



**PROGRAM ON INTERNATIONAL
POLICY ATTITUDES (PIPA)**



The Darfur Crisis: African and American Public Opinion

June 29, 2005



GlobeScan Incorporated is a global public opinion and stakeholder research firm with offices in Toronto, London, and Washington. GlobeScan conducts custom research and annual tracking studies on global issues. With a research network spanning 40+ countries, GlobeScan works with global companies, multilateral agencies, national governments, and non-governmental organizations to deliver research-based insights for successful strategies.

The Program on International Policy Attitudes (PIPA) is a joint program of the Center for International and Security Studies at Maryland and the Center on Policy Attitudes. PIPA undertakes research on American attitudes in both the public and in the policymaking community toward a variety of international and foreign policy issues. It seeks to disseminate its findings to members of government, the press, and the public as well as academia.

Knowledge Networks is a polling, social science, and market research firm based in Menlo Park, California. Knowledge Networks uses a large-scale nationwide research panel which is randomly selected from the national population of households having telephones and is subsequently provided internet access for the completion of surveys (and thus is not limited to those who already have internet access).

INTRODUCTION

The situation in Darfur has reached stasis. The peacekeeping force of the African Union, meant only to monitor a shaky cease-fire, has proven inadequate to stop the large-scale violence there. African states have shown strong resistance to non-African forces stepping into the crisis, citing broad principles of nonintervention. The UN Security Council has failed to act on the situation and the developed countries have shown little readiness to intervene. Requests from the African Union peacekeeping force for assistance and aid from NATO have been answered, but not fully. The international community's reaction to an potentially genocidal situation has been something more than a gesture, but something less than a clear expression of political will.

This raises numerous questions about public attitudes in both Africa and the United States.

- Are Africans opposed in principle to outside intervention in situations like Darfur?
- Who would Africans prefer to see deal with the situation?
- Do Americans favor some type of UN intervention in Darfur?
- Would Americans be ready to contribute US troops to such an intervention?
- Do Americans support giving more aid and assistance through NATO to the African Union peacekeeping force as it has requested?

Insight into these questions are provided by two studies—one of publics in eight African countries and one of the US public—conducted respectively by the international polling firm GlobeScan and the Program on International Policy Attitudes (PIPA) at the University of Maryland together with the US polling firm Knowledge Networks.

The GlobeScan findings presented here are from a larger annual survey of African public opinion called “Africa in the New Century,” sponsored by the Commission for Africa and syndicated subscribers. The survey of 10, 809 Africans from eight countries (Angola, Cameroon, Ghana, Kenya, Nigeria, South Africa, Tanzania, and Zimbabwe) was conducted between October and December 2004. The margin of error in each national sample is +/-2-3%.

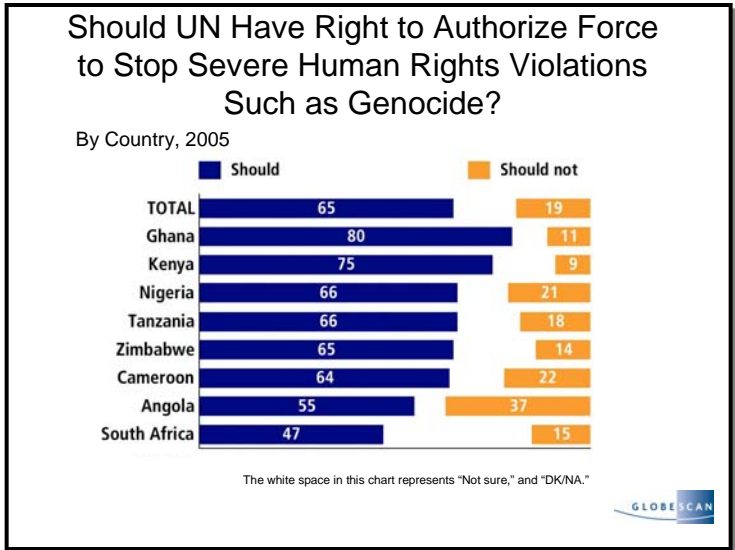
The PIPA-Knowledge Networks poll was fielded June 22-26 with a nationwide sample of 812 Americans (margin of error was +/-3.5%). The poll was fielded by Knowledge Networks using its nationwide panel, which is randomly selected from the entire adult population and subsequently provided internet access. For more information about this methodology, go to www.knowledgenetworks.com/ganp. Funding for this research was provided by the Rockefeller Brothers Fund and the Ford Foundation.

FINDINGS

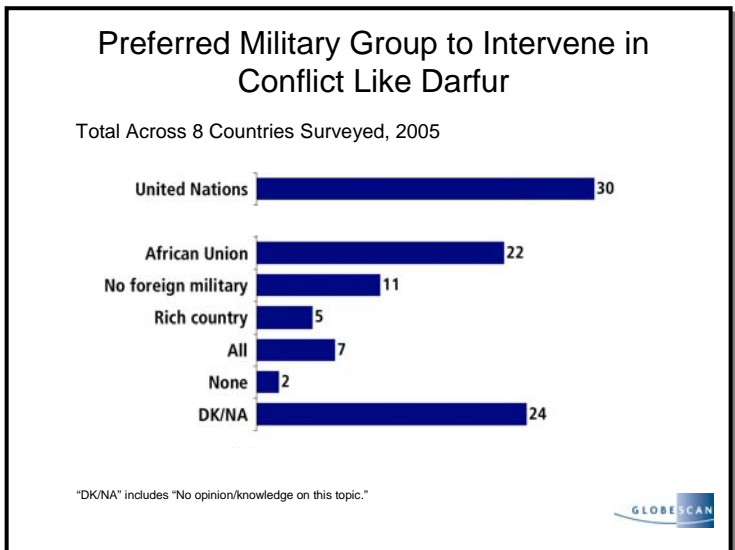
1. Africa Poll

In eight African countries surveyed, a majority (7 countries) or a plurality (1 country) believes the UN should have the right to intervene to stop human rights abuses such as genocide. The UN is the most popular force to intervene in situations like Darfur, followed by the African Union, consistent with a broader attitude of confidence in the United Nations. Half believe that countries should be able to intervene in the event of such human rights abuses even without UN approval. Awareness of the situation in Darfur is low.

Asked whether the UN Security Council “should or should not have the right to authorize the use of military force to prevent severe human rights violations such as genocide,” overall, 65% of Africans interviewed said that it should while just 19% were opposed. Support was strongest among those in Ghana (80%), Kenya (75%), Nigeria (66%), Tanzania (66%), Zimbabwe (65%), and Cameroon (64%), while milder support was found among Angolans (55%) and South Africans (47%). Opposition to UN intervention was the highest among Angolans (37%), but in most other countries less than one in five were opposed.

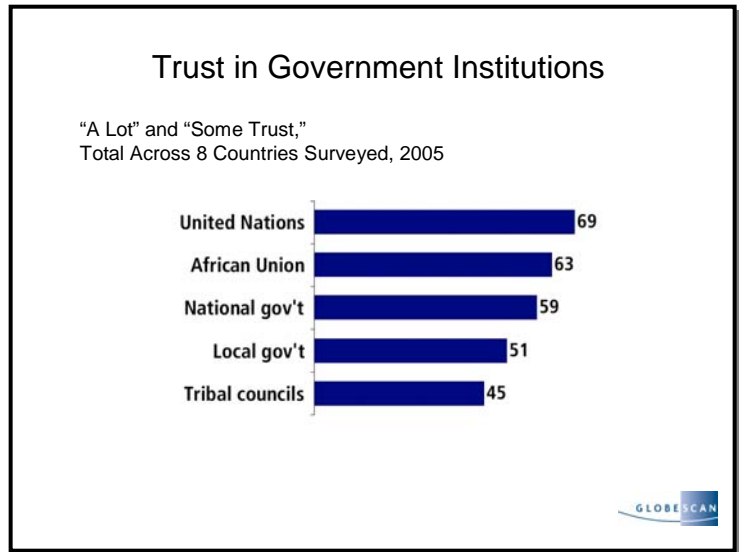


Preference for UN intervention is higher than for other possible actors. When asked who they would prefer to intervene in the event of conflict “like Darfur,” UN military troops received the widest endorsement (30%), followed by the African Union (22%). The idea of intervention by rich countries acting alone was endorsed by just 5% overall.



Countries endorsing the UN for this role most strongly were Ghana (48%), Kenya and Zimbabwe (both 35%); the lowest level of support for the UN was in South Africa (21%), but this was still more than those in South Africa who preferred the African Union (12%). In three countries, the proportion of people preferring the AU and the UN were about the same—Tanzania (28% and 25% respectively), Angola and Nigeria (22% and 25% in both cases). The greatest number of people rejecting any foreign military intervention was in Cameroon (20%); the smallest number was in Ghana (6%).

This attitude about the United Nations reflects a broader confidence in the UN. Overall, 69% of Africans polled said they have a lot or some trust in the UN to operate in the best interest of their society. This is slightly higher than their confidence in the African Union (63%), their national governments (59%), local governments (51%), and tribal councils (45%).



Awareness of the situation in Darfur is fairly low. Just over one-third of Africans interviewed (36%) say they have heard or read a great deal or a fair amount about "the conflict in the Sudan region called Darfur." A majority in Tanzania (55%) and pluralities in Angola (48%), and Kenya (41%) said that they have heard or read a great deal or a fair amount about the conflict. Awareness of the conflict is lower in Ghana (38%) and Cameroon (34%) and particularly low in South Africa (26%), Zimbabwe (25%), and Nigeria (24%). Attitudes about intervention are not substantially different between those with higher or lower levels of awareness.

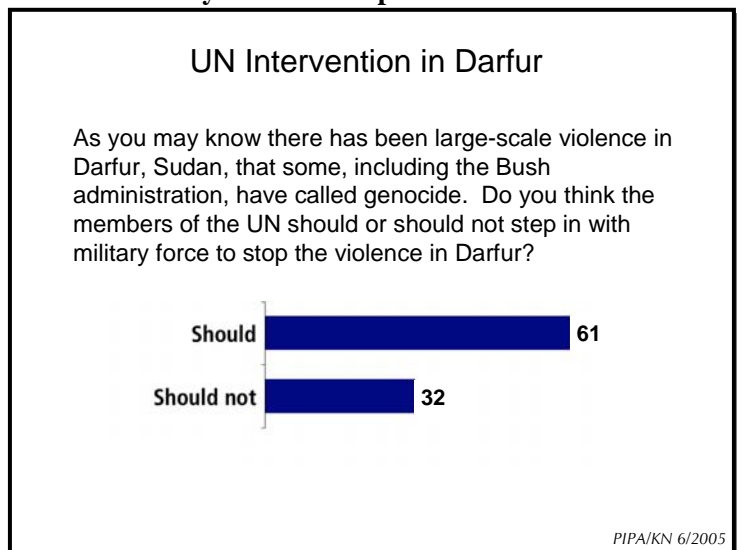
While African support for intervention is much higher with UN authorization when it comes to severe human rights abuses such as genocide, Africans do not reject the idea of a country being able to intervene even when it does not have UN approval. In such cases, half (51%) say a country should have the right to intervene even without UN authorization, while three in ten (28%) disagree. Support for a country to intervene to prevent human rights abuses such as genocide without UN approval was strongest in Ghana (62%), and modest majorities in five countries (Kenya 55%, Tanzania 54%, Nigeria and Cameroon 51%, Zimbabwe 50%) were also supportive. In Angola a 48% plurality held this view, but 41% also disagreed. In South Africa, 40% agreed with this view, 20% disagreed, and 40% were unsure. There were no meaningful demographic differences.

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2. US Poll

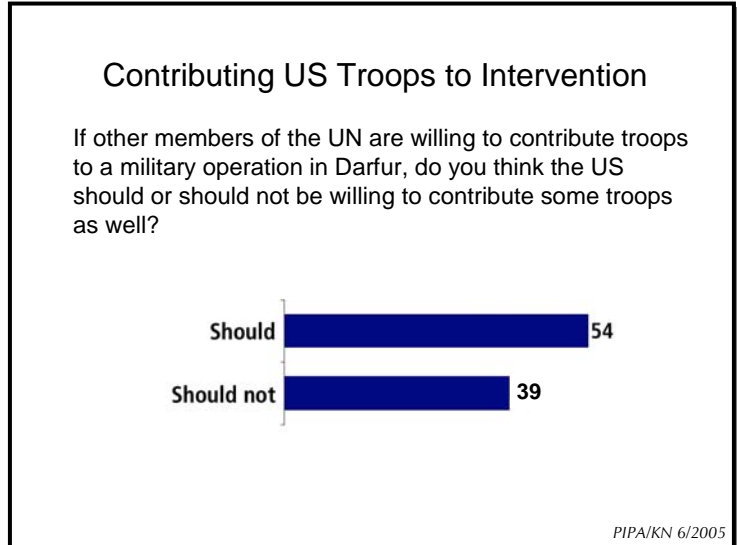
Americans show support for a variety of possible steps in response to the crisis in Darfur. A large majority says that the UN should step in with military force to stop the violence in Darfur. A large majority says that the US should be willing to contribute US troops to such an operation. A large majority also favor NATO, including the US, contributing equipment and logistical support to the African Union peacekeeping force in Darfur. All these majorities are bipartisan.

Americans show support for a variety of possible steps in response to the crisis in Darfur. Asked whether UN members should "step in with military force to stop the violence in Darfur," 61% said

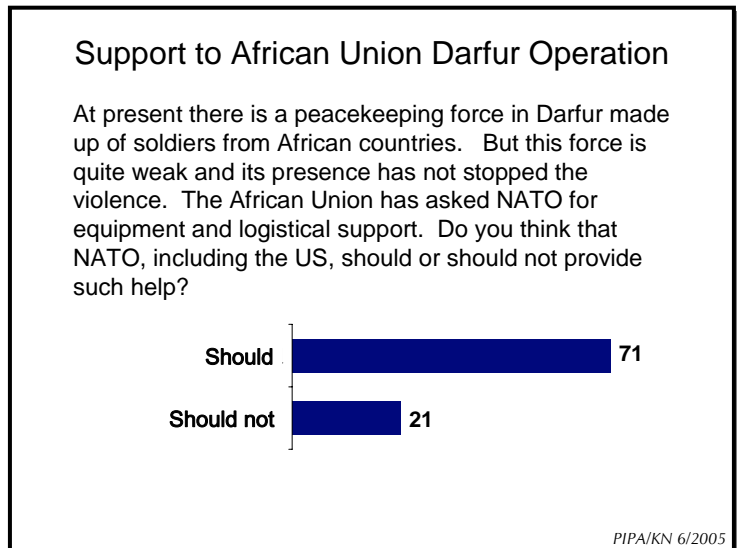


that it should, while 32% said that it should not. This support is largely bipartisan: 67% of Republicans and 62% of Democrats favored it. Independents were a bit lower at 52%.

A majority, albeit a slightly smaller one, also favors contributing US troops to a multilateral operation in Darfur. Asked, “If other members of the UN are willing to contribute troops to a military operation in Darfur, do you think the US should or should not be willing to contribute some troops as well?” Fifty-four percent said that it should, while 39% were opposed. Here again support was quite bipartisan. Fifty-seven percent of Republicans and 56% of Democrats favored contributing US troops.



Support is even higher for providing equipment and logistical support to the African Union peacekeeping force in Darfur. Respondents were told, “At present there is a peacekeeping force in Darfur made up of soldiers from African countries. But this force is quite weak and its presence has not stopped the violence. The African Union has asked NATO for equipment and logistical support.” They were then asked, “Do you think that NATO, including the US, should or should not provide such help?” Seventy-one percent said the US should while 21% said it should not. Here again, support was quite bipartisan with 73% of Republicans and 74% of Democrats favoring providing such assistance.



Multiple polls have found that many Americans believe that if severe human rights abuses are occurring, especially genocide, the UN should have the right to intervene and the US should be willing to contribute troops. When the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations in 2004 asked whether the UN should have the right to intervene in the event of human right abuses such as genocide—the same question asked in the eight-nation African poll—85% of Americans and 94% of American leaders agreed that the UN should have the right to intervene. Also, in the same CCFR poll 75% favored using US troops “to stop a government from committing genocide and killing large numbers of its own people.”

US public support for intervention in Darfur may vary, depending on whether Americans assume that what is occurring in Darfur falls in the category of genocide. In December 2004, when the Bush administration was stating that genocide was occurring in Darfur, PIPA/KN asked whether the UN should intervene with military force “to stop the genocide in Darfur.” Seventy-four percent said it should and 60% said that the US should contribute troops. In light of the UN report that determined that war crimes and genocidal intent were occurring in Darfur, but refrained from labeling it genocide, the present poll

presented the situation more equivocally, referring to “large-scale violence in Darfur, Sudan, that some, including the Bush administration, have called genocide.” In this case support for UN intervention was 13 points lower and support for the US contributing troops was 6 points lower.

METHODOLOGY

GlobeScan

The following table gives a detailed description of the methodologies used in each of the 8 countries:

Country	Sample Size (unweighted)	Field dates	Sample frame	Survey methodology	Type of sample
Angola	1000	October 20 – November 6, 2004	18 years or older	Face-to-face	National
Cameroon	1009	November 23 – December 2, 2004	18 years or older	Face-to-face	National
Ghana	1000	October 1 – November 5, 2004	18 years or older	Face-to-face	National
Kenya	1000	September 28 – October 10, October 19–22, 2004	18 years or older	Face-to-face	National
Nigeria	1300	October 16 – November 10, December 10–15, 2004	18 years or older	Face-to-face	National
South Africa	3500	October 26 – November 23, 2004	16 years or older	Face-to-face	National
Tanzania	1000	October 30 – November 10, 2004	18 years or older	Face-to-face	National
Zimbabwe	1000	October 17–25, 2004	18 years or older	Face-to-face	National

PIPA/Knowledge Networks

The poll was fielded by Knowledge Networks, a polling, social science, and market research firm in Menlo Park, California, with a randomly selected sample of its large-scale nationwide research panel. This panel is itself randomly selected from the national population of households having telephones and subsequently provided internet access for the completion of surveys (and thus is not limited to those who already have internet access). The distribution of the sample in the web-enabled panel closely tracks the distribution of United States Census counts for the US population on age, race, Hispanic ethnicity, geographical region, employment status, income, education, etc.

The panel is recruited using stratified random-digit-dial (RDD) telephone sampling. RDD provides a non-zero probability of selection for every US household having a telephone. Households that agree to participate in the panel are provided with free Web access and an Internet appliance, which uses a telephone line to connect to the Internet and uses the television as a monitor. In return, panel members participate in surveys three to four times a month. Survey responses are confidential, with identifying information never revealed without respondent approval. When a survey is fielded to a panel member, he or she receives an e-mail indicating that the survey is available for completion. Surveys are self-administered.

For more information about the methodology, please go to: www.knowledgenetworks.com/ganp.

