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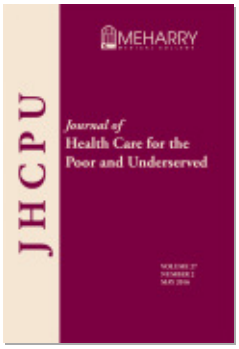
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ORIGINAL PAPER

In their Own Words: Resilience among Haitian Survivors of the 2010 Earthquake

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Abstract: Social sciences literature highlights the importance of resilience in relation to risk and trauma. The 2010 Haitian earthquake compounded trauma for a nation that has endured slavery/despotic leadership, structural violence and poverty. Since 2010, various sources broadly describe Haitian survivors as resilient. We reviewed definitions of resilience published between 1990 and 2013, comparing them with perspectives of earthquake survivors from economically diverse communities in Haiti who, participated in semi-structured interviews (n=38) and in six focus groups (n=63) between 2010–2011. Haitian resilience accords with some definitions from the literature. It also comprises independent, discrete, and isolated contextual resignation and intentional choice to survive and function—when there is no alternative course of action. Understanding Haitian resilience, can inform health/mental health and policy interventions, if these are taken as cultural resources. Intervention efforts should incorporate survivors' input as key informants on what constitute resilience and reconstruction goals for them.

Key words: Haitian mental health and resilience, resilience and Haiti earthquake, Haitian earthquake survivors, trauma and Haitians.

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The January 12th, 2010 Haiti earthquake measured over seven points on the Richter scale and thrust Haiti into the international spotlight. Thus far, it is Haiti's most visible shock in the 21st century.[1] The distress experienced by survivors of the earthquake was evident to witnesses globally, through continued coverage by the media. In the immediate aftermath of the earthquake, media sources referenced the "resilience" of the Haitian people.[2,23] We reviewed social science literature on resilience to enhance our understanding of the functioning and prognosis of Haitian survivors of the 2010 earthquake within months of the event, and to consider how our findings might influence the development of culturally relevant interventions and policies.

Understanding Haitian survivors' perceptions of resilience and the traits that influence one's resilience increases the ability of clinicians, researchers, and policymakers to implement resilience-based interventions for them and for similar populations who have endured centuries of cumulative personal, political, and biopsychosocial trauma. If the literature on resilience of Haitians from the Haitian perspective and within the historical context of Haiti is scarce, we would make an important contribution to the literature; we would also discover if definitions of resilience in the literature capture the span of the experience of Haitians post-earthquake, and if extant definitions can help us understand the ability of Haitians to emerge from a trauma as severe as the earthquake as they initially were (or stronger).

In the immediate aftermath of the Haiti earthquake, a journalist, Montas, reported that since the day after the earthquake, youth from even the most disadvantaged areas demonstrated Haitian resilience in that they returned to places where they expected to find survivors (e.g., the universities), to help recover survivors or remains of the deceased. Montas indicated that their behavior was characterized by the discipline and resilience which characterized that of their ancestors over the previous two centuries.[2]

Montas' description of Haitian resilience is helpful. It describes resilience as "acceptance of conditions," as solidarity demonstrated by "Haitians helping Haitians," and as resumption of normal activities despite the devastation levied by the earthquake. Indeed, the American Heritage Dictionary defines resilience as "The power or ability to return to the original form, position, etc., after being bent, compressed, or stretched; elasticity; the ability to recover readily from illness, depression, adversity, or the like."[3[pp.1051–1052]] Elsewhere, resilience is defined as "a range of processes that bring together quite diverse mechanisms operating before, during, and after the encounter with the stress experience or adversity."[4[p.135]] Still, Montas' observation might blur the focus on individual, community-level, and infrastructure trauma and their long-term biopsychosocial impact.

Trauma comes from the Greek word for "wound." Trauma refers either to physical or to psychological, life-threatening injury resulting from catastrophic personal, familial, or disaster experiences, from which the individual or community cannot escape, but to which the reaction is one of terror, helplessness, and a sense of being overwhelmed.[5] Consistent with the latter definition, the 2010 Haiti earthquake was unexpected (in contrast to familiar seasonal hurricanes); the earthquake evoked terror and helplessness in response to inescapable forces that were beyond the ability of its victims to manage or resist (Heart-rending images of traumatized survivors were viewed on television

sets, on the Internet, and in newspapers around the globe). The earthquake also led to the death of an estimated 230,000 people, as well as displacement and severe injuries to tens of thousands more.[6]

The intensity of a person's response to sudden traumatic events is, in part, based on prior exposures to trauma. Trauma may cause adverse physiological changes such as the release of stress hormones that can actually weaken health and resilience.[7] However, the outcomes of trauma, regardless of its source, are not limited to adverse, irreversible health or social outcomes. Rutter notes that cumulative trauma and adverse responses to traumatic events can result in adaptive recovery/resilience.[4] Given Rutter's contribution, post-earthquake Haiti provides an ideal context in which to study resilience because as a nation, it has experienced cumulative trauma, beginning with slavery, followed by centuries of social and political turbulence, and culminating in centuries of structural violence that facilitate the perpetuation of inequities such as poverty, illiteracy, and preventable disease.[8] Moreover, Haitians have endured geographical disasters, such as annual cyclones and flooding. In the aftermath of the earthquake, Haiti was further ravaged with a cholera epidemic that killed thousands of earthquake survivors and that severely taxed the country's health and economic infrastructure.[9]

In the present work, we first explore the meaning of resilience and its application to Haitians as resilient through a review of the literature on resilience published between 1990 and 2013. We then examine the extent to which resilience as defined in the literature applies to Haitian earthquake survivors who took part in a larger study conducted in Haiti between 2010 and 2011 (In that study, we investigated the role of social capital in post-earthquake shelter recovery, and explored personal functioning and neighborhood characteristics before and after the earthquake).[10–11] In accomplishing our objectives, we enhance understanding of resilience among Haitians by presenting an intellectual and culturally contextualized framework for the ability of Haitians to continue "business as usual." We begin with a description of the methods from the larger Social Capital Study,[10–11] following this with a description of the methods for exploring the literature on Haitians and resilience. Then, we present the results of the literature review first, using it as a context within which to understand the present study participants' responses. We proceed with the findings from the Haiti-based Social Capital study, followed by a discussion of our findings from the present study and concluding with the implications of our findings for clinical practice with Haitian survivors of the earthquake and for policy more broadly.

Methods

Methods of Social Capital Study in Haiti.[10–11] *Population studied*. We traveled to Haiti in May 2010, to examine the role of social capital on post-disaster shelter recovery processes across three neighborhoods in Port-au-Prince, the nation's capital: Delmas, Canapé Vert and Pétion Ville. Delmas comprises Haut Delmas (High Delmas), a middle-income area, and Bas Delmas, (Lower Delmas) a lower-income neighborhood. Canapé Vert remains a high-income area where intellectuals and wealthy people reside, in spite of multiple squatter homes that now populate its hillsides. Pétion Ville, a suburb in the Port-au-Prince mountains, is socioeconomically similar to Canapé Vert.

The main focus of the social capital study was not on resilience per se, but we asked community leaders and members who survived the earthquake to compare their lives, their functioning, and their neighborhoods'/neighbors' characteristics pre and post-earthquake, and to offer their perspectives on the speed of housing recovery.[10–11] That study was funded by the National Science Foundation.

Ethical considerations. The social capital study was approved by the University of South Florida Institutional Review Board (IRB), by the Florida International University IRB, and by the Haitian National Bioethics Committee.

Recruitment. Building on established collaborations with Haiti-based scholars and community leaders, we employed targeted purposive sampling and snowball sampling to recruit participants for semi-structured interviews and focus groups. We reached saturation[12–13] after interviewing 38 community leaders and conducting 6 focus groups across the three communities.

Setting. The interviews and focus groups were held in different but convenient locations across the targeted communities, maximizing comfort and privacy for the participants. These sites included the Haitian Institute of Community Health (Institut Haitien de Santé Communautaire [INHSAC]) of Pétion Ville, local churches in Canapé Vert and Delmas, and a tent school in Canapé Vert.

Data collection process. We used a semi-structured interview guide and a semi-structured focus group guide to collect data in three phases: (1) baseline data collection and analysis (May–September 2010); (2) follow-up data collection and analysis (October–May 2011); and (3) validation/participant verification research (June 2011). Our data collection methods varied across the three phases of research.

During the first and second phases, we conducted focus groups (n=6), in-depth, semi-structured interviews (n=36), participant observation in the targeted neighborhoods, and review of secondary sources. During the first and second phases, we also conducted a total of 38 in-depth interviews.

In the first phase, we conducted six focus groups as baseline data on the role of social capital in post-disaster shelter recovery, on neighborhood and family dynamics before and after the earthquake, and on accessing food and other basic resources in the aftermath of the earthquake. (Two focus groups were conducted in each of the three communities, and within each community, one focus group targeted female participants and the second targeted male participants.) Across the three communities, we recruited 47 focus group participants. In the second phase, we conducted six follow-up focus groups in the same communities, equally divided across the communities, for a total of 45 participants. Focus group participants from our first phase made up 62% of focus group participants in our second phase; and we recruited additional participants to arrive at 45 focus group participants in the second phase. Our semi-structured interviews and focus groups were conducted in Haitian Kreyòl, the language that is understood by members of all social classes in Haiti.

We also used close-ended questions to collect demographic data and additional data on social capital and solidarity within and across the neighborhoods during and after the earthquake (Copies of research instruments are available upon request).

During our third and last research phase, Assessment (Validation/Participant Verification) Research, we facilitated two Town Hall Meetings at INHSAC, using a semi-

structured guide. These town hall meetings, like the focus groups, were segregated by gender to allow participants from across the three communities to express their views freely. There were approximately 25–30 participants in each town hall meeting. The town hall meeting format allowed us to present, discuss and corroborate or correct our findings from the previous research stages with the study participants, helping us to enhance the trustworthiness of our findings. Additionally, the town hall meetings gave the project participants the opportunity to hear what members of other communities had experienced, to explore others' perceptions on the impact of the earthquake on members of other communities, and to begin networking across communities.

We audio-recorded and transcribed the interviews and the focus groups with the informed consent of participants, translating them into English as we transcribed, as this method increases efficiency.[14]

Data analysis. In the social capital study, we used ATLAS.ti®, supportive software for textual data analysis to conduct a thematic analysis of our interview and focus group transcripts.[15] We analyzed the close-ended sociodemographic data from the focus groups via SPSS 16.0,[16] thus, obtaining findings from univariate and bivariate analysis of characteristics of the Haiti-based study participants.

Summary of findings from the Social Capital Study. The study highlighted that social capital in the Haitian context is a culturally-based connection between a structural aspect of social capital that participants described as *moun pa* (literally, "person of mine", figuratively, "person who is part of my inner circle"), and an attitudinal/trust component of social capital called *konfyans* (literally, "trust"). Haitians reportedly engage in *pati pri* with their *moun pas*, literally, "take sides" with their close and trusted associates. Social capital study participants also reported that those who have access to resources will often intentionally block individuals who are not their *moun pas* from important shelter and food resources. A startling example of Haitian social capital was offered by study participants who told of one woman who had so many *moun pas* that she had amassed an overabundance of rice and tents, which she then sold to others who did not have *moun pas* who possessed the needed resources. Thus, social capital in the aftermath of the Haiti earthquake sometimes resulting in negative consequences, i.e., violence towards those who were denied access to resources.[10–11]

The definition of social capital in the post-earthquake Haiti context was particularly salient when we considered the question of resilience among post-earthquake Haitians.

The research prompts that are the focus of the present work permitted us to consider resilience among survivors of the Haiti earthquake across the three phases of research. These prompts included the following: 1) discuss your neighborhood before the earthquake; 2) discuss your family before the earthquake; 3) discuss your neighborhood since the earthquake; 4) discuss your family since the earthquake; 5) discuss your opinion of the speed of shelter recovery in Haiti and in your neighborhood.

Methods of literature review. We conducted a literature review using pre-established selection criteria to analyze studies conducted on resilience between 1990 and 2013. (This timeframe is important in that there had been a great deal of political and geographical turmoil in Haiti during that period; therefore, it could be expected that the resilience of Haitians would appear in the literature during that time frame in conjunction with risk and the physical, psychological, and emotional trauma). However, recognizing that no

single review of the research literature can be comprehensive, we employed a strategy that explicitly operationalized how articles are chosen for review.[16]

We established the following criteria for inclusion in our final sample of relevant articles: (a) English language articles published from 1990 through 2013 in peer-reviewed journal articles in the fields of social work, sociology, public health and/ or psychology (these fields are relevant to social work practice, policy and research, and to the biological, neurological, and psychological correlates of trauma and to policy); (b) articles published in Canada or in the United States (U.S.) (Canada was included because Montreal and Quebec are home to large Haitian enclaves); (c) articles on resilience that examined resilience specifically in relation to Haitians; (d) peer-reviewed publications for which abstracts and the actual articles were accessible via searches conducted in PsycInfo, Social Work Abstracts and Social Services Research; e) works that were cited as seminal studies, even if their dates of publication were prior to our 1990-2013 selection criteria. We excluded dissertations, books, and book reviews; but we remained open to including book chapters in cases where the author was an expert on content concerning Haitians and mental health.

ATLAS.ti® also permitted us to view the findings from the literature search and the findings from the social capital study as one corpus of data. Thus, we got a clear sense of which conceptualization (s) of resilience was most applicable to the experiences of the earthquake survivors we studied.

Results

Results of literature review. Table 1 lists the keywords, databases and process used in our search for literature on resilience.

As is evident in Table 1, above, we received the fewest hits across the three databases when we specifically sought for "resilience and Haitians and trauma." Box 1 presents specific works that emerged from our search for "resilience and Haitians." Of those, only three actually advanced knowledge on resilience and Haitians, and that too in a

Table 1.

KEYWORDS AND DATABASES USED IN SEARCH FOR ARTICLES ON HAITIANS AND RESILIENCE

Keywords	Psych INFO	Social Work Abstracts	Social Services Research Abstracts
What is resilience	198	6	87
Review of resilience	327	13	185
Resilience and disasters	430	7	62
Resilience and Haitians	7	1	0
Resilience and trauma	1,383	28	181
Resilience and Haitians and trauma	3	1	0

Box 1.

RESULT OF LITERATURE SEARCH USING KEYWORDS "RESILIENCE AND HAITIANS" "1990–2013"

Year	Author (s)	Title	Specific to Haitians?	Enhances K on R +H	How K on R+H is expanded	Publication Type
2013	Roysircar, G. (sp)	Disaster Counseling: A Haitian family post January 12, 2010 earthquake.	Yes	Yes	Discusses disaster mental health and available resources on the community and individual level in Haiti.	Book
2011	Asante, M. K.	Haiti: Three analytical narratives of crisis and recovery.	Yes	Yes	Discusses how Haiti dealt with natural and man-made disasters using class, religion and culture.	Journal of Black Studies
2011	Belizaire, L. S. & Fuertes, J. N.	Attachment, coping, acculturative stress, and quality of life among Haitian immigrants.	Yes	No	Resilience as coping	Journal of Counseling and Development
2011	Bellegarde-Smith, P.	A man-made disaster: The earthquake of Jan. 12, 2010- A Haitian perspective.	Yes	No	Discusses the potential bounds of Haitian resilience in the light of the multiple challenges Haitians face.	Journal of Black Studies
2011	Lundy, G.	Transnationalism in the aftermath of the Haiti earthquake: Reinforcing ties and second-generation identity.	Yes	Yes	Discusses identity among second generation Haitians as resilient and how the earthquake has affected that.	Journal of Black Studies
2011	Rahill, G., Jean-Gilles, M. , Thomlison, B., & Pinto-Lopez, E.	Metaphors as contextual evidence for engaging Haitian clients in practice: A case study.	Yes	No	Discusses how metaphors focus on cultural strength and resilience among Haitians.	American Journal of Psychotherapy

(Continued on p. 587)

Box 1. (*continued*)

Year	Author (s)	Title	Specific to Haitians?	Enhances K on R +H	How K on R+H is expanded	Publication Type
2010	Nicolas, G., Schwartz, B. & Pierre, E.	Weathering the storms like bamboo: The strengths and Haitians in coping with natural disasters.	Yes	Yes	Resilience as flexibility and grounded in traditional rituals	Book
2009	Stewart, M. R.	Autobiographical narratives of Haitian adolescents separated from their parents by immigration: Resilience in the face of difficulty.	Yes	No	Discusses Haitian youth who were separated from their families during immigration and how their resiliency can play a role in their lives.	Dissertation
2004	Yarvis, J., Sabin, M., Nackerud, L. & Pandit, K.	Haitian Immigrants in the United States: Intergenerational Trauma Transmission, Adaptation and Ethnic Identity.	Yes	No	Resilience as adaptation	Caribbean Journal of Social Work

Notes:
K= Knowledge
R= Resilience
H= Haitians

limited fashion, suggesting that a great deal more remains be discovered about resilience and Haitians.

Scientific research on resilience is extensive and spans several decades, including but not limited to those referred to here.[4,17–26] Box 2 contains findings on resilience in general, including scholarly works published between 1990 and 2013, which contributed to our understanding of resilience among Haitians.

Throughout the literature searches, we compiled a list of recurrent concepts related to resilience that were readily relevant to survivors of trauma such as the recent earthquake in Haiti. These included: *determinants of resilience*, *variability of resilience*, *characteristics of resilient people*, *consequences of resilience*, *resilience in life adaptations*, *resilience in cumulative trauma*, *resilience and spirituality*, *predictors of resilience*, *models of resilience*, and *scales of resilience*.

Summary of findings on resilience from literature search. *Resilience in general*. We found varied aspects to resilience. In addition to definitions provided above, some sources define resilience as the ability to return to a previous and healthy level of functioning in the aftermath of a stressful situation.[20,23]

Luthar and colleagues distinguish resilience, a changing process of adapting to traumatic events, from resiliency, which is defined as a personal trait possessed by those who survive traumatic experiences with little observable effects on their biopsychosocial functioning.[20] Linley identifies wisdom as an essential component of resilience, offering "three dimensions of wisdom as crucial to an understanding of the role it can play in posttraumatic positive adaptation. These dimensions are the recognition and management of uncertainty; the integration of affect and cognition; and the recognition and acceptance of human limitation."[19[p.601]] Linley further asserts that wisdom is "consistently implicated in the development of post-traumatic positive adaptation."[19,[p.602]]

Masten[21] notes that resilience and resiliency can be developed and strengthened, and can contribute to personal growth. These assertions point to necessary life adaptations that must occur if a person is to emerge as resilient: more specifically they suggest that resilience includes recognition, management, and acceptance of uncertainty and human limitation, as well as integration of cognition and emotions.

Werner and Smith further expanded our knowledge of resiliency. Their pioneering work on resilience consisted of a longitudinal study that tracked high-risk children from birth through age 32.[25–26] They found that those who grew up to be productive and successful possessed similar traits including the ability to solve problems, the capacity to initiate and retain friendships, a belief that they have control over what happens to them, a sense of hope and purpose, an affectionate bond with a significant other, and a spiritual stance that includes faith and prayer.[25–26] Later, Flach added that resilience includes peoples' ability to tolerate stress and to be open-minded and disciplined while having a low tolerance for unacceptable behavior in others.[18] Flach also indicated that a strong sense of humor, creativity, courage, and insight are present in people described as resilient. Moreover, he found resilience to include a disposition to dream and make plans that inspire hope and a sense of integrity. Flach further noted that the most successful survivors of trauma are those who not only possess insight into the psychological effect of their experience, but also possess the ability to verbalize it to others. Furthermore, Flach also noted that the emphasis in resilience research should

Box 2.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS ON RESILIENCE IN GENERAL (1990–2013)

Scholar (s)	Definition of Resilience
Flach	• ability to be open-minded and disciplined while having a low tolerance for unacceptable behavior in others; • strong sense of humor, creativity, courage, and insight; • disposition to dream and make plans that inspire hope and a sense of integrity; • not only possess insight into the psychological effect of their experience, but also possess the ability to verbalize it to others;
Werner & Smith	• ability to solve problems; • capacity to initiate and retain friendships; • a belief that they have control over what happens to them; • a sense of hope and purpose; • an affectionate bond with a significant other; • and a spiritual stance that includes faith and prayer;
Luthar, Cicchetti, & Becker	• ability to return to a previous and healthy level of functioning in the aftermath of a stressful situation; ◦ distinguishes resilience, a changing process of adapting to traumatic events, from resiliency, a personal trait possessed by those who survive traumatic experiences with apparently little observable effects on their biopsychosocial functioning;
Masten	• positive adjustment following conditions experienced as challenging • a set of behaviors, attitudes and skills that can be learned
Linley	• wisdom as an essential component of resilience ◦ "three dimensions of wisdom as crucial to an understanding of the role it can play in posttraumatic positive adaptation: ▪ recognition and management of uncertainty; ▪ integration of affect and cognition; and ▪ recognition and acceptance of human limitation"
National Center for Victims of Crime	• resilient persons emerge from stressful situations feeling normal and sometimes stronger for having experienced the situation
Nicolas, Schwartz, & Pierre	• Flexibility; (similar to bamboo); • cultural factors (PROVERBS)such as the family, the traditional foods and spiritual factors as contributing factors to Haitian ability to continue to "cope"
American Heritage Dictionary online	• power or ability to return to the original form, position, etc., after being bent, compressed, or stretched; elasticity; • ability to recover readily from illness, depression, adversity, or the like;

be placed on traits that mitigate the occurrence of severe physical and psychological distress among survivors of trauma (i.e., resiliency), rather than on factors that result in disruptive health outcomes. Others have included independence, initiative, and morality as traits of resilient people[27] as well as a positive history with one's father, coupled with an innate desire to help one's fellow man.[28]

Resilience and Haitians With respect to resilience and Haitians, we found early in the literature that N'zengou-Tayo, speaking of historical injustices that rural Haitian women have endured, noted that Haitian women had "not given up hope of improving their circumstances" and that "their traditional resilience is now strengthened by a fighting spirit."[29[pp.125–6]] That is the only reference to resilience in N'zengou-Tayo's work, and it is consistent with the definition of resilience in as persistent hope and struggle despite adversity.

In post-earthquake literature addressing resilience and Haitians, Nicolas and colleagues acknowledge that Haitians are as flexible as "bamboo;" they document that cultural factors such as the family, traditional food, and spiritual factors contribute to the ability of Haitians to continue to "cope" with traumatic events, including disasters.[22] The reference to bamboo as a metaphor elucidates the ability of Haitians to be flexible as bamboo trees, which can withstand strong elemental forces without being destroyed. To substantiate their metaphor, Nicolas and colleagues herald a popular Haitian Kreyòl saying, "*Pliye, pliye, pa kase*." In English, the words translate as "Bend (Fold), bend, don't break." Such a perspective is consistent with the definition from the American Heritage Dictionary.[3] However, the latter source suggests that the person "bent [or] folded" as a result of trauma would return to his or her "original" form. We currently have no scientific evidence that Haitian survivors of the 2010 earthquake and of adverse contextual events return to their original form, as there is little to indicate what that original form was. Lacking also has been knowledge that contributes to our understanding of Haitian resilience from the emic or insider perspective of those who survived a traumatic disaster such as the 2010 earthquake.

Having summarized the literature obtained through our search on resilience, we tried to ascertain if patterns of resilience from the literature are related to the experiences of survivors of the Haitian earthquake. Thus, we applied what is known about resilience in the literature to data obtained in the social capital study. For additional related work, see the last seven works cited in this paper.[31–37]

Application of literature on resilience to Haiti-based Social Capital Study. Using the conceptualizations of resilience found in the literature, we analyzed transcriptions of data obtained from semi-structured interviews of 38 community leaders and six focus groups (n=36) conducted with community residents to see if their reported experiences and activities reflected what the academic sources define as resilience. Table 2 summarizes the demographic characteristics of our community leaders' sample by neighborhood. It is followed by Table 3, which reflects the sociodemographic characteristics of our focus group members.

All (100%) of the community leaders and focus group members who participated in our social capital study confirmed and spoke about the experience of trauma, as defined earlier, as a consequence of the earthquake.

Flach's conceptualization of resilience.[18] Consistent with Flach, our study participants demonstrated open-mindedness and discipline in their willingness to participate

Table 2.

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS—COMMUNITY LEADERS—PHASE I AND PHASE II (N=38)

Demographic Characteristics	PétionVille (% and count)	Delmas (% and count)	Canapé Vert (% and count)	Total (% and Count) across communities
Age Group				
18–25	10.0 (1)	0.0 (0)	11.1 (1)	5.3 (2)
26–30	30.0 (3)	10.5 (2)	33.3 (3)	21.1 (8)
31–35	40.0 (4)	15.8 (3)	33.3 (3)	26.3 (10)
36–40	20.0 (2)	5.3 (1)	22.2 (2)	13.2 (5)
41–45	0.0 (0)	26.3 (5)	0.0 (0)	13.2 (5)
46–65	0.0 (0)	31.7 (6)	0.0 (0)	15.7 (6)
Over 65	0.0 (0)	10.5 (2)	0.0 (0)	5.3 (2)
Total	100.0 (10)	100.0 (19)	100.0 (9)	100.0 (38)
Gender				
Male	80.0 (8)	94.7 (18)	66.7 (6)	84.2 (32)
Female	20.0 (2)	5.3 (1)	33.3 (3)	15.8 (6)
Total	100.0 (10)	100.0 (19)	100.0 (9)	100.0 (38)
Education				
Less than high school	0.0 (0)	10.5 (2)	0.0 (0)	5.3 (2)
Equivalent to high school	10.0 (1)	36.8 (7)	11.1 (1)	23.7 (9)
Some College/No degree	50.0 (5)	21.1 (4)	55.6 (5)	36.8 (14)
College/ BA Equivalent/ Credentialed	30.0 (3)	21.1 (4)	33.3 (3)	26.3 (10)
Graduate Degree	0.0 (0)	5.3 (1)	0.0 (0)	2.6 (1)
Unknown or Trade School	5.3 (1)	5.3 (1)	0.0 (0)	5.3 (2)
Total	100.0 (10)	100.0 (19)	100.0 (9)	100.0 (38)
Birthplace				
Port-au-Prince	20.0 (2)	21.1 (4)	22.2 (2)	21.1 (8)
Other/ Rural	80.0 (8)	73.7 (14)	77.8 (7)	76.3 (29)
Unknown/Missing Data	0.0 (0)	5.3 (1)	0.0 (0)	2.6 (1)
Total	100.0 (10)	100.0 (19)	100.0 (9)	100.0 (38)
Employed				
Yes	50.0 (5)	15.8 (3)	44.4 (4)	31.6 (12)
No	50.0 (5)	78.9 (15)	55.6 (5)	65.8 (25)
Unknown/ Missing Data	0.0 (0)	5.3 (1)	0.0 (0)	2.6 (1)
Total	100.0 (10)	100.0 (19)	100.0 (9)	100.0 (38)
Marital Status				
Single	90.0 (9)	10.5 (2)	66.7 (6)	44.8 (17)
Married	0.0 (0)	78.9 (15)	22.2 (2)	44.8 (17)
Cohabiting/ Plase	10.0 (1)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	2.6 (1)
Separated/Widowed/ Divorced	0.0 (0)	10.6 (2)	11.1 (1)	7.8 (3)
Total	100.0 (10)	100.0 (19)	100.0 (9)	100.0 (38)
Religion				
Catholic	0.0 (0)	10.5 (2)	44.4 5(4)	15.8 (6)
Protestant	90.0 (9)	79.0 (15)	44.45(4)	73.7 (28)
None	10.0 (1)	10.5 (2)	11.1 (1)	10.5 (4)
Total	100.0 (10)	100.0 (19)	100.0 (9)	100.0 (38)

Table 3.

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF FOCUS GROUP MEMBERS INTERVIEWED DURING PHASE I AND PHASE II (N=63)

Demographic Characteristics	Pétion Ville (% and count)	Delmas (% and count)	Canapé Vert (% and count)	Total (% and Count) across communities
Age Group				
18–25	40.9 (9)	46.6 (7)	26.9 (7)	36.5 (23)
26–30	4.5 (1)	40.0 (6)	26.9 (7)	22.2 (14)
31–35	18.2 (4)	6.7 (1)	19.2 (5)	15.9 (10)
36–40	13.6 (3)	0.0 (0)	3.8 (1)	6.3 (4)
41–45	4.5 (1)	6.7 (1)	11.6 (3)	7.9 (5)
46–65	18.2 (4)	0.0 (0)	11.6 (3)	11.2 (7)
Total	100.0 (22)	100.0 (15)	100.0 (26)	100.0 (63)
Gender				
Male	54.5 (12)	60.0 (9)	50.0 (13)	54.0 (34)
Female	45.5 (10)	40.0 (6)	50.0 (13)	46.0 (29)
Total	100.0 (22)	100.0 (15)	100.0 (26)	100.0 (63)
Education				
Less than high school	36.5 (8)	33.3 (5)	34.6 (9)	34.9 (22)
Equivalent to high school	54.5 (12)	40.0 (6)	46.2 (12)	47.6 (30)
Some College/No degree	0.0 (0)	6.7 (1)	11.5 (3)	6.3 (4)
College/ BA Equivalent/ Credentialed	4.5 (1)	6.7 (1)	7.7 (2)	6.3 (4)
Unknown or Trade School	4.5 (1)	13.4 (2)	0.0 (0)	4.8 (3)
Total	100.0 (22)	100.0 (15)	100.0 (26)	100.0 (63)
Birthplace				
Port-a-Prince	50.0 (11)	46.7 (7)	53.8 (14)	50.8 (32)
Other	50.0 (11)	53.3 (8)	46.2 (12)	49.2 (31)
Total	100.0 (22)	100.0 (15)	100.0 (26)	100.0 (63)

in the study, to arrive on time for the interviews and other events we scheduled, to patiently wait their turns, and to provide excellent interviews. However, the majority of participants did not demonstrate a disposition to take matters in their own hands so as to dream or make plans that inspire hope. Rather, a recurrent theme from males and females across the neighborhoods reflected Flach's ability to be disciplined while having a low tolerance for unacceptable behavior in others. Some emphasized their integrity as an impetus for perceiving their voting power, rather than violence, as a mechanism of change, while others called for violent change in the nation, whatever the cost:

> I am ***Angwase, nève!*** (Bitter; anxiety-filled). I feel like I must force the change. I am not afraid to die! We were *La Perle des Antilles* (The Pearl of the Antilles). Now, we can't even find food to eat. There must be a revolution even if 500,000 people die—better that than for us to spend the rest of our lives suffering together.

Characteristics of resilience as defined by Flach were further evident among our participants. For example, we observed many community members who were creating beautiful works of art from the rubble under which the remains of loved ones decayed; others painted exquisite scenery of people in the earthquake. Moreover, courage was evident in the testimonies of community leaders, focus group members, and town hall participants who persistently engaged in creative measures to obtain scarce resources that were being offered and to meet with government officials that they felt should help. A female community leader from Delmas described creativity, persistence, and insight, as she asserted: "I went to his [government official's] office and they told me he was not there again. So, [laughing] I sat outside and waited until 5 o'clock and saw him quickly jump in his car and drive off!"

All participants across focus groups and interviews spoke of their hope of possible change as they awaited an election that was imminent during the first phase of the study. They described anticipating support from foreign governments and international aid organizations. A community member from Canapé Vert stated, "We believe in our president, and as long as the American government gives him support, everything will be resolved." Others had hopes that the country would be rebuilt and would be better in the long run, even while anticipating that socioeconomic inequity would persist and bracing for the effect of cholera as a new, unanticipated threat. During the town hall meeting, a young male Delmas resident stated,

> *Kote-k te mal ap toujou pi mal.* [Places that were badly off will always be the worst.] Those areas which were not too badly off before the earthquake will be not only paraseismic but even more beautiful. The lowest class is the one that sustains and carries all the problems, including this cholera that we are now facing.

While hope was evident, the final conclusion from the male town hall meeting, was "Seeing is believing; we don't know. There is hope, but we have to see. Here at home, it is always like this- there is always beautiful, grand hope and then no result." Likewise, a sense of hopelessness stemming from "hearing" that things will improve without "seeing" evidence on which to base hope was a theme in the female town hall meeting. A female participant from Canapé Vert confirmed a subjective sense of void with hopelessness, adding:

> If we complain, we are speaking in the void. Nothing is going to be resolved, even when we make organized protests. We don't know what the government might do for us. We hear that they are going to buy houses . . . that they give out food, but we only hear. We don't see because nobody comes to us. . . .

Werner and Smith's conceptualization of resilience.[25] Consistent with Werner and Smith, participants of both town hall meetings strongly affirmed that their hope was directed outside of themselves or their loved ones and that this external locus of control may have hindered individual or corporate action: "Well, we don't know. Our hope is in God's hands; we are waiting on God!" But even though the participants did not assert an intrinsic hope in their personal ability to effect change, the hope born of

their faith in God seemed to mitigate abject despair; however, in the men's town hall meeting, hope outside oneself and in God occasioned a lively debate concerning true faith as something that endures, compared with something that many sought after the shock of earthquake. A male community leader from Delmas acknowledged that faith of the Haitian people may have been a result of the earthquake, rather than their survival being the result of their faith:

> Faith—it is part of the rubric—that is an answer some people had given in response to your question about hope; but each person conceives of faith in a certain way. This earthquake—the way it was—the magnitude—we don't have that tradition/historical experience. Today's generation does not have a framework within which to understand it. It's normal that when the earthquake came—since from time to time, they were instructing them they were telling them that the return of Jesus Christ is the end of the world—and that they had never personally witnessed the death of such a great quantity of people—it's normal to interpret the earthquake as something to do with the way they had been taught. Faith by its definition is something that is durable and firm. It is not something that—when you have it, when it animates you—you will not despair for what happens. The earthquake led every Haitian to scramble and look for where their faith had been and where they'd hidden it—well, then there is no Haitian who has faith—if that was it; if that is how it is. That means there is no Haitian who has faith.

Werner and Smith's view of resilience as including a spiritual stance of faith and prayer was most evident in the initial phase of the study, which took place in the months subsequent to the earthquake. During that time, members from all three communities had expressed a great deal of "faith" in "God," and had stressed the importance of faith and spirituality in their ability to continue to live day by day, even with recurrent aftershocks, six months after the earthquake, "because we did not die in the earthquake." These attributed the cause of the earthquake to the sins of the Haitian people and ascribed their survival directly to their faith in God or in God's ability to deliver them for a higher purpose. Substantiating this belief, several study participants firmly quoted a verse from Psalms 118:17:

> *Je ne mourrai pas, je vivrai, et je raconterai les œuvres de l'Eternel ; l'Eternel m'a châtié, mais il ne m'a pas livré à la mort*. [I shall not die, but live, and declare the works of the LORD; the Lord has chastised me, but He has not given me over to death].

Others, including a male community leader from Delmas struggled with a faith that encouraged endurance through suffering, asserting that his faith inspires hope, but acknowledging that suffering is "not sweet" and can challenge one's sense of worth, leaving one with a sense of resignation and helplessness:

> It makes a difference that I trust in God because there is hope; there is a song that they used to sing [about] accept suffering. Whenever they are singing it in church now, I can't sing along because suffering is not something that a person can accept as if it is something that is sweet. Sometimes we find ourselves in a situation that we have to accept, because we don't have the option of doing the contrary. We come to the conclusion that maybe it is we ourselves who are not valuable.

With respect to the aspect of Werner and Smith's conceptualization of resilience as involving relationships and a sense of purpose: Throughout the study, we were introduced to mothers, brothers, children, and neighbors, and we observed a great deal of affection among family members and friends. During Phases 1 and 2, we also were introduced to "new" friends that participants had made as a result of the earthquake—people who had offered help during or after the earthquake or people they had met in the displacement camps. However, by the third phase, a recurrent theme was the loss of the "new" friends, which compounded the loss of former friends who perished in the earthquake. As an example, during both town hall meetings, participants who no longer resided in the tents continuously reported that a friend or family member would allow them to spend one or two days in a home from time to time; however, they asserted that these were relationships that were forged prior to the earthquake. In fact, all agreed that in the immediate aftermath of the earthquake, "rich and poor, light- and dark-skinned men and women drank from the same cup," as all pitched in to help each other. However, new "friendships" did not endure after the initial aftershocks, as the wealthy scrambled to regain their resources and to re-draw social and class boundaries.

In addition to acknowledging that new friends and social contacts did not endure past the aftershocks, the most study participants also voiced an increasingly lower sense of expectations of the country's leadership. A male Canapé Vert focus group member described a vicious circle of frustration, protest, and return to status quo, and others agreed via strong spoken assent:

> I'm *bouke* [tired to the point of weariness; at my end point/limit]. I am 49 years old. Since my childhood, even if they [politicians] seem like good people, you come to realize that they are what's not good. You vote for change, but you observe that things become even worse! We have been waiting too long. Our expectations have been lowered. We went to school and put something in our brains for nothing. How much time are we expected to wait? NOW! We are *BOUKE*! When people can't handle it anymore, they go and protest; when they protest, they beat them and right there we return to the same thing again.

The sense of being stretched beyond the limit may have prevented us from finding evidence that people would return to a previous and healthy level of functioning as indicated by Luthar and colleagues. Study participants perceived that societal or institutional structures actually hindered Haitian individuals' and communities' ability to recover. By the town hall meetings, Haiti had elected a new president, and participants had observed the aftermath of an earthquake in Chile. They compared their own leaders' responses with those of Chilean leaders:

> Well, then we will spend a five-year period sitting in tents, and then another administration will come into power and we'll still be in the same thing; it is in the interest of the government to help us but they pretend not to understand so as not to help. Since the president just assumed power, when they have done taking note of our situation, they would see that the people no longer can handle the situation as it is—the way that the terrains are not clean, the humiliation we are suffering, the water in the area, hurricane season being here again; but we have asked, we have asked! We have

> asked already, isn't that right? We have asked but we have not received a result! We have made requests already; when you had come before, we had sent that message with you; I see improvements in Chile. Here, there is no leadership. *Se kòm si se yon savann; yon ekip kabrit kap mache ladann san mèt*. [It's like a wilderness/wasteland; a team of goats roaming about in it without a master.]

The above quotation contradicts Flach as well as Werner and Smith's inclusion of hope as part of resilience, and challenged their notions of resilient people as possessing the belief that they have control over what happens to them. Indeed, few male participants in our study endorsed hope and purpose that was related to their own ability to have control over what happened to them. For example, male town hall participants echoed, "Nothing can be done to have made us more able to handle our affairs and to keep ourselves safe," although prior to the election of the new President, there had been renewed hope that their shelter and food needs would be met. In contrast, 100% of the female town hall participants study reported that the new government and its leadership provided renewed hope for them that their needs would be met.

Luthar, Chichetti, and Becker's conceptualization of resilience. With respect to resilience as the ability to return to a previous and healthy level of functioning in the aftermath of a stressful situation,[20] throughout the three phases of research, participants across the three neighborhoods and across genders asserted that they and their lives and quality of life had been completely changed by the earthquake. For example, during the second phase of the research, both male and female focus group members repeatedly re-emphasized the impact of losing family members, friends, associates and neighbors, adults, elders, and children. Along with these losses, many experienced a tremendous concern regarding the length of time that people spent under the debris and the apparent inability of the Haitian government to enable speedy recovery of their deceased loved ones, their belongings, and their residences.

A young female community member from Canapé Vert reflected Luthar's criterion of resilience as ability to return to previous level of functioning. However, in this case the resilience seemed not to achieve a healthy level, as resources had dwindled so greatly and the impact on people was so far-reaching. Her assertions, drawn from Haitian popular wisdom, also partially illustrated Masten's resilience as adjustment under challenging conditions:

> There are people from Mòn Rosa whose homes were not destroyed. If the person's home is not destroyed, even if it's hard for the person to find food to eat, s/he is not too bad; there is now no financing for their efforts, but they manage to live anyway. From my viewpoint, the person spends as much as s/he knows s/he has. How does the Haitian proverb go again? *Mezi lajan ou mezi wanga-ou* [Your magic/Voodoo is only as big as your money].

Although this quotation does not indicate how positive the adjustment is, it does support Nicolas and colleagues' definition of Haitian resilience as flexibility, and of cultural factors, in this case traditional proverbs, as featuring in resilience among Haitians. Her statements regarding the ability of others to resume normal activities also reflect resilience as defined by Flach in his positing of courage, plan-setting, and integrity as

features of resilience, and Werner and Smith's definition of resilience as an ability to solve problems. Yet, although her statement, like others', indicates that hopelessness was inevitable (given long-standing financial inequities and rulers' apathy), it still asserts the capacity of individuals or communities to be either more or less resilient. Particularly telling is her remark that people "manage to live anyway."

National Center for Victims of Crime's conceptualization of resilience.[30] Consistent with the National Center for Victims of Crime's definition, some acknowledged that the experience of the earthquake had made them stronger, while others maintained that people continued as before the earthquake, but with a diminished capacity. Although he is the only one from the study who maintained that he was stronger for the experience, a young male from Pétion Ville asserted,

> Before the earthquake, I used to be afraid of blood; but I found myself lifting people from under the debris who were covered in blood. I will never be afraid again. Nothing worse could happen than what I have seen and experienced with this earthquake.

Among factors that affected Haitian earthquake survivors' ability to emerge as normal and stronger was a shift in the traditional communal response to death, in which friends and relatives would gather to demonstrate emotional and social support to families of the deceased. A female focus group member from Delmas expressed her despondency that Haitians had become *dekonsantre* (desensitized). She explained that in the immediate aftermath of the earthquake, she sought others to comfort her because she had lost a one-year old daughter, her father, and her mother in the earthquake; but no one comforted her because others had lost five or more family members. For her (and others assented) life would forever be an individual and detached experience. In fact, the loss of community that characterizes Haiti after the earthquake was summarized by a woman from one of the town hall meetings, using a Haitian proverb—to which all (100%) of those present assented loudly and in unison:

> *Se chak koukou kap klere pou je pa yo* [It's each firefly that is lighting the path for its own eyes]. It's not that one would not want to help a neighbor, but now, everybody's head is spinning, because everybody has problems, and so that's what has happened. You come to not have a mind anymore; problems have ravaged us—you can even forget your own children in those moments.

Another factor that affected survivors' ability to emerge normal or stronger was sexual violence against women. Males from the Pétion Ville focus group lamented that the ability to return to a previous level of functioning was particularly precarious for young women across all zones who had not only lost loved ones but were now pregnant or HIV seropositive "en raison des cas de viol" (as a consequence of rape).

Further evidence against the survivors' ability to emerge normal or stronger was that all (100%) of our focus group members and community leaders reported mental health and behavioral symptoms stemming from the earthquake and the resulting trauma. A female focus group member from Canapé Vert stated, "I feel like there is something running through my head. I'm close to simply taking off and running. I just feel like I want to escape—even by boat, just to not be in this environment anymore." In fact,

many individuals, males as well as females, described their personal experiences after the earthquake as existing in a "void" or in "emptiness," and this void pertained to their living conditions, the living conditions of their neighbors, the impact of the earthquake on their children, the loss of possessions and infrastructure, and a sense of helplessness as they wondered if things would ever return to normal. A male community leader from the Delmas neighborhood stated:

> I feel as if I now exist in a void; now you are living in mud; when it rains, there is a woman who puts her baby inside a drawer in the dresser to keep her dry. This makes me cry. We cannot end without touching on children who are being lost in their puberty period. Young men are heads of themselves; of 120 students who were at our school, 20 returned from rural areas [where they had sought shelter]; not even a bell or chalk; no seats to receive parents or professors; all scholastic equipment, notebooks—all gone. I ask myself if things will ever return to the way they were.

Linley's conceptualization of resilience.[19] All (100%) of participants, regardless of gender or neighborhood of residence, accepted that they were limited as human beings, recognized and managed uncertainty, and integrated their emotions with their cognitions. All noted that there was nothing to do but "wait," but not all were content to wait placidly and many disagreed on what they were waiting for. Some, in the first phase, were waiting for the election and new government, others in subsequent phases of the study, were waiting for more aid from international aid organizations, and still others, by the town hall meeting, were waiting for God to answer prayers. There was strong dissent to the latter with a few asserting such things as, "If we're putting our hope in faith, and we're waiting for manna from heaven, the manna will never fall down."

Although some expressed frustration of waiting helplessly, many highlighted the need for positive emotions, stressing the importance of laughter, jokes, and sports events for the children as valuable "distractions" in helping them to deal with the day to day stresses and aftershocks.

Discussion

Haitians have faced numerous traumas historically. In the aftermath of the 2010 earthquake in Haiti, academic and media sources described Haitian survivors as resilient.[2,23] We addressed the questions of whether the patterns of resilience based on the literature can be used to explain the experiences of Haitian survivors of the earthquake, providing testimonials of Haitians interviewed in three phases of research between 2010 and 2011.

Our findings indicate that definitions of resilience in the literature do partially describe Haitian resilience. Specifically, we found evidence that support Haitians' open-mindedness, discipline, low tolerance for unacceptable behavior in others, and hope. We also found support for definitions of resilience as creativity, courage, and insight. Moreover, the psychological effect of Haitians' traumatic experiences and the ability to describe them to others (another characteristic of resilience) were also evident. Consistent with Werner and Smith's definition of resilience, we found evidence in our study sample of Haitian resilience as the ability to solve problems, and the capacity to initiate and retain friendships (albeit primarily retention of friendships forged before

the earthquake). We further found support for Haitian resilience in a spiritual stance of faith and prayer or spirituality, although the relative importance of faith and spirituality in relation to independence, courage, and personal integrity as an impetus for action varied among study participants.

As important, there was a recurrent theme throughout the study of "reziye/resignation." Resignation appears to be a contextual resignation to survive as a matter of choice—when there is no apparent action that the individual can take to mitigate the occurrence or consequence of an adverse event. The 2010 earthquake was such an adverse event. Resilience as resignation underscores that we did not find evidence of Werner and Smith's definition of resilience as a belief that they have control over what happens to them. This is not to discount the allusions to faith and prayer that were resonant throughout the three phases of our study.

Thus, although the testimonials of survivors in our sample indicate that the above definitions as well as the American Heritage definition of resilience can all be used when referring to Haitians as resilient, the individual definitions may not suffice to encompass their myriad experiences since the earthquake.

Adding to concerns about difficulty finding specific support in our study sample for resilience as the belief that they have control over what happens to them was that we also could not find evidence for Masten's definition of resilience as involving positive adjustment under challenging conditions.[21] Reasons for that may be our failure to define "positive" clearly prior to our analysis of our data and our not having more time to observe those studied. Most evident from our findings were testimonials in support of resilience as wisdom (recognition and management of uncertainty, integration of emotions and cognition, and recognition and acceptance of human limitation).[19] This was evident in the Haitian proverbs used by our study participants to reinforce their statements, cultural factors, and flexibility, which Nicolas and colleagues indicate are essential to Haitians' coping.

We discovered that being resilient does not mean that individuals are unaffected by difficulties, but that they have the ability to draw maximally on personal beliefs, behaviors, skills, and attitudes to recover from trauma rather than succumbing to its consequences. Many resilient people have the ability to emerge from stressful situations feeling normal and sometimes stronger for having experienced a traumatic event, but that is not always the case; resilience is variable as some individuals can appear less resilient than they were prior to a traumatic event, especially when the individual experiences the traumatic event at a young age.[30]

Limitations. Our study has some limitations. First, it does not address resilience among Haitians in the Diaspora. In the aftermath of the earthquake, hundreds of Haitians were transported to the U.S. and other nations for humanitarian reasons. The additional challenges and traumas experienced by those remain to be studied. Second, despite the contributions of the present work, the factors that promote and sustain resilience among Haitians, especially in post-traumatic situations such as the 2010 earthquake remain elusive. Third, we did not conduct a longitudinal study, which would have enabled us to document the long-term effects of the earthquake on survivors and on their families in relation to resilience; a longitudinal study would also facilitate findings on the extent to which offspring of the earthquake survivors might

learn traits and attitudes of resilience from their parents. Fourth, our study does not provide knowledge on how resilience develops and is strengthened among Haitians or on how resilience develops among Haitians.

We caution that flippantly referring to Haitian survivors as resilient because they are observed to return to "business as usual" is a potential detraction from focusing on individual, community-level, and covert long-term infrastructure disorders that must be addressed. Future studies should explore the manner in which resignation interacts with the other facets of resilience discussed here (hope, creativity, insight, faith/ spirituality, wisdom). Future studies can also investigate gender differences, developmental differences and class differences in resilience among Haitians.

The Haitians interviewed in this study have determined that while they hope in their government, centuries of the same thing result in their losing faith and becoming "bouke/tired to the point of weariness; at one's endpoint/limit." The international aid agencies were timely and consistent in providing relief in the forms of food, water, and other basic necessities. The question remains of where to begin in order to achieve sustainable change that will equip the survivors to go beyond coping to thriving emotionally. Future studies could also use Masten's contribution that resilience involves positive adjustment under challenging conditions and explore how resilience develops, is strengthened and contributes to personal growth among Haitians. Moreover, future studies can examine traits that mitigate the occurrence of severe physical and psychological distress among survivors of trauma in relation to the prognoses and functioning of disaster survivors in Haiti. As important, such efforts should incorporate the use of Haitian proverbs, which are a "natural" resource of popular wisdom and a framework for making sense of their experiences, as evidenced by the fact that the majority of those interviewed used a proverb to summarize the points they made. The use of metaphors that are part of Haitian proverbs as contextual evidence for engaging Haitian clients has been suggested.[31] This would enable people to contribute to their own contextually grounded interventions.

The understanding of resilience among Haitians can strengthen resilience where it exists and provide key factors that are important in health and reconstruction. Hence, the understanding of resilience in that context can inform health practitioners, policymakers and international aid organizations on how to use their input as key informants on what constitutes resilience and reconstruction for them.

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