

**Setting the Global Agenda:  
Advocacy & Attention on Global Displacement Crises**

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## **Abstract**

Systematically investigating why some issues get on the political agenda and others receive little attention has been a traditionally difficult endeavor since the universe of issues is endless, how do we study the issue that wasn't there? When we move to talking about the "global agenda" this becomes even more difficult. Likewise, systematically investigating the counterfactual of interest group influence is equally troubling, since we cannot rewrite history and either insert or remove the participation of an advocacy organization.

The paper seeks to shed light on these topics by studying advocacy on a certain set of global issues: protracted displacement crises. This set of issues is unique in that it is largely fixed, there are currently 62 major refugee and internal displacement crises with over 10,000 people displaced, many of which have been going on for years, some decades. In these situations, tens of millions of people around the globe live at the edge of existence, their human rights are violated on a regular basis, and the deplorable nature of their condition threatens to spill over as insecurity to the region. In short, these are ALL issues, what varies is our attention to them in the Global North.

This paper is a first exploration in systematically collecting data on the "global agenda" – which massive forced displacement crises are being discussed in the powers of the Global North? How does attention vary across the power players in the Global North? Can advocacy by human rights organizations or the governments of the US or the EU member states explain attention to some issues over others? Data is presented from a cross-sectional database on attention to all 62 protracted refugee and internal displacement crises in American and European media outlets in 2010.

## **Introduction**

If an advocacy group hadn't been there at all would there be any attention to their issue? Systematically investigating why some issues get on the political agenda and others receive little attention has been a traditionally difficult endeavor since the universe of issues is endless, how do we study the issue that wasn't there? When we move to talking about the "global agenda" this becomes even more difficult.

The paper seeks to shed light on these topics by studying advocacy on a certain set of issues: protracted displacement crises. This set of issues is unique in that it is largely fixed, there are currently 62 protracted refugee and internal displacement crises that have been carrying on for over five years (Loescher et al. 2007). In these situations, millions of people around the globe live at the edge of existence, their human rights are violated on a regular basis, and the deplorable nature of their condition perpetuates cycles of violence and spills over into neighboring states leading to region insecurity. Table 1 reports the total numbers of citizens by country of origin forced to endure this existence; the official global count by the UNHCR, at the end of 2009 was 36,460,305. In short, these are ALL issues, what varies is our attention to them in the Global North.

Agenda setting research has shown how critical information flows are to getting issues on the crowded political agenda – an issue without an advocate is not an issue (Kingdon 1995, Jones & Baumgartner 1993; 2005). I argue that advocacy on behalf of the displaced, by advocacy organizations, international organizations and third country governments, is a key explanatory factor in understanding which displacement crises get attention and see improved access to rights and which do

not. I test this theory through a mixed-methods study of attention to and advocacy on these issues.

Understanding why some crises receive international attention and others go forgotten requires collecting systematic data on the level of attention to each displacement situation on the “global agenda.” I will focus on the US & EU public agendas (or the Global North’s agenda) due to the powerful role they play in the international arena in this issue area as funders of displacement camps, as mediators in conflicts and as recipients of refugees. Figures 1 and 2 show that the large majority of NGOs aiding the displaced are headquartered in and are funded by the US and the EU and that the largest proportion of the UNHCR’s budget is contributed by the US and the EU, comprising 89% of the overall budget. In addition, the US received 60% of the world’s resettled refugees in 2007 (26,532 individuals) and the EU collectively received 10% (the rest being received by Australia, Canada, and New Zealand). The US & the EU dominate the “Global North,” and they are *the* major actors in the realm of global displacement policy.

While collecting data on the dependent variable of attention to displacement issues in the Global North is relatively straightforward through news archives, collecting independent measures of interest group activity requires more painstaking work. This paper presents data from the first step and proposes a data collection process for the second step, with the aim of improving the data collection strategy through scholarly feedback.

This paper first briefly introduces the global problem of forced displacement for those readers not familiar with the topic. Second, a theory of Global Agenda

Setting is laid out. Third the data collection strategy to test the global agenda setting theory is described, followed by the analysis and conclusions.

### **“Running for their lives”**

Worldwide, over 35 million people have been displaced by violent conflict. The vast majority are trapped in protracted displacement crises; languishing for decades as endless cycles of violence prohibit them from returning home and resuming normal lives (Loescher et al. 2007). The perpetuation of refugee and internal displacement camps further fuels the violence as humanitarian aid is misappropriated to perpetrators of violence, armed elements take refuge among the displaced and displaced populations are marginalized (Terry 2002). As of 2010, there were 62 identifiable major protracted displacement crises, defined as over 10,000 people displaced for over 5 years.

Confined to camps or urban slums, the displaced are denied the right to work, to move freely, to adequate standards of living, to education, and the right to political participation -- to have a say in their own self-determination. The forcibly displaced are denied nearly every right that is laid out in the 1948 *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*.

The office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) has been tasked with protecting the rights and well-being of refugees since 1950 but at the time of the signing of the 1951 *UN Convention Related to the Status of Refugees* its mandate was constrained to refugees displaced by fighting in Europe during World War II. With the 1967 Protocol, the office's mandate was extended to all

refugees worldwide, that is: "Any person who, owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable, or owing to such a fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality (*stateless*) and being outside of the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable, or owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it." The *UN Convention Related to the Status of Refugees* lays out basic minimum standards for the treatment of refugees and makes provisions for providing them with documentation (Hollenbach 2008). States signatory to the Convention commit to working with the UNHCR to protect refugees and to never forcibly expel refugees that cross their boarder for protection (the principle of *non-refoulement*). However, since the terrorist attacks in the United States on September 11, 2001 and the global war on terror (GWOT), states have increasingly worked to close their borders leading to ever-higher numbers of internally displaced persons (IDPs). In addition, while there has been a steady decrease in intra-state warfare, there has been an increase in inter-state conflicts also contributing to the rise in the numbers of IDPs. The UNHCR does not officially have a mandate to protect IDPs, but has increasingly been doing so over the past 60 years.

The UNHCR carries out its mandate to protect and advocate for the displaced with the help of an army of Implementing Partners (IPs) and Operating Partners (OPs). This includes the large international non-governmental organizations (NGOs) primarily based in the US and Europe that specialize in refugee affairs and

humanitarian aid such as: American Refugee Committee (ARC), the Norwegian Refugee Committee (NRC), the Danish Refugee Council (DRC), the International Rescue Committee (IRC), the Jesuit Refugee Service (JRS) and Catholic Relief Services (CRS). Many national and local NGOs also partner with the UNHCR to aid the displaced including local bar association to aid with legal representation of the displaced, local health workers and national human rights groups.

The UNHCR is mandated to not only protect refugees & IDPs but also to find resolution to displacement problems; the organization pursues three different durable solutions: repatriation – returning home to their homeland; resettlement – being settled in a new, third country often in the Global North; and local integration – naturalization and integration into the country of first asylum. Through each of these solutions the displaced are reinstated as citizens of a country and granted access to the rights that come with that distinction.

Those who have been forced to flee across borders have legal rights outlined in international refugee law, that those who have been displaced internally do not. *De jure* rights though, often do not translate into *de facto* rights. As mentioned, the displaced are denied rights in every category: political, civil, economic, social and cultural. Considering the long duration of displacement and the recognition that advocacy on behalf of the displaced is needed to bring about access to the whole range of rights promised to them by the UNIDHR; I argue it is useful to consider the distinction of short-term and long-term rights. *Short-term rights* include access to those rights that would improve the quality of life of refugees and IDPs during the long displacement. This primarily means the right to work, move freely, education

and participation during the displacement. By *long-term rights*, I mean the right to live with dignity, as a full citizen, in a safe environment – that is the right to return home to a country at peace, the right to integrate into the host country of first asylum, and the right to be resettled in a new third country.

While advocacy to achieve short-term rights may be effectively carried out in the Global South either with local authorities in charge of overseeing displacement camps or in host country capitals; advocacy to achieve access to long-term rights must be carried out in the Global North. The interventions required to bring about durable solutions – brokering talks to bring about peace at home; bringing pressure to bare on host governments to allow refugees to naturalize and become citizens and finally the decision to allow thousands of refugees to resettle, often in the US or Europe – all require decisions and actions by the governments of the Global North.

### **Setting the “Global Agenda” – Global issues, global actors and global agendas**

The ONE Campaign. (RED). The International Campaign for Tibet. To nearly any informed citizen in the US or the EU, these campaigns are household names. Activism has gone mainstream and it’s gone global. Many observers see a true “Global Civil Society” emerging, one that is based on a shared humanity stemming from our ever-more interconnected fates in this increasingly globalized world. As reflected in the Millennium Development Goals, there is a growing sense of *shared responsibility* among global citizens; a responsibility of the Global North to the South and of the Global South to the North, a sense that we are in this together. This global civil society is aimed at achieving global social justice based on the norms of “tolerance, non-discrimination, non-violence, trust and cooperation...along with freedom and democracy” (Edwards 2009, 47). Through global civil society “new global



norms are developed and cemented around notions of universal human rights, international cooperation and the peaceful resolution of differences in the global arena" (*ibid.*).

Extreme poverty and inequality are increasing at an alarming rate (Sachs 2005) and under-development is intimately tied up with conflict, which is, increasingly internal civil wars rather than external cross-border wars (Collier 2008). This fact, along with 24 hours news coverage, information accessibility through the internet and concerted advocacy campaigns, has led to a growing awareness that poverty, conflict and human rights violations are not inevitable; they are the result of the policy decisions of governments and therefore something can be done to end them in our lifetime (Sachs 2005). The framework to bring about those changes has increasingly been that of international human rights law. As Nelson and Dorsey note: "International NGOs and the national and local organizations and movements with which they work share a commitment to responding to deep and persistent poverty and inequality, to discrimination and marginalization of women and of disenfranchised populations and to widespread disregard for existing legal protections in some societies. In the effort to become more effective and to assert greater power in international institutions, they are embracing human rights standards, methods and rhetoric and expanding their human rights commitments to integrate economic and social with civil and political human rights" (2009, 5).

When we see a sleek and stylized global ad campaign showcasing celebrities like Richard Gere, one might imagine today's global advocacy campaigns to run like well-oiled machines; with weekly teleconferences establishing clear divisions of labor; regular email contact allowing coalition partners to bring each other up-to-speed of the latest developments under their purview and twitter updates providing for lightning-speed mobilization at critical policymaking junctures. While this may approximate reality for some of the "global campaigns" founded, funded and carried out in the capitals of the Global

North; it is a less-than-accurate depiction for the vast majority of disaggregated advocacy battles that are being carried out on the frontlines at the local level in the Global South and that are trying to plug into the global social justice movement. Many of the activists lobbying the international community for their attention often go unnoticed. Many more issues have no advocate at all in the capitals of the Global North.

In the realm of violent conflict and massive forced displacement, what cases does the international community pay attention to? And can advocacy by international NGOs on the topic help explain what issues get on the agenda of the Global North and which do not? Anecdotal evidence would suggest the answer is yes. The violence and related massive displacements in Darfur and Tibet are two examples of displacement issues the public and policymakers in the Global North have heard about and for which two very active global campaigns – the Save Darfur Campaign and the International Campaign for Tibet – can be pointed to as potential drivers for public attention.

Kingdon defined the agenda as “the list of subjects or problems to which governmental officials, and people outside of government closely associated with those officials, are paying some serious attention at any given time” (1995, 3). Cobb and Elder (1983) distinguish between the systemic or public agenda and the institutional agenda, which describes the list of problems and potential solutions policymakers are giving active attention. Issues often need to first make it to the public agenda, before they move on to the institutional agenda. “Agenda setting is central to the policymaking process: if an issue does not attract the appropriate

attention, chances are it will languish without government response.” (Kraft & Furlong 2010).

Kingdon highlights the importance of a “policy entrepreneur” to facilitate the movement of an issue onto the agenda when a window of opportunities opens related to the political environment, the understanding of the problem and the available policy options. Policy entrepreneurs can be policymakers or non-governmental advocates that invest much of their time and resources in the issue. Often, in the area of human rights generally and displaced rights specifically, it is the advocates of human rights organizations that fulfill this role. Sometimes they are known international figures like the Dalai Lama, others are the lesser-known advocates tirelessly working day-in and day-out for small and large human rights groups and country/conflict specific advocacy groups. Bob shows that insurgent/freedom fighter groups are most successful at gaining the attention of the international community when they have a charismatic leader coupled with organizational and material resources (Bob 2005). Keck & Sikkink (1998) similarly show that activists in the Global South often need partners in the Global North to mobilize pressure on their governments to ultimately put pressure on governments in the South to affect change. Joachim’s (2007) recounting of the women’s suffragist movement and the movement to get gender based violence on the UN agenda both demonstrate the powerful role unrelenting advocates play in getting the international community to pay attention to an issue.

We would expect then, across all global displacement crises, to see more attention to cases or populations that have an advocate in the Global North, all else

equal. Before we can begin to explore all the factors that drive international attention to massive forced displacement issues, we need to begin with systematically collecting base-line data on what is on the American and European agendas when it comes to massive forced displacement; it is this I turn to next.

### **Data Collection**

In order to understand which displacement crises the international community pays some attention to and which it does not, requires systematic data on the global public agenda. But what constitutes the global agenda? The global justice movement often makes a distinction of the Global North and the Global South; the Global North being dominated by Europe, the US, Australia and Japan. These are the countries that are the heavy hitters when it comes to the global trade regime, global development initiatives, humanitarian interventions and conflict resolution initiatives. In short, they are the wealthy countries of the world -- those with the resources to have an impact on global problems if they so choose to act.

Following on the agenda setting literature that has used media attention to study agendas at the national level in the US and Europe; I rely on systematic coding of major papers to develop a measure of attention to each of the global refugee cases. Keyword searches of “refugee” OR “internally displaced persons” OR “internally displaced” were conducted on the archives of the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, the *Guardian*, and *Le Monde* to gather quantitative and content measures of media attention to each of the protracted displacement crises during 2010. Every relevant article was coded for: 1. What country the displaced originated

from (i.e. Afghanistan), 2. What country the displaced were currently located (i.e. Pakistan), 3. If the article focused on the displacement situation or if it was a secondary mention, 4. If conflict or violence is mentioned; 5. If there is a mention of a US government position or statement related to the situation, 6. If there is a mention of a European government or EU position or statement related to the situation, and 7. Whether an advocacy organization, international organization or other are mentioned as speaking out on the issues. This led to a database of 439 articles of coverage of displacement issues in Europe and the US. <sup>1</sup>

The findings from this data collection and analysis are presented in the following section, coupled with data on the scale of displacement crises from the UNHCR. The next phase of data collection will be construction of the key independent variables of the number of Global North groups advocating on each of the crises, as well as a dichotomous variable as to whether any issue-specific groups existed that conducted advocacy on a specific displacement crisis (i.e. the Save Darfur Coalition). The first variable would be constructed by visiting the websites of every group mentioned to be working on refugee or human rights issues in the US Lobby Disclosure Report database and the EU Commission's Lobbying Registry and coding whether they conducted specific advocacy on each protracted displacement crisis.

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<sup>1</sup> Data was also collected for the *New York Times* for 2009 and the *Financial Times* 2009 and will be added to future analyses. There are currently 677 coded articles in the larger dataset including the *NYT* and *FT* for 2009.

This data will be combined with data on the scope of the displacement crisis; data on the level of violence associated with the displacement crisis and data on whether the crisis was in a country deemed a security focus of the global war on terror to parse out to what extent advocacy aids in gaining attention for a cause comparatively across the 62 protracted refugee crises.

### **Analysis**

The first clear finding is that there is a great deal of variation in attention across issues. Out of all 439 articles on the topic of refugees or internally displaced persons published in the four American and European papers in the year of 2010, 138 of them were on the situation of Palestinian refugees. While the Palestinian refugee crisis is an extremely protracted one and large, with estimates of the number of refugees since 1948 and their descendents registering at 4.1 million people; Colombia which likewise has a displaced population of 4 million people did not see a *single* article published on their plight. Table 1 also reports which of the 62 major displacement crises received any attention and which did not; the majority of massive displacement crises (61%) received absolutely no coverage in the media markets of the Global North. Fifteen of these 38 unreported crises, each involves hundreds of thousands of people that are living with little to no access to their most basic rights.

Figure 3 presents the share of the global attention paid to each country that received any coverage at all (so not appearing on this graph are the stories of the

displaced citizens of Colombia, Burundi, Ethiopia, Uganda, Bangladesh, Peru, El Salvador, Guatemala, Senegal, Zimbabwe, among countless others).

After the Palestinian refugee crisis, other cases that receive the bulk of attention on the global agenda include Kyrgyzstan, refugees resulting from the conflicts in Iraq and Afghanistan, those fleeing the repressive military junta in Burma, and two of the largest displacement crises in Africa: Sudan and Somalia.

If we turn to the relative coverage of the four different newspapers we see some overlap but their coverage is not highly correlated. Coding which countries covered a cases at all (coded 1) or not at all (coded 0) shows low levels of correlation. *The Washington Post* had the highest level of correspondence with the other US paper studied (the *NYT*) and the two European papers, with Pearson's correlation coefficients of .41, .41 and .59 respectively. *The Guardian* had very low levels of correlation with either the *NYT* or *Le Monde*; and *Le Monde* had low levels of correlation with the *NYT*.

So how do the papers differ? What are they covering that the others are not? Figure 4 displays the percent of coverage attributed to each displacement crisis for the *NYT*, *Le Monde* and *The Guardian*. The US paper has a much heavier focus on the Palestinian case, while the French paper spends much more ink on the case of Somalia – an issue very under-covered by the US and UK media. The French paper also spends more time highlight the situations of refugees in Afghanistan and Syria in comparison to the other media markets.

Figure 5 shows the US papers are fairly similar in their coverage with the *Post* focusing a bit more on Afghanistan and Palestinian refugees. The French and

British agendas exhibit many more differences, as might be expected, as seen in Figure 6. *Le Monde* published many more articles on Somalia, Syria, Georgia, and Kyrgyzstan, and *The Guardian* published many more on Iraq, Sudan, the DRC, Pakistan, and the Ivory Coast.

How can we begin to explain this massive variation in attention? Does the variation in agenda space reflect the scale of the displacement? The answer to this question is clearly “no.” Figure 7 compares the percentage of the global agenda allocated to each of the major displacement crises, to the percentage of world’s displaced that that crisis constitutes – the clear take away is that the scale of the problem is not the driver behind attention by the international community.

At first blush however, advocacy doesn’t jump out as the answer either – the Palestinians do not have a famously well-organized Palestinian lobby in Washington DC, Brussels or the capitals of the EU member states. Nor can we point to hip magazine ads by the Kyrgyzstani lobby, the International Campaign to Save Somalia or the Save Iraq Coalition.

Across the 439 articles 292 organizations are mentioned as being involved on the issue or were directly quoted. The most commonly cited advocacy organizations are Human Rights Watch (17 times), the ICRC (10 times), Amnesty International (10 times), the Refugee Council (6 times), International Crisis Group (6 times), and Refugee and Migrant Justice (4 times), all other groups are mentioned only once or twice. None of these organizations are Palestinian, Kyrgyzstani, Somali, Afghani or Iraqi-focused groups. They may give a comment if a journalist calls requesting one, but it is not clear they are pushing for attention on these 5 cases any



more than they advocate for the right of Congolese refugees and IDPs suffering from the unending conflict in the DRC.

Focusing specifically on the 138 articles discussing the issue of Palestinian refugees a number of Palestinian-focused, Palestinian-based advocacy organizations are speaking up on the issue, as seen in Table 2. So advocacy organizations may be part of the explanation for the higher-than-expected levels of attention to the issue. But violence is also part of the story. Figures 6 & 7 show comparatively the level of media attention in the Global North by region, and the scale of displacement in the Global South by region, immediately apparent is the over-coverage of the Middle East – ground zero for the Global War on Terror. Displacement in the Middle East, as we’ve seen primarily the displacement of Palestinians, Iraqis, Pakistanis and Afghans, are much higher on the global agenda than those forced from their homelands in Africa, Asia or South America. Of the 439 articles published across the four papers, 58% of them were covering violence related to the crisis. This fits with our understanding of media coverage which focuses on the sensational and confirms Clifford Bob’s (2005) concern discussed in *The Marketing of Rebellion: Insurgents, Media and International Activism* -- that insurgents have an incentive to escalate violence to get the international community to pay attention to their plight.

## **Conclusions**

It is clear the international community differentially grants agenda space to the various communities that have been forced to flee their homelands due to violence. Qualitative evidence suggests advocacy is not the leading explanation for what is on

and what is off the agenda. Perhaps this should not be surprising, as Kingdon argues, a policy entrepreneur is an important player in getting an issue on the agenda, but he or she is most effective when a window of opportunity occurs with the coupling of the problem, politics and policy streams. Focusing events can help that coupling come about, and an effective policy entrepreneur can help guide their issue on to the agenda at the moment a focusing event occurs. Unfortunately for the world's displaced, seemingly one of the only events that focuses the attention of the international community is particular spikes in violence, violence on a scale or intensity that is out of the ordinary from the continual violence that led to the displacement in the first place.

Advocates have been successful at getting issues like Darfur, Tibet and Uganda periodically in the news. The next step is to collect more data on the contextual factors that make it more or less difficult for advocates on behalf of the displaced to get the international community to pay attention to their plight.

**Table 1. Major Displacement Situations (over 10,000 displaced) year-end 2009 and whether there was any media coverage in any of the analyzed US or EU papers**

<b>Country of Origin</b>	<b>Number Displaced</b>	<b>Coverage</b>
Peru	12,088	No coverage
Bangladesh	12,258	No coverage
Guinea	13,749	
El Salvador	14,802	No coverage
Guatemala	14,881	No coverage
Ghana	16,241	No coverage
Senegal	16,938	No coverage
Cameroon	17,024	No coverage
Cambodia	17,248	No coverage
Albania	17,303	No coverage
Germany	17,932	
Lebanon	18,032	No coverage
Sierra Leone	18,593	No coverage
Togo	19,632	No coverage
Tibetan	20,084	
Indonesia	20,534	No coverage
Syrian Arab Rep.	23,484	
Congo, Rep. of	23,826	No coverage
Zimbabwe	23,872	No coverage
India	24,236	No coverage
Nigeria	25,272	No coverage
Ukraine	26,066	No coverage
Mexico	26,848	
Haiti	36,015	
Mauritania	52,067	No coverage
Malaysia	62,010	No coverage
Liberia	77,710	No coverage
Iran (Islamic Rep. of)	86,526	
Bhutan	90,078	No coverage
Croatia	103,409	No coverage
Armenia	104,312	No coverage
Ethiopia	111,645	No coverage
Western Sahara	116,495	
Rwanda	154,517	
Turkey	156,012	No coverage
United Rep. of Tanzania	156,458	No coverage
Angola	158,648	No coverage
China	198,899	
Russian Federation	203,605	
Eritrea	223,570	No coverage
Burundi	231,465	No coverage

Bosnia and Herzegovina	236,863	No coverage
Chad	250,439	
Yemen	252,554	No coverage
Viet Nam	340,610	No coverage
Central African Rep.	357,477	No coverage
Georgia	377,692	
Kenya	417,052	No coverage
Serbia	436,775	
Myanmar	496,542	
Azerbaijan	605,933	No coverage
Sri Lanka	684,276	
Côte d'Ivoire	714,476	
Uganda	862,551	No coverage
Sudan	1,619,296	
Somalia	2,249,454	
Dem. Rep. of the Congo	2,662,821	
Pakistan	3,040,845	
Afghanistan	3,279,471	
Iraq	3,565,375	
Colombia	3,758,127	No coverage
Occupied Palestinian Territory	4,100,000	

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**Table 2. Organizations mentioned in coverage of the Palestinian refugee issue**  
**NGOs**

- Abraham Fund Initiatives
- American Israel Public Affairs Committee
- American Task Force on Palestine
- Association for Civil Rights
- Association of Civil Rights in Israel
- Defence for Children International
- 2 Human Rights Watch
- 2 International Crisis Group
- PeacePlayers International
- 2 Free Gaza Movement
- Medical Aid for Palestinians
- Union of French Jewish Students
- Al-Mezan Centre for Human Rights
- Gisha
- International Solidarity Movement
- Ir Amim
- Humanitarian Relief Fund
- Adalah
- Physicians for Human Rights

**Think Tanks**

- Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
- Pal-Think for Strategic Studies
- Palestinian Academic Society for the Study of International Affairs
- Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs
- Jordanian Centre for Strategic Studies
- 3 Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars
- 2 Brookings Institute
- Washington Institute for Near East Policy
- New America Foundation

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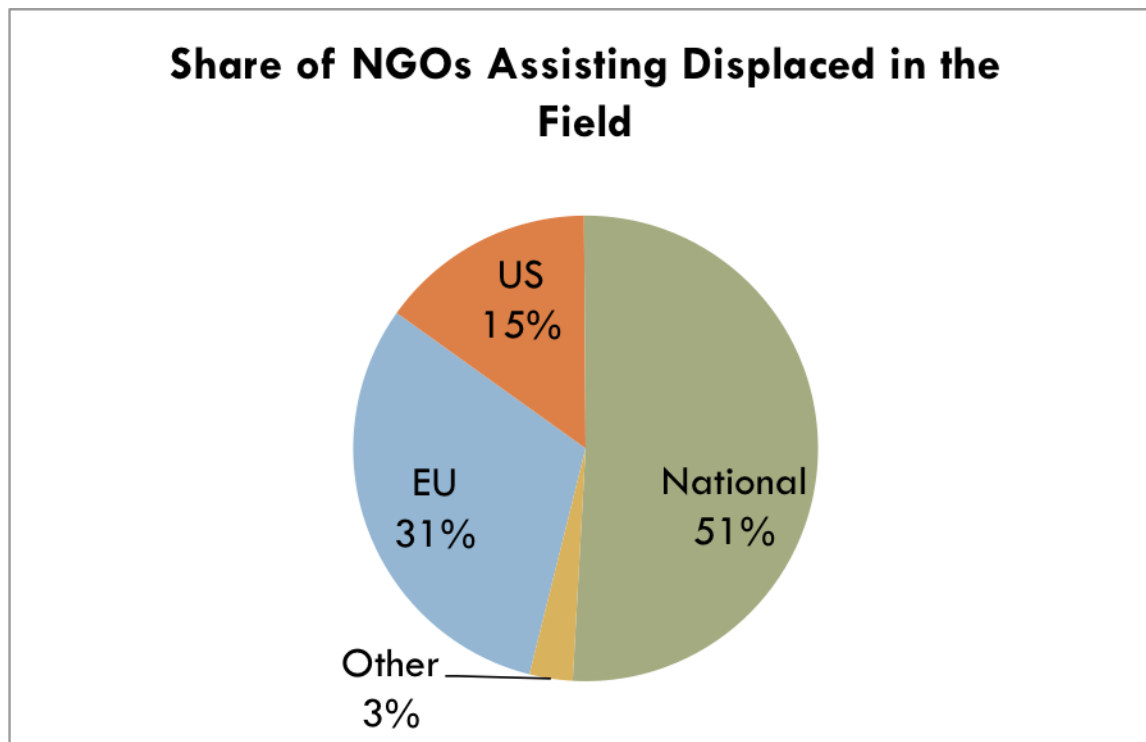
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**Figure 1. EU and US role in Displacement Aid - NGOs**



**Figure 2. EU and US role in Displacement Aid – Contributions to UNHCR**

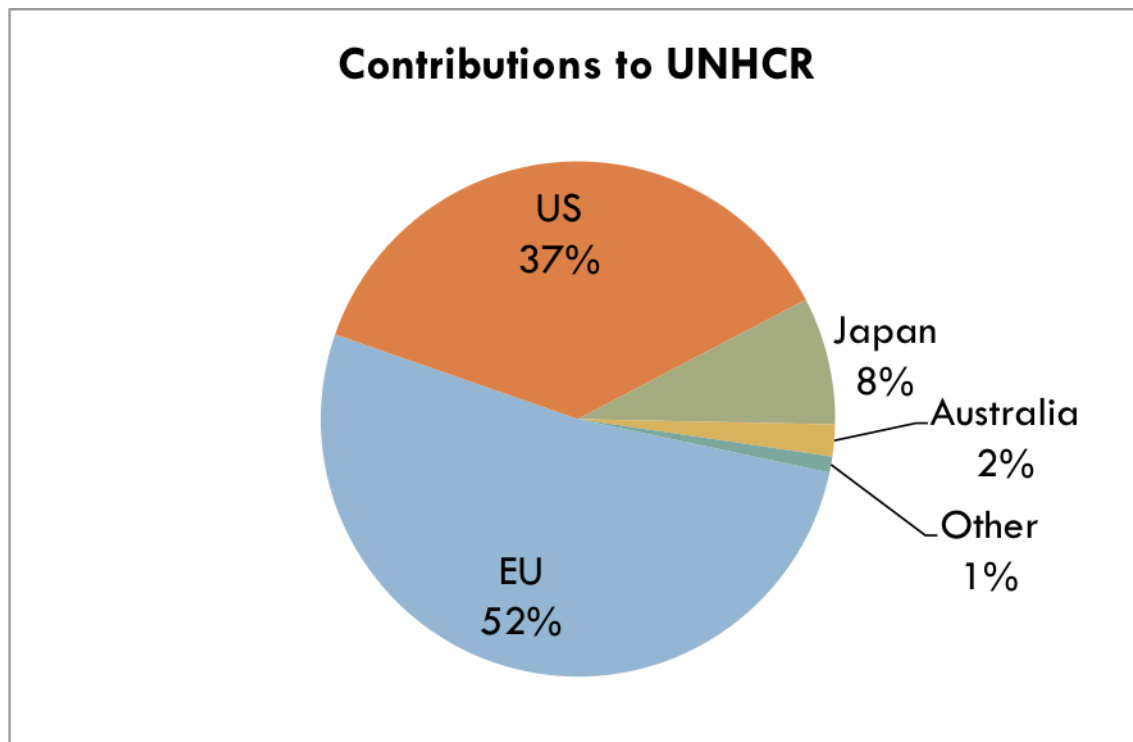




Figure 3. Coverage of all displacement issues on the global agenda

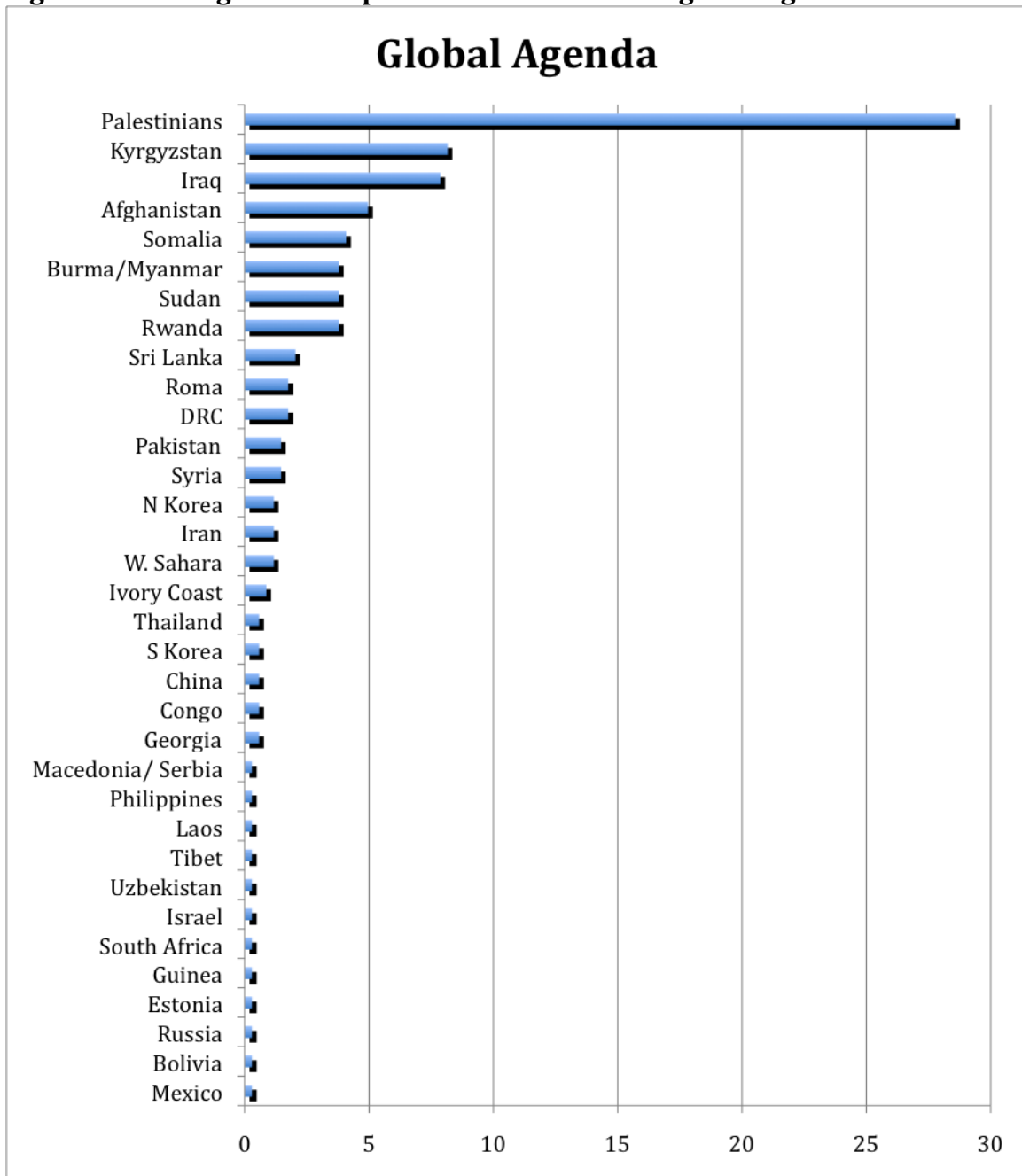
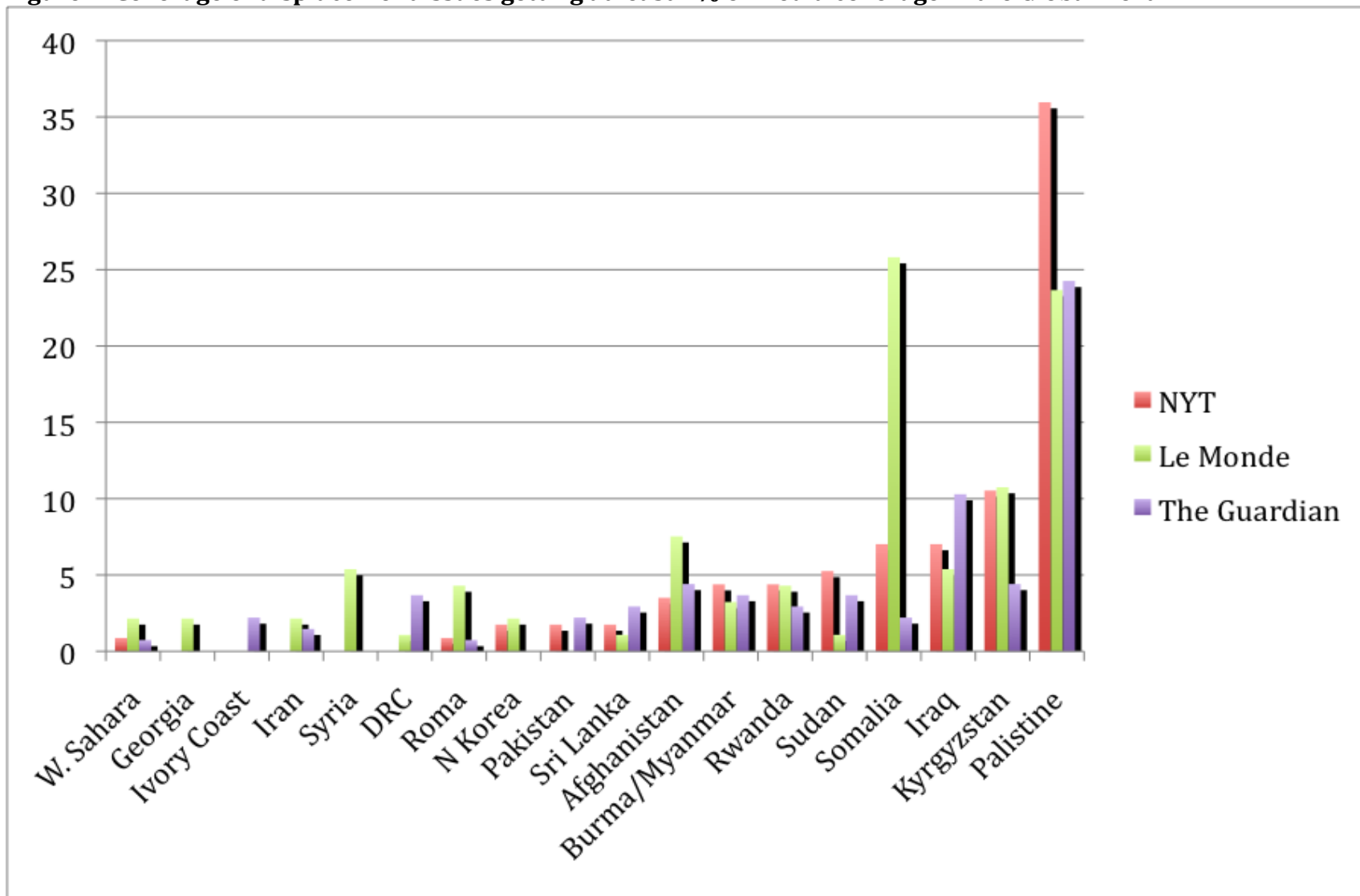
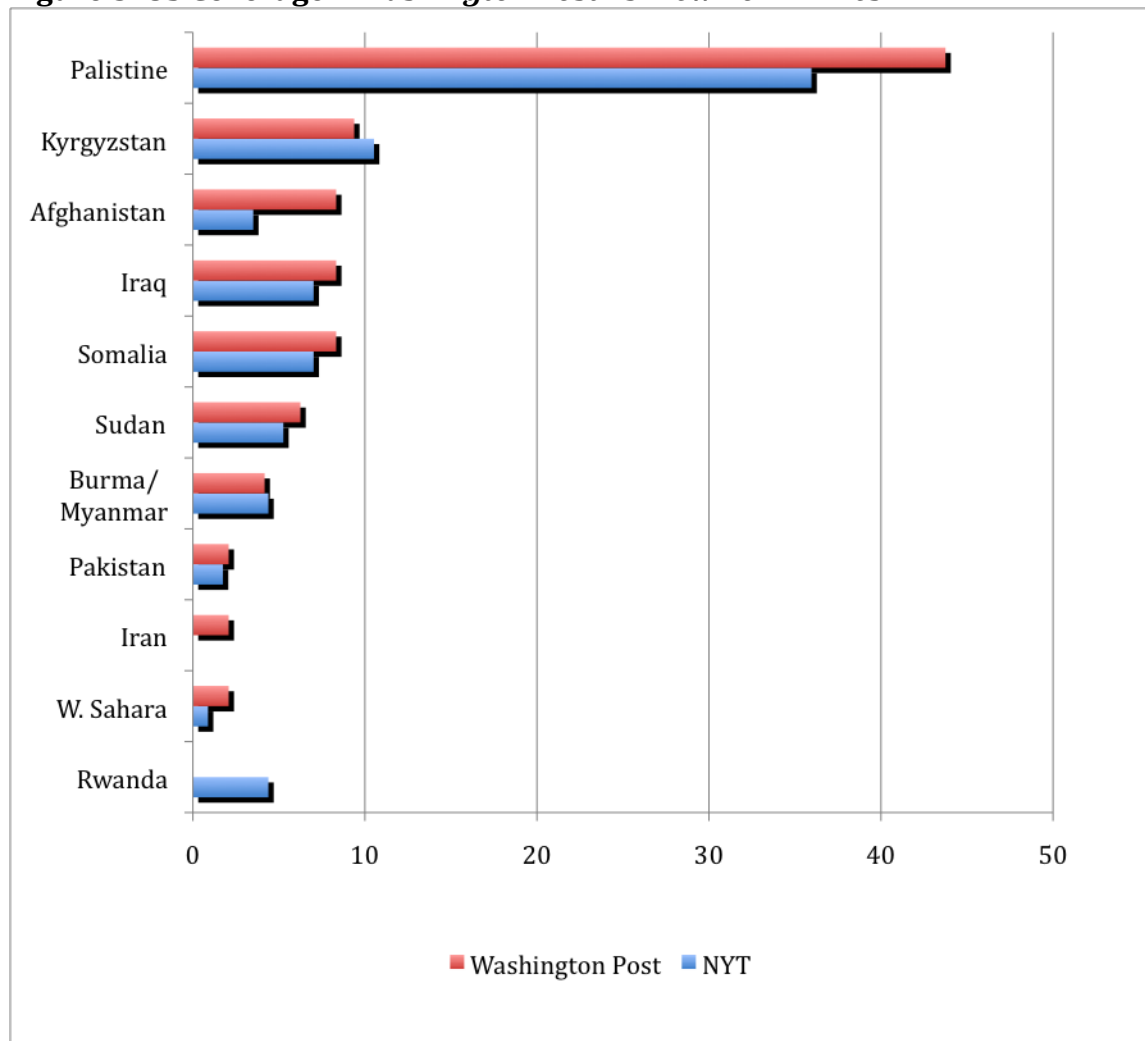


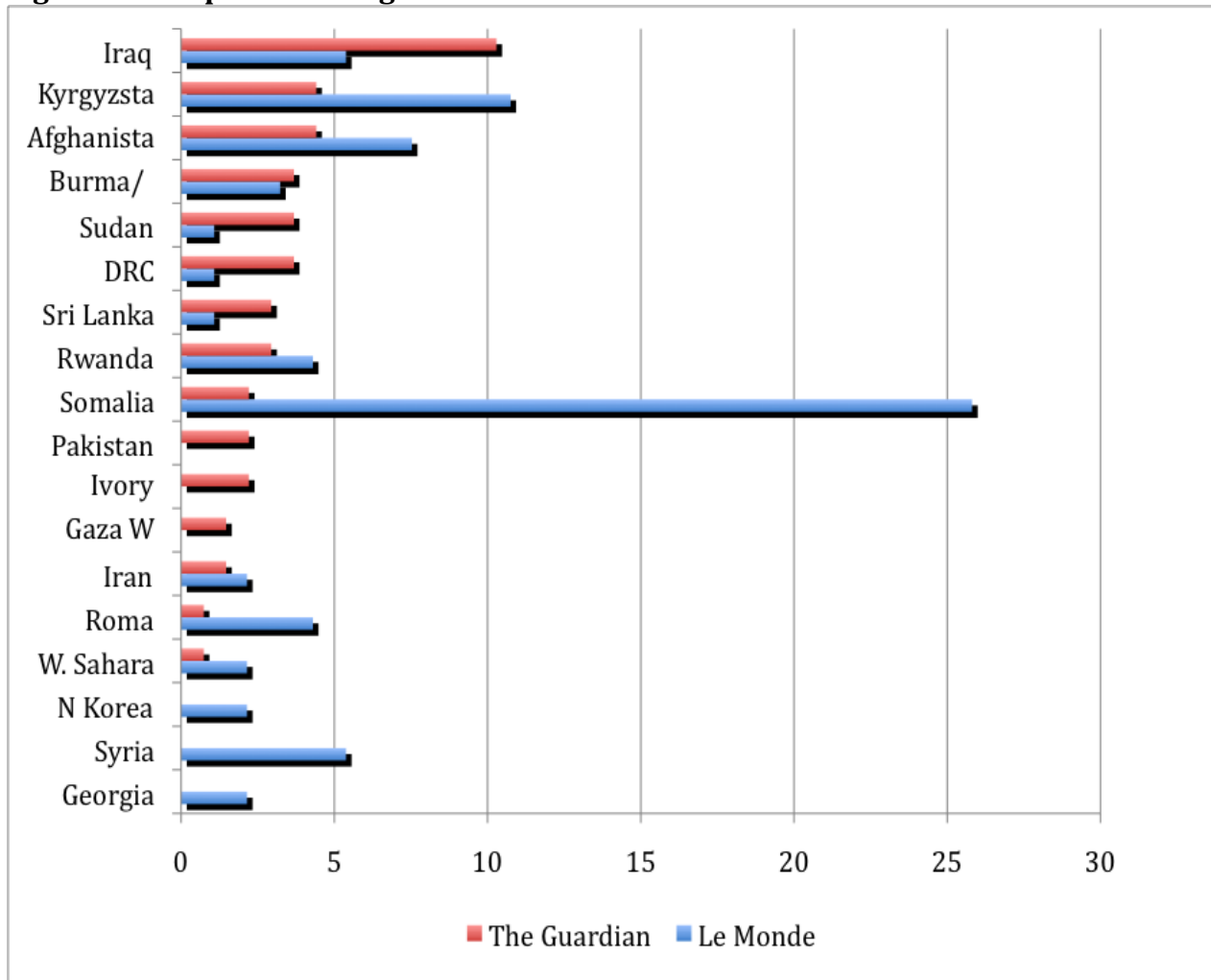
Figure 4. Coverage of displacement issues getting at least 2% of media coverage in the Global North



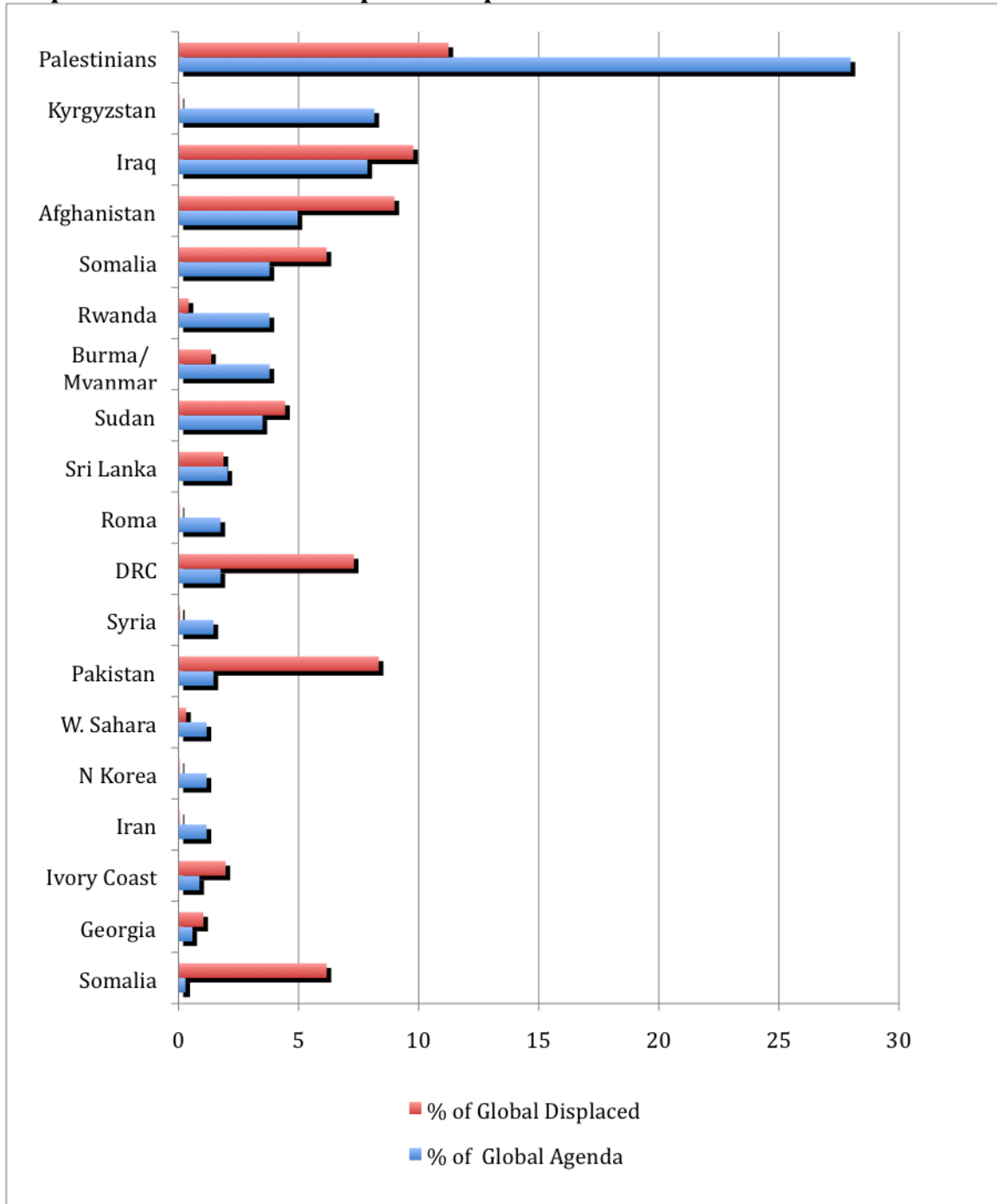
**Figure 5. US Coverage – *Washington Post* vs. *New York Times***



**Figure 6. European Coverage – *The Guardian* vs. *Le Monde***



**Figure 7. Comparison of Share of the Global Agenda Attention to the Proportion of the Global Displaced Population**



**Figures 8 & 9. Global Attention by region versus Scope of Displacement by region**

