1.578***		-1.164***		-1.640***
		(0.188)		(0.182)		(0.184)
Action: Legal		-2.015***		-1.558***		-2.039***
		(0.191)		(0.184)		(0.186)
Action: Construction		-2.188***		-1.207***		-1.452***
		(0.187)		(0.180)		(0.182)
Attention	1.139***	1.147***	0.856**	0.868**	1.315***	1.330***
	(0.278)	(0.277)	(0.268)	(0.268)	(0.271)	(0.271)
Speaker Ideology	0.101*	0.087*	0.113**	0.117**	0.161***	0.173***
	(0.040)	(0.040)	(0.038)	(0.039)	(0.039)	(0.039)
N	1,570	1,570	1,570	1,570	1,570	1,570
R^2	0.102	0.109	0.058	0.061	0.097	0.103

Standard errors in parentheses, $^\dagger p < 0.1$, $^* p < 0.05$, $^{**} p < 0.01$, $^{***} p < 0.001$.

Figure E3: *Speaker Ideology: Predicted Values of Violent vs. Nonviolent Actions by Partisanship*

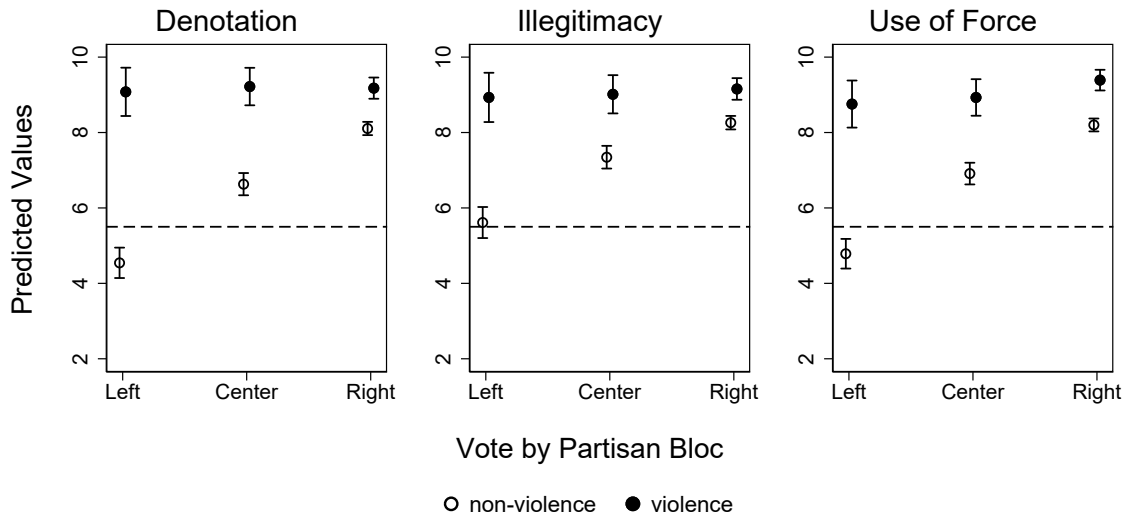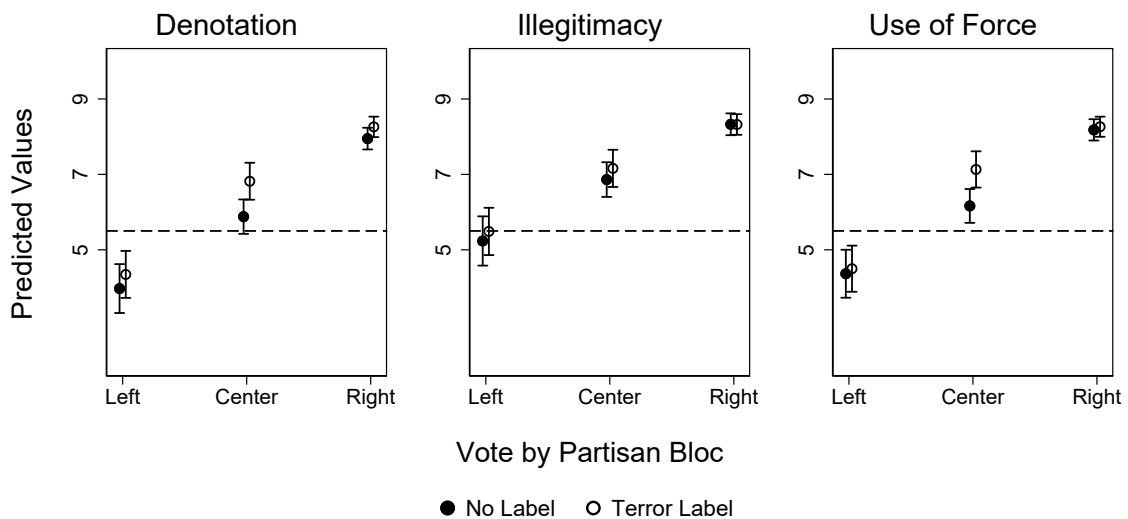Vote by Partisan Bloc

○ non-violence ● violence

Table E4: *Speaker Ideology: The Influence of Terror Label on Perception of Terrorism (OLS Regression)*

	(1) Terror Denotation	(2) Illegitimacy	(3) Use Force
Intercept (No Label)	5.522***	6.376***	5.467***
	(0.395)	(0.374)	(0.386)
Terror Label	0.462**	0.117	0.378*
	(0.165)	(0.157)	(0.161)
Attention	0.886*	0.784*	1.083**
	(0.356)	(0.337)	(0.347)
Speaker Ideology	0.188***	0.166***	0.234***
	(0.049)	(0.046)	(0.047)
N	1,182	1,182	1182
R^2	0.022	0.015	0.031

Standard errors in parentheses, $^\dagger\, p < 0.1$, $^* \, p < 0.05$, $^{**} \, p < 0.01$, $^{***} \, p < 0.001$.

Figure E4: *Speaker Ideology: Predicted Values of Terror Label by Partisanship*

Vote by Partisan Bloc

● No Label ○ Terror Label

E.3   Left-Right Self-Identification Instead of Vote by Bloc

To validate our measure of partisanship, we ran two tests. First, as noted in the paper, a simple bivariate correlation finds that respondents' bloc voting strongly correlates with their self-placement on a 1–7 left-right scale ($r = 0.7$, $p < 0.001$). Second, we re-estimated our interaction models while using respondents' left-right self-identification on a 1–7 scale instead of voting blocs. This measure adds non-voters to the sample, although at a higher cost in statistical power. Since we find that labeling affects centrists most strongly—i.e., highest in mid-scale values—we interacted our treatments with the squared value of self-identification.

Given that the 1–7 scale is longer than three partisan blocs, we plot the marginal effects of the treatments (violence/nonviolence and terror labeling) rather than their absolute predicted values. Figure E5 graphs the marginal effects of nonviolent actions compared to violence. As expected, despite the squared values of ideological self-identification, the negative marginal effect of nonviolence remains linear as respondents self-identify more leftward. Figure E6 plots the marginal effects of terrorism labeling compared to no label. Corroborating our findings, we see a positive marginal effect only on respondents who self-identify in the center (3 and 4 on the 7-point scale) and only for terrorism denotation ($p < 0.001$ for both mid-scale values) and support for use of force ($p < 0.057$ and $p < 0.075$, respectively). Hence, our findings replicate substantively with this measure.

Figure E5: *Ideological Self-Id.: Marginal Effect of Nonviolent Actions by Ideology*
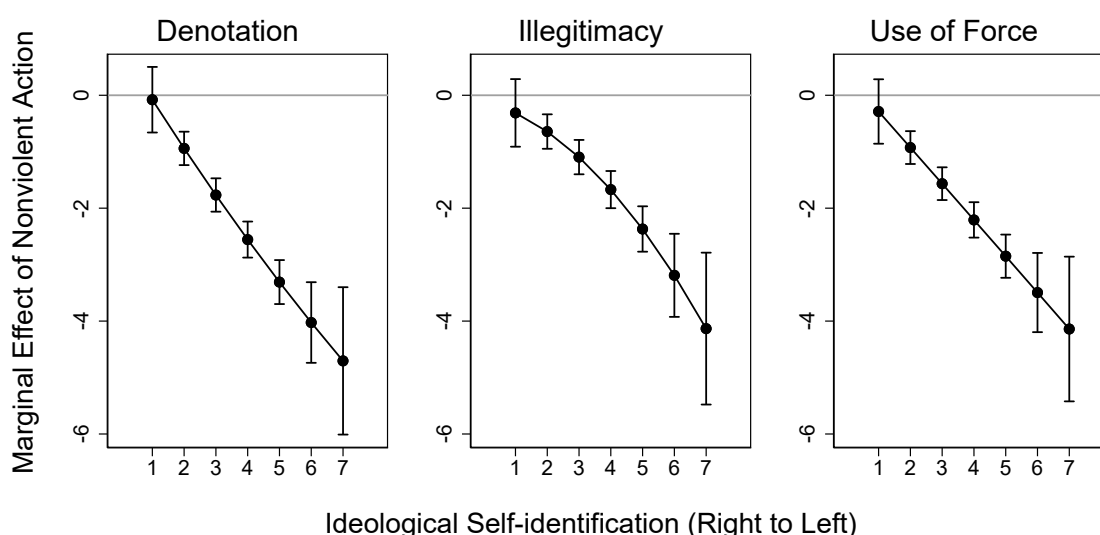
Figure E6: *Ideological Self-Id.: Marginal Effect of Terror Label by Ideology*

E.4 Shorter Outcome Scales

In the paper, we measure terrorism perceptions using 1–10 scales. One possible concern may be that these relatively large scales could inflate variation and overstate our findings. To rule out this possibility, we collapsed our three dependent variables to 1–5 scales and re-estimated our models. The new scales cluster every pair of values into single scores: (1) 1–2; (2) 3–4; (3) 5–6; (4) 7–8; and (5) 9–10.

Table E5 and Table E6 re-estimate the models in the paper's Table 2 and Table 3, respectively, with the shorter outcome scales. Figure E7 and Figure E8 re-plot the predicted values in the paper's Figure 2 and Figure 3, respectively, with the same scales. The results remain substantively identical.

Table E5: *5-point Outcome Scales: The Influence of Action Type on Perception of Terrorism (OLS Regression)*

	Terror Denotation		Illegitimacy		Use Force	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	Violence	Action	Violence	Action	Violence	Action
Intercept (Violence)	4.218***	4.215***	4.227***	4.225***	4.196***	4.195***
	(0.118)	(0.117)	(0.115)	(0.115)	(0.115)	(0.115)
Nonviolence	-0.818***		-0.581***		-0.745***	
	(0.062)		(0.061)		(0.061)	
Action: Economic		-0.648***		-0.497***		-0.710***
		(0.076)		(0.074)		(0.074)
Action: Legal		-0.808***		-0.655***		-0.841***
		(0.076)		(0.075)		(0.075)
Action: Construction		-1.000***		-0.592***		-0.687***
		(0.076)		(0.074)		(0.075)
Attention	0.473***	0.477***	0.403***	0.405***	0.509***	0.510***
	(0.112)	(0.111)	(0.109)	(0.109)	(0.110)	(0.110)
N	2,005	2,005	2,005	2,005	2,005	2,005
R^2	0.087	0.097	0.050	0.052	0.079	0.081

Standard errors in parentheses, † $p < 0.1$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$.

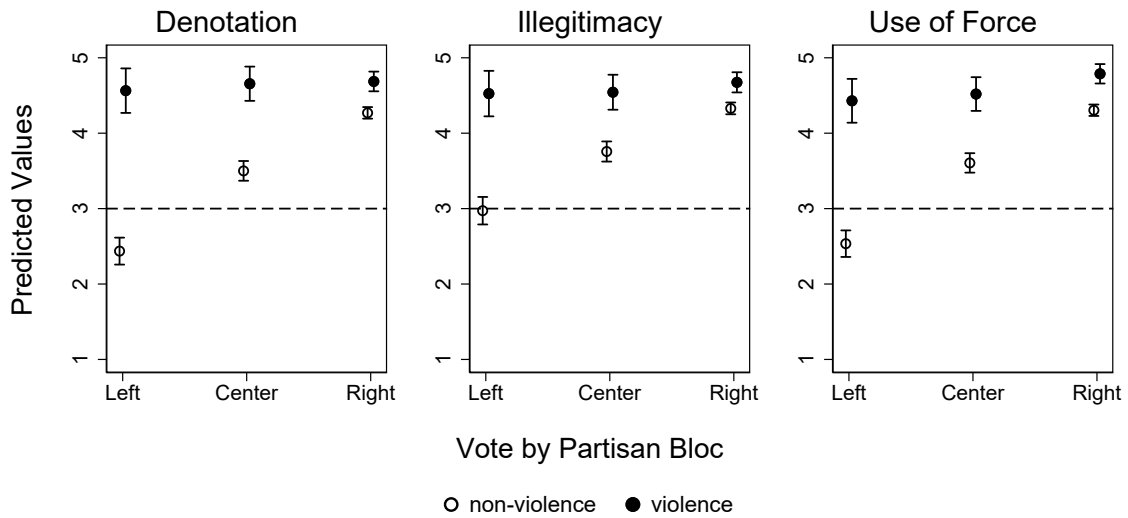*Figure E7: 5-point Outcome Scales: Marginal Effect of Nonviolent Actions by Ideology*

Table E6: 5-point Outcome Scales: The Influence of Terror Label on Perception of Terrorism (OLS Regression)

	(1) Terror Denotation	(2) Illegitimacy	(3) Use Force
Intercept (No Label)	3.466***	3.667***	3.496***
	(0.143)	(0.137)	(0.140)
Terror Label	0.176*	0.031	0.122†
	(0.068)	(0.066)	(0.067)
Attention	0.309*	0.365**	0.396**
	(0.142)	(0.137)	(0.139)
N	1,492	1,492	1,492
R^2	0.007	0.005	0.007

Standard errors in parentheses, $^{\dagger} p < 0.1$, $^{*} p < 0.05$, $^{**} p < 0.01$, $^{***} p < 0.001$.

Figure E8: 5-point Outcome Scales: Marginal Effect of Terror Label by Ideology