

# **Earmarking Humanitarian Aid by Nationality**

## **The United States' Contribution to UNHCR's Syrians and Non-Syrians in Jordan**

By: Carol Stephan

Submitted to *Central European University*

School of Public Policy

In partial fulfilment of the degree

Master of Arts in Public Policy

Supervisor: Professor Thilo Daniel Bodenstein

Budapest, Hungary

2019

## Author's Declaration

I, the undersigned Carol Stephan hereby declare that I am the soleauthor of this thesis.

To the best of my knowledge this thesis contains no material previously published by any other person except where due acknowledgement has been made. This thesis contains no material which has been accepted as part of the requirements of any other academic degree or non-degree program, in English or in any other language.

This is a true copy of the thesis, including final revisions.

Date: 14/ 06/ 2019

Name (printed letters): Carol Stephan

Signature: 

## **Abstract**

This paper aims to address some of the shortfalls in the distribution of humanitarian aid by donor countries. It focuses on why the United States earmarks part of its humanitarian aid for refugees donated to UNHCR Jordan by nationality. The paper unpacks the motives and influences behind such earmarking. The internal motives discussed are mainly philanthropic and moral obligations, political interests and public opinion. It also explores external factors that could influence donors to earmark in such a way including UNHCR Jordan and the Jordanian government's role. The paper finds that non-altruistic motives; political interests, public opinion seem to affect the donors' allocation of aid more than their genuine want to aid the refugees in most need. It draws on humanitarian aid literature and uses process-tracing to reach its conclusions. Through understanding why the U.S. earmarks portions of its aid to UNHCR Jordan in such a way, the paper hopes to raise awareness and encourage action from the world community to work towards better fulfilling the humanitarian goal of aid which should be given on the basis of need alone.

## Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my supervisor Professor Thilo Bodenstein for his guidance throughout this journey. His feedback and insights truly guided me. I would like to extend this to all the School of Public Policy cohort at the *Central European University* who also provided me with guidance.

Special thanks to my friends, Noor, Nadeem and Alex for all their advice and assistance this year, you always managed to comfort me and push me forward.

Most sincerely, my parents, your positivity and confidence in me never failed to encourage me. I am forever thankful for all your efforts. My siblings, you have always been my source of support and motivation, I would not be where I am today without you as my role models.

# Table of Contents

<b>Author's Declaration .....</b>	<b>i</b>
<b>Abstract.....</b>	<b>ii</b>
<b>Acknowledgements .....</b>	<b>i</b>
<b>Table of Contents .....</b>	<b>ii</b>
<b>Table of Figures.....</b>	<b>iii</b>
<b>List of Abbreviations .....</b>	<b>iv</b>
<b>Introduction.....</b>	<b>1</b>
Case Selection and Research Question .....	2
Rationale .....	3
Empirical Strategy and Methodology .....	4
<b>Chapter 1 Literature Review .....</b>	<b>6</b>
1.1 Humanitarian Aid.....	6
1.2 Donor's Motives .....	7
1.3 The Problem of Earmarking.....	10
<b>Chapter 2 Internal Factors - Donor's Motives.....</b>	<b>12</b>
2.1 Moral Obligation Motives.....	12
2.2 The United States' Political Interests.....	15
2.3 Public Opinion in Donor Country .....	22
<b>Chapter 3 External Influencing Factors .....</b>	<b>27</b>
3.1 UNHCR's Role .....	27
3.2 Jordanian Government's Role.....	31
<b>Chapter 4 Empirical Analysis.....</b>	<b>35</b>
4.1 Chapter 2 Findings (Motives) .....	36
4.2 Chapter 3 Findings (External Factors) .....	39
<b>Chapter 5 Conclusion .....</b>	<b>41</b>
<b>Bibliography .....</b>	<b>43</b>

## Table of Figures

Figure 1 Stakeholders Involved in the Provision of Humanitarian Aid.....	6
Figure 2: Google Search Trends for Yemeni Civil War vs. Syrian Civil War .....	26
Figure 3 How UNHCR Cash Assistance Works.....	29
Figure 4: UNHCR Jordan Gap by Situation 2016 .....	30
Figure 5: Funding Received as a Percentage of Funding Requested (2014 - 2017).....	31
Figure 6: Causal Mechanisms Diagram.....	35
Figure 7: Process Tracing for Causal Inference.....	36
Figure 8: Process-tracing Hoop test for H <sub>1</sub> .....	37
Figure 9: Process-tracing Smoking-Gun test for H.....	38
Figure 10: Process-tracing Smoking-Gun test for .....	39
Figure 11: Process-tracing Hoop test for H <sub>4</sub> .....	39
Figure 12: Process-tracing Straw-in-the-Wind test for H <sub>5</sub> .....	40

## List of Abbreviations

BPRM	Bureau of Population Refugees and Migrants
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
EU	European Union
HRP	Humanitarian Response Plan
IASC	Inter-Agency Standing Committee
IDP	Internationally Displaced Persons
ISIS	Islamic States in Iraq and Syria
JRPSC	Jordan Response Platform for the Syria Crisis
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
PCC	Protected Consolidated Papers
UN	United Nations
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNRWA	United Nations Relief and Aid Agency for Palestine
U.S.	United States
USAID	U.S. Agency for International Development
3RP	Regional Refugee and Resilience Plan

## Introduction

Refugee crises have been a central topic of our time, our world has been witnessing frequent waves of migration and crises from all around. Innocent people are being displaced from their homes forced to seek refuge elsewhere. As a result, countries around the world have been attempting to provide the necessary humanitarian aid to address these refugees' concerns. This humanitarian aid is aimed at providing impartial assistance to people who are fleeing or caught up in conflicts. (Bookstein 2003: 26) Overall, "the international community has a responsibility to provide funding and political pressure on warring parties to ensure that – despite conflict- vital supplies to reach the most vulnerable people."(Bookstein 2003: 26) While such humanitarian aid has been saving the lives of many, there has been increasing loopholes and shortfalls in the distribution of this aid. An important gap is that some major donors seem to be favouring some crises over others by conditioning aid for certain refugees from certain countries over others.

This distinction has been occurring with various crises in different parts of the world. Countries hosting refugees are facing social inequalities in the amounts of aid received. For example, Tanzania hosts refugees from Burundi, Rwanda, Democratic Republic of Congo and Somalia in its refugee camps. However, refugees from the Burundi refugee situation have been underfunded due to restrictions on donations received. (Lu 2018) In this way displaced persons in the camps of Muyange and Nyabigina near the Tanzanian border were receiving different amounts of aid based on their country of origin.(Montclos 2006) Another example is in Greece; refugees camps on the Greek islands also highlight the different amounts of aid assigned for Syrians refugees in comparison to Iraqi and Afghan refugees. It has been stated that Iraqi refugees entering Greece attempt to pretend to be Syrians in order to get "preferential treatment."(Kingsley 2015)



## **Case Selection and Research Question**

This paper focuses on the refugee situations in Jordan, as Jordan hosts the second highest share of refugees compared to its population in the world and the fifth-largest refugee population in absolute terms. (Stevenson and Kuboyama 2018) A country bordering Syria from the south and Iraq from the west has been deeply affected by the political turmoil around it. Adding to that it has a long history in hosting refugees from various nationalities. Since the country's independence, Jordan opened its doors for Palestinian refugees as well as Armenians, Circassians and Chechens, it offered many measures to integrate these refugees into the country's citizenry through naturalization or facilitated durable solutions through resettlement to third countries. Due to these unrests surrounding Jordan, it continues to receive pressures to accept more refugees into its small limitedly-resourced country. According to the the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) factsheet in late 2018, Jordan hosts 672,438 refugees from Syria 67,084 from Iraq, 12,967 from Yemen, 5,307 from Sudan, 810 from Somalia and around 1,754 from other nationalities. This is in addition to the more than 2 million Palestinian refugees in Jordan from which 370,000 remain to live in camps. They hold refugee statuses through their registration with United Nations Relief and Aid Agency for Palestine (UNRWA). (UNRWA 2016)

The paper focuses on the aid provided by the United States (U.S.)— which has always been the single largest official aid donor (except for a short period in the 1990s) (Riddell 2008: 55) - to UNHCR, the main emergency and humanitarian organization serving refugees in Jordan. Much of the U. S's bilateral aid to the United Nation (UN) agencies that provide aid to these refugees have been earmarked by allocating a portion of the aid to Syrian refugees vs. another portion to non-

Syrian refugees.<sup>1</sup> This conditionality has not only caused tension between the refugees in Jordan, but it has left vulnerable refugees in need without aid. The paper will hence explore why the U.S. earmarks parts of its humanitarian aid to the UNHCR Jordan by nationality. It will unpack these motives and influencing factors in order to better fulfill the humanitarian goal of aiding on the basis of need alone rather than conditioning aid by nationality such as the case for the refugees in Jordan. The case study selected presents a “most likely” case that aims to eliminate the hypothesis that current humanitarian aid is given on the basis of need alone, driven by philanthropic and moral obligations only.

### **Rationale**

There is some basic research and reports regarding the discrimination between Syrians and non-Syrians in Jordan based on the aid they receive; some reports such as *On the Basis of Nationality* by the Mennonite Central Committee issued in 2017 highlights the gap in the distribution of assistance.(MCC 2017) There are some news articles that portray this distinction as well. At the same time several reports by UNHCR and other leading aid agencies call for unearmarked funding and touch on the complications of earmarking humanitarian aid. However, there is no thorough research that explains the motives of donors to earmark their refugee aid by nationality and the rationale behind it. This paper thus aims to contribute to the available literature and raise awareness about an important topic that is not getting enough attention, particularly in Jordan. It brings new light to the available knowledge base; while it focuses on a single case study, the findings of this paper fit a global perspective that represent a global issue. The findings of this case study will therefore have some useful generalization that apply to why some leading donor

---

<sup>1</sup> The term non-Syrian refugees is used to refer to refugees from other nationalities in Jordan such as Iraq, Yemen, Sudan, Somalia and others. For this paper, the term non-Syrians will focus on refugees from Iraq, Yemen and (north) Sudan residing in Jordan.

countries earmark their aid in such a way. In turn, the paper also hopes to encourage action from the world community in order to help address the weaknesses of earmarking aid by nationality and work towards better fulfilling the humanitarian goal of aid which should be given on the basis on need alone, determined by nothing else other than the genuine need for assistance.

### **Empirical Strategy and Methodology**

The paper draws on the available literature on humanitarian aid to bridge the gap regarding earmarking and answer the question of why the U.S. earmarks its humanitarian by nationality. The paper focuses on discourse analysis to provide evidence for its hypotheses. In terms of data collection, it focuses on UNHCR factsheets and reports as well as UNHCR Jordan Archives records obtained through a visit to UNHCR Headquarters in Geneva. It also studies U.S. State Department Bureau of Population Refugees and Migrants (BPRM) reports, Congress reports and news articles and journals. In addition, some informal discussions with practitioners working in the field of U.S. aid were conducted; these discussions were with employees working with the U.S. Department of State; one is working at the office of U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) in Hungary and the other is working at the BPRM in Turkey. While the employees are not particularly placed in Jordan, they assisted in unravelling how budgets and funding are received and allocated. One possible limitation to the research is that it was not possible to conduct discussions with UNHCR staff about the organization's funding appeals. Despite trying to reach out, the staff indicated that sharing such information requires special permission. Hence the research focused on their funding reports, appeals and financial documents available online.

The chapters are divided as follows. The first chapter presents a literature review that highlights the discussion regarding humanitarian aid and the motives of donors to give and restrict aid. Generally, these internal motives revolve around philanthropic and moral obligations, political

interests or public opinion. The second chapter will then explain each of these motives based on the refugee situation in Jordan comparing the motives behind giving aid to Syrians vs. Non-Syrians. The chapter begins with portraying the altruistic motives behind the U. S's contributions the refugee nationalities in Jordan, while examining if the donor's funding scheme is assisting those who are in more need. It then moves to explain the political interests and relations between the U.S. and Syria in comparison to the U.S. and Iraq, Yemen and Sudan and how these interests might be affecting the U.S' willingness to help refugees originating from these countries. Additionally, the chapter clarifies the role of public opinion and media in shifting towards wanting to help refugees from certain nationalities more than others. The fourth chapter then unpacks some external influencing factors; it moves to portraying the possible role of UNHCR Jordan and the Jordanian government in influencing the donors to earmark their aid by nationality. The fourth chapter presents the empirical analysis Through process tracing it evaluates the casual claims and present which motives and external factors are considered necessary or sufficient to produce the outcome of earmarking aid by nationality. (Collier 2011)<sup>2</sup>

---

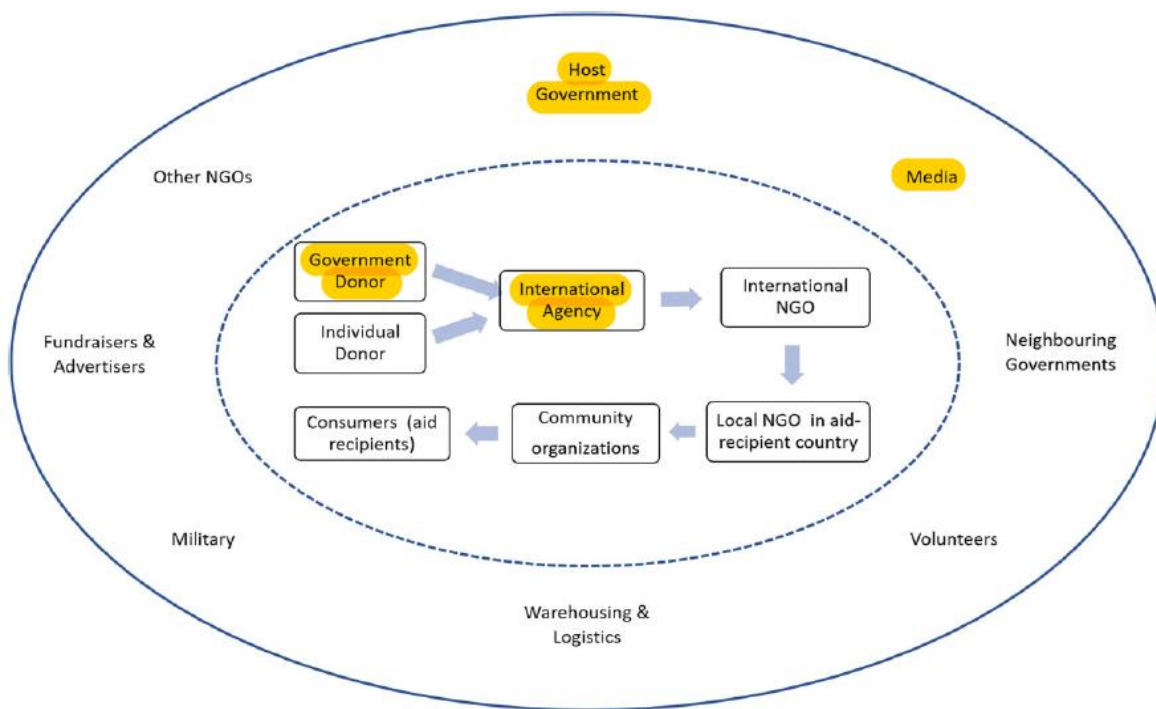
<sup>2</sup> The evaluation and analysis mainly covers the funds provided to these refugees since the beginning of the Syrian refugee crisis mainly from 2013 till 2018.

# Chapter 1 Literature Review

## 1.1 Humanitarian Aid

Humanitarian aid is considered one of the most prominent goals of foreign aid. In general, this humanitarian aid is meant to assist people fleeing conflicts and life-threatening situations through providing them with food, shelter, health and legal assistance. (Barber 1997: 8) The UN is committed to delivering humanitarian aid through its various organizations and agencies that focus on helping refugees and children, feeding the hungry and healing the sick. These organizations mainly depend on receiving humanitarian aid from bilateral donors. The figure below represents the stakeholders involved in the provision of humanitarian aid.

*Figure 1 Stakeholders Involved in the Provision of Humanitarian Aid.*



Source : (Mittelman and Dow 2018: 385)

The inner circle of the figure shows the process of aid delivery. It portrays that donors play an important role as they provide the bulk of the aid which is then funneled through the agencies and

Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) to get to the recipients. (Mittelman and Dow 2018: 385)

The outer circle represents the stakeholders that facilitate and enable the process of delivering this aid. (Mittelman and Dow 2018: 385) To provide an answer for the research question of this paper, the highlighted stakeholders and their role will be analyzed with a specific focus on the donor's role.

## **1.2 Donor's Motives**

Humanitarian aid is often considered as an important policy tool by donor countries. While it is the most favoured goal of foreign aid, there seems to be a paradox in the motives of giving such aid. The literature below highlights this paradox which will be further examined throughout this paper in order to better understand why this aid is often earmarked in a way that discriminates between refugees of different nationalities.

The available literature argues that there are two main schools of thought regarding the motives behind the provision of humanitarian aid. The first is that this humanitarian aid is driven by a genuine will to help and the moral duty to do so. David Lumsdaine surveys 40 years of aid-giving in his book *Moral Vision in International Politics: The Foreign Aid Regime*; his findings were quoted in Roger Riddell's work *Does Foreign Aid Really Work?* Lumsdaine concludes that "foreign aid cannot be explained on the basis of the economic and political interests of the donor countries alone, and any satisfactory explanation must give a central place to the influence of humanitarian and equalitarian convictions upon aid donors". (Riddell 2008: 92) He emphasizes that humanitarian concerns are the main motive for the allocation of aid. Scholars such as Michael Barnett and Thomas Weiss also complement this, in their book *Humanitarianism in Question: Politics, Power and Ethics* offer a deontological perspective that explains that some people merely do good simply because they are good regardless of their consequences. (Barnett and Weiss 2008)

In his article on Politics and Humanitarianism, Mark Cutts also states that humanitarianism is merely compassion, benevolence and humanity contrary to politics that is self-interested and manipulative. (Cutts 1998) In such views empathy, social justice and the desire to make a change act as motives for humanitarian aid.

The perception of the philanthropic duty of humanitarian aid dominates the liberalist perspective of aid giving. The mentioned liberalists among others build on Kant's theory of morality (Kant 1785) that portrays that the Categorical Imperative - which is the supreme principle of morality- determines what our moral duties are. He highlights that these moral duties are unconditionally necessary. Hence, Kant who was quoted in Johnson and Cureton's work portrays that human beings are rational beings that act within the moral requirements.(R. Johnson and Cureton 2016) The U. N's Responsibility to Protect doctrine also fits into this perspective by highlighting that the international community has a responsibility to protect those who are fleeing conflict and persecution. The provision of humanitarian aid is one of the effective ways of ensuring this protection as it distributes the disproportionate burden on the neighbouring countries that host the majority of refugees.(Coen 2016)

The second school of thought conveys that "altruism has not always had a good press" arguing that there is suspicion behind the reasons of deciding to help others. (Riddell 2008:1) Many cultures are sceptical about the provision aid; this goes back to the time of the ancient Greeks and the gift of the Trojan Horse which covered Greek soldiers who penetrated the city at night. (Riddell 2008:1) These views have been built upon by recent scholars, for example David Sogge who was quoted in Riddell's book argues that 'ideology and the pursuit of commercial advantage area the main determinants' of foreign aid allocation.(Riddell 2008: 92) In addition, Stephen Browne, a prominent scholar of aid cited by Riddell argues that geopolitical, commercial, power and economic

interests, not altruism mainly dominate the motives of aid allocation.(Riddell 2008: 92) These scholars hence portray a realist perspective on aid giving.

Adding to the above-mentioned interests, many scholars emphasize that the public support for aid is a main determinant of the government's allocation of aid. It is argued that there is a positive relationship between the two, the higher the amounts of aid given, the stronger the public support needs to be. This therefore shapes the way aid is provided and the recipients of it. (Riddell 2008: 107) Lumsdaine in his 40-year survey of aid-giving concluded that sharp increases in aid occurred in countries that had high levels of support for aid. His findings as described in Riddell's book portrayed that the aid increased when the public wanted increases and declined where the public wanted declines. (Riddell 2008: 107)

The public is normally influenced by the media that plays a significant role in forming its opinion about the distant other whom they ought to help. Robert Mittelman and Douglas Dow in their article *Biases in Charitable Giving to International Humanitarian Aid: The role of Psychic Distance* unpacks how the portrayal on the distant other through imagery and text in media could contribute to increasing awareness about their struggles and hence catalyze support for donations.(Mittelman and Dow 2018: 388) They explain that the beneficiaries of the aid, the refugees, are distant strangers to the public whom they have no relationships or ties to. They portray that this social distance between the two could result in prejudice. Therefore, the role of media and news is of utmost importance in transmitting information about the situations on the ground and the actual need for aid and fundraising. (Mittelman and Dow 2018: 389)

The media often uses different frames to build certain perspectives. Erving Goffman quoted in Fisher's work *Locating Frames in the Discursive Universe* explains the frame analysis and how frames allow individuals to gather, perceive, identify and label certain events and occurrences and



render them meaningful in order to act as a guide to action. (Fisher 1997: 2) These frames are constructed as movement supporters negotiate a shared understanding of some problematic condition or situation they define as in need of change. They make attributions regarding who or what is to blame, and they articulate an alternative set of solutions and urge others to act upon them to result in change.(Benford and Snow 2000: 615)

While some media frames can help build a positive relationship, they can also assist in building a negative relationship that further distances those in need from the potential donors. Pater Jakobsen in his paper *Focus on the CNN Effect Misses the Point: The Real Media Impact on Conflict Management is Invisible and Indirect* highlights that the media can be highly selective in the coverage of conflicts during the different phases of conflicts which creates a situation where emergency relief is determined by factors such as media coverage that have nothing to do with the humanitarian need. (Jakobsen 2000) Getting more media coverage might not necessarily mean that this conflict is in more need than others. Jakobsen also adds that in many cases there is one-sided media attention during the violence phase that rush aid agencies to provide funds yet as a result they receive less aid during the post-violence phase in terms of refugee assistance for example.

### **1.3 The Problem of Earmarking**

The above-mentioned motives and factors not only affect the donor's interests in giving funds but also their tendency to earmark them for "Special Programs", meaning that they impose conditions on how to use the funds and who to give them for. "While this might make it easier for donors to exercise control of specific outcomes, such earmarking tends to create inequities as the main donors may favor crisis areas that are geographically close to them and/or politically more important".(Vayrynen 2001: 156) Aid agencies have been long encouraging unearmarked funds. The Inter-Agency Standing Committee (IASC) the primary mechanism for inter-agency

coordination of humanitarian assistance which brings together UN agencies and NGOs that work for the provision of aid calls for donors to reduce the earmarking of their contributions. It states that the flexibility in funding enables better response to “situations of protracted or neglected conflicts.” (IASC 2019) A report by IASC *Donors Conditions and their Implications for Humanitarian Response* highlights the requirements set by donors can shift resources and focus away from the realization of humanitarian support. (IASC 2016). The report states that sometimes earmarking results in disproportionate amounts of aid; there are where there is duplicative and excessive aid for certain situations or programs and not enough aid for other. (IASC 2016) IASC hence adds that “reducing earmarking should be considered as a means to achieving humanitarian collective outcomes.” (IASC 2019)

## Chapter 2 Internal Factors - Donor's Motives

Being the largest donor of foreign aid and humanitarian aid, and due to its role as a superpower, the U.S. continues to lead other donor's decisions of aid allocation. (Riddell 2008: 94) This chapter thus explores the internal motives behind the U. S's allocation of humanitarian aid funding for Syrians and non-Syrians. The first section presents the hypothesis that donors -for this case the U.S. - provide humanitarian assistance due to a moral obligation to give. The section looks at the Congress reports, U.S. State Department BPRM mission and evaluation reports for projects for refugees in Jordan to assess this hypothesis. The second section assesses the hypothesis that the geo-politics between donor country and refugees' country of origin play a role in allocating humanitarian aid. The section explores the historical political interests between each of the U.S. and Syria, Iraq, Yemen and Sudan.<sup>3</sup> The third section looks at the hypothesis that public opinion and support influences the donor to allocate this aid. The section draws findings from assessing media and news coverage and general awareness about the Syrian refugee crisis vs the non-Syrian refugee crises, particularly focusing on the lack of coverage of the Yemeni crisis.

### 2.1 Moral Obligation Motives

Moral obligations to providing humanitarian aid are considered by many scholars as a main driver for the provision of aid. The U.S. claims that humanitarian assistance is its main foreign assistance goal. According to the Congressional Research Service report on foreign aid both the American people and policymakers have been favouring providing foreign aid for humanitarian reason. (Tarnoff and Lawson 2016: 4) Furthermore, it is also argued by many that the U.S. has

---

<sup>3</sup> Sudan throughout this paper refers to the Republic of Sudan or North Sudan as the Sudanese refugees in Jordan are mostly from Darfur and not South Sudan.

additional duty to aid refugees from the Middle East due to their failed intervention in Iraq and their current intervention in Yemen that are leading to the displacement of a large number of refugees from that region.(Lawton 2016)

Both the people and the U.S. government have a moral obligation to assist these refugees. More specifically, the U.S. Congress which is responsible for the allocation of money to units such as the U.S. State Department's BPRM should fulfil this duty. The BPRM provides humanitarian aid to UN agencies, international organizations and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) that help refugees. (Margesson 2003: 6) The funding UNHCR receives from the U.S. directly comes from BPRM, hence the way the unit receives this aid is of utmost importance to understanding the role moral obligations play in the allocation of aid to Syrians and non-Syrians.

The U.S. Congress creates budgets for BPRM, these budgets are divided for population of concern by country level. The main mechanisms for the aid allocation for BPRM are the Humanitarian Response Plan (HRP) and the Regional Refugee and Resilience Plan (3RP). The Humanitarian Response Plan often depends on the host country's plan; the Jordan Humanitarian Fund only focuses on Syrian refugees and Jordanian host communities, this plan set by the Jordanian government will be further discussed in Chapter 3 as the aid is received by the Jordanian government. As for the 3RP, which is funded to UNHCR, it is also only specific to Syrian refugees and is only flexible to include Jordanian host community members. According to the Financial Tracking Service website that tracks humanitarian aid flows, the majority of the humanitarian aid -not less than 80% between 2015 and 2018 - given to Jordan is funded through plans; the 3RP and the Jordan Humanitarian Fund. (FTS 2019)The priority of funding plans that are directed to Syrian refugees' 3RP and the large amounts of funds it receives highlights the focus on aiding Syrian refugees over others. Despite BPRM's commitment to 'one refugee' policy that aims to support

all refugees with no discrimination, the focus on allocating BPRM funds to the 3RP excludes non-Syrians.

Congressional Research Service reports on *International Crises and Disasters: U.S. Humanitarian Assistance Response Mechanisms* over the past few years also seem to emphasize more on the Syrian refugees. For example, the 2013 report mentioned Syria five times, Iraq was only mentioned once in a footnote, and Sudan was also only mentioned once in the report. Yemen was not mentioned yet this can be explained since in 2013 the situation in Yemen was still stable. (Margesson 2013) In the 2015 report, Syria was mentioned eight times, Iraq was mentioned five times, most interestingly Yemen was not mentioned once amid the intense humanitarian situation there and Sudan was not mentioned at all either, only South Sudan is mentioned once. (Margesson 2015) In addition, in another Congressional Research Service report on *Foreign Aid: An Introduction to U.S. Programs and Policy* Yemen was not mentioned at all. (Tarnoff and Lawson 2016) These reports portray decisions and allocations made by Congress which are influenced by several factors including political interests and national security, which will be explained in more detail section below. This interconnection of political interest and humanitarian assistance was most publicly highlighted by Nikki Haley, the U.S. Ambassador to the UN, in her memo *America First Foreign Policy Assistance* where she stated that the country's foreign aid should be to those who advance U.S. interests. She added that those who vote against the U.S. at the UN should have their aid cut. (Lynch 2018)

These influences are also reflected in BPRM. According to the U.S. Department of State website, BPRM's mission is to "promote U.S. interests by providing protection, easing suffering, and resolving the plight of persecuted and forcibly displaced people around the world." (United States Department of State : 2019) It is noted that BPRM fosters best practices in humanitarian

response aiming to make sure that their work is effective and efficient. Nevertheless, it is important to note that the mission of BPRM first and foremost highlights the promotion of U.S. interests through allocation of aid, this in turn suggests that these humanitarian goals are primarily dominated by the country's interests.

In an evaluation report by BPRM regarding the humanitarian assistance to Iraqi and Syrian refugees in Jordan published in July 2016 the report acknowledged several times the plight of the non-Syrians and the difficulties they face in Jordan highlighting that their situation is not unknown to the BPRM. The report mentions “services to Iraqi refugees have been severely curtailed despite ongoing need” it also adds “Iraqi, Yemeni, and Somalian refugees are required to pay school fees, unlike Syrian refugees who were released from the fees due to European support..... These groups are not allowed to work in Jordan, restricting opportunities to meet their basic needs.” (Salmorbekova and Howe 2016: 17) These extracts from the BPRM report stress on the obstacles faced by non-Syrians in Jordan, which will be discussed in more detail in the following chapter.

## **2.2 The United States' Political Interests**

It is also more generally argued that the U. S's primary purpose of providing aid is to further promote its own 'geo-strategic' interests, national security priorities with a high portion of aid directed to its allies. (Apodaca 2017) This section will focus on emphasizing the interests of the U.S. in the Syrian and Non-Syrian conflicts that have resulted in the influx of refugees of these nationalities to Jordan. It analyzes the political interests of earmarking aid for Syrian refugees, and then analyzes the political reasons why this earmarking “ignores” the non-Syrians.

### **Syrians:**

The U.S. and Syria had a fraught relationship throughout history. Syria has confronted Israel - the U. S's main ally - on several occasions. It fought against Israel in a series of battles that triggered the Arab-Israeli War of 1967 and later the Arab-Israeli war of 1973. These events further multiplied the tension between the Syrian- U.S. pushing Syria to mainly depend on the Soviet Union. (Hahn 2016: 266) Their relationship was slightly more stable when Bashar Assad came into power as he was more moderate than his father whom he succeeded. There was limited cooperation with the U.S. after the war on terror, nevertheless, Syria still held a position not favoured by the U.S. as it supported the Second Palestinian Intifada in (2000-2002) and opposed the U.S. led intervention in Iraq in 2003. (Hahn 2016: 156) In addition, Syria's intervention in Lebanese politics and Assad's close relationship with Hezbollah poses a threat to Israel and hence the U.S. Furthermore, the assassination of the Lebanese prime minister Rafiq al Hariri also presented an obstacle in the development of the bi-lateral relations between the U.S. and Syria. (United States Department of State 2018a)

Bashar Assad's actions since the beginning of the Arab Spring pushed the U.S. to take a strong stance against him. The Obama administration claimed to be committed to minimizing regional tensions and promoting Middle East peace. Yet, any potential progress was halted by the events of the Arab Spring and the violent response committed by the Assad regime's forces towards the Syrian people who called for the removal of the regime. (United States Department of State 2018a) As the civil war in Syria intensified, the U.S. imposed limited sanctions to the Assad regime and later called for Assad to step down. "For the sake of the Syrian people, the time has come for President Assad to step aside" said Obama in a written statement. (Wilson and Warrick 2011) In addition, the U.S. has not only been financially supporting the Syrian Opposition Coalition and the opposition's Supreme Military Council but training them as well. The U.S. has

also led training operations in Jordan for senior Syrian army officers who defected with the aim of “to create a safe area for refugees on the Syrian side of the border, to prevent chaos and to provide a counterweight to al-Qaida-linked extremists who have become a powerful force in the north.” (Borger and Hopkins 2013)

This portrays that the U.S. and Syria have always had a complicated relationship. The U.S. currently supports the opposition forces in the Syrian crisis and is committed to aiding this opposition in various ways including providing the refugees who have been affected by the Assad regime’s actions with humanitarian aid. It can be argued that the U. S’s rationale of being committed to helping the Syrian refugees is due to its strategic interest in fostering relations with the opposition forces and further “demonizing” the Asaad regime by emphasizing the struggle of the Syrian refugees and calling for providing them with aid.

Another geo-strategic interest of earmarking portions of the aid towards Syrians is for the U.S. to ensure stability in its strong regional ally, Jordan. The large number of Syrian refugees in Jordan have placed immense pressure on the country. Jordan has a limited capacity to provide for its own people as it has limited resources and public services. The refugees who live outside the refugee camps - in the urban areas of Jordan- mostly live among the communities of underprivileged Jordanians, causing frustration based on the competition over goods and services. There is a constant threat that the frustration among Jordan’s disadvantaged communities is mobilized as public grievances grow.(Immenkamp 2017: 1) Therefore, providing aid for the Syrian refugees removes some of the burden placed on Jordan to provide for them and reduces the competition between the two communities. It is important to ensure the least grievances as possible as Jordan’s stability was once threatened before by some Palestinians who attempted to take control in Jordan by creating a state within a state.(Tristram 2018) It can also be argued that



providing Syrians with decent living conditions in Jordan could minimize having refugees resort to escaping to Europe and keeping the majority of them in the Middle East North Africa region.

### **Non- Syrians:**

#### Iraqis:

Iraq and the U. S also experienced a troubled relationship. In the 1960's, Iraq took a strong position attempting to liberate Palestine during the six-day war of 1967, and "it considered the United States complicit in the Israeli military conquests." (Hahn 2012) During the first phase of Saddam Hussein's rule in Iraq, and throughout the first Gulf War against Iran, the U.S. supported Iraq and it also benefited from Iraqi oil assets. Nevertheless, this support did not last long, during the second gulf war against Kuwait (1990-1991) the U.S. condemned Iraq's actions. When the UN resolutions failed to bring Iraq out of Kuwait, the U.S. led Coalition Wars against Iraq that eventually resulted in the Iraqi forces' withdrawal from Kuwait. Later in 2003, the U.S. invaded Iraq based on controversial evidence that Saddam Hussein had Weapons of Mass Destruction. (The Guardian 2002) The invasion has led to intense ethnic conflicts among Iraqis and resulted in a massive refugee crisis; it paved way for the rise of the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) which resulted in the escalation of the Iraqi refugee crisis taking place to this day.

The main motive for the U.S. intervention in Iraq has always been portrayed as the "war on terror" and the goal to fight terrorism within that region. In order for the U.S. to gather public support for leading an expensive war that risked the lives of American soldiers, an appealing justification had to be made. For this reason, it has been argued by many including Merrill Smith (2007), Ben Sanders (2007), Scott Harding (2012) and Kathryn Libal (2012) that the U.S. tried to hide the human consequences of the war they are waging. (Berman 2015) The Bush Administration at the time therefore deterred media attention from the Iraqi refugee crisis. While it was said that

the intervention in Iraq was meant to protect and bring security to Iraq, it was further destabilizing it causing millions of innocents Iraqis to flee their homes. (Berman 2015) This intersection between humanitarian assistance and the war on terror was problematic for the U.S. and it was thus difficult for activists to shed light on the refugee crisis through media channels. Adding to that, due to the war on terror campaign, the American public largely views Iraqis as insurgent terrorists and a threat to American national security and the world as a whole. (Berman 2015) This portrayal therefore failed in attracting the empathy needed for these Iraqi refugees. (Berman 2015) The role of public support and media in politicizing humanitarian conflicts will be discussed further in the next section.

#### Yemenis:

Yemen has a complex history with civil wars and military coups. The country was initially divided into North Yemen (previously ruled by the Ottomans) and South (ruled by the British). The U.S. never had a stable diplomatic relation with either, their relations were broken and resumed several times. In the 1990s Yemen was unified under the rule of President Ali Abdallah Saleh. While the country was hoping to develop and progress, Yemen's stance of opposing U.S.-led coalitions against Iraq during the Second Gulf war resulted in worsening the country's relations with both the U.S. and Saudi Arabia who opposed Saddam's actions. They cut off aid to Yemen and around 800,000 Yemenis were forced out of Saudi Arabia and Gulf Arab states. Saudi strongly held its position against Yemen and was determined to remove Saleh from his power. (BBC 2019) When the events of the Arab Spring unfolded, Saudi seized the chance to support the rebels and get rid of Saleh forcing him to step down. His vice president succeeded yet he was also removed from power due to a coup led by the Shia Houthis. As the Shia's were acquiring more power in Yemen, Saudi Arabia intervened in 2015 through waging a war and implementing a blockage over

the country, denying food and necessary health care to most of its population. (Riedel 2018) The U.S. has been backing Saudi as it continues its war on Yemen; it provides it with both logistical and intelligence support.

The U.S. holds a strong position against the Houthis as they are supported by Iran, a country the U.S. considers as a major threat to stability in the Middle East. Due to this, the war in Yemen is not depicted as “oppressed group of rebels rising up against a corrupt government, but rather, as a fierce, violent insurgency attacking a well-established government, threatening Middle Eastern stability.” (Schoen 2018) In addition, the narrative of the war is not so attractive to the American political interests. (Schoen 2018)

Similar to what happened in Iraq, the U. S’s involvement and support to Saudi’s war on Yemen has led the country to focus less on the humanitarian refugee crisis resulting from it. While Yemen is facing the one of the largest humanitarian crisis in the world, Saudi airstrikes are often killing innocent Yemeni civilians and targeting hospitals and non-threatening locations.(Schoen 2018) It would be considered controversial for the U.S. to both feed the war and focus a lot on aiding its victims. This therefore could explain why less aid is being provided by the U.S. these Yemeni refugees.

#### Sudanese (North Sudan):

The tough relationship between the U.S. and Sudan mostly started developing in the 1990s. Overall, Sudan held a strong position for the Palestinian cause, opposed U.S. intervention against Iraq during the Second Gulf war and most significantly had links with international terrorist organizations. In 1993, Sudan was designated as a state sponsor of terrorism which led the U.S. to implement heavy economic, trade, and financial sanctions on the country that lasted from 1997 to 2017. Furthermore, the U.S. embassy closed for a around five years during that time. (United States

Department of State 2018b) In 1998, the U.S. launched missile attacks on a pharmaceutical plant in the capital Khartoum, claiming that they were making chemical weapons.(Astill 2001) On an internal level, Sudan had been long divided; it experienced conflict between the Arab Sudanese and the African Sudanese who fought over limited resources and oil fields. In Darfur, in 2004 the Sudanese government funded Darfur's Arab militias, the Jandaweed to fight the rebels who were mainly represented by Sudan Liberation Movement/Army and the Justice and Equality Movement. The events by the Sudanese government were referred to as a genocide by the U.S. and President Bashir was accused of war crimes.(Zissis 2006) While the U.S. condemned the attacks, it has been argued that it did little to nothing to prevent it. Robert Collins, an expert in African history at the University of Santa Barbara, California explained that at the time of the Genocide the U.S. was occupied with its intervention in Iraq and it was not a priority for it to intervene in Sudan.(United States Department of State 2018b)

After years of efforts of reconciliation, the in 2011 South Sudan officially split from the North forming the world's youngest nation South Sudan and the north is referred to the Republic of Sudan. Nevertheless, this did not put an end to the violence and segregation in the country. The Republic of Sudan continues to face violence between the armed militia groups and the Sudanese government causing refugees to flee that region to Jordan and other nearby countries. The conflict in Darfur which started in the late 1990s continues to force Sudanese escape their homes; "some 450,000 persons were displaced in 2014 and another 100,000 in January 2015 alone, adding to some 2 million long-term internally displaced persons (IDPs) since fighting erupted in 2003." (Davis et al. 2016: 4)

Despite this protracted conflict in Darfur, the situation is still not a priority for the U.S.. On the other hand, South Sudan has been facing internal conflicts and the oil-rich south has been more

of a priority for the U.S. than the north.(Allen 2015) Furthermore, even after the U.S. lifted its sanctions on the Republic Sudan, the U. S's foreign policy towards the country remains uncertain. The country remains on the State Department's list of official sponsors of terror. In addition, President Trump previously added the country to his travel ban list in 2017.(Crabtree 2018) It can be hence argued that linking the humanitarian aspect of the crisis with national security threats and terrorism leads to a lack of aid provision.

### **2.3 Public Opinion in Donor Country**

As previously mentioned, prominent literature explains that public opinion and support is considered necessary for donor countries to assess the amounts of aid they give. Donors put a lot of emphasis on the popularity or unpopularity of the aid by the general public.(Milner and Tingley 2013: 392) It is suggested that the more popular foreign aid is and higher the level of public support for it, the more amount is given. (Milner and Tingley 2013)

#### **Syrians:**

As the Syrian conflict entered its 8<sup>th</sup> year, it is observed that Americans have been continuously getting more and more aware about the refugee crisis resulting from it. According to a World Vision survey conducted in September 2015 for 2,031 U.S. adults, it was concluded that there is an increase in the general awareness about the intensity of the effect of the Syrian crisis and the large numbers of refugees escaping it. The survey findings highlighted that compared to the other recent crisis and disasters occurring, they are more aware about Syria's conflict. Around 83% of the people asked were familiar with the situation and around 73% believed that the U.S. should help and provide assistance to enhance the situation. (L. Fisher 2015)

It is argued that a lot of media attention has been given to the Syrian crisis in comparison to other conflicts that are also in need. To begin with the geographical context of the Syrian crisis has attracted media attention. When the crisis started thousands of refugees were crossing the border on foot to reach Jordan, they were met by many journalists and photographers that captured their journey to the world. (Sanders and Smith 2007: 23) In addition, the influx of Syrian refugees to Europe through the Mediterranean Sea in 2015 also received a lot of media attention. In particular, the picture of the Aylan Kurdi, the three-year-old Syrian boy who died while attempting, along with his family, to get to Greece through Turkey. The photograph of his face down in the sand was seen by around 20 million people through the first 12 hours after it got published.(Withnall 2015) Furthermore, many famous actors, singers and athletes whom are popular among the American community and worldwide have been advocating for increased aid for Syrian refugees. Portraying their field visits to refugee host countries- mainly Jordan and Lebanon – they continue to shed light on the tough living conditions faced by refugee children. They livestream their visits, share stories, videos and pictures through their various social media platforms which has been influencing the American public’s view of these refugees.(Rai 2017)

### **Non- Syrians:**

As for the non-Syrian conflicts addressed in this paper, the Iraqi, Yemeni, and Sudanese conflicts, there are several reasons as to why they have been receiving less media and public attention. These conflicts in comparison to the Syrian conflict are their considered to a “victim of their geography”(Cochran 2019) As the geographical context of Iraq, Yemen and Sudan differ from than that of Syria, these non-Syrian refugees have no access to Europe through the Mediterranean Sea. Hence, they are not being photographed fleeing on boats or waiting in lines at borders, they are mostly forced to flee to their refuge country through airports which receive less

media attention.(Cochran 2019) Furthermore, the situation in these countries is complex in a way that makes it difficult for the public to relate with. Yemen is perceived as extremely poor country that even prior to the conflict, little people knew of its existence. As for Iraqis and Sudanese many are referred to as insurgent terrorists and a potential problematic threat.

Looking in more detail to the Yemeni conflict, and analyzing the situation there highlights how these non-Syrian conflicts have been receiving less attention. It is evident that the results of the Yemeni war are horrific to say the least. The situation is referred to as the “world’s worst humanitarian crisis” by UN officials. The country is facing imminent starvation, malnourishment of babies and is on the verge of a cholera epidemic. While the scale of the crisis is considered similar to the Syrian crisis, yet the U.S. media coverage of the situation has been minimal. As discussed above, the U.S. holds a responsibility for the crisis as it is supporting Saudi Arabia in its war on Yemen.(Taibbi 2018) Focusing on the refugee crisis would then highlight the human cost of the war and might result in upsetting the American public.

The U.S. media has been choosing to report about the conflict in Yemen in a vague way that does not clearly explain who the actors in the conflict are. Many believe that the war there is merely sectarian without understanding Saudi Arabia and the U. S’s role in it. The vagueness and sense of confusion leaves the public not clear about who is right or wrong and what they can do to help.(Al Jazeera News 2018) In many news channels, the war is simply not mentioned. For example, MSNBC “the second-most-watched network on basic cable” in the U.S. spent over a year between 2017 and 2018 not mentioning or including any segments about the war in Yemen, and in particular the U.S. involvement in it.(A. Johnson 2018)

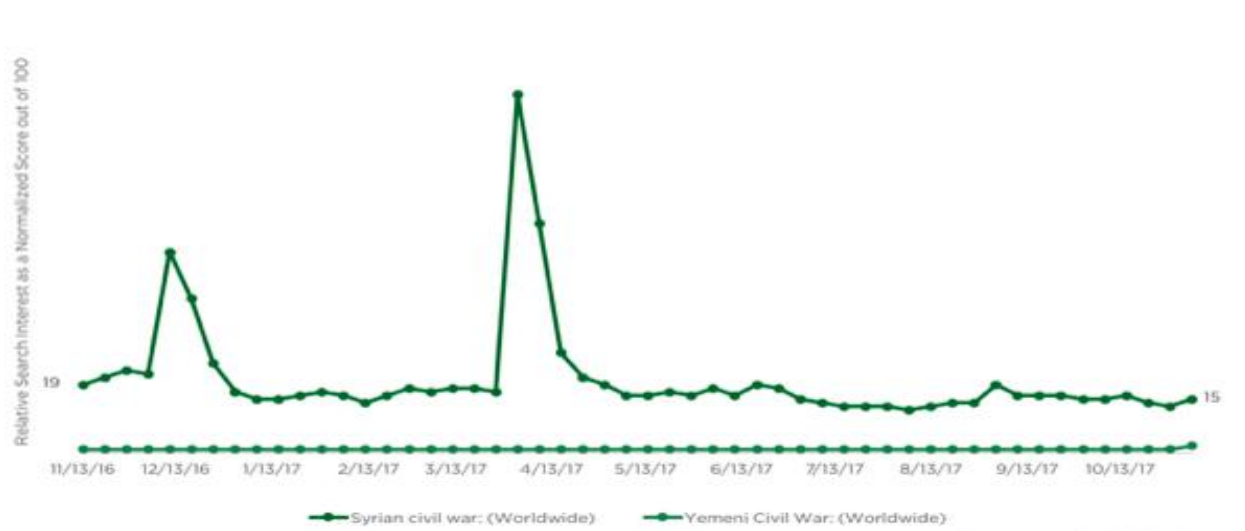
Besides the intentional measures of “ignoring” news about the Yemeni war, its casualties and refugees, another main reason why the situation is not being reporting is because both

international and national journalists are simply not being able to report about it. Saudi Arabia has been introducing complex measures and restrictions that make it difficult for journalists to enter the country to cover the war. For example, the Sanaa airport was closed for commercial use for two years; in 2017 the Saudi's did not allow a non-commercial UN flight to land in Yemen because it had on board 3 BBC journalists even though they had all their visas and paperwork with them.(Baider and Porter 2017) In addition, they did not allow the entry of helmets, vests and satellite phones that are normally necessary for journalists to use in war zones. Another measure is that Saudi's later insisted that in addition to all the expensive paper work required from journalists prior to the arrival they should also get a second visa granted by the Saudi-backed government in Aden.(Baider and Porter 2017) As for the local Yemeni journalists, it was also made impossible for them to report. Yemeni journalists are faced by threats of kidnapping, torture, murder, harassment, legal charges and having their Journalists Property seized.(Sayed 2019) According to the Media Freedom Observatory in Yemen, in 2018 there were 144 cases of violations against freedom of media of which included the murder of 12 media workers.(Sayed 2019) In addition, the poor infrastructure of the country and the low level of internet access to Yemenis are also an obstacle to reporting.(Malsin 2015)

These mentioned challenges properly covering crises can be measured by a comparison of Google searches for both the Syrian Civil War and the Yemeni Civil War, which portray the public interest in the two. An article written by Conner Schoen for the Harvard Political Review shows the data below that highlights how the Google search regarding the Syrian War are much more and that there is an increase when certain situations where major events happen. Nevertheless, the searches for Yemen are minimal and constant, there seems to be no change of interests even when the situation there further intensified. (Schoen 2018)



Figure 2: Google Search Trends for Yemeni Civil War vs. Syrian Civil War



Source: (Schoen 2018)

In addition, when the topic is brought to the attention of Americans it is not easy for them to criticize the U.S. and its allies while taking the side of a Yemeni rebel group. In 2016, a group of senators attempted to push a bill to stop arms sales to Saudi Arabia due to its practices in Yemen but that motion did not pass, “the motion was tabled in a 71-to-27 vote.”(Taub 2016)

The chapter concludes in finding that the two hypotheses on non-altruistic motives; political interests, public opinion and media influence seem to affect the donors’ allocation of aid more than their genuine want to aid the refugees in need. These findings will be further discussed in the empirical analysis section. The next chapter will look at external factors that could be influencing the U.S. to earmark its aid by nationality.

## Chapter 3 External Influencing Factors

This chapter examines the potential roles UNHCR and the Jordanian government could have on influencing major donors to earmark their aid by nationality. The first section on UNHCR's role analyzes some of UNHCR's policies in Jordan and looks into its appeals for funds in order to evaluate if UNHCR's activities justify this earmarking. It explains that while there are some differences in the legal status of Syrians and Non-Syrians, UNHCR's appeals and campaigns for funds call for unearmarked funding to be able to meet the needs of both Syrians and Non-Syrians. The second section assesses if the Jordan government role leads donors to earmark. The section finds that while the Jordanian government has certain programs such as work permits and free access to education only available for Syrians this does not explain why the non-Syrians are receiving less sufficient amounts of aid. The section argues that these obstacles that the non-Syrians face in Jordan only make them more vulnerable and in need for more funding.

### **3.1 UNHCR's Role**

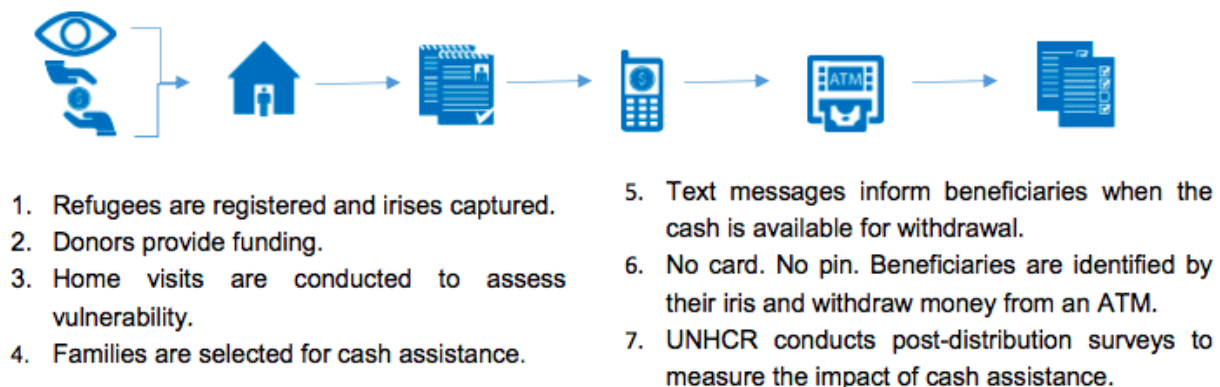
Historically, UNHCR operations were initiated in Jordan during the early 1990s. In general, the refugee agency used to deal with a relatively small number of refugees since as previously mentioned, the large number of Palestinian refugees in Jordan are cared for by UNRWA. Through browsing Archived Records of UNHCR reports about their work in Jordan in the early 1990s it was evident that the agency focused a lot on aiding refugees from Sudan and Eritrea. UNCHR worked alongside with UNDP and Jordanian Ministries and government to assist the refugees in finding work, residence and work permits and providing them with educational opportunities including studying at private Jordanian universities opportunities as well as medical assistance and financial aid. (UNHCR Archives and Records 1982)

However, when the operation faced pressures of accommodating massive numbers of refugees it had to make sure that it prioritizes the refugees that are in urgent need. UNHCR does so by issuing protected consolidated papers (PCCs) that recognizes some population of refugees as particularly desperate.(Su 2013) Up until June 2017, UNHCR Jordan used to only provide monthly cash assistance to eligible people of concern who are considered recognized refugees. It provides this assistance based on vulnerability assessment conducted through Home-Visits. Hence having the PCCs helped refugees to get their assistance faster as they only needed to undergo the home visit vulnerability assessment and if eligible, will then be provided with financial assistance depending on the availability of funds.

In an interview cited by the Atlantic with an ex-Senior Protection Officer Giulia Ricciarelli in UNHCR Amman, Ricciarelli explained how this measure is not a discrimination. She elaborated saying that UNHCR “issued a PCC for Sudan at the time of the Darfur crisis”(Su 2013) and it did so for other nationalities as well. For example, when there was a sharp increase of Iraqi refugees in Jordan, UNHCR granted all Iraqis *prima facie* status in Jordan from 2007-2012. This recognition was then redirected towards the Syrian refugees. While it may be argued that these procedures may have influenced donors to earmark their aid more towards Syrians since they are being granted a *prima facie* status and hence might be eligible to receive the monthly cash assistance faster. Nevertheless, as of 2017, according to UNCHR procedures the monthly financial assistance became available for all persons of concern regardless of their refugee status determination, solely depending on their vulnerability assessments and the availability of funds. Regardless of this change in eligibility, the availability of funds by the U.S. for non-Syrians however continues to decrease. This lack of funds has been resulting in long “waiting-lists” that include refugees accepted for monthly cash assistance according to the vulnerability assessment

yet are not able to receive it due to the lack of funds. Needless to say, the waiting lists of non-Syrians move at a much slower pace as the funds received for non-Syrians are less. In the UNHCR *Jordan 2017 Year End Report* it was noted under the section of unmet needs that “ in 2017, UNHCR was unable to support additional beneficiaries with cash-based interventions, resulting in an estimate 2,200 non-Syrian households continuing to live in extremely vulnerable situations.”(UNHCR 2018) The figure below explains how the process of granting cash assistance.

Figure 3 How UNHCR Cash Assistance Works



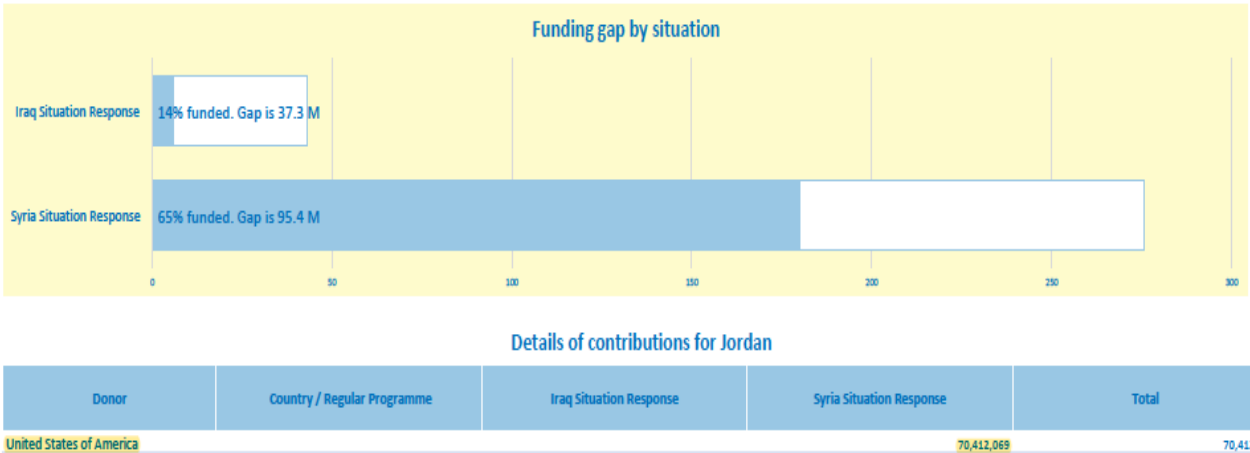
Source: Extracted from (UNHCR Jordan 2017)

When evaluating the appeals for funds by UNHCR it is noted that within the agency’s reports and official statements UNHCR calls for funding based on need alone. A 2018 report on Cash Assistance by UNHCR Jordan highlighted in its first page of the report that non-Syrians face more limitations to access of services in Jordan particularly in terms of work permits and public education. It adds that “there is a more limited range of donor actors providing funds for assistance in comparison to the Syrian refugee population. UNHCR continues to advocate for a ‘one refugee’ approach in Jordan and globally, where assistance is based on need rather than nationality.”(Winton 2018) It has also been noted by their yearly reports that “unearmarked funding helps ensure UNHCR’s neutrality and independence.”(UNHCR 2017a) The organization also continues to highlight the “unmet needs” of the non-Syrians. For example in 2014 it

specifically called for additional funds to non-Syrians particularly due to the “unexpected increase of Iraqi refugees”. (UNHCR 2016) Also, in the mentioned interview with Ricciarelli, she explained that “all those funds are earmarked for the Syria response and cannot be diverted to use for non-Syrians. It’s also dependent on donors’ and agencies’ interest. We appeal for funds for all our operations.”(Su 2013)

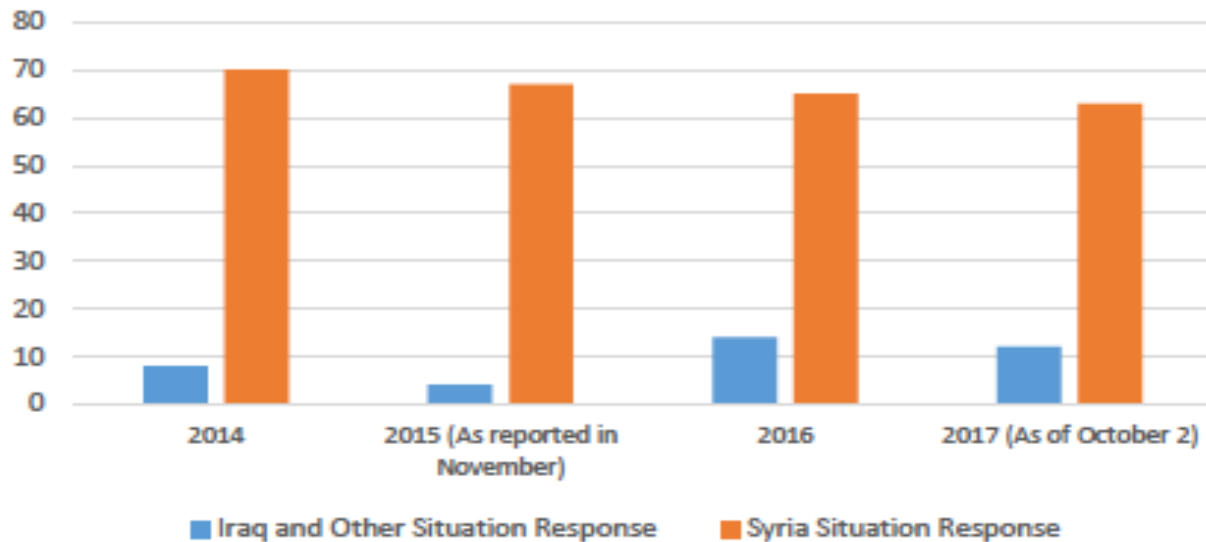
Figure 4, shows the different UNHCR appeals and budgets needed of the Syrian and non-Syrian refugee responses (referred to in the figure as the Iraqi Situation Response) in 2016. The amounts of funds requested from UNCHR are according to their assessment of the needs of the refugee populations which take into consideration the difference in numbers of refugees. The figure shows that the bigger gap between the funding received as a percentage of the funding requested. Most interestingly, it highlights that all the funds received from the U.S. were earmarked for the Syrian situation response. (UNHCR 2017b) Figure 5 also portrays the funding received in relation in the funding requested for the years 2014 – 2017.

Figure 4: UNHCR Jordan Gap by Situation 2016



Source: Extracted from (UNHCR 2017b)

Figure 5: Funding Received as a Percentage of Funding Requested (2014 - 2017)



Source: Extracted from (MCC 2017: 26)

### 3.2 Jordanian Government's Role

The services provided for the refugees by the host country could also influence donors to earmark their aid in a certain way. Both aid agencies and donors take into consideration the host country's priorities and restrictions to ensure a smooth relationship with the government and to be able to operate within the country more freely. While Jordan is not a signatory to the 1951 Refugee Convention, it has a *Memorandum of Understanding* between UNHCR and the Jordanian government that aims towards ensuring the protection of refugees in the country.(UNHCR 2019)

Jordan has been attempting to deal with the refugee influx the best way it can, pushing its capabilities to a limit. (Francis 2015) The country has many programs and services that allow for Syrian refugees to integrate within the Jordanian community in ways that are not that available for non-Syrian refugees. These programs are part of the Jordan Compact initiative introduced by the European Union, the Jordanian government and the World Bank in 2016.

In terms of access to education, the Jordanian government permits Syrian refugees to be registered in public schools free of charge, in this way the Syrian refugees are treated the same as Jordanian nationals in terms of schooling fees. As a result these public schools became overcrowded as their space could not accommodate such a large number of students. Therefore, the Jordan government carried out an initiative to expand the limit of accepting students through adding second shifts during the afternoon to be able to accommodate Syrian refugees. (Abdi and Krafft 2018) Furthermore, the Jordanian Ministry of Education has been lenient with the paper work and requirements for registration. Normally, to register in public school previous proof of previous education and a valid passport are needed to ensure that students are put in the suitable level of education. However as of 2016, the documentation requirements have been waived, the only documentation needed is the Syrian refugee students' Asylum-Seeker Certificate and an identity card that are available for all refugees registered with UNHCR. (Barbelet, Hagen-Zanker, and Mansour-Ille 2018)

The second main goal of the Jordan Compact is better access to the work force and improving labour laws for Syrian refugees. The government of Jordan opened up sectors such as agriculture, construction and manufacturing to allow Syrian refugees to work in them legally. The Compact also included waiving the price for work permits for the one year and was then extended to another year. (ILO 2017: 21) In addition, the government of Jordan and its ministries have been actively advocating for the integration of Syrian refugees. For example, there is a Jordan Response Platform for the Syria Crisis (JRPSC) led by the Ministry of Planning and International Cooperation. The platform aims at fostering strategic partnerships with various entities and stakeholders to foster recovery, create opportunities and promote resilience for Syrian refugees.

These initiatives among others highlights the positive and supportive attitude of the Jordanian government towards Syrian refugees. (JRPSC 2019)

As for the non-Syrians the situation differed. As above mentioned before the influx of Syrian refugees, when the non-Syrian were the prominent refugee population in the country there were opportunities for non-Syrians to obtain work permits and be more easily integrated in the educational system. The communications between UNHCR and Jordanian ministries – indicated in the UNHCR Archives Records – shows that the government was actively offering work opportunities for Sudanese and Eritrean refugees. As for Iraqis, they were able to obtain residency in Jordan yet with a deposit of around 30,000 USD.(Sheldon 2018) They were also allowed and encouraged to invest in the country (in hotels, restaurants, malls and other businesses) to obtain the residency. These policies however were tied to individual financial means and excluded the families that were in real need who are eligible for financial assistance.(Sheldon 2018)

One controversial act by the Jordanian government towards some Sudanese refugees in 2015 has been the center of debate regarding the treatment of non-Syrians in the country. A group of around 800 Sudanese refugees have been protesting in front of UNHCR offices in Amman about the services they are getting from them and from other UN agencies. The Sudanese refugees were protesting the discrimination of the provision of services for them vs. the Syrians. After a month of camping around UNHCR premises and around private residences in that area the Jordanian security forces detained them and begun a process of deporting back to Sudan on the basis that they have been partaking in troublesome acts and not respecting the laws of the country despite various efforts to break the protest. (Pizzi and Williams 2015) This act received criticism by human rights agencies; Mohammed Hawari UHHCR Jordan's External Relations representative said that "it was well within Jordan's right to break up the protest, noting that the raid proceeded



peacefully.... the agency was trying everything we can to convince Jordanian authorities not to deport the refugees back to Sudan.” (Pizzi and Williams 2015)

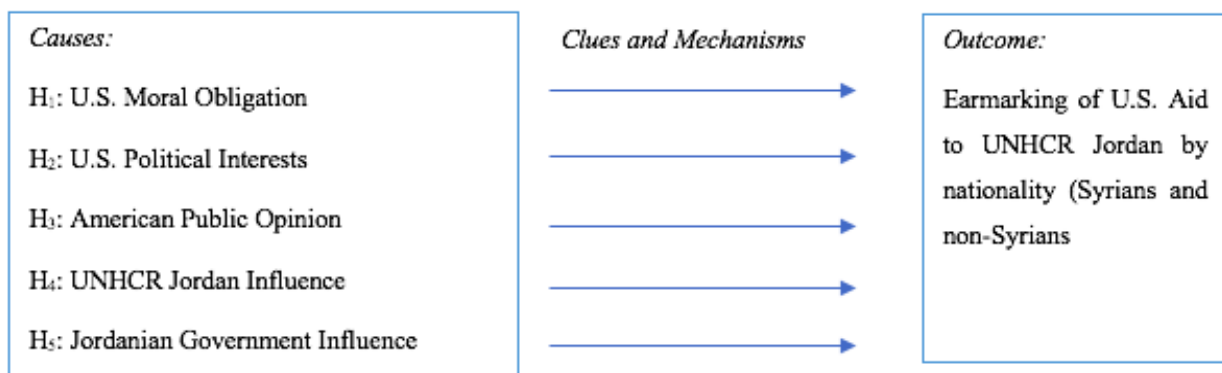
The difference in the treatment of Syrians and non-Syrians in Jordan can influence donors to shift their aid to the nationality “favoured” more by the country in order to abide by country priorities. Nevertheless, these priorities are still mainly determined by the availability of funds. The Jordanian government only agreed to implement the previously mentioned Jordan Compact because the EU presented an appealing proposition that would also benefit the country. In exchange of funds the Jordanian government had to provide these work permits and educational opportunities for Syrian refugees. These were the terms of the Compact set by the EU highlighting that the government of Jordan’s behavior towards refugees is largely influenced by the humanitarian aid they are provided with. From another humanitarian perspective, donors are meant to be providing additional funds to the groups that face challenges and limited access to services. Having no access to the work force or the free public schooling among other services leaves these refugees in greater need and vulnerability from UNHCR and other aid agencies and organizations. Nevertheless, the situation is that they are receiving even less aid making it more difficult for them to manage their living conditions.

## Chapter 4 Empirical Analysis

This chapter discusses the findings of this paper. Through process tracing, this *within-case analysis* tries to establish causal mechanisms between variables; it does so through tracking series of events and occurrences. (Collier 2011: 823) This method helps explain which causes resulted in the outcome of the U.S. earmarking aid by nationality (Syrians vs. non-Syrians) to UNHCR Jordan. The hypotheses mainly argue that this earmarking of aid is driven by motives that do not merely consider the refugees' genuine need for assistance. While it is claimed that the U.S. humanitarian aid lies outside of politics and hence the earmarking by nationality fulfills their genuine willingness to give on the basis of need, the findings of this paper conclude that this humanitarian aid and its earmarking is politicized and is influenced by factors that do not fulfill the moral obligation for aid provision.

The hypotheses presented in Figure 6 will be tested according to selected tests presented in Figure 6. The tests will depend on empirical clues presented in each of the above sections as evidence for or against a hypothesis. These clues are casual process observations. (Collier 2011: 826) The tests show “whether passing the test is *necessary* or *sufficient* for accepting the inference.” (Collier 2011: 825)

Figure 6: Causal Mechanisms Diagram



Source: Author's own Calculations

Figure 7: Process Tracing for Causal Inference

		SUFFICIENT FOR AFFIRMING CAUSAL INFERENCE	
		No	Yes
NECESSARY FOR AFFIRMING CAUSAL INFERENCE	No	1. Straw-in-the-Wind	3. Smoking-Gun
		a. <b>Passing:</b> Affirms relevance of hypothesis, but does not confirm it.	a. <b>Passing:</b> Confirms hypothesis.
		b. <b>Failing:</b> Hypothesis is not eliminated, but is slightly weakened.	b. <b>Failing:</b> Hypothesis is not eliminated, but is somewhat weakened.
		c. <b>Implications for rival hypotheses:</b> <b>Passing</b> <i>slightly</i> weakens them. <b>Failing</b> <i>slightly</i> strengthens them.	c. <b>Implications for rival hypotheses:</b> <b>Passing</b> <i>substantially</i> weakens them. <b>Failing</b> <i>somewhat</i> strengthens them.
	Yes	2. Hoop	4. Doubly Decisive
		a. <b>Passing:</b> Affirms relevance of hypothesis, but does not confirm it.	a. <b>Passing:</b> Confirms hypothesis and eliminates others.
		b. <b>Failing:</b> Eliminates hypothesis.	b. <b>Failing:</b> Eliminates hypothesis.
		c. <b>Implications for rival hypotheses:</b> <b>Passing</b> <i>somewhat</i> weakens them. <b>Failing</b> <i>somewhat</i> strengthens them.	c. <b>Implications for rival hypotheses:</b> <b>Passing</b> <i>eliminates</i> them. <b>Failing</b> <i>substantially</i> strengthens them.

Source: (Collier 2011 :825) who adapted from Bennet 2010

#### 4.1 Chapter 2 Findings (Motives)

H<sub>1</sub> presumes that moral obligation and the genuine need to help those in most need influences the U.S. to earmark its aid to UNHCR Jordan by nationality. Evaluating how Congress allocates funds to BPRM and where these funds are mostly used highlighted that the U.S. interests are always promoted while providing humanitarian aid. Furthermore, Congressional Research Service reports have emphasized more interest on Syria than Iraq, Yemen and Sudan. A statement by U.S. Ambassador to the U. N publicly portrayed the implementation of U.S. interests through aid provision. In addition, BPRM's mission statement also highlights this. At the same time, BPRM reports touch upon the tough living conditions faced by non-Syrian refugees due to not having access to the work force and to free education. The reports highlight the non-Syrians need for assistance yet fail to explain why the U.S. is not providing sufficient aid for them. In this way, this evidence does not to confirm the hypothesis. The moral obligation motives are necessary to indicate casual inference regarding earmarking, however the evidence to support it is not observed. The hypothesis hence does not pass the test and is eliminated. (Collier 2011)

Figure 8: Process-tracing *Hoop* test for H<sub>1</sub>

**H<sub>1</sub>:** Moral obligation and the genuine need to help those in most need influences the U.S. to earmark its aid to UNHCR Jordan by nationality.

**Clues:** Congressional Research Service reports. Congress allocation of funds for BPRM projects. U.S. Ambassador to the UN statement. BPRM mission statement and reports.

**Inference:** The promotion of U.S. interests in the allocation of aid was reflected in Congress and BPRM allocations of aid. They are not earmarking aid to Syrians because they are more in need, on the contrary, they highlight the sufferings of the non-Syrian in Jordan yet fail to properly address it.

**Summary:** Evidence is not observed to confirm hypothesis. It fails the *hoop* test and thus H<sub>1</sub> is eliminated

Source: Author's own calculations

H<sub>2</sub> assumes that the U.S.'s political interests influences it to earmark its aid in such a way. The historical relations between the U.S. and each of Syria, Iraq, Yemen and Sudan portray that there are different interests and positions held by the U.S. regarding the crises in these countries and hence their assistance to their refugees. The U.S. has clearly condemned Assad's actions in Syria calling for him to step down while also supporting the Opposition forces. Through providing large amounts of aid to Syrian refugees it focuses on the negative image of Assad which hence supports the U.S. backing the Opposition forces to eliminate a ruler that has long posed a threat to the U.S. interest in the Middle East. Furthermore, it is within U.S.'s interests to ensure that the Syrians in Jordan are provided with adequate amounts of aid in order to ensure stability in Jordan and avoid intense grievances there and to attempt to limit the refugee influxes through the Mediterranean to Europe. On the other hand, the U.S.'s interests in the conflicts in Iraq, Yemen and Sudan are different. The U.S. intervention in Iraq and its support to Saudi forces in Yemen has triggered these humanitarian crises. Furthermore, its position against the Houthis in Yemen is politicized. The U.S. provides less aid to these crises to overlook its role in causing them and paves way for actions that interests their country to take place. In Sudan, the U.S. also had tough relations with the country, posed sanctions on it for many years and labeled it as a state-sponsored terrorism.

Within that region the U.S. prioritizes providing aid to South Sudan due it being rich in oil. These evidences hence support the hypothesis, it passes *the smoking- gun test* and thus the hypothesis is confirmed. Passing this test presents a condition that is sufficient to accept casual inference.

Figure 9: Process-tracing *Smoking-Gun* test for H

**H<sub>2</sub>:** Political interests influence the U.S. to earmark its aid to UNHCR Jordan by nationality.

**Clues:** Political interests and historical relations

**Inference:** U.S. opposing Assad and backing the Opposition forces in Syria. Assisting Syrian refugees and highlighting their struggle further weakens Assad's position. It also helps maintain stability in Jordan and Europe. On the other hand, terrorism links, Sunni-Shia conflict, the U.S. intervention and other interest have led the U.S. to "ignore" the intensity of the non- Syrian crises.

**Summary:** Clues yield a *smoking-gun* test and confirm H<sub>2</sub>.

Source: Author's own calculations

H<sub>3</sub> on public opinion presents that the American public support also influences the U.S. to earmark its aid by nationality. It highlights that the American public is much more aware of the conflict in Syria and its refugee crisis in comparison to non-Syrian conflicts particularly in Yemen, regardless of their dire intensity. Media coverage on the Syrian conflict exceeds that for non-Syrians. This is mainly due to purposefully hiding news on some conflicts and due to having limited access to some countries such as Yemen to report. In addition, the geographical locations of the conflicts also played a role in attracting different kinds of media attention. These mentioned factors influenced the public opinion as measured through surveys on public opinion regarding Syrian refugees, reports regarding media coverage in Yemen, studies on Google searches regarding the Syrian conflict vs. the Yemeni conflict and bill votes on situation in Yemen. Hence this evidence supports H<sub>3</sub> and produces a sufficient condition to affect the outcome. (Collier 2011)

Figure 10: Process-tracing *Smoking-Gun* test for

**H<sub>3</sub>:** American public opinion influences the U.S. to earmark its aid to UNHCR Jordan by nationality.

**Clues:** Media coverage and accessibility, survey on public opinion regarding Syrian refugees, study on Google searches regarding the Syrian conflict vs the Yemeni conflict and bill votes on situation in Yemen

**Inference:** The media attention has been focused on the Syrian conflict. In this way it has been shifting the public attention towards it while having minimal awareness regarding non-Syrian conflicts. This thus affects the U. S's decisions to earmark as it considers the popularity or nonpopularity of its aid.

**Summary:** Clues confirm H<sub>3</sub>. H<sub>3</sub> passes the *smoking-gun* test.

Source: Author's own calculations

## 4.2 Chapter 3 Findings (External Factors)

H<sub>4</sub> presumes that UNHCR Jordan's behavior could be the factor influencing the U.S. to earmark their aid by nationality. Nevertheless, there was not enough evidence to support this claim. On the contrary, the evidence found through examining UNHCR policies, appeals for funds, archives records and statements by UNHCR staff, highlight that UNHCR is committed to calling for funds for both Syrians and non-Syrians as well as unearmarked funding. The *hoop* test is used to present the findings as shown below which eliminate the hypothesis.

Figure 11: Process-tracing *Hoop* test for H<sub>4</sub>

**H<sub>4</sub>:** The role played by UNHCR Jordan influences the U.S. to earmark its aid to UNHCR Jordan by nationality.

**Clues:** UNHCR policies, reports, appeals for funds, archives records and statements by staff

**Inference:** Current UNHCR Jordan policies indicate that the all refugee nationalities are eligible for receiving cash assistance based on their need and availability of funds. UNHCR Jordan appeals and statements from staff call for funding for both Syrians and non-Syrians as well as unearmarked funding. In addition, UNHCR Jordan archives records portray that the organization has presented many efforts to support non-Syrians.

**Summary:** Evidence is not observed to confirm hypothesis. H<sub>4</sub> fails the *hoop* test and is thus eliminated.

Source: Author's own calculations

H<sub>5</sub> states that the role of the Jordanian government affects the U. S's decisions to earmark the aid by nationality. The findings portray that the Jordanian government indeed has programs through the Jordan Compact that are only applicable for Syrian refugees such as their access to the work force and to free education. These findings however are not sufficient nor necessary to influence the U.S. to earmark their aid in such a way. The findings highlight that the non-Syrians are facing more difficult circumstances, hence are in need for assistance, failing to explain why they are receiving less sufficient amounts of aid. Hence the evidence found does not confirm the hypothesis, it however indicates its relevance. The figure below presents the *straw-in-the-wind* test that summarizes the findings showing that the condition is neither sufficient nor necessary to produce the outcome of earmarking.

Figure 12: Process-tracing *Straw-in-the-Wind* test for H<sub>5</sub>

**H<sub>5</sub>:** Role of the Jordanian government influences the U.S. to earmark its aid to UNHCR Jordan by nationality.

**Clues:** Jordan Compact, MoU

**Inference:** The Jordanian government indeed has programs that only target Syrian refugees and facilitate their access to the work force and to education. Nevertheless, this only renders the non-Syrians to be more vulnerable in the country and are in more need for financial aid assistance from UNHCR.

**Summary:** The evidence observed does not confirm hypothesis, it merely affirms its relevance. H<sub>5</sub> passes the straw- in-the-wind test

Source: Author's own calculations

## Chapter 5 Conclusion

This paper mainly traced down the causes of the U. S's earmarking of aid to UNHCR Jordan by the nationality of refugees. It analyzed the possible internal motives and external influencing factors that could lead to this outcome. While the paper considered that this earmarking could be due to altruistic motives to ensure that the aid reaches those who are in more need, there is not much evidence to support this. On the other hand, the non-altruistic motives; political interests, public opinion and media attention produced sufficient conditions to result in this type of earmarking and conditionality. The paper also evaluated the influential roles of UNHCR Jordan and the Jordanian government, if any, and concluded that their roles are not enough to cause the U.S. to differentiate in its allocation of aid on the basis of nationality rather than need.

The findings of this research are not merely applicable for the situation of Syrian and non-Syrian refugees in Jordan or for the U.S. alone as a donor. The case presents a “most-likely” case; as mentioned, this discrimination of aid based on refugee nationality is occurring in most countries that host refugees from more than nationality. It has been happening in Tanzania, Greece, Pakistan among others. Furthermore, other leading donors such as the EU have also been conditioning their aid by nationality. In this way, the paper contributes to raising awareness about a global matter and encourages action by the international committee to create more thorough measures for the conditions of earmarking. IASC and other relevant stakeholders should further encourage unearmarked humanitarian funds and the flexibility to allow aid agencies to determine the needs of refugees based on their vulnerability assessments. In addition, the aim of this paper is to bridge the gap between the available schools of thought on the provision of humanitarian aid and its earmarking.



The implications of these findings on future research are of utmost importance. They open up spaces for further research on the topic of earmarking humanitarian aid. This further research should investigate what are the other forms of earmarking done by donors that could be considered discriminatory. This could include looking into earmarking humanitarian aid by gender, age or religion. Also, through applying the mentioned motives to examine how they fit the cases of other donors, for example, the EU, the further research could pinpoint one necessary condition that dominates the rationale of earmarking in discriminatory ways.

## Bibliography

- Abdi, Zaynab, and Caroline Krafft. "Syrian Refugees in Jordan: Educational Enrolment and Progress." Economic Research Forum (ERF), May 22, 2018. <https://theforum.erf.org.eg/2018/05/22/syrian-refugees-jordan-educational-enrolment-progress/>.
- Al Jazeera News. "What US and UK Media Won't Tell You about the War in Yemen." *Al Jazeera News*, June 25, 2018. <https://www.aljazeera.com/programmes/listeningpost/2018/06/uk-media-won-war-yemen-180624152733811.html>.
- Allen, Karen. "Why Does South Sudan Matter so Much to the US?," August 31, 2015, sec. Africa. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-34083964>.
- Apodaca, Clair. "Foreign Aid as Foreign Policy Tool." Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics, April 26, 2017. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.013.332>.
- Astill, James. "US's 1998 Attack in Sudan." *The Guardian*, October 2, 2001, sec. World news. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2001/oct/02/afghanistan.terrorism3>.
- Baidar, Ahmad, and Lizzie Porter. "How the Saudis Are Making It Almost Impossible to Report on Their War in Yemen," August 22, 2017. <https://www.newstatesman.com/world/middle-east/2017/08/how-saudis-are-making-it-almost-impossible-report-their-war-yemen>.
- Barbelet, Veronique, Jessica Hagen-Zanker, and Dina Mansour-Ille. "The Jordan Compact: Lessons Learnt and Implications for Future Refugee Compacts," February 2018, 8.
- Barnett, Michael, and Thomas G. Weiss. *Humanitarianism in Question: Politics, Power, Ethics*. Cornell University Press, 2008.
- BBC. "Yemen Profile - Timeline - BBC News," February 18, 2019. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-14704951>.
- Benford, Robert D., and David A. Snow. "Framing Processes and Social Movements: An Overview and Assessment." *Annual Review of Sociology* 26, no. 1 (August 2000): 611–39. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.soc.26.1.611>.
- Berman, Chantal. "Resettling Syrian Refugees: Lessons from the (Forgotten) Iraqi Refugee Crisis." BROOKINGS, September 24, 2015. <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/markaz/2015/09/24/resettling-syrian-refugees-lessons-from-the-forgotten-iraqi-refugee-crisis/>.
- Bookstein, Amelia. "Beyond the Headlines: An Agenda for Action to Protect Civilians in Neglected Conflicts." Oxfam, 2003. <https://oxfamilibrary.openrepository.com/bitstream/handle/10546/111966/cr-beyond-the->

headlines-301103-  
en.pdf;jsessionid=1D9E41E37B62F12AF8633584190604AF?sequence=1.

- Borger, Julian, and Nick Hopkins. "West Training Syrian Rebels in Jordan." *The Guardian*, March 8, 2013, sec. World news. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/mar/08/west-training-syrian-rebels-jordan>.
- Browne, Stephen. *Aid and Influence: Do Donors Help Or Hinder?* Routledge, 2012.
- Cochran, Paul. "Europe's Strategic Humanitarian Aid: Yemen vs. Syria." CounterPunch.org, January 17, 2019. <https://www.counterpunch.org/2019/01/17/europes-strategic-humanitarian-aid-yemen-vs-syria/>.
- Coen, Alise. "The Responsibility to Protect and the Refugee Crisis." Oxford Research Group, March 9, 2016. <https://www.oxfordresearchgroup.org.uk/blog/the-responsibility-to-protect-and-the-refugee-crisis>.
- Collier, David. "Understanding Process Tracing." *PS: Political Science & Politics* 44, no. 04 (October 2011): 823–30. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1049096511001429>.
- Crabtree, Justina. "China and the Middle East Are Pouring Money into Strategic Sudan, but US Policy Is 'Confused.'" *CNBC*, June 18, 2018. <https://www.cnbc.com/2018/06/18/china-middle-east-are-spending-on-sudan-but-us-policy-is-confused.html>.
- Cutts, M. "POLITICS AND HUMANITARIANISM." *Refugee Survey Quarterly* 17, no. 1 (January 1, 1998): 1–15. <https://doi.org/10.1093/rsq/17.1.1-b>.
- Davis, Rochelle, Abbie Taylor, Will Todman, and Emma Murphy. "Sudanese and Somali Refugees in Jordan." *MIDDLE EAST REPORT*, 2016, 9.
- Fisher, K. "Locating Frames in the Discursive Universe." *Sociological Research Online* 2, no. 3 (September 1997): 1–24. <https://doi.org/10.5153/sro.78>.
- Fisher, Lauren. "Syria Crisis: Five Years into the Conflict, New Poll Shows Increased Awareness Among Americans." World Vision, October 14, 2015. <https://www.worldvision.org/about-us/media-center/syria-crisis-five-years-conflict-new-poll-shows-increased-awareness-among-americans>.
- Francis, Alexandra. "Jordan's Refugee Crisis." Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2015. <https://carnegieendowment.org/2015/09/21/jordan-s-refugee-crisis-pub-61338>.
- FTS. "Jordan | Financial Tracking Service." Financial Tracking Service. Accessed June 14, 2019. <https://fts.unocha.org/countries/114/summary/2019>.
- Goffman, Erving. *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience*. New York: Harper & Row, 1974.

- Hahn, Peter. "A Century of U.S. Relations with Iraq." *Origins: Current Events in Historical Perspective*, April 7, 2012. <https://origins.osu.edu/article/century-us-relations-iraq>.
- Hahn, Peter.. *Historical Dictionary of United States-Middle East Relations*. Second. Rowman & Littlefield, 2016.
- Harding, Scott, and Kathryn Libal. "Iraqi Refugees and the Humanitarian Costs of the Iraq War: What Role for Social Work?" *International Journal of Social Welfare*, 2012. <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/epdf/10.1111/j.1468-2397.2011.00780.x>.
- HRW. "Jordan: Further Expand Education Access for Syrian Refugees." Human Rights Watch, August 16, 2016. <https://www.hrw.org/news/2016/08/16/jordan-further-expand-education-access-syrian-refugees>.
- IASC. "Donor Contributions and Their Implications for Humanitarian Response." Inter-Agency Standing Committee (IASC) Humanitarian Financing Task Team, April 2016. [https://interagencystandingcommittee.org/system/files/20160416\\_donor\\_conditions\\_study\\_final.pdf](https://interagencystandingcommittee.org/system/files/20160416_donor_conditions_study_final.pdf).
- IASC. "Reduce the Earmarking of Donor Contributions." OCHA Services. Accessed June 11, 2019. <https://interagencystandingcommittee.org/reduce-earmarking-donor-contributions>.
- ILO. "WORK PERMITS AND EMPLOYMENT OF SYRIAN REFUGEES IN JORDAN: Towards Formalising the Work of Syrian Refugees," 2017. [https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---arabstates/---ro-beirut/documents/publication/wcms\\_559151.pdf](https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---arabstates/---ro-beirut/documents/publication/wcms_559151.pdf).
- Immenkamp, Beatrix. "Syrian Crisis: Impact on Jordan." European Parliamentary Research Service, February 2017. [http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/BRIE/2017/599258/EPRS\\_BRI\(2017\)599258\\_EN.pdf](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/BRIE/2017/599258/EPRS_BRI(2017)599258_EN.pdf).
- Jakobsen, Peter Viggo. "Focus on the CNN Effect Misses the Point: The Real Media Impact on Conflict Management Is Invisible And Indirect." *Journal of Peace Research* 37, no. 2 (March 2000): 131–43. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022343300037002001>.
- Johnson, Adam. "ACTION ALERT: It's Been Over a Year Since MSNBC Has Mentioned US War in Yemen." FAIR, July 23, 2018. <https://fair.org/home/action-alert-its-been-over-a-year-since-msnbc-has-mentioned-us-war-in-yemen/>.
- Johnson, Robert, and Adam Cureton. "Kant's Moral Philosophy." In *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, edited by Edward N. Zalta, 2016th ed. Metaphysics Research Lab, Stanford University, 2016. <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2019/entries/kant-moral/>.
- UNHCR. "Jordan | Global Focus." Accessed June 13, 2019. <http://reporting.unhcr.org/node/2549?y=2018#year>.

- JRPSC. "Jordan Response Platform for the Syria Crisis." Jordan Response Platform for the Syria Crisis. Accessed June 14, 2019. <http://www.jrpssc.org/>.
- Kingsley, John Domokos Patrick. "Chaos on Greek Islands as Refugee Registration System Favours Syrians." *The Guardian*, November 21, 2015, sec. World news. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/nov/21/chaos-greek-islands-three-tier-refugee-registration-system-syria-lesbos>.
- Lawson, Marian L, and Emily M Morgenstern. "Foreign Aid: An Introduction to U.S. Programs and Policy." *Foreign Aid*, n.d., 36.
- Leghtas, Izza. "LEGAL WORK STILL INACCESSIBLE TO REFUGEES IN JORDAN," n.d., 24.
- Lu, Joanne. "The UN Refugee Agency Faces a Big Funding Shortfall." *UN Dispatch* (blog), October 17, 2018. <https://www.undispatch.com/the-un-refugee-agency-faces-a-big-funding-shortfall/>.
- Lumsdaine, David. *Moral Vision in International Politics: The Foreign Aid Regime, 1949-1989*. Princeton University Press, 1993.
- Lynch, Colum. "Haley: Vote With U.S. at U.N. or We'll Cut Your Aid." *Foreign Policy*, March 15, 2018. <https://foreignpolicy.com/2018/03/15/haley-vote-with-u-s-at-u-n-or-well-cut-your-aid/>.
- Malsin, Jared. "Why Almost No One's Covering the War in Yemen." *Columbia Journalism Review*, May 13, 2015. [https://www.cjr.org/analysis/why\\_almost\\_no\\_ones\\_covering\\_the\\_war\\_in\\_yemen.php](https://www.cjr.org/analysis/why_almost_no_ones_covering_the_war_in_yemen.php).
- Margesson, Rhoda. "International Crises and Disasters: U.S. Humanitarian Assistance Response Mechanisms," August 1, 2003, 18.
- Margesson, Rhoda. "International Crises and Disasters: U.S. Humanitarian Assistance Response Mechanisms." Congressional Research Service, August 1, 2013. <https://www.refworld.org/pdfid/5204e40c4.pdf>.
- MCC. "On the Basis of Nationality." Mennonite Central Committee, November 2017. <https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/On%20the%20Basis%20of%20Nationality.pdf>.
- Milner, Helen V., and Dustin Tingley. "Public Opinion and Foreign Aid: A Review Essay." *International Interactions* 39, no. 3 (July 2013): 389–401. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03050629.2013.784090>.
- Mittelman, Robert, and Douglas Dow. "Biases in Charitable Giving to International Humanitarian Aid: The Role of Psychic Distance." *Journal of Macromarketing* 38, no. 4 (December 2018): 383–99. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0276146718796899>.

- Montclos, Marc-Antoine Pérouse de. "On the Impartiality of Humanitarian Aid Operators and Their Beneficiaries' Perception of Them: Political Issues Behind International Aid in Burundi." *Autrepart* No 39, no. 3 (2006): 39–57.
- Pizzi, Michael, and Aaron Williams. "Jordan Deporting 800 Refugees Back to Sudan after Protest." *Al Jazeera America*, December 18, 2015. <http://america.aljazeera.com/articles/2015/12/18/jordan-deporting-800-refugees-back-to-sudan.html>.
- Rai, Bindo. "Syrian Refugee Crisis: Celebrities Lending a Hand," September 11, 2017. <https://gulfnews.com/entertainment/hollywood/syrian-refugee-crisis-celebrities-lending-a-hand-1.2088271>.
- "Report on Mission to Jordan from 3 to 6 May 1982." UNHCR Archives and Records, 1982. UNHCR Fonds 11 Records of the Central Registry100.JOR. GEN Refugees in Jordan in General 1968-1983.
- Riddell, Roger. *Does Foreign Aid Really Work?* Oxford University Press, 2008.
- Riedel, Bruce. "A Brief History of America's Troubled Relationship with Yemen." Brookings, October 22, 2018. <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2018/10/22/a-brief-history-of-americas-troubled-relationship-with-yemen/>.
- Salmorbekova, Zumrat, and Kimberly Howe. "Evaluating the Effectiveness of Shelter Health and Education Programs for Iraqi-and Syrian Refugees in Jordan." United States Department of State, July 1, 2016. <https://www.state.gov/wp-content/uploads/2019/03/Final-Jordan-Report.pdf>.
- Sanders, Ben, and Merrill Smith. "The Iraqi Refugee Disaster." *World Policy Journal* 24, no. 3 (2007): 23–28.
- Sayed, Amr. "How They Did It: Reporting Online - and Offline - Threats to Yemeni Journalists and Activists." Global Investigative Journalism Network, April 17, 2019. <https://gijn.org/2019/04/17/how-they-did-it-reporting-online-and-offline-threats-to-yemeni-journalists-and-activists/>.
- Schoen, Connor. "Reframing Media Narratives in the Yemeni Civil War." *Harvard Political Review*, April 4, 2018. <http://harvardpolitics.com/world/reframing-media-narratives-in-the-yemeni-civil-war/>.
- Sharp, Jeremy M. "Jordan: Background and U.S. Relations," n.d., 19.
- Sheldon, Zachary. "Nationality, Class, and Iraqi Migrants in Jordan." ACOR-CAORC, January 2, 2018. <https://www.acorjordan.org/2018/01/02/nationality-class-iraqi-migrants-jordan/>.
- Sogge, David. *Give and Take: What's the Matter with Foreign Aid?* Zed Books, 2002.

- Stevenson, Juliette, and Keita Kuboyama. "UNHCR Jordan Factsheet," October 2018. <https://data2.unhcr.org/en/documents/download/66556>.
- Su, Alice. "How Do You Rank Refugees?" The Atlantic, November 22, 2013. <https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2013/11/how-do-you-rank-refugees/281771/>.
- Taibbi, Matt. "Why We Know So Little About the U.S.-Backed War in Yemen," July 27, 2018. <https://www.rollingstone.com/politics/politics-news/yemen-war-united-states-704187/>.
- Tarnoff, Curt, and Marian L Lawson. "Foreign Aid: An Introduction to U.S. Programs and Policy." *Foreign Aid*, January 29, 2016, 38.
- Taub, Amanda. "Why Some Wars (Like Syria's) Get More Attention Than Others (Like Yemen's)." The New York Times, October 1, 2016. <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/10/02/world/why-some-wars-like-syrias-get-more-attention-than-others-like-yemens.html>.
- The Guardian. "Transcript: George Bush's Speech on Iraq." *The Guardian*, October 7, 2002, sec. US news. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2002/oct/07/usa.iraq>.
- Tristram, Pierre. "Black September and the PLO." ThoughtCo, January 2, 2018. <https://www.thoughtco.com/black-september-jordanian-plo-civil-war-2353168>.
- UNHCR. "Global Focus - Operation: Jordan 2014 Year-End Report." 12 2016. <http://reporting.unhcr.org/sites/default/files/pdfsummaries/GR2014-Jordan-eng.pdf>.
- UNHCR "Global Focus - Operation: Jordan 2017 Year-End Report." July 23, 2018. <http://reporting.unhcr.org/sites/default/files/pdfsummaries/GR2017-Jordan-eng.pdf>.
- UNHCR "Jordan | Global Focus." Accessed June 13, 2019. <http://reporting.unhcr.org/jordan>.
- UNHCR. "Jordan Funding Update 2016." January 27, 2017. <http://reporting.unhcr.org/sites/default/files/Jordan%20Funding%20Update%2027%20January%202017.pdf>.
- UNHCR. "Use of Unearmarked Funding 2017." 2017. <http://reporting.unhcr.org/sites/default/files/2017%20Unearmarked%20Funding%20Report.pdf>.
- UNHCR Jordan. "UNHCR Jordan Cash Assistance: Protecting the Most Fragile and Supporting Resilience - Post Distribution Monitoring Report 2017." December 2017. <https://data2.unhcr.org/en/documents/download/63975>.
- United States Department of State. "Bureau of Population, Refugees, and Migration." Accessed June 14, 2019. <https://www.state.gov/bureaus-offices/under-secretary-for-civilian-security-democracy-and-human-rights/bureau-of-population-refugees-and-migration/>.

- United States Department of State. "U.S. Relations With Sudan." November 5, 2018. <https://www.state.gov/u-s-relations-with-sudan/>.
- United States Department of State. "U.S. Relations With Syria." July 23, 2018. <https://www.state.gov/u-s-relations-with-syria/>.
- UNRWA. "Where We Work: Jordan." December 1, 2016. <https://www.unrwa.org/where-we-work/jordan>.
- UNRWA. "UNRWA Jordan." Accessed June 10, 2019. <https://www.unrwa.org/where-we-work/jordan>.
- Vayrynen, Raimo. "Funding Dilemmas in Refugee Assistance: Political Interests and Institutional Reforms in UNHCR." *The International Migration Review* 35, no. 1 (2001): 143–67.
- Wilson, Scott, and Joby Warrick. "Assad Must Go, Obama Says." *The Washington Post*, August 18, 2011. [https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/assad-must-go-obama-says/2011/08/18/gIQAelheOJ\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.5a6ed2d5d159](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/assad-must-go-obama-says/2011/08/18/gIQAelheOJ_story.html?utm_term=.5a6ed2d5d159).
- Winton, Sarah. "UNHCR Jordan Cash Assistance –Multi Purpose Cash Assistance 2018: Mid Year Post Distribution Monitoring Report for Refugees and Asylum Seekers," 2018, 39.
- Withnall, Adam. "Up to 20 Million People Saw the Harrowing Image of Aylan Kurdi in 12 Hours." *The Independent*, December 15, 2015. <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/refugee-crisis-aylan-kurdi-images-were-seen-by-20-million-people-in-12-hours-new-study-suggests-a6774181.html>.
- Zissis, Carin. "Darfur: Crisis Continues." Council on Foreign Relations, May 4, 2006. <https://www.cfr.org/backgroundunder/darfur-crisis-continues>.