Rethinking Resilience:
An Analysis of the Online (Re)presentations and (Re) definitions of "Community Resilience and Cooperation" in Typhoon-related Relief Efforts in the Philippines

Irish Joy G. Deocampo

Abstract

This paper explores how "resilience" and bayanihan are (re)presented and (re)produced, and even resisted within the calamity-response discourses that emerged online. The study is located in the social mediascape of Facebook and Twitter during the consecutive onslaught of Typhoon Rolly and Ulysses last November 2020. I analyzed two specific themes by adopting a combination of discourse analysis, autoethnography, and digital ethnography. First, I described how acts of bayanihan are organized, performed, and reproduced in online citizen-led relief efforts. Second, I analyzed the role of hashtags in addressing the needs and mitigating the risks experienced by victims of typhoons. The study revealed the potential of social media and digital platforms in expanding the definition and bounds of community resilience while allowing narratives of resistance and dissent to surface. Moreover, the study illustrates how practices of bayanihan during a compounded crisis can offer insights into the new ways and practices that can be adopted and questioned when mobilizing calamity-related initiatives.

Keywords: *bayanihan*, community resilience, disaster management, hashtag, social media

A Crisis upon Crisis

In November 2020, four tropical cyclones wreaked havoc in my home country, the Philippines. The arrival of the last two cyclones coincided with the same week when the Philippines was replaced by Belgium in the last spot of the "Top 20 Countries with COVID-19 Cases." Super typhoon Rolly (international name: Goni), considered to be the world's most powerful tropical cyclone in 2020, made landfall twice in Bicol, one of the regions in the Philippines. It went on to hit two more regions as it weakened into a typhoon (Tantuco et al., 2021). Three more typhoons followed within a few days; Typhoon Ulysses was the last one. According to Manila (2020), Typhoon Ulysses was considered to have the worst impact and left more casualties during its onslaught. More than two million people were affected nationally, and one million of the survivors were temporarily housed in state-sponsored evacuation centers.

The prevalence of tropical cyclones, or typhoons as they are locally called, is nothing extraordinary for the Philippines, a country located in the Pacific Ring of Fire. Local news outlets are prepared to send their field reporters to cover stories of flooding and displaced communities during typhoon season. Most Filipino households are used to watching these news broadcasts live. These news stories are often framed within narratives of community resilience and *bayanihan*. *Bayanihan* is a Tagalog word that refers to the "spirit of communal unity and cooperation which makes seemingly impossible tasks possible through the concerted effort of

many people with a common goal and a sense of unity" (Sarmenta & Hirano, 1999, as cited in Isidro & Calleja, 2011, p. 3). This concept is often invoked in times of calamities to describe the different ways Filipino communities organize relief efforts for the victims, in this case, those experiencing the destructive effects of typhoons as compounded by the unforeseen global health crisis. Due to the limited mobility of people brought about by COVID-related restrictions and lockdowns, community coping mechanisms, rescue operations, and citizen-led initiatives were doubly challenged. Moreover, it is crucial to interrogate the dominant discourses that emerged during this time and to surface the narratives that were potentially silenced and obscured in the process.

Research Objectives

This unprecedented turn of events leads us to ask new questions. How can communities support and look out for each other when so doing could also endanger their own lives? How does this extraordinary period of multiple occurrences of crisis affect how resilience is defined and operationalized? Given these extraordinary circumstances, the concepts of *bayanihan* and community resilience in the context of calamity response need to be revisited and interrogated.

In line with this, I aim to understand how the concepts of "resilience" and *bayanihan* are (re)presented, (re)produced, and even resisted within the calamity-response discourses that emerged online. Specifically, I analyzed two main issues. First, I described how acts of *bayanihan* are organized, performed, and reproduced in online citizen-led relief efforts. Second, I analyzed the emergence of hashtags, specifically #RescuePH, in addressing a specific need of the victims of typhoons.

Methods

This research employed a combination of autoethnography, digital ethnography, and discourse analysis. I located the digital space as the main site of the study. During this period, I was a graduate student based in Belgium. My circumstances influenced the design and the conduct of this methodology.

I chose the social networking sites, Facebook and Twitter, as the specific platforms for analysis. I included data starting from the second week of November 2021, which was the aftermath of Typhoon Rolly and the period during Typhoon Ulysses' onslaught in the Philippines. I filtered through typhoon-related posts on both sites using the indexing system #RescuePH. I also included anecdotal narratives as part of the data.

Together, though Apart

A few days after the second lockdown in Belgium was announced, the news of a super typhoon hitting the Philippines reached me via the posts of my Facebook friends. I immediately contacted my family and told them to prepare an emergency kit. I also reminded them to keep their phones fully charged in case of electricity loss. One of my friends resided in the region that was reported to be the main location of the typhoon's landfall. I also sent him a message to ask how he was and to tell him to keep safe. Posts and updates about the casualties flooded my Facebook and Twitter feeds when the typhoon finally hit. My friend had not responded and our common friends told me that they could not reach him either. I found myself feeling

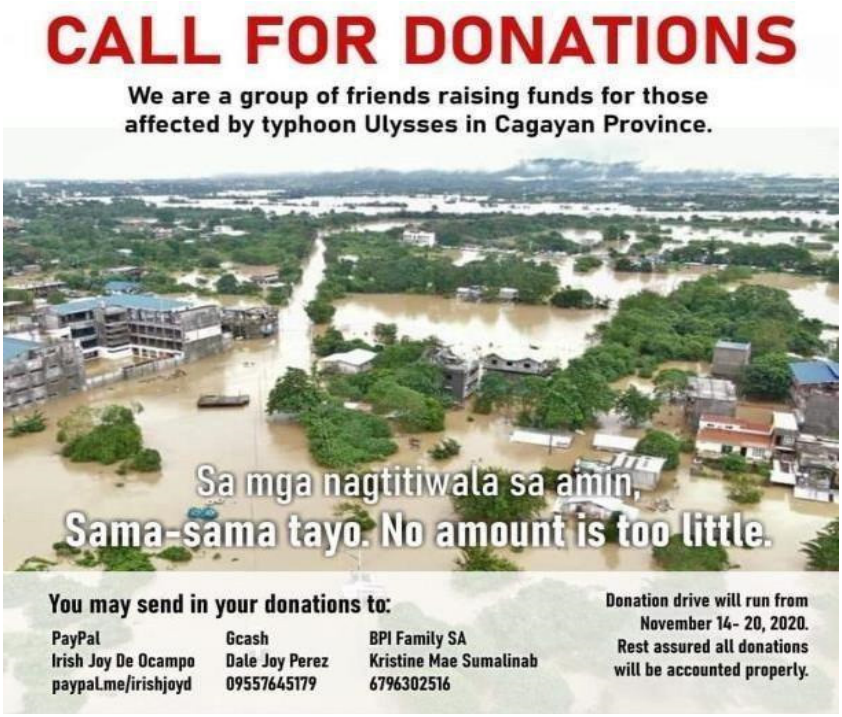
anxious and helpless. I was far away from home, living in isolation as my home country was experiencing the worst typhoon of the year. My fellow Filipino scholar in Belgium, Kring, and I discussed how we could help the affected communities

The day after I talked to Kring, she informed me of the fundraising initiative that she was co-organizing with other friends. She told me that she contacted one of the community partners of her previous workplace who resided in the affected region to ask how the community was affected and what kind of help was needed. The partner was also one of the lead coordinators of the relief efforts. Kring added me to the Facebook group chat, *Sama-sama Para sa Cagayan at Catanduanes* (this translates to "together for Cagayan and Catanduanes," Cagayan and Catanduanes being two of the affected regions of the typhoon). The group chat served as the main tool for communicating logistics and operational concerns.

These efforts for collective organizing in the form of fundraising initiatives can be considered an operationalized form of *bayanihan*. Moreover, this kind of *bayanihan*, which involves concerted efforts of volunteering resources such as time and finances, is in fact, a common occurrence in the Philippines in times of calamities. In Isidro and Calleja's (2011) study of the contribution of national values to organizational and individual resilience in times of disaster, volunteerism was cited as a societal value observed in disaster management efforts. Filipino volunteerism is defined as "helping someone out of absolute free will without consideration of any form of remuneration/benefit" (Aguiling-Dalisay et al., 2004 as cited in Isidro & Calleja, 2011, p. 4)

Within a few hours of the landfall of Typhoon Ulysses in the country, different citizen initiatives similar to ours sprang up on my Facebook feed. These initiatives were led by either civil society organizations, student-led organizations, or private groups of individuals. Below is a sample poster that was shared online to publicize our fundraising efforts. Included in the content of the posters are details about donations and an aerial shot of the Cagayan region.

Figure 1 Poster for Fundraising



The form of *bayanihan* that took place during this calamity has the added layer of accountability. For example, through our group chat, we sent updates on incoming cash donations to the group, while those who were in the community sent us updates on how the funds were utilized. These updates were in the form of on-site photographs. My main role was to publicize the fundraising initiative online and serve as a fund manager. I received the donated cash from the donors and transferred these cash donations to the partner community. As both parties sent their updates, I would then share these updates on my Facebook and Instagram accounts as a form of accountability. The photos used in the posters in this paper were the ones sent to us by the partner community. I obtained the permission of the owners of the photos and my fellow organizers to share these posters.

Figure 2 Accountability Report

These practices of raising funds and releasing updates were shared by other similar organizations. In traditional practices of volunteerism, volunteers are not expected to formulate an inventory to track the ways the services are provided or the number of donations contributed. This is deemed unnecessary when collective efforts are undertaken in a physical setting, and the acts of volunteering are readily visible. However, the acts of volunteering are not evident to the corresponding community when mediated by digital technology. Volunteerism, as affected by the migration to social media, occurs in intimate circuits such as group chats or private conversations. Thus, the prompt release of funds received was crucial in establishing transparency and accountability thereby contributing to the credibility of the organizing group.

Moreover, these photographs and publicity materials create a visual narrative of *bayanihan* circumscribed in the discourse of resilience. The updates on the increase in financial and material donations only prove the willingness of Filipinos to pool their resources to help their fellow Filipinos. At the same time, the need for photos underlines the importance of accountability and establishing trust. As Hechanova et al. (2015) pointed out in their study, the value of *bayanihan* was exhibited through "mutual assistance and support among community members" (as cited in Isidro & Calleja, 2020, p.3). Furthermore, *bayanihan* contributes to a community's resilience, or "the ability of social groups or individuals to bear or absorb sudden or slow changes and variation without collapsing" (Holling & Meffe, 1996, as cited in Crate & Nutall, 2011). In this instance in Cagayan Province, it is important to highlight the existence of *bayanihan* on two levels: 1) the mobilization efforts within the fundraising group to help the affected community and 2) the mutual aid among community members themselves, demonstrated by how our partner individuals who were purchasing and distributing the relief goods to the affected were themselves survivors of the typhoon.

Most neighborhood-based community organizing aims to form groups and develop alternative institutions (Pyles, 2007). In particular contexts such as calamities, Harrel and Zakour (2000, as cited in Pyles, 2007) underscore the role that informal organizations provide in isolated or marginalized communities. These organizations can increase citizens' participation and empower and improve access to services. Because the acts of *bayanihan* are premised upon the existence of a community, these acts illustrate how social media platforms have the potential to expand and redefine the borders of who constitutes a community. According to Crate and Nutall (2011), resilience in communities is embedded in the historical, social, and cultural constructions that govern social interactions and the material development of communities. In this particular example, one can see how the constructions that govern the social interactions of the community bleed from the physical into the "virtual." Without the existence of social media interventions in collective organizing, the traditional community is strictly confined within the geographical boundaries of a place. On the other hand, the bounds within social media are not as strictly defined, or at least, not restricted to physical geography. Thus, while informal organizations are "usually locally based" (Pyles, 2007), the borders of community membership and involvement become blurred and extended toward individuals who do not occupy the same geographical location as the other community members. In our case, Kring and I were both in Belgium, on a different continent and time zone while our partner community was located in Cagayan, Philippines. As of this writing, I have yet to set foot in Cagayan nor to meet the people who were in the group chat with me. Yet, I feel part of the community by me being from the Philippines and sharing the same sentiment of concern for my fellow Filipinos back home. Similar to mutual aid contexts and initiatives such as the community pantries, collective organizing often leads to the creation of a "community of anonymous others," unnamed individuals share what they have with those they do not personally know, and the latter accept help from people they cannot be personally indebted to (Camposano, 2020).

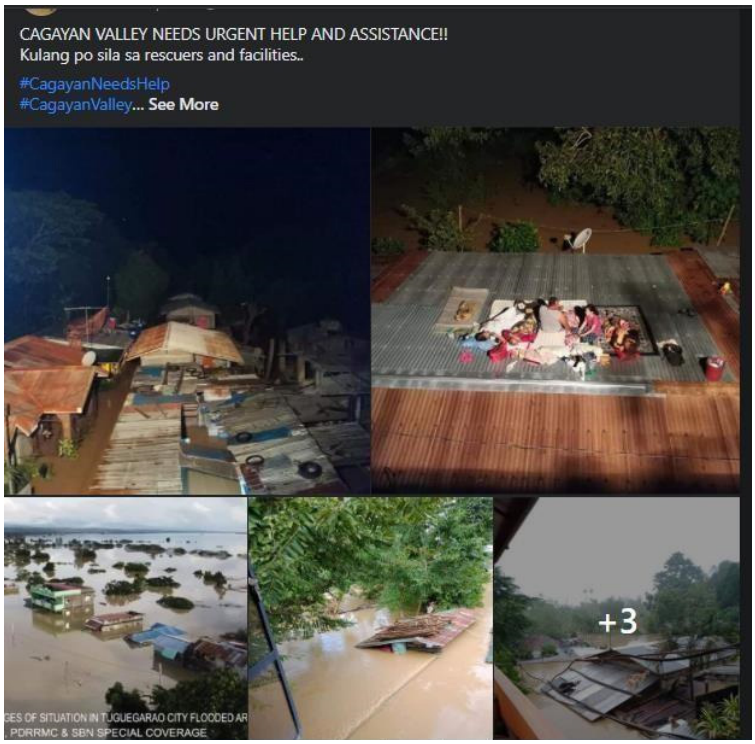
Hashtags as *Bayanihan*

Digital platforms, specifically Facebook and Twitter, served another unique role in collective organizing: the use of the hashtag #RescuePH. #RescuePH was first used in 2013 on social media to crowdsource information about the incoming Typhoon Yolanda (international name, Typhoon Haiyan (Tech in Asia, 2013). Since then, the hashtag has been used by Filipino online users during calamities to inform others about the circumstances of people who need

rescue or relief goods or to signal for help if someone needs rescue or emergency food supplies themselves. The hashtag #RescuePH became an indexing tool to address a specific need during the successive onslaught of Typhoons Rolly and Ulysses in October and November 2020.

In the middle of the torrential downpour of rain and overflowing rivers of Typhoon Ulysses, several families were left stranded on their rooftops as floodwaters around them started to rise and enter their houses (Ropero, 2020). However, due to the limited mobility caused by social distancing concerns during the pandemic, the local government units were not readily available to address these needs. The fellow community members of the affected families could not offer assistance because they too were either afraid to get infected due to lack of proper gear (e.g., facemasks, rafts, etc.) or they did not have a mobile connection. As a response, the people affected turned to social media and "outsourced" assistance from the broader public. The role of social media was crucial in making the call for assistance possible. The hashtag #RescuePH was reactivated to catalog the specific need of rescuing stranded families and individuals during the onslaught of the typhoon. They shared photos or status updates on Facebook and Twitter to serve as a digital SOS when they needed to be rescued or when they knew of someone who needed rescuing.

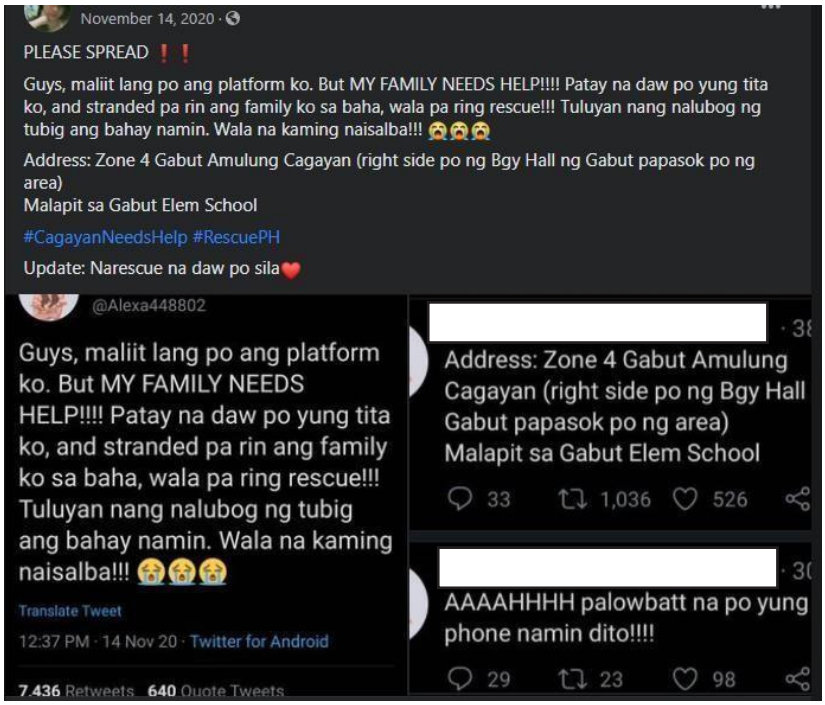
Figure 3 Screenshot of Facebook post (Jomarie Ramirez, 2020, November 13)



The photo above is a screenshot of a sample Facebook status that was posted during the typhoon. In the above photo, the post starts with "CAGAYAN NEEDS URGENT HELP AND ASSISTANCE" followed by the sentence, "*Kulang po sila ng* rescuers and facilities" which roughly translates to "They do not have enough rescuers and facilities."

After that, a series of hashtags ending with #RescuePH were included. Similar posts were accompanied by photos of the people involved or screenshots of the correspondence between the one sharing the post and the people in need of rescue.

Figure 4 Screenshot of Facebook post (Alexandra Santos, 2020, November 14)



In the photo collage above, two users were involved. The first post was from a concerned citizen who decided to publicly share the screenshots of the posts created by someone who claimed to need rescuing. The screenshots below the post were the original sources of the call for help. There were no photos provided, therefore, the concerned citizen included screenshots instead as proof of the original message. Uploading photos was challenging then because the internet signal was down in many areas. In the original post, the person who asked for rescue started by addressing the public and asking them to share his/her post because his/her platform did not have a wide reach. She explained that her aunt already died and the rest of the family members were still stranded in their house waiting to be rescued. In her next post, she gave her address. The last post was to inform the public that her phone battery was getting low. Furthermore, in this particular post, the original post was edited to include a subsequent update that the family members were finally rescued.

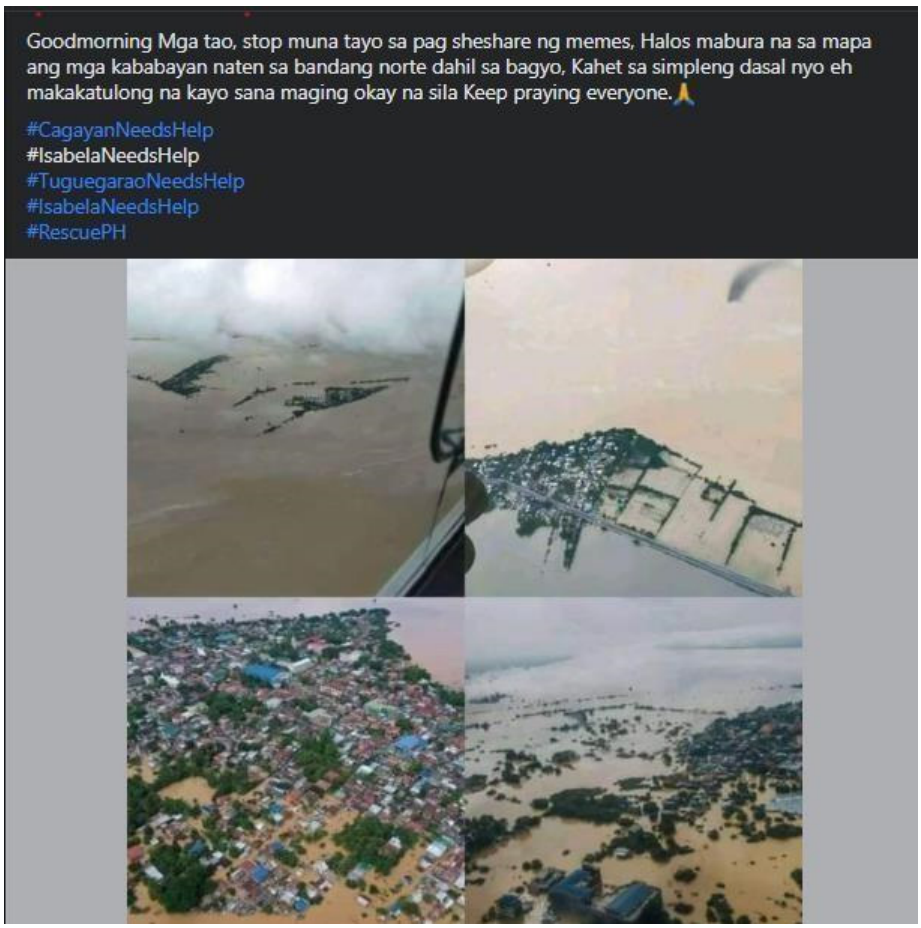
Other posts shared a similar template. The post would start with a call to share the post to spread awareness. This was followed by a brief situationer, an explanation of the kind of help needed, the location of the persons that needed rescuing, and then the hashtag, #RescuePH. While community members were not readily mobilized to assist because of social distancing concerns, the hashtag was used as a tool to connect the state authorities and other capable citizens to the communities at risk.

#RescuePH was instrumental in ensuring that disaster-related posts were properly categorized during that time. This concern was particularly relevant in the context of the then-ongoing pandemic. Aside from disaster-related content, COVID-19-related discourse was dominant in the social mediascape. In addition, due to social distancing and quarantine rules, people resorted to the digital space as the main platform of interaction. It was inevitable that the variety of digitally-bound activities increased exponentially because, by default, people had to be online for most of their waking hours. In times of emergency, the efficient organization of

information, such as information about survivors' location, can spell the difference between a saved life and a lost life. Moreover, in non-pandemic times, volunteer rescuers would be more willing to travel to the communities affected. Due to the fear of contracting the virus and the complex navigation amidst state-sanctioned quarantine rules, this was not possible at that time.

At the same time, the absence of clear boundaries in the social mediascape can likewise prove to be challenging in a crisis like this. Unlike traditional news outlets which have a system for prioritizing stories and updates about an ongoing calamity and its aftermath, social media activity is less organized and monitored. The use of a hashtag, thus, functions as a form of organization and prioritization. For example, in the middle of the raging Typhoon Yolanda, the #RescuePH trended on Twitter Philippines quite quickly because many users were tweeting and retweeting posts using that hashtag (Tech in Asia, 2013). Bonilla and Rosa (2015), in their study of hashtag activism, emphasized the capacity of the hashtag to serve as an indexing system and "a filter that allows social media users to reduce the noise of Twitter by cutting it into one small slice" (p. 6).By cataloging a post under the #RescuePH label, online users were indirectly participating in an attempted formation of a unified and organized indexing information system during the calamity. There were even posts that specifically asked online users to refrain from sharing non-typhoon-related content, such as memes and other humor-related posts, to avoid obscuring the "more important" posts about rescue operations.

Figure 5 Screenshot of Facebook post (Kar Sol, 2020, 16 November)

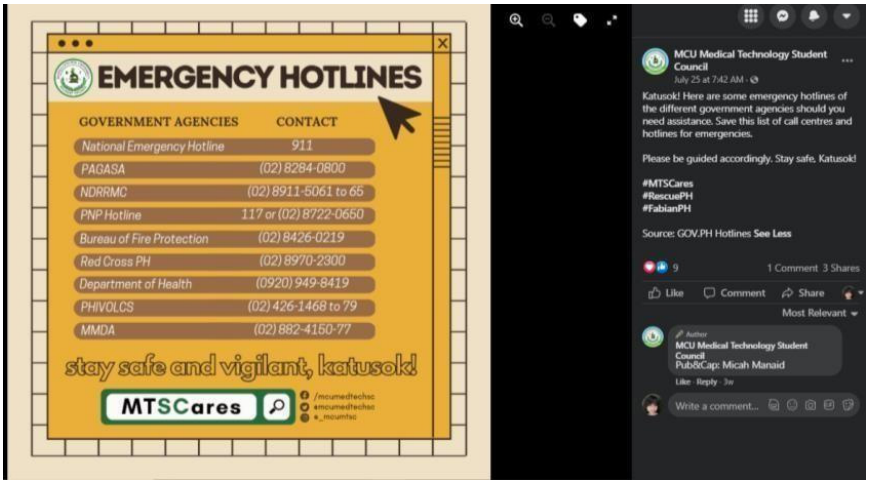


This screenshot is an example. The first sentence, "Good morning *mga tao*, stop *muna tayo sa pag sheshare ng memes,*" is roughly translated to "Good morning people, let's stop sharing

memes for the meantime." It is then followed by a statement about the flooding in the northern region of the country, adding that by simply praying, one is already helping. Here, there was no clear call for help or rescue unlike in the first two examples provided earlier. The post's call was for people to stop sharing memes in the meantime, and pray instead to help. It indirectly called for a disruption of the usual routine in social media. The owner apparently considered the act of sharing memes unproductive to the current situation. In contrast, sharing posts about the typhoon was considered more useful. This scenario demonstrated how people also take on monitoring roles in times of crisis. Thus, the use of the hashtag became a tool for monitoring both the narratives of survivors and the behavior of the other citizens.

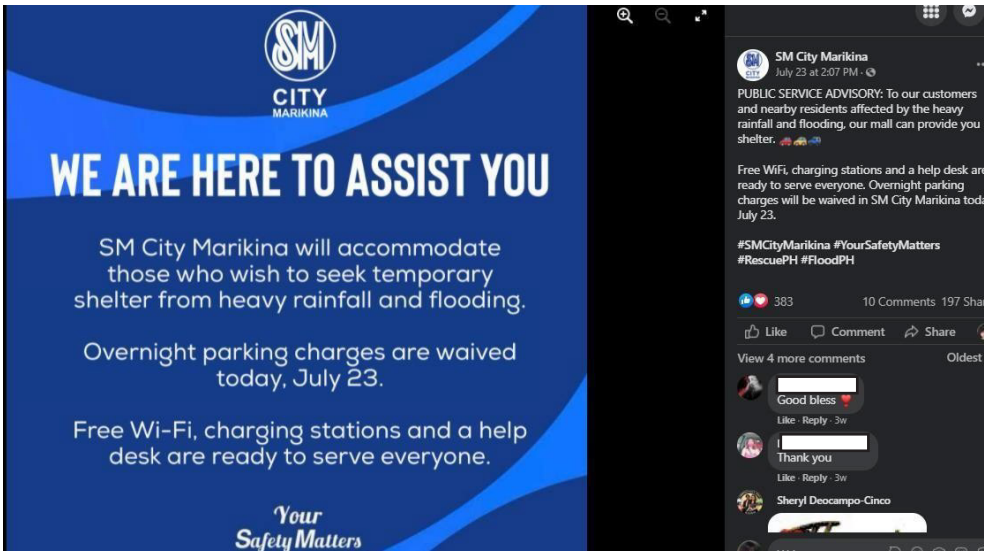
The hashtag #RescuePH was not only utilized for incidents such as the previously given examples. Other people also used the tag when sharing emergency hotlines that typhoon victims could contact. The photo below is an example of such a post.

Figure 6 Publicity Material (MCU, 2021, July 25)



Commercial establishments that offered assistance in the form of providing temporary shelters for the victims also utilized the hashtag #RescuePH, as seen in the photo below.

Figure 7 Publicity Material (SM City Marikina, 2021, 29 July)



As of this writing, #RescuePH has been used in 1.3 million Facebook posts. Although it was originally utilized during Typhoon Yolanda, #RescuePH has been adopted by online users to refer to any calamity-related post since then. As of this writing, the most recent post on Twitter with #RescuePH has a timestamp of 29 July 2021. The post was about the flooding in a province located in the northern part of the country. Aside from this hashtag, there are accompanying hashtags that are iterations of previously created hashtags. One example is the #[name of region]NeedsHelp (e.g., #ManilaNeedsHelp and #AgusanNeedsHelp). As Bonilla and Rosa (2015) pointed out, "hashtags have the intertextual potential to link a broad range of tweets on a given topic or disparate topics as part of an intertextual chain" (p. 5). The intertextual chain created in this scenario refers to the established meaning indexed by #RescuePH in times of calamities.

Studies on the role of social media in disaster management are mostly concerned with risk communication and information (see Boas et al., 2020; Young et al., 2016). The focus is on how social media is mobilized as a supplementary instrument of the government to aid in information dissemination campaigns for disaster risk response. However, the reality of the coronavirus crisis has reconfigured the role of social media and has revealed other potentials for its utilization. The role of Facebook and Twitter is no longer merely to serve as an information-sharing space for pre-calamity preparations. As demonstrated in this study, social media platforms can be instrumental in mitigating the risks in real time and in extending the bounds of what is traditionally defined as community resilience.

Despite the considerable reservations about the utility of the concept of resilience as an analytical tool, many social scientists and policymakers continue to apply the concept to society; resilience is the ability of social groups or individuals to bear or absorb sudden or slow changes and variation without collapsing (Crate & Nutall, 2011, 2016; Holling & Meffe, 1996, as cited in Crate, 2011). There is a growing focus on examining community resilience in understanding how communities can work towards the reduction of risk and losses from climate change. Moreover, local disaster studies underline the contribution of social groups, such as families, friends, and communities (Isidro & Calleja, 2020; Usama et al., 2014; Hechanova & Waelde, 2017). Isidro and Calleja (2020) claim that in collectivistic cultures such as the Philippines, group-based or community-based interventions are effective in increasing an individual's resilience in times of natural calamities (p. 2). This case study signals the possibility of rethinking and shifting the paradigm of defining community resilience, its boundaries, and its potentialities in the project of disaster risk reduction and mitigation. Moreover, the practices of *bayanihan* during a compounded crisis can offer insights into the new ways and practices that can be adopted and institutionalized when mobilizing calamity-related initiatives.

As one of the people who participated in sharing and retweeting these posts, I too wonder if indeed, our collective efforts to share, tweet, like, and repost were significant in helping the people who needed assistance. Questions about the "legitimate effectiveness" of social media—that is the extent to which its utilization warrants "real world" results—are academic concerns, such as in the study of Chua entitled, "Small Acts and Personal Politics: On helping to save the orangutans via social media (2018)." Chua argues that spreading the word through likes, shares, retweets, and other interventions are portrayed as 'seemingly' meaningful actions in themselves (p. 8). This skepticism towards social media as an enabler of "slacktivism" and tokenistic acts of care and concern towards others may warrant some truth. Some suggest that the virality and ephemerality of social media can only ever produce fleeting "nano stories" with little lasting

impact (Rosa & Bonilla, 2015). Yet, as can be seen in the posts and updates about the successful rescue of families during Typhoon Ulysses, it might be posited that the effectiveness of social media in times of crisis is its time-boundedness. There is an urgency that is unique in the transmission of data that does not exist in the "real world." In social media, a concerned citizen does not have to be "on the ground" to be able to transmit crucial information, such as details related to a family needing rescue.

Moreover, this second example of citizen-led initiatives during a typhoon demonstrates another form of online bayanihan. In most collective organizing efforts, the most visible and valued activity is the donation of supplies and other resources such as cash aid (Hobart & Kneese, 2020). It can be argued that participation in the sharing and retweeting of rescue calls can be perceived as less active and valuable than other forms of collective organizing. Nonetheless, knowledge-sharing is considered to be equally useful (Hobart & Kneese, 2020). If not for the leads brought about by posts bearing the #RescuePH hashtag, which included calls for donations and emergency rescues, it would have been extra challenging for the local officials and designated rescue teams to reach the stranded families.

Redefining community, rethinking *bayanihan*

While hashtags have become evocative of "a collective narrative, shared ideals, and imagined community," these also have the potential to evoke "greater conversations" around social issues globally (Doobrin, 2020). The same spaces also allowed for critiques against the resilience rhetoric to surface. As I have stayed online to maintain contact with friends and family back home, I noticed another emerging trend in the ways some Filipinos on social media talk about resilience. Some people have argued that the narratives of *bayanihan* and "resilience" have been romanticized and exploited. Do natural calamities bring out the resilient, *bayanihan* spirit of the Filipinos? Or is *bayanihan* used to mask the lack of accountability of the State to prevent and mitigate the consequences of calamities and other disasters? There were even calls on Facebook and Twitter for Filipinos to "refuse to glorify resilience, demand accountability." In this call, the people are asked to demand accountability from the government instead of embodying the "resilient spirit." What is understudied is the discursive dimension of resilience which has the potential to reveal the socio-political dimension of the meanings ascribed to the word.

While there is potential for social media to provide supplementary assistance for collective organizing, it can likewise highlight the glaring absence of the State. There is an emerging view that the spirit of *bayanihan* may in fact obscure, perhaps, even justify the lack of action from the State. When #RescuePH became one of the top trending tweets on Twitter, it showed that *bayanihan*, or the reliance on collective organizing is the default response to calamities. For some Filipinos, *bayanihan* became a justification to transfer the responsibility and accountability from the State to community- or individual-led initiatives. However, this reality is not lost on those who are on social media. Aside from #RescuePh, another hashtag, *#NasaanAngPangulo* (translated to #Whereisthepresident?) also became one of the top trending tweets during the aftermath of Typhoon Ulysses.

After the typhoon hit the regions, Duterte was noticeably absent during the briefing by the National Disaster Risk Reduction and Management Council (NDRRMC) held on 13 November 2020 (Malindog-Uy, 2020). He was also reported missing "from the first high-level

public briefing on the world's strongest tropical cyclone this year," Typhoon Rolly (Tomacruz, 2020). Some citizens interpreted his absence as a sign of neglect or lack of care. They took to social media to express their frustrations and disappointments against the president. However, this incident was not the first nor the last time that #NasaanAngPangulo was among the top trending topics on Twitter. During Duterte's absence in the weekly presidential updates about COVID-19 and his virtual presence at the ASEAN Opening Ceremonies, #NasaanAngPangulo was part of the popular topics on Twitter (Esguerra, 2020; Galvez, 2021; Colcol, 2021). According to Prof. Maria Ela Atienza, "People look for decisive leaders who will not only mobilize resources to help people affected by any crisis but also empathize with them" (Colcol, 2021). However, the dominance of the resilient and *bayanihan* discourses police critiques against State responsibility. Popular sayings such as, "*Tumulong na lang kayo imbes na magreklamo*" ("Just help instead of complaining") demonstrates the higher value placed upon collective efforts rather than political commentary. More importantly, *bayanihan* and demanding accountability are considered mutually exclusive. Thus, the continued reliance on collective initiatives persists.

While it is commendable that Filipinos, almost by default, demonstrate care for each other in the forms of mutual aid and organizing initiatives, this internalized *bayanihan* spirit is not removed from the existence of systemic inequality and power structures. Hobart and Kneese (2020) emphasize how collective care can be used to "coerce subjects into new forms of unpaid labor and make up for institutional neglect" (p. 2). The dominance of resilient and *bayanihan*-based discourses masks critical conversations that revolve around the role of unresolved development challenges that result in disasters. As Ozerdem (2003) argues, sustainable development can reduce vulnerability by "addressing the root causes of disasters and the lack of access to economic and political tools". After all, mutual aid initiatives arise to the failure of the central government and are not designed for long-term goals (Jan & Lance, 2020). If we continue to depend on the *bayanihan* spirit of our communities, the cycle of state neglect and will continue to perpetuate. However, it is important to recognize that the values of *bayanihan* and resilience can be rethought and harnessed into sources of community power. If the communities can collectively call for action and accountability from the State, then perhaps we can continue to appreciate the multi-layered potential of community resilience in times of crisis.

Conclusion

This paper attempted to provide a case study of how a combination of calamities has redefined and reconfigured the notions of community resilience and *bayanihan* within the bounds of social media. Through the use of ethnographic methods, the research was able to describe and illustrate the operationalization of *bayanihan* and its impact on community resilience during the time of typhoons. Moreover, this research demonstrated how different actors and groups utilized digital platforms to mobilize and engage in calamity-related initiatives while surfacing repressed discourses against State neglect and accountability. It is suggested that longitudinal discourse and ethnographic studies on the role of social media and citizen-led initiatives during times of crisis be adopted to further explore how resilience is operationalized and discursively constructed.

References

Bonilla, Y., & Rosa, J . (2015). "#Ferguson: Digital protest, hashtag ethnography, and the racial politics of social media in the United States." *American Ethnologist, 42*(1), 4–17.

Chua, L. (2018). Small acts and personal politics: On helping to save the orangutan via social media. *Anthropology Today, 34*(3), 7–11. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-8322.12432

Colcol, E. (2021, December 22). *#NasaanAngPangulo*: Should politicians be in ground zero of disasters? Reportr.World. https://www.reportr.world/news/nasaan-ang-pangulo-why- filipinos-look-for-their-president-politicians-post-disasters-a4833-20211222-lfrm

Dobrin, D. (2020). The hashtag in digital activism: A cultural revolution, *Journal of Cultural Analysis and Social Change, 5*(1), 03. https://doi.org/10.20897/jcasc/8298

Esguerra, D. J. (2020, November 12). #NasaanAngPangulo trends anew as Typhoon Ulysses pounds Luzon. *INQUIRER.Net*. https://newsinfo.inquirer.net/1359619/nasaanangpangulo-trends- anew-as-typhoon-ulysses-pounds-luzon

Finan, T., & Rahman, M. (2016). Storm warnings: An anthropological focus on community resilience in the face of climate change in southern Bangladesh. *In Anthropology and Climate Change: From Actions to Transformations* (2nd ed., pp. 172–182). Routledge.

Galvez, D. (2021, April 8). *#NasaanAngPangulo trends after Duterte cancels address twice.*INQUIRER.Net. https://newsinfo.inquirer.net/1416144/nasaanangpangulo-trends-after- duterte-cancels-address-twice

Hechanova, R., & Waelde, L. (2017). The influence of culture on disaster mental health and psychosocial support interventions in Southeast Asia. *Mental Health, Religion & Culture, 20*(1), 31–44. doi:10.1080/13674676.2017.1322048.

Hobart, H. J. K., & Kneese, T. (2020). Radical care. *Social Text, 38*(1), 1–16. https://doi.org/10.1215/01642472-7971067

Isidro, M. Q. Y., & Calleja, M. T. (2020). How do national values contribute to perceived organizational resilience and employee resilience in times of disaster? An example from the Philippines. *Asian Journal of Social Psychology*. Published. https://doi.org/10.1111/ajsp.12439

Jan, N., & Lance, M. (2020). Anarchist responses to a pandemic: The COVID-19 crisis as a case study in mutual aid. *Kennedy Institute of Ethics Journal, 30*(3–4), 361–378. https://doi.org/10.1353/ken.2020.0019

Malindog-Uy, A. (2020, November 15). *Five typhoons in a row test for Duterte.* The ASEAN Post. https://theaseanpost.com/article/five-typhoons-row-test-duterte

Manila, E. U. S. (2020, November 6). *U.S. Provides Php9.7M of Critical Relief to Communities Affected by Super Typhoon Rolly.* U.S. Embassy in the Philippines. https://ph.usembassy.gov/us-provides-php9-7m- of-critical-relief-to-communities-affected-by-super-typhoon-rolly/.

MCU (2021, July 25). Facebook [Photos of Affected Families]. Facebook. https://www.facebook.com/unsupportedbrowser? cft [0]= dVUsOuvU-dsfds('fdDGFR45DFFHgjswdze"('rd-fv;é"uQlg6BdjWtcuXFdwkHjttZnq54aqZU0.

Nuttall, S. A. (2016.). *Anthropology and climate change.* 2nd edition: 9781629580005, 9781315530314. https://www.vitalsource.com/products/anthropology-and-climate-change-susan-a-crate-v9781315530314

Pyles, L. (2007). Community organizing for post-disaster social development. *International Social Work, 50*(3), 321–333. https://doi.org/10.1177/0020872807076044

Ramirez, J. (2020, November 13). *Facebook* [Photos of Affected Families]. Facebook. https://www.facebook.com/unsupportedbrowser? cft [0]=AZXCCY_E4PgZdVUsOuvU-XiX-hFq0etwap8auzL4sP273Vk5wZobbDxKK_hMp895VwUyuMpoZ-nyRMf7f_D0KBs8L-gnIQn0Su8Ff5aN7s_Qlg6BdjWtcuXFdwkHjttZnq54aqZU0WQ6zItOtNc1 vKvcKGHWh-Kr9WqRk-gX0zMWQVdRQ& tn =*bH-y-R.