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Public Opinion Poll on Current Issues

Terrorism: The Aftermath of the Killing of Al-Zarkawi

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Introduction

The Centre for Strategic Studies (CSS), continues in its effort to monitor and measure Jordanian public opinion and inclinations regarding current political affairs and issues that effect Jordan and the region, particularly issues that effect Jordanian society. Towards this goal, the CSS conducted a public opinion poll to measure the impact of the killing of Abu Musa'ab Al-Zarkawi, who led the Al-Qaeda in Bilad Al Rafedien (Iraq), until his death. His death was followed by a controversial visit, by four Jordanian Parliamentarians, who represent The Islamic Action Front. The purpose of the MP's visit was to pay their condolences on the passing-away of Al Zarkawi at his home in city of Zarka.

This public opinion poll was conducted during the period June, 18-23, 2006. Two samples were designed and selected: The 'National Sample' and the 'Public Opinion Leaders Sample'. The completed number of interviews for the national sample was 1104 respondents. The national sample was designed according to a stratified, multi-stage, cluster design methodology to ensure accurate representation of the Jordanian population. The size of the completed Public Opinion Leaders sample constituted (612) respondents distributed over (7) categories as indicated in table (1).

Table 1: Pubic Opinion Leaders sample by group

Group	Completed	Refusals	Total
Business people (CEO or GD of companies)	77	22	100
Political Parties' Leaders (highest executive committee of each party)	100	00	100
Professionals (Lawyers, engineers, medical doctors, dentists, pharmacists, geologists, nurses, agricultural engineers).	89	11	100
Media (writers, artists, journalists)	72	28	100
Leaders of professional associations, trade Unions and NGOs	92	8	100
High ranking state officials (former ministers, directors generals, MPs, senates, former security officers and, tribal and camps leaders)	91	9	100
University professors	91	9	100
Total	612	88	700

This report comes in 'Four' parts. The first part aims at identifying citizens' opinion on whether they consider certain organizations (Hamas, Hezbollah, Al-Qaeda in Bilad Al-Rafedien , under the leadership of Abu Musa'ab Al-Zarkawi, and Al-Qaeda', under the leadership of Osama Bin Laden) as "legitimate resistance organizations' or 'terrorist organizations'. Also, this part compares the results of this poll to previous polls conducted in 2004 and 2005 addressing the same issue.

The second part of this report aims at identifying citizens' opinion on whether they consider operations conducted by various organizations, armies, or states as terrorist operations or not. The report will also compare this poll's results with the 2005 and 2004 surveys conducted on the same questions raised in this poll. The purpose of this methodology, which aims at identifying citizens' positions, through asking about organizations and operations, is to reach a definition of terrorism based on how Jordanians perceive and define terrorism without imposing a definition on them.

The third part of this report addresses citizens' reactions to the killing of Abu Musa'ab Al-Zarkawi. By asking their personal reaction to the news of the death of Zarkawi, and asking about the reasons behind this personal reaction.

The fourth part measures citizens & opinion leaders' inclinations towards the four Islamic Action Front parliamentarians visit to the house of Al-Zarkawi, to pay their condolences, from the political, social and religious perspectives.

National Sample

Results from this sample indicate two different orientations of the sample population regarding Hamas and Hezbollah at one end and Al Qaeda, under the leadership of Bin Laden and Al-Qaeda in Bilad Al Rafedien , under the leadership of Al-Zarkawi.

Hamas & Hezbollah: Legitimate Resistance Organizations?

According to the majority of respondents 69.1%, Hamas is a 'legitimate resistance organization', 7.8% consider it to be a 'terrorist' organization, and 18.7% responded "I do not know". In comparison to the December, 2005 poll, conducted after the Amman hotel bombings, it is noted that the percentage of those who considered Hamas 'legitimate resistance organization' is similar in both polls. The difference is not statistically significant, which indicates that there was no substantial change in public opinion between the 2005 and 2006 polls on this issue. In comparison with the 2004 poll, we note a decline in the percentage of people who define Hamas as 'legitimate resistance organization'. In 2004, 86.7% considered Hams 'legitimate resistance organization'. Also, a larger percentage of the 2006 sample responded with 'I do not know', as can be seen in table (2).

With regard to Hezbollah, the poll indicates that majority of respondents in 63.6% in this poll consider Hezbollah 'legitimate resistance organization', 6.9% consider it 'terrorist organization', and 24% responded 'I do not know'. When comparing those results with the 2005 poll, which took place after the Amman hotel bombings, it becomes clear that there is a general stability in how the Jordanian public views Hezbollah, although this percentage remains less than that in 2004, when 84% considered Hezbollah a legitimate resistance organization. Even though there is a decline in the number of people who consider Hamas and Hezbollah to be 'legitimate resistance organizations' in this year's poll compared to the 2004 poll, the available indicators confirm that Jordanian citizens inclinations and opinion towards those two organizations is clearer than their inclination and opinions on Al-Qaeda. There is no doubt that the Arab-Israeli conflict and the continued Israeli occupation of Palestinian land remain important factors that impact the formation of positions and opinions towards Hamas and Hezbollah.

Chart 1: percentage of respondents defining the following organizations as "legitimate resistance organizations"

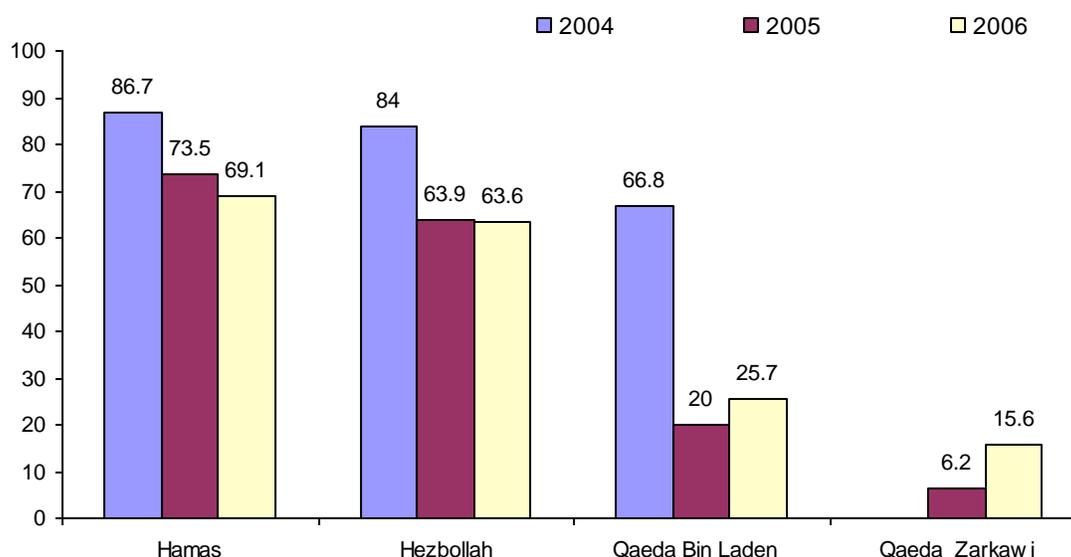


Table 2: question: there is a debate over the description of the following organizations, some people describe them as legitimate resistance organizations and others describe them as terrorist organizations, do you think (Hamas) is legitimate resistance or a terrorist organization?

Organization name	Poll's date	Legitimate resistance organization	Terrorist organization	Did not hear of it	DK	Refuse to answer	Total
Hamas	2004	86.7	1.8	1.3	9.2	1.1	100
	2005	73.5	5.8	1.1	14.6	5	100
	2006	69.1	7.8	1.8	18.7	2.6	100
Hezbollah	2004	84	2.9	1.1	10.6	1.4	100
	2005	63.9	6	3.8	20.8	5.5	100
	2006	63.6	6.9	2.8	24.0	2.7	100
Al-Qaeda Bin Laden	2004	66.8	10.6	3.2	16.8	2.6	100
	2005	20	48.9	1.4	24.3	5.4	100
	2006	25.7	41.1	2.3	27.0	3.8	100
Al-Qaeda Zarkawi	2005	6.2	72.2	0.7	15.6	5.3	100
	2006	15.6	54.3	2.3	24.6	3.2	100

Al-Qaeda/ Bin Laden & Al Qaeda/Bilad Al Rafedien (under the former leadership of Zarkawi)

There is an increase in those who define Al Qaeda/ Bin Laden a 'legitimate organization' (25.7%) in the June, 2006 poll, compared to 20% in the December 2005 poll, which was conducted after the Amman hotel bombings. Also, there is a decrease from 48% during the 2005 poll of those who declared Al Qaeda a 'terrorist organization' to 41.1% during this year's poll. The variation in percentages in the 2005 and 2006 polls is not statistically significant. The Jordanian public opinion continues to consider Al Qaeda/Bin Laden a 'terrorist organization', with an increase in the number of people who chose not to take a position on this question during this

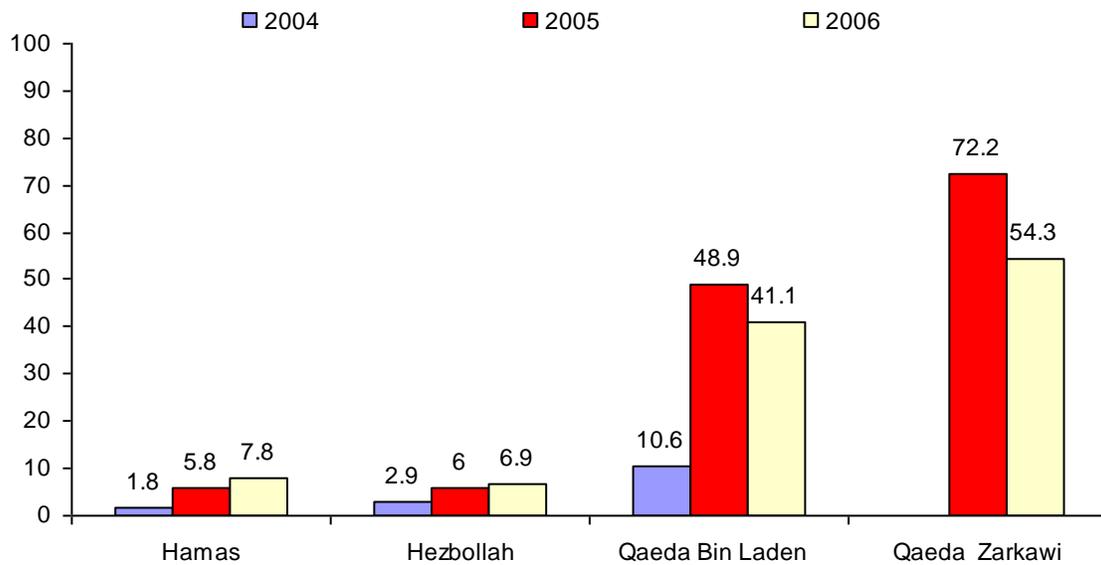
year's poll. When comparing this year's poll results with the results of the 2004 poll, it becomes clear that the fundamental change in Jordanian public opinion towards Al Qaeda/Bin Laden in the aftermath of the Amman bombings in comparison to the poll results in 2004 may have stabilized. The 2004 poll indicate that 10.6% of the sample defined Al Qaeda/ Bin Laden a 'terrorist' organization, compared to 48.9% during 2005 poll, and 41.1% in the 2006 present poll.

As for Al-Qaeda organization in Bilad Al-Rafedien (under the leadership of Zarkawi), the majority of the 2006 sample (54.3%), continue to consider it a 'terrorist organization', in comparison to 15.6% who consider it a 'legitimate resistance organization', while 24.6% responded with 'I do not know'.

Even though the general trend of the Jordanian public opinion considers Al-Qaeda in Bilad Al-Rafedien a 'terrorist organization', a considerable decrease is noticed in relation to the 2005 poll, conducted after the Amman bombings, where 72.2% of the sample defined Al-Qaeda in Bilad Al-Rafedien, which resulted in an increase in the percentage of those who declared Al-Qaeda in Bilad Al-Rafedien a 'legitimate resistance organization' in comparison to the 2005 poll on this issue. Also, there was an increase in the number of people who responded 'I do not know', as can be seen in table 2.

It may be possible to partially understand the above variation in the perceptions of the 'national sample', in comparison to the 2005 poll results, conducted after the Amman bombings, to the re-evaluation of Al-Qaeda in Bilad Al-Rafedien, after the killing of its leader, Abu Musa'ab Al-Zarkawi. Also, seven months have elapsed since the infamous Amman Bombings.

Figure 2: Percentage of respondents defining the following organizations as "terrorist organizations".



PART TWO: Citizens inclinations towards certain operations

The previous December, 2005 poll, conducted after the Amman bombings, indicated a major shift in the position of Jordanian citizens towards some operations that target civilians, regardless to their nationality. This year's poll results indicate that there is no change in citizens' position, as 61.8% of the national sample declared the WTC twin tower destruction in 2001 a 'terrorist' act, 63.3% declared the London bombings a 'terrorist' act, 79.0% declared Sharm Al-Sheikh bombings a 'terrorist' act, 93.4% declared the Amman hotel bombings a 'terrorist' act, and 84.0% declared the killing of Palestinian civilians in the West Bank and Gaza by Israel, as well as the assassination of Palestinian political leaders by Israel a 'terrorist' act. These percentages are almost the same for the other three polls as can be seen in table 3.

As for the 2006 sample's response to operations by Al Qaeda in Bilad Al-Rafedien, 74.7% of respondents declared operations that resulted in the killing of Iraqi civilians as 'terrorist' operations. Also, 69.8% of the respondents declared operations adopted by this organization which resulted in the killing of Shiites in Iraq, and the killing of Iraqi police 'terrorist' operations (see table 3).

Table 3: Question: how would you describe the following acts, would you say a "terrorist" or "not a terrorist" act (read)?

Operation	Poll Date	Terrorist	Not terrorist	Did not hear of it	DK	Refuse to answer	Total
WTC attacks 2001	2004	34.6	48.3	0	15	2.1	100
	2005	61.4	20.1	2.6	11.6	4.2	100
	2006	61.8	24.6	1.3	10.8	1.4	100
Armed operations against US-lead forces in Iraq	2004	17.7	68.8	0	12.5	1	100
	2005	21.1	63.6	1.1	9.8	4.5	100
	2006	26.8	57.1	1.3	13.1	1.7	100
US-led armed operations in Iraq	2004	86.3	3.1	0	9.4	1.2	100
	2005	78.3	8.4	1.1	8	4.1	100
	2006	77.3	8.1	1.5	11.4	1.6	100
Operations against Israeli Civilians inside Israel	2004	24	63.9	0	10.6	1.5	100
	2005	48.5	36.5	0.4	10.4	4.1	100
	2006	40.3	46.2	1.4	10.2	2	100
Killing of Palestinian civilians in WB and GS	2004	90.3	2.2	0	6.6	0.9	100
	2005	90.5	2.2	0.3	3.7	3.4	100
	2006	90.8	2.7	0.6	4.8	1.2	100
Assassination of Palestinian political	2004	84	7.2	0	7.6	1.3	100

leaders by Israel	2005	88.7	2.9	0.5	4.5	3.4	100
	2006	89.1	2.5	0.9	5.9	1.6	100
London Bombings 7/7/2005	2005	63.1	8.3	13.9	10.4	4.3	100
	2006	62.3	12.9	12.6	10.7	1.5	100
Bombings of Sharm El-Sheikh –Egypt 2005/7/23	2005	77.4	4.8	5.6	8.3	3.8	100
	2006	79	6.7	4.5	8.1	1.7	
Bombings of three hotels in Amman – Jordan2005/11/9	2005	94	0.7	0	1.9	3.4	100
	2006	93.4	1.9	0.2	3.4	1.1	100
Al Qaeda's operations in Iraq which resulted in the killing of Iraqi Civilians	2006	74.7	7.7	2.7	12.8	2.1	100
Al Qaeda's operations in Iraq which resulted in the killing of members of Iraqi police and army	2006	69.8	11.5	3	13.4	2.2	100
Al Qaeda's operations in Iraq which resulted in the killing of Iraqi Shiites civilians	2006	69.8	10.6	3.4	14.1	2.3	100
The killing of Abu Musa'ab Al Zarkawi by the US forces in Iraq	2006	41.2	36	1.8	17.1	3.9	100

Part Three: Citizens Reaction to the Killing of Abu Musa'ab Al Zarkawi

Of the national sample respondents, 45.7% declared a positive response to the news of this killing, reflected in a sense of relief, joy, safety, comfort, pride, and optimism, while 30.3% of the sample declared that their reaction to this news was negative, reflected in their feeling of sadness and anger. The reaction of 16.8% of the sample was passive, reflected in their feeling nothing, or disinterested, or not personally concerned, or passive.

Your reaction when you learnt of the death of Zarkawi.

Response	Number	Percent
Positive reaction: When I heard of the death of Zarkawi (felt happy, secure, comfort, optimistic, proud)	504	45.7
Negative reaction: When I heard of the death of Zarkawi (sad, angry, depressed, upset)	334	30.3
Passive Reaction (neither positive nor negative): When I heard of the death of Zarkawi (did not care, passive, not of my concern, did not feel a thing)	185	16.8
I do not know	14	1.3
I refuse to answer	67	6.1
Total	1104	100.0

Respondents who answered that their reaction was POSITIVE when they learnt of the death of Zarkawi to a variety of reasons:

Reasons behind positive reactions to the death of Zarkawi	Number	Percent
Because he is a terrorist	305	60.5
Because he is responsible for the Amman Bombings	84	16.7
His death strengthens the stability and safety of Jordan and its citizens	84	16.7
Because he reflected badly on Islam	20	4.0
Because he reflected badly on Jordan	3	0.6
Other	8	1.6
Total	504	100.0

The reasons given by those who declared that their reaction was NEGATIVE to the news of the Zarkawi's death are as follows:

Reasons behind the negative reaction to the death of Zarkawi	Number	Percent
He is 'Mujahid' and a 'Martyr'	128	38.3
He is a 'Muslim', 'Arab' or 'Jordanian'	88	26.3
He was fighting and resisting America or because he was killed by Americans	85	25.4
For humanitarian reasons	20	4.0
Admiration of him and his abilities	3	6.0
Other	5	1.5
Refuse to answer	7	2.1
Total	334	100.0

As for the 16.8% respondents from the national sample, who declared that their reaction was PASSIVE neither positive nor negative, towards the death of Zarkawi, they listed the following reasons to explain their reaction:

Reasons behind the passive reaction towards the death of Zarkawi	Number	Percent
Indifferent to his killing	98	53.0
He was killed by America or because he was resisting regardless of his targeting of innocent civilians	26	14.1
I do not interfere in politics	19	10.3
I do not care for this person	18	9.7
	9	4.9
There are more important issues than the death of Zarkawi	3	1.6
I can't believe he is really dead	2	1.1
Other	5	2.7
Refuse to answer	5	2.7
Total	185	100.0

Part four: Citizens inclinations towards the visit by four Members of Parliament to pay condolences for the death of Zarkawi

With regards to the visit by four MPs from the Islamic Action Front, to pay their respect upon the death of Al-Zarkawi, 65.0% of respondents declared that the said visit by the four Islamic Action Front Members of Parliament to the house of Abu Musa'ab Al-Zarkawi's family and paying their condolences on his death is a 'politically unacceptable' action. 15.5% declared it was a 'politically acceptable' action and 16.1% responded 'I do not know'.

Even though a great majority considered this visit 'politically unacceptable', there remains a split in the opinions of citizens regarding the social and religious aspects of this visit. 46.0% of the respondents "socially do not condone" the visit of the four parliamentarians to pay their condolences for the death of Zarkawi, while 38.4% declared it is 'socially acceptable'. On the other hand, 38.1% of respondents consider this visit 'religiously unacceptable'.

Moreover, 46.6% declared this visit 'unjustifiable' compared to 32.4% of respondents who considered this action by the four parliamentarians 'justifiable', while 17.2% are 'undecided' on this issue. Those percentages reflect some form of split in Jordanians' perception on this issue.

Of the respondents who view this action as 'unjustifiable', 72.8% declared that the House of Parliament should take action against those four parliamentarians. Against, (13.1%) of the respondents who perceive the visit by the four parliamentarians 'unjustifiable' declared that 'no action should be taken by the House of parliament against those parliamentarians.

Public Opinion Leaders Sample (POL)

Part One: Organizations— Are they ‘legitimate resistance organizations’ or are they ‘terrorist organizations’?

The poll results indicate a variation in the opinions of the POL sample on different groups, as plurality of individuals categorize both Hamas and Hezbollah organization as legitimate organizations but categorize Al-Qaeda under the leadership of Osama Bin Laden and the Al-Qaeda, under the leadership of Zarkawi as terrorist organizations.

Hamas & Hezbollah: ‘Legitimate Resistance Organizations’?

The majority of respondents 82.0% of the opinion leaders sample declared Hamas a ‘legitimate resistance organization’, while 7.7% considered Hamas a ‘terrorist organization’, 5.9% responded ‘I do not know’, and 4.4% of respondents refused to answer. Comparing these results to the 2005 poll reveals no differences that are statistically significant. Overall, 84.0% of respondents declared Hamas a ‘legitimate resistance organization’, compared to 3.6% who consider Hamas a ‘terrorist organization’.

This view also applies to the general view of public opinion leaders regarding Hezbollah, as 82.4% of respondents consider Hezbollah a ‘legitimate resistance organization’, compared to 5.7% respondents who consider it a ‘terrorist organization’, 7.2% who responded ‘I do not know’ and 4.6% who declined to answer. These results are very similar to those of the 2005 poll, conducted after the Amman bombings, where 84.2% respondents declared Hezbollah a ‘legitimate resistance organization’ and 3.3% declared it a ‘terrorist organization’. There is no doubt that the continued Arab Israeli conflict has played a major role in formulating the perception and direction of opinion leaders in this regard.

Al-Qaeda organizations/Bin Laden and Al-Qaeda in Bilad Al-Rafedien : ‘Legitimate Resistance Organizations’?

In relation to the two Al Qaeda organizations—Bin Laden and Al-Qaeda in Bilad Al-Rafedien, and contrary to the classification of Hamas and Hezbollah, the majority of opinion leaders sampled (64.1%) considers the Al-Qaeda organization under the leadership of Osama Bin Laden to be a ‘terrorist organization’, while 14.7% consider it a ‘legitimate resistance organization’ and 11.9% responded ‘I do not know’. Comparing these results to those from the 2005 poll reveals a decrease in the percentage of respondents who consider Al Qaeda/Bin Laden, to be a ‘terrorist organization’. In the 2005 poll, this percentage was (73.4%). Additionally, the percentage of those who consider it a ‘legitimate resistance organization’ increased from 9.4% to 14.7% over the same time period (see table 4).

The majority of opinion leaders' sample (75.0%) considers Al-Qaeda in Bilad Al-Rafedien under the leadership of Al-Zarkawi (until he was killed), a ‘terrorist organization’. This percentage dropped in comparison to the 2005 poll conducted after the Amman bombings, where 84.6% of the sample declared this organization to be a ‘terrorist organization’. Similarly, there was a rise in the percentage of those who consider Al-Qaeda - Zarkawi as a legitimate resistance organization’ from 2.1% in the 2005 poll to 9.0% in the 2006 poll. (Table 4)

Table no. 4: question: there is a debate over the description of the following organizations, some people describe them as legitimate resistance organizations and others describe them as terrorist organizations, do you think (Hamas) is legitimate resistance or a terrorist organization?

Organization name	Poll's date	Legitimate resistance organization	Terrorist organization	Did not hear of it	DK	Refuse to answer	Total
HAMAS	2005	84	3.6	0.1	8.2	4	100
	2006	82	7.7	0	5.9	4.4	100
Hezbollah	2005	84.2	3.3	0.1	8.1	4.3	100
	2006	82.4	5.7	0.2	7.2	4.6	100
Al Qaeda Bin Laden	2005	9.4	73.4	0.3	8.8	8.1	
	2006	14.7	64.1	0.2	11.9	9.2	100
AL Qaeda Zarkawi	2005	2.1	84.6	0.3	5.7	7.3	100
	2006	9	75	0.2	8.8	7	100

Part two: Attitudes of public opinion leaders towards some operations

The Majority of respondents in the opinion leaders sample agree that operations that target civilians or civilian targets are 'terrorist' operations, regardless of the nationality of the target group, or locations of the targets. 82.7% of respondents declared that operations such as the destruction of the World Trade Center buildings in New York (11/9/2001) is 'terrorist operation', compared to 9.3% who said that they do not consider this a terrorist operation (as can be seen in table 5)

Moreover, 98.5% of the opinion leaders declared that the Amman Hotel bombings (9/11/2005) were a 'terrorist' operation, while 0.2% responded that it was not a terrorist operation. As can be seen in table 5, over 80% of respondents in the opinion leaders sample consider the targeting of Palestinian civilians, the assassination of the Palestinian political leaders by Israel, the bombing of the London underground, together with the operations which Al Qaeda, under Zarkawi (until he was killed), claimed responsibility for, in Bilad Al Rafedien that resulted in Iraqi civilian or military casualties, death of Iraqi Shiite, or resulted in the killing of members of the Iraqi police or Iraqi military, such operations are considered 'terrorist operations'. This definition also applies to military operations conducted by the Coalition Forces, under the leadership of the US in Iraq, as 89.5% of opinion leaders consider them to be 'terrorist' operations. On the contrary, the majority of respondents in the opinion leaders sample excluded all military/armed operations/ against the Allied Forces in Iraq, while 85.1% of respondents declared such operations 'non- terrorist', and 7.5% declared such operations as being 'terrorist' actions.

As for operations launched against Israeli civilians inside Israel, most respondents 57.5% declared such operations as 'terrorist' operations, compared to 32.4% who declared them to be 'non-terrorist' operations. The difference in opinion and the percentages of respondents who consider certain operations that target Israeli civilians in Israel as terrorist, while others as non-terrorist operations could be partly explained by the continued Arab Israeli conflict, and the continued Israeli occupation of Palestinian lands. Comparing the results of the 2006 poll to the 2005 poll shows that there is no major statistical differences between the two polls, except for a substantial drop in the percentages of respondents who identify operations against Israeli civilians in Israel 'terrorist operations'. In the 2005 poll, 62.9% of respondents declared operations against

Israeli civilians in Israel to be 'terrorist operations' while in 2006, only 57.5% respondents declared such operations as 'terrorist operations'.

Table 5: Question: how would you describe the following acts, would you say a "terrorist" or "not a terrorist" act (read)?

Operation	Poll Date	Terrorist	Not terrorist	Did not hear of it	DK	Refuse to answer	Total
WTC attacks 2001	2005	83.4	7.5	0.1	3.7	5.2	100
	2006	82.7	9.3	0.2	3.6	4.2	100
Armed operations against US-lead forces in Iraq	2005	8.2	82.8	0.1	4.5	4.3	100
	2006	7.5	85.1	0	3.8	3.6	100
US-led armed operations in Iraq	2005	87.1	4	0.3	4.3	4.2	100
	2006	89.5	3.3	0	4.1	3.1	100
Operations against Israeli Civilians inside Israel	2005	62.9	25.9	0	4.5	6.7	100
	2006	57.5	32.4	0.5	3.8	5.9	100
Killing of Palestinian civilians in WB and GS	2005	96.1	0.4	0	0.9	2.5	100
	2006	98.9	0.2	0	0.3	0.7	100
Assassination of Palestinian political leaders by Israel	2005	96	0.4	0	1	2.5	100
	2006	98	0.7	0	0.5	0.8	100
London Bombings 7/7/2005	2005	92.8	1.6	0.1	2.4	3	100
	2006	93	2.6	0.5	1.8	2.1	100
Bombings of Sharm El-Sheikh –Egypt 2005/7/23	2005	95.2	1	0	1.2	2.5	100
	2006	96.4	0.8	0	1	1.8	100
Bombings of three hotels in Amman – Jordan 2005/11/9	2005	96.4	0.6	0	0.7	2.2	100
	2006	98.5	0.2	0	0.3	1	100
Al Qaeda's operations in Iraq which resulted in the killing of Iraqi Civilians	2006	92.2	2.5	0	2.6	2.8	100
Al Qaeda's operations in Iraq which resulted in the killing of members of Iraqi police and army	2006	81.7	10.6	0	4.2	3.4	100
Al Qaeda's operations in Iraq which resulted in the killing of Iraqi Shiites civilians	2006	91.7	2.6	0.2	3.1	2.5	100
The killing of Abu Musa'ab Al Zarkawi by the US forces in Iraq	2006	33	47.1	0	10.5	9.5	100

Part three: Reaction of public opinion leaders towards the killing of Abu Musa'b Al Zarkawi.

The poll results for this sample indicate that majority of public opinion leaders (55.6%) reacted to the news of the death of Al-Zarkawi with feelings of joy, comfort, security, pride and optimism, while 13.9% of respondents' reaction to the news of the death of Al-Zarkawi resulted in feelings of sadness, anger, depression, desperation and dismay. 24.8% of respondents had a 'passive, non-positive' reaction to the news of the death of Al-Zarkawi.

Your reaction when you learnt of the death of Zarkawi.

Response	Number	Percent
Positive reaction: When I heard of the death of Zarkawi (felt happy, secure, comfort, optimistic, proud)	340	55.6
Negative reaction: When I heard of the death of Zarkawi (sad, angry, depressed, upset)	85	13.9
Passive Reaction (neither positive nor negative): When I heard of the death of Zarkawi (did not care, passive, not of my concern, did not feel a thing)	152	24.8
I do not know	3	0.5
I refuse to answer	32	5.2
Total	612	100.0

The percentage of respondents who declared a 'POSITIVE' reaction to the news of the death of Al Zarkawi gave the following reasons to explain their positive feelings.

Reasons behind positive reactions to the death of Zarkawi	Number	Percent
Because he is a terrorist	171	50.3
Because he is responsible for the Amman Bombings	95	27.9
His death strengthens the stability and safety of Jordan and its citizens	50	14.7
Because he reflected badly on Islam	7	2.1
Because he reflected badly on Jordan	3	1.8
Other	8	1.6
Total	504	100.0

As for the reasons given by respondents who considered news of the death of Al Zarkawi 'NEGATIVE', the main reason (78.8%) was that Al-Zarkawi fought against America or he was killed by Americans.

Reasons behind the negative reaction to the death of Zarkawi	Number	Percent
He was fighting and resisting America or because he was killed by Americans	67	78.8
He is 'Mujahid' and a 'Martyr'	10	11.8
He is a 'Muslim', 'Arab' or 'Jordanian'	5	5.9
For humanitarian reasons	3	3.5
Total	85	100.0

As for the reasons given by opinion leaders respondents, who had a PASSIVE reaction to the news of the death of Al-Zarkawi, results show that the main reason given by those respondents (28.3%) was that they were not interested in the issue of Al Zarkawi's death.

Reasons behind the passive reaction towards the death of Zarkawi	Number	Percent
I'm not interested in the subject of his death	43	28.3
He was killed by America or because he was resisting regardless of his targeting of innocent civilians	28	18.4
He was targeted by many	28	18.4
I do not know if he was a resistant fighter or a terrorist	12	7.9
The matter is blurred and not clear, and the truth is not known	8	5.3
He is an ambiguous personality	5	3.3
He is a normal personality and dose not deserve attention	4	2.6
The situation will not change as a result of his death	4	2.6
Other	16	10.5
Refuse to answer	4	2.6
Total	152	100.0

Part four: Opinion leaders' attitudes towards the visit of four Parliamentarians to pay condolences on the passing of Al-Zarkawi

With regards to the visit by four MP's representatives of the Islamic Action Front to pay their respect upon the death of Al Zarkawi, 84.5% of respondents declared that the said visit a 'politically acceptable' action. Additionally, 59.3% declared the action of those four parliamentarians as 'unacceptable' from a religious point of view, while 28.8% declared this action as 'acceptable'.

Generally speaking, 73.0% respondents from the opinion leaders sample declared that the action of the four parliamentarians was 'not justifiable', while 15.2% declared this action as 'justifiable'. Among those who declared the visit of the four MPs as unjustifiable 67.6% believe that the House of Parliament should take action against those MPs who visited the Al-Zarkawi house to pay their respects, while 22.4% believe the House of Parliament should NOT take action against those MPs.

Conclusion

Results of this poll reveal a variety of issues that are of interest in Jordanian public opinion (national sample and opinion leaders' sample), regarding terrorism in general and the killing of Al-Zarkawi in particular, as well as the visit of four MPs to Al-Zarkawi's home, to pay their respects. On the issue of terrorism, there appears to be a general stability in the classification of Hamas and Hezbollah as 'legitimate resistance organizations', though there has been a gradual decline since the 2004 poll in the percentage of the 'National Sample' respondents who describe Hamas and Hezbollah as 'legitimate resistance organizations'. No doubt, the Arab Israeli conflict plays a significant role in effecting opinions on the definition of those two organizations. The majority of the 'National Sample' and the 'Opinion Leaders Sample' continue to consider Al Qaeda/Osama Bin Laden a 'terrorist organization'. This is compared to 25% of the National Sample and 14% of the Opinion Leaders Sample who consider it 'legitimate resistance organization'.

Polling results indicate, that the majority of Jordanian Public Opinion (National and Opinion Leaders Samples), describe operations that target civilians as 'terrorist operations'. This applies to the Amman Hotel bombings in 2005, the destruction of the World Trade Center twin tower buildings in New York in 2001, the bombing of the London under-ground in 2005, and operations

claimed by Al-Qaeda in Bilad Al-Rafedien which targeted Iraqi civilians, Shiite Iraqi, and members of the Iraqi army and police, the hotel bombings in Sharm Al Sheikh, and the killing of Palestinian civilians in the West Bank and Gaza by Israel. There is no doubt, that variations in the figures between those who classified such operations as 'terrorist' reflect to a great extent the political environment and the policies of the states which were targeted by those operations, more than they are a value statement towards terrorism in general or a classification of terrorist acts. This becomes clear in the public opinion regarding operations that target Israeli civilians in Israel. In this year's poll, 40.3% of the National Sample considers such operations as 'terrorist operations, compared to 48.5% in the 2005 poll. The drop seen in this year's poll could be partly explained by the Israeli military operations against the Palestinians in Gaza, which began before this poll was conducted.

Even though there is a positive reaction by approximately half of the National Sample (45.7%) and the Public Leaders Sample (55.6%) upon hearing the news of the death of Al Zarkawi, 30.3% of the National Sample and 13.9% of the Public Leaders Sample describe their reaction to this news as 'negative'. The respondents whose reaction was 'positive' explain the reasons behind this feeling to a combination of factors: Al-Zarkawi is a terrorist, he is responsible for the Amman hotel bombings, and his death strengthens the security and stability of Jordanian citizens. The poll results also indicate that the reasons why only 38.3% of those who reacted negatively to the news of the death of Al-Zarkawi are that they perceive him as a martyr or Mujahid. Additionally, a quarter of those who had a negative reaction to the news of his death in the National Sample state that Al-Zarkawi as a fighter who is resisting America. In other words, the negative reaction by those respondents is not based on ideological agreement with the Al-Zarkawi, but rather it is a reflection of their opinion of the American occupation of Iraq. The importance of the American occupation can also be seen from the reasons given by those who indicated their passive reaction to the news of the death of Al Zarkawi, as 14.1% stated that they felt mixed because Al Zarkawi fought against America or was someone who was killed by America, although they also acknowledged he killed innocent civilians.

The American dimension becomes even clearer in the opinion leaders samples where 78.8% of those who declared a negative response to news of the death of Al Zarkawi, stated that the reasons behind their feelings were that Al-Zarkawi fought against America and was killed by America. Similarly, 18.4% of the public opinion leaders' sample who declared that their reaction was passive to the news of the death of Al Zarkawi, attributed this view to the fact that he was killed by America or that he resisted America, despite their knowledge that his operations targeted innocent civilians.

On the topic of the visit of the Islamic Action Front MPs' to the house of Al Zarkawi to pay their respects, the majority of citizens from both samples (national & opinion leader samples), believe that the visit was politically unacceptable. Additionally, the public opinion leaders' sample results shows that they consider the MPs' visit unacceptable from a social and religious perspective.