



**Arab and Muslim Public Opinion Takes the Lead on Darfur**  
*A Survey Commissioned by the Arab American Institute  
Conducted by Zogby International*

## Table Of Contents

<u>Subject</u>	<u>Page</u>
I. Executive Summary.....	2
II. Results.....	4
II. Methodology and Sample Characteristics.....	13

## Tables

Table 1.1: Darfur Crisis-Level of Concern .....	4
Table 2.1: Level of Interest in Darfur Crisis.....	4
Table 3.1: Level of Responsibility for Crisis in Darfur.....	5
Table 4.1: Accuracy of Arab Media Reporting on Darfur Crisis .....	6
Table 5.1: Increase in Arab Media Coverage on Darfur Crisis .....	7
Table 6.1: Opinions on Muslim Involvement and Intervention in Darfur .....	7
Table 7.1: Help from Arab and Muslim Nations in Darfur .....	8
Table 8.1: Changes in Support for Intervention in Darfur.....	9
Table 9.1: Concern with Darfur, Compared to Iraq or the Arab-Israeli Conflict. ....	10
Table 10.1: Involvement of the International Community.....	11
Table 11.1: China's Role in Darfur .....	12



Photos courtesy of the Save Darfur Coalition



## Executive Summary

With more than 200,000 dead and 2.5 million displaced from their homes, momentum has gained steadily throughout the international community to bring an end to the ongoing crisis in the Darfur region of Sudan. As international awareness and activism has increased, however, so too has the myth that the populations of the Arab and Muslim world are indifferent to the suffering of the people of Darfur. The results of a poll commissioned by the Arab American Institute (AAI) and conducted by Zogby International (ZI) shatters that myth and, in fact, shows broad support for the proactive engagement of Arab and Muslim countries to help end the conflict.

The poll, which measured public opinion in Morocco, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Turkey, and Malaysia, revealed that majorities in five of the six countries reported concern about the ongoing crisis. In all six nations, significant majorities believe their country should do more to help in Darfur, including 94 percent in Morocco, and 91 percent in Malaysia and Saudi Arabia. Even in Egypt, the only country in which a majority of respondents did not register concern, 83 percent would like their country to do more.

When asked about who was responsible for the current crisis, Arab and Muslim respondents acknowledged the complexity of the conflict with majorities in four of the six nations (Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Morocco, and Turkey) holding both the government of Sudan and Sudanese rebel groups responsible. Particularly significant, therefore, are the policy options available to the international community which received the most support. Those seen to end the violence, respond to humanitarian needs, and bring the two sides together—specifically, peace negotiations with government and rebel groups and a fund for humanitarian relief—receive overwhelming support. (Upwards of 80 percent in Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and Morocco support negotiations with similar support for humanitarian relief in United Arab Emirates, Saudi Arabia, and Turkey.) United Nations peacekeepers comprised of non-Western and mostly Muslim forces also receive significant support. Options which manage, rather than solve, the conflict, however—particularly economic sanctions, divestment, and no-fly zones—receive comparatively less support and, in some countries, are outright rejected.

Arab and Muslim respondents expressed a strong sense of solidarity with and feeling of responsibility towards the Muslim population in Darfur, with strong majorities (over 80 percent in Saudi Arabia, Morocco, and Turkey) saying that “since the Sudanese in Darfur are Muslim, other Muslim nations should intervene to stop the violence and help negotiate a settlement.” Additionally, respondents associated Darfur with Iraq and the Arab-Israeli conflict—two crises which are universally acknowledged to be of paramount importance to the Arab and Muslim world. More than seventy percent of respondents in each nation also agreed that the knowledge of Muslim intervention to aid the Muslim population in Bosnia made them more likely to support intervention in Darfur.

With regard to media coverage, Arab respondents show a surprising dissatisfaction with Arab media satellite coverage of Darfur. While majorities in Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and Morocco rate the coverage of the war in Iraq and the Arab-Israeli conflict as accurate, majorities in Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and the United Arab Emirates say they feel that Arab satellite media does not accurately cover the conflict in Darfur. More than eighty percent in all four Arab countries agree that Arab news channels should devote more news coverage to the situation in Darfur, another indication of the level of interest in the crisis.

Finally, with regard to the United States, respondents clearly do not trust America, with majorities in every country with the exception of Malaysia, assigning a high level of responsibility for the conflict to the United States. The blame attributed to the American government confirms the widespread distrust of the US identified in other AAI/ZI polls and limits America's ability to play a direct positive role. Perhaps surprisingly, the country which assigns the highest blame to the United States (80%) is NATO-ally Turkey. While Arabs and Muslims reject American involvement, majorities in five of the six nations agree that as Sudan's largest trading partner, China should engage the Sudanese government in an effort to help resolve the conflict.

## Results

1. How would you rate your level of concern about the ongoing conflict in the Darfur region of Sudan—great concern, some concern, not much concern, no concern at all or you are not familiar enough to form an opinion.

**Table 1.1: Darfur Crisis-Level of Concern**

	UAE*	KSA	Egypt	Morocco	Turkey	Malaysia
Concerned**	50	60	35	76	76	67
Not Concerned	44	38	51	23	5	8
Not Familiar	3	3	14	1	15	19
Not Sure	3	--	--	<1	3	6

\*UAE numbers reflect the overall Muslim population, including the predominantly South Asian expatriate community which constitutes a significant segment of the overall population.

\*\*‘Concerned’ combines ‘Great concern’ and ‘Some concern.’ ‘Not Concerned’ combines ‘Not much concern’ and ‘No concern at all.’

Majorities of respondents in five of the six nations report being concerned about the ongoing crisis in Darfur. In the only country where a majority is not concerned, Egypt, 35 percent report they have great concern or some concern. Three countries where unfamiliarity with the conflict is particularly high are Egypt (14%), Turkey (15%) and Malaysia (19%).

2. Which of the following statements best represents your level of interest concerning the situation in the Darfur region of Sudan?

**Table 2.1: Level of Interest in Darfur Crisis**

	UAE*	KSA	Egypt	Morocco	Turkey	Malaysia
Would like to know more	30	51	26	46	49	40
Know enough already	24	15	21	49	15	14
Little Interest	41	34	52	3	33	44
Not Sure	6	--	1	2	3	3

\*UAE numbers reflect the overall Muslim population, including the predominantly South Asian expatriate community which constitutes a significant segment of the overall population.

When asked their level of interest in the Darfur crisis (i.e., whether they would like to learn more), opinions are mixed throughout the six nations. Approximately half in Saudi Arabia (51%) and Turkey (49%) report that they would like to know more about the conflict. Morocco (46%) and Malaysia (40%) also register high interest rates. Indifference is higher in Egypt, where over half (52%) say they have little interest. Indifference is also high in Malaysia (44%) and UAE (41%). In Morocco, only 3 percent say they do not care, while 49 percent say they already know enough.

3. How would you rate the responsibility of the following parties for the current situation in Darfur—very responsible, somewhat responsible, not very responsible, not responsible at all:

**Table 3.1: Level of Responsibility for Crisis in Darfur**

		UAE*	KSA	Egypt	Morocco	Turkey	Malaysia
Government of Sudan	Responsible**	51	87	84	67	76	43
	Not Responsible	38	12	16	32	11	49
	Not Sure	11	1	<1	1	13	8
Sudanese Rebels	Responsible	44	93	74	75	64	52
	Not Responsible	38	6	25	23	16	37
	Not Sure	18	1	1	2	20	11
The United States	Responsible	53	53	68	59	80	22
	Not Responsible	40	44	30	39	8	65
	Not Sure	7	3	2	2	12	13

\*UAE numbers reflect the overall Muslim population, including the predominantly South Asian expatriate community which constitutes a significant segment of the overall population.

\*\*'Responsible' includes 'Very responsible' and 'Somewhat responsible.' 'Not Responsible' includes 'Not very responsible' and 'Not responsible at all.'

In four of the six nations (Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Morocco and Turkey), majorities hold both the government of Sudan and the Sudanese Rebel groups responsible—particularly in Saudi Arabia and Egypt where more than three-in-four believe both are responsible. In UAE and Malaysia, barely half (and in some cases less than half) of respondents blame either group.

Asked about U.S. responsibility, majorities in five of the six nations believe the U.S. to be responsible—the one exception being Malaysia. This attitude toward the U.S. was particularly high in Egypt (68%) and Turkey (80%). The high level of responsibility attributed to the American government confirms the widespread distrust of the U.S. and limits the ability of the U.S. to play a direct positive role.

4. How accurately do you feel the Arab satellite media covers the following—very accurately, somewhat accurately, not very accurately or not at all accurately:

**Table 4.1: Accuracy of Arab Media Reporting on Darfur Crisis**

		UAE*	KSA	Egypt	Morocco	Turkey	Malaysia
Conflict in Iraq	Accurately**	49	71	84	59	N/A	N/A
	Not Accurately	48	29	16	41	N/A	N/A
	Not Sure	3	1	<1	<1	N/A	N/A
Arab-Israeli Conflict	Accurately	20	67	78	62	N/A	N/A
	Not Accurately	72	33	22	38	N/A	N/A
	Not Sure	8	--	7	<1	N/A	N/A
Conflict in Darfur	Accurately	26	25	36	51	N/A	N/A
	Not Accurately	56	68	63	46	N/A	N/A
	Not Sure	18	7	<1	3	N/A	N/A

\*UAE numbers reflect the overall Muslim population, including the predominantly South Asian expatriate community which constitutes a significant segment of the overall population.

\*\*‘Accurately’ includes ‘Very accurately’ and ‘Somewhat accurately.’ ‘Not Accurately’ includes ‘Not very accurately and ‘Not accurately at all.’

Arab satellite media receives high marks for accuracy in each of the four Arab nations in regards to covering the conflict in Iraq, with the exception of UAE. Majorities in Saudi Arabia, Egypt and Morocco also believe the Arab media is accurately covering the Arab-Israeli conflict. A slim majority in Morocco (51%) also believes the media is accurately covering the Darfur crisis. In the remaining three countries, however, the rates are considerably lower—Egypt (36%), UAE (26%) and KSA (25%).

5. Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: Arab news channels should devote more news coverage to the situation in Darfur.

**Table 5.1: Increase in Arab Media Coverage on Darfur Crisis**

	UAE*	KSA	Egypt	Morocco	Turkey	Malaysia
Agree	82	94	89	86	N/A	N/A
Disagree	2	5	10	12	N/A	N/A
Not Sure	17	1	1	2	N/A	N/A

\*UAE numbers reflect the overall Muslim population, including the predominantly South Asian expatriate community which constitutes a significant segment of the overall population.

Overwhelming majorities in each of the four Arab nations agree that Arab media should increase their coverage of the crisis in Darfur.

6. Which of the following two statements best reflects your view of the conflict in Darfur:

**Statement A:** The situation in Darfur is an internal Sudanese issue and the international community should not interfere, no matter how many civilians are killed.

**Statement B:** Since the Sudanese in Darfur are Muslim, other Muslim nations should intervene to stop the violence and help negotiate a settlement.

**Table 6.1: Opinions on Muslim Involvement and Intervention in Darfur**

	UAE*	KSA	Egypt	Morocco	Turkey	Malaysia
Statement A	26	17	19	17	7	15
Statement B	56	83	75	81	87	79
Neither	14	1	5	1	3	3
Not Sure	4	<1	1	1	3	3

\*UAE numbers reflect the overall Muslim population, including the predominantly South Asian expatriate community which constitutes a significant segment of the overall population.

Strong majorities in each of the six nations support the intervention of other Muslim nations in Darfur. More than three-in-four respondents support intervention everywhere except UAE, where the rate is slightly less (56%). One-fourth or less of respondents in each nation believes the crisis to be an internal Sudanese matter.

7. Please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree or strongly disagree with the following statement: My country should do more to help in Darfur.

**Table 7.1: Help from Arab and Muslim Nations in Darfur**

	UAE*	KSA	Egypt	Morocco	Turkey	Malaysia
Agree**	69	91	83	94	82	91
Disagree	19	8	17	6	14	6
Not Sure	12	<1	--	1	3	3

\*UAE numbers reflect the overall Muslim population, including the predominantly South Asian expatriate community which constitutes a significant segment of the overall population.

\*\*‘Agree’ includes ‘Strongly agree’ and ‘Somewhat agree.’ ‘Disagree’ includes ‘Strongly disagree’ and ‘Somewhat disagree.’

Again, there is consensus among respondents in all six nations when asked if they agree that their country should do more to help in Darfur. Rates are particularly high in Morocco (94%), Saudi Arabia (91%) and Malaysia (91%). Even in Egypt, where only 35% registered great or some concern with regard to the conflict, 83% say their country should take a more proactive approach.



8. How would each of the following statements impact your opinion of whether your country should intervene in the conflict in Darfur—would it make you much more likely to support intervention, somewhat more likely to support intervention, somewhat less likely to support intervention, much less likely to support intervention, or would it make no difference.

**Table 8.1: Changes in Support for Intervention in Darfur**

If You Knew . . .		UAE*	KSA	Egypt	Morocco	Turkey	Malaysia
Intervention was led by African Union and U.N	More Likely**	54	62	66	55	62	59
	Less Likely	38	35	26	44	26	25
	No Difference	5	3	8	<1	3	8
	Not Sure	4	1	1	1	10	7

If You Knew . . .		UAE*	KSA	Egypt	Morocco	Turkey	Malaysia
400,000 Muslims Have Been Killed	More Likely	71	92	82	88	78	67
	Less Likely	26	7	16	12	15	22
	No Difference	1	--	2	--	2	5
	Not Sure	1	1	--	--	6	6

If You Knew . . .		UAE*	KSA	Egypt	Morocco	Turkey	Malaysia
Muslim Nations Intervened in Bosnia To Aid Their Muslim Population	More Likely	75	87	73	80	83	73
	Less Likely	19	12	25	20	11	18
	No Difference	4	1	6	<1	2	4
	Not Sure	3	1	3	--	5	5

If You Knew . . .		UAE*	KSA	Egypt	Morocco	Turkey	Malaysia
2.5 Million People Have Been Driven From Their Homes	More Likely	78	88	77	78	77	68
	Less Likely	17	12	21	22	17	21
	No Difference	2	--	2	--	2	5
	Not Sure	3	<1	--	<1	5	6

\*UAE numbers reflect the overall Muslim population, including the predominantly South Asian expatriate community which constitutes a significant segment of the overall population.

\*\*‘More Likely’ includes ‘Much more likely’ and ‘Somewhat more likely.’ ‘Less Likely’ includes ‘Much less likely’ and ‘Somewhat less likely.’

Respondents were presented four separate statements and asked how these statements would influence their support for their country’s intervention in Darfur. Stating that 400,000 Muslims have already been killed in the conflict provides the greatest increase in support for intervention, especially in the four Arab countries. Statements about intervention in Bosnia and about the 2.5 million refugees also draw considerable increases in public support.

9. Please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree or strongly disagree with the following statement: I believe that because Sudan is an Arab (“Muslim” for Turkey and Malaysia) nation, other Arabs (Muslims) should care just as much about Darfur as they would the Arab-Israeli conflict or the conflict in Iraq.

**Table 9.1: Concern with Darfur, Compared to the Arab-Israeli Conflict or Iraq**

	UAE*	KSA	Egypt	Morocco	Turkey	Malaysia
Agree**	77	94	90	95	76	91
Disagree	18	6	11	5	19	7
Not Sure	5	<1	--	<1	5	2

\*UAE numbers reflect the overall Muslim population, including the predominantly South Asian expatriate community which constitutes a significant segment of the overall population.

\*\*‘Agree’ includes ‘Strongly agree’ and ‘Somewhat agree.’ ‘Disagree’ includes ‘Strongly disagree’ and ‘Somewhat disagree.’

More than three-in-four respondents in each of the six nations agree that other Arabs (or Muslims) should be just as concerned about Darfur as they are about the Arab-Israeli conflict. This sentiment is highest in Morocco (95%), Saudi Arabia (94%), Malaysia (91%) and Egypt (90%). Disagreement is highest in Turkey (19%) and UAE (18%).



10. There are several options that the international community is considering regarding the situation in Darfur. How would you rate these options- very effective, somewhat effective, not very effective, or not at all effective:

**Table 10.1: Involvement of the International Community**

		UAE*	KSA	Egypt	Morocco	Turkey	Malaysia
U.N. Peacekeeping (non-Western and Muslim Nations)	Effective**	40	87	74	56	71	70
	Not Effective	55	12	26	44	22	26
	Not Sure	5	<1	<1	1	7	5
Peace Negotiations With Gov't and Rebel Groups	Effective	74	97	83	87	77	61
	Not Effective	24	3	17	12	16	33
	Not Sure	2	--	4	1	7	6
Fund For Humanitarian Relief	Effective	87	94	77	71	85	73
	Not Effective	12	6	22	28	11	22
	Not Sure	1	--	<1	1	5	5
Economic Sanctions On Sudanese Gov't	Effective	33	14	57	36	60	18
	Not Effective	57	85	42	60	30	74
	Not Sure	10	1	1	4	10	8
Divestment Campaign	Effective	77	11	50	38	46	22
	Not Effective	20	87	49	59	44	67
	Not Sure	2	1	2	3	10	11
No-Fly Zone	Effective	38	21	65	49	66	51
	Not Effective	53	76	34	50	21	39
	Not Sure	9	3	1	2	13	10

\*UAE numbers reflect the overall Muslim population, including the predominantly South Asian expatriate community which constitutes a significant segment of the overall population.

\*\*'Effective' includes 'Very effective' and 'Somewhat effective.' 'Not Effective' includes 'Not very effective and 'Not at all effective.'

Respondents were presented with six different policy options being considered by the international community and asked to rate the effectiveness of each. Of the six, three generated broad support (U.N. peacekeeping, peace negotiations and a

humanitarian relief fund), while the remaining three drew mixed support (economic sanctions, divestment and a no-fly zone).

The highest effectiveness ratings are found for both the humanitarian fund and peace negotiations. A U.N. peacekeeping force is believed to be effective by majorities in each country except UAE, where only 40 percent feel that to be an effective option.

The remaining three policy options received low marks for effectiveness from almost every nation, most notably in UAE, Saudi Arabia and Morocco. With the exception of the divestment campaign in UAE, a majority in those three nations rate each option as non-effective. This can be attributed to the negative experience Arab nations have had with economic sanctions, divestment and no-fly zones in Iraq.

*11. Do you agree or disagree with the following statement. As Sudan’s largest trading partner, China should engage with Sudanese government to end the conflict in Darfur.*

**Table 11.1: China’s Role in Darfur**

	UAE*	KSA	Egypt	Morocco	Turkey	Malaysia
Agree	55	36	66	60	81	77
Disagree	16	58	32	38	13	17
Not Sure	29	6	2	2	7	7

*\*UAE numbers reflect the overall Muslim population, including the predominantly South Asian expatriate community which constitutes a significant segment of the overall population.*

Majorities in five of the six nations agree that as Sudan’s largest trading partner, China should engage the Sudanese government in an effort to help resolve the conflict. Only a majority in Saudi Arabia disagrees. In Turkey and Malaysia, more than three-quarters of the adult Muslim population agree.

## Methodology

Results for this survey are based on face-to-face interviews conducted under the direction of Zogby International. All surveys are based on urban samples.

The tables below show the margin of sampling error based on all interviews conducted in that country. For results based on the full sample in a given country, one can say with 95% confidence that the error attributable to sampling and other random effects is plus or minus the margin of error. In addition to sampling error, one should bear in mind that question wording and practical difficulties in conducting surveys can introduce error or bias into the findings of opinion polls.

<b>Country</b>	<b>Saudi Arabia (KSA)</b>
<i>Sample Design</i>	Referral Sampling in three cities: (Jeddah, Riyadh, Dammam)
<i>Mode</i>	Face-to-face, adults 18+
<i>Language</i>	Arabic
<i>Fieldwork Dates</i>	3/22 – 4/6
<i>Sample Size</i>	649
<i>Margin of Error</i>	+/- 3.9 percentage points
<i>Representative of</i>	Urban Adult Muslim Population

<b>Country</b>	<b>United Arab Emirates (UAE)</b>
<i>Sample Design</i>	Referral Sampling in three areas: (Abu Dhabi, Dubai, Sharjah, Northern Emirates)
<i>Mode</i>	Face-to-face, adults 18+
<i>Language</i>	Arabic
<i>Fieldwork Dates</i>	3/24 – 4/12
<i>Sample Size</i>	573
<i>Margin of Error</i>	+/- 4.2 percentage points
<i>Representative of</i>	Urban Adult Muslim Population (25% Nationals and 75% Expatriates)

<b>Country</b>	<b>Morocco</b>
<i>Sample Design</i>	Mixed Referral and Random Sampling in four cities: (Casablanca, Rabat, Fez, Marrakech)
<i>Mode</i>	Face-to-face, adults 18+
<i>Language</i>	Arabic
<i>Fieldwork Dates</i>	3/26 – 4/16
<i>Sample Size</i>	597
<i>Margin of Error</i>	+/- 4.1 percentage points
<i>Representative of</i>	Urban Adult Muslim Population

<b>Country</b>	<b>Egypt</b>
----------------	--------------

<i>Sample Design</i>	Mixed Referral and Random Sampling in three cities: (Greater Cairo {Giza, Cairo, Qalyobia}, Alexandria, Tanta)
<i>Mode</i>	Face-to-face, adults 18+
<i>Language</i>	Arabic
<i>Fieldwork Dates</i>	3/22 – 4/1
<i>Sample Size</i>	800
<i>Margin of Error</i>	+/- 3.5 percentage points
<i>Representative of</i>	Urban Adult Muslim Population

<b>Country</b>	Turkey
<i>Sample Design</i>	Mixed Referral and Random Sampling in five cities: (Istanbul, Ankara, Izmir, Bursa, Adana)
<i>Mode</i>	Mixed Telephone and Face-to-face, adults 18+
<i>Language</i>	Arabic
<i>Fieldwork Dates</i>	3/23 – 4/10
<i>Sample Size</i>	800
<i>Margin of Error</i>	+/- 3.5 percentage points
<i>Representative of</i>	Urban Adult Muslim Population

<b>Country</b>	Malaysia
<i>Sample Design</i>	Mixed Referral and Random Sampling in three areas: (Kuala Lumpur/Petaling Jaya, Johore Bahru and Penang)
<i>Mode</i>	Face-to-face, adults 18+
<i>Language</i>	Arabic
<i>Fieldwork Dates</i>	3/24 – 4/5
<i>Sample Size</i>	600
<i>Margin of Error</i>	+/- 4.1 percentage points
<i>Representative of</i>	Urban Adult Muslim Population

