

Social Media, Digital Resilience, and Knowledge Sustainability: Syrian Refugees' Perspectives

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Abstract: This study examines the role of social media in enhancing digital resilience and knowledge sustainability among Syrian refugees. Using a mixed-methods approach, the research combines qualitative and quantitative methods, surveying Syrian refugees in Jordan and Türkiye to explore how social media assists them in accessing information and knowledge resources. The findings reveal that social media plays a crucial role in developing social networks, increasing awareness of events in Syria, and connecting refugees with support systems, helping to combat social isolation and foster a sense of belonging. Additionally, digital tools enable refugees to navigate host country services, learn about their rights, and seek assistance from local and international organizations. The study concludes that social media is an essential tool for enhancing refugee resilience, providing a platform for advocacy, self-reliance, and digital empowerment. Strengthening refugees' access to digital tools can further support their long-term integration, skill-building, and livelihood opportunities.

Keywords: Digital Resilience, Sustainability, Refugees' Rights, Social Media, Media System Dependency, Migration, Syrian Crisis

1. Introduction

Resilience is a cornerstone of well-being and quality of life, enabling individuals and communities to adapt, recover, and thrive in the face of adversity. It encompasses inner strength, optimism, and the ability to cope effectively with challenges (Wagnild & Collins, 2009; Masten, 2014). Resilience is not merely an individual trait but also a collective phenomenon, shaped by the interplay of personal, social, and environmental factors (Gyan et al., 2023). At the community level, resilience—often termed social resilience—refers to the capacity of groups to unite, cooperate, and recover from crises, fostering a sense of unity and shared purpose (Kwok et al., 2016). This interdependence between individual and community resilience highlights how personal resilience can reduce the burden on public services and lower recovery costs, benefiting society as a whole.

For vulnerable populations such as refugees, resilience takes on added significance. Displacement, loss, and uncertainty exacerbate the need for adaptive coping mechanisms and access to critical resources. Refugees must navigate complex legal, medical, and educational systems while rebuilding their lives in unfamiliar environments. In this context, digital resilience—the ability to use technology to access information, resources, and social networks—has emerged as a vital tool for empowerment and survival (Mezirow, 2012; Hammond et al., 2022). Social media, in particular, has become a lifeline for refugees, enabling them to connect with local and international aid organizations, learn about their rights, and build supportive communities (Merisalo & Jauhiainen, 2021). For Syrian refugees, who face prolonged displacement and limited access to traditional support systems, digital resilience represents a pathway from vulnerability to empowerment (Easton-Calabria & Omata, 2018).

Moreover, despite the growing recognition of digital resilience, there is limited research on how Syrian refugees specifically utilize social media to enhance their resilience. While existing studies have explored the role of social media in refugee integration (e.g., Merisalo & Jauhiainen, 2021), few have examined its impact on accessing critical information about rights and services or its role in fostering social networks and knowledge sustainability. This study addresses this gap by investigating how Syrian refugees leverage social media to navigate displacement, access essential resources, and build resilience.

The study is guided by the following research questions:

- Do Syrian refugees depend on social media to obtain information about their rights and to determine where they can access assistance?
- What are the local and international institutions and organizations that provide

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assistance and aid to Syrian refugees, and how did participants learn about them through social media?

- Do social media platforms play a role in enhancing refugees' resilience by improving their knowledge of their rights and facilitating access to assistance?
- Do social media platforms contribute to the development of social networks and enhance knowledge about events in Syria and the experiences of Syrian refugees?

This study aims to provide a deeper understanding of the role of social media in fostering digital resilience among Syrian refugees. It also seeks to contribute to the broader literature on resilience, social sustainability, and the use of technology in crisis contexts, offering practical insights for policymakers, aid organizations, and communities working to support displaced populations.

2. Literature Review and Theoretical Frameworks

2.1. Social and Knowledge Sustainability in Refugee Contexts

Social sustainability is critical for ensuring equitable access to resources and opportunities, particularly for vulnerable populations such as refugees (Dekker & Engbersen, 2014; Dekker et al., 2016). It encompasses safety, work, education, housing, and healthcare, all of which are essential for fostering inclusive and resilient communities (Renukappa et al., 2006; Panter, 2018). However, refugees often face systemic barriers to accessing these resources, highlighting the need for innovative solutions. Knowledge sustainability—the preservation and dissemination of knowledge over time—plays a vital role in empowering refugees. Yet, the rapid evolution of digital tools presents challenges, such as ephemerality and fragmentation, which can disrupt traditional knowledge-sharing processes (Renukappa et al., 2006). For Syrian refugees, who rely heavily on digital platforms for critical information, ensuring the sustainability of knowledge is essential. This requires interoperability between systems, a culture of knowledge accumulation, and adaptive legal frameworks to support long-term preservation.

Despite the importance of knowledge sustainability, there is limited research on how Syrian refugees specifically utilize digital tools to access and preserve knowledge. While some studies have explored the role of social media in refugee integration (e.g., Merisalo & Jauhiainen, 2021; Hathaway, 2021), few have examined its impact on accessing legal, medical, and educational resources. This gap in the literature underscores the need for further research on how digital tools can enhance knowledge sustainability for refugees.

2.2. The Role of Digital Tools in Refugee Resilience

Digital tools, particularly mobile phones and social media have become indispensable for refugees navigating displacement and integration (Aldamen, 2017; Anderson & Daniel, 2020). These tools provide multimodal affordances that enable refugees to access information, assert their rights, and connect with support networks (Gough & Gough, 2019). For example, smartphones offer life-saving capabilities, such as real-time updates on border restrictions, transportation, and lodging, as well as access to humanitarian assistance (Diminescu, 2020; Cogo & Zanforlin, 2020). Social media platforms like Facebook and applications like WhatsApp allow refugees to maintain connections with their home countries while building new networks in host communities (Madianou & Miller, 2013; Crawley & Skleparis, 2018).

However, the reliance on digital tools also exposes refugees to risks, such as misinformation and surveillance. Despite these challenges, refugees prioritize Internet connectivity over other basic needs, viewing it as essential for survival and integration (Campbell et al., 2014; Vernon et al., 2016). For Syrian refugees, social media serves as a vital source of information about both their home country and their host country, enabling them to stay informed and connected (Cooper 2015; Miconi, 2020). While existing studies highlight the benefits of digital tools for refugees, there is limited research on how these tools specifically enhance resilience among Syrian refugees. This study addresses this gap by exploring how Syrian refugees use social media to access critical resources and build resilience.

2.3. Theoretical Frameworks

The Syrian civil war, which began in 2011, has resulted in one of the most devastating humanitarian crises of the 21st century, displacing millions of Syrians and forcing them to seek asylum in neighboring countries and beyond. This mass displacement has drawn global attention to issues of refugee rights, resettlement, and integration (Marlowe, 2019). Amid this crisis, social media platforms have emerged as powerful tools for raising awareness, mobilizing support, and advocating for refugee rights. Hashtags such as #WithSyria and #SyriaCrisis have leveraged platforms like Twitter, Facebook, and Instagram to amplify voices and demand global action. While digital activism has proven effective in garnering attention, questions remain about its ability to translate online engagement into tangible outcomes. This study seeks to explore the role of social media in fostering digital resilience among Syrian refugees, focusing on its efficacy in providing access to critical information, resources, and social networks.

In Türkiye, Syrian refugees face significant challenges, including limited employment opportunities, lack of legal work permits, and barriers to education and language acquisition. Many refugees are forced into informal

labor sectors, where they endure harsh working conditions and low wages (Fadhli et al., 2022). These economic and social struggles are compounded by feelings of alienation and trauma, further highlighting the need for resilience-building mechanisms. Social media has been identified as a potential tool for addressing these challenges, offering refugees access to information, social support, and advocacy networks. However, the effectiveness of these platforms in fostering long-term resilience remains underexplored.

This study adopts a Sustainable Community Resilience (SCR) framework, which views resilience as an emergent property of both individual and collective support systems. This framework emphasizes the role of social media and emerging technologies in empowering refugee communities while acknowledging the structural and policy-related factors that shape their utilization. By examining how Syrian refugees use social media to access resources and build resilience, this study aims to contribute to a deeper understanding of digital resilience in displacement contexts.

The Uses and Gratifications Theory (Katz et al., 1974) and the Media Dependency Theory (Ball-Rokeach & DeFleur, 1976) provide useful lenses for understanding how refugees utilize digital tools. According to the Uses and Gratifications Theory, individuals engage with media to fulfil specific needs, including entertainment, personal relationships, personal identity, and surveillance. For refugees, social media serves as a tool for information gathering (surveillance), maintaining connections (personal relationships), and building resilience (personal identity). The Media Dependency Theory further explains the growing reliance on digital tools in crisis contexts, positing that individuals depend on media to reduce uncertainty and access critical information, particularly during times of social upheaval. These theories collectively highlight the cognitive, affective, and behavioural effects of media, which align with the ways refugees use digital tools to navigate displacement and integration.

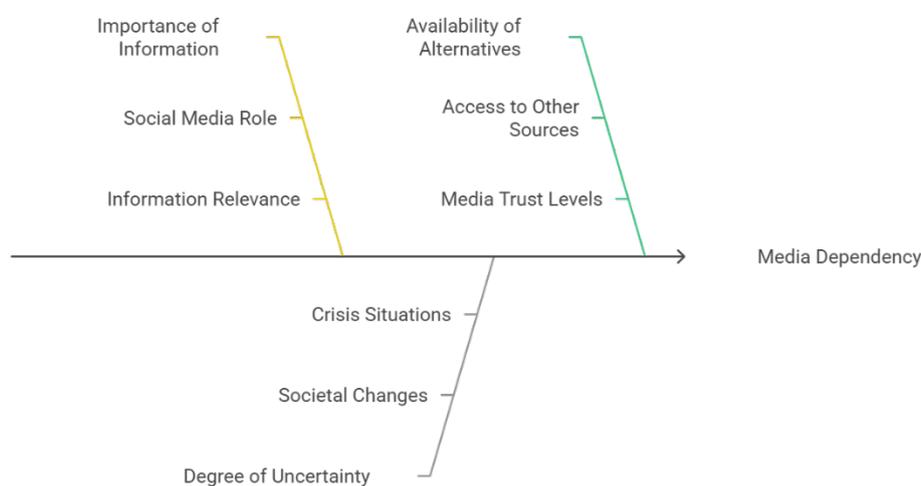


Figure 1: Analyzing Media Dependency Influences

3. Methods and Procedures

This study employed a mixed-methods approach, with refugees participating in both a questionnaire and focus group discussions, representing a sample of the broader Syrian refugee population in Jordan and Türkiye. According to Denscombe (2008), mixed-methods research combines and integrates qualitative and quantitative methods within a single study. A crucial aspect of mixed-methods research is understanding why this approach should be used. Mixed-methods research can play a vital role in advancing academic inquiry, as results obtained through multiple methods provide a more comprehensive understanding of complex problems and issues. In this sense, mixed-methods research adds value and contributes to the advancement of the research topic. The central premise of mixed-methods research is that combining quantitative and qualitative approaches offers a more robust understanding of the research problem and the complexities of the phenomenon under study than either approach alone (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2007).

The study employed questionnaires as the primary tool for the quantitative approach. The population consisted of all Syrian refugees residing inside and outside refugee camps in Jordan and Türkiye. The sample comprised Syrian refugees in Türkiye aged 18 and above who use social media. The test-retest reliability approach was applied to the questionnaire. A total of 33 questionnaires (10% of the total sample) were collected as a pilot sample from refugees who were not included in the study's final sample. Additionally, the questionnaire was administered to the same group again seven days later to assess reliability.

Following the completion of the survey in Jordan on July 12, 2018, the subsequent survey in Türkiye commenced and concluded on January 31, 2019. The questionnaires gathered responses from 305 individuals in Türkiye and 307 in Jordan. After reviewing and validating the responses, those unsuitable for statistical analysis were excluded, leaving 303 valid questionnaires from each country.

To complement the quantitative data, focus group discussions were conducted to gain deeper insights into participants' perspectives, thoughts, and attitudes. These discussions involved select groups of Syrian refugees residing in Jordan and Türkiye and were conducted in Arabic. The focus groups comprised a diverse range of Syrian refugees, varying in age, educational background, and professional experience. The discussions took place in Amman, Jordan, in March 2018, and in Istanbul, Türkiye, in April 2018.

4. Results

4.1. Local and International Institutions and Organizations Providing Assistance to Refugees

Table 1 presents the local and international institutions and organizations that Syrian refugees in Jordan and Türkiye learned about through social media platforms. These organizations provide critical assistance to refugees, including legal, medical, educational, and humanitarian support. Refugees follow these organizations on social media to stay informed about their services and the support they offer.

While the organizations cited by respondents in Jordan and Türkiye varied, five international organizations were commonly mentioned in both countries: UNHCR, UNICEF, CARE, and SPARK. In Türkiye, respondents also mentioned organizations such as the Turkish Red Crescent, SGDD, AFAD, IHH, and IBC. In Jordan, additional organizations included RI, JRS, Mercy Corps, ICRC, and IOM.

Table 1: Local and International Institutions and Organizations Providing Assistance to Refugees (Learned Through Social Media)

#	Reply in Jordan	Number in Jordan	Reply in Türkiye	Number in Türkiye
1	UNHCR	165	UNHCR	6
2	UNICEF	24	UNICEF	17
3	CARE	20	CARE	1
4	SPARK	2	SPARK	3
5	RI	8	SGDD	7
6	JRS	1	AFAD	7
7	JAOSW	1	IHH	7
8	NHF	2	IBC	6
9	SAB	4	Orange	5
10	Mercy Corps	6	Türk Kızılayı	50
11	ICRC	3	Molham	3
12	IOM	4	Farah	2
13	WHO	1	Kızıl haç	1
14	WFP	3	Altın Hilal	1
15	NRC	17	Diyanet Vakfı	1
16	IRC	3	SSG	1
17	GFP	1	Beyaz Masa	1
18	DRC	5	Fatih Emniyet	1
19	Save the children	4	Ihsan	1
20	Hopes	1	İSMEK	1
21	CARITAS	1	-	-
22	Tamkeen	1	-	-
23	UNV	2	-	-
24	UNDP	1	-	-
25	Edu syria	1	-	-
26	JAR	1	-	-
27	UNURWA	1	-	-
28	ACTED	3	-	-
29	JNRCS	2	-	-
30	OXFAM	1	-	-
31	Qudus Kolej	2	-	-
32	DWB	1	-	-
33	ARDD	1	-	-
34	MOL	1	-	-
35	SANAD	1	-	-
36	ACHRS	1	-	-
37	Aile Sağlığı Enstitüsü	1	-	-
38	DFATD	1	-	-

Note: Respondents could choose more than one organization, so percentages do not apply. Full names of institutions are provided in the appendix.

4.2. Social Media's Role in Enhancing Refugees' Knowledge of Their Rights

Social media played a significant role in disseminating information about refugee rights. As shown in Table 2, 77.6% of respondents in Jordan and 44.2% in Türkiye reported that social media helped them learn more about their rights. Conversely, 22.4% in Jordan and 55.8% in Türkiye stated that social media did not contribute to this knowledge.

Table 2: Social Media's Role in Disseminating Information About Refugee Rights

Reply	Jordan (Number and Percentage)	Türkiye (Number and Percentage)
Yes	235 (77.6%)	134 (44.2%)
No	68 (22.4%)	169 (55.8%)

Source: Calculated by the author

Table 3 further explores social media's role in disseminating information about international laws on refugee rights. While 74.3% of the respondents in Jordan and 33.7% of the respondents in Türkiye agreed that social media contributed to this knowledge, a significant portion of the respondents in Türkiye (48.2%) were unsure or unable to provide a definitive answer.

Table 3: Social Media's Role in Disseminating Information About International Laws on Refugee Rights

Reply	Jordan (Number and Percentage)	Türkiye (Number and Percentage)
Yes	225 (74.3%)	102 (33.7%)
No	30 (9.9%)	55 (18.2%)
I don't know	48 (15.8%)	146 (48.2%)

Source: Calculated by the author

4.3. Social Media's Role in Enhancing Refugees' Knowledge of Assistance and Aid

Social media also played a crucial role in helping refugees identify institutions and organizations that provide assistance. As shown in Table 4, 83.5% of the respondents in Jordan and 38.9% of the respondents in Türkiye reported that social media helped them identify such institutions. However, 61.1% of the respondents in Türkiye stated that social media did not assist them in this regard.

Table 4: Social Media's Role in Identifying Assistance Providers

Reply	Jordan (Number and Percentage)	Türkiye (Number and Percentage)
Yes	253 (83.5%)	118 (38.9%)
No	50 (16.5%)	185 (61.1%)

Source: Calculated by the author

Table 5 highlights that 74.9% of the respondents in Jordan and 66.0% of the respondents in Türkiye found social media helpful in understanding where and how to access aid. However, 25.1% in Jordan and 34.0% in Türkiye reported that social media did not assist them in finding help.

Table 5: Social Media's Role in Accessing Refugee Assistance

Reply	Jordan (Number and Percentage)	Türkiye (Number and Percentage)
Yes	227 (74.9%)	200 (66.0%)
No	76 (25.1%)	103 (34.0%)

Source: Calculated by the author

4.4. Social Media's Role in Developing Social Networks and Raising Awareness

Social media significantly contributed to raising awareness about the experiences of Syrian refugees. As shown in Table 6, 88.4% of the respondents in Jordan and 74.3% of the respondents in Türkiye agreed that social media improved public knowledge about the challenges faced by Syrians. However, 17.5% of the respondents in Türkiye were unsure or unable to provide a clear response.

Table 6: Social Media's Role in Raising Awareness About Syrian Refugees

Reply	Jordan (Number and Percentage)	Türkiye (Number and Percentage)
Yes	268 (88.4%)	225 (74.3%)
No	20 (6.6%)	25 (8.3%)
I don't know	15 (5.0%)	53 (17.5%)

Source: Calculated by the author

Table 7 demonstrates that 86.5% of the respondents in Jordan and 76.2% of the respondents in Türkiye believed that social media successfully brought global attention to the Syrian refugee crisis. However, 23.8% of the respondents in Türkiye felt that social media failed to achieve this goal.

Table 7: Social Media's Role in Communicating the Syrian Refugee Crisis

Reply	Jordan (Number and Percentage)	Türkiye (Number and Percentage)
Yes	262 (86.5%)	231 (76.2%)
No	41 (13.5%)	72 (23.8%)

Source: Calculated by the author

4.5. Qualitative Findings

The focus group discussions provided deeper insights into the role of social media in enhancing refugees' resilience. Thematic analysis revealed several key themes, including the visibility and impact of refugees' stories,

the role of social media in crisis communication, and the mobilization of resources for Syrian refugees. Selected excerpts from the participants are presented in Table 8.

Table 8: Key Themes and Participant Quotes from Focus Group Discussions

Extracts	Codes	Themes
<p><i>“Many people whose stories have been spread on social media have had the opportunity to get more help or better transfer to other countries.”</i></p> <p>(Quote 1, female, 29-year-old, Amman, doesn't work, has bachelor's degree)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Help • Better Transfer 	Visibility and impact of refugees' stories on social media
<p><i>“Syrian refugees would not have received everything that was helped if it were no social media, which conveyed the conditions of the Syrian revolution.”</i></p> <p>(Quote 2, Male, 26-year-old, Istanbul, student in Undergraduate level)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Help by social media • Convey of revolution 	Role of social media in crisis Communication
<p><i>“Social media platforms relayed secret photos that 80% of the world's people didn't know about us. Now, thanks to social media activists, everyone knows the suffering of the Syrian people... It also helped reach people who needed help and were successfully taken care of.”</i></p> <p>(Quote 3, Male, 31- year-old, Amman, work has bachelor's degree)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conveying suffering • Reach people • Help by social media activists 	Awareness and advocacy for Syrian people suffering
<p><i>“It focused on some people's success stories and had a nice impact on them”.</i></p> <p>(Quote 4, Male, 33-year-old, Amman, work has Bachelor's degree).</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Presenting successful stories • Nice impact on people 	Enhancing the narrative of success
<p><i>“Syrian refugees would not have received the help and aid that were provided social media did not convey the conditions of the Syrian revolution.”</i></p> <p>(Quote 5, Male, 26-year-old, Istanbul, student in an Undergraduate level).</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Help and Aid 	Mobilization of resources for Syrian refugees

Source: By the author

5. Discussion

The findings from qualitative and quantitative data are compared and contrasted to validate and strengthen the overall results. Triangulating one set of results with another enhances the validity of the conclusions, thereby achieving a better understanding of the research problem. Triangulation also improves the credibility and reliability of the research findings.

Regarding the data in Table 1, some institutions and organizations mentioned by participants in both countries were common, while others differed. Refugees in Jordan and Türkiye identified five international organizations: UNHCR, UNICEF, CARE, UN, and SPARK. Other organizations mentioned in the Türkiye sample included the Turkish Red Crescent, SGDD, AFAD, IHH, IBC, Orange, Molham, Farah, Red Cross, Altınhilal, Religious Foundation, SSG, White Table, Fatih Police, İhsan, İSMEK, AMAL, and Hema Club. In contrast, the Jordan sample mentioned a larger number of organizations, including RI, JRS, JAOSW, NHF, SAB, Mercy Corps, ICRC, IOM, WHO, WFP, NRC, IRC, GFP, DRC, TAMKEEN, CARITAS, UNV, Save the Children, HOPES, UNDP, JAR, UNRWA, ACTED, JNRCS, MOL, SANAD, ARDD, DWB, OXFAM, ACHRS, DFATD, Institute of Family Health, Edusyria, and Qudus College.

Syrian refugees in Jordan mentioned UNHCR (2018) more frequently than other organizations because UNHCR plays a pivotal role in refugee protection, offering emergency assistance such as shelter, food, water, and medical care, as well as facilitating durable solutions like resettlement or local integration. This may be attributed to the fact that the sample in Jordan was more familiar with UNHCR than the sample in Türkiye. This difference may have been influenced by external factors, such as the presence of more international organizations in Jordan than in Türkiye. Consequently, it can be inferred that refugees in Jordan receive more assistance from international organizations than from local ones.

On the other hand, Syrian refugees in Türkiye mentioned UNHCR less frequently. Possible reasons for this include the significant role of government agencies in assisting them and the fact that their dependency is spread

across various sources, not solely UNHCR. The responses indicate that social media serves as a resilience tool, aiding in the recognition of international NGOs that provide assistance to Syrian refugees.

In the focus group discussions, participants in Jordan mentioned that social media helped them stay updated with the latest news from UNHCR, as well as decisions made by other organizations regarding aid, resettlement, travel opportunities, and refugee-related issues. The discussions also revealed that one of the primary reasons for using social media was to access organizations' official accounts and stay informed about available aid programs.

In contrast, the Türkiye sample mentioned İSMEK, which does not provide direct financial or material assistance. İSMEK is a local Turkish institution that offers free language courses, skill training, and workshops for both Turkish citizens and residents, but it is not specifically dedicated to refugee assistance. Refugees may have mistakenly identified İSMEK as an aid organization because a significant portion of the sample in Türkiye consisted of young people, who rely on its free courses and workshops for educational and skill development.

The responses in this study highlight that social media is one of the tools that helped refugees cope with displacement by providing access to local and international organizations that offer assistance. The findings in Table 1 provide a comprehensive overview of the institutions and organizations that Syrian refugees in Türkiye and Jordan are aware of primarily through information obtained via social media. These organizations are recognized for their contributions to refugee resilience, offering basic necessities, education, healthcare, and legal support.

The findings explained above address the study's research questions: What are the local and international institutions and organizations that provide assistance and aid to Syrian refugees, and how do participants learn about them through social media? The awareness and engagement of these organizations through social media platforms highlight their crucial role in disseminating information about available resources and services to refugee populations. This not only educates refugees about their options for aid and support but also facilitates access to critical resources, thus playing a significant role in enhancing their resilience and stability in host countries.

Since social media platforms have also been used by charities to provide support and assistance, they have encouraged other members of the community to contribute to helping refugees, understand their suffering, learn from their views, and document photographs of hundreds of thousands of detainees and the forms of torture they have endured, as noted in the focus group. The focus group discussion showed that participants believe social media use has increased awareness among local and international organizations and institutions about Syrian refugees' suffering. It has also helped some refugees resettle in other countries by shedding light on their stories. A Syrian refugee in Quote 1 (female, 29 years old, Amman, unemployed, with a bachelor's degree) states:

"Many people whose stories have been spread on social media have had the opportunity to get more help or better transfer to other countries."

Social media platforms play a crucial role in sharing refugees' personal stories, which can lead to tangible benefits such as increased aid, opportunities for better relocation, and more comprehensive assistance. The exposure these stories receive can directly impact the lives and futures of the individuals featured.

According to the findings in Table 2, 77.6% of the sample in Jordan and 44.2% of the sample in Türkiye stated that social media helped spread knowledge about refugees' rights. Additionally, 74.3% of the sample in Jordan and 33.7% of the sample in Türkiye reported that social media helped spread knowledge of international legislation pertaining to refugee rights. Social media also aids in locating international organizations that assist refugees, according to 83.5% of the sample in Jordan and 38.9% of the sample in Türkiye. The responses from respondents in Türkiye and Jordan indicate differing opinions on this matter. While the majority of the sample in Jordan believes that social media helps raise awareness of international organizations providing aid to refugees, the majority of the sample in Türkiye does not share this opinion.

Despite these proportional differences, the responses indicate that most refugees believe social media is effective in recognizing international institutions. Additionally, the results in Table 5 show that 74.9% of Jordan's sample and 66% of Türkiye's sample believe that social media helped them learn where and how to obtain aid. This aligns with Quote 2 (male, 26 years old, Istanbul, undergraduate student):

"Syrian refugees would not have received everything that was helped if it were not for social media, which conveyed the conditions of the Syrian revolution."

The discussion highlights social media as an essential channel for conveying the realities of the Syrian conflict to a global audience. By broadcasting conditions and events associated with the Syrian revolution, social media has played a crucial role in mobilizing support and aid for Syrian refugees.

As discussed, participants recognize that social media has played a role in developing social networks and increasing people's knowledge of what is happening in Syria and what Syrian refugees are experiencing, which enhances refugees' resilience. This addresses the study's question regarding whether social media contributes to developing social networks and enhancing knowledge about Syria and the experiences of Syrian refugees. 88.4% of Jordan's sample and 74.3% of Türkiye's sample believe that social media improves public knowledge of what Syrians encounter inside and outside Syria, positively impacting people's awareness of the

challenges Syrian refugees face. Additionally, 86.5% of the sample in Jordan and 76.2% of the sample in Türkiye believe that social media is effective in bringing the Syrian refugee crisis to global attention, leading to increased aid and assistance, as highlighted in Quote 3 (male, 31 years old, Amman, employed, with a bachelor's degree):

"Social media platforms relayed secret photos that 80% of the world's people didn't know about us. Now, thanks to social media activists, everyone knows the suffering of the Syrian people... It also helped reach people who needed help and were successfully taken care of."

By spreading otherwise hidden or lesser-known aspects of the refugee crisis, such as secret photos or unreported suffering, social media activists have played a crucial role in raising global awareness. This awareness has led to responses from communities and organizations that provide necessary aid and support.

One of the most significant contributions of social media to the resilience of Syrian refugees is crowdfunding. Crowdfunding campaigns typically aim to raise money for essential needs, including unforeseen crises, medical expenses, relocation, and education. Donations to such campaigns are often driven by empathy or an emotional connection with the subject of the campaign and are given freely (Gerber & Hui, 2013).

Refugees have sought financial aid for living expenses and travel through crowdfunding initiatives. In this regard, several activists on Facebook and Twitter have raised significant awareness of the issue. A notable example is the story of Abdul Halim Attar, a Syrian refugee who carried his 4-year-old daughter while selling pens on the streets of Beirut (The Associated Press, 2015). In response, Simonarson (2015) launched a fundraising campaign for him, and within 15 days, the hashtag #BuyPens spread widely. Simonarson subsequently opened the Twitter account @Buy_Pens in August 2015, and within 24 hours, approximately 2,600 people had donated \$75,000.

Through this campaign, more than \$190,000 was raised on the crowdfunding website Indiegogo and delivered to Attar. With these funds, he opened three stores in Lebanon and provided employment opportunities to 16 Syrian refugees. CNN later covered the event, emphasizing the power of social media and how a single image can change a person's life (Alarab, 2015). As a participant in Quote 4 (male, 33 years old, Amman, employed, with a bachelor's degree) states:

"It focused on some people's success stories and had a nice impact on them."

Social media platforms also serve to highlight success stories among the refugee population, focusing on positive outcomes and achievements. This not only improves the circumstances of individuals whose stories are shared through increased visibility but also has a broader inspirational impact on the community by presenting possibilities of success despite adversity. When relocating to a new nation and adjusting to a new way of life, refugees require time to adapt to their new environment as well as the opportunity to make their own decisions and utilize their existing assets and capabilities (Hutchinson & Dorsett, 2012). In this regard, social media has been a critical tool in increasing awareness of local and international organizations that provide aid and assistance to Syrian refugees. Social media has also been used by charities to offer support and assistance, encouraging other members of the community to help refugees, understand their suffering, learn their perspectives, and document the experiences of hundreds of thousands of detainees and the forms of torture they have endured. As another participant explained in conveying the Syrian crisis, as stated in Quote 5 (male, 26 years old, Istanbul, undergraduate student):

"Syrian refugees would not have received the help and aid that were provided if it were not for social media, which conveyed the conditions of the Syrian revolution."

The ability of social media platforms to effectively communicate the needs and conditions of Syrian refugees has facilitated the mobilization of aid and resources. It acts as an influential instrument for advocacy, ensuring that help reaches those who need it most and that the global community is informed and engaged in support efforts. Prioritizing the safety and security of refugees through the use of digital resilience measures is crucial in a world where displacement and refugee crises are becoming more frequent. Digital resilience refers to the ability of refugees to access and use digital technologies securely despite potential threats like cyberattacks or surveillance (Sun et al., 2022). It is imperative that a Refugee Digital Resilience Document be created to assist refugees in building their digital resilience. This guide should offer comprehensive instructions on how refugees can safely navigate the digital landscape while maximizing their access to essential services and minimizing risks. The document must include information on safeguarding personal data, avoiding phishing scams, and securely communicating with authorities and other refugees. It should also provide guidance on safely accessing online resources such as job and educational opportunities. Additionally, the document could include recommendations for selecting and utilizing secure online tools like virtual private networks (VPNs) and encrypted messaging platforms.

Beyond the development of a Refugee Digital Resilience Document, protecting refugees' digital rights must be a priority for governments and humanitarian organizations. This involves strengthening online privacy regulations, ensuring refugees have access to information and communication technology (ICT), and providing necessary digital literacy training. Partnerships with technology companies could also be formed to develop innovative solutions tailored to the specific digital needs of refugees. Annarelli and Palombi (2021) assert that in an increasingly digital world, prioritizing refugees' rights and digital resilience is essential to ensuring their safety

and security. However, the challenges refugees face are too numerous for digital resilience measures to address alone. As such, efforts to enhance digital resilience should be combined with initiatives to tackle other issues affecting this vulnerable population.

By encouraging the development of creative solutions, safeguarding digital rights, strengthening online privacy laws, and prioritizing digital resilience through the creation of a Refugee Digital Resilience Document, refugees can be better prepared to navigate the digital landscape safely and securely. Refugees are expected to demonstrate resilience in local arrival infrastructures and adopt specific subjectivities based on gratitude, adaptability, and digital sensitivity to successfully integrate (Udwan et al., 2020). Digital resilience can play a critical role in ensuring the sustainability of knowledge among refugees. One of its most significant advantages is providing refugees with access to knowledge and information resources that they might not otherwise have. For example, refugees can utilize online education platforms, language learning tools, and job training programs to find employment opportunities and acquire new skills. Access to such information enables refugees to adapt more easily to their new environments and customs, fostering greater integration into their new communities.

Findings show that 74.9% of Jordan's sample and 66% of Türkiye's sample stated that social media helps them know where and how to get help, while 88.4% of Jordan's sample and 74.3% of Türkiye's sample believe that social media improves people's knowledge of what Syrians encounter inside and outside Syria. Additionally, 86.5% of Jordan's sample and 76.2% of Türkiye's sample said that social media successfully brought the Syrian refugee crisis to the world's attention. These findings contribute to answering the study's question regarding the role of social media in enhancing refugees' resilience by improving their knowledge of their rights and facilitating access to assistance and aid.

According to the findings in Table 6, the high percentage of respondents in both Jordan and Türkiye revealed that social media platforms are a reliable tool for learning about ongoing issues related to Syria and the experiences of Syrian refugees. This underscores the role of social media as a crucial source of real-time, accessible information. The Uses and Gratifications Theory (Katz et al., 1973) suggests that media consumption provides topics for social interaction. Related to information seeking, surveillance involves the use of media to stay informed about events that could directly affect one's life and environment. Given the proximity of both Jordan and Türkiye to Syria, the interest in using social media to monitor these events is high, as reflected in the majority affirming social media's role in enhancing knowledge.

For individuals in Jordan and Türkiye, discussing content from social media about Syria and its refugees might serve as a basis for conversation and community bonding, especially in contexts where these issues are of national and regional significance. The respondents who answered "No" or "I do not know" reflect a level of skepticism or uncertainty about the reliability or effectiveness of social media as a source of information. This could be attributed to concerns about misinformation, biased reporting, or the overwhelming nature of social media feeds. The study's findings on the gratifications that Syrian refugees in Jordan and Türkiye derive from social media highlight its importance for resilience-building, particularly in improving their knowledge in specific areas. Furthermore, the findings confirm what Katz et al. (1973) stated: that audiences choose media to satisfy their needs for various reasons, including information. Thus, the findings also show that Syrian refugees used social media for gratifications related to knowledge of their rights and aid-providing institutions, which enhanced their resilience in host countries. This gratification falls under the utilitarian category, which includes self-knowledge, information, benefits, and experience, such as learning about new services, understanding host countries' laws, and obtaining information about rights and aid.

Digital resilience, in addition to facilitating information access, can strengthen connections between refugees and their local and international support systems and communities. With the aid of digital tools, refugees can stay in touch with friends, family, and support groups while separated from their home country and remain informed about significant issues and events. By offering a platform for idea exchange and collaboration, digital resilience can also foster innovation and creativity among refugees. Refugees can explore new business ideas and leverage their knowledge and skills to create opportunities for work and livelihood. Digital resilience empowers refugees to take control of their lives and futures by providing access to education, information, and the resources needed to start new ventures and earn a living. Ultimately, digital resilience ensures that refugees have access to the tools and information necessary for long-term success.

The Media Dependency Theory (Ball-Rokeach & DeFleur, 1976) posits that media plays a significant role in shaping social, cultural, and economic relationships by providing the tools to communicate and exchange information. Digital tools enable refugees to stay connected with friends, family, and support groups, even when geographically distant from their home countries. This connection helps maintain social networks and psychological support. While traditional media operates at one level, the function of social media dependency (SMD) extends beyond these levels, as social media platforms allow users to create and share stories at both micro and macro levels. Media system dependency among Syrian refugees in Jordan and Türkiye varies based on personal goals, social status, location, lifestyle characteristics, and ease of Internet access. Moreover, this social media dependency has different effects depending on the media system addiction model. As refugees increasingly rely on social media platforms to meet their needs, social media dependency will become more significant in their lives, exerting greater influence on their experiences. The Media Dependency Theory states that the cognitive

effects of this dependency include revealing secrets about social issues, understanding events accurately, obtaining information or explanations, setting priorities, and identifying important issues. Accordingly, refugees' access to institutions, services, and information demonstrates that their dependence on social media has achieved cognitive effects.

Digital media tools provide information about important events and issues that may affect refugees, whether in their home countries or in their host countries. Additionally, digital resilience offers a platform for exchanging ideas and collaborating to develop solutions to the challenges refugees face. Through this exchange, refugees can explore new business ideas and leverage their knowledge and skills to create opportunities for work and livelihood. Digital resilience empowers refugees to take control of their lives and futures by providing access to education, information, and the resources needed to start new businesses and earn a living. Ultimately, digital resilience ensures that refugees have access to the tools and information necessary for long-term success, enhancing their stability and reducing their dependence on external assistance.

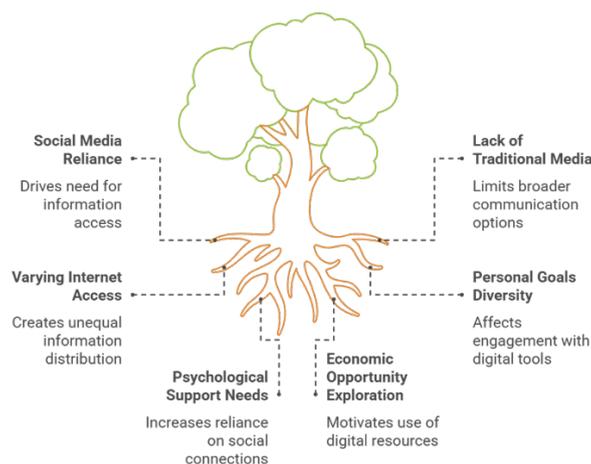


Figure 2: Digital Resilience Dependency Among Syrian Refugees

6. Conclusion

Social media platforms have been instrumental in providing assistance to refugees and promoting successful crowdfunding campaigns. They have also helped refugees achieve resilience by enabling them to access various platforms, institutions, and organizations that provide in-kind assistance and introduce them to their rights as refugees in countries of asylum. Digital resilience plays a significant role in contributing to the sustainability of knowledge for refugees.

Refugees can access information and knowledge resources such as online education platforms, language learning tools, and job training programs, which help them build new skills and find employment. Digital tools connect refugees with their communities and support networks, combating social isolation and fostering a sense of belonging. They enable refugees to communicate with others, including friends, family, and support organizations, allowing them to stay connected and informed about important issues and events.

Digital resilience encourages innovation and creativity among refugees by providing a platform for sharing ideas and collaborating on new solutions to the challenges they face. By granting refugees access to digital tools and resources, they are empowered to take control of their lives and futures. Social media has helped Syrian refugees gain digital resilience in various ways, including enabling them to identify local and international institutions and organizations providing assistance, enhancing their knowledge of their rights, and developing social networks.

Digital resilience is a powerful tool for supporting refugees and ensuring the sustainability of their knowledge and skills over the long term. By leveraging the power of digital tools and resources, refugees can build new lives and create a better future for themselves and their families.

7. Limitations and Future Research

This study, which was conducted entirely with the researcher's own funds and without any external financial support, is part of a larger study examining the impact of social media on Syrian refugees residing in Jordan and Türkiye. The study used a mixed-methods approach to collect and assess data on social media use among Syrian refugees in Türkiye and Jordan before COVID-19. However, due to the pandemic, the results may differ, particularly in 2023. While Facebook remains the most popular social media network, younger audiences are increasingly using platforms like Twitter and Instagram. Future studies should consider these changing trends. As Bryman (2007) pointed out, there are several barriers to conducting mixed-methods research. Such studies present challenges because they require additional work, financial resources, and a longer time frame.

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Appendix

Acronym	Full Name of the Organization
ACHRS	Amman Center for Human Rights Studies
ACTED	Agency For Technical Cooperation & Development
AFAD	Afet ve Acil Durum Yönetimi Başkanlığı
CARE	Cooperative for Assistance and Relief Everywhere
DFATD	Department of Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development Canada
DRC	Danish Refugee Council
DWB	Doctors Without Borders
HOPES	Higher and Further Education Opportunities and Perspectives for Syrians
IHH	İnsani Yardım Vakfı
IBC	International Blue Crescent Relief and Development Foundation
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
IOM	International Organization for Migration
IRC	International Rescue Committee
IRD	International Relief & Development
İSMEK	İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Hayat Boyu Öğrenme Merkezi
JAOSW	Jordanian Association of Social Work
JAR	Japan Association for Refugees
JNRCS	Jordan Red Crescent
JRS	Jesuit Refugee Service
NICCOD	Nippon International Cooperation for Community Development
NHF	Noor Al Hussein Foundation
NRC	Norwegian Refugee Council
OXFAM	Oxford Committee for Famine Relief
RI	Relief International
SAB	Souriyat Across Borders
SGDD	Sığınmacılar ve Göçmenlerle Dayanışma Derneği
SSG	Sosyal Suriye Grupları
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UNV	United Nations Volunteers
WHO	World Health Organization
WFP	World Food Programme