



**UNIVERSITY OF THE PHILIPPINES  
OPEN UNIVERSITY**

**MASTER OF DEVELOPMENT COMMUNICATION**

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**RISK COMMUNICATION: A SYMBOLIC INTERACTIONISM STUDY OF THE  
YOLANDA VICTIMS' NARRATIVES**

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31 May 2023

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**ACCEPTANCE PAGE:**

This paper prepared by **DENNISE BIOGOS RECUERDO** with the title: “**Risk Communication: A Symbolic Interactionism Study of the Yolanda Victims’ Narratives**” is hereby accepted by the Faculty of Information and Communication Studies, U.P. Open University, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree Program.

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## **Biographical Sketch**

Dennise Biogos Recuerdo is currently a Consultant at Ascendens Asia, a Singapore-based company that provides learning materials for Senior High School and College-level students. She served as a Teaching Associate at the Department of Development Journalism, College of Development Communication at the University of the Philippines Los Baños. Prior to the Teaching Assistantship Program, she was as a freelancer on projects with non-government organizations (e.g., developing training designs and implementing them, and developing and implementing programs) and have been involved research for private institutions as a qualitative data analyst. She has also worked as a production manager and a producer for development-oriented multi-media materials.

Since kindergarten, Dennise lived in Tacloban City and moved to Palo, Leyte, after Super Typhoon Yolanda. She is interested in disaster risk since she experienced first-hand what it was like to learn to survive its effects. As a practitioner of Development Communication, she aims to contribute to the enrichment of knowledge in this field. For her, it is a way of paying forward so that disaster communication can be shaped as experienced by those affected.

## **Acknowledgement**

My utmost gratitude to my thesis adviser Prof. Jean A. Saludadez. Her patience, support, and wisdom paved the path to pursuing and finishing my research. Thank you for the challenge and the knowledge.

Heartfelt thanks are also expressed to the members of my advisory committee, Prof. Benjamina Paula Gonzalez-Flor, and Prof. Melinda F. Lumanta, for the time, encouragement, and expertise they have shared with me.

I am also grateful to my former colleagues at the Department of Development Journalism, College of Development Communication at the University of the Philippines Los Baños, most especially our former Department Chairperson, Asst. Prof. Kabzeel Sheeba G. Catapang, and our current Department Chairperson, Asst. Prof. Aletheia C. Araneta. My perspective on development communication widened because of this opportunity. Your trust became an inspiration to finish my study.

I would also like to acknowledge and thank Asst. Prof. Ricarda B. Villar for her continuous support, guidance, and patience whenever I needed time to continue writing my thesis.

I am also grateful to my sister and my father for taking care of my errands when I struggled to find time between my responsibilities in work and academics. I would also like to thank my dearest housemates and close friends, Jonas and Bert, for their much-needed advice and encouragement.

Lastly, I am genuinely blessed and thankful to my fiancé, Ethan, whose love, support, and care propelled me to finish this research and this master's degree successfully.

## **DEDICATION**

This study is dedicated to the unaccounted, the unfound, and the unnamed victims of Super Typhoon Yolanda.

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## **Risk Communication: A Symbolic Interactionism Study of the**

### **Yolanda Victims' Narratives**

Risk and risk communication are preventive mechanisms to protect the lives of individuals and their health and minimize the harm they are facing. These are important in disaster risk. However, the current disaster research landscape focuses on quantitative measures, and there is a sparse understanding between risk and disaster victims. In this light, this study was conducted to explore risk from those who experienced the 2013 Super Typhoon Yolanda in Tacloban.

This research is a narrative inquiry lensed by Symbolic Interactionism, which states that it is the meaning that defines the action. Thus, the view of risk is what shapes communicative acts. The study collected five narratives and used narrative analysis to derive the meaning.

The analysis revealed that a situation becomes a risk when there is an advisory. Thus, a risk situation cannot be considered a risk if it is not communicated. When risk comes in a form of an advisory, people think about what should be done to prepare for the disaster. The next meaning that surfaced is that there is a risk when there is an absence or loss of contact. People need to be connected, otherwise, they lose their refuge from the difficult situation. When the risk is in this form of social disconnection, people talk about safety with their loved ones to prepare them for what might come or assure them of safety. Finally, there is a risk when there is no access to basic needs. This includes the essentials such as food, medicine, a safe shelter, and a safe environment. When the risk is experienced as such, safety is treated as a communal responsibility. This entails that people help each other to ensure the safety of the neighborhood or provide information on where they can get their needs.

Overcoming risk is a collective effort by the individual, the family, and the community. The narratives have shown that social connections play a vital role in the meaning of risk and risk-communicative acts. Thus, it is recommended to include and account for social relationships in communication plans, such as encouraging relatives and loved ones to reach out to their families facing the risk situation. In conclusion, the use of Symbolic Interactionism helps us understand the meaning of risk and the communicative acts shaped by such meaning.

Overall, this narrative inquiry highlights distinct nuances of risk and provides a deeper understanding of the social context in risk preparedness and risk action. Thus, future qualitative studies are recommended to deepen the understanding of the meaning and acts in risk through the lens of those who experienced it and utilize this knowledge to shape disaster policies, management, and praxis.

**Keywords:** Risk as a communication phenomenon, symbolic interaction in a risk situation, interpretive meaning of risk, meaning of risk, risk from the victims' viewpoint, risk views shaping communication, qualitative research on risk, disaster narrative inquiry, narrative inquiry, disaster research, risk communication, risk communication research, symbolic interactionism studies, symbolic interactionism

## **Chapter I**

### **RATIONALE AND RESEARCH FRAMEWORK**

#### **Rationale**

In November 2013, Super Typhoon Yolanda (internationally known as Haiyan) made landfall in several regions in the Visayas (Official Gazette, 2013). I lived in Tacloban City then, and it was one of the localities affected by Yolanda.

Around that time, I had just finished the first semester of my fifth year in college and had already applied for graduation. Days before Yolanda, I was unaware of an incoming super typhoon. Back then, I no longer bothered myself about investing time in learning about an incoming typhoon. Every other typhoon I experienced had a similar outcome. For me, all of them were the same. However, I read a social media post where someone said the winds would be so strong that they could push a bulldozer. Since I lived in a house made of light materials, I thought it would be less heavy than a bulldozer. I was alarmed by this, so I evacuated with my friends to a hotel in the city's downtown area. The few hours I had to endure to survive Yolanda was terrifying. I thought surviving Yolanda was unlike anything I had experienced. Yet, staying alive in the city was much more difficult. We spent each day just looking for food and ways to contact our family members to let them know we were still alive and needed help. We spent over a week in Tacloban City. Everywhere smelled like rotting flesh, even when no dead body was in sight. We sought a way to leave the city because it was no longer safe. I felt restless and hopeless. We slept with a knife under our pillow. Two weeks later, our kind neighbors took us with them when they traveled to Southern Leyte. From there, we rode a boat to Cebu, then flew to Manila.

Super typhoons, such as Yolanda, are consequences of climate change. The key indicators of climate change reflect its impacts across sea levels, ocean, and land temperature, and loss of ice at the Earth's poles, triggering hazardous weather events increasing flooding, heatwaves, wildfires, hurricanes, and droughts (National Aeronautics and Space Administration [NASA], 2021). Among published climate change risk profiles, between 1999 and 2018, the Philippines was the fourth most affected by climate change globally (Burck et al., 2020). With this, the Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction emphasizes the importance of communication in keeping communities safe from hazards. Communication is essential in reducing risks and responding to disaster situations (United Nations International Strategy for Disaster Reduction [UNISDR], 2015).

Risk messages are delivered before a crisis to avert it (Sellnow et al., 2009). It is the “process of exchanging information among interested parties about the nature, magnitude, significance, or control of a risk” (Covello, 1992, p. 359). Risk communication aims to save people's lives, protect their health, and minimize harm (Gamhewage, 2014). Risk communication was generally practiced as one-way communication, simply informing and educating the people under the pretense that it will increase their understanding and awareness of the risk (Boersma et al., 2017). Concerning this, Fakhruddin (2007) explained that if a community could receive information on a disaster, the adverse effects of the event could be reduced. However, there is a growing consensus that dialogue is vital in risk communication (Palenchar, 2005; Treurniet et al., 2015), such that in acting on a particular risk, one must perceive its relevance and sense of urgency. Societal norms, political agendas, and personal opinions are never universal. Sources of risk messages each carry their context—problems and interests. Different approaches to risk communication should be tapped

because risk communication is about the information itself and the broader context within which such information is communicated (Boersma et al., 2017). Today, communicative norms are intended for behavioral change, cognizant of the norms and values. Risk communication can be two-way (Boersma et al., 2017; Sellnow et al., 2009).

Numerous studies recommended understanding the community and its context in coordinating disaster management (Craddock et al., 2016; Senimoli et al., 2020; UNISDR, 2015; van Dewald, 2011). Contextualizing the social characteristics of disasters and their communicative processes is imperative in disaster research (Hitzler et al., 2012). However, the conventional focus of disaster research is on planning, management, and mitigation, habitually relying on quantitative data gathering and analysis measures. Meanwhile, disaster research concentrates on a communication channel for technical purposes (Egner et al., 2016), such as determining the best medium to send the message to its receivers (Hitzler et al., 2012).

Communication relies on the participant's situated identities. Typically, communication in the perspective of disaster research centers on the conduit communication model for technical purposes (Egner et al., 2016). Still, such an approach does not represent the complex achievement of the simplest acts of communication. In the face of disorienting situations, one cannot rely on a set of ready-made meanings (Blumer, 1969). Communication should be analyzed and understood as context-dependent and context-shaping, which produces and adapts content over time (Hitzler et al., 2012).

## **Research Framework**

Symbolic Interactionism (SI) became a means to study how communication shapes individual identities as it makes individuality and community possible (Lindlof & Taylor, 2019). George Herbert Mead, the proponent of SI, forwarded the theory as a communicative process such that a person responds not to what the person says or does but to the meaning of what a person says or does. The next premise of SI is that the meaning arises from social interactions with others. Finally, an interpretative process occurs, wherein the person deals with and handles the meanings they encounter (Blumer, 2004). In Mead's earlier philosophical writings in social psychology, he emphasized that it "is the action that determines the relationship between the individual and the environment" (p. xi). Also referred to as the "conversation of gestures," the gesture becomes symbolic when it evokes an anticipated response. Moreover, it becomes communication when interpreting how the individual and the significant other should respond to the symbolic gesture (Mead, 1934).

The SI talks about the meanings people form in a society. It does not concern with general structures of definitions but the different meanings people create for particular objects, gestures, and events that shape and inform how they act. However, these meanings may change over time as people encounter different situations. Symbolic interactionism could help us understand the different meanings formed when people encounter disasters such as Yolanda and help us deepen the social nuances of the meaning people formed around risk and how the meaning they have formed informs their actions.

Meanings, however, can only exist through a synthesis. Since narratives operate in the realm of meaning, examining this realm can facilitate an interpretation

of the narrative (Polkinghorne, 1988). The narrative is a discourse composition drawing together diverse events and actions in human lives in a goal-directed process (Polkinghorne, 1995). It means that it draws human actions and events that affect humans. Thus, meanings are derived by configuring them in an episode, with the outcome and the respective contributions of the actions and events (Polkinghorne, 1988). Through a narrative inquiry, I aimed to contribute to the body of knowledge on the meaning of disaster risk and its communicative acts.

Narrative inquiry collects data from events and happenings using narrative analytic procedures to develop explanatory stories (Polkinghorne, 1995). Thus, I collected narratives among those who also experienced Super Typhoon (ST) Yolanda (Haiyan) to understand the deeper meaning of risk and how these personal views shape communicative acts. However, with the study focusing on a qualitative method, the study's findings represent the studied group. Therefore, not generalizable. Furthermore, the study was conducted between 2021 and 2022, during which health measures for the COVID-19 pandemic were active. Thus, the execution of the data-gathering methods was limited to what aligned with the minimum health protocols.

### **Research Questions**

The study answers the following questions:

1. What is the meaning or view of the risk of the victims of Yolanda?
2. What communicative acts are defined by such views?

## **Chapter II**

### **REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE**

This chapter explores a brief history of risk communication, an extensive view of the current practices in the field, and the recent studies in the field to deepen the discussion of what has already been understood in the theory and praxis of risk and risk communication in a disaster.

#### **Understanding the General View of Risk Communication and its Practices**

Risk generally means “the probability of an outcome having a negative effect on people, systems, or assets,” (UNDRR, 2022b, para. 1), and the practice of risk communication is as old as human culture itself (Plough & Krimsky, 1987).

Human history reflects stories of assessing and adapting to risk. However, the expert-centered practice was preconditioned in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, alongside the rise of the modern state that protects people from harm. In the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, health institutions professionalized risk messages in sanitation and food safety (Plough & Krimsky, 1987). Today, risk spans various sectors such as business, finances, economics, the environment, occupation, and health, among many others. The practice of risk communication evolves in conjunction with the exposure of humans to risks.

Conventionally, risk plays a role in risk management. However, such a conventional view does not consider the motivations, cultural themes, and symbolic meanings, which may present equal or greater importance to the technical understanding of how and why a risk message is transmitted. In this perspective, the risk is “how experts inform others about the truth” (Plough & Krimsky, 1987, p. 6).

Risk communication is considered a preventive measure. Risk messages are delivered before a crisis to avert it (Sellnow et al., 2009). Risk communication aims to save people's lives, protect their health, and minimize harm. It also aims to change people's beliefs and behavior (Gamhewage, 2014). As declared by Covello (1992), risk communication is the "process of exchanging information among interested parties about the nature, magnitude, significance, or control of a risk" (p. 359).

### **Distinguishing Crisis Communication from Risk Communication**

Crisis communication is one of the key concepts in public information (Johansson, 2007). Crisis communication is event-centered. It is intended to communicate the current state, magnitude of the situation, immediacy, cause, and consequences. It is responsive to the crisis at hand. For responders, crisis communication is about the steps to resolve or contain the crisis immediately. In short, crisis communication aims to contain and recover from a dangerous event (Sellnow et al., 2009).

Among the studies anchored on the systems perspective is this study on organizational communication in crisis communication. Sellnow et al. (2002) used a case study design, applying Chaos Theory in a system-wide analysis of the crisis communication in the 1997 Red River Valley Flood. They retraced the conditions and decisions leading to the disaster—communication related to river crest predictions, shock at the crisis magnitude, self-organization or forms of reorganizing, and re-establishment of order. Their findings forwarded that the pre-existing sensemaking structures that are partial to rationalized, traditional views of a complex system, directed officials in making predictions that influenced the effectiveness of the crisis communication and planning of the region. Sellnow et al. (2002) forwards that the dynamics within the organization affected their response to the crisis and their study

forwards that chaos theory could be a general framework for understanding crisis communication.

The changes in the public communication landscape affect emergency communication. During a crisis, people need accurate and updated information, but authorities no longer have complete control over channels and information used by people to gain situational awareness (Tomko et al., 2020).

Crisis communication boils down to communicating to contain a situation. As the study elaborates, providing complete information during the crisis is crucial because it helps inform other agencies, whether non-governmental organizations (NGOs) or civic groups, in responding and helping the community. Therefore, the application of crisis communication implies its presence during a disaster response phase, while other phases imply the use of risk communication.

There are differences in the intent of the communication in risk and crisis communication. Crisis communication is dedicated to ensuring that communication can assist in providing basic needs and services needed in a situation or a disastrous event. This may include food, water, shelter, and clothing, while it could also be used for communicating across different agencies responsible for responding to the occurrence, such as an ambulance or the fire department.

In disaster management, communication is always present. It is essential in reducing risks and responding to disaster situations (UNISDR, 2015). Communication in disaster focuses on risk communication (see Senimoli et al., 2020; Sheppard et al., 2012; Wachinger et al., 2010) and crisis communication (Girard et al., 2014; Sellnow et al., 2002).

Risk communication is considered a preventive measure, wherein messages are delivered before a crisis to avert it (Sellnow et al., 2009). Risk communication

aims to save people's lives, protect their health, and minimize harm. It also aims to change people's beliefs and behavior (Gamhewage, 2014).

Whereas, crisis communication aims to contain and recover from a dangerous event (Sellnow et al., 2009). Though they are their own separate fields, they have become intertwined. Quintessentially, when risk management fails, it could lead to a crisis; meanwhile, a crisis may necessitate risk communication (Sheppard et al., 2012).

Crisis communication is internal and external; an organization communicates among its members to address different matters and taps into other organizations for support and resources. The literature and studies portray different communication roles, providing a glimpse of the different agencies and mediums that carry them out during the disaster management phase. Risk and crisis communication concepts show distinctiveness in their purpose, but the interactions of the individuals experiencing the disaster and their communicative practices within risk and crisis communication are limited.

### **Disaster Risk Concepts and its Management Agencies in the Philippines**

The subsequent section explores how the global framework is cascaded on a national and local level. An overview of the country's situation on the impact of climate change in the country is expounded to emphasize the importance of disaster management at the national and local levels. Similarly, national policies and structures are explored to provide a general understanding of how disaster management is implemented in the country.

A disaster is defined as a disruption in how a society functions due to hazardous events and its interaction with the "conditions of exposure, vulnerability, and capacity"

(para. 1), which could lead to “human, material, economic and environmental losses, and impact” (UNDRR, 2022b, para. 1).

Concepts related to disaster have been established to guide countries in preventing and managing the impact of climate change. One of the key concepts is disaster risk.

In a disaster, the risk is considered as the function of the combined effects of hazards, the assets or the people exposed to such, and the vulnerability of those exposed to the said hazard. Risk exposure is regarded as an outcome of a decision (UNDRR, 2022b).

Disaster risk may be determined via the presence of three variables: hazards (natural or anthropogenic); vulnerability to a hazard, and coping capacity linked to the mitigation, reduction, and resilience to the vulnerability of an area linked with the hazard (UNISDR, 2009). In addition, there are common causes that worsen or alleviate the vulnerability of communities. These include environmental, economic, political, social, and physical factors.

Environmental factors are related to the degradation of the natural environment, the resilience of ecological systems, loss of biodiversity, and exposure to pollutants. Many disasters are worsened due to environmental degradation (van Dewald, 2011).

On the other hand, political commitment to development concerns affects the vulnerability of the communities. The decision-making linked to development is crucial to addressing the deep-rooted socio-economic elements that maintain extreme levels of vulnerability. This covers access to quality education, basic services, and information, employment opportunities, denial of human rights, access to power structures, land tenure, access to infrastructure, and availability of and access to

resources. Eradicating poverty is an essential aspect of addressing vulnerability (van Dewald, 2011).

The population's economic status affects the degree of losses in terms of lives, property, and infrastructure, and it also determines the capacity to recover from the adverse effects of a disaster (van Dewald, 2011).

Meanwhile, social factors are attributed to the well-being of the communities exposed to hazards—the level of education, training, and literacy, access to fundamental human rights, safety and security, good governance, and vital cultural beliefs and traditional values, among others (van Dewald, 2011). In addition, social cohesion improves the community's coping capacities, and traditional structures and civic groups can reduce the consequences of a hazard (UNISDR, 2002, as cited by van Dewald, 2011).

Physical factors connect to access to suitable land, land use planning, building standards, materials used for building houses, housing design, engineering, and accessibility to emergency services. A poor physical environment exposes people to hazards (van Dewald, 2011).

Since the severity of natural hazards cannot be reduced, risk reduction lies in minimizing vulnerability and exposure. These two components rely on identifying and reducing the primary risk drivers, mainly related to degradation of the environment, poverty, and inequality and climate change, poor economic and urban development choices, which create and worsen the hazard, exposure, and vulnerability conditions. Only through reducing and managing the hazard conditions can losses and impacts be prevented (PreventionWeb, 2015), and with the primary risk drivers of disaster relating to economic and environmental conditions, disaster is intrinsically linked to the 16 other goals in the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) (United Nations, 2016).

Disaster risk reduction began when natural hazards became severe, and a greater emphasis on pre-disaster planning and prevention was essential. As a result, the United Nations Disaster Relief Coordinator convened to develop a methodology for risk and vulnerability analysis (UNDRR, 2019).

Many processes, including climate change, create interconnected risks (UNDRR, 2022b). Climate change reflects its impacts across sea levels, ocean and land temperature, and ice loss at the Earth's poles, triggering hazardous weather events (e.g., Super Typhoon Yolanda). Thus, climate action has become one of the priorities of the SDGs under Goal 13, emphasizing the need to take urgent action to combat the impact of this climate crisis (United Nations, 2016). Moreover, due to the threat posed by climate-related risks, global efforts in risk reduction are currently in action to build resiliency, policies, plans, and programs to protect communities (UNFCCC, 2022).

Among published climate change risk profiles, the Philippines was at the topmost rank of the most affected countries in 2015 (Kreft et al., 2015). In 2018, the country was second to Japan. Between 1999 and 2018, the Philippines was the fourth most affected by climate change globally (Burck et al., 2020). Extreme weather has affected communities in the Philippines over the last decade.

In this light, the Philippines also has policies and institutions placed by the government to protect its communities. This includes the Republic Act 10121 or the Philippine Disaster Risk Reduction and Management Act of 2010.

Under the said law, disaster risk is defined as the potential losses due to a disaster, in terms of lives, health status, livelihood, assets, and services, which may occur to a community over a specified future period. Meanwhile, disaster risk reduction is regarded as the construct and practice of reducing disaster risks through systematic

efforts in analyzing and managing the causal factors of disasters. These factors were identified as exposure to hazards, the vulnerability of people and property, land and environment management, and preparedness for adverse events (*Philippine Disaster Risk Reduction and Management Act of 2010*).

Apart from the law, government agencies are tasked with disaster management and other related functions. This includes the Philippine Atmospheric, Geophysical and Astronomical Services Administration (PAGASA) which provides salient information on weather events for disaster preparedness (*The PAGASA Modernization Act of 2015*). Another agency is the National Disaster Risk Reduction and Management Council (NDRRMC), tasked with reducing the vulnerabilities of the communities and responding to disaster impacts through the Office of Civil Defense (Department of Budget and Management [DBM], 2018). Finally, the devolved disaster risk reduction council City Disaster Risk Reduction Management Council (CDRRMC) or Municipal Disaster Risk Reduction Management Council (MDRRMC) localizes national programs and integrates disaster risk reduction into local development plans (*Philippine Disaster Risk Reduction and Management Act of 2010*).

### **Channels in Risk Communication**

Communication among national and local institutions is crucial in ensuring disaster preparedness and effective response (UNISDR, 2015a), and a communication plan can be used to inform the public of the vital information and instructions critical to the success of the plan of action (Valcik & Tracy, 2013). Moreover, studies have shown that the communication channel is one of the most important aspects of risk communication (Abunyewah et al., 2018).

Azmani et al. (2018) explored the different challenges of communication systems during emergency disaster response in Malaysia. Through their review, they

found several issues concerning these communication systems. Emergencies require several services; thus, a single emergency number is used to achieve better coordination. On the downside, the universal emergency number receives a high prevalence of prank calls versus actual emergencies.

Another important alternative channel in crisis communication is social media. However, mobile and internet-based communication may have network congestion issues during a disaster. While they may be effective in situations where they can be the fastest point of reference in a time of crisis, they do not contribute to effective disaster relief. Internet-based applications may be proven helpful in emergencies as they allow pictures, videos, and audio to be transmitted from the site, but there is no guarantee in protecting one's privacy and confidentiality (Azmani et al., 2018).

On the other hand, other literature also shows that social media can facilitate what a rigid and centralized communication channel cannot (Tomko et al., 2020). It is characterized by dependability, greater capacity, and interactivity, which may be advantageous for disaster communication (Houston et al., 2014).

As an alternative, government integrated radio networks are used. In Malaysia, their radio system possesses limitless network availability with high-security encryption. This provides an exclusive network for agencies to communicate, however, images cannot be transmitted through this medium (Azmani et al., 2018).

In an ideal communication system, their review showed that a solid communication model is essential for fast relief and distribution of resources during an emergency. A disaster communication system must function for sending, receiving, and gathering data pre-disaster, during, and post-disaster. Thus, software dedicated to crisis and disaster management is necessary. It is essential to have a functional data distribution system at the interface level to manage the recipients, time, and

place. A data distribution system must also verify, control the quality, and store the data to secure inflow and outflow. Based on their review, they concluded that the role of each communication system in disaster modulation should be determined; and that advancements in disaster communication present opportunities for disaster managers to improve management and reduce induced fatalities (Azmani et al., 2018).

This systematic review shows that different communication mediums have their own advantages and disadvantages in the field. However, the study focuses on the communication bridging agencies and the public administrators. It does not show insight from the perspective of the victims and citizens involved in an emergency and how they utilize these mediums in such situations.

Meanwhile, a systematic review of intervention studies by Bradley et al. (2016) explained the effect of risk communication interventions in promoting disaster mitigation and preparedness. Randomized trials, cluster randomized trials, quasi-randomized trials, uncontrolled before-and-after studies, controlled before-and-after studies, and post-intervention were reviewed to draw their results. Different communication mediums were also tackled (e.g., face-to-face, television, radio, Internet or telephone communication, and other methods of risk communication). A total of 27 studies were included. They found that while disaster mitigation and preparedness interventions have improved people's knowledge and behavior, there was not enough solid evidence to point the effectiveness of risk communication for disaster knowledge, behavior, and health outcomes in the response and recovery phases of disasters. Furthermore, their study concluded that since there were differences between the studies included in the review, it was impossible to regard a particular risk communication method as superior to others.

This systematic review reiterates the need for exploring different communication platforms when giving out risk messages. Additionally, their findings show improvement on knowledge and behavior through interventions. On the other hand, the use of interventions necessitates explanations as to how they help in different risk situations, from the viewpoint of those affected by the risk. This gap is filled by my study as it looks at the meaning behind the actions, which helps explain the interventions that the Yolanda victims encountered. More importantly, it also explains risk communication and how it resonated with the study participants.

On the other hand, addressing the concern of inoperable telecommunication networks was the highlight of Sahin and Oztel (2021) when they studied an efficient communication network through developing a message broadcasting system. They developed two Android OS applications (a master node, and a neighbor node) that allow communications even when the communication infrastructure has collapsed. This type of application can be used in critical situations for relief organizations to be able to broadcast messages to the people affected by the situation.

This study shows promise in being able to broadcast messages during a crisis when telecommunication networks become inoperable. This is related to my study since all communication mediums were down for a period during Yolanda, and it was only a few days later when the signal came back in very few places. Moreover, there was no electricity, thus, access to computers and mobile devices were limited. While this study appears as a one-way communication means, this shows how relief organizations and other agencies could connect with those affected, especially during a dire situation.

Exchanging information is more accessible nowadays. Technologies present prospects in voice and data communication methods which organizations have

become heavily accustomed to. However, many would practically shut down if their communication links failed (Thejendra, 2014). A backup network with the least infrastructure dependence facilitates better communication between relief agencies and the public administration (Azmani et al., 2018).

Media engagement in communicating disasters plays an integral role in disaster management. Early warnings are critical in disaster risk reduction, and preparedness and the media are essential (Canubas, 2015).

A case study among media personnel in Indonesia revealed that media engagement in disasters and disaster risks has declined. Interviews with the participants indicated that the media only frequently covered disasters during recovery. Presentation and writing on disaster information also told that the style is monotonous and old-fashioned. Thus, it may seem unappealing to the younger audience. In addition, the display of information in electronic media also seems outdated (Fakhruradhi et al., 2019).

The study mentioned above shows the importance of when and how risk messages and information should be delivered. The case study shows a facet of risk communication from the perspective of media personnel. However, while it shows that the presentation of information can shift its appeal such that it may not resonate with the target audience (e.g., the people affected by the incoming disaster), this is an insight from the media personnel and not the end users of the information.

In a content analysis of 654 news reports on Super Typhoon Haiyan, Canubas (2015) mapped stories about Haiyan published online by all four news sites: [Bulatlat.com](http://Bulatlat.com); [Interaksyon.com](http://Interaksyon.com); [BBC.co.uk](http://BBC.co.uk); and [CNN.com](http://CNN.com). It was revealed that international news sites published more stories than the local sites during this period and these foreign media agencies traveled to the affected areas, especially Tacloban

City, to cover that year's strongest typhoon ever recorded. Her analysis also uncovered that international stories centered on monetary pledges and military aid, and this narrative reverberated through the disaster recovery phase.

Concomitantly, one of the themes discussed in the study was how Philippine journalists became givers of "communication as an aid," reporting on what was happening at ground zero and acting as a medium for families to connect with their relatives. During the recovery phase, the 'no-build zone' policy came to the surface, and it was portrayed as a land-grabbing mechanism, while other news reports depicted it as a life-saving policy (Canubas, 2015).

The content analysis mentioned above tackles media coverage during the Super Typhoon Yolanda, which is also the timeline explored in this narrative inquiry. One interesting theme revealed in the study was how communication became an aid for the victims. Earlier in this chapter, telecommunication networks became inoperable; thus, people could not contact their loved ones. The journalists stepped in to help the victims with this. This discussion shows an interaction between the journalists and the victims and the communicative acts within those interactions, which is the topic of this study.

The media can provide factual coverage pre-, during, and post-disaster. In addition, they are a valuable asset in disseminating information relevant to public safety (Dave, 2004).

On the other hand, how the media contributes to reporting disasters is one aspect. Another facet that should be considered is framing—"looking at how stories are sifted, packaged, and presented as the reality of the event are equally as important at the notion of being reported in the first place" (Canubas, 2015, p. 16).

The media may portray a dramatic but inaccurate framing of a particular event or disaster, and political institutions could manipulate the media for individual or political interests (Dave, 2004).

In recent times, the use of social media has been seen in disaster communication. People often share posts and updates about disasters—emergency information, and even rescue (Xing et al., 2021). Even Facebook created a “Marked Safe” feature so people can inform others of their safety from a disaster (Facebook Help Center, 2017). Apart from this, hashtags seem to have allowed people to discuss and classify topics on social media (Goswami, 2018).

A case study on social media and disaster communication during Tropical Cyclone Winston was conducted by Finau et al. (2018). They collected social media data using #StrongerThanWinston and #TCWinston and interviewed individuals residing in the rural areas of the community. Their study found that social media was used to inform citizens of information related to the cyclone, while other individuals used the platform to broadcast their experiences. Another theme that emerged was social media's use to rally international support for those affected communities.

On the other hand, Liu et al. (2020) conducted a quantitative content analysis—structural, topical, and linguistic features—of disaster management organizations’ Facebook messages. First, their study showed that the message's value and the medium's richness predict engagement. Secondly, boosting collective identity and gratitude facilitates emotional engagement. Third, topics calling for public participation are instrumental in facilitating shared behaviors, meaning one’s circle of influence is vital for expanding the reach of official posts. Finally, their study found that the message's linguistic feature significantly affects inviting feedback and participation. The empathic tone of messaging invites emotional and behavioral engagement, and

an informal tone is more effective in informing and engaging the public during a natural disaster.

Based on the studies reviewed, common issues among communication systems include the prevalence of prank calls, lack of coordination and overlapping of services, network congestion, privacy and confidentiality, and inability to transmit images that could clarify the gist of an emergency. Meanwhile, universal emergency numbers, internet and mobile-based, and radio networks are used in communicating during emergencies, although exploring a management and communication system dedicated to emergency response is still in discussion. The future of technology in disaster management presents possibilities for addressing infrastructure problems. However, other issues in communication systems should still be considered and tackled.

In exploring the posts related to disasters, studies have shown its potential in locating useful information on disasters, formulating emotional response strategies, and developing and innovating social media. However, at this point, there is a limited body of knowledge in this area. Therefore, further studies are essential to establish the role of social media in disaster communication.

The different technologies and their role in disaster suggest communication transverses across different platforms or mediums during disaster management. For example, social media also became a tool for risk communication. Studies have also shown how mass media aids disaster management differently.

### **Factors, Strategies, and Approaches in Risk Communication**

Risk and risk communication is an expert-centered practice, and there are existing standards established through research and field experience of government institutions globally. This section looks at the established practices of risk

communication and the different studies conducted to inform my thesis on what has been explored and understood initially within the conduct of risk and risk communication.

While hazards can be natural, disaster risk is considered anthropogenic. Thus, the disaster risk is brought about by the interaction between development processes generating circumstances of exposure, vulnerability, and hazard (UNDRR, 2022b). Therefore, since this study aims to understand the meaning of risk and what communicative acts are shaped by this view, understanding the different considerations surrounding risk and risk communication would be beneficial.

The Center for Disease and Control Prevention (CDC) (2018) highlighted the importance of considering the culture in the area when it comes to developing messages. Some cultures have different experiences with risk and some cultural practices can become risk behaviors. On the other hand, cultures that rely on groups may benefit from messages that explain how their actions can benefit the community, while individualists think that their choices, beliefs, and actions are independent.

The institution has also underscored vital strategies in developing messages for the audience, and facts must work in the message. The CDC outlined the following factors that are essential to account for when creating initial messages during an emergency: the first messages should be simple and easy to understand; repeat the message so that people will remember; establish action steps that are in a positive tone (i.e., using “do” instead of “don’t”); people tend to remember three to seven pieces of information, so it is best to craft steps in threes or fours; use personalized messages and personal pronouns; do not be judgmental about people’s reactions and perceptions; provide them with options and avoid being humorous so as not to offend other people.

Additionally, CDC has also identified the needed information and the groups to include during an emergency. The table below identifies these groups and their primary concerns.

**Table 1**

*The groups needing information and their primary concerns in an emergency*

Audiences Affected by Emergencies	Primary Concerns
Community directly affected by the emergency	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Personal safety</li> <li>■ Family safety</li> <li>■ Property damage</li> <li>■ Loss of livelihood</li> <li>■ Disruption to normal activities (e.g., travel restrictions, businesses closed, voluntary quarantine)</li> </ul>
Community immediately outside of the affected area	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ How they can keep the emergency from affecting them</li> <li>■ How they can help</li> <li>■ Risks to self and family</li> <li>■ Disruption to normal activities</li> </ul>
Emergency responders and public health officials	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Professional responsibilities</li> <li>■ Availability of resources</li> <li>■ Personal safety</li> <li>■ Family</li> <li>■ If they are directly affected by the emergency: family safety and property damage</li> </ul>
Civic leaders	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Responsibilities</li> <li>■ Liability and reputation management</li> <li>■ Resource allocations</li> <li>■ Opportunities to express concern</li> </ul>
Partners	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Understanding their role in the response</li> <li>■ Coordinating with other response organizations</li> <li>■ Involvement in decision-making process</li> <li>■ Access to information, reputation management</li> </ul>
Community leaders (faith-based organizations, non-governmental organizations, cultural groups, etc.)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Safety of communities</li> <li>■ Representing community needs</li> <li>■ Listening to community members</li> <li>■ Taking part in decision-making</li> </ul>
Media	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Getting access to information right away</li> <li>■ Meeting rapid deadlines</li> <li>■ Keeping the public informed</li> </ul>
Businesses, trade, and industry	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Employee safety</li> <li>■ Interruptions in business</li> <li>■ Loss of revenue</li> </ul>

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International community (international organizations and other countries may be partners in the response and provide aid or assistance)

- Liabilities and reputation
- Their level of readiness for a similar emergency
- Any restrictions on trade and travel to protect their citizens
- Their role in response partnership

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Note: Adapted from CERC: Messages and Audiences. Crisis and Emergency Risk Communication (CERC) Manual. by Center for Disease and Control Prevention, 2018, p. 4. Copyright 2018 by Center for Disease and Control Prevention

Wachinger et al. (2010) revealed the relationship between risk perception and social response and the weak relationship between risk perception and preparedness. They refer to it as a risk awareness paradox or the “paradoxical effect of decreasing residents’ risk awareness” (p. 60), outlining the three reasons to explain this. First, they expounded that people understand the risk, but: they choose to accept it given the benefits the situation provides them; transfer the responsibility of acting to others; and or they feel that they do not have the necessary resources to change this situation.

Risk perception and trustworthiness issues are two key factors determining the success of risk communication (Gamhewage, 2014). When the risk is significant, there is a larger sense of engagement from the public (Gamhewage, 2014). Studies have also shown that prior exposure to a hazard contributes to risk perception, and with this, people are keener on acting on risk information related to that hazard (Senimoli et al., 2020; Walch, 2019).

On the other hand, numerous factors contribute to trustworthiness issues, including the public’s perception of the government, personal experience, and trustworthy organizations (Sheppard et al., 2012). Similarly, the CDC (2018) shared that credibility and trust are essential in delivering successful risk messages. In this light, messages should be delivered alongside their most accurate details as soon as possible. In addition, expressing the message with empathy and openness also contributes to trustworthiness.

Meanwhile, trust significantly impacts the potential preparedness measures (Wachinger et al., 2010). Trust in institutions is essential in building a better-informed society and preparing to face natural hazards. Thus, agencies must increase their public trust level (Bronfman et al., 2016).

Abunyah et al. (2018) concurred with similar findings when they developed a conceptual framework for motivating action toward disaster preparedness through risk communication through a systematic review. Their study found that the source of the information communication involves people, entities, organizations, government officials, and community members that could initiate communication with the public. The content of the risk message should be expressed clearly through uninterrupted channels. They proposed that there should be a credible communication source to translate into action since people examine the source's credibility and the consistency of the risk message concerning their needs and expectations.

Trust, credibility, and the consistency of the risk information source are essential factors in risk messaging. Institutions, disaster managers, and public figures involved in risk management must establish these three factors to send a risk message effectively. The discussions above have shown that people are keen on acting when these are all combined.

Meanwhile, in terms of authority and the presence of risk communication, a study on effective risk communication media (ERCM) was the topic of Susmayadi et al. (2014). They drew from the lack of risk communication media for tourists, which increases the vulnerability of the situation. Through a mixed method design, their goal was for an effective ERCM program for a locale in Yogyakarta, Indonesia. Their findings showed that the locals have better perception and awareness than tourists. However, both participants are generally considered to have a low perception of multi-

hazard danger as a real threat. They also revealed that the tourists expected the tourism management to provide sufficient information regarding the multi-hazard danger and evacuation facilities.

Though the study of Susmayadi et al. (2014) focuses on the tourism-related aspect of risk communication, they showed that people expect risk communication in an area of multi-hazard danger. Authorities are expected to provide the necessary information to the tourists. This is related to my study in terms of highlighting the perspective of locals and other concerned individuals (i.e., the tourists) on risk information. The insights recorded from the respondents open an opportunity for affected individuals to contribute to how risk communication should be shaped.

What is revealed in the earlier discussion on risk communication is that the perception of an individual towards the source (or institution) of the information and the notion of their proximity to the risk are primary factors in acting on risk information. However, other social conditions may affect how they act on the risk, as described by the CDC (2018).

Wachinger et al. (2010) explains why people are less responsive in their risk action through the different reasons they identified. However, while Wachinger et al. (2010) explained the relationships between risk perception and social response, other studies have shown that sociocultural factors (e.g., historical and local context) also contribute to risk action (de Boer et al., 2016; Senimoli et al., 2020; Walch, 2019). Thus, there are explanations that other studies could further explore.

Studies have also shown that prior exposure to a hazard contributes to risk perception, and with this, people are keener on acting on risk information related to that hazard (Senimoli et al., 2020; Walch, 2019). In addition, de Boer et al. (2016) showed that the context of geographic variations, such as flood risks, is relevant to

people. Therefore, “Risk communication is based on a thorough understanding of risk perceptions and capacities shaped through the historical and local context” (p. 396).

Celikler and Kern (2022) reviewed 31 publications from the period 1976-2019 in a systematic review. Their study showed three primary factors influencing communication structures and processes in disaster management teams: social factors (individual and team-centered), organizational factors, and technological factors. In the individual-centered social factor, one’s knowledge of the role and expectations contribute to the effectiveness and efficiency of the communication structures, and the use of technical language and terminology impacts the shaping of communicative acts. Meanwhile, in the team-centered social factor, professional and private familiarity among team members positively affects the communication structures and processes. Culture is crucial since hierarchy is determined by familiarity, closeness, and level of informality among team members (Celikler & Kern, 2022).

Additionally, transparency and preciseness in information communication inform the formation of a central basis for designing communication structures and processes. Next, organizational influencing factors affect how information is communicated to the general public. In essence, when the team is larger, the meeting durations will last longer, too, since there is a higher number of contributors, which may delay decision-making and communication with the public. Furthermore, when decisions are deferred, external communication may be affected and postponed. Therefore, a well-structured team meeting improves the efficiency and effectiveness of the communication structures. Finally, regarding the technological influencing factors, accepting the communication systems given by the members of the disaster management team is imperative. On the other hand, using multiple communication

channels affects the complexity of communication structures and processes (Celikler & Kern, 2022).

This study reveals that the individuals involved in disaster management, their communicative structures, and processes affect the delivery of information and risk communication.

Lin et al. (2020) conducted a case study on a cross-country synthesis of the dynamism of post-disaster risk communication. In their case study, they used a three-stage methodological analysis including documentary reviews, key informant interviews, and a semi-structured questionnaire survey with relevant stakeholders to look at the cross-scale communication in post-disaster reconstruction and the role and influence of risk communication in Taiwan, the Philippines, India, Honduras, and Uganda. Their study found that the essential function in scoping the scale of the involvement in post-disaster communication and involvement lies in legislation. Culture and social relationships are fundamental in risk cognition, and one's background, such as socioeconomic status, experiences, and feelings, as well as the cultural endowment, are fundamental in framing one's perception of disaster risk. Meanwhile, resettlement is not determined by disaster risk cognition but by socioeconomic and sociocultural considerations. Their study also found that the legislations, culture, and social relationships influence the interaction and communication amidst the post-disaster reconstruction and resettlement phase.

Nonetheless, they may suffer from the lack of representation of the civil society's (i.e., local people) insights into policies. A good relationship between the community and government could foster individual actions to respond positively to new policies. In addition to this, they also found that one's risk interpretation is multilayered. The interpretation of risk is not constricted to the natural hazard only. Therefore, risk

communication must be clear, compelling, and ideally come from legitimate sources such as the state. Still, the cultural rationality of the locals must be respected to ensure that disaster is epistemologically related to risks. Finally, the lack of effective government response greatly hinders real change in disaster risk reduction (Lin et al., 2020).

In a study on the communication strategies for risk and disaster management (RDM) in South American countries, communication strategies through computer-assisted qualitative data analysis (CAQDAS) and statistical data mining models were analyzed. Marcillo-Delgado et al. (2022) found 203 ideas for good communication and classified them into five components: early communication planning, information and communication system management planning, communication and communicator quality management planning, RDM awareness raising, and stakeholder consolidation. Of these identified components, awareness-raising for RDM is the most prioritized communication strategy. On the other hand, early communication planning and the consolidation of stakeholders were the least relevant (Marcillo-Delgado et al., 2022).

Risk communication was generally practiced as one-way communication, simply informing and educating the people under the pretense that it will increase their understanding and awareness of the risk (Boersma et al., 2017). However, there are numerous risk communication approaches, and they each carry a different level of interaction with the recipient of the information. These approaches include risk message, risk dialogue, risk government, instrumentalist risk, and capacity building through one-way risk communication (Boersma et al., 2017).

In the risk message approach, risk communication was generally practiced as one-way communication, simply informing and educating the people under the

pretense that it will increase their understanding and awareness of the risk (Boersma et al., 2017).

There is a growing consensus that dialogue is essential in risk communication (Palenchar, 2005; Treurniet et al., 2015), such that in acting on a particular risk, one must perceive its relevance and sense of urgency, or the risk dialogue approach.

Today, communicative norms are intended for behavior change, cognizant of the norms and values. Risk communication can be two-way (Boersma et al., 2017; Sellnow et al., 2009). Meanwhile, the risk government approach less explicitly focuses on changing attitudes and behaviors. Instead, it facilitates change in the institution, tapping into individual choices and self-discipline rather than explaining the new norms of conduct (Boersma et al., 2017).

In the instrumentalist risk approach, interactions between pieces of information, attitudes, and behavior are central to this approach. Motivational factors that push people into taking responsibility and formal ways of changing people's habits are included in this approach (Boersma et al., 2017).

Finally, the capacity building through one-way risk communication covers an obligatory task of risk information among designated institutions, such as government websites, hazard and risk maps, and information materials intended to inform the general public about the risk and how they can increase their preparedness (Boersma et al., 2017).

Risks are perceived not just due to their scientific merit or personal benefit but out of social and cultural factors, denotative and connotative reasons (Motta & Palenchar, 2008). Moreover, risk communication interacts with the political discourse, and the notion of risk becomes tempered by the responsibilities and accountabilities attached to the risk itself (Plough & Krinsky, 1987).

Several references reiterated that coordination in disaster risk reduction necessitates multi-sectoral collaboration. Community-based approaches should be linked to the sub-national and national systems, and technological and social factors are at the base of their effectiveness (Herath et al., 2020). It was also underscored that the incorporation of local knowledge and practices facilitates the reduction of the community's vulnerabilities (UNISDR, 2015a).

In exploring the meaning of risk, it is essential to understand the current views of risk as it is generally practiced. Risk is the likelihood that an event or occurrence would harm people, existing systems, and assets (UNDRR, 2022). Meanwhile, in disaster risk, the risk is the function of the combination of hazards, the assets or the people exposed to such, and the vulnerability of those exposed to the said hazard (UNDRR, 2022b).

Risk has been generally emphasized as information that should be communicated to the public, and the trustworthiness of the person delivering the information is essential in getting people involved (CDC, 2018).

### **Sociocultural Studies on Disaster Risk**

The definition of disaster is often quantified to the amount of damage, victims, and numerical aspects, which may ignore or reduce the socio-cultural and socio-economic factors of the disaster. Qualitative research allows one to better understand the inherent dynamics, nuances, and locale of the disaster and those affected by it (Egner et al., 2016).

The research at hand is a qualitative exploration of organizational communication dynamics in disaster management. Therefore, understanding what qualitative studies could reveal is necessary to contextualize the method's utility in disaster research. Therefore, the studies below are expounded to understand the

potential of qualitative research in revealing social interactions and communication processes.

Several references reiterated that coordination in disaster risk reduction necessitates multi-sectoral collaboration. Community-based approaches should be linked to the sub-national and national systems, and technological and social factors are at the base of their effectiveness (Herath et al., 2020). It was also underscored that incorporating local knowledge and practices facilitates the reduction of the community's vulnerabilities (UNISDR, 2015a).

In a case study on adaptive disaster governance in the State of Odisha, India, the interviews revealed political tensions in the distribution of relief goods. Community groups expressed concern that some public officials show partiality to families and friends. On the other hand, the trauma the state experienced during the 1999 disasters helped the new government tap into self-organized groups, so that disaster reduction measures were locally owned. They also emphasized understanding the vulnerabilities among local groups as a critical element in mobilizing self-support systems for these sectors (Walch, 2019).

On the other hand, a study on the lived experience of leaders in community health sector disasters was conducted to surface lessons learned among those who work in community health sector disaster recovery. In this research, a total of 92 respondents were interviewed in five sites that were impacted both by Hurricane Irene and Hurricane Sandy, and these respondents work directly or are involved in disaster management. The study reveals that disaster recovery can be successful when it is included in the planning. Additionally, infrastructural failures should also be considered in developing the plan. Well-trained executives and officials are also emphasized so they can make informed management decisions. Fund raising and relationship

building were also discussed by the respondents and they expressed their importance in realizing disaster recovery. Moreover, communicating efforts in person is crucial to better relate to the community and this necessitates learning about the human aspects of the disaster. The study shows that the disaster recovery phase is an opportunity to learn and build back stronger (Craddock et al., 2016). While the study aforementioned is different from my study, which focuses on views of risk and how they shape actions through the experiences of the victims, both are similar in terms of using qualitative methods to derive knowledge. Thus, the former is useful in exploring the application of qualitative methods in disaster research.

Meanwhile, a phenomenological study on the experiences of older adults on surviving Super Typhoon Yolanda utilized Husserl's descriptive phenomenology to capture thick descriptions of the stories shared by the nine participants in the focus group discussion. The study showed six emerging themes from the experiences. The first theme was *living and re-living the fear that was* wherein the participants used their experience as a reference for the present. Another theme that emerged was the *enhanced physical burden* which explained that the super typhoon added challenge to their already frail bodies. The next theme was *lost and helpless* where the realization of loss after the typhoon left them unable to think and act. *Selflessness* was also discussed as a theme, wherein as older adults they feel greater responsibility for caring for their dependents. Another theme that emerged was *social bond* as families and neighbors stayed and helped each other to get through the typhoon. The last theme was *rebuilding lives* which discussed that accepting the situation was helpful for the participants in lifting their broken spirits and moving forward after the disaster. The findings of the study demonstrated that older adults are emotionally affected by disasters, meanwhile, their sense of concern for others allow them to help others

amidst disaster recovery. This research is helpful in understanding disaster from the point of view of those affected by it. Similar to my study, this phenomenological study covers narratives of experiences of the Super Typhoon Yolanda. However, this study focuses on the post-disaster recovery and the mental and emotional state of the participants. My study, on the other hand, covers risk and risk communication which encompasses pre-disaster to post-disaster.

Another qualitative study that features the nuanced facets of disaster is the socio-cultural dynamics of community disaster response in a case study of Burenitu Village, Fiji. The findings show the use of a traditional cyclone shelter, fermentation (*mo'i ni tavioka*), consumption of swamp taro (*Cyrtosperma merkusii*), and a change in local farming practices. The locals have a kinship network resembling a collectivist nature, and work is also carried out communally. As a part of the socio-cultural factors, attitudes show *Mosimosi vaka-Bure* (procrastination) as a hindrance to disaster preparedness (Senimoli et al., 2020). Since my study is in the sociocultural communication field, this study is helpful in understanding the use of qualitative methods to explore sociocultural aspects that shape action during a disaster.

The definition of disaster is often quantified to the amount of damage, victims, and numerical aspects, which may ignore or reduce the socio-cultural and socio-economic aspects of the disaster. Disaster research traditionally focuses on management, planning, and mitigation, heavily reliant on quantitative methods in analyzing information. Communication in the perspective of disaster research centers on the conduit model of communication for technical purposes (Egner et al., 2016). It is conceptualized as imperative, such as identifying the best way to send the message to their necessary receivers (Hitzler et al., 2012).

Disasters are often quantified, and positivist approaches to disaster portray a linear depiction of communication. However, communication relies on the participant's situated identities. Therefore, the information could be ambiguous, and the recipient's understanding may only be grasped based on their subsequent contribution to the communication (Egner et al., 2016).

This approach does not represent the complex achievement of the simplest acts of communication. Rather than focusing on a fixed meaning, communication should be analyzed and understood as context-dependent and context-shaping, which produces and adapts content over time. It immediately affects the social situation. In disaster communication, "people produce it as the specific disaster they mutually experience" (p. 3). Disaster research needs to incorporate the social character of disasters, and their communicative processes (Hitzler et al., 2012).

Qualitative research allows a better understanding of the disaster's inherent dynamics, nuances, and locale and those affected by it (Egner et al., 2016). Qualitative research in disaster assists in the social dynamics of disaster risk reduction and disaster response, and the studies showed how prior experience influences people's attitudes towards disaster (Senimoli et al., 2020; Walch, 2019) and how planning for disaster response and recovery is a gargantuan task but sharing lived experiences of community practice can help in deepening the understanding of how to plan for it (Craddock et al., 2016).

The studies mentioned in this section depicted qualitative methods to be helpful in providing deeper insight into the experiences of those in disaster management and the victims. They show the importance of qualitative methods in disaster research, most especially that the context of the community, as mentioned in earlier research, is at the base of effective disaster management. Using a qualitative approach can

explain the socio-cultural practices, reveal the nuances, and expound on the context of a community. It ushers a sharing of lived experience and allows a closer look into the disaster risk reduction practices and challenges from those responsible for disaster risk reduction or affected by disasters. Additionally, discussions on the socio-cultural facets of disaster experience show traits and characteristics unique to the situation of the victims which is useful in unveiling the deeper meaning of disaster for framework or theory-building.

## **Chapter III**

### **RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

This study is a narrative inquiry on the experiences of the victims of Super Typhoon Yolanda, using Symbolic Interactionism as a lens to understand and explain this communicative phenomenon. To further expound the methodology of this study, this chapter explains the research design, participant selection, data collection, and data analysis. Finally, the steps in ensuring the plausibility of the findings derived, and the ethical considerations of this research will be expounded.

On the other hand, this study is an interpretive approach to risk communication. Thus, the philosophies aligned with the study are expressed in the ontological, epistemological, and axiological assumptions described below.

Philosophical assumptions apply in research through paradigms, also referred to as theoretical frameworks (Creswell & Poth, 2014). The philosophical assumption is primarily employed to explain which approach or reality is used to establish connections between the research problem and the data-gathering methods (King & Horrocks, 2010).

Ontology explains the nature of reality (King & Horrocks, 2010). In interpretivism, also referred to as social constructivism, it is ontologically assumed that multiple realities are developed through experiences and interactions (Creswell & Poth, 2014). Meanwhile, in moderate constructivism, the historical past is considered because one's identity, consciousness, and thoughts are interwoven into culturally, historically, and socially founded practices. They are embedded in the mind as collective meanings. Respective interpretations are expected to exemplify a fraction of an external reality (Höijer, 2008).

Concurrently, epistemology is the branch of philosophy concerned with the theory of knowledge. It is a way of establishing what is considered knowledge (King & Horrocks, 2010). In an interpretive approach, the reality is co-constructed by the researcher and the participants (Creswell & Poth, 2014).

Alongside ontological and epistemological assumptions, the axiological assumption is what defines a qualitative study. As described by Creswell and Poth (2014), "All researchers bring values to a study, but qualitative researchers make their values known in a study" (p. 30).

Therefore, this study acknowledges the different realities present in people, as shown in their experiences. These multiple realities can be represented and explained by analyzing the narratives, creating new knowledge through finding the meaning and the actions shaped by these meanings. In a social constructivist approach, these values must be honored and negotiated as the researcher interprets the narrative concurrence with the participants. However, as realities are multiple and subjective, my biases in this research interact with the biases of the study participants. Therefore, the section on ensuring the plausibility of meanings derived further supports the axiological assumptions.

### **Narrative Inquiry**

The design of the study is narrative inquiry. Narrative inquiry collects stories from individuals (Creswell & Poth, 2014). It is anchored on the theoretical notion that telling stories is fundamental to human experience. Through constructing such stories, people can connect events and interpret them meaningfully (Flick, 2014).

The role of narrative became a discussion in the philosophy of history. Answering *why an event happened the way it did* opens conceptual explanations, one of which is narrative configuration. While the French historiographers argued about

positivism in history, Raymond Aron contended with this notion, stating that understanding one's life is not done through intuition but reconstruction (Polkinghorne, 1988).

As an approach to narrative inquiry, oral history is a collection of personal reflections of events, causes, and effects (Creswell & Poth, 2014). It focuses on giving meaning to a specific past event (Allen, 2017), connecting the social context, and explicating the relationship of the past to the present and the future. The memory becomes the object of investigation, wherein narratives turn into actions—a dialogical process between the structure and human agency in a particular time and place (Jeong-Hee, 2016).

On the other hand, history is sensitive to series across time and altered individual dispositions, causing cultural changes in historical social psychology. A social negotiation of reality occurs to understand and agree on what happened since actions and actors can be ambiguous (Gergen & Gergen, 1986).

The narrative meaning is created through understanding that, “something is a part of the whole and that something is the cause of something else” (p. 6). It is a meaning drawing human actions and events that affect humans. Thus, meanings are derived through configuring them in an episode, with the outcome and the respective contributions of the actions and events (Polkinghorne, 1988). In narrative inquiry, the narrative-type collects data from events and happenings and uses narrative analytic procedures to develop explanatory stories (Polkinghorne, 1995).

For this study, narratives, or oral history, on the events that occurred during Super Typhoon Yolanda were collected to unearth the narrative meaning of such an experience, guided by symbolic interactionism—wherein meanings shape the

actions—to understand the narrators' views on risk and the communicative acts shaped by these views.

### **Selection of the Participants**

The study was conducted in Tacloban City, a highly urbanized city in the Eastern part of the country with an estimated land area of 201.72 square kilometers and a household population of 240,513 (Philippines Statistics Authority [PSA], 2017).

According to the geohazard database, 26 out of the 138 barangays of the city are at high risk for high to very high-risk landslide and flooding, and the significant districts of Sagkahan, Calanipawan, Marasabaras, and San Jose are considered high risk for flooding (Mines and Geosciences Bureau [MGB], n.d.). Tacloban City was one of the affected areas, referred to as the ground zero, during the 2013 Super Typhoon Yolanda (Gabieta, 2014).

The study was conducted between the period of July 2021 to April 2022. Tacloban was under Alert Level II due to the COVID-19 pandemic when this proposal was crafted.

### **Negotiating Access**

In utilizing interviews in a qualitative study, it was essential for me to gain access to the site and individuals where the study was conducted. For me, this entailed securing cooperation from the participants and clarifying their involvement (Lindlof & Taylor, 2019).

The oral history explored in the study is more of an individual's story, thus it was more important to gain access to the person rather than gaining consent from an organization. Therefore, I approached some of the participants in a personal capacity to invite them to participate in the study (Ntuli, 2015).

Since I was also one of the victims of Yolanda, I know people who were also residing in Tacloban City during the Super Typhoon. As Yolanda survivors, it was not unusual for us to share our experiences with fellow survivors.

Since I have heard many stories about Yolanda, I also ensured that the people who participated in the study were those whose stories I have not heard before. This was important in keeping my biases at bay during the interpretation process.

To invite the participants to the study, I messaged them individually and explained the goals of my study and what their participation would entail. Although negotiating access plays a key role in gaining consent for the interview, some were not keen on sharing their experiences since the Super Typhoon was also traumatic, thus, I had to emphasize that they can decline if they wished to.

In addition to private messaging, I also tapped into other people's social circles. I prepared an open invitation, through a set of social media cards, which I posted on Facebook. I chose this medium since many of my friends in Facebook are from Tacloban City. Through this, I was able to tap into my connections on the social networking site. Moreover, the post was also shared by others, widening my reach to second-degree social media connections.

### **Actual Participants of the Study**

The participants of the study are all derived through purposeful or purposive sampling. The criteria for selecting the participants are as follows:

- Age: 18 years or above
- Resided in Tacloban City before and during Yolanda
- Have used technology-based communication to communicate with their relatives in the aftermath of Yolanda

The narrators who participated in the study are described in the subsequent section. Their names have been replaced with pseudonyms to protect their identity. The participants were invited and voluntarily participated in the study.

*Jake.* After spending eight years in Manila, Jake finally returned home a few months prior. He resides in an apartment complex with his mother and sister, Hailey. He finished his college degree in film and started working at a local television station. He enjoyed living in Tacloban City. He gained new connections—people in the art scene, friends from his college organization, and his high school classmates. In addition, he established his roots in Tacloban City.

*France.* France has been enjoying her college life. While she shifted to a different course a few years ago, she was still determined to finish her course and graduate in her fifth year. She also appreciated the company of her friends—brothers and sisters from the fraternity she joined during her first year.

She lived in Pleasantville, Tacloban City, with her mother and father, her older brother, Raymund, younger brother, Alex, and their youngest, Eli, who was still a toddler. One of the helpers at her mother's business stayed in their house. France was not close with her siblings, though, she adored their youngest sibling, Eli. When they were all at home, they would keep themselves busy with a computer or a book.

*Nika.* Nika lives in Paraiso, San Jose. She is married to Jade, with whom she had her first child who was still 11 months old. She lived with her mother, her two siblings, her son, Lino, and her husband. On November 7, Nika was supposed to celebrate her birthday. Around this time, she worked as a freelancer.

*Van.* Van is a married man with children. He lives in Cogon, San Jose. Van works at a university and volunteers as an emergency responder. He has been a rescuer for over a decade. During the typhoon, he was busy carrying out pre-emptive

evacuation. He and his team visited several barangays and transferred people to the designated sites.

*Joy.* Joy just graduated college with a course on hospitality and tourism. She was job-hunting. She lived with her mother, father, sisters, nephews, and nieces in San Jose. Joy described their location as a flood-prone area.

### **Richness of the Participant's Experience**

The richness of the data is one of the most important aspects of collecting stories. Since the goal of the study is to collect oral histories, it was more important to invest time in an in-depth interview, as opposed to interviewing more participants to achieve thematic redundancy (Jeong-Hee, 2016).

All of the participants of the study worked or studied in Tacloban City during Yolanda and were in their homes during the landfall, which enabled for rich oral histories about Yolanda to be excavated. Each participant has a unique background (i.e., Jake is a media worker, Nika is a mother, and France is a student) and many of them resided in areas with different risk profiles (i.e., Jake resided in an area not typically flooded, while Joy resided in a flood-prone area). The differences in aspects of their background added texture in terms of understanding risk through their historical, and socio-cultural contexts.

It is underscored that in using the interview with these participants, the depth and breadth of the data gathered was the goal. Thus, data saturation was more on exhausting all stories that the participant could share about their experience (Jeong-Hee, 2016).

### **Data Collection**

The integrity of the study sits on the researcher, and more importantly, in qualitative studies, with the researcher as the instrument of the study (Creswell & Poth,

2014). Therefore, in realizing the data collection of the study, the nature of the narrative interview shifts the roles of interviewer-interviewee to narrator-listener, wherein the primary objective of the researcher in this study is to listen to the participants' stories.

Therefore, I prepared myself to be an active listener. I also attentively engaged with the narrator's emotions to develop rapport and a sense of trust. This was crucial for creating a safe space for the narrator to share their story (Allen, 2017).

Consistent with the epistemological assumptions of the study, the participant and I co-create in the meaning-making process, as the researcher is a part of the meaning that the participant constructs in their narrative (Allen, 2017).

The study following the protocols were initiated:

- (1) Introduction of the study;
- (2) Presentation and signing of informed consent by study participants;
- (3) Conduct of the interview;
- (4) Conduct of follow-ups, whenever necessary;
- (4) Transcribing interviews and organizing field notes;
- (4) Data analysis and interpretation; and
- (4) Reverting to participants for member validation.

The interview was conducted in a trilingual manner (Waray, Tagalog, and English), which are languages I am fluent in, and was transcribed using the actual language used.

The interview structure in the study is a narrative interview. The narrative discussion is considered an act of storytelling, much like front-row access to the everyday narrative performance (Lindlof & Taylor, 2019). This narrative approach is a means to understand how meaning is discursively constructed within the lived experience (Allen, 2017).

Narrative interviews thrive on the ethos of equality, in which participants may go wherever the inspiration takes them (Lindlof & Taylor, 2019). Therefore, my role was more of a facilitator of the flow of the talk. Nevertheless, it was my discretion to probe, follow the leads, and develop new questions to elucidate the topic discussed (Bernard, 2013). The follow-up questions I put forth were intended to solicit examples, clarifications, extensions, and descriptions (Allen, 2017).

Two recording devices were used during the interview, a video recording through a mobile phone and an audio recording. The videos were intended to record the participant's facial expressions and body language, while, the audio recording served as a backup to ensure that the participant was heard clearly for the interview transcription. In addition, notes during the interview were taken to capture real-time observation of the participant during the interview (Bernard, 2013).

### **Data Analysis**

The goal of the interpretation is to unearth the narrative meaning by organizing the experience into meaningful episodes. The narrative analysis, also referred to as the narrative mode of analysis (Polkinghorne, 1995), centers on the diversity of people's behavior while promoting the data into a coherent whole. In addition, it focuses on the unique characteristics of human action that took place in a particular setting (Jeong-Hee, 2016).

The narrative analysis commenced with preparing files to be analyzed—organizing notes and transcribing the narrative interviews. The data was printed for backup, and a close reading of the text followed this step to familiarize oneself with the text—understand the events covered— and analyze it (Thomas, 2006).

Next, asides and commentaries were used to key in exciting parts of the data and mark reflections on a specific issue or event. Finally, memos were used to write down my ideas and insights (Lindlof & Taylor, 2019).

Further, there are demarcations on the story world—parts of the narrative where the narrator acknowledges that there is a listener; and the tale world—or the part of the narrative that reflects the narrator talking to themselves or the other characters of the story.

The narrative data consisting of actions, events, and happenings were analyzed and organized through a thematic thread, also called the plot (Jeong-Hee, 2016). Categories and coding were used to understand the narrative and its plot.

Categories are means to sort the data based on the properties they have in common, such as themes, constructs, and concepts (Creswell & Poth, 2014). Meanwhile, a code is a short-hand device specifying the data as a categorical element (Lindlof & Taylor, 2019).

In the coding phase, I remained open to exploring the different possibilities and directions the data may lead. Therefore, the categories defined in the coding phase were subjected to refinements as I learned more about the data from other participants (Charmaz, 2006).

In refining the codes, it is essential to review the adequacy of the codes, select the most sensible codes to categorize the data wholly and perceptively and check my preconceptions about the topic (Charmaz, 2006). Categories and codes were developed through constant reflection and comparison.

The final step is the abductive inference or new insight (Lindlof & Taylor, 2019). In narrative analysis, this implies the identification of the epiphanies or meaningful episodes and their contextual materials (Creswell & Poth, 2014). It represents the

primary function of the narrative analysis—why and how the story came about (Polkinghorne, 1995).

In the narrative mode of analysis, the narrative was reconstructed to retell a coherent account (Jeong-Hee, 2016). This implied the application of narrative smoothing, which involved the disconnection of raw data to make the story more coherent (Polkinghorne, 1995). It required putting the participant and the reader into consideration. Thus, I had to recognize that parts of the story could be ambiguous, while maintaining my nuance and sensitivity to the data. This also allowed me to guarantee confidentiality at the expense of some of the data’s richness (Jeong-Hee, 2016).

Realizing the narrative mode of analysis also entailed narrative cognition—an explanation for why the person acted the way they did by providing anecdotal descriptions—and dwelling on narrative reasoning by resigning to any form of generalities and maintaining a level of each meaningful episode (Polkinghorne, 1995).

The data gathered in this study are explicated in the tables below to show the rigor of the data collected and analyzed. Each of the main themes is assigned with a table, with the designated coded segments, narrator, and sub-themes to highlight the consistency of the themes within the coded segments.

The sub-themes for the main theme on risk as “*There is risk when there is an advisory*” are shown in Table 2 below.

**Table 2**

*Coded Segments on the First Main Theme on View of Risk*

Coded Segments	Narrator	Code	Sub-theme
<i>Before, nag yakan ako kan Kapitan, “Mag aano kita?” Siring niya, “Waray</i>	Nika	Did not receive an advisory	Risk is the issuance and

<p><i>man kami advisory.” So before hadto, waray la talaga kami hadto liwat. Although mayda na hiya news pero para haam waray waray man la. (Nika, Pos. 7-8)</i></p>	<p>reception of an advisory</p>		
<p>[Translation: Before, I asked our [Barangay] Captain, “What should we do?” He said, “We did not receive an advisory.” So, we did not think much about it before. Although it was already in the news, we did not think much about it.]</p>			
<p><i>Ngan nga bagyo talaga hiya but nobody expected the water. Dati pa liwat mayda naman gud hadto mga storm surge warning like waray pa ak hadto asawa. Mayda talaga hadto nagyayakan na like igputos it iyo mga importante na papers...so nagpuputos talaga kami hadto... ig pan saka it iyo mga gamit...pero once ko la liwat adto nanunumduman na nahitabo. Dire liwat ak maaram what change on the policy, kay waray nira igyakan, kay han Yolanda mayda na hadto storm surge threat pero ha ira parte waray ig communicate. (Nika, Pos. 9-10)</i></p>	<p>Nika</p>	<p>Would issue a warning</p>	
<p>[Translation: It was really a super typhoon, but no one expected the water. Before, they would issue storm surge warnings; that was around when I was not married yet. Someone would always advise wrapping the important papers...so we did wrap our things...but it only happened once, as far as I remember. I do not know what changed their policy because they did not say anything because Yolanda had a storm surge threat, and they did not communicate that.]</p>			
<p><i>Way back eight years ago as far as I remember, Monday we were informed about super typhoon, han Tuesday nag start na liwat kami hin evacuation kami nira sir [Carl] and other people han Tacloban City rescue we help at the pre-emptive evacuation. At that time an evacuation area nakadto ha Astrodome</i></p>	<p>Van</p>	<p>Very different from the other typhoons experienced</p>	<p>Risk should be taken seriously even when there are no signs of a disaster</p>

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*ngan iba na mga school. That time liwat since waray pa kita maka experience hin super typhoon people [were] hesitant to evacuate. They told us na we are from typhoon city so we can manage. We were telling them [that] this typhoon is very different from the other typhoons that you have experienced. (Van, Pos. 2-3)*

[Translation: Way back eight years ago, as far as I remember, Monday we were informed about the Super Typhoon. On Tuesday, we started the evacuation with Sir [Carl] and the other people from the Tacloban City rescue. At that time, the evacuation area was in Astrodome and other school. We had never experienced a super typhoon at that time, so people were hesitant to evacuate. They told us that we are from a typhoon city, so we can manage. We were telling them (that) this typhoon is very different from the other typhoons that you have experienced.]

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*Actually, (the day) before nagkikita pa kita hadto han Napoles na hearing, tapos masirak pa adto asya dire kami na na expect na super typhoon the next day. Umule ako ha San Jose ngan usual routine namon pag may bagyo nabaha talaga asya nag pinan ligpit liwat kami hin gamit kay ha amon area liwat hamubo man asya naka andam na ak gamit kay maaram man liwat ako na may possibility na mag evacuate kami. (Joy, Pos. 3-5)*

Joy

No one expected the super typhoon because it was still sunny

[Translation: Actually, (the day) before, we were watching the Napoles hearing, and it was still sunny, so no one expected a super typhoon the next day. I came home to San Jose and did our usual routine. When there is a typhoon, our area gets flooded, so we started gathering our things and prepared ourselves for the possibility of an evacuation.]

<p><i>Everybody underestimated Yolanda bisan kami na adi ha media. Three days before I was at (the mall), but the super typhoon was already there, and it (is) really going to hit Eastern Visayas, and everybody (was) saying na “it (is) going to be really bad...” “It (is) a super typhoon...” Everybody keeps praying na magluya hiya or lumihis. Pero we treated Yolanda like any other super typhoon, being a typhoon-stricken province. Nobody took it seriously kay grabe ka adlaw, and I remember eerie hiya pero clear sky. (Jake, Pos. 4-5)</i></p>	<p>Jake</p>	<p>Did not take it seriously because the sky was bright and sunny</p>
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[Translation: Everyone underestimated Yolanda, even us in the media. Three days before, I was at the mall, but the super typhoon was already there, and it (is) really going to hit Eastern Visayas, and everybody (was) saying that “it (is) going to be really bad...” “It (is) a super typhoon...” Everybody keeps praying that it would weaken or change in direction. But, we treated Yolanda like any other super typhoon, being a typhoon-stricken province. Nobody took it seriously because it was bright and sunny, and I remember it was eerie, but the sky was clear.]

The sub-themes for the main theme risk as “*There is risk when there is an absence or loss of contact*” are shown in Table 3 below.

**Table 3**

*Coded Segments on the Second Main Theme on View of Risk*

Coded Segments	Narrator	Code	Sub-theme
<p><i>Paglusad liwat niya dida na mag start an panic na baha naman daw adi. Amo yakan ko na tara didto kita ha may sala, pag abot namon ha main door hataas na an tubig, pero that time dire ak ginkukulba kay mayda man umabot na order na kon bumaha man dire madako kaduro. Pag abot namon ha main door, an tubig taga</i></p>	<p>Van</p>	<p>The house and the streets are flooded with water reaching up to the chest</p>	<p>Risk is when the catastrophe escalates fast such that lives are in danger</p>

*didi na (GESTURES HAND ON HIS CHEST AREA). But, at that time diri ako ginkukulba. I was following an order nga nasiring nga diri kita babahaan ngan diri sugad kagrabe an baha kun bumaha man. Pag abre ko han main door dida ako kumita nga nasugad an tubig (GESTURES THE MOVEMENT OF A WAVE SWELLING AND COLLAPSING) ha karsada, nasugad. May wave. An mga nagpakapark na sarakyan tikang didto na eskina, nag paparade na. Gin aanod naman. Gin sara ko an portahan, dida na ako umabat hin kulba. An akon anak sumiring ha akon, "Daddy, mapatay na kita ano?" Siring ko, "Diri, diri..." (Van, Pos. 12-13)*

[Translation: The panic started because, when my wife came down she saw how flooded our house was. So, I told them we should go to our living room. At that time, I was not nervous because I was told that if there was flooding, it would not be much. When we arrived at our main door, the water was almost up to the chest but at that time I was not worried. I was following an order saying that we will not get flood, but if there was flood, it will not be that much. When I opened our main door, I saw the water on the street. There was a wave. The cars parked on the corner of our street were already parading. They were getting carried by the current. I closed the door and I got nervous. My son asked, "Daddy, we are going to die, right?" I said, "We will not, no..." ]

*Mga 6:30 waray na [telecommunications] signal and then 7 o'clock came everything was white out mga two feet away from the window waray kana makikit'an kay busag nala. From 7 to 9 amo adto it pinaka makuri ky an flood water na tikang gawas halos sumaka na ha sulod hit balay, amon balay is raised tapos amo adto it pinaka hitaas na flood line na ak nakita kay mga few centimeter nala ma-abot na talaga haam balay tapos an window flung open amo pinankalasan*

Jake

Flood  
water  
going  
inside the  
house

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*kami. We are preparing na dumuroy pa ngane ini evacuate na kita ha igbaw. Nanay was calm. Pero nabasag an window, then (my sister) broke down. Even during that time consider na mag evacuate na ha (dome) because we have no idea what's going on. (Jake, Pos. 10-11)*

[Translation: Around 6:30 am, we lost [telecommunications] signal and then at 7 o'clock everything was white out. You will not see anything beyond two feet away from the window. From 7 a.m. to 9 a.m. that was the most difficult because the flood water from the outside almost went inside the house. Our house was raised and it was the highest floodline I have seen because it was just a few centimeters away from reaching our house, then our window flung open. We were shocked. We are preparing that if it gets worse, we must evacuate upstairs. My mother was calm, but our windows shattered, then my sister broke down. Even during that time, we considered evacuating to the Astrodome because we had no idea what was happening.]

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*Tas mayda kami hadto nakikit-an na like, tawo as in nalupad talaga. Nakukuan ba hiya han hangin. Pero bagan unbelievable liwat kasi adto na "Ah talaga makukuan ka hin hangin" sugad kakusog it hangin. Pero nakakita kami hadto hin naka kuan hiya, naka I'm not sure if patay na hiya kay masyado man hiya dire nakiwa pero naka helmet hiya hin motor tas nahilupad hiya ngadto han ay usa na coconut. I'm not sure kun ano an natabo haiya pero nagyakan ako "Gin ano gad niyo, gin lupad hiya" sugad hito. Tas nag iiristorya na ba an amon family. Hi kuya lage nag fi-final message na adto hiya haam tas sige na adto an iya "I love you," tas waray may nabaton kay dire namon kaya ig accept la anay. I mean, ayaw la anay kita hiton kuya kay waray pa man as in na naagi. Mayda gihap hadto mga motor as in makaradlok talaga kay ada ka*

France Winds so strong that could carry a person away

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*ha atop tas nakita ka han nagkakilupad. Kanan dire nala maiha magkakilupad na gihap kita. Mag bug-at baya an nanlulupad. (France, Pos. 20-21)*

[Translation: Then, we saw something like a human who seemed like flying, tossed by the wind. It felt unbelievable like, "So the wind was really strong; it could carry a person away." But, we really saw, they were wearing something like, I was not sure if they were alive because they were not moving but they wore a helmet for the motorcycle and they were flown away to a coconut. I do not know what happened to this person but I pointed it out to my family and said "That person is flying." Then, my family started talking. My brother was already giving his final messages to us. He kept telling us "I love you," and no one responded to him because we were not willing to accept it [death]. I meant, not now, brother, because nothing has happened yet. I saw a motorcycle that flew with the wind. It was scary because we were on our roof and could see [debris] flying. It would not take long until we were the ones getting carried away by the gust. The flying debris were all life-sized things, after all.]

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*Tuesday came, kumadto ako ha Lourdes...to check on...to check an signal status. This was already Tuesday and it was still flooded. Matikadto kunta ako ha barangay hall to ask for help for multicab ba. Resolve ko talaga, resolve ko talaga ngan I will stay. Ig gagawas namon hira Nanay ngan hi [Hailey]. Pero I will stay. Tas kumadto ako barangay, kumadto ako barangay to ask for help. Bangin mayda kami masakyan tikadto ha terminal. But, on the way to, on the way to the barangay hall. Diba, flooded? (SMILING) Mayda tumabok na tilapia, men! In the middle of the road, mayda tumabok na tilapia. Nag struggle hiya. Tumabok hiya ha akun atubangan. There's a freakin' fish in front of me. Crossed the road. And, I was thinking, I need to rethink my position on staying*

Jake

Putting  
lives in  
danger

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*here. I may need to go out. Finally! Amo adto. This is futile. (...) Staying here will put our lives in more danger. Amo na [it] dalagan hit akun huna-huna. This fish is trying to get somewhere where it thinks it will be safe! That (is) why it crossed the freaking road, diba? So, amo adto. (Jake, Pos. 57-58)*

[Translation: Tuesday came, I went to Lourdes to check on the signal status. This was already Tuesday and it was still flooded. I went to the barangay to ask for help for a multicab. I was resolved with staying. We will send my mother and [Hailey] out but I will stay. So, I went to the barangay to ask for help. Maybe we can get a multicab that can take us to the terminal. But, on the way to the barangay hall, it was flooded right? So, a tilapia crossed the road! In the middle of the road, a tilapia crossed. It struggled to swim. It crossed right in front of me. There is a fish in front of me. Crossed the road. And I was thinking, I need to rethink my position on staying here. I may need to go out. Finally! That was it. This is futile. (...) Staying here will put our lives in more danger. That was what I was thinking. This fish is trying to get somewhere it thinks it will be safe! That (is) why it crossed the freaking road, right? So, that was it.]

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*Na feel ko liwat na iba hiya ha mga bagyo na na-experience ko. Nagkakalasan liwat kami kay itom ito man liwat an tubig na nasulod tapos asya iton nagtitika dako liwat an tubig pinan kakalasan liwat kami asya nag decide kami na gumawas na, ha gawas liwat in halos lagpas tawo na baha takay dire pa daw kami mag aram man langoy am ginbuhat liwat in humabay nala han kahoy para dire liwat kami malumos ak Papa liwat in kapot an baby hi Mama liwat nakadto may grills nayakan hiya na kadto na daw la kami ha may atop. (Joy, Pos. 9-12)*

Joy

Things  
escalate  
fast such  
that the  
water  
could rise  
higher

[Translation: At that moment, I felt that this typhoon was unlike anything I had

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experienced. We were surprised because the water was black and it was seeping in our house. The water (level) was quickly increasing, so we were getting overwhelmed, so we decided to go out of the house. Outside, the water was already higher than a person, and we all did not know how to swim. We used driftwood as our floater so we would not drown. Papa was carrying the baby, and my mother was holding on to the grills of the gate. She said we should go to the roof of our house.]

*Ak dara liwat hadto na bag kay mga gamit hin bata pero kailangan ko liwat buhian para dire liwat malumos. Burublag liwat kami kay natigdaan man la liwat kami ak iba na umangkong in naka evacuate dayon haam sapit before pa dumako an tubig. Maupay nala mayda kami mga neighbor ngadto na mga lalaki asya bumulig liwat haam kay kakusog liwat han current hi Mama ngan Papa liwat nag storya hadto na time na parang kon dire na daw kayahon bul-iw na daw la paranga tinanggap na liwat nira hadto na time. Ako liwat in nagluluya na hadto tas nagyiyinakan na gihap am neighbor na sumaka na yakan ko, "Ayaw la anay kay hi Mama naiipit pa." Asya nagburublig liwat kami na makuha hi Mama liwat waray na nam gin mind na bisan damu an mga debris importante na masalbar gud hi Mama kay buyag liwat kasi hiya halos tanan na kami nakasaka ha atop tapos hi Mama gin burubligan gihap nam makasaka. (Joy, Pos. 13-14)*

[Translation: I only brought my bag to contain the child's things, but I had to let it go because I might drown. We were caught off guard by how things escalated, so we separated from each other. My nephew was able to evacuate before the waters rose higher. It was a good thing that our male neighbor helped us because the current was so strong. My mother and father had already discussed that if all else fails, it is okay for us to let

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them go as they had accepted it. I felt really disheartened and our neighbor kept telling me I should come up. I said, "Not yet, my mother is still stuck." We worked together to get my mother; we did not mind the debris because what was important was that my mother was safe. She is a big woman and she had a hard time getting to the roof so, we all helped her get up there.]

*Tapos hadto liwat na time mayda naman way of communication ha may City Hall usa man liwat ako na natagan hin privilege pag gamit para maka reach out haak iba na family para dire na liwat hira mag worry haam. Nag post liwat ak hadto ha (social media). Diri ak nag eexpect hin monetary ngan goods, an akon la nga diri gud hira mag worry. Mayda kasi adto time nga nagkikinuan hira nga kumanhi hira. Siring ko, "Ayaw na kamo pag kinadi. Relax la kamo dida." Amo la adto nak goal, nga makareach out la ha ak mga pamilya na okay la kami safe kami para dire na liwat hira kumadi na we can manage... Kay magiging added kamo nga burden hin city in terms of food, kuan... (Van, Pos. 32-33)*

Van

Family from out of town are getting worried about the situation

Risk is when there is no contact with family

[Translation: Then, we also had a way of communicating at the City Hall. I was one of the privileged who could reach out to my family so that they would not worry. I also posted on social media (site). There was a time that they kept insisting to come here. I told them, "Do not come here, just relax there." That was my goal, for my family to let them know that we are okay and safe, so they would not come here since we can already manage... Because they would just be an added burden to the city in terms of food and other needs...]

*Nagpapanic liwat kami waray contact talaga from the outside, hasta hadto na time. And, we were flying blind. First thing hadto, para mabaro it mga tawo nga okay kami, and then, to ask help kun ano't amon bubuhaton. An nearest namon na refuge is in Calbayog City. Diba? So, amo*

Jake

Flying blind with no contact with the refuge

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*la talaga adto it akun reason, pahibaro la nga okay kami, tapos to notify everybody nga we need help pero diri pa kami maaram kun ano pa tam bubuhaton. Maybe you can do something to help us kun aanhon... pero we were basically okay. (Jake, Pos. 49-50)*

[Translation: We were panicking since we had no contact from the outside until then. We were flying blind. What was I thinking? First thing, so that people would know that we are okay, and then, to ask for help on what we should do. Our nearest refuge is Calbayog City, remember? So, that was my reason. Inform them that we are okay, then notify everybody that we need help, but we also do not know what we should do. So, maybe you can do something to help us on what we should do, but we were okay.]

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The sub-themes for the main theme of risk as “*There is risk when there is no access to basic needs*” are shown in Table 4 below.

**Table 4**

*Coded Segments on the Third Main Theme on View of Risk*

Coded Segments	Narrator	Code	Sub-theme
<i>Pero mayda ak hadto worst na experience ngadto may City Hall han mga eight o'clock han evening kumadto an taga (jail) na magkaeskapo na daw an mga priso kay pinangugutom na liwat kasi. Asya adto nagyakan hira na kamo na bahala hit iyo kalugaringon. Dida la liwat ak hadto nabaraka. Asya hadto na time kun mag entrance exit ka kailangan mo gud magsarit para kon hino man an sumulod na dire taga dida sisitahon ka gud. (Van, Pos. 42-43)</i>	Van	Left to fend for themselves	Risk is when people are left to fend for themselves

[Translation: One of my worst experiences at the City Hall was around eight o'clock in the evening.]

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Someone (from the jail) visited and said that they were letting the prisoners out because they (prisoners) are hungry. They told us that we were left to fend for ourselves. That terrified me. We agreed that if someone entered or exited (the building), we had to ask permission so that we could call out any stranger who might enter.]

*Pag uli namon, amo adto nakabati na kami from mga tawo ha tulay na kuan mayda kuno stories of rape ha V&G and mayda kuno mga nakagawas na priso, basta damo an storya hadto. So, medyo nagkukuan na an mga tawo ada na an fear kumabaga mabubuhi pa ba kita hine. Kay dire kasi kami nabati hin news na may gin hihimo an kuan an officials that time. So ngadto ha amon (...) ha Pleasantville nag create hira ngadto hin mga guards because of that rumor na mayda mga nan-ngangawat, nanmamatay, nanra-rape. So mayda hira didto bagan guards every night. And then, nagsaragbot adto an amon community na mayda ngani na if beyond, nag set hira hin amon own curfew 7 (p.m.) ada adto. Nag set hira hin curfew nga if meada nakikit-an na tawo beyond 7 (p.m.) na dire taga dinhi, pusila. Amo an ira yakan, not me. Pero amo adto an ira bagat rule. Kay syempre nagpapanic man kami kay waray kami maaram kay waray news kun may pulis pa ba sugad hiton. So, kami nag kuan nala kami didto nagkanya-kanya kaming something. And so, every household mayda hadto guards. Kami ha balay, kami mag burogto tutulo. An amon gin papakaturug hi Nanay, (Eli) ngan hi Tatay adto hira ha may sulod. Tapos kami na mag burogto adto kami ha atop tas may mga flashlight kami hadto na mga solar. So, an am mga flashlight nagbantay talaga kami palibot libot sugad hito ha entire area namon. Tas kun mayda kami nakikit-an magkukuan kami maguliat or ano basta amo adto*

France

No news about the presence of police force that could protect them from possible news of rape, freed prisoners

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*an saragbot ha Pleasantville. (France, Pos. 36-37)*

[Translation: When we got home, that was it, we heard from the people who live near the bridge that there were stories of rape in V&G, and there were prisoners that were freed; there were so many stories at that time. So, there was fear in people, like are we going to survive this time, because we did not hear any news about what the officials were doing that time. So, in Pleasantville, they assigned guards because of the rumors that there were stealing, killing, and rape. So, there were guards every night. And then, we had an agreement in our community that if beyond, we set up our own curfew at 7 (p.m.) I think. They set up a curfew that if we saw someone beyond 7 (p.m.) who did not belong to the neighborhood, they would shoot. That was what they said, not me. But that was their rule. Of course, it was because we were panicked because we did not have any news if there were police personnel or something like that. So, each of us had something to do. Thus, every household had guards. In our house it was the three of us, myself and my brothers. We let my mother, (Eli), and tatay sleep there inside. We three were on our roof, and we had solar flashlights. So, we had our flashlights, and we were guarding; we would go around our area, something like that. Whenever we see something, we shout or do something because that was our agreement in Pleasantville.]

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<i>Han Sunday amo adto an first time nga nag barikada han mga streets. Like kada street ha V&amp;G mayda barikada ngan mayda bonfire. Tas we keep hearing, from the days after nga diri la ngayan V and G an nag sugad. Mayda na kasi kuno panlooting, mayda na kasi kuno pan rape. Mayda na mga panmatay kuno. Tapos amo adto...amo adto an first Sunday</i>	Jake	Possible looting, rape, and slaying
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*evening namon didto, nagkagawas nga, "Hala! it amon neighbor ngayan mayda ngayan pusil." Mayda adto bonfire, tapos ginsesecure namon. "Ikaw, taga diin ka? Diri ka taga didi? Bawal ka sumulod." So, amo adto. Rellebo kami. So, hasta...hasta alas dose mata ako. Nag gu-guard ako dida. Rellebo kami. (Jake, Pos. 38-39)*

[Translation: On Sunday, that was the first time we barricaded the streets. Like every street in V&G had a barricade and bonfire. We keep hearing, from the days after that other communities, aside from V and G, did it too. It was said that there was looting and rape. There were talks of slaying. That was our first Sunday evening (since Yolanda). It was then we found out that "Oh! Our neighbor owned a gun." So there was a bonfire, and we were securing it. "Where do you live? Are you not from around here? You cannot enter." So, that was it. We had our own shifts. So, until midnight I was up. I was the guard. That was our shift.]

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<i>Hi (Jade), nagbibike hira permi man hira napakadto ha downtown asya liwat ira nakikita na magulo. (...) Tapos pagkakagabi liwat dire kami nakakatorog hin tuhay kay nagbantay ako, tas nag iisip ako hadto (...) Nakaturog man ako didto kan Lola kwarto. Mayda man jalousie (...) Kun may masulod tas may manbubuog hin jalousie. Ano tak una nga kakaptan nganhi? (...) Nagiisip ako nga kun may magbuong han jalousie, an akon weapon, jalousie gihap. Nagiisip na ako hadto. (Nika, Pos. 49-50)</i>	Nika	City in shambles
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[Translation: Jade biked to the downtown area, and they saw that it was in shambles. Then, we had a hard time getting a good sleep every night because I kept my guard up and thought. (...) I was sleeping in my

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grandmother's bedroom. There was jalousie (glass windows). If someone breaks in by breaking the windows, what am I supposed to use (as weapon) here? (...) I thought if someone broke in by breaking the glass windows, I would also use the glass as a weapon. I thought.]

<p><i>Tapos nagkita liwat kami ni (Alfie) kay tikang naman liwat hiya ha balay ngan nabaro hiya na kumadi ak San Jose (school) asya sumugod liwat hiya. Nagkita kami ha may dalan tas nakatuok liwat hiya pagkita namon. Nagyakan gihap hiya na kon waray daw kami maukyan pwedi man daw kami ngadto ha ira asya gihap yakan han iya parents.(...) An ak ginbabarakan la kay hadto na time dire maaram ak parents na may uyab ak. Dire ak maaram kon paano ko liwat ig explain ha ira na sugad hine mayda kami maukyan pero ngadto hit ak uyab asya parang nag decline ak anay. (...) Na realize ko na kailangan namon makabalhin kay ngadto am gin uukyan malamok liwat tapos pagkakagabe mayda ka nababatian na mga boses tapos it im environment gihap parang sad na scary liwat asya kailangan gud nam makabalhin kay dire liwat nam kaya it sugad. Gin explain ko nala ha ira na sugad na may babalhinan kami ngadto ha place tak uyab asya sumige man hira ngan nakabalhin kami ha sampaguita. (Joy, Pos. 21-23)</i></p>	<p>Joy</p>	<p>Bearing to live in a sad and scary environment where you could hear voices</p>	<p>Risk is when people cannot access food, a safe environment, or medical treatment.</p>
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[Translation: I met Alfie because he went to our house because he came to our house and he learned that I went to San Jose (school), so he went there. We met along the street and he teared up when he saw me. He told me that if we need a place to stay we could stay with him. His parents said the same too. I was worried because my parents did not know I was in a relationship. I also did not know how to explain to them that I had found a place where we could stay, but it was at my

boyfriend's house. (...) I realized that we had to move out and find another place to stay because there were so many mosquitos, and at night, we heard voices. The environment was like sad but scary. That was why we had to be elsewhere because we could not bear to live like this.]

*Nga ngadto na ha...out of town na kita, ay nakita pag inukoy ha Tacloban kay waray na talaga. Diri ka pa natuod, hira (Jade) ngan iya mga bugto, naglilibot libot, masamok na talaga hin duro. Mauubos na tat pagkaon, ayaw na kita pakig aragaw. Hi ako man iton nagyiyinakan (...) (Nika, Pos. 51-52)*

Nika

Food is running out and people might start fighting each other for it

[Translation: I told them that we should go out of town and you have to believe Jade and his siblings. They have been going around. It is a total mess. Food is running out; we should not fight each other for it (food). I kept saying.]

*Everyday liwat hadto hira Mama pagpila ha airport para makalakat liwat, ako naman in napakadto ha City Hall para makatawag kay ak Papa liwat gusto ko hadto na makalakat kay kailangan gud niya hin medication hi Mama baga na dire pa kay gusto niya na malimpyohan anay am balay. (...) An akon Papa liwat han nakadto hira Manila ngadto man hira nag landing ha Villamor Airbase gintapo liwat hira. Ak ate kay hadto na time han nabaro an mga tawo na sugad an kamutang han Tacloban na parang tanan na tawo gusto kumade, sugad gihap ak ate every time hiya napila ha Villamor airbase may dara na pagkaon ngan tubig ngan kon anu liwat iya madadara kay gusto gud niya kumadi liwat. Kay hito na time nag iha man gud an pag abot han relief goods tapos sugad liwat an nakikita nira ha news. Tapos kon mayda hira mga kilala na tikanhe ginapapadara nala nira gin hahatag la an address bali sugad hito an natatabo hadto na time. Kailangan man gud niya lalo na may sakit pa hiya mag*

Joy

No access to treatment for the sick family

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*sakriposyo ka gud la. (Joy, Pos. 29-30)*

[Translation: Every day, my mother queued at the airport so that we could leave, and I would go to the City Hall to call because my father had to leave since he needed his medication. My mother, on the other hand, wanted to get the house cleaned up first. My father went to Manila at that time; they landed at the Villamor Airbase. My sister fetched them. My sister at that time learned about the condition in Tacloban City, that everyone wanted to come here, so that was what she also tried to do. Every day she would queue at the Villamor Airbase bringing food and water, and anything she could carry because she really wanted to come here. At that time, the relief goods took time to arrive and they saw things on the news. If they knew someone who was coming here, they would ask that person to bring things [for their family], and they would also give the address. That was what was happening at that time. He (father) needed it (medical treatment) since he was sick. It was a necessary sacrifice.]

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On communicative acts, the sub-themes for the main theme “*Thinking about the preparation for disaster*” are shown in Table 5 below.

**Table 5**

*Coded Segments on the First Main Theme on Communicative acts Shaped by their View of Risk*

Coded Segments	Narrator	Code	Sub-theme
<i>Before, nag yakan ako kan Kapitan, “Mag aano kita?” Siring niya, “Waray man kami advisory.” So before hadto, waray la talaga kami hadto liwat. Although mayda na hiya news pero para haam waray</i>	Nika	Thinking about what to do	Thinking about what should be done to

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*waray man la. (Nika, Pos. 7-8)*

prepare for  
the disaster

[Translation: Before, I asked our [Barangay] Captain, "What should we do?" He said, "We did not receive an advisory." So, we did not think much about it before. Although it was already in the news, we did not think much about it.]

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*Ngan nga bagyo talaga hiya but nobody expected the water. Dati pa liwat mayda naman gud hadto mga storm surge warning like waray pa ak hadto asawa. Mayda talaga hadto nagyayakan na like igputos it iyo mga importante na papers...so nagpuputos talaga kami hadto... ig pan saka it iyo mga gamit...pero once ko la liwat adto nanunumduman na nahitabo. Dire liwat ak maaram what change on the policy, kay waray nira igyakan, kay han Yolanda mayda na hadto storm surge threat pero ha ira parte waray ig communicate. (Nika, Pos. 9-10)*

Nika

Wrapping  
things to  
prepare for  
the storm  
surge

[Translation: It was really a super typhoon, but no one expected the water. Before they would issue storm surge warnings; that was around when I was not married yet. Someone would always advise wrapping the important papers...so we did wrap our things...but it only happened once, as far as I remember. I do not know what changed their policy because they did not say anything because Yolanda had a storm surge threat, and they did not communicate that.]

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*Way back eight years ago as far as I remember, Monday we were informed about super typhoon, han Tuesday nag start na liwat kami hin evacuation kami nira sir [Carl] and other people han Tacloban City rescue we help at the pre-emptive evacuation. At that time an evacuation area nakadto ha Astrodome ngan iba na mga school. That time liwat since waray pa kita maka experience hin super typhoon people [were] hesitant to evacuate. They told us na we are from*

Van

One  
should not  
hesitate to  
evacuate

Not treating it  
like any other  
disaster

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*typhoon city so we can manage. We were telling them [that] this typhoon is very different from the other typhoons that you have experienced. (Van, Pos. 2-3)*

[Translation: Way back eight years ago, as far as I remember, Monday we were informed about the Super Typhoon. On Tuesday, we started the evacuation with Sir [Carl] and the other people from the Tacloban City rescue. At that time, the evacuation area was in Astrodome and other school. We had never experienced a super typhoon at that time, so people were hesitant to evacuate. They told us that we are from a typhoon city, so we can manage. We were telling them (that) this typhoon is very different from the other typhoons that you have experienced.]

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<i>Actually, (the day) before nagkikita pa kita hadto han Napoles na hearing, tapos masirak pa adto asya dire kami na na expect na super typhoon the next day. Umule ako ha San Jose ngan usual routine namon pag may bagyo nabaha talaga asya nag pinan ligpit liwat kami hin gamit kay ha amon area liwat hamubo man asya naka andam na ak gamit kay maaram man liwat ako na may possibility na mag evacuate kami. (Joy, Pos. 3-5)</i>	Joy	Going beyond the usual routine and evacuate
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[Translation: Actually, (the day) before, we were watching the Napoles hearing, and it was still sunny, so no one anticipated a super typhoon the next day. I came home to San Jose and did our usual routine. When there is a typhoon, our area gets flooded, so we started gathering our things and prepared ourselves for the possibility of an evacuation.]

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<i>Everybody underestimated Yolanda bisan kami na adi ha media. Three days before I was at (the mall), but the super typhoon was already there, and it (is) really going to hit Eastern Visayas, and everybody (was) saying na "it (is) going to be really bad..." "It (is) a super typhoon..."</i>	Jake	Should not treat it like any other super typhoon
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*Everybody keeps praying na magluya hiya or lumihis. Pero we treated Yolanda like any other super typhoon, being a typhoon-stricken province. Nobody took it seriously kay grabe ka adlaw, and I remember eerie hiya pero clear sky. (Jake, Pos. 4-5)*

[Translation: Everyone underestimated Yolanda, even us in the media. Three days before, I was at the mall, but the super typhoon was already there, and it (is) really going to hit Eastern Visayas, and everybody (was) saying that “it (is) going to be really bad...” “It (is) a super typhoon...” Everybody keeps praying that it would weaken or change in direction. But, we treated Yolanda like any other super typhoon, being a typhoon-stricken province. Nobody took it seriously because it was bright and sunny, and I remember it was eerie, but the sky was clear.]

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The sub-themes for the main theme “*Talking about safety with loved ones*” are shown in Table 6 below.

**Table 6**

*Coded Segments on the Second Main Theme on Communicative acts Shaped by their View of Risk*

Coded Segments	Narrator	Code	Sub-theme
<i>Paglusad liwat niya dida na mag start an panic na baha naman daw adi. Amo yakan ko na tara didto kita ha may sala, pag abot namon ha main door hataas na an tubig, pero that time dire ak ginkukulba kay mayda man umabot na order na kon bumaha man dire madako kaduro. Pag abot namon ha main door, an tubig taga didi na (GESTURES HAND ON HIS CHEST AREA). But, at that time diri ako ginkukulba. I was following an order nga nasiring nga diri kita babahaan ngan diri sugad kagrabe an baha kun</i>	Van	Assuring the family that they will not die	Talking to the family about the situation, asking for help, and evacuating somewhere safe

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*bumaha man. Pag abre ko han main door dida ako kumita nga nasugad an tubig (GESTURES THE MOVEMENT OF A WAVE SWELLING AND COLLAPSING) ha karsada, nasugad. May wave. An mga nagpakapark na sarakyan tikang didto na eskina, nag paparade na. Gin aanod naman. Gin sara ko an portahan, dida na ako umabat hin kulba. An akon anak sumiring ha akon, "Daddy, mapatay na kita ano?" Siring ko, "Diri, diri..." (Van, Pos. 12-13)*

[Translation: The panic started because, when my wife came down she saw how flooded our house was. So, I told them we should go to our living room. At that time, I was not nervous because I was told that if there was flooding, it would not be much. When we arrived at our main door, the water was almost up to the chest but at that time I was not worried. I was following an order saying that we will not get flood, but if there was flood, it will not be that much. When I opened our main door, I saw the water on the street. There was a wave. The cars parked on the corner of our street were already parading. They were getting carried by the current. I closed the door and I got nervous. My son asked, "Daddy, we are going to die, right?" I said, "We will not, no..."]

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<i>Mga 6:30 waray na [telecommunications] signal and then 7 o'clock came everything was white out mga two feet away from the window waray kana makikit'an kay busag nala. From 7 to 9 amo adto it pinaka makuri ky an flood water na tikang gawas halos sumaka na ha sulod hit balay, amon balay is raised tapos amo adto it pinaka hitaas na flood line na ak nakita kay mga few centimeter nala ma-abot na talaga haam balay tapos an window flung open amo pinankalasan kami. We are preparing na dumuroy pa ngane ini evacuate na kita ha igbaw. Nanay was calm. Pero nabasag an window, then (my sister) broke down. Even during that time</i>	Jake	Evacuating when things get worse
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*consider na mag evacuate na ha (dome) because we have no idea what's going on. (Jake, Pos. 10-11)*

[Translation: Around 6:30 am, we lost [telecommunications] signal and then at 7 o'clock everything was white out. You will not see anything beyond two feet away from the window. From 7 a.m. to 9 a.m. that was the most difficult because the flood water from the outside almost went inside the house. Our house was raised and it was the highest floodline I have seen because it was just a few centimeters away from reaching our house, then our window flung open. We were shocked. We are preparing that if it gets worse, we must evacuate upstairs. My mother was calm, but our windows shattered, then my sister broke down. Even during that time, we considered evacuating to the Astrodome because we had no idea what was happening.]

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*Tas mayda kami hadto nakikit-an na like, tawo as in nalupad talaga. Nakukuan ba hiya han hangin. Pero bagan unbelievable liwat kasi adto na "Ah talaga makukuan ka hin hangin" sugad kakusog it hangin. Pero nakakita kami hadto hin naka kuan hiya, naka I'm not sure if patay na hiya kay masyado man hiya dire nakiwa pero naka helmet hiya hin motor tas nahilupad hiya ngadto han ay usa na coconut. I'm not sure kun ano an natabo haiya pero nagyakan ako "Gin ano gad niyo, gin lupad hiya" sugad hito. Tas nag iiristorya na ba an amon family. Hi kuya lage nag fi-final message na adto hiya haam tas sige na adto an iya "I love you," tas waray may nabaton kay dire namon kaya ig accept la anay. I mean, ayaw la anay kita hiton kuya kay waray pa man as in na naagi. Mayda gihap hadto mga motor as in makaradlok talaga kay ada ka ha atop tas nakita ka han nagkakilupad. Kanan dire nala maiha magkakilupad na gihap kita. Mag bug-at baya an nanlulupad. (France, Pos. 20-21)*

France

Talking to the family about the situation

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[Translation: Then, we saw something like a human who seemed like flying, tossed by the wind. It felt unbelievable like, “So the wind was really strong; it could carry a person away.” But, we really saw, they were wearing something like, I was not sure if they were alive because they were not moving but they wore a helmet for the motorcycle and they were flown away to a coconut. I do not know what happened to this person but I pointed it out to my family and said “That person is flying.” Then, my family started talking. My brother was already giving his final messages to us. He kept telling us “I love you,” and no one responded to him because we were not willing to accept it [death]. I meant, not now, brother, because nothing has happened yet. I saw a motorcycle that flew with the wind. It was scary because we were on our roof and could see [debris] flying. It would not take long until we were the ones getting carried away by the gust. The flying debris were all life-sized things, after all.]

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<p><i>Tuesday came, kumadto ako ha Lourdes...to check on...to check an signal status. This was already Tuesday and it was still flooded. Matikadto kunta ako ha barangay hall to ask for help for multicab ba. Resolve ko talaga, resolve ko talaga ngan I will stay. Ig gagawas namon hira Nanay ngan hi [Hailey]. Pero I will stay. Tas kumadto ako barangay, kumadto ako barangay to ask for help. Bangin mayda kami masakyan tikadto ha terminal. But, on the way to, on the way to the barangay hall. Diba, flooded? (SMILING) Mayda tumabok na tilapia, men! In the middle of the road, mayda tumabok na tilapia. Nag struggle hiya. Tumabok hiya ha akun atubangan. There's a freakin' fish in front of me. Crossed the road. And, I was thinking, I need to rethink my position on staying here. I may need to go out. Finally! Amo adto. This is futile. (...) Staying here will put our lives in more danger. Amo na [it] dalagan hit akun huna-huna. This fish is</i></p>	<p>Jake</p>	<p>Asking for help to go somewhere safe</p>
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*trying to get somewhere where it thinks it will be safe! That (is) why it crossed the freaking road, diba? So, amo adto. (Jake, Pos. 57-58)*

[Translation: Tuesday came, I went to Lourdes to check on the signal status. This was already Tuesday and it was still flooded. I went to the barangay to ask for help for a multicab. I was resolved with staying. We will send my mother and [Hailey] out but I will stay. So, I went to the barangay to ask for help. Maybe we can get a multicab that can take us to the terminal. But, on the way to the barangay hall, it was flooded right? So, a tilapia crossed the road! In the middle of the road, a tilapia crossed. It struggled to swim. It crossed right in front of me. There is a fish in front of me. Crossed the road. And I was thinking, I need to rethink my position on staying here. I may need to go out. Finally! That was it. This is futile. (...) Staying here will put our lives in more danger. That was what I was thinking. This fish is trying to get somewhere it thinks it will be safe! That (is) why it crossed the freaking road, right? So, that was it.]

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<p><i>Na feel ko liwat na iba hiya ha mga bagyo na na-experience ko. Nagkakalasan liwat kami kay itom ito man liwat an tubig na nasulod tapos asya iton nagtitika dako liwat an tubig pinan kakalasan liwat kami asya nag decide kami na gumawas na, ha gawas liwat in halos lagpas tawo na baha takay dire pa daw kami mag aram man langoy am ginbuhat liwat in humabay nala han kahoy para dire liwat kami malumos ak Papa liwat in kapot an baby hi Mama liwat nakadto may grills nayakan hiya na kadto na daw la kami ha may atop. (Joy, Pos. 9-12)</i></p>	<p>Joy</p>	<p>Working together with the neighbors to rescue family</p>
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[Translation: At that moment, I felt that this typhoon was unlike anything I had experienced. We were surprised because the water was black and it was seeping in our house. The water (level)

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was quickly increasing, so we were getting overwhelmed, so we decided to go out of the house. Outside, the water was already higher than a person, and we all did not know how to swim. We used driftwood as our floater so we would not drown. Papa was carrying the baby, and my mother was holding on to the grills of the gate. She said we should go to the roof of our house.]

*Ak dara liwat hadto na bag kay mga gamit hin bata pero kailangan ko liwat buhian para dire liwat malumos. Burublag liwat kami kay natigdaan man la liwat kami ak iba na umangkong in naka evacuate dayon haam sapit before pa dumako an tubig. Maupay nala mayda kami mga neighbor ngadto na mga lalaki asya bumulig liwat haam kay kakusog liwat han current hi Mama ngan Papa liwat nag storya hadto na time na parang kon dire na daw kayahon bul-iw na daw la paranga tinanggap na liwat nira hadto na time. Ako liwat in nagluluya na hadto tas nagyiyinakan na gihap am neighbor na sumaka na yakan ko, "Ayaw la anay kay hi Mama naiipit pa." Asya nagburublig liwat kami na makuha hi Mama liwat waray na nam gin mind na bisan damu an mga debris importante na masalbar gud hi Mama kay buyag liwat kasi hiya halos tanan na kami nakasaka ha atop tapos hi Mama gin burubligan gihap nam makasaka. (Joy, Pos. 13-14)*

[Translation: I only brought my bag to contain the child's things, but I had to let it go because I might drown. We were caught off guard by how things escalated, so we separated from each other. My nephew was able to evacuate before the waters rose higher. It was a good thing that our male neighbor helped us because the current was so strong. My mother and father had already discussed that if all else fails, it is okay for us to let them go as they had accepted it. I felt really disheartened and our neighbor kept telling me I should

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come up. I said, "Not yet, my mother is still stuck." We worked together to get my mother; we did not mind the debris because what was important was that my mother was safe. She is a big woman and she had a hard time getting to the roof so, we all helped her get up there.]

<p><i>Tapos hadto liwat na time mayda naman way of communication ha may City Hall usa man liwat ako na natagan hin privilege pag gamit para maka reach out haak iba na family para dire na liwat hira mag worry haam. Nag post liwat ak hadto ha (social media). Diri ak nag eexpect hin monetary ngan goods, an akon la nga diri gud hira mag worry. Mayda kasi adto time nga nagkikinuan hira nga kumanhi hira. Siring ko, "Ayaw na kamo pag kinadi. Relax la kamo dida." Amo la adto nak goal, nga makareach out la ha ak mga pamilya na okay la kami safe kami para dire na liwat hira kumadi na we can manage... Kay magiging added kamo nga burden hin city in terms of food, kuan... (Van, Pos. 32-33)</i></p>	Van	Posting on social media to assure them of the family's safety	Informing relatives to ensure them that the family is safe and that help is needed
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[Translation: Then, we also had a way of communicating at the City Hall. I was one of the privileged who could reach out to my family so that they would not worry. I also posted on social media (site). There was a time that they kept insisting to come here. I told them, "Do not come here, just relax there." That was my goal, for my family to let them know that we are okay and safe, so they would not come here since we can already manage... Because they would just be an added burden to the city in terms of food and other needs...]

<p><i>Nagpapanic liwat kami waray contact talaga from the outside, hasta hadto na time. And, we were flying blind. First thing hadto, para mabaro it mga tawo nga okay kami, and then, to ask help kun ano't amon bubuhaton. An nearest namon na refuge is in Calbayog City. Diba? So, amo la talaga adto it akun reason, pahibaro la nga okay kami, tapos to notify everybody nga we need help</i></p>	Jake	Informing relatives that they are safe	Notifying relatives that help is needed
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*pero diri pa kami maaram kun ano pa tam bubuhaton. Maybe you can do something to help us kun aanhon... pero we were basically okay. (Jake, Pos. 49-50)*

[Translation: We were panicking since we had no contact from the outside until then. We were flying blind. What was I thinking? First thing, so that people would know that we are okay, and then, to ask for help on what we should do. Our nearest refuge is Calbayog City, remember? So, that was my reason. Inform them that we are okay, then notify everybody that we need help, but we also do not know what we should do. So, maybe you can do something to help us on what we should do, but we were okay.]

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The sub-themes for the main theme “*Treating safety as a communal responsibility*” are shown in Table 7 below.

**Table 7**

*Coded Segments on the Third Main Theme on Communicative acts Shaped by their View of Risk*

Coded Segments	Narrator	Code	Sub-theme
<i>Pero mayda ak hadto worst na experience ngadto may City Hall han mga eight o'clock han evening kumadto an taga (jail) na magkaeskapo na daw an mga priso kay pinangugutom na liwat kasi. Asya adto nagyakan hira na kamo na bahala hit iyo kalugaringon. Dida la liwat ak hadto nabaraka. Asya hadto na time kun mag entrance exit ka kailangan mo gud magsarit para kon hino man an sumulod na dire taga dida sisitahon ka gud. (Van, Pos. 42-43)</i>	Van	Asking permission to enter and exit so that one could easily call out strangers	Keeping one's guard up and having an agreement with the neighbors to protect the community

[Translation: One of my worst

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experiences at the City Hall was around eight o'clock in the evening. Someone (from the jail) visited and said that they were letting the prisoners out because they (prisoners) are hungry. They told us that we were left to fend for ourselves. That terrified me. We agreed that if someone entered or exited (the building), we had to ask permission so that we could call out any stranger who might enter.]

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*Pag uli namon, amo adto nakabati na kami from mga tawo ha tulay na kuan mayda kuno stories of rape ha V&G and mayda kuno mga nakagawas na priso, basta damo an storya hadto. So, medyo nagkukuan na an mga tawo ada na an fear kumabaga mabubuhi pa ba kita hine. Kay dire kasi kami nabati hin news na may gin hihimo an kuan an officials that time. So ngadto ha amon (...) ha Pleasantville nag create hira ngadto hin mga guards because of that rumor na mayda mga nan-ngangawat, nanmamatay, nanra-rape. So mayda hira didto bagan guards every night. And then, nagsaragbot adto an amon community na mayda ngani na if beyond, nag set hira hin amon own curfew 7 (p.m.) ada adto. Nag set hira hin curfew nga if meada nakikit-an na tawo beyond 7 (p.m.) na dire taga dinhi, pusila. Amo an ira yakan, not me. Pero amo adto an ira bagat rule. Kay syempre nagpapanic man kami kay waray kami maaram kay waray news kun may pulis pa ba sugad hiton. So, kami nag kuan nala kami didto nagkanya-kanya kaming something. And so, every household mayda hadto guards. Kami ha balay, kami mag burogto tutulo. An amon gin papakaturug hi Nanay, (Eli) ngan hi Tatay adto hira ha may sulod. Tapos kami na mag burogto adto kami ha atop tas may mga flashlight kami hadto na mga solar. So, an am mga flashlight nagbantay talaga kami palibot libot sugad hito ha entire area namon. Tas kun mayda kami nakikit-an magkukuan kami maguliat or ano basta amo adto an*

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France      Having an agreement about the curfew and watching their own homes and the neighborhood

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*saragbot ha Pleasantville. (France, Pos. 36-37)*

[Translation: When we got home, that was it, we heard from the people who live near the bridge that there were stories of rape in V&G, and there were prisoners that were freed; there were so many stories at that time. So, there was fear in people, like are we going to survive this time, because we did not hear any news about what the officials were doing that time. So, in Pleasantville, they assigned guards because of the rumors that there were stealing, killing, and rape. So, there were guards every night. And then, we had an agreement in our community that if beyond, we set up our own curfew at 7 (p.m.) I think. They set up a curfew that if we saw someone beyond 7 (p.m.) who did not belong to the neighborhood, they would shoot. That was what they said, not me. But that was their rule. Of course, it was because we were panicked because we did not have any news if there were police personnel or something like that. So, each of us had something to do. Thus, every household had guards. In our house it was the three of us, myself and my brothers. We let my mother, (Eli), and tatay sleep there inside. We three were on our roof, and we had solar flashlights. So, we had our flashlights, and we were guarding; we would go around our area, something like that. Whenever we see something, we shout or do something because that was our agreement in Pleasantville.]

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*Han Sunday amo adto an first time nga nag barikada han mga streets. Like kada street ha V&G mayda barikada ngan mayda bonfire. Tas we keep hearing, from the days after nga diri la ngayan V and G an nag sugad. Mayda na kasi kuno panlooting, mayda na kasi kuno pan rape. Mayda na mga panmatay kuno. Tapos amo adto...amo adto an first Sunday evening namon didto,*

Jake

Neighbors helping in securing the street from those who do not live around there

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*nagkagawas nga, “Hala! it amon neighbor ngayan mayda ngayan pusil.” Mayda adto bonfire, tapos ginsesecure namon. “Ikaw, taga diin ka? Diri ka taga didi? Bawal ka sumulod.” So, amo adto. Rellebo kami. So, hasta...hasta alas dose mata ako. Nag gu-guard ako dida. Rellebo kami. (Jake, Pos. 38-39)*

[Translation: On Sunday, that was the first time we barricaded the streets. Like every street in V&G had a barricade and bonfire. We keep hearing, from the days after that other communities, aside from V and G, did it too. It was said that there was looting and rape. There were talks of slaying. That was our first Sunday evening (since Yolanda). It was then we found out that “Oh! Our neighbor owned a gun.” So there was a bonfire, and we were securing it. “Where do you live? Are you not from around here? You cannot enter.” So, that was it. We had our own shifts. So, until midnight I was up. I was the guard. That was our shift.]

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*Hi (Jade), nagbibi-bike hira permi man hira napakadto ha downtown asya liwat ira nakikita na magulo. (...) Tapos pagkagabi liwat dire kami nakakatorog hin tuhay kay nagbabantay ako, tas nag iisip ako hadto (...) Nakaturog man ako didto kan Lola kwarto. Mayda man jalousie (...) Kun may masulod tas may manbubuog hin jalousie. Ano tak una nga kakaptan nganhi? (...) Nagiisip ako nga kun may magbuong han jalousie, an akon weapon, jalousie gihap. Nagiisip na ako hadto. (Nika, Pos. 49-50)*

Nika

Keeping one's guard up and looking for a weapon to protect one's self

[Translation: Jade biked to the downtown area, and they saw that it was in shambles. Then, we had a hard time getting a good sleep every night because I kept my guard up and thought. (...) I was sleeping in my grandmother's bedroom. There was jalousie (glass windows). If someone breaks in by breaking the windows, what am I supposed to use (as weapon)

here? (...) I thought if someone broke in by breaking the glass windows, I would also use the glass as a weapon. I thought.]

<p><i>Tapos nagkita liwat kami ni (Alfie) kay tikang naman liwat hiya ha balay ngan nabaro hiya na kumadi ak San Jose (school) asya sumugod liwat hiya. Nagkita kami ha may dalan tas nakatuok liwat hiya pagkita namon. Nagyakan gihap hiya na kon waray daw kami maukyan pwedi man daw kami ngadto ha ira asya gihap yakan han iya parents.(...) An ak ginbabarakan la kay hadto na time dire maaram ak parents na may uyab ak. Dire ak maaram kon paano ko liwat ig explain ha ira na sugad hine mayda kami maukyan pero ngadto hit ak uyab asya parang nag decline ak anay. (...) Na realize ko na kailangan namon makabalhin kay ngadto am gin uukyan malamok liwat tapos pagkakagabe mayda ka nababatian na mga boses tapos it im environment gihap parang sad na scary liwat asya kailangan gud nam makabalhin kay dire liwat nam kaya it sugad. Gin explain ko nala ha ira na sugad na may babalhinan kami ngadto ha place tak uyab asya sumige man hira ngan nakabalhin kami ha sampaguita. (Joy, Pos. 21-23)</i></p>	<p>Joy</p>	<p>Moving out and accepting the offer of a place to stay</p>	<p>Talking to the family and finding ways to move out or leave and go out of town</p>
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[Translation: I met Alfie because he went to our house because he came to our house and he learned that I went to San Jose (school), so he went there. We met along the street and he teared up when he saw me. He told me that if we need a place to stay we could stay with him. His parents said the same too. I was worried because my parents did not know I was in a relationship. I also did not know how to explain to them that I had found a place where we could stay, but it was at my boyfriend's house. (...) I realized that we had to move out and find another place to stay because there were so many mosquitos, and at night, we heard voices. The environment was like sad but scary. That was why we

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had to be elsewhere because we could not bear to live like this.]

*Nga ngadto na ha...out of town na kita, ay nakita pag inukoy ha Tacloban kay waray na talaga. Diri ka pa natuod, hira (Jade) ngan iya mga bugto, naglilibot libot, masamok na talaga hin duro. Mauubos na tat pagkaon, ayaw na kita pakig aragaw. Hi ako man iton nagyiyinakan (...) (Nika, Pos. 51-52)*

Nika

Talking to family about leaving town

[Translation: I told them that we should go out of town and you have to believe Jade and his siblings. They have been going around. It is a total mess. Food is running out; we should not fight each other for it (food). I kept saying.]

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*Everyday liwat hadto hira Mama pagpila ha airport para makalakat liwat, ako naman in napakadto ha City Hall para makatawag kay ak Papa liwat gusto ko hadto na makalakat kay kailangan gud niya hin medication hi Mama baga na dire pa kay gusto niya na malimpyohan anay am balay. (...) An akon Papa liwat han nakadto hira Manila ngadto man hira nag landing ha Villamor Airbase gintapo liwat hira. Ak ate kay hadto na time han nabaro an mga tawo na sugad an kamutang han Tacloban na parang tanan na tawo gusto kumade, sugad gihap ak ate every time hiya napila ha Villamor airbase may dara na pagkaon ngan tubig ngan kon anu liwat iya madadara kay gusto gud niya kumadi liwat. Kay hito na time nag iha man gud an pag abot han relief goods tapos sugad liwat an nakikita nira ha news. Tapos kon mayda hira mga kilala na tikanhe ginapapadara nala nira gin hahatag la an address bali sugad hito an natatabo hadto na time. Kailangan man gud niya lalo na may sakit pa hiya mag sakriposyo ka gud la. (Joy, Pos. 29-30)*

Joy

Looking for ways to leave for a place where one could get the needed medication

[Translation: Every day, my mother queued at the airport so that we could leave, and I would go to the City Hall to call because my father had to leave since he needed his medication. My

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mother, on the other hand, wanted to get the house cleaned up first. My father went to Manila at that time; they landed at the Villamor Airbase. My sister fetched them. My sister at that time learned about the condition in Tacloban City, that everyone wanted to come here, so that was what she also tried to do. Every day she would queue at the Villamor Airbase bringing food and water, and anything she could carry because she really wanted to come here. At that time, the relief goods took time to arrive and they saw things on the news. If they knew someone who was coming here, they would ask that person to bring things [for their family], and they would also give the address. That was what was happening at that time. He (father) needed it (medical treatment) since he was sick. It was a necessary sacrifice.]

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These themes, sub-themes, and codes were developed iteratively. Further, their meanings will be explained in the subsequent chapter.

### **Ensuring the Plausibility of the Meanings Derived**

Multiple approaches to validating findings are necessary to determine the accuracy of this study's findings (Creswell, 2014). Therefore, this study utilizes thick descriptions and member validation.

Discussing the study's findings through a detailed and thick description provides a better understanding of the participants' responses in this study (Creswell, 2014). In addition, the thick description showcases the researcher's tacit knowledge (Lindlof & Taylor, 2019). Thick description is shown in the sub-themes and codes generated in the study.

Moreover, since the experience of the participant is key to this study, thick description is also shown in the richness of the participants' experiences, where the

narrators provided detailed narratives explaining what, why, and how the story came about.

In augmenting the interpretations of the study, the researcher reverted to the participants to reflect on the interpretations of the findings. This act allows participants to express whether the findings have been fair, accurate, and reflective of their experience. In addition, member validation lets them check whether their identity and other people mentioned in the story have been kept confidential. It may also serve as an exit interview towards the end of the study so that the participants can straightforwardly express themselves and their experience in the study (Lindlof & Taylor, 2019).

In alignment with the Axiological Assumption of the study, positioning the researcher in the research and understanding the rigor of the data must be set before proceeding to the analysis.

The researcher's role is to identify one's biases and assumptions at the onset of the study (Creswell, 2014). Therefore, I should engage in self-reflexivity to reflect on my role before, during, and after the data gathering. Reflexivity also allows me to understand how my experiences and worldviews affect the narratives of the participants and the interpretations of the findings (Allen, 2017).

Transparency in research concerns a detailed explanation of data gathering and interpretation procedures. Concerning the discussion on subjectivity, the researcher's transparency is also affiliated with disclosing how one's self-reflexivity interacted with the research findings. This is expressed in the researcher's written voice—a sensitive register of how the qualitative research changed us as we have conducted it (Lindlof & Taylor, 2019).

## **Ethical Considerations**

In narrative analysis, the participants' active sharing of their stories for interpretation and filtration in social science categories emotionally impacts them (Hadjistavropoulos & Smythe, 2001).

Since the participants share private information, the researcher provided a safe space to discuss their perspectives and stories (Rajib & Mou, 2019). With this, the nature of the study's topic concerns the participants' experiences during Super Typhoon Haiyan, which is considered the strongest typhoon that made landfall.

In such a case, if the study posited adverse reactions to participants, the research would have forgone to protect them from any harm (Rajib & Mou, 2019).

The key ethical issue in qualitative research is shifting the role of the narrator, which may pose a risk to the participant's exposure. Under Philippine law, the Data Privacy Act of 2012 ascribes privacy to the information of individuals. Since the participants are private individuals, disclosing information related to their personal life required voluntary consent. The informed consent in the instrument included a request to publish the participants' data.

Additionally, while the country is still affected by the global pandemic, all minimum health protocols were followed during the data gathering to ensure the safety of the participants of the study. Thus, the participants were given the option to conduct the interview in person or online.

All measures to retrieve the data were fully disclosed. All transcripts, audio, and video recordings will be held securely. Copies will be kept for five years after the publication of the manuscript or as prescribed by the University of the Philippines Open University Retention schedules for research files.

## Chapter IV

### RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The meaning of risk has been generally established and widely adopted, as discussed in the previous chapter. Moreover, the best practices surrounding it have been explained by numerous studies and international frameworks developed by researchers and esteemed institutions. However, the conventional research focus in this field concentrates on the best communication channel and approach to developing the message. While these studies aid in the decision-making of disaster managers, such research focus limits the opportunity to understand and be informed by the people affected by the disaster risk and how they view risk. After all, those constantly affected by the disaster play a significant role in the success of a risk action plan. Thus, my study focuses on this under-researched area through the experiences of the victims of Yolanda. The findings of this study reframe the view of risk by presenting new perspectives on how we understand risk and what communicative acts are shaped by such meanings.

This chapter is sectioned per theme (narrative structure) and sub-themes, and their respective codes, highlighting the individual meaningful episodes of the narrators to answer the research questions of my study, with a brief discussion of the existing conceptions of risk and risk communication to bridge and deepen the discussion of the data revealed in the study. Each meaning is described in as much detail as the five narrators provided in direct statements from the interview, focusing on the meaning of risk and the communicative acts. The meanings revealed are also discussed alongside the interpretations lensed by symbolic interactionism and my personal experience as a victim of Yolanda.

The initial theme discussed under this chapter looks at the view of the participants on the meaning of risk to answer the research question: *What is the meaning/ view of the risk of the victims of Yolanda?*

On the other hand, the next theme answers the research question: *What communicative acts are defined by such views?* Five primary communicative acts are described, each with its meaning as explicated by the participants in their narratives.

Finally, the chapter concludes with a synthesis of risk as symbolic interactionism and how individuals become creators and mediums of risk information and risk communication.

## **Views of Risk**

The initial definition of risk as a negative outcome is an encompassing view representing the aspects that matter to governments, such as infrastructure damage and potential casualties. This is a functional definition that emphasizes the responsibility of the decisions made by disaster managers and other concerned agencies. However, my study focused on those who are affected by such disasters. Therefore, the definition I am presenting reflects what matters to them (the victims), the specific facets of their lives that are affected when they are exposed to risks, and the shaped views on risk and their respective communicative acts.

Moreover, during disasters, it is anticipated that information will be communicated. Therefore, risk communication has become an established practice, and numerous studies have explored mediums for risk communication. However, my study's findings show that the way risk is communicated (or not communicated) also shapes the views and meaning of risk. Thus, leniency on risk communication might bring negative consequences. Later, the data presented in specific sub-themes further explain the view of risk on this particular aspect.

Finally, the studies explored also presented the value of accounting for the historical, geographical, and sociocultural aspects of risk since they also largely shape how people regard such risk. This is where the study is genuinely situated, specifically on the sociocultural context that shapes the meaning of risk for those who have experienced Super Typhoon Yolanda. The views of risk unveiled in this study came from inflections of the participant’s perspectives during their preparations for the typhoon, their experience during the onslaught, and their day-to-day life afterward.

To introduce the main themes, the data analyzed in the study revealed three primary concepts of risk. The table below shows these central themes and sub-themes. These three primary views relate to the conventional view of risk while adding a more profound nuance to how participants view risk. Subsequent introductory discussions on these sub-themes follow after the table—afterward, a deep-dive into these sub-themes and the meaningful episodes in their narratives.

**Table 8**

*Codes, Sub-themes, and Themes Under the Views of Risk*

Codes	Sub-themes	Themes
Did not receive an advisory	Risk is the issuance and reception of an advisory	There is risk when there is an advisory
Would issue a warning		
Very different from the other typhoons experienced	Risk should be taken seriously even when there are no signs of a disaster	
No one expected the super typhoon because it was still sunny		
Did not take it seriously because the sky was bright and sunny		
The house and the streets are flooded with water reaching up to the chest	Risk is when the catastrophe escalates fast	There is risk when there is an absence or loss of contact

Flood water going inside the house	such that lives are in danger	
Winds so strong that could carry a person away		
Putting lives in danger		
Things escalate fast such that the water could rise higher		
Family from out of town are getting worried about the situation	Risk is when there is no contact with family	
Flying blind with no contact with the refuge		
Left to fend for themselves	Risk is when people are left to fend for themselves	There is risk when there is no access to basic needs
No news about the presence of a police force that could protect them from possible news of rape, freed prisoners		
Possible looting, rape, and slaying		
City in shambles		
Bearing to live in a sad and scary environment where you could hear voices	Risk is when people cannot access food, a safe environment, or medical treatment.	
Food is running out and people might start fighting each other for it		
No access to treatment for the sick family		

The main theme, *There is risk when there is an advisory*, delves away from the general view of risk as a negative outcome and focuses on how a particular risk event is being told or discussed and how people should respond to the information they receive. What is unique about this definition is that the narrators have viewed risk as one that should automatically be communicated. Thus, risk and communication cannot be separated; they are the same. Therefore, people also expect information about it to reach them. Otherwise, they will view a specific event as a “non-risk” to them. Moreover, the narratives have also shown that in forming the meaning of risk,

there is also interaction with the signs of a disaster (i.e., a sunny sky). These signs tell them if an incoming disaster, such as a typhoon, would be a risk or otherwise.

On the sub-theme “Risk is the issuance and reception of an advisory,” it is emphasized that risk should be said. Thus, when risk is not communicated to those concerned or affected, or the information does not reach them or the people they know, it is not considered a risk. This implies that when it is a risk, everyone should be given and should receive a warning or an advisory. In addition, this definition upholds people’s right to know about crucial risk events.

Meanwhile, the sub-theme “Risk should be taken seriously even when there are no signs of a disaster” connotes people’s outlook toward risk. When people view a particular event (i.e., Super Typhoon Yolanda) as a risk, they will take it seriously, and their actions before such a risky situation will show it. Concomitantly, one of the critical characteristics of the region where Tacloban City is located is that it is a disaster-prone area. Additionally, typhoons are frequent every year. This sub-theme is rooted in their experience of the Yolanda aftermath and its drastic difference from the outcomes of the past typhoons.

On the other hand, the discussion of “There is risk when there is an absence or loss of contact” appeals to the conventional view of risk in the sense that it talks about a negative outcome—what people stand to lose because they are facing such risks. This meaning implies that risk is mainly about the safety of one’s life and the lives of their loved ones and community members. This also extends to the aftermath because they were cut off from the people they could reach out to for help after Yolanda. Thus, risk definition is also attached to their connections in their social circle. It also highlights risk means that people should prepare for to avoid possible loss.

On the sub-theme “Risk is when the catastrophe escalates fast such that lives are in danger,” risk is viewed as one that harms people and could result in the loss of life. Similar to the earlier sub-theme, this acknowledges the conventional risk views. Risk as one that escalates fast also relates to the participants’ past disaster experience where the outcome did not overwhelmingly progress into a life-threatening situation. For example, flood might be frequent in the area however, it could be rising slowly, therefore they can still evacuate safely. On the other hand, in this view, it is essential to note that the participants have extended regard for the lives of their immediate family and closest friends.

The sub-theme “Risk is when there is no contact with family” pertains to the social disruption aspect of a risk event. For example, the city was disconnected from electricity, water, and telecommunications during Yolanda. This negative result was influential in the narratives because people initially could not communicate with their family and friends when they needed their help and guidance.

In contrast, the main theme, *There is risk when there is no access to basic needs*, appeals to the general description of an adverse outcome in risk. For example, after the typhoon, some of the narrators expressed that they did not have food and clothing because they got washed up by the storm surge. On the other hand, it was also shown that during Super Typhoon Yolanda there had also been news and dangerous rumors about how the city was unsafe. It was challenging to have a sense of security because they were disconnected from the people whom they could reach out to for support.

The sub-theme “Risk is when people are left to fend for themselves” shows how after the disaster, communities were overwhelmed by the news and dangerous rumors and that made them feel that they were the only ones who could help themselves and

their communities in keeping everyone safe. The narratives also felt this way due to the lack of visible police force immediately after the typhoon since the local police were also victims of the typhoon.

Meanwhile, the sub-theme “Risk is when people cannot access food, a safe environment, or medical treatment” appeals to the access to basic needs that were cut off because the city had been devastated by the typhoon (i.e., no drugstores open, no groceries opened). These needs are unique to the context of the individual and the lack thereof also becomes a consideration to the overall sense of human security.

The three main themes show perspectives related to the established concepts in risk and risk communication but offer context-based insights into risk. The discussions below explain and analyze the narratives to show what the data tells us about the meaning of risk based on the actions and outcomes experienced by the narrators.

### **There is risk when there is an advisory**

In the earlier chapter on the literature review, risk and risk communication go hand-in-hand. However, as I went through the participants' narratives, their stories suggested that with risk becoming centered on being communicated to the public, I realized that the meaning of risk and risk communication had become one.

**Figure 1**

*Codes, and Sub-themes under "There is risk when there is an advisory"*



To put it simply, this connotes risk as risk communication. Therefore, the view of risk is not just on its negative outcome but also on how a particular risk event is being told or discussed.

***Risk is the issuance and reception of an advisory***

People expect an advisory about an incoming disaster to reach them. The narratives have shown that these two concepts, risk and risk communication, have coalesced, and there are certain expectations of what is being said about the risk. For instance, the local chief executives must issue an advisory, and the village leaders and the community should be able to receive such warning or information about the risk. Otherwise, they will view a specific event as a “non-risk”.

*On the first meaning: Did not receive an advisory.* Risk implies that it should be communicated and such communication should be received by the concerned party,

otherwise, if there is no communication, it gives the impression that it is not a risk. Nika has exhibited such a view of risk in this passage:

*Before, nag yakan ako kan Kapitan, “Mag aano kita?” Siring niya, “Waray man kami advisory.” So before hadto, waray la talaga kami hadto liwat. Although mayda na hiya news pero para haam waray waray man la. (Nika, Pos. 7-8)*

[Translation: Before, I asked our [Barangay] Captain, “What should we do?” He said, “We did not receive an advisory.” So, we did not think much about it before. Although it was already in the news, we did not think much about it.]

When the Barangay Chairman told them “*Waray man kami advisory*” [Translation: “We did not receive an advisory.”], they disregarded putting effort into preparing because it appeared to them that since the local authorities were not provided with instructions, this typhoon might not be something that they should prepare for; if it was a real risk, they should be told what to do. Therefore, Nika had initially thought that, “*So before hadto, waray la talaga kami hadto liwat*” [Translation: So, before, we disregarded it]. Moreover, Nika emphasized that when the barangay captains did not receive an advisory on the risk, its sense of urgency is diluted, giving an impression that it is not considered a risk.

*On the second meaning: Would issue a warning.* Nika shared her experience with the storm surge warnings they used to receive in the past:

*Ngan nga bagyo talaga hiya but nobody expected the water. Dati pa liwat mayda naman gud hadto mga storm surge warning like waray pa ak hadto asawa. Mayda talaga hadto nagyayakan na like igputos it iyo mga importante na papers...so nagpuputos talaga kami hadto... ig pan saka it iyo mga*

*gamit...pero once ko la liwat adto nanunumduman na nahitabo. Dire liwat ak maaram what change on the policy, kay waray nira igyakan, kay han Yolanda mayda na hadto storm surge threat pero ha ira parte waray ig communicate.*  
(Nika, Pos. 9-10)

[Translation: It was really a super typhoon, but no one expected the water. Before, they would issue storm surge warnings; that was around when I was not married yet. Someone would always advise wrapping the important papers...so we did wrap our things...but it only happened once, as far as I remember. I do not know what changed their policy because they did not say anything because Yolanda had a storm surge threat, and they did not communicate that.]

Nika implied that when it is a risk, everyone should be made aware of what it is and what to do about it. Since there was no warning, then, for her it was not a risk. It was particularly emphasized when there was a storm surge threat and it was not communicated, "*Han Yolanda mayda na hadto storm surge threat pero ha ira parte waray ig communicate*" [Translation: Yolanda had a storm surge threat, and they did not communicate that].

***Risk should be taken seriously even when there are no signs of a disaster***

It has been reiterated that the locale is prone to typhoons. The participants explained how this also affected the way they saw Yolanda. They did not view it as a risk despite knowing that it will hit the area.

People's actions reflect their views when discussing the meaning and shaping of the action. When confronted with a particular risk, they must take it seriously despite

not seeing any signs of impending disaster. On the other hand, when they do not view it as a risk, they become lenient about the situation.

*On the first meaning: Very different from the other typhoons experienced. Van shared his encounter as a rescuer during their pre-emptive evacuation efforts.*

*Way back eight years ago as far as I remember, Monday we were informed about super typhoon, han Tuesday nag start na liwat kami hin evacuation kami nira sir [Carl] and other people han Tacloban City rescue we help at the pre-emptive evacuation. At that time an evacuation area nakadto ha Astrodome ngan iba na mga school. That time liwat since waray pa kita maka experience hin super typhoon people [were] hesitant to evacuate. They told us na we are from typhoon city so we can manage. We were telling them [that] this typhoon is very different from the other typhoons that you have experienced. (Van, Pos. 2-3)*

[Translation: Way back eight years ago, as far as I remember, Monday we were informed about the Super Typhoon. On Tuesday, we started the evacuation with Sir [Carl] and the other people from the Tacloban City rescue. At that time, the evacuation area was in Astrodome and other school. We had never experienced a super typhoon at that time, so people were hesitant to evacuate. They told us that we are from a typhoon city, so we can manage. We were telling them (that) this typhoon is very different from the other typhoons that you have experienced.]

Van had explained that people were hesitant to evacuate since the area is prone to typhoons, and referred to the city as a “typhoon city,” which implies that they have acknowledged the risk of living in this area and are aware that typhoons are

accepted. Thus, in this passage, the meaning of risk is that it is different from any other disasters they have experienced.

Some people were not keen on evacuating since typhoons are typical in the area. However, Van gave them a warning about the incoming typhoon. It was highlighted in this narrative that this typhoon is different from other typhoons from the past, thus, even if the city is frequented by typhoons, this one is unlike the others. Therefore, the impending disaster was a risk.

*On the second meaning: No one expected the super typhoon because it was still sunny.* Joy shared about what she thought about the typhoon when she learned about it:

*Actually, (the day) before nagkikita pa kita hadto han Napoles na hearing, tapos masirak pa adto asya dire kami na na expect na super typhoon the next day. Umule ako ha San Jose ngan usual routine namon pag may bagyo nabaha talaga asya nag pinan ligpit liwat kami hin gamit kay ha amon area liwat hamubo man asya naka andam na ak gamit kay maaram man liwat ako na may possibility na mag evacuate kami. (Joy, Pos. 3-5)*

[Translation: Actually, (the day) before, we were watching the Napoles hearing, and it was still sunny, so no one expected a super typhoon the next day. I came home to San Jose and did our usual routine. When there is a typhoon, our area gets flooded, so we started gathering our things and prepared ourselves for the possibility of an evacuation.]

Joy's statement further supports how risk is taken seriously, in contrast with being complacent, as she refers to it in this line, "Kumpiyansa man gihap kay before hito бага maupay paman an panahon dire liwat kami na expect na sugad an outcome

han bagyo” [Translation: We were also confident before (the typhoon); since the weather was fine the day before, we did not expect the outcome to be devastating].

*On the third meaning: Did not take it seriously because the sky was bright and sunny.* On the discussion of the view of risk as a matter that should be taken seriously, Jake talked about how the typhoon was underestimated:

*Everybody underestimated Yolanda bisan kami na adi ha media. Three days before I was at (the mall), but the super typhoon was already there, and it (is) really going to hit Eastern Visayas, and everybody (was) saying na “it (is) going to be really bad...” “It (is) a super typhoon...” Everybody keeps praying na magluya hiya or lumihis. Pero we treated Yolanda like any other super typhoon, being a typhoon-stricken province. Nobody took it seriously kay grabe ka adlaw, and I remember eerie hiya pero clear sky. (Jake, Pos. 4-5)*

[Translation: Everyone underestimated Yolanda, even us in the media. Three days before, I was at the mall, but the super typhoon was already there, and it (is) really going to hit Eastern Visayas, and everybody (was) saying that “it (is) going to be really bad...” “It (is) a super typhoon...” Everybody keeps praying that it would weaken or change in direction. But, we treated Yolanda like any other super typhoon, being a typhoon-stricken province. Nobody took it seriously because it was bright and sunny, and I remember it was eerie, but the sky was clear.]

Jake’s view echoed those typhoons are typical, thus watering down how risky the event is. Jake said, “Everybody keeps praying na magluya hiya or lumihis. Pero we treated Yolanda like any other super typhoon, being a typhoon-stricken province”

[Translation: We treated Yolanda like any other super typhoon, being a typhoon-

stricken province]. Jake had mentioned that Yolanda was not taken seriously, “Nobody took it seriously kay grabe ka adlaw” [Translation: Nobody took it seriously because it was bright and sunny] and it was treated as any other super typhoon. These passages support the meaning that risk should be taken seriously.

The meaning revealed in this subsection entails that when it is a risk, it is taken seriously; thus, when the participants did not see the typhoon as a risk, they were complacent. Moreover, the narratives have also shown an aspect of SI wherein meanings can change over time, and after Yolanda, their view of typhoons has changed.

In general, the discussion on risk as revealed by the thoughts and actions of the narrators shows their understanding of risk. Since communicating risk had become a necessity, the meaning of risk became tied to it being communicated, reiterating the earlier discussion that risk is something that is said or stated. Therefore, when it is not communicated, it is not considered a risk.

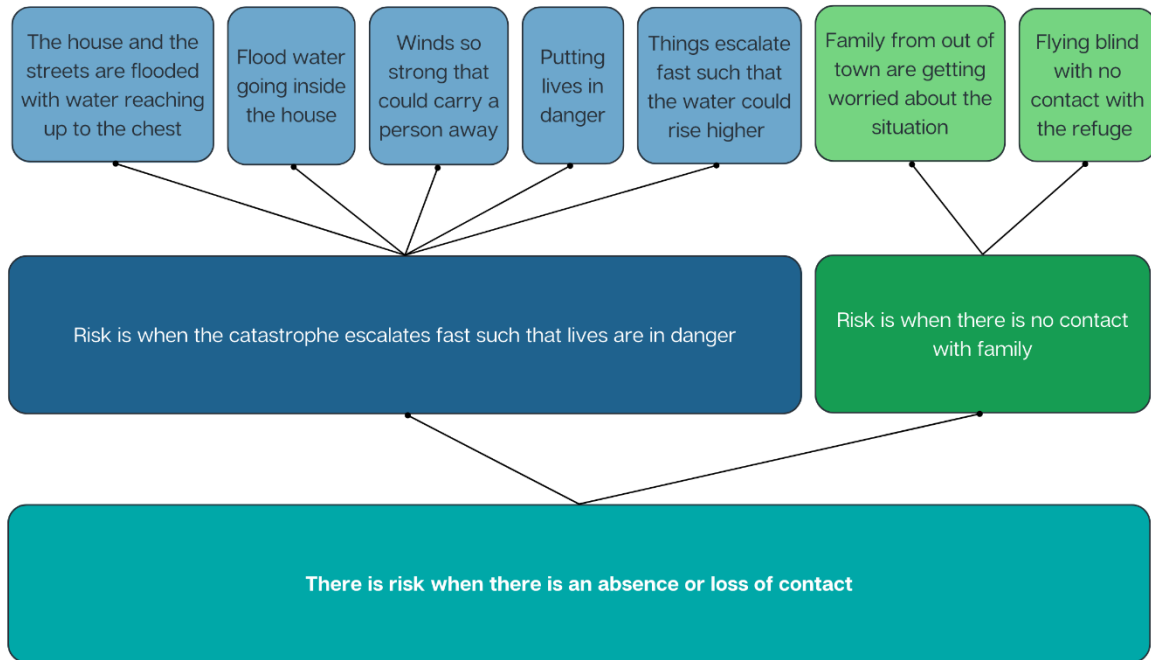
### **There is risk when there is an absence or loss of contact**

This view of risk appeals to the more general view of risk but provides new insight into risk and the social and cultural context of how risk is shaped, as explicated by the participants in their narratives.

The meaning of the main theme implies that risk is mainly about the threat to the safety of one’s life and the lives of their loved ones, the members of their community, and their connections in their social circle. The figure below (Figure 2) shows the codes and sub-themes of this risk view.

**Figure 2**

*Codes, and Sub-themes Constituting "There is risk when there is an absence or loss of contact"*



This main theme pertains to the social disruption aspect of a risk event. For example, the city was disconnected from electricity, water, and telecommunications during Yolanda. This negative result was influential in the narratives because people were initially unable to communicate with their family and friends when they needed their help and guidance.

***Risk is when the catastrophe escalates fast such that lives are in danger***

Another view of risk affiliated with the general view of risk is the safety of one's life. Again, though, this meaning encompasses one's life and the life of their loved ones, and the narrators have shared different situations related to this.

*On the first meaning: The house and the streets are flooded with water reaching up to the chest. Van shares his experience during the time when the water during the storm surge came into their house:*

*Paglusad liwat niya dida na mag start an panic na baha naman daw adi. Amo yakan ko na tara didto kita ha may sala, pag abot namon ha main door hataas na an tubig, pero that time dire ak ginkukulba kay mayda man umabot na order na kon bumaha man dire madako kaduro. Pag abot namon ha main door, an tubig taga didi na (GESTURES HAND ON HIS CHEST AREA). But, at that time diri ako ginkukulba. I was following an order nga nasiring nga diri kita babahaan ngan diri sugad kagrabe an baha kun bumaha man. Pag abre ko han main door dida ako kumita nga nasugad an tubig (GESTURES THE MOVEMENT OF A WAVE SWELLING AND COLLAPSING) ha karsada, nasugad. May wave. An mga nagpakapark na sarakyan tikang didto na eskina, nag paparade na. Gin aanod naman. Gin sara ko an portahan, dida na ako umabat hin kulba. An akon anak sumiring ha akon, "Daddy, mapatay na kita ano?" Siring ko, "Diri, diri..." (Van, Pos. 12-13)*

[Translation: The panic started because, when my wife came down, she saw how flooded our house was. So, I told them we should go to our living room. At that time, I was not nervous because I was told that if there was flooding, it would not be much. When we arrived at our main door, the water was almost up to the chest but at that time I was not worried. I was following an order saying that we will not get flood, but if there was flood, it will not be that much. When I opened our main door, I saw the water on the street. There was a wave. The cars parked on the corner of our street were already parading. They were

getting carried by the current. I closed the door and I got nervous. My son asked, "Daddy, we are going to die, right?" I said, "We will not, no..."]

Right at this moment, Van's family felt that if they did not get out of this situation, they could lose their lives. However, when Van opened the door, he realized it was much worse outside than what was happening inside their home. When Van realized that the situation was completely different from what was initially expected, he felt scared. However, he still assured his son that they will survive when asked if they were going to die. Van's narrative shows how when one's life is in immediate danger, it becomes risk.

*On the second meaning: Flood water going inside the house.* Jake shared how they spent their first few hours during the onslaught of Super Typhoon Yolanda. They lived on the first floor of an apartment complex, and the building was raised. However, the floodwaters were a few centimeters too close to the edge of their gutter.

*Mga 6:30 waray na [telecommunications] signal and then 7 o'clock came everything was white out mga two feet away from the window waray kana makikit'an kay busag nala. From 7 to 9 amo adto it pinaka makuri ky an flood water na tikang gawas halos sumaka na ha sulod hit balay, amon balay is raised tapos amo adto it pinaka hitaas na flood line na ak nakita kay mga few centimeter nala ma-abot na talaga haam balay tapos an window flung open amo pinankalasan kami. We are preparing na dumuroy pa ngane ini evacuate na kita ha igbaw. Nanay was calm. Pero nabasag an window, then (my sister) broke down. Even during that time consider na mag evacuate na ha (dome) because we have no idea what's going on. (Jake, Pos. 10-11)*

[Translation: Around 6:30 am, we lost [telecommunications] signal and then at 7 o'clock everything was white out. You will not see anything beyond two feet away from the window. From 7 a.m. to 9 a.m. that was the most difficult because the flood water from the outside almost went inside the house. Our house was raised and it was the highest flood line I have seen because it was just a few centimeters away from reaching our house, then our window flung open. We were shocked. We are preparing that if it gets worse, we must evacuate upstairs. My mother was calm, but our windows shattered, then my sister broke down. Even during that time, we considered evacuating to the Astrodome because we had no idea what was happening.]

Every scene that unfolded was new to him, nothing like the storms he had lived through in the past. He had never experienced a flood line that high. Thus, he felt that it was a risk since it had never happened to them before.

*On the third meaning: Winds so strong that could carry a person away.* France and her family were also confronted with a life-threatening situation, where she and her family thought that their lives were in danger.

*Tas mayda kami hadto nakikit-an na like, tawo as in nalupad talaga. Nakukuan ba hiya han hangin. Pero bagan unbelievable liwat kasi adto na "Ah talaga makukuan ka hin hangin" sugad kakusog it hangin. Pero nakakita kami hadto hin naka kuan hiya, naka I'm not sure if patay na hiya kay masyado man hiya dire nakiwa pero naka helmet hiya hin motor tas nahilupad hiya ngadto han ay usa na coconut. I'm not sure kun ano an natabo haiya pero nagyakan ako "Gin ano gad niyo, gin lupad hiya" sugad hito. Tas nag iiristorya na ba an amon family. Hi kuya lage nag fi-final message na adto hiya haam tas sige na adto*

*an iya “I love you,” tas waray may nabaton kay dire namon kaya ig accept la anay. I mean, ayaw la anay kita hiton kuya kay waray pa man as in na naagi. Mayda gihap hadto mga motor as in makaradlok talaga kay ada ka ha atop tas nakita ka han nagkakilupad. Kanan dire nala maiha magkakilupad na gihap kita. Mag bug-at baya an nanlulupad. (France, Pos. 20-21)*

[Translation: Then, we saw something like a human who seemed like flying, tossed by the wind. It felt unbelievable like, “So the wind was really strong; it could carry a person away.” But, we really saw, they were wearing something like, I was not sure if they were alive because they were not moving but they wore a helmet for the motorcycle and they were flown away to a coconut. I do not know what happened to this person but I pointed it out to my family and said “That person is flying.” Then, my family started talking. My brother was already giving his final messages to us. He kept telling us “I love you,” and no one responded to him because we were not willing to accept it [death]. I meant, not now, brother, because nothing has happened yet. I saw a motorcycle that flew with the wind. It was scary because we were on our roof and could see [debris] flying. It would not take long until we were the ones getting carried away by the gust. The flying debris were all life-sized things, after all.]

In this passage, France had described the situation, “Pero nakakita kami hadto hin naka kuan hiya, naka I’m not sure if patay na hiya kay masyado man hiya dire nakiwa pero naka helmet hiya hin motor tas nahilupad hiya ngadto han ay usa na coconut” [Translation: But, we really saw, they were wearing something like, I was not sure if they were alive because they were not moving but they wore a helmet for the motorcycle and they were flown away to a coconut]. This made them feel that their

lives were in danger, “Kanan dire nala maiha magkakilupad na gihap kita. Mag bug-at baya an nanlulupad” [Translation: It would not take long until we were the ones getting carried away by the gust. The flying debris were all life-sized things, after all].

*On the fourth meaning: Putting lives in danger.* Another view of risk affiliated with the general view of risk is the safety of one’s life. Again, though, this meaning encompasses one’s life and the life of their loved ones, and the narrators have shared different situations related to this.

*Tuesday came, kumadto ako ha Lourdes...to check on...to check an signal status. This was already Tuesday and it was still flooded. Matikadto kunta ako ha barangay hall to ask for help for multicab ba. Resolve ko talaga, resolve ko talaga ngan I will stay. Ig gagawas namon hira Nanay ngan hi [Hailey]. Pero I will stay. Tas kumadto ako barangay, kumadto ako barangay to ask for help. Bangin mayda kami masakyan tikadto ha terminal. But, on the way to, on the way to the barangay hall. Diba, flooded? (SMILING) Mayda tumabok na tilapia, men! In the middle of the road, mayda tumabok na tilapia. Nag struggle hiya. Tumabok hiya ha akun atubangan. There’s a freakin’ fish in front of me. Crossed the road. And, I was thinking, I need to rethink my position on staying here. I may need to go out. Finally! Amo adto. This is futile. (...) Staying here will put our lives in more danger. Amo na [it] dalagan hit akun huna-huna. This fish is trying to get somewhere where it thinks it will be safe! That (is) why it crossed the freaking road, diba? So, amo adto. (Jake, Pos. 57-58)*

[Translation: Tuesday came, I went to Lourdes to check on the signal status. This was already Tuesday and it was still flooded. I went to the barangay to ask for help for a multicab. I was resolved with staying. We will send my mother

and [Hailey] out but I will stay. So, I went to the barangay to ask for help. Maybe we can get a multicab that can take us to the terminal. But, on the way to the barangay hall, it was flooded right? So, a tilapia crossed the road! In the middle of the road, a tilapia crossed. It struggled to swim. It crossed right in front of me. There is a fish in front of me. Crossed the road. And I was thinking, I need to rethink my position on staying here. I may need to go out. Finally! That was it. This is futile. (...) Staying here will put our lives in more danger. That was what I was thinking. This fish is trying to get somewhere it thinks it will be safe! That (is) why it crossed the freaking road, right? So, that was it.]

The meaning is implied in Jake's narrative, where he realized how unsafe it was because he saw a fish and thought it was trying to go somewhere safe. So, instead of trying to stay and help, he should be trying to keep himself safe first.

*On the fifth meaning: Things escalate fast such that the water could rise higher.* Joy and her family were also in a dangerous situation which she describes in this excerpt:

*Na feel ko liwat na iba hiya ha mga bagyo na na-experience ko. Nagkakalasan liwat kami kay itom ito man liwat an tubig na nasulod tapos asya iton nagtitika dako liwat an tubig pinan kakalasan liwat kami asya nag decide kami na gumawas na, ha gawas liwat in halos lagpas tawo na baha takay dire pa daw kami mag aram man langoy am ginbuhat liwat in humabay nala han kahoy para dire liwat kami malumos ak Papa liwat in kapot an baby hi Mama liwat nakadto may grills nayakan hiya na kadto na daw la kami ha may atop. (Joy, Pos. 9-12)*

[Translation: At that moment, I felt that this typhoon was unlike anything I had experienced. We were surprised because the water was black and it was

sleeping in our house. The water (level) was quickly increasing, so we were getting overwhelmed, so we decided to go out of the house. Outside, the water was already higher than a person, and we all did not know how to swim. We used driftwood as our floater so we would not drown. Papa was carrying the baby, and my mother was holding on to the grills of the gate. She said we should go to the roof of our house.]

*Ak dara liwat hadto na bag kay mga gamit hin bata pero kailangan ko liwat buhian para dire liwat malumos. Burublag liwat kami kay natigdaan man la liwat kami ak iba na umangkon in naka evacuate dayon haam sapit before pa dumako an tubig. Maupay nala mayda kami mga neighbor ngadto na mga lalaki asya bumulig liwat haam kay kakusog liwat han current hi Mama ngan Papa liwat nag storya hadto na time na parang kon dire na daw kayahon bul-iw na daw la paranga tinanggap na liwat nira hadto na time. Ako liwat in nagluluya na hadto tas nagyiyinakan na gihap am neighbor na sumaka na yakan ko, "Ayaw la anay kay hi Mama naiipit pa." Asya nagburublig liwat kami na makuha hi Mama liwat waray na nam gin mind na bisan damu an mga debris importante na masalbar gud hi Mama kay buyag liwat kasi hiya halos tanan na kami nakasaka ha atop tapos hi Mama gin burubligan gihap nam makasaka. (Joy, Pos. 13-14)*

[Translation: I only brought my bag to contain the child's things, but I had to let it go because I might drown. We were caught off guard by how things escalated, so we separated from each other. My nephew was able to evacuate before the waters rose higher. It was a good thing that our male neighbor helped us because the current was so strong. My mother and father had already

discussed that if all else fails, it is okay for us to let them go as they had accepted it. I felt really disheartened and our neighbor kept telling me I should come up. I said, "Not yet, my mother is still stuck." We worked together to get my mother; we did not mind the debris because what was important was that my mother was safe. She is a big woman and she had a hard time getting to the roof so, we all helped her get up there.]

Joy explained that she felt that the typhoon was much different from what she had experienced in the past. In a few moments, they were already floating using driftwood. It was at this moment that they realized that this was a different typhoon because everything escalated quickly.

In the simplest sense, when the predictable becomes unpredictable, it is a risk for the participants. Their narratives have shown that, when an event they have consistently encountered comes up with an outcome much different than what they had anticipated.

The meanings discussed in this subsection show that sometimes when we are constantly exposed to a particular risk, such as a typhoon, our approach to this risk becomes different because we are aware of what this entails. However, since experiences shape meanings, the unusual and unprecedented events during Yolanda shaped their sense of risk for a typhoon because they had never experienced a typhoon as strong as before.

### ***Risk is when there is no contact with family***

This insight into risk shows how risk is not simply about lives, assets, and livelihood; it is also about our connection to other people and our support systems that we can reach out to when we are in need. When we lose this connection, we are left helpless and hopeless, especially in dire situations such as after a typhoon.

*On the first meaning: Family from out of town are getting worried about the situation.* Van talked about what he thought when he was able to make contact with his family.

*Tapos hadto liwat na time mayda naman way of communication ha may City Hall usa man liwat ako na natagan hin privilege pag gamit para maka reach out haak iba na family para dire na liwat hira mag worry haam. Nag post liwat ak hadto ha (social media). Diri ak nag eexpect hin monetary ngan goods, an akon la nga diri gud hira mag worry. Mayda kasi adto time nga nagkikinuan hira nga kumanhi hira. Siring ko, "Ayaw na kamo pag kinadi. Relax la kamo dida." Amo la adto nak goal, nga makareach out la ha ak mga pamilya na okay la kami safe kami para dire na liwat hira kumadi na we can manage... Kay magiging added kamo nga burden hin city in terms of food, kuan... (Van, Pos. 32-33)*

[Translation: Then, we also had a way of communicating at the City Hall. I was one of the privileged who could reach out to my family so that they would not worry. I also posted on social media (site). There was a time that they kept insisting to come here. I told them, "Do not come here, just relax there." That was my goal, for my family to let them know that we are okay and safe, so they would not come here since we can already manage... Because they would just be an added burden to the city in terms of food and other needs...]

*On the second meaning: Flying blind with no contact with the refuge.* From the participants' narratives, I also saw that when we are disconnected from our support system, from people we can ask for help and guidance, it is also a form of risk. Jake shares his experience in this narrative:

*Nagpapanic liwat kami waray contact talaga from the outside, hasta hadto na time. And, we were flying blind. First thing hadto, para mabaro it mga tawo nga okay kami, and then, to ask help kun ano't amon bubuhaton. An nearest namon na refuge is in Calbayog City. Diba? So, amo la talaga adto it akun reason, pahibaro la nga okay kami, tapos to notify everybody nga we need help pero diri pa kami maaram kun ano pa tam bubuhaton. Maybe you can do something to help us kun aanhon... pero we were basically okay. (Jake, Pos. 49-50)*

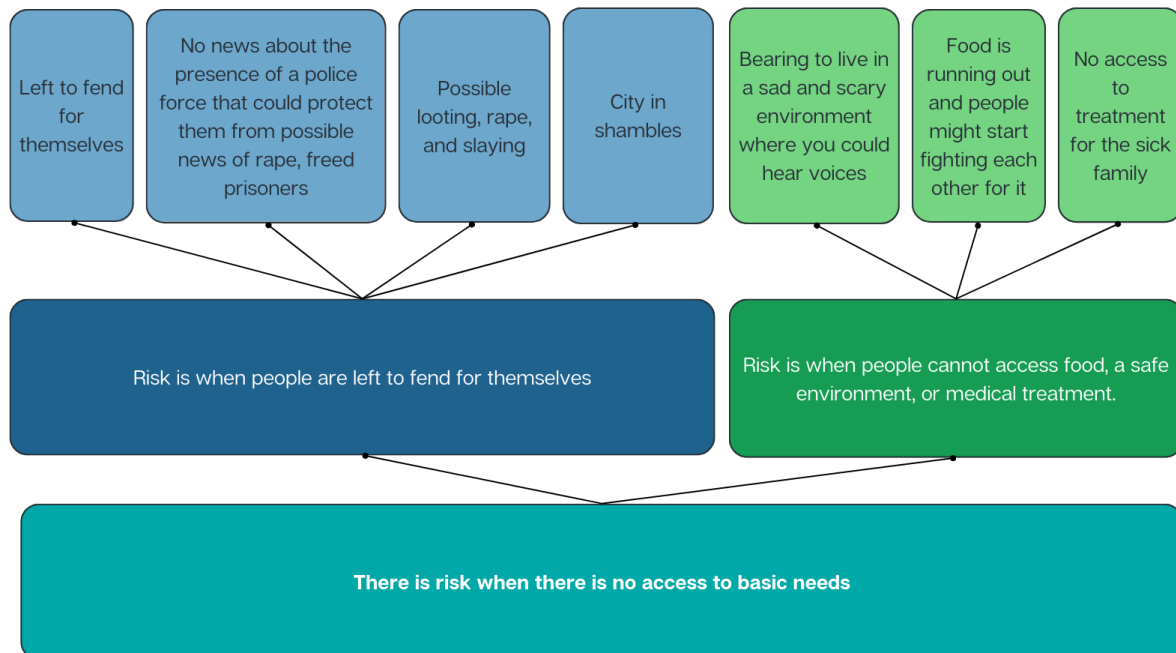
[Translation: We were panicking since we had no contact from the outside until then. We were flying blind. What was I thinking? First thing, so that people would know that we are okay, and then, to ask for help on what we should do. Our nearest refuge is Calbayog City, remember? So, that was my reason. Inform them that we are okay, then notify everybody that we need help, but we also do not know what we should do. So, maybe you can do something to help us on what we should do, but we were okay.]

### **There is risk when there is no access to basic needs**

One of the meanings closest to the general description of an adverse outcome in risk is losing one's access to their needs. For example, after the typhoon, some of the narrators expressed that they did not have food, medication, and a safe environment because they got washed up by the storm surge. The figure below (Figure 3) shows the codes and sub-themes of this risk view.

**Figure 3**

*Codes, and Sub-themes Constituting "There is Risk when There is No Access to Basic Needs"*



***Risk is when people are left to fend for themselves***

The narratives have shown that people felt unsafe because of the environment. The anarchy in the city, the news spread through the word of mouth, and the absence of security forces became forms of risk to the narrators.

*On the first meaning: Left to fend for themselves.* Van shared what he considered his worst experience as he dealt with the aftermath of Super Typhoon Yolanda:

*Pero mayda ak hadto worst na experience ngadto may City Hall han mga eight o'clock han evening kumadto an taga (jail) na magkaeskapo na daw an mga priso kay pinangugutom na liwat kasi. Asya adto nagyakan hira na kamo na bahala hit iyo kalugaringon. Dida la liwat ak hadto nabaraka. Asya hadto na*

*time kun mag entrance exit ka kailangan mo gud magsarit para kon hino man an sumulod na dire taga dida sisitahon ka gud. (Van, Pos. 42-43)*

[Translation: One of my worst experiences at the City Hall was around eight o'clock in the evening. Someone (from the jail) visited and said that they were letting the prisoners out because they (prisoners) are hungry. They told us that we were left to fend for ourselves. That terrified me. We agreed that if someone entered or exited (the building), we had to ask permission so that we could call out any stranger who might enter.]

Van described this moment as his worst experience because they were told that they should take care of protecting themselves since the prisoners from the local jail were being freed. During this time, he emphasized how that terrified him. Thus, right at this moment, the risk for Van was when they had to fend for themselves.

*On the second meaning: No news about the presence of police force that could protect them from possible news of rape, freed prisoners.* France described the moment their community started organizing to protect their homes and the neighborhood in this excerpt:

*Pag uli namon, amo adto nakabati na kami from mga tawo ha tulay na kuan mayda kuno stories of rape ha V&G and mayda kuno mga nakagawas na priso, basta damo an storya hadto. So, medyo nagkukuan na an mga tawo ada na an fear kumabaga mabubuhi pa ba kita hine. Kay dire kasi kami nabati hin news na may gin hihimo an kuan an officials that time. So ngadto ha amon (...) ha Pleasantville nag create hira ngadto hin mga guards because of that rumor na mayda mga nan-ngangawat, nanmamatay, nanra-rape. So mayda hira didto bagan guards every night. And then, nagsaragbot adto an amon community na*

*mayda ngani na if beyond, nag set hira hin amon own curfew 7 (p.m.) ada adto. Nag set hira hin curfew nga if meada nakikit-an na tawo beyond 7 (p.m.) na dire taga dinhi, pusila. Amo an ira yakan, not me. Pero amo adto an ira bagat rule. Kay syempre nagpapanic man kami kay waray kami maaram kay waray news kun may pulis pa ba sugad hiton. So, kami nag kuan nala kami didto nagkanya-kanya kaming something. And so, every household mayda hadto guards. Kami ha balay, kami mag burogto tutulo. An amon gin papakaturug hi Nanay, (Eli) ngan hi Tatay adto hira ha may sulod. Tapos kami na mag burogto adto kami ha atop tas may mga flashlight kami hadto na mga solar. So, an am mga flashlight nagbabantay talaga kami palibot libot sugad hito ha entire area namon. Tas kun mayda kami nakikit-an magkukuan kami maguliat or ano basta amo adto an saragbot ha Pleasantville. (France, Pos. 36-37)*

[Translation: When we got home, that was it, we heard from the people who live near the bridge that there were stories of rape in V&G, and there were prisoners that were freed; there were so many stories at that time. So, there was fear in people, like are we going to survive this time, because we did not hear any news about what the officials were doing that time. So, in Pleasantville, they assigned guards because of the rumors that there were stealing, killing, and rape. So, there were guards every night. And then, we had an agreement in our community that if beyond, we set up our own curfew at 7 (p.m.) I think. They set up a curfew that if we saw someone beyond 7 (p.m.) who did not belong to the neighborhood, they would shoot. That was what they said, not me. But that was their rule. Of course, it was because we were panicked because we did not have any news if there were police personnel or something like that. So, each of us had something to do. Thus,

every household had guards. In our house it was the three of us, myself and my brothers. We let my mother, (Eli), and tatay sleep there inside. We three were on our roof, and we had solar flashlights. So, we had our flashlights, and we were guarding; we would go around our area, something like that. Whenever we see something, we shout or do something because that was our agreement in Pleasantville.]

France explained that while they heard of the news about rape and freed prisoners, they did not hear any news about any action from the local police force. Thus, they decided to do something to protect their homes.

*On the third meaning: Possible looting, rape, and slaying.* Jake describes a similar scenario when they heard the news about looting, rape, and slaying:

*Han Sunday amo adto an first time nga nag barikada han mga streets. Like kada street ha V&G mayda barikada ngan mayda bonfire. Tas we keep hearing, from the days after nga diri la ngayan V and G an nag sugad. Mayda na kasi kuno panlooting, mayda na kasi kuno pan rape. Mayda na mga panmatay kuno. Tapos amo adto...amo adto an first Sunday evening namon didto, nagkagawas nga, "Hala! it amon neighbor ngayan mayda ngayan pusil." Mayda adto bonfire, tapos ginsesecure namon. "Ikaw, taga diin ka? Diri ka taga didi? Bawal ka sumulod." So, amo adto. Rellebo kami. So, hasta...hasta alas dose mata ako. Nag gu-guard ako dida. Rellebo kami. (Jake, Pos. 38-39)*

[Translation: On Sunday, that was the first time we barricaded the streets. Like every street in V&G had a barricade and bonfire. We keep hearing, from the days after that other communities, aside from V and G, did it too. It was said that there was looting and rape. There were talks of slaying. That was our first

Sunday evening (since Yolanda). It was then we found out that “Oh! Our neighbor owned a gun.” So there was a bonfire, and we were securing it. “Where do you live? Are you not from around here? You cannot enter.” So, that was it. We had our own shifts. So, until midnight I was up. I was the guard. That was our shift.]

Jake’s neighborhood decided to barricade their streets to protect themselves from the possible dangerous situations that they heard about from others.

*On the fourth meaning: City in shambles.* Risk as in the city falling apart shows a unique facet to risk that further supports how risk is about how a place makes us feel. In Nika’s case, she felt unsafe when she learned that the city was in shambles.

*Hi (Jade), nagbibibi-bike hira permi man hira napakadto ha downtown asya liwat ira nakikita na magulo. (...) Tapos pagkakagabi liwat dire kami nakakatorog hin tuhay kay nagbabantay ako, tas nag iisip ako hadto (...) Nakaturong man ako didto kan Lola kwarto. Mayda man jalousie (...) Kun may masulod tas may manbubuog hin jalousie. Ano tak una nga kakaptan nganhi? (...) Nagiisip ako nga kun may magbuong han jalousie, an akon weapon, jalousie gihap. Nagiisip na ako hadto. (Nika, Pos. 49-50)*

[Translation: Jade biked to the downtown area, and they saw that it was in shambles. Then, we had a hard time getting a good sleep every night because I kept my guard up and thought. (...) I was sleeping in my grandmother’s bedroom. There was jalousie (glass windows). If someone breaks in by breaking the windows, what am I supposed to use (as weapon) here? (...) I thought if someone broke in by breaking the glass windows, I would also use the glass as a weapon. I thought.]

The participants had their predictions about its outcome since they experienced many typhoons. However, Yolanda became a risk when they realized that the aftermath was beyond what they had initially considered and that it was nothing like what they had experienced. After the typhoon, the participants were exposed to other risks, such as chaos in the city or losing touch with their families and other support systems.

***Risk is when people cannot access food, a safe environment, or medical treatment***

One of the meanings closest to the general description of an adverse outcome in risk is losing one's access to their needs. For example, after the typhoon, some of the narrators expressed that their homes were destroyed by the storm surge. Meanwhile, some struggled to look for food, and some were forced to leave town because there was no accessible medical treatment for their family members.

*On the first meaning: Bearing to live in a sad and scary environment where you could hear voices.* Joy shared the instance she decided it was best to leave their home for a safer place in this passage:

*Tapos nagkita liwat kami ni (Alfie) kay tikang naman liwat hiya ha balay ngan nabaro hiya na kumadi ak San Jose (school) asya sumugod liwat hiya. Nagkita kami ha may dalan tas nakatuok liwat hiya pagkita namon. Nagyakan gihap hiya na kon waray daw kami maukyan pwedi man daw kami ngadto ha ira asya gihap yakan han iya parents.(...) An ak ginbabarakan la kay hadto na time dire maaram ak parents na may uyab ak. Dire ak maaram kon paano ko liwat ig explain ha ira na sugad hine mayda kami mauukyan pero ngadto hit ak uyab asya parang nag decline ak anay. (...) Na realize ko na kailangan namon makabalhin kay ngadto am gin uukyan malamok liwat tapos pagkakagabe*

*mayda ka nababatian na mga boses tapos it im environment gihap parang sad na scary liwat asya kailangan gud nam makabalhin kay dire liwat nam kaya it sugad. Gin explain ko nala ha ira na sugad na may babalhinan kami ngadto ha place tak uyab asya sumige man hira ngan nakabalhin kami ha sampaguita. (Joy, Pos. 21-23)*

[Translation: I met Alfie because he went to our house because he came to our house and he learned that I went to San Jose (school), so he went there. We met along the street and he teared up when he saw me. He told me that if we need a place to stay we could stay with him. His parents said the same too. I was worried because my parents did not know I was in a relationship. I also did not know how to explain to them that I had found a place where we could stay, but it was at my boyfriend's house. (...) I realized that we had to move out and find another place to stay because there were so many mosquitos, and at night, we heard voices. The environment was like sad but scary. That was why we had to be elsewhere because we could not bear to live like this.]

Joy explained that her trigger to move was because their environment was sad and scary, and they should not endure living in an environment such as that.

*On the second meaning: Food is running out and people might start fighting each other for it.* Nika shares her insight on what she felt in the aftermath of Super Typhoon Yolanda:

*Nga ngadto na ha...out of town na kita, ay nakita pag inukoy ha Tacloban kay waray na talaga. Diri ka pa natuod, hira (Jade) ngan iya mga bugto, naglilibot libot, masamok na talaga hin duro. Mauubos na tat pagkaon, ayaw na kita pakig aragaw. Hi ako man iton nagyiyinakan (...) (Nika, Pos. 51-52)*

[Translation: I told them that we should go out of town and you have to believe Jade and his siblings. They have been going around. It is a total mess. Food is running out; we should not fight each other for it (food). I kept saying.]

Nika had realized that when food starts to run out people could start fighting each other for it. Moreover, she heard from her husband that the city has become chaotic, and had also considered that their food is running out as well. She no longer felt safe in this situation. Thus, it was a risk for her.

*On the third meaning: No access to treatment for the sick family.* On the last meaning in this sub-section, Joy described the importance of being able to access medication for their father:

*Everyday liwat hadto hira Mama pagpila ha airport para makalakat liwat, ako naman in napakadto ha City Hall para makatawag kay ak Papa liwat gusto ko hadto na makalakat kay kailangan gud niya hin medication hi Mama baga na dire pa kay gusto niya na malimpyohan anay am balay. (...) An akon Papa liwat han nakadto hira Manila ngadto man hira nag landing ha Villamor Airbase gintapo liwat hira. Ak ate kay hadto na time han nabaro an mga tawo na sugad an kamutang han Tacloban na parang tanan na tawo gusto kumade, sugad gihap ak ate every time hiya napila ha Villamor airbase may dara na pagkaon ngan tubig ngan kon anu liwat iya madadara kay gusto gud niya kumadi liwat. Kay hito na time nag iha man gud an pag abot han relief goods tapos sugad liwat an nakikita nira ha news. Tapos kon mayda hira mga kilala na tikanhe ginapapadara nala nira gin hahatag la an address bali sugad hito an natatabo hadto na time. Kailangan man gud niya lalo na may sakit pa hiya mag sakriposyo ka gud la. (Joy, Pos. 29-30)*

[Translation: Every day, my mother queued at the airport so that we could leave, and I would go to the City Hall to call because my father had to leave since he needed his medication. My mother, on the other hand, wanted to get the house cleaned up first. My father went to Manila at that time; they landed at the Villamor Airbase. My sister fetched them. My sister at that time learned about the condition in Tacloban City, that everyone wanted to come here, so that was what she also tried to do. Every day she would queue at the Villamor Airbase bringing food and water, and anything she could carry because she really wanted to come here. At that time, the relief goods took time to arrive and they saw things on the news. If they knew someone who was coming here, they would ask that person to bring things [for their family], and they would also give the address. That was what was happening at that time. He (father) needed it (medical treatment) since he was sick. It was a necessary sacrifice.]

This narrative shows two things they needed, food and treatment for their father, which Joy's sister had been trying to help them with by waiting at the airport every day to either wait for their father to arrive or be able to go to Tacloban to bring them food supplies. While it meant that their family would be separated from each other, she felt that it was a necessary sacrifice.

Conventional views on risk, such as losing access to their needs and the safety of one's life, provided a nuanced perspective on how one's exposure to the risk is still present after the typhoon and how risk is not limited to the self, but is extended to the family as well. This discussion reveals that people are still facing risks during the crisis. These instances are examples where risk communication and crisis communication co-exist during an emergency. For example, when people face a super typhoon like

Yolanda, the real battle starts after the typhoon because while we survived the storm, we still had to advocate for ourselves to stay alive.

### **Communicative Acts Defined by the Views on Risk**

This discussion in this section begins with an overview of the literature to further ground the study's findings and its connection to the current established practices and knowledge on the topic; then, the discussion on the meaning of the main themes and an introduction of the sub-themes follows.

The second question of this study is about the communicative actions that are shaped by the views of risk. Many references reflect communication from an institution addressed to the public. Since the study is about micro-interactions, the risk communication as discussed above is different from what is revealed in the study. Although, they are still related as the findings of the study show the communicative practices or actions done when an individual sees risk.

Moving forward, in SI, the meaning defines the action. Therefore, these different communication practices can be referred to as action. Thus, these practices are connected to the meanings expounded in the prior section of this chapter. Next, the connections to the views of risk will be explored and explained. The table below shows the codes, sub-themes, and themes that will be discussed in this section. A brief overview of the sub-themes will follow, then, a more profound discussion to highlight the narratives that exhibited the meaning of these sub-themes.

#### **Table 9**

*Codes, Sub-themes, and Themes Under the Communicative Acts Defined by the View of Risk*

Codes	Sub-themes	Themes
Thinking about what to do		Thinking about the preparation for disaster

Wrapping things to prepare for the storm surge	Thinking about what should be done to prepare for the disaster	
One should not hesitate to evacuate	Not treating it like any other disaster	
Going beyond the usual routine and evacuate		
Should not treat it like any other super typhoon		
Assuring the family that they will not die	Talking to the family about the situation, asking for help, and evacuating somewhere safe	Talking about safety with loved ones
Evacuating when things get worse		
Talking to the family about the situation		
Asking for help to go somewhere safe		
Working together with the neighbors to rescue family		
Posting on social media to assure them of the family's safety	Informing relatives to ensure them that the family is safe and that help is needed	
Informing relatives that they are safe		
Notifying relatives that help is needed		
Asking permission to enter and exit so that one could easily call out strangers	Keeping one's guard up and having an agreement with the neighbors to protect the community	Treating safety as a communal responsibility
Having an agreement about the curfew and watching their own homes and the neighborhood		
Neighbors helping in securing the street from those who do not live around there		
Keeping one's guard up and looking for a weapon to protect one's self		
Moving out and accepting the offer of a place to stay	Talking to the family and finding ways to move out or leave and go out of town	
Talking to family about leaving town		

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Looking for ways to  
leave for a place where  
one could get the  
needed medication

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The first main theme, *Thinking about the preparation for disaster*, relates to the earlier discussions on risk as an advisory. This main theme implies that people, including local leaders, need information and guidance from higher authorities to consider or think about how they can navigate the event. Moreover, people also need this information to comprehend and plan how to navigate through the next few days. This communication practice also implies that people talk to each other about the situation, and these conversations will shape how they understand risks. The risk view shapes a sense of adequacy towards preparations, which manifests through conversations with family members or neighbors. Thus, these discussions shape how the family or community prepares for typhoons. These interactions will also shape whether they will engage others in the preparations.

The sub-theme “Thinking about what should be done to prepare for the disaster” accentuates that those affected expect the local leaders, such as the village (barangay) leaders, to know and be able to explain the situation and what they can do about it. The local authority can guide their community towards preparation. Additionally, it also emphasizes the information generally relayed to the public. This sub-theme highlights that the specific steps that people should undertake need to be discussed so that they will know how to prepare for the situation.

The sub-theme “Not treating it like any other disaster” shows how people prepare for a disaster. Apart from this, people talk to each other about what will happen. These conversations include information about the typhoon and preparation plans. In addition, such coordination happens between the individual and their

immediate social reach (i.e., household, neighbors, and even onsite emergency responders). It also covers the interaction that encourages people to prepare. These interactions rely on how well they understand the risks they are confronted with and the common grounds of such. The narrative also implies that when people view an event or a disaster as a risk, there are preparations necessary and that there is an action on their part to do something and minimize their risk exposure (e.g., evacuating to a safer place, or stocking the pantry). Also, people plan based on what they expect about risk situations. This anticipation will guide them on how they will or will not prepare for the situation.

The next main theme, *Talking about safety with loved ones*, focuses on conversations and interactions within a household or a community.

The sub-theme “Talking to the family about the situation, asking for help, and evacuating somewhere safe” elucidates that beyond help, people also need advice from people they trust, such as loved ones, during dire situations. Thus, they must be able to communicate with them wherever their loved ones are.

On the other hand, the sub-theme “Informing relatives to ensure them that the family is safe and that help is needed” connects to the importance of having a medium to communicate with loved ones. After the Super Typhoon, there was no electricity, water, or telecommunications signal, so people felt disconnected from the “outside” world and were eager to reach out to their families.

The main theme of *Treating safety as a communal responsibility* and the narratives highlighted under this showed that the city was unsafe because they heard of rape, stealing, and looting, and there was no clear source of food and medicine. Many individuals and families needed support. Narrators shared about extending and receiving help through protecting the neighborhood. Meanwhile, since there was a

persistent issue in the safeness and basic needs access in the city, people were keener on leaving town to have some sense of stability and access to their immediate essentials.

The sub-theme “Keeping one’s guard up and having an agreement with the neighbors to protect the community” shows that in large-scale crises, like the aftermath of Yolanda, people rely on one another—the people around them, and the people they can see—so they could protect themselves and the community and ensure that everyone could survive for the succeeding days.

Finally, the sub-theme “Talking to the family and finding ways to move out or leave and go out of town” relates to conventional risk views. However, this leans more on risk communication during an emergency, where risk and crisis communication co-exist. Victims rely on the people they know, their families, and their community, or they meet new people to ask for help and guidance. It also explains how people act and interact to access their needs, such as food, safe shelter, or medical treatment.

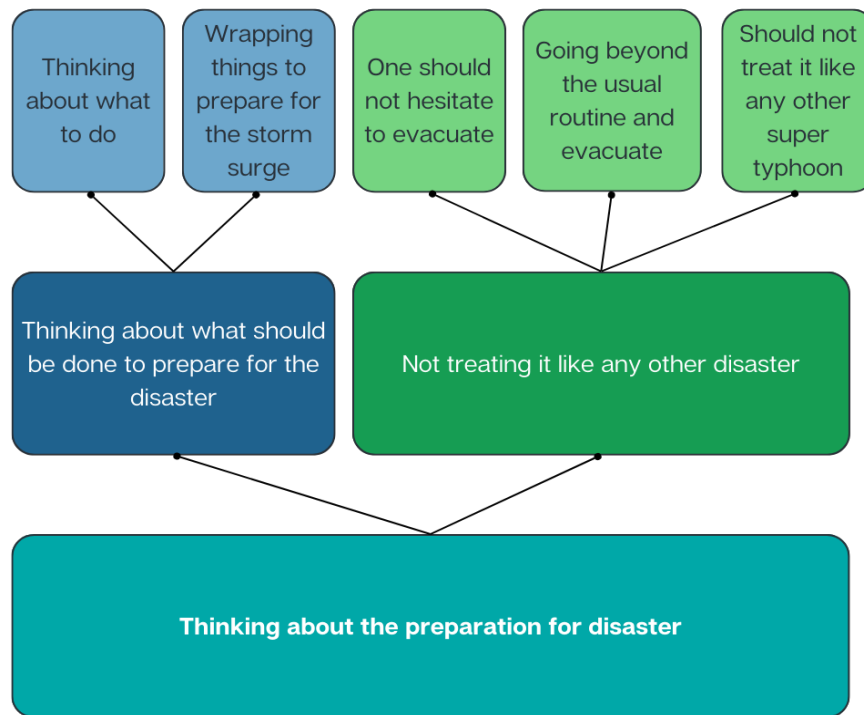
The subsections below further explore the themes and sub-themes as they reveal themselves in the narratives, how these communicative acts correspond to the risk view, and what this teaches us about risk.

### **Thinking about the preparation for disaster**

When people see a particular situation or disaster as risk, they think about the things that they must do, in context to the information and the current situation (i.e. How does one prepare when one lives in a flood-prone area as opposed to an area that is not frequented by floods?). This thought process orients what they will do and how they interact with others. The codes and sub-themes that will be discussed to further expound this main theme is shown in the figure below (Figure 4).

**Figure 4**

*Codes, and Sub-themes Constituting “Thinking About the Preparation for Disaster”*



Large-scale coordination is done in risk situations to prepare institutions and organizations. But conversely, the narratives have also shown that individuals communicate their preparations to the community—family, and neighbors—to ensure that they feel prepared for what is to come.

On the other hand, when there is risk, people talk to each other about the situation. Through these conversations, risk views interact. When we put into account group versus individual thinking, group thinking accommodates how one’s action could affect the group. This helps shape a sense of adequacy towards preparations. Thus, these discussions determine how the family or community prepares for typhoons.

***Thinking about what should be done to prepare for the disaster***

It was discussed earlier that risk is viewed as something that should be communicated, which binds risk and risk communication. When the risk is viewed as

such, it implies that the people in position should be informed. Within this, people also expect the local leaders to know what to do and how to prepare.

When people receive an advisory about an incoming disaster, this view shapes the communicative act on thinking about the preparations they must do to ensure their safety. This is shown in the meanings discussed below.

*On the first meaning: Thinking about what to do.* It was mentioned earlier that when people receive information about a particular disaster, and they see it as risk, they think about what they should do. This mainly shows in Nika's narrative:

*Before, nag yakan ako kan Kapitan, "Mag aano kita?" Siring niya, "Waray man kami advisory." So before hadto, waray la talaga kami hadto liwat. Although mayda na hiya news pero para haam waray waray man la. (Nika, Pos. 7-8)*

[Translation: Before, I asked our [Barangay] Captain, "What should we do?" He said, "We did not receive an advisory." So, we did not think much about it before. Although it was already in the news, we did not think much about it.]

Nika showed how she expected some guidance from the Barangay Captain, thereby asking, "*Mag aano kita?*" [Translation: What should we do?]. So, when the Barangay Captain replied, no advisories were handed down to them. Since there was no communication, the preparations were unnecessary. Thus, Nika did not think much about it. However, had she viewed it as risk, she would have thought more about it as opposed to how she acted in this excerpt.

*On the second meaning: Wrapping things to prepare for the storm surge.* Apart from thinking about the preparations, people act on the instructions said in a particular warning. The narrative shows what Nika expected, that in the past, Nika had received a warning about a storm surge and they did the instructions in the warning.

However, Nika did not receive a warning about the possibility of the storm surge in the area. This implies that had she received a warning about a risk, then, they would have been guided in preparing for the storm surge, such as wrapping their important documents and other things:

*Ngan nga bagyo talaga hiya but nobody expected the water. Dati pa liwat mayda naman gud hadto mga storm surge warning like waray pa ak hadto asawa. Mayda talaga hadto nagyayakan na like igputos it iyo mga importante na papers...so nagpuputos talaga kami hadto... ig pan saka it iyo mga gamit...pero once ko la liwat adto nanunumduman na nahitabo. Dire liwat ak maaram what change on the policy, kay waray nira igyakan, kay han Yolanda mayda na hadto storm surge threat pero ha ira parte waray ig communicate.  
(Nika, Pos. 9-10)*

[Translation: It was really a super typhoon, but no one expected the water. Before, they would issue storm surge warnings; that was around when I was not married yet. Someone would always advise wrapping the important papers...so we did wrap our things...but it only happened once, as far as I remember. I do not know what changed their policy because they did not say anything because Yolanda had a storm surge threat, and they did not communicate that.]

The excerpt shows how when risk is viewed as something that should be communicated, it entails that people should be guided on how to tackle the risk situation. Such a view of risk shows a more conventional side of communicative acts related to risk.

However, these excerpts also reveal that in a situation such as a super typhoon, which imposes multiple risks (e.g., storm surge, flooding, or strong winds), the narrator showed that they needed information on how to tackle the different possibilities that weather events could bring. Moreover, the communicative acts manifest how one interacts with the information they receive, or in these excerpts, did not receive. Thus, it could be gleaned that they would have acted (thought about the preparation or wrapped their things) if the information about the disaster had been given to them.

### ***Not treating it like any other disaster***

Typhoons frequent the locale of the study, Tacloban City. Thus, some of the narratives expressed this as a consideration when they prepared for Super Typhoon Yolanda. This was an essential element on their risk view.

However, for instance, when confronted with an incoming typhoon and people consider it a risk, it is treated as dissimilarly as other disasters they had experienced in the past. In other words, when an incoming typhoon is a risk, they act uniquely, in contrast to doing the same preparations as what they did in the past.

*On the first meaning: One should not hesitate to evacuate.* One of the important steps in disaster mitigation is evacuation. However, since typhoons frequented the area, it is not unusual for some to feel that evacuation is unnecessary. There were instances when some have evacuated only for the typhoon to have changed course or weaken. With this kind of thinking, it is easy to dismiss typhoons as risk, and skip on the idea of evacuating.

However, when one views a particular event as a risk, they will not hesitate to evacuate. This is apparent in Van's narrative, where he negotiated with the locals to convince them to go along with the evacuation:

*Way back eight years ago as far as I remember, Monday we were informed about super typhoon, han Tuesday nag start na liwat kami hin evacuation kami nira sir [Carl] and other people han Tacloban City rescue we help at the pre-emptive evacuation. At that time an evacuation area nakadto ha Astrodome ngan iba na mga school. That time liwat since waray pa kita maka experience hin super typhoon people [were] hesitant to evacuate. They told us na we are from typhoon city so we can manage. We were telling them [that] this typhoon is very different from the other typhoons that you have experienced. (Van, Pos. 2-3)*

[Translation: Way back eight years ago, as far as I remember, Monday we were informed about the Super Typhoon. On Tuesday, we started the evacuation with Sir [Carl] and the other people from the Tacloban City rescue. At that time, the evacuation area was in Astrodome and other school. We had never experienced a super typhoon at that time, so people were hesitant to evacuate. They told us that we are from a typhoon city, so we can manage. We were telling them (that) this typhoon is very different from the other typhoons that you have experienced.]

People were hesitant because of their sense of self-sufficiency. So, Van and his colleagues had to convince the locals about how different Yolanda was from the other typhoons. Since it was different from those that came before, they should not hesitate to evacuate

There is an effort to reel people in and engage people to do what is best to keep them safe. At a micro level, when there is a dialogue, I believe this is also an opportunity to help the locals understand what they might not have grasped initially.

As Van had shown in his narrative, a dialogue opens micro negotiations in the risk conversation, which could help, especially in evacuating people in dangerous areas.

*On the second meaning: Going beyond the usual routine and evacuating.* Preparations in disaster can be frequent for others, especially if they are in a flood-prone area. Some have their routine on how they go about their preparation when floods are expected.

However, Super Typhoon Yolanda was unlike others. It turned out different from what was anticipated; thus, it was a risk. This entails that the preparation should have also been different from the usual routine, as opposed to going about the usual since the super typhoon was unexpected anyway. This is apparent in Joy's narrative below:

*Actually, (the day) before nagkikita pa kita hadto han Napoles na hearing, tapos masirak pa adto asya dire kami na na expect na super typhoon the next day. Umule ako ha San Jose ngan usual routine namon pag may bagyo nabaha talaga asya nag pinan ligpit liwat kami hin gamit kay ha amon area liwat hamubo man asya naka andam na ak gamit kay maaram man liwat ako na may possibility na mag evacuate kami. (Joy, Pos. 3-5)*

[Translation: Actually, (the day) before, we were watching the Napoles hearing, and it was still sunny, so no one anticipated a super typhoon the next day. I came home to San Jose and did our usual routine. When there is a typhoon, our area gets flooded, so we started gathering our things and prepared ourselves for the possibility of an evacuation.]

*On the third meaning: Should not treat it like any other super typhoon.* It was mentioned earlier that typhoons frequented the city; thus, people had their preconceived notions about what might happen during landfall (i.e., it could weaken

or change in direction). Due to this, for some, the super typhoon was underestimated, and therefore not a risk. Since it was not a risk, it was treated like any other disaster, whose outcome was not as bad (e.g., fallen trees, blackouts). This is shown in Jake's narrative:

*Everybody underestimated Yolanda bisan kami na adi ha media. Three days before I was at (the mall), but the super typhoon was already there, and it (is) really going to hit Eastern Visayas, and everybody (was) saying na "it (is) going to be really bad..." "It (is) a super typhoon..." Everybody keeps praying na magluya hiya or lumihis. Pero we treated Yolanda like any other super typhoon, being a typhoon-stricken province. Nobody took it seriously kay grabe ka adlaw, and I remember eerie hiya pero clear sky. (Jake, Pos. 4-5)*

[Translation: Everyone underestimated Yolanda, even us in the media. Three days before, I was at the mall, but the super typhoon was already there, and it (is) really going to hit Eastern Visayas, and everybody (was) saying that "it (is) going to be really bad..." "It (is) a super typhoon..." Everybody keeps praying that it would weaken or change in direction. But, we treated Yolanda like any other super typhoon, being a typhoon-stricken province. Nobody took it seriously because it was bright and sunny, and I remember it was eerie, but the sky was clear.]

### **Talking about safety with loved ones**

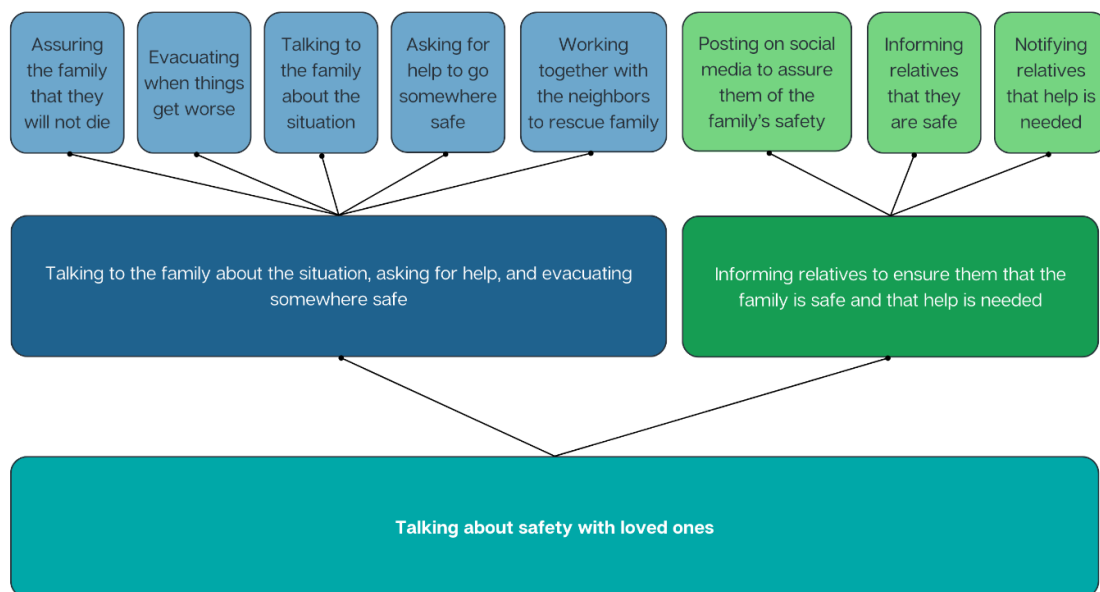
Earlier, I defined risk as an absence or loss of contact. This absence could be loss of their loved one's lives, and loss of contact or inability to reach out to loved ones. When caught in this risk situation, the narrators talked to their loved ones about

survival, updating them of their safety, among others. This implies that conversations about safety is a communicative act when confronting a risk situation.

The figure below explicated the codes and their respective sub-themes and themes to depict what constitutes these conversations about safety.

**Figure 5**

*Codes, and Sub-themes Constituting "Talking About Safety with Loved Ones"*



***Talking to the family about the situation, asking for help, and evacuating somewhere safe***

It was established prior that a communicative act that surfaced in the narrative was conversations regarding safety. What is shown in the narratives is that when in the face of a life-threatening situation, people talk about survival with their loved ones.

*On the first meaning: Assuring the family that they will not die.* During the height of Yolanda's ravage, many families still tried to look for places where they will be safer despite the storm surge and strong winds. However, with the storm surge consuming the streets and the houses, the evacuation itself was also a risk. A narrator was confronted with the realization that they might not survive the evacuation with their

family. Within this situation, some family members needed assurance and comfort that they could survive the treacherous evacuation. This is shown in Van's narrative as he shared his experience in looking for a place to evacuate:

*Paglusad liwat niya dida na mag start an panic na baha naman daw adi. Amo yakan ko na tara didto kita ha may sala, pag abot namon ha main door hataas na an tubig, pero that time dire ak ginkukulba kay mayda man umabot na order na kon bumaha man dire madako kaduro. Pag abot namon ha main door, an tubig taga didi na (GESTURES HAND ON HIS CHEST AREA). But, at that time diri ako ginkukulba. I was following an order nga nasiring nga diri kita babahaan ngan diri sugad kagrabe an baha kun bumaha man. Pag abre ko han main door dida ako kumita nga nasugad an tubig (GESTURES THE MOVEMENT OF A WAVE SWELLING AND COLLAPSING) ha karsada, nasugad. May wave. An mga nagpakapark na sarakyan tikang didto na eskina, nag paparade na. Gin aanod naman. Gin sara ko an portahan, dida na ako umabat hin kulba. An akon anak sumiring ha akon, "Daddy, mapatay na kita ano?" Siring ko, "Diri, diri..." (Van, Pos. 12-13)*

[Translation: The panic started because, when my wife came down she saw how flooded our house was. So, I told them we should go to our living room. At that time, I was not nervous because I was told that if there was flooding, it would not be much. When we arrived at our main door, the water was almost up to the chest but at that time I was not worried. I was following an order saying that we will not get flood, but if there was flood, it will not be that much. When I opened our main door, I saw the water on the street. There was a wave. The cars parked on the corner of our street were already parading. They were

getting carried by the current. I closed the door and I got nervous. My son asked, "Daddy, we are going to die, right?" I said, "We will not, no..."]

When Van realized that the situation was completely different from what was initially expected, he felt scared. However, he assured his son that they will survive when he asked if they were going to die.

*On the second meaning: Evacuating when things get worse.* Jake has never experienced flood going into their house. However, during the onslaught of Yolanda, he saw the highest flood line in their neighborhood. He explains it further in this excerpt:

*Mga 6:30 waray na [telecommunications] signal and then 7 o'clock came everything was white out mga two feet away from the window waray kana makikit'an kay busag nala. From 7 to 9 amo adto it pinaka makuri ky an flood water na tikang gawas halos sumaka na ha sulod hit balay, amon balay is raised tapos amo adto it pinaka hitaas na flood line na ak nakita kay mga few centimeter nala ma-abot na talaga haam balay tapos an window flung open amo pinankalasan kami. We are preparing na dumuroy pa ngane ini evacuate na kita ha igbaw. Nanay was calm. Pero nabasag an window, then (my sister) broke down. Even during that time consider na mag evacuate na ha (dome) because we have no idea what's going on. (Jake, Pos. 10-11)*

[Translation: Around 6:30 am, we lost [telecommunications] signal and then at 7 o'clock everything was white out. You will not see anything beyond two feet away from the window. From 7 a.m. to 9 a.m. that was the most difficult because the flood water from the outside almost went inside the house. Our house was raised and it was the highest floodline I have seen because it was

just a few centimeters away from reaching our house, then our window flung open. We were shocked. We are preparing that if it gets worse, we must evacuate upstairs. My mother was calm, but our windows shattered, then my sister broke down. Even during that time, we considered evacuating to the Astrodome because we had no idea what was happening.]

They thought that if things did get worse, they would evacuate to the second-floor units or even try to get to one of the evacuation centers, the Astrodome. At this moment, Jake and his family felt that the flood line was a sign of risk, thus, they had to plan their next steps to secure his family's survival.

*On the third meaning: Talking to the family about the situation.* There were individuals who also sought refuge from the storm surge on top of their roof. However, this was still dangerous as the strong winds brought by Yolanda were as forceful and flung large pieces of debris. For some it had been apparent that though they were safe from the storm surge, survival was still bleak because they still might get hit by debris. In these situations, some family members could feel that this might be the last moment they could be with their family, thus, they talked about their current situation and some felt the need to say their farewell. This is seen in France's story, where she and her family were also caught in a perilous situation where they climbed to their roof so that they will be safe from the storm surge. However, they were still confronted by strong winds and debris could still hit them. She explained what happened in this excerpt:

*Tas mayda kami hadto nakikit-an na like, tawo as in nalupad talaga. Nakukuan ba hiya han hangin. Pero bagan unbelievable liwat kasi adto na "Ah talaga makukuan ka hin hangin" sugad kakusog it hangin. Pero nakakita kami hadto hin naka kuan hiya, naka I'm not sure if patay na hiya kay masyado man hiya*

*dire nakiwa pero naka helmet hiya hin motor tas nahilupad hiya ngadto han ay usa na coconut. I'm not sure kun ano an natabo haiya pero nagyakan ako "Gin ano gad niyo, gin lupad hiya" sugad hito. Tas nag iiristorya na ba an amon family. Hi kuya lage nag fi-final message na adto hiya haam tas sige na adto an iya "I love you," tas waray may nabaton kay dire namon kaya ig accept la anay. I mean, ayaw la anay kita hiton kuya kay waray pa man as in na naagi. Mayda gihap hadto mga motor as in makaradlok talaga kay ada ka ha atop tas nakita ka han nagkakilupad. Kanan dire nala maiha magkakilupad na gihap kita. Mag bug-at baya an nanlulupad (France, Pos. 20-21).*

[Translation: Then, we saw something like a human who seemed like flying, tossed by the wind. It felt unbelievable like, "So the wind was really strong; it could carry a person away." But, we really saw, they were wearing something like, I was not sure if they were alive because they were not moving but they wore a helmet for the motorcycle and they were flown away to a coconut. I do not know what happened to this person but I pointed it out to my family and said "That person is flying." Then, my family started talking. My brother was already giving his final messages to us. He kept telling us "I love you," and no one responded to him because we were not willing to accept it [death]. I meant, not now, brother, because nothing has happened yet. I saw a motorcycle that flew with the wind. It was scary because we were on our roof and could see [debris] flying. It would not take long until we were the ones getting carried away by the gust. The flying debris were all life-sized things, after all.]

She expressed that since the debris was massive, they felt that they could get carried away by the strong winds. This highlighted that their lives were in danger, and

their family started talking about this situation. Her brother had also expressed how much he loves them as if saying goodbye in case the worst happens to them.

*On the fourth meaning: Asking for help to go somewhere safe.* Jake experienced an epiphany when he was looking for someone who could help him in getting his mother and sister out of Tacloban. His initial resolve was to stay in the city to help with the relief efforts.

*Tuesday came, kumadto ako ha Lourdes...to check on...to check an signal status. This was already Tuesday and it was still flooded. Matikadto kunta ako ha barangay hall to ask for help for multicab ba. Resolve ko talaga, resolve ko talaga ngan I will stay. Ig gagawas namon hira Nanay ngan hi [Hailey]. Pero I will stay. Tas kumadto ako barangay, kumadto ako barangay to ask for help. Bangin mayda kami masakyan tikadto ha terminal. But, on the way to, on the way to the barangay hall. Diba, flooded? (SMILING) Mayda tumabok na tilapia, men! In the middle of the road, mayda tumabok na tilapia. Nag struggle hiya. Tumabok hiya ha akun atubangan. There's a freakin' fish in front of me. Crossed the road. And, I was thinking, I need to rethink my position on staying here. I may need to go out. Finally! Amo adto. This is futile. (...) Staying here will put our lives in more danger. Amo na [it] dalagan hit akun huna-huna. This fish is trying to get somewhere where it thinks it will be safe! That (is) why it crossed the freaking road, diba? So, amo adto. (Jake, Pos. 57-58)*

[Translation: Tuesday came, I went to Lourdes to check on the signal status. This was already Tuesday and it was still flooded. I went to the barangay to ask for help for a multicab. I was resolved with staying. We will send my mother and [Hailey] out but I will stay. So, I went to the barangay to ask for help. Maybe

we can get a multicab that can take us to the terminal. But, on the way to the barangay hall, it was flooded right? So, a tilapia crossed the road! In the middle of the road, a tilapia crossed. It struggled to swim. It crossed right in front of me. There is a fish in front of me. Crossed the road. And I was thinking, I need to rethink my position on staying here. I may need to go out. Finally! That was it. This is futile. (...) Staying here will put our lives in more danger. That was what I was thinking. This fish is trying to get somewhere it thinks it will be safe! That (is) why it crossed the freaking road, right? So, that was it.]

At this moment, Jake felt that staying in Tacloban will put his life in danger, thus, he decided that he should leave whenever he could.

*On the fifth meaning: Working together with the neighbors to rescue family.* During the onslaught, Joy and her family were caught in a perilous moment, and even when Joy could already save herself, she insisted on saving her mother and asked for help from her neighbors.

*Na feel ko liwat na iba hiya ha mga bagyo na na-experience ko. Nagkakalasan liwat kami kay itom ito man liwat an tubig na nasulod tapos asya iton nagtitika dako liwat an tubig pinan kakalasan liwat kami asya nag decide kami na gumawas na, ha gawas liwat in halos lagpas tawo na baha takay dire pa daw kami mag aram man langoy am ginbuhat liwat in humabay nala han kahoy para dire liwat kami malumos ak Papa liwat in kapot an baby hi Mama liwat nakadto may grills nayakan hiya na kadto na daw la kami ha may atop. (Joy, Pos. 9-12)*

[Translation: At that moment, I felt that this typhoon was unlike anything I had experienced. We were surprised because the water was black and it was seeping in our house. The water (level) was quickly increasing, so we were

getting overwhelmed, so we decided to go out of the house. Outside, the water was already higher than a person, and we all did not know how to swim. We used driftwood as our floater so we would not drown. Papa was carrying the baby, and my mother was holding on to the grills of the gate. She said we should go to the roof of our house.]

*Ak dara liwat hadto na bag kay mga gamit hin bata pero kailangan ko liwat buhian para dire liwat malumos. Burublag liwat kami kay natigdaan man la liwat kami ak iba na umangkon in naka evacuate dayon haam sapit before pa dumako an tubig. Maupay nala mayda kami mga neighbor ngadto na mga lalaki asya bumulig liwat haam kay kakusog liwat han current hi Mama ngan Papa liwat nag storya hadto na time na parang kon dire na daw kayahon bul-iw na daw la paranga tinanggap na liwat nira hadto na time. Ako liwat in nagluluya na hadto tas nagyiyinakan na gihap am neighbor na sumaka na yakan ko, “Ayaw la anay kay hi Mama naiipit pa.” Asya nagburublig liwat kami na makuha hi Mama liwat waray na nam gin mind na bisan damu an mga debris importante na masalbar gud hi Mama kay buyag liwat kasi hiya halos tanan na kami nakasaka ha atop tapos hi Mama gin burubligan gihap nam makasaka. (Joy, Pos. 13-14)*

[Translation: I only brought my bag to contain the child's things, but I had to let it go because I might drown. We were caught off guard by how things escalated, so we separated from each other. My nephew was able to evacuate before the waters rose higher. It was a good thing that our male neighbor helped us because the current was so strong. My mother and father had already discussed that if all else fails, it is okay for us to let them go as they had

accepted it. I felt really disheartened and our neighbor kept telling me I should come up. I said, “Not yet, my mother is still stuck.” We worked together to get my mother; we did not mind the debris because what was important was that my mother was safe. She is a big woman and she had a hard time getting to the roof so, we all helped her get up there.]

This excerpt showed that Joy’s mother had already implied that it was more important that their children are safe, however, Joy wanted them to survive too. Thus, even when their neighbors had been asking her to come up, she insisted on saving her mother first.

### ***Informing relatives to ensure them that the family is safe and that help is needed***

When the risk is considered as a disconnection from families or social relationships, it is imperative to re-establish the connection and be able to contact them to ask for help. A few days after the typhoon, the narrators were presented with an opportunity to contact their loved ones.

*On the first meaning: Posting on social media to assure them of the family’s safety.* Van shared that to ease the worries of his family from another town, he posted on social media to assure them that the family in Tacloban is safe. Van also stated that it was essential to assure them so they would not have to come to Tacloban City.

*Tapos hadto liwat na time mayda naman way of communication ha may City Hall usa man liwat ako na natagan hin privilege pag gamit para maka reach out haak iba na family para dire na liwat hira mag worry haam. Nag post liwat ak hadto ha (social media). Diri ak nag eexpect hin monetary ngan goods, an akon la nga diri gud hira mag worry. Mayda kasi adto time nga nagkikinuan hira nga kumanhi hira. Siring ko, “Ayaw na kamo pag kinadi. Relax la kamo dida.” Amo*

*la adto nak goal, nga makareach out la ha ak mga pamilya na okay la kami safe kami para dire na liwat hira kumadi na we can manage... Kay magiging added kamo nga burden hin city in terms of food, kuan... (Van, Pos. 32-33)*

[Translation: Then, we also had a way of communicating at the City Hall. I was one of the privileged who could reach out to my family so that they would not worry. I also posted on social media (site). There was a time that they kept insisting to come here. I told them, "Do not come here, just relax there." That was my goal, for my family to let them know that we are okay and safe, so they would not come here since we can already manage... Because they would just be an added burden to the city in terms of food and other needs...]

*On the second meaning: Informing relatives that they are safe.* Jake had also felt the need to inform his relatives that they are safe, thus he looked for areas in the city where there is a mobile signal so he could contact his family.

*Nagpapanic liwat kami waray contact talaga from the outside, hasta hadto na time. And, we were flying blind. First thing hadto, para mabaro it mga tawo nga okay kami, and then, to ask help kun ano't amon bubuhaton. An nearest namon na refuge is in Calbayog City. Diba? So, amo la talaga adto it akun reason, pahibaro la nga okay kami, tapos to notify everybody nga we need help pero diri pa kami maaram kun ano pa tam bubuhaton. Maybe you can do something to help us kun aanhon... pero we were basically okay. (Jake, Pos. 49-50)*

[Translation: We were panicking since we had no contact from the outside until then. We were flying blind. What was I thinking? First thing, so that people would know that we are okay, and then, to ask for help on what we should do.

Our nearest refuge is Calbayog City, remember? So, that was my reason. Inform them that we are okay, then notify everybody that we need help, but we also do not know what we should do. So, maybe you can do something to help us on what we should do, but we were okay.]

*On the third meaning: Notifying relatives that help is needed.* In the same excerpt mentioned above, apart from assuring his relatives that they are safe, Jake also wanted to reach out to them to seek help.

This meaning shows that our notion of risk as a danger is not simply a matter of one's life. Sometimes, it means ensuring their loved ones or neighbors are safe in certain situations. In some narratives, it entails the safety of the entire family. Thus, the view of risk does not only exist for the self but is extended to loved ones. These instances also reflect the importance of understanding the community's culture and whether they regard their actions independently or as a unity.

### **Treating safety as a communal responsibility**

Since there were rumors or news about freed prisoners, looting, rape, and slaying, people felt unsafe in the community. Some of the participants felt the need to work with the neighbors to watch over the community. Additionally, due to the inadequate sense of safety, people also felt the need to just leave for another town where they can be safe and have access to their needs.

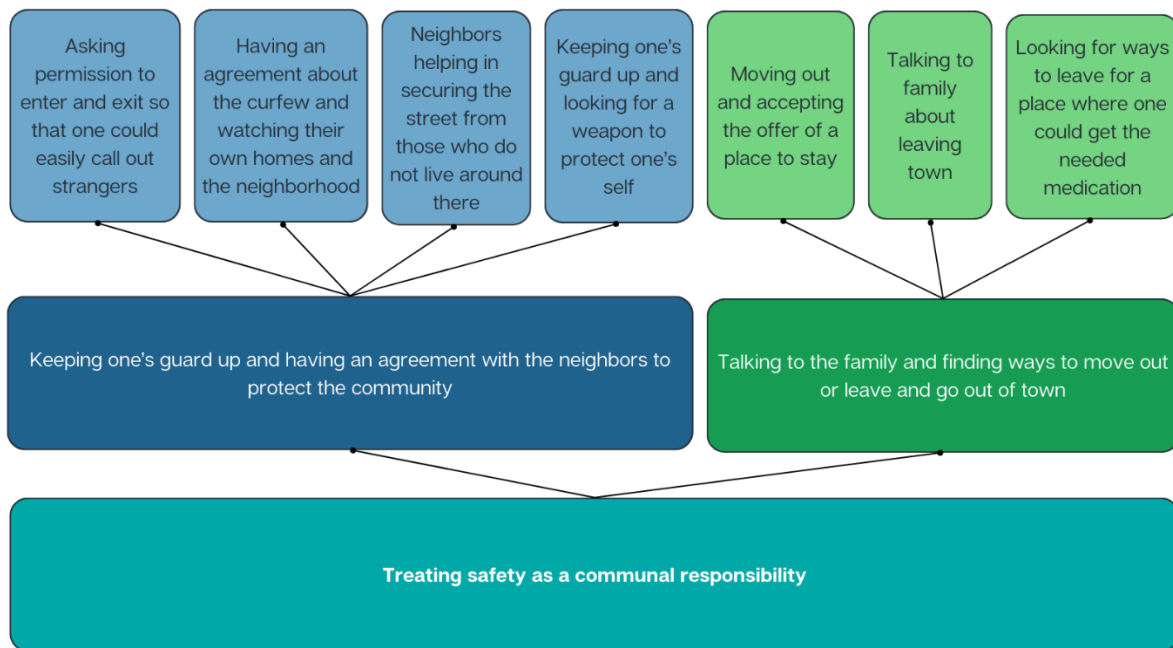
This main theme highlights the role of socialization in risky situations. For example, in large-scale crises, like the aftermath of Yolanda, people rely on one another—the people around them and the people they can see—to protect themselves and the community and ensure that everyone can survive for the following days.

Therefore, the communication practice around risk revolves around coordinating to access those needs. Whether it is from the side of the one who wants

to help or those who need help, despite the difficulty of communication mediums during this time, people make means to provide or get access to the basic needs of the victims.

**Figure 6**

*Codes, and Sub-themes Constituting "Treating Safety as a Communal Responsibility"*



***Keeping one's guard up and having an agreement with the neighbors to protect the community***

Several narratives have expressed that working together was essential when the situation is considered a risk. Therefore, there were discussions and agreements regarding how they can keep their community safe.

*On the first meaning: Asking permission to enter and exit so that one could easily call out strangers.* Van talked about one of his worst experiences as an emergency responder a few days after the landfall of Super Typhoon Yolanda.

*Pero mayda ak hadto worst na experience ngadto may City Hall han mga eight o'clock han evening kumadto an taga (jail) na magkaeskapo na daw an mga priso kay pinangugutom na liwat kasi. Asya adto nagyakan hira na kamo na bahala hit iyo kalugaringon. Dida la liwat ak hadto nabaraka. Asya hadto na time kun mag entrance exit ka kailangan mo gud magsarit para kon hino man an sumulod na dire taga dida sisitahon ka gud. (Van, Pos. 42-43)*

[Translation: One of my worst experiences at the City Hall was around eight o'clock in the evening. Someone (from the jail) visited and said that they were letting the prisoners out because they (prisoners) are hungry. They told us that we were left to fend for ourselves. That terrified me. We agreed that if someone entered or exited (the building), we had to ask permission so that we could call out any stranger who might enter.]

Van particularly expressed that he felt terrified when they were told that they should fend for themselves. Thus, to protect themselves and secure the building they asked permission from each other if they were to enter or exit the building, "*Kailangan mo gud magsarit para kon hino man an sumulod na dire taga dida sisitahon ka gud*" [Translation: ...we had to ask permission so that we could call out any stranger who might enter].

*On the second meaning: Having an agreement about the curfew and watching their own homes and the neighborhood.* Meanwhile, the stories of freed prisoners and rape around their area incited fear in the neighborhood, as explained by France. Due to this, they decided to organize themselves to protect the community.

*Pag uli namon, amo adto nakabati na kami from mga tawo ha tulay na kuan mayda kuno stories of rape ha V&G and mayda kuno mga nakagawas na priso,*

*basta damo an storya hadto. So, medyo nagkukuan na an mga tawo ada na an fear kumabaga mabubuhi pa ba kita hine. Kay dire kasi kami nabati hin news na may gin hihimo an kuan an officials that time. So ngadto ha amon (...) ha Pleasantville nag create hira ngadto hin mga guards because of that rumor na mayda mga nan-ngangawat, nanmamatay, nanra-rape. So mayda hira didto bagan guards every night. And then, nagsaragbot adto an amon community na mayda ngani na if beyond, nag set hira hin amon own curfew 7 (p.m.) ada adto. Nag set hira hin curfew nga if meada nakikit-an na tawo beyond 7 (p.m.) na dire taga dinhi, pusila. Amo an ira yakan, not me. Pero amo adto an ira bagat rule. Kay syempre nagpapanic man kami kay waray kami maaram kay waray news kun may pulis pa ba sugad hiton. So, kami nag kuan nala kami didto nagkanya-kanya kaming something. And so, every household mayda hadto guards. Kami ha balay, kami mag burogto tutulo. An amon gin papakaturug hi Nanay, (Eli) ngan hi Tatay adto hira ha may sulod. Tapos kami na mag burogto adto kami ha atop tas may mga flashlight kami hadto na mga solar. So, an am mga flashlight nagbabantay talaga kami palibot libot sugad hito ha entire area namon. Tas kun mayda kami nakikit-an magkukuan kami maguliat or ano basta amo adto an saragbot ha Pleasantville. (France, Pos. 36-37)*

[Translation: When we got home, that was it, we heard from the people who live near the bridge that there were stories of rape in V&G, and there were prisoners that were freed; there were so many stories at that time. So, there was fear in people, like are we going to survive this time, because we did not hear any news about what the officials were doing that time. So, in Pleasantville, they assigned guards because of the rumors that there were stealing, killing, and rape. So, there were guards every night. And then, we

had an agreement in our community that if beyond, we set up our own curfew at 7 (p.m.) I think. They set up a curfew that if we saw someone beyond 7 (p.m.) who did not belong to the neighborhood, they would shoot. That was what they said, not me. But that was their rule. Of course, it was because we were panicked because we did not have any news if there were police personnel or something like that. So, each of us had something to do. Thus, every household had guards. In our house it was the three of us, myself and my brothers. We let my mother, (Eli), and tatay sleep there inside. We three were on our roof, and we had solar flashlights. So, we had our flashlights, and we were guarding; we would go around our area, something like that. Whenever we see something, we shout or do something because that was our agreement in Pleasantville.]

France stated that due to the stories they heard they agreed that, “Nag set hira hin amon own curfew 7 (p.m.) ada adto. Nag set hira hin curfew nga if meada nakikit-an na tawo beyond 7 (p.m.) na dire taga dinhi, pusila” [Translation: we set up our own curfew at 7 (p.m.) I think. They set up a curfew that if we saw someone beyond 7 (p.m.) who did not belong to the neighborhood, they would shoot].

*On the third meaning: Neighbors helping in securing the street from those who do not live around there.* Similar to France’s story, Jake had encountered news of looting and rape. So, to protect the neighborhood from it, he shared that they made sure that strangers would be prevented from entering their street.

*Han Sunday amo adto an first time nga nag barikada han mga streets. Like kada street ha V&G mayda barikada ngan mayda bonfire. Tas we keep hearing, from the days after nga diri la ngayan V and G an nag sugad. Mayda na kasi*

*kuno panlooting, mayda na kasi kuno pan rape. Mayda na mga panmatay kuno. Tapos amo adto...amo adto an first Sunday evening namon didto, nagkagawas nga, "Hala! it amon neighbor ngayan mayda ngayan pusil." Mayda adto bonfire, tapos ginsesecure namon. "Ikaw, taga diin ka? Diri ka taga didi? Bawal ka sumulod." So, amo adto. Rellebo kami. So, hasta...hasta alas dose mata ako. Nag gu-guard ako dida. Rellebo kami. (Jake, Pos. 38-39)*

[Translation On Sunday, that was the first time we barricaded the streets. Like every street in V&G had a barricade and bonfire. We keep hearing, from the days after that other communities, aside from V and G, did it too. It was said that there was looting and rape. There were talks of slaying. That was our first Sunday evening (since Yolanda). It was then we found out that "Oh! Our neighbor owned a gun." So there was a bonfire, and we were securing it. "Where do you live? Are you not from around here? You cannot enter." So, that was it. We had our own shifts. So, until midnight I was up. I was the guard. That was our shift.]

*On the fourth meaning: Keeping one's guard up and looking for a weapon to protect one's self.* Meanwhile, Nika heard the news about the condition of the city from her husband, Jade. She started feeling unsafe. She described how she thought about defending herself in this passage.

*Hi (Jade), nagbibibi-bike hira permi man hira napakadto ha downtown asya liwat ira nakikita na magulo. (...) Tapos pagkakagabi liwat dire kami nakakatorog hin tuhay kay nagbabantay ako, tas nag iisip ako hadto (...) Nakaturong man ako didto kan Lola kwarto. Mayda man jalousie (...) Kun may masulod tas may manbubuog hin jalousie. Ano tak una nga kakaptan nganhi? (...) Nagiisip ako*

*nga kun may magbuong han jalousie, an akon weapon, jalousie gihap. Nagiisip na ako hadto. (Nika, Pos. 49-50)*

[Translation: Jade biked to the downtown area, and they saw that it was in shambles. Then, we had a hard time getting a good sleep every night because I kept my guard up and thought. (...) I was sleeping in my grandmother's bedroom. There was jalousie (glass windows). If someone breaks in by breaking the windows, what am I supposed to use (as weapon) here? (...) I thought if someone broke in by breaking the glass windows, I would also use the glass as a weapon. I thought.]

At this moment, she did not have anything she could use to defend herself. However, she had thought of a scenario where she could potentially use the shards of their glass windows if someone broke it to get into their room.

### ***Talking to the family and finding ways to move out or leave and go out of town***

*On the first meaning: Moving out and accepting the offer of a place to stay.* Joy, on the other hand, resorted to moving out of their home to a much safer place to protect her family and her siblings. She described the moment she decided that they should move out of their home:

*Tapos nagkita liwat kami ni (Alfie) kay tikang naman liwat hiya ha balay ngan nabaro hiya na kumadi ak San Jose (school) asya sumugod liwat hiya. Nagkita kami ha may dalan tas nakatuok liwat hiya pagkita namon. Nagyakan gihap hiya na kon waray daw kami maukyan pwedi man daw kami ngadto ha ira asya gihap yakan han iya parents.(...) An ak ginbabarakan la kay hadto na time dire maaram ak parents na may uyab ak. Dire ak maaram kon paano ko liwat ig explain ha ira na sugad hine mayda kami maukyan pero ngadto hit ak uyab*

*asya parang nag decline ak anay. (...) Na realize ko na kailangan namon makabalhin kay ngadto am gin uukyan malamok liwat tapos pagkakagabe mayda ka nababatian na mga boses tapos it im environment gihap parang sad na scary liwat asya kailangan gud nam makabalhin kay dire liwat nam kaya it sugad. Gin explain ko nala ha ira na sugad na may babalhinan kami ngadto ha place tak uyab asya sumige man hira ngan nakabalhin kami ha sampaguita. (Joy, Pos. 21-23)*

[Translation: I met Alfie because he went to our house because he came to our house and he learned that I went to San Jose (school), so he went there. We met along the street and he teared up when he saw me. He told me that if we need a place to stay we could stay with him. His parents said the same too. I was worried because my parents did not know I was in a relationship. I also did not know how to explain to them that I had found a place where we could stay, but it was at my boyfriend's house. (...) I realized that we had to move out and find another place to stay because there were so many mosquitos, and at night, we heard voices. The environment was like sad but scary. That was why we had to be elsewhere because we could not bear to live like this.]

Joy described that their environment had become sad and scary. It was a risk for them to continue to bear to live in their home, so she decided that they should move somewhere else.

*On the second meaning: Talking to family about leaving town.* Nika learned that food supplies were running out. She was worried that there will come a point when these resources will run out.

*Nga ngadto na ha...out of town na kita, ay nakita pag inukoy ha Tacloban kay waray na talaga. Diri ka pa natuod, hira (Jade) ngan iya mga bugto, naglilibot libot, masamok na talaga hin duro. Mauubos na tat pagkaon, ayaw na kita pakig aragaw. Hi ako man iton nagyiyinakan (...) (Nika, Pos. 51-52)*

[Translation: I told them that we should go out of town and you have to believe Jade and his siblings. They have been going around. It is a total mess. Food is running out; we should not fight each other for it (food). I kept saying.]

This situation was a risk for Nika, and her best course of action was to leave town and be in a place where they could easily get access to food.

*On the third meaning: Looking for ways to leave for a place where one could get the needed medication.* One of Joy's sisters, who lives in Manila, waited every day at Villamor Airbase hoping that she could take a trip to Tacloban City or that they would arrive any day through the C130. Joy shared her experience in this passage:

*Everyday liwat hadto hira Mama pagpila ha airport para makalakat liwat, ako naman in napakadto ha City Hall para makatawag kay ak Papa liwat gusto ko hadto na makalakat kay kailangan gud niya hin medication hi Mama baga na dire pa kay gusto niya na malimpyohan anay am balay. (...) An akon Papa liwat han nakadto hira Manila ngadto man hira nag landing ha Villamor Airbase gintapo liwat hira. Ak ate kay hadto na time han nabaro an mga tawo na sugad an kamutang han Tacloban na parang tanan na tawo gusto kumade, sugad gihap ak ate every time hiya napila ha Villamor airbase may dara na pagkaon ngan tubig ngan kon anu liwat iya madadara kay gusto gud niya kumadi liwat. Kay hito na time nag iha man gud an pag abot han relief goods tapos sugad liwat an nakikita nira ha news. Tapos kon mayda hira mga kilala na tikanhe*

*ginapapadara nala nira gin hahatag la an address bali sugad hito an natatabo hadto na time. Kailangan man gud niya lalo na may sakit pa hiya mag sakriposyo ka gud la. (Joy, Pos. 29-30)*

[Translation: Every day, my mother queued at the airport so that we could leave, and I would go to the City Hall to call because my father had to leave since he needed his medication. My mother, on the other hand, wanted to get the house cleaned up first. My father went to Manila at that time; they landed at the Villamor Airbase. My sister fetched them. My sister at that time learned about the condition in Tacloban City, that everyone wanted to come here, so that was what she also tried to do. Every day she would queue at the Villamor Airbase bringing food and water, and anything she could carry because she really wanted to come here. At that time, the relief goods took time to arrive and they saw things on the news. If they knew someone who was coming here, they would ask that person to bring things [for their family], and they would also give the address. That was what was happening at that time. He (father) needed it (medical treatment) since he was sick. It was a necessary sacrifice.]

Joy had been so worried about her father because of his medical condition. This situation was a risk for them and it was important for them to ensure that her father gets the medication despite it entailing that they would have to be apart, “*Kailangan man gud niya lalo na may sakit pa hiya mag sakriposyo ka gud la*” [Translation: He needed it (medical treatment) since he was sick. It was a necessary sacrifice].

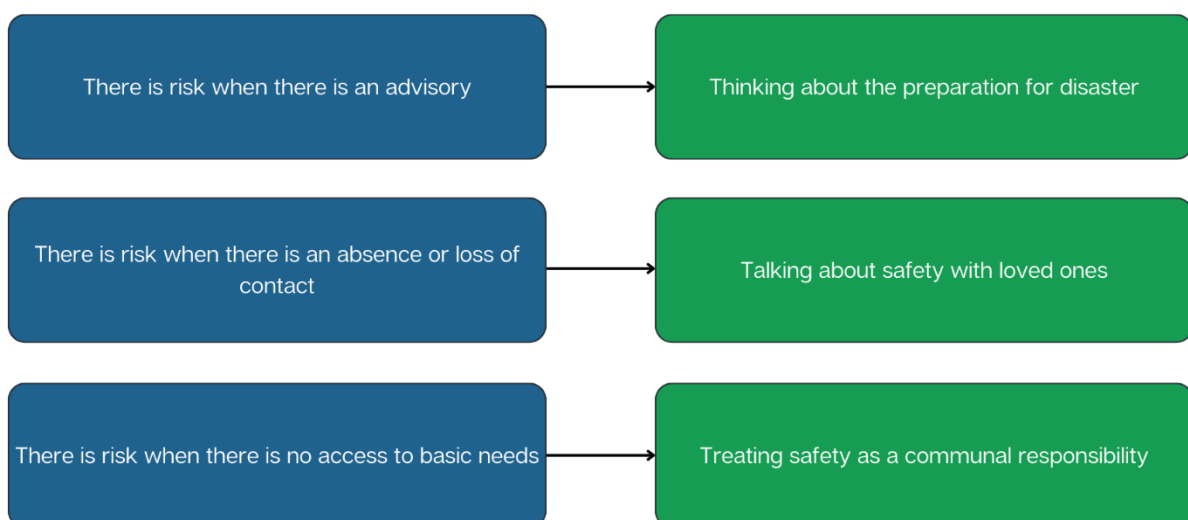
## Risk as a Communication Phenomenon

Humans assign meanings to events through symbols elaborated through social interaction. Therefore, symbolic interactionism refers to the subjective meaning interpretation by social actors (Blumer, 1969). In risky situations, people form meanings within the situations they encounter. Thus, the individuals' view of risk is shaped as they experience such risk.

Since symbolic interactionism focuses on micro-level interactions, the narratives collected in this study show the risk as it is experienced—context-based and responsive to their situated identities. Thus, these views and their corresponding communicative acts are unique to the participants of the study. While the framework below (Figure 7) cannot be generalized, it is a way to make sense of how individuals interact with their significant other (symbolic object or individual), how meaning is created through this interaction, and what meanings shape certain communicative actions.

### Figure 7

#### *Communicative Actions and the Meanings that Shape them*



The primary questions of the study are on risk views and the communicative acts shaped by such views. In making sense of meanings revealed in the interpretation, I have surfaced three general views of risk: there is a risk when there is an advisory; there is a risk when there is an absence or loss of contact; and there is a risk when there is no access to basic needs.

An individual's view of risk emanates from social, historical, cultural, and geographical contexts, and personalization should be considered in the communicative acts around risk. Thus, these views correspond to the following communicative acts: thinking about the preparation for disaster; talking about safety with loved ones; and treating safety as a communal responsibility.

Each of the meanings is presented to shape a communicative action. Thus, the succeeding discussion shows what and how these views shape communicative acts.

### **When the risk is expressed as an advisory, people think about how to prepare for a disaster**

Literature reveals that risk is information that is communicated. Risk management's expert-centered evolution has also been defined as "how experts inform others about the truth" (Plough & Krinsky, 1987, p. 6). Risk communication as a practice has been established and initially defined as exchanging information among parties interested in the magnitude, significance, nature, or control of risk (Covello, 1992). Earlier in the literature, it was emphasized that risk is an articulation of the truth. It was discussed earlier that risk is also considered as how the experts inform the public of the truth (Plough & Krinsky, 1987). Messages must be communicated with their most accurate details as soon as possible (CDC, 2018). This was reflected in the study as it was discussed earlier that risk is the issuance and reception of an advisory. This depicts risk view as risk communication, emphasizing the necessity of

risk communication. Moreover, the study shows the communicative acts of the narrators when they received information about a situation that they see as a risk.

On this meaning of risk, the narratives have shown that risk is tied to risk communication; thus, risk is something that should be stated. As shown in Nika's narrative earlier, since the local leader informed her that they did not receive an advisory about what should be done for the incoming disaster, she did not think much about it afterwards. Thus, it was implied that since there were no instructions for the local leaders, even when the disaster was already in the news, then it was not considered as risk. Thus, when an advisory is not issued by authorities and received by concerned individuals, it is not considered a risk.

Risk communication is a trust-based practice. The Center for Disease and Control Prevention (2018) emphasized that credibility and trust are essential in delivering effective risk messages. Trust substantially impacts the potential preparedness measures (Wachinger et al., 2010). On this note, the findings of the study do not reflect trust as a primary element in shaping one's view of risk. However, the study reveals the symbolic individuals and objects that people interact with that shape their risk view.

On the other hand, Wachinger et al. (2010) discussed the concept of risk paradox, wherein people understand the risk but accept it given the benefits, transfer the responsibility of acting on it to others or feel as though they do not have the resources to change the situation.

While risk communication is trust-based and there is a paradox in risk views, the study shows that one's view of risk emanates from a symbolic interaction with an object. For instance, with the unique context of the locale of the study, disasters such as a typhoon have been frequent, thus people look for signs of a disaster (e.g. cloudy

skies) before they take advisories seriously. This implies that the signs of disaster are symbols for the individual, and through this symbolic interaction a meaning is created.

This particular symbolic interaction could be related to other studies that have shown that prior exposure to a hazard impacts risk perception because people are keener on acting on the risk information related to their hazard (Senimoli et al., 2020; Walch, 2019). However, what is unique to these narratives is that their past disaster experience could have shown that for a disaster to be real, there should be signs. Thus, one of the meanings of risk that surfaced was that risk should be taken seriously even when there are no signs of a disaster.

This communicative phenomenon has shown that when information about a dangerous event is shared through a form of communication (i.e., a warning or an advisory) and people see it as risk, they should not treat it like any other disaster. This indicates that they think about what should be done and go beyond the usual preparation.

People in the community approach their village leader for information, and in a way, the local authority can guide their community towards preparations. When they receive information, they consider how they should prepare for an incoming disaster.

Additionally, the narratives have shown that conversations about the disaster are also a means of interaction between the differences in risk interpretation. These discussions shape how the family or the community prepares for a typhoon (e.g. evacuation).

### **When the risk is an absence or loss of contact, people talk about safety with their loved ones**

Risk is generally viewed as one that posits a negative outcome. United Nations adopted the definition of risk as one that presents the probability of an outcome bearing

a negative consequence on systems, assets, and people (UNDRR, 2022b, para. 1). In connection to risk as a negative outcome, one of the themes that surfaced in the narratives is that risk is an absence or loss of contact.

The narratives have shown that people were caught in situations that threatened their life and these situations shaped conversations about survival and safety. Additionally, the risk was viewed as disconnection from social support (e.g., not being able to contact and update family members about their safety).

For instance, in Jake's narrative, he shared that after the disaster, they did not know what they should do or what was happening since they were disconnected from their refuge. Thus, his response was to look for a way to contact his family members from another town to update them that they were safe and to seek help.

Moreover, in disaster, the risk is considered as the combined effects of hazards, assets or people exposed thereof, and the vulnerability of those exposed to such hazard. Thus, it is important to address the vulnerability of those that might get exposed (UNDRR, 2022b). The study contributes and relates to this discussion as it has shown that reducing vulnerability to said hazards were also done by victims themselves who helped their neighbors in protecting the community.

Aside from this, family members and loved ones from out of town were also essential as a support system to protect the victims from the risk. However, the narratives revealed a distinct insight that being disconnected from them was also considered as a risk.

After the disaster, there was no electricity and telecommunications signal. Thus, one of the community efforts documented during Yolanda was communication as an aid, wherein Philippine journalists acted as a medium for families to connect with relatives (Canubas, 2015).

Since disaster puts people's lives in danger, the narrators expressed that their families from out of town were getting worried. Back then, it was difficult to contact them. Despite this, the loss of contact still shaped the communicative act of informing their loved ones of their survival, such as posting in a social media site to notify them that the family members were safe and that help was needed.

This communication phenomenon implies that risk is connotated with the safety of one's life and the lives of their loved ones, and one's connectedness to their support system, such as their relatives. The narratives have shown that people were caught in situations that threatened their life and these situations triggered conversations about survival and safety.

The communicative acts shaped by these meanings showed that people go somewhere the family is safe and they inform and notify relatives of their safety and seek their help. On the other hand, people, and family from out of town also need news and assurance that their relatives had survived the disaster.

### **When the risk is the loss of access to basic needs, safety becomes a communal responsibility**

During chaos, self-organization is a natural process that emerges. "Self-organization that enhances the quality of communication associated with the crisis can also emerge" (p. 285). While the crisis may produce sudden changes, it may lead to positive relationships (Sellnow et al., 2002). Concerning this, the study also provides more insight into how and why a form of self-organization happened after the onslaught of Super Typhoon Yolanda.

The narratives elucidated that risk is the loss of access to basic needs. One of the devastating impacts of a disaster is the destruction of one's home. This was shown in some of the narratives wherein the storm surge ravaged their houses. Meanwhile,

rumors and news about killing, rape, and freed prisoners were spread through the word of mouth. This left the participants to feel that they were left to fend for themselves. Thus, a meaning or view of risk that emanated was that risk is being left to fend for themselves. Within this risk view, the communicative act that surfaced was keeping one's guard up and having an agreement with the neighborhood to protect the community.

One of the literature in risk communication that could further elucidate this is the importance of the culture in the area. Cultures that rely on groups might benefit from messages explaining how their actions can benefit the community (CDC, 2018). Thus, the neighborhood could have also found it advantageous for the community to commonly agree to protect their street or area.

The meaningful episodes discussed that the neighborhood helped one another in keeping their homes secure from the rumors. It was also depicted that some thought about having a weapon to protect them. Nevertheless, the narratives have also contributed depth in this facet of risk communication, and it also depicted how these self-organized groups emanated and for what purposes.

Moreover, in communicating about risk, the public can initiate and participate. Abunyahwah et al. (2018) explained how community members could initiate communication with the public. On a related note, Ingham and Redshaw (2017) explained that information sharing is most straightforward when people are close and have insight into other people's needs in certain instances. The study adds depth to the discussion on community members initiating communication, as was shown in the narratives. For instance, after the landfall of the Super Typhoon, the participants had given or received help based on what was needed at that moment. Some had received food and some received information that was useful for them.

After a disaster, people have no access to their needs and they are left to fend for themselves. This view appeals to the conventional view of risk where people lose access to what is essential. This includes a safe environment, food, and medicine.

These situations tell people to keep their guard up to protect the neighborhood. Thus, they organize themselves so they can rely on others, and not just fend for themselves. Meanwhile, they also find ways to move out or leave and go out of town where they can have stability in their access to their basic needs.

This study has demonstrated how risk view interacts with communicative actions, and the study has shown that an individual creates their view of risk based on their context, social environment, and experience. Through understanding how one's view of risk shapes communicative acts, we have seen that communication becomes a bridge of risk action through an individual's social connections.

This study began from the individual perspective of the narrators who experienced Super Typhoon Yolanda. Each of them had their particular view of risk based on their context. Nevertheless, looking at how these meanings shaped communicative acts, it can be inferred that there are facets of risk that are largely social, and these social interactions shape how we view risk.

Risk is a communication phenomenon because we turn to people for risk information. In the literature, risk communication is emphasized as a trust-based practice. Credibility and trust are essential in producing effective risk messages (CDC, 2018). Trust substantively impacts the potential preparedness measures (Wachinger et al., 2010). Similarly, the narratives have shown that the narrators turn to people they can trust, such as the local leaders. People consider the insights of others. Thus, some can be keen on acting because their loved ones have talked them into preparing for risk.

On the other hand, this social interaction allows people to negotiate their differentiating views of risk. In some instances, people can be convinced through these personal interactions, such as the narrative shared by Van, an emergency responder. This reflects a deeper facet of the earlier findings of Abunyewah et al. (2018) on how community members could initiate communication with the public.

Risk is a communication phenomenon since we also turn to our social support for guidance and help. Risk is a preventive means, and communicative acts capture how risk situations can be avoided. For example, as some of the narratives have depicted, to prevent food shortage, they had to gather information through their social connections to determine where they could find food.

The narratives also present a meaningful depiction of the discussion of Ingham and Redshaw (2017) on the benefit of having insight into other people's needs in certain instances while also adding greater discernment on the experience-based context to which their concept applies.

For instance, creating new social connections has also been critical when protecting the neighborhood from rumors of killing, rape, and stealing, by means of organizing the neighborhood in guarding the community. Additionally, our immediate social circles are important when providing relief from the situation.

Meanwhile, the literature also discussed that expressing the message with empathy and openness also contributes to trustworthiness (CDC, 2018). The excerpts have shown how risk is often communicated to those at risk; however, overcoming the risk situation is a collective effort by the family and the community. Even those not in the locale are capable of helping those who are facing a risky situation.

de Boer et al. (2016) explained that risk is based on a complete understanding of risk perceptions and capacities molded by the historical and local context. Thus, geographic variations (i.e., landslide and flood risk) are relevant to people.

Risk is an evolving view or perception shaped by context. Relationships between perception and social response have also been studied. Lin et al. (2020) explained that how one interprets risk is multilayered and not solely based on the hazard. Risks are perceived not just due to their scientific merit or personal benefit but also because of social and cultural factors and denotative and connotative reasons (Motta & Palenchar, 2008).

This study shows risk as a communication phenomenon and through the lens of symbolic interactionism, the study has depicted the significant others that these participants have interacted with to form the meaning of risk, and what meanings shaped their respective actions afterward.

While the findings show meanings that correspond to communicative acts, it does not imply that these are the only meanings that shape these communicative acts, or that these are the only meanings that could be derived from experiences or encounters with risk. It is essential to underscore that as we seek the meanings and the acts they shape; these meanings and acts are unique and true to the participants of the study and cannot be generalized. Since this area of study is still limited, exploring what meanings shape actions may aid in further understanding the dynamics of how the meanings identified in this study interact with the actions discussed.

History reflects humanity's ability to assess what are risk and non-risk to them. After all, risk communication is as old as human culture (Plough & Krinsky, 1987). What disaster risk means to people may help shape the way we communicate the risk to them. In the end, they are the end users of information.

Therefore, while there is room to evolve in the expert-centered view of risk, this study has also shown that people can generate their risk information and connect with the people around them to act on such a risk. Thus, we must expand our view and look at the role of the individual as they confront the risk and how they interact with others in these situations to further surface the communicative acts that shape risk views.

## **Chapter V**

### **SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

#### **Summary**

Risk is intended to prevent a crisis. The current risk and risk communicative acts are expert-centered. Institutions across the globe rely on established risk communication and practices for climate-related disasters.

Studies have demonstrated that there should be different approaches to risk communication since there is a connection between the information and the broader context in which it is communicated. Many studies recommended understanding the community and its context in coordinating disaster management since there is a connection between the risk view and individuals' geographical, historical, social, and cultural contexts.

However, conventional research focuses on planning, management, and mitigation, using quantitative data gathering and analysis. Other studies focus on the communication channel for technical purposes, such as determining the best medium to send the message.

Society is shaped by the social actors and their reflexive definition of the social situation. In applying this concept in disaster situations, people form meanings within the situations they encounter. The individuals shape disaster communication as they experience the disaster. The sparse connection of a nuanced view of risk among those who experienced it presents an opportunity. While quantitative studies help streamline disaster management, qualitative studies help deepen our understanding of the sociocultural context of risk. Thus, this study was conducted to contribute to the

knowledge of qualitative studies on risk and provide a nuanced view of the meaning of risk and the communicative acts shaped by these views.

Through a narrative inquiry lensed by symbolic interactionism, this study collected five narratives from victims of Super Typhoon Yolanda based in Tacloban City at the time of the disaster. Through the stories, people connected events and interpreted them meaningfully, deriving the context-specific meanings of risk and the communicative acts that were shaped by these views.

Symbolic interactionism focuses on micro-interactions, the meaning defining the action, and the change of meaning over time. The narratives highlighted individual views of risk based on their context, social environment, and experience.

The study revealed three main themes of risk. The first is that there is a risk when there is an advisory. It implies that risk should be communicated and should be taken seriously. This definition depicts the risk as it is tied to risk communication. Therefore, when a risk situation is not communicated, it is not risk. In this definition, risk also implies that people should not be complacent when it comes to considering risk information and situations.

Next is that there is a risk when there is an absence or loss of contact. This means that risk puts lives in danger and disconnects people from communicating with their loved ones. This view appeals to a conventional perspective of risk. Risk is viewed as an unprecedented situation threatening lives of individuals, their families, and communities.

Finally, there is a risk when there is no access to basic needs. This view of risk means people lose their access to the essentials, such as food, medication, and a safe shelter.

With these meanings of risk, the communicative acts shaped by these were identified. The study identified three main themes surrounding communicative acts.

First, people think about how to prepare for a disaster, so they can discuss preparations and anticipate what will happen, which shows that personal interaction matters in risk communication. People turn to the individuals they see in the household or the community for risk information. This theme has also shown that conversations aid risk communication because it entails an interaction of the differences in risk interpretation.

Next is that people talk about safety with loved ones. In risky situations, people talk about the situation they are facing, and they also reach out to their loved ones to assure them of the family's safety and seek out help.

Finally, people treat safety as a communal responsibility. This shows that victims help one another to ensure safety and provide for the needs of oneself, their loved ones, and the community. It was revealed that social connections are also helpful in gathering and receiving information about the current situation, which helps people in meeting their needs and avoiding the risk situation.

In understanding how these meanings shaped the communicative acts, the study has shown that: (1) When the risk is expressed as an advisory, people think about how to prepare for a disaster; (2) When the risk is an absence or loss of contact, people talk about safety with their loved ones; and (3) When the risk is the loss of access to basic needs, safety becomes a communal responsibility.

The study has demonstrated that there are facets of risk, which are primarily social. Risk threatens our social connections, the lives of our loved ones and community, and our capability to connect with them. The social aspect of risk also extends to our sources of information, interaction with the family and the community

for preparations, and protecting the neighborhood from dangers. Our social connections are important when providing relief from the situation, such that people turn to their loved ones, relatives, or neighbors to ask for help. Overcoming risk is a collective effort by the individual, the family, and the community, and even those not in the locale are capable of helping those facing the risk situation.

Overall, this study tackles risk anchored on symbolic interactionism— the meaning defining the action. It reveals unique nuances of risk based on the participants' historical and geographical context and provides a deeper understanding of the role of social context in risk preparedness and risk action. In addition, the study explains a context-based view of risk and the communicative acts shaped by it based on the experiences of the victims of Super Typhoon Yolanda.

## **Conclusions**

Risk and risk communication are used to protect the lives and the health of individuals and minimize the harm they are confronting. It is an essential preventive mechanism in disaster risk. Still, the disaster research landscape needs to deepen the understanding of risk and disaster victims, to explore the meanings that shape one's actions related therefrom.

Concerning this, the study was conducted to understand and explain risk from the lens of the victims of the 2013 Super Typhoon Yolanda in Tacloban. This study utilized symbolic interactionism to explore the meanings and the communicative acts shaped by the meaning. The study collected five narratives and utilized narrative analysis to derive its findings. As a qualitative study delving into the meaning of risk based on the experiences of the victims of Super Typhoon Yolanda, the study concludes the following:

In understanding the meaning of risk for the participants, the study showed that there is a risk when: there is an advisory; an absence or loss of contact; and, no access to basic needs. The study has also shown that these meanings shape actions: when there is an advisory, disaster preparation is thought about; when there is an absence or loss of contact, safety is talked about with loved ones; and when there is no access to basic needs, safety is treated as a communal responsibility. This study has shown how this theory of symbolic interactionism is useful in providing a nuanced view of risk based on the experiences of the victims of disasters.

Moreover, the study contributes to the theoretical enrichment of risk as a communication phenomenon. It serves as a means to explain how these individuals interact with a significant other, for instance, an object or a person, and their respective actions, in a disaster setting. The findings are unique to the set of participants of this study and cannot be generalized. Thus, a similar study on a different group may reveal different meanings and actions.

### **Recommendations**

Cognizant of the conclusions derived from the study; the following recommendations are forwarded:

Symbolic interactionism helps us understand risk as a communicative phenomenon. Thus, a similar study in a different group and disaster background would help in deepening understanding of an individual's interaction with a symbolic other to connote the meaning of risk and the communicative act or practice shaped by such meaning.

Similarly, disaster research needs the enrichment of qualitative knowledge on the meanings and actions in a disaster setting through the lens of the victims. Thus,

further qualitative research is needed to thicken the theoretical understanding that may help contribute to molding disaster policies, management, and practices.

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