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And Then the War Came: A Content Analysis of Resilience Processes in the Narratives of Refugees from Humans of New York

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In 2015, 34,000 people per day were displaced from their homes during the "refugee crisis." The media represented refugees as victims or threats and rarely included refugee voices. In contrast, the photoblog Humans of New York (HONY) included two series of Syrian refugee narratives told by refugees. This study analyzes these refugee narratives for the presence of resilience processes. The concept of resilience in refugee narratives counters traditional media representations of refugees. The authors created a codebook operationalizing Buzzanell's five resilience processes and conducted a content analysis of HONY narratives for these processes. The presence of resilience processes in HONY refugee narratives is compared with resilience in the HONY series: Pediatric Cancer, Invisible Wounds, and Inmate Stories. Refugee narratives are unique in their emphasis on identity, struggle to create normalcy, and lack of positive reframing.

Keywords: resilience, refugees, content analysis, Humans of New York, migration

Over the past few years, an influx of people have made their way to Europe from war- and poverty-ridden countries like Syria and Afghanistan (UNHCR, 2016). The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR, 2016) found that 24 people per minute, or 34,000 people per day, were displaced from their homes in 2015. The magnitude of this issue and its impact across the globe have captured the attention of news and social media, where representations of refugees have varied. With people leaving their homes at high rates, images of their journeys were shared across social media in an attempt to foster understanding and sympathy. These images, which created awareness of the journey ("Europe's Migration Crisis in 25 Photos," 2016), show children receiving treatment after airstrikes (Sim, 2015) and include a Hungarian reporter intentionally tripping fleeing migrants (Mackey, 2015). Although news reports focus on statistical details, and images of injured and deceased children circulate the Web, the voices of refugees remain largely unheard. To address this, we turn to another source of information about refugees.

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The popular photoblog Humans of New York (HONY) was created in 2010 by Brandon Stanton to collect stories and images of the city's residents. As of January 2019, HONY had more than 18 million followers on Facebook and 22,423 sponsors on Patreon[1] and used various forms of media (e.g., books, Web series, social media). Although Stanton's earliest posts contained his commentary, HONY grew to contain multipost narratives that were often prosocial and thematic in nature and encouraged followers to donate to causes. According to Roberts (2017), Stanton grew from a street photographer to an alternative journalist with a strong sense of responsibility to the public and a commitment to highlighting underrepresented experiences. Although Stanton is the sole photographer, the person portrayed in each image provides the accompanying narrative. Two of these series, Refugee Stories and Syrian Americans, depict the experiences of Syrian refugees broadly, and Syrians who have been permitted to resettle in the United States, but who have not yet entered. These series guide this project. Since the refugees are the storytellers of each narrative, HONY provides them with an opportunity to tell their own stories.

We seek to understand how HONY contributes to public discourse surrounding refugees. Framing research suggests that how an issue is characterized can influence the public's attitude toward that issue (Brewer, Graf, & Willnat, 2003; Nelson, Clawson, & Oxley, 1997). Rather than examine negative frames, such as violence or burden, we focus on resilience (Buzzanell, 2010). Although research examining refugee resilience exists, it has not been connected to public discourse surrounding refugees (Hutchinson & Dorsett, 2012; Ssenyonga, Owens, & Olema, 2013). Understanding how resilience is embodied in refugee narratives will further understanding of public discourse about refugees and the theoretical understanding of resilience.

The present study examines resilience processes in HONY series related to the refugee crisis to better understand the positive frames through which refugees tell their own stories. To address concerns about HONY's influence on the representation of the narratives, we also seek to determine whether the representations of resilience are characteristic of HONY or are unique to refugee narratives. We accomplish this by comparing the presence of resilience discourses in other HONY series depicting hardship, specifically the Invisible Wounds (or military veteran narratives), Inmate Stories, and Pediatric Cancer series.

We first overview the theoretical foundations of resilience. Then, we discuss the current framing of refugees in the media. We continue with our methodology, including a detailed summary of the codes used to identify resilience in HONY stories. Findings are presented thereafter. Finally, we close with implications and contributions.

[1] Patreon is a crowdfunding site used by content developers (e.g., YouTube channels and podcasts) to receive funding from their consumers. In exchange for financial support, creators often offer exclusive discounts or content to their funders.

Review of Literature

Resilience

Resilience provides a unique frame from which to examine refugee narratives by simultaneously highlighting refugees' agency and acknowledging the restrictions imposed by hardship. Examining refugee resilience in HONY stories exemplifies the ability of new media to disrupt the negative representations of refugees that dominate more traditional media outlets (Cottle, 2008). The media typically frames refugees as either "speechless victim(s) or evil-doing terrorist(s)" (Chouliaraki, Georgiou, & Zaborowski, 2017, p. 8). Both characterizations are problematic because they are dehumanizing in nature and because they misconstrue the realities of refugees fleeing sociopolitical violence. The idea of a "speechless victim" negates refugees' ability to take productive action in response to their hardships and to give voice to their own experiences. Even when refugees can speak in the media, their stories are often framed around the idea of need and helplessness (Hickerson & Dunsmore, 2016). The "evil-doing terrorist" frame assumes that refugees' have complete agency and use it to endanger others (Chouliaraki et al., 2017). Counter to these traditional frames, the conceptualization of refugees as individuals endeavoring to be resilient in the face of sociopolitical violence and displacement highlights their humanity and individuality while engaging with the realities of their hardship.

To better understand the ways in which refugees build resilience, we have used the communication theory of resilience (Buzzanell, 2010), which posits that resilience is situated within discourse, including discourse from micro to global levels. From this theoretical perspective, resilience is the process of effectively adapting to hardship and is created through narrative and human interaction. Both the interactions depicted in refugee narratives and the telling of the narratives themselves constitute resilience when aiding in refugees' adaptation to hardship. Yet, the existing research on refugee resilience as a process focuses primarily on the effect of social support over time, ignoring other communicative factors (Pulvirenti & Mason, 2011; Schweitzer, Melville, Steel, & Lacherez, 2006). Examining resilience more broadly will aid in understanding refugees' responses to hardship from their own perspectives. To achieve this end, we assess the presence of five resilience processes explicated by the communication theory of resilience within refugees' HONY narratives.

The five communicative resilience processes include crafting normalcy, affirming identity anchors, using communication networks, employing alternative logics, and legitimizing negative feelings while foregrounding productive action. Research utilizing this theory has primarily used qualitative methods to achieve rich understanding of resilience in particular contexts (i.e., Lillie, Venetis, & Chernichky-Karcher, 2018; Villagran, Canzona, & Ledford, 2013). However, quantitative content analysis of the resilience processes could allow for comparison across narratives and contexts that is not possible with qualitative methods. A primary goal of this project is to generate a codebook for identifying these resilience processes in narratives of hardship.

In addition to identifying the presence of these processes, content analysis facilitates examination of the prevalence and copresence of specific features of resilience processes. Past studies utilizing the communication theory of resilience have included rich descriptions of how each process manifests in specific

contexts, but the use of qualitative methods have limited their ability to tease apart specific aspects of those processes that may occur across contexts (Villagran et al., 2013; Wu & Buzzanell, 2013). In the present study, we use quantitative content analysis not merely as a means of determining the presence of the processes. Rather, we investigate how specific features of these processes differ in prevalence within refugee narratives and other narratives of hardship. In the following sections, we will detail each process, explaining how they are conceptualized in the original theory and in subsequent research.

Crafting Normalcy

Crafting normalcy involves the maintenance and creation of rituals, routines, and stories that normalize life after hardship (Buzzanell, 2010). The notion of "normal" is ongoing and desired. Normalcy is constructed discursively; it is "talked . . . into being" (Buzzanell, 2010, p. 4) through the creation of systems of meaning. Buzzanell (2010) summarizes the central idea with this example of families coping with job loss, stating that "Families might still go out to dinner on Friday nights—but the restaurant was not quite as nice or expensive" (p. 4). Routines and rituals are maintained through hardship, even if they must be modified. In Buzzanell's example, one can imagine how losing a job or taking on a debt could reduce the opportunities to go out for dinner. It is harder to picture how displacement affects a refugee's normalcy. The information available does provide insight into the threats to normalcy, including the separation of families and political violence (UNHCR, 2016). If, and how, refugees can craft normalcy has not been explored.

Affirming Identity Anchors

To affirm identity anchors, individuals emphasize those identities that are most meaningful to them (Buzzanell, 2010). Identity anchors are defined by Buzzanell (2010) as "relatively enduring cluster(s) of identity discourses upon which individuals and their familial, collegial, and/or community members rely when explaining who they are for themselves and in relation to each other" (p. 4). Identities can be occupational, gendered, and relational. Hardships can create new identities (e.g., "refugees"). There are many labels used to describe displacement (e.g., "refugee," "internally displaced," "asylum seeker") that aid in understanding the scope of the problem (UNHCR, 2016). However, the label "refugee" has been used to construct an identity of refugees as threats and therefore to justify restrictionist policies (Pătrașcu, 2015). In both cases, these labeling schemes are based solely on hardship and ignore how a person identifies professionally or relationally. It is important to uncover the role played by identity beyond that of "refugee."

Communication Networks

Enacting communication networks situates an individual within a community that is used to overcome a hardship (Buzzanell, 2010). Networks provide access to additional resources that can be used when in need. For example, Doerfel, Chewning, and Lai (2013) examined organizational uses of networks after Hurricane Katrina. Although their findings indicate that the strength of interorganizational relationships beforehand benefit an organization after a hardship, they also note that organizations with few resources beforehand could overcome challenges faced after the adversity through new connections. Little is known

about how refugees use communication networks, although several organizations are set up to aid in resettlement ("Europe Situation," 2018). Information exists that can aid our understanding of the risks run by refugees who escape through unauthorized means (e.g., smuggling and sea arrivals). For example, in 2018 it was estimated that over 2,000 people drowned crossing large bodies of water in their efforts to migrate ("Europe Situation," 2018). However, these numbers do not explain how migration is facilitated by communication networks.

Alternative Logics

Employing an alternative logic involves reinterpreting or reframing the situation of hardship to aid in coping (Buzzanell, 2010). For example, military spouses who undergo struggles related to isolation and concern for their service members reframed their situations as an "adventure" (Villagran et al., 2013). Logics may appear counterintuitive, but they aid individuals in making sense of their situations to better cognitively, emotionally, or behaviorally manage hardships. Reframings with negative impacts would not build or be evidence of resilience. News stories and countries often negatively reframe refugees (Berry, Garcia-Blanco, & Moore, 2015; Pătrașcu, 2015). Whether or not refugees themselves use beneficial alternative logics to deal with displacement warrants consideration.

Legitimizing Negative Feelings While Foregrounding Productive Action

This process includes two key components, the most important of which is foregrounding productive action. Productive action not only involves behaviors but also mindsets and attitudes as well. These productive actions are foregrounded, or given emphasis, over negative aspects of the situation (Buzzanell, 2010). The second component, legitimizing negative feelings, must also be included to build resilience. This means accepting that negative emotions—such as anger, sadness, or guilt—are warranted, while still focusing on productive action. News reports have focused on evoking feelings or on feelings experienced by reporters (Berry et al., 2015), but it is unclear what feelings refugees experience and how those impact their attempts to deal with hardship.

Refugees

Responding to the rise in refugee migration, UNHCR joined forces with other humanitarian organizations to encourage media outlets in promoting refugee assistance (Berry et al., 2015). To evaluate the efforts, 1,500 news stories from across Europe were content analyzed to describe how refugees were discussed in European media. Notably, the media outlets included in Berry et al.'s (2015) study were Western media sources. In general, the voices of refugees remain largely unheard, ranging from 9.3% to 11.7%. Politicians, domestic and foreign, were sourced at higher rates, ranging from 3.2% to 39.4%. About 10% of the articles presented refugees as threats and little coverage focused on benefits migrants bring to host countries (Berry et al., 2015). Pătrașcu (2015) finds similar patterns. She notes how U.K. media often use numerical references and threatening metaphors (e.g., "thousands" of refugees will "flood" the U.K.) while ignoring the hardships faced by refugees. Additionally, in Spain refugees are often discussed alongside health risks they could pose for citizens of host countries. It is important to

understand how refugees are represented in the media, as these portrayals may frame how refugees are viewed by the public.

Representations often become tools to dehumanize refugees. Holmes and Castañeda (2016) asserted that negative migrant representations serve the interests of political leaders and exploit the fears of and instill fear into European citizens. Bleiker, Campbell, Hutchinson, and Nicholson (2013) described how images of refugees in large crowds served to lower compassion and generate fear in Australian audiences—an effect intended by the country's government. Other studies have also described the silencing of refugees in favor of the voices of humanitarian organizations and representatives (Malkki, 1996; Rajaram, 2002). In the United States, Steimel (2009) found that refugees are portrayed as troublemakers who are undeserving of American rights. Steimel concludes that the negative framing of refugees can be blamed on their perceived differences from American culture. In short, refugee portrayals may negatively affect public perception and can unintentionally mute refugees.

Humans of New York

HONY is uniquely situated to contribute to the discourse about the refugees for three reasons. First, these series provide an opportunity for refugees to voice their own stories. In comparison to the findings of Berry et al. (2015), nearly all the stories in these two series come from refugees. Second, in contrast to the political tension in the United States surrounding refugees, these narratives have been well received by the public. Stanton introduced a petition that raised over $700,000 for the families alongside the Syrian American series (Vulliamy, 2015). When Aya Abdullah, featured in the Syrian American series, was denied entry into the United States, over 1 million people signed a petition asking for her family to be allowed into the country (Friends of Aya, n.d.). Finally, although the media has relied on statistical information and shocking images to describe the conflicts that force displacement, these series create knowledge about and awareness of refugees' experiences. For these reasons, we have selected HONY refugee narratives as our source of data for assessing the presence of resilience processes in refugee narratives.

Specifically, we are interested in which of these resilience processes are emphasized in HONY narratives. Therefore, we ask the following research question:

RQ1: How prevalent are depictions of the five resilience processes in HONY stories about refugees?

Additionally, we are interested in determining whether these depictions are unique to stories of refugees or are characteristic of HONY stories about hardship in general. Therefore, we ask the following research question:

RQ2: Are the depictions of the five resilience processes in stories of refugees different from other HONY stories about hardship?

Methodology

To assess the representation of resilience in HONY stories depicting refugees, we conducted a content analysis of two series: Refugee Stories and Syrian Americans. A content analysis is a method used to make "replicable and valid inferences from texts (or other meaningful matter) to the contexts of their use" (Krippendorf, 2012, p. 24). Content analysis calls for a systematic extraction of meaning from smaller units of texts (e.g., word, sentences, narratives) and allows for researchers to make sense of them through the cultural norms and contexts in which they exist (Krippendorf, 2012). It is a useful method for investigating resilience processes in HONY stories as these narratives are situated in broader political and cultural contexts. We are specifically interested in the narratives of Syrian refugees. The stories in the Refugee Stories series were collected by Brandon Stanton over a 10-day period in September of 2015[2] (Stanton, 2015), and the Syrian American series were collected in December of 2015 (Perreault & Paul, 2018). Although other HONY stories have portrayed refugees from different contexts and time periods, including these narratives could confound our understanding of refugee narratives related to the current refugee crisis and is outside the scope of this study. Therefore, we are limiting our analyses to these two series.

To determine whether depictions of resilience in the Refugee Stories and Syrian Americans series are common across HONY or are unique to stories about refugees, we also analyzed three additional series: Invisible Wounds (U.S. military veterans and their families), Pediatric Cancer (patients, families, and medical care providers), and Inmate Stories. These five series share two common themes. First, each series is tied to a central hardship experienced by the storytellers. Military families, personnel, and service members (Knobloch & Wilson, 2015), and families coping with pediatric cancer (McCubbin, Balling, Possin, Frierdich, & Bryne, 2002), have been found to exhibit resilience. Resilience research on inmates has focused on smaller subsets of the population, including women (Boudin, 2007) and African American men (Chaney, 2011). Second, each group depicted in these series experiences marginalization. Marginalization is not a fixed construct; rather it shifts based on other societal conditions (Collins, 2000). For example, a refugee who may have been considered wealthy may suddenly become marginalized after experiencing violence and displacement. These similarities make these three series an excellent comparison group for determining whether representations of resilience processes are unique to refugee narratives or are common among HONY stories of hardship and marginalization.

Sample and Unit of Analysis

Our analysis included all stories from the five series on the HONY website. We conducted analysis at the paragraph level with a total population of 199 paragraphs (Syrian Americans: 43; Refugee Stories: 29; Invisible Wounds: 42; Pediatric Cancer: 58; and Inmate Stories: 27). Paragraphs were the unit of analysis for two reasons. First, several of the resilience processes required a full paragraph to be expressed. For example, one process includes making intentional contact with someone and benefiting from this contact. This rarely occurred in just a single sentence. Second, stories varied in length from one to 11 paragraphs. Compared to analyzing at the story level, analyzing at the paragraph level better captured the

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[2] Stanton includes a post from the summer of 2014 from the storyteller who would become an interpreter (Stanton, 2015).

prevalence of resilience processes in each series by taking the number of paragraphs into account. For example, a three-paragraph story including the same resilience process in each paragraph has a stronger emphasis on that process than a five-paragraph story including that process in only one paragraph. Because we wanted to emphasize the voice of refugees, we opted to analyze only the stories and not the photos or engagement (i.e., social media comments, shares, likes) of each post. It is unclear how involved either Stanton or the storytellers were in choosing angles, clothing, or settings. Additionally, images of refugees are more common in print than refugee voices (see Malkki, 1996). Although photos are important to the storytelling process, we chose to analyze only the stories to more accurately capture the resilience processes as told by the refugees.

Codes

The codebook was guided by Buzzanell's (2010) conceptualization of the processes of resilience. Both authors developed the codebook and coded HONY paragraphs. To assess reliability, both authors coded the same subsample of 50 paragraphs. Reliability for each of the codes was calculated using Krippendorf's Alpha, and these values are noted after the description for each code. We resolved disagreements by clarifying and, if necessary, modifying code instructions (e.g., in cases where multiple examples of a code appeared in the story). We also defined what hardship meant for each series after reading through the HONY paragraphs. We then divided the remaining units and coded them independently. A description of each resilience process follows.

Crafting Normalcy

Crafting normalcy included two codes. First, we identified whether storytellers discussed routines and rituals that comprise regular life (0.82). Routines were defined as everyday activities such as playing, grocery shopping, working, and attending school. Preexisting rituals were recurring and scheduled activities such as regular family dinners and religious ceremonies. These could be evident in the stories before, during, or after a hardship.

Second, if a routine or ritual was present in the paragraph, we determined whether the storyteller expressed an inability to maintain the ritual or routine (0.61). For discussion of a routine or ritual to be considered evidence of resilience, the storyteller must have maintained that routine or ritual. Intercoder reliability on this code was low, but the code was kept because of its importance in determining whether the resilience process of crafting normalcy was engaged in or whether storytellers were discussing their inability to craft normalcy. For example, one refugee discussed his work as a professor before the hardship, but added that he was not allowed to continue that work in the country in which he currently resides. This would be coded as a yes for discussing a routine or ritual, but also coded that it was not maintained. Therefore, it is not evidence of crafting normalcy.

Affirming Identity Anchors

For this process, we assessed whether the storyteller discussed any identities that were distinct from the hardship (0.87). These included occupational (i.e., an architect), relational (i.e., a parent), or emotional

(i.e., being strong) identities. Storytellers had to discuss these identities in ways that indicated the identity influenced behaviors, attitudes, and emotions. Additionally, storytellers could not negate the identity (e.g., indicating that someone was no longer a happy person would not be coded as an identity anchor).

Communication Networks

To identify communication networks, we included three codes. First, we determined whether the storyteller intentionally contacted another person, regardless of the medium used (0.88). If contact or communication was present, we looked for indications that the storyteller found the communication beneficial in coping with a hardship, indicating resilience (0.89). Additionally, we coded whether the relationship with the person contacted had been established before the hardship began (0.89).

Alternative Logics

To identify alternative logics, we determined whether the storyteller reinterpreted or reframed his or her situation of hardship (0.92). This included using metaphors and analogies, indicating that she or he had found a new way to think about the hardship or to change its meaning. For example, one veteran said, "I used to think that I was weak for needing help. I realize now that my weakness was never getting it." This demonstrates finding a new way in which to view managing mental health concerns after returning from deployment.

Legitimizing Negative Feelings While Foregrounding Productive Action

To determine the presence of this resilience process, we used three codes. First, we asked if the storyteller recognized his or her adversity (0.87). Second, we identified whether he or she acknowledged any negative feelings without condemning those feelings (0.72). This meant that the storyteller had explicitly indicated the emotion he or she was feeling (such as anger, guilt, or hopelessness) without stating the emotion was inappropriate or unwarranted. Behavioral indications of emotion, such as crying, were not coded. Finally, we determined whether the storyteller discussed focusing on productive actions, mindsets, or attitudes (0.88).

Findings

RQ1 asked about the prevalence of resilience processes within HONY stories about refugees. To answer RQ1, we examined the percentage of paragraphs in the refugee narratives (the Syrian Americans and Refugee Stories series) that included resilience codes. RQ2 asked whether the depictions of resilience processes in refugee narratives were distinct from other HONY narratives about hardship. To determine this, we conducted chi square tests comparing refugee narratives with the other three HONY series—Invisible Wounds, Pediatric Cancer, and Inmate Stories—on each resilience code (see Table 1). Findings for each process are discussed below.

Table 1. Chi Square Analysis of Resilience Codes.

Code	Refugee Narratives (N = 72)	Inmate Stories (N = 27)	Pediatric Cancer (N = 58)	Invisible Wounds (N = 42)	Total (N = 199)	χ^2
Normalcy						
Routine	59.7% (43)	66.7% (18)	55.2% (32)	59.5% (25)	59.3% (118)	1.02
Not Maintained[a]	46.5% (20)	50.0% (9)	18.8% (6)	32.0% (8)	36.4% (43)	7.85*
Identity						
Distinct	75.0% (54)	55.6% (15)	44.8% (26)	57.1% (24)	59.8% (119)	12.65**
Com. Networks						
Contact	41.7% (30)	40.7% (11)	24.1% (14)	33.3% (14)	34.7% (69)	4.87
Beneficial[a]	43.3% (13)	20.0% (2)	42.9% (6)	35.7% (5)	38.2% (26)	1.90
Pre- Hardship[a]	33.3% (10)	44.4% (4)	50.0% (7)	42.9% (6)	40.3% (27)	1.26
Alternate Logics						
Reframing	26.8% (19)	40.7% (11)	41.4% (24)	52.4% (22)	38.4% (76)	7.82*
Productive						
Adversity	86.1% (62)	70.4% (19)	79.3% (46)	71.4% (30)	78.9% (157)	4.84
Productive Action	47.2% (34)	48.1% (13)	39.7% (23)	38.1% (16)	43.2% (86)	1.49
Negative Feelings	22.5% (16)	25.9% (7)	29.3% (17)	23.8% (10)	25.3% (50)	.84

Note. All chi square values reflect three degrees of freedom. Percentages report portion of the given series' paragraphs that used the resilience code.
[a] The N for these codes is the value for the initial code in its resilience process.
$^{*}p < .05$. $^{**}p \leq .01$. $^{***}p < .001$.

Crafting Normalcy

Addressing RQ1, a little over half (59.7%) of the paragraphs in the refugee narratives included mentions of a routine or ritual. Many examples of normalcy included references to educational attainment. For example, a storyteller from the Syrian American series states, "I was studying Literature and French Philosophy when the war came." Of those mentions, a little less than half (46.5%) were not maintained by the storyteller. This means that about one third (31.9%) of the paragraphs in refugee narratives included the resilience process of crafting normalcy, indicated by a discussion of a routine or ritual that was maintained.

In the case of RQ2, there was not a significant difference among the series on the presence of a routine or ritual (see Table 1). However, there was a significant difference among the series on whether routines and rituals were maintained (χ^2 (3, N = 199) = 7.85, p < .05). Storytellers in refugee narratives (46.5%) and Inmate Stories (50%) were more likely to discuss being unable to maintain a ritual or routine when compared with Pediatric Cancer (18.8%) and Invisible Wounds (32%). For both refugees and inmates, the circumstances of their hardship made maintaining some routines impossible.

Affirming Identity Anchors

We coded refugee narratives for the discussion of identities that were distinct from being a refugee. This code was prevalent in refugee narratives. In response to RQ1, three quarters (75%) of the paragraphs in refugee narratives included mentions of distinct identities that influenced behaviors, attitudes, and emotions. The identities described covered a wide spectrum. For example, one storyteller from the Refugee Stories series provides an account of a familial identity, stating, "My father loved children. But I was his favorite because I was the small one. Whenever we did something wrong, everyone else got punished except for me." The stories, however, often discussed how these identities were disrupted. The previous storyteller continues by stating:

> When I was 15, he took us on a shopping trip to Baghdad, and he told us to wait in the car while he ran into a market. We heard a loud explosion. We got out of the car and ran toward the sound. Body parts were everywhere. My father's body was lying on the ground with his head split open. Part of his brain was on the street.

In response to RQ2, a chi square test comparing the HONY series was significant for the identity code (χ^2 (3, N = 199) = 12.64, $p < .01$). Invisible Wounds (57.1%), Pediatric Cancer (44.8%), and Inmate Stories (55.6%) all had identity mentions in about half of their paragraphs. In comparison, refugee narratives had significantly more mentions of identity (75%). This indicates that affirming identities was more important for refugees' resilience than for other types of hardship.

Communication Networks

In response to RQ1, a little less than half (41.7%) of the paragraphs in refugee narratives included the storyteller intentionally contacting someone. Among those paragraphs, a little less than half (43.4%) included discussions about how the contact was beneficial for coping. This means that 18.1% of refugee narrative paragraphs included the resilience process of maintaining and using communication networks, indicated by a discussion of contact with someone who was beneficial for coping. Additionally, one third (33.3%) of the instances of contact were made with someone the storyteller had known before the hardship, demonstrating that the creation and utilization of new networks was more common than the maintenance of already established networks. This code provides insight into the immediacy with which storytellers chose to migrate. From the Syrian Americans series, one storyteller describes, "There were no doctors left. I had to wrap his leg myself with the help of an anesthesiologist, but I messed it up. I knew then that we had to leave." Another, from Refugee Stories, states, "I hired a smuggler but he took all my money and left me at the border. . . . I was all alone and stuck without money." These stories indicate the instability and unreliability of the networks available to refugees. Pursuing new contacts was common, but equally likely to be detrimental or beneficial.

In response to RQ2, there was not a significant difference among the HONY series on any of the communication networks codes.

Alternative Logics

This process includes one code indicating whether the storyteller reframed the situation of hardship. In response to RQ1, a little over one quarter (26.8%) of refugee narrative paragraphs included reframing of the situation of hardship.

In response to RQ2, the chi square test comparing the HONY series was significant for reframing (χ^2 (3, N = 199) =7.82, $p < .05$). The Invisible Wounds series had the highest amount of reframing (52.4%), and refugee narratives had the lowest (26.8%) compared with the Pediatric Cancer (41.4%) and Inmate Stories (40.7%) series. The refugee narratives in which reframing was present were often negatively toned. One Refugee Stories storyteller describes surviving, but being "dead psychologically." Another, from the Syrian American series, foreshadows the tragedies to come by stating, "In the cartoon shows, the good always wins, so I thought that we were good and nothing would happen to us." For refugees, alternative logics were not a beneficial way of building resilience.

Legitimizing Negative Feelings While Foregrounding Productive Action

In response to RQ1, most refugee narrative paragraphs (86.1%) included acknowledgment of adversity, and about half (47.2%) focused on taking productive action to address the hardship. One storyteller states:

> When I saw my daughter, I realized that I needed to get my life back on track. She'd already lost her father. I didn't want her to lose her mother too. So I enrolled at the University of Damascus and continued with my studies. I graduated once again at the top of my class. I began to work as a professor while I applied for my PhD. My daughter was getting bigger. Everything seemed to be getting back on track. Then the war came.

Although many engaged in productive action, less than a quarter (22.5%) acknowledged negative feelings. Only 11.3% of refugee narrative paragraphs included both foregrounding productive action and legitimizing negative feelings, indicating minimal utilization of this resilience process.

In response to RQ2, there was not a significant difference among the series on any of the codes in this process.

Discussion

The present study sought to examine refugees' representations of their stories in the HONY series Refugee Stories and Syrian Americans. We conducted a content analysis of these and three other HONY series (Invisible Wounds, Pediatric Cancer, and Inmate Stories), coding the narratives for resilience processes (Buzzanell, 2010). We asked how prevalent each process was in the refugee narratives and whether some processes were represented more than others. We also assessed whether the representation of these processes in refugee narratives was distinct from other HONY series about hardship. The following

is a discussion of what our findings mean for representations of refugees, in HONY narratives and more broadly, followed by a discussion of what these findings indicate about resilience.

Refugee Narratives

Media representations of refugees have focused primarily on negative factors, both for refugees and host countries (Berry et al., 2015). Our findings suggest that refugees' representations of their own stories may include different features than those included in other sources. In general, refugee stories differed from other HONY series in three ways: the inability to maintain routines, the focus on distinct identity, and the struggles to reframe their hardship.

Not Maintaining Routines

Although the HONY series did not differ from each other in the likelihood of discussing a routine or ritual, refugees and inmates were more likely to discuss being unable to maintain their routines. Perreault and Paul (2018) described the photographic choices made to normalize refugees including placing subjects next to families, pets, and other everyday items. However, although the attempt to make refugees appear more "normal" is made artistically, it contrasts with the refugees' own attempts to maintain a normal lifestyle. The struggles that refugees experience in maintaining a normal life appear to be an important part of the narrative. Resilience research has documented people's attempts to feel normal after a crisis by engaging in everyday, mundane activities (Buzzanell, 2010). Some research on refugees has suggested that refugees do attempt to craft normalcy. For example, Oka (2014) found that refugees in Kenya purchased and shared nonessential goods like tea and candy to feel more normal.

Attempts to craft normalcy are evident in the HONY refugee narratives. For example, one refugee woman discussed the two years she spent in Syria after her family had to flee from Iraq. She said, "I was doing so well in school. I got very good grades. . . . On the weekend I was volunteering to help other refugees. . . . Things were going so well." But, at times, the nature of the hardship made it impossible for refugees to maintain their routines. This woman went on to describe how life changed for her family. She said:

> I was studying one afternoon, and I looked out the window, and a man smashed another man's head with a stone. Right in front of me. Our landlord told us: "I am leaving the country. Everyone must go." So again we became refugees.

Examination of the narratives suggests that refugees did attempt to craft normalcy, but often were unable to do so because of circumstances related to displacement or a lack of resources.

Although crafting normalcy was valued by the refugee storytellers, laws and stigma prevented many of them from being able to create what they considered a normal life. One woman explained that her situation kept her from work and school. She said, "Because I'm a refugee, my life is on pause. . . . Because I'm Syrian, I'm not allowed to participate in society." This was similar to the inmates' narratives, which also included discussions of unmaintained routines. Both groups likely lacked the resources to craft normalcy when compared with military families or families managing pediatric cancer. Additionally, refugees and

inmates experience greater societal stigma and therefore are less likely to receive societal support in their efforts to create a normal life (Hutchinson & Dorsett, 2012).

Identity

Refugee narratives had a significantly higher prevalence of distinct identity mentions compared with other series. Refugees' emphasis of distinct identities, such as being a parent, an intellectual, or a hard worker, may be part of an effort to push back against the negative mass identity so often attributed to them in the media. The media typically portrays refugees in ways that are negative and dehumanizing, equating identification as a refugee with a faceless mass of victims or villains (Chouliaraki et al., 2017). Individuals in other series likely experienced less pressure to emphasize identities distinct from their hardships. For example, families battling cancer are typically portrayed heroically in the media (Sulik, 2013). Most veterans identify strongly with their military background and may not desire to counter it (Orazem et al., 2017). Inmates could be expected to want to differentiate from the identity of "inmate." However, those represented in HONY stories were still incarcerated and may have felt less pressure to separate themselves from that identity than they would after leaving.

The identities presented in the HONY refugee narratives covered a wide range, including relational, gendered, and professional identities. Resilience theory tells us that during a hardship, individuals highlight those identities that are most meaningful to them (Buzzanell, 2010). In one narrative, a man discussed coming home after being tortured for three days. He stated, "I went home and hugged my family but I had to go straight to work. Because there was no food in the house and no one had eaten for days." The effects of political violence disrupted his ability to enact his familial and occupational identities. On returning home, his identity as his family's breadwinner superseded his probable need to recover.

Identity in the HONY refugee narratives both illuminates the catastrophically disruptive nature of the hardship and provides encouragement to individuals that they are more than their hardship. In the Syrian American series, one man weaved his identity as an intellectual throughout his story. Although he began by discussing his circumstances related to his work, saying, "There is a university here that is teaching with a book I wrote, but still won't give me a job. . . . I'm dead here. I have no life," he ended his story on this hopeful note:

> I still think I have a chance to make a difference in the world. I have several inventions that I'm hoping to patent once I get to America. . . . I don't want the world to think I'm over. I'm still here.

Refugees like him presented a version of themselves that is not based solely on their hardship when given space to tell their stories. Rather, refugees focus on how the complexities of political violence and inequalities of war transform their professional and relational identities and how these identities gave them hope for the future.

Additionally, these stories also draw attention to potential benefits a refugee could bring to a country, something lacking in media representations (Berry et al., 2015). These observations are significant when compared to constructions of refugee identity that confound them with threats (Berry et al., 2015;

Holmes & Castañeda, 2016; Pătrașcu, 2015). These identities and potential benefits could also be because of framing strategies meant to reduce the "otherness" often used to portray refugees and emphasize refugees' commonalities with American culture, as noted by Perreault and Paul (2018).

Reframing

Refugee storytellers were the least likely to reframe their situations of hardship in their narratives. As a resilience process, reframing hardship allows individuals to manage a negative situation by viewing it in a creative light (Buzzanell, 2010). For example, one study found that breast cancer patients viewed the challenges of treatment as humorous, allowing them to better manage the cancer (Lillie et al., 2018). But this was not a key element in the refugee narratives. Positive reframings were more prevalent in the other HONY series. For example, a mother of a pediatric cancer patient described her hardship as an opportunity to see how kind people are. A veteran reframed going to counseling, something he once considered weak, as showing strength because he was willing to admit that he needed help.

Timing may have influenced the inclusion of reframings. In narratives, reframing may be a method of making sense of a hardship that is now concluded in order to better adjust to life after the hardship. For those still experiencing hardship, positive reframings may feel like a minimization of the hardship's severity. Most of the storytellers in the Pediatric Cancer and Invisible Wounds series had already experienced closure (i.e., cancer remission). Although the inmates were still incarcerated, the outcome of their hardship (i.e., the amount of time they would serve) was already determined. These storytellers may have used reframings as a device for making sense of the past. In comparison, many of the refugees were still experiencing hardship and had not achieved closure. Those in the Syrian American series did know they would be moving to the U.S., but some still expressed uncertainty about what was to come. For these individuals, the precariousness of their situations may have made reframings seem inappropriate.

Additionally, when refugee storytellers did reframe their hardship, it was often negatively. More than one storyteller compared the way they were treated and the things they had to do (e.g., eating grass) to being animals. One refugee said she realized her situation was like a nightmare. Many of the storytellers began by being hopeful. One refugee who ended up fleeing the army had originally joined the army to serve his country. Other refugees discussed how they initially were welcomed into communities, but soon were the targets of threats and violence. Instead of coming to view a terrifying situation more positively, like some of the families in the Pediatric Cancer series, many refugee storytellers began with hope and came to view their situations more negatively. Refugees' lack of positive reframing may be because of the specific nature or timing of a hardship; however, it is also possible that positive reframing is uncommon among Syrian refugees. An additional explanation may have to do with the interrelation of the resilience processes. Hammoud's (2012) case study of refugee narratives enactment of resilience describes how crafting normalcy allows one participant to foreground productive action. It is possible that inhibiting one process affects others as well. In this case, the inability to maintain routines may affect one's ability to positively reframe hardship. In this regard, the factors outside of a person's control (i.e., the features of the hardship) affect reframing.

Communication Theory of Resilience

This study contributes to theoretical understandings of resilience by calling attention to its intricacies and through the development of a codebook. The diverse set of hardships in HONY narratives suggests that resilience processes differ temporally and contextually. The unlikelihood of refugees to use positive reframing suggests that reframings help in seeking closure, which refugees lack during the hardship, suggesting that reframing processes differ before, during, and after a hardship. Resource scarcity, political violence, and stigma affected the maintenance of refugees' routines and the enactment of identity. Refugees often lack control of these contextual factors that affect their ability to engage in resilience processes. These processes may be equally important for building resilience, but may be less accessible for some groups.

A quantitative content analysis approach to understanding resilience provides a unique perspective to an area of research that has relied primarily on qualitative analysis of interview data. Further use of this codebook could facilitate comparison of resilience processes across contexts. In HONY narratives, the prevalence of several resilience processes differed depending on the hardship depicted in the narrative. For example, refugees and inmates were less able to maintain routines, and refugees were more likely to discuss personal identities. Overall, this study has contributed to resilience research by providing a codebook through which resilience can be assessed quantitatively from a process perspective.

Limitations

Although our study provides unique insight into the experience of resilience, it is not without limitations. First, we coded resilience experienced by a storyteller, but failed to capture instances of resilience experienced by others referenced in each unit. This limitation was especially, though not exclusively, pertinent to stories of pediatric cancer that were often told by parents or doctors. Take, for example, the following excerpt from a mother describing an exchange with her child who had endured surgeries, was undergoing chemotherapy, and was vomiting and experiencing diarrhea: "And Sebastian said to me, 'I'm so happy, Mommy.' And I was so confused because I couldn't understand how he could possibly be happy. Then he smiled and said: 'Because I love you so much.'" Had the child been the storyteller, we could have found evidence of resilience in his foregrounding of a productive mind-set.

An additional challenge was determining how to code units with multiple instances of a resilience process. For example, if multiple communication networks were referenced, coders were encouraged to code whether the instance that was the focus of the narrative was beneficial. In the end, this limitation is the result of our attempts to achieve intercoder reliability. We believe we did our best to assure validity in our results, but it is important to acknowledge the decisions made to achieve reliability.

Finally, one goal of this project was to understand the stories of refugees through their voices. Our method to do so is a strength of this study, but there is more work to be done. Brandon Stanton's interviewing process could affect the content of each narrative. Although Stanton has provided insight into how he captures the stories of New York residents ("In 10,000 Snaps of the Shutter," 2015), a similar description is not provided for the stories of refugees. Thus, we have no insight into how the interviewing process (i.e., the types of questions, the need for interpretation) may influence the storyteller. However, if we assume that Stanton spent

30–40 minutes with each participant, as he does for his regular series, then it is possible that the content he does not publish may contain instances of resilience. Despite these limitations, this study adds to the existing literature on resilience and is based on actual interviews with refugees.

Future Research Directions

HONY narratives allowed us to identify ways in which external factors impact resilience processes. Hence, contextual factors that limit individuals' ability to engage in resilience processes should be investigated. We point to two research directions based on this finding. First, future research should focus on external factors that limit and enable resilience. In the stories of refugees, war limited some processes (e.g., reframing) and enabled others (e.g., identity). Such research may require inquiry into resilience processes individually and through various methods. This may be accomplished by expanding on each resilience process through a separate codebook. For example, a codebook that seeks out specific identities could aid our understanding of identity.

We also encourage scholars to continue resilience research through a critical lens. Future work should consider issues of agency, gender, and intersectionality. These topics would be relevant in understanding how external factors, such as war, affect an individual's ability to enact resilience processes. We are also motivated by the stories of women in the military, escaping war, and caring for their children suffering from cancer. Although gender was not coded in the present study, it is clear in individual stories that gender can impact resilience.

By examining stories told by refugees, we are presented with a new way to think about displacement. Rather than focusing on the economic and political effects of hosting refugees, HONY narratives suggest that displacement caused by war and other forms of political violence disrupts the well-being of families and individuals. This side of the "refugee crisis" is largely missing from media representations, but is prominent in the stories told by refugees. The unique features of these narratives suggest that mainstream media sources are missing key aspects of the refugee experience.

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