

A Decade of Trauma, Grievance, and Resiliency: The Testimonial Narratives of the Victims of 2009 Ondoy Flood Disaster in Marikina City, Philippines

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Abstract

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This study is written as a commemoration to a decade of reminiscence of the 2009 tragedy brought by Typhoon *Ondoy* in Marikina City, Philippines. This study focuses on the testimonies and personal experiences of distinct residents of the local communities or barangays of Tumana, Malanday, and Nangka. This study wants to bring out the *trauma*, *grievance*, and *resiliency* of Marikina residents during times of disaster and calamities. The interviewed people will provide narratives of their trauma, grievance, and resiliency. As disclaimer, the study does not focus on what the local government has to say on the perspectives of their constituents on the said three aspects of this study. Instead, the study is meant to show how selected victims look at the steps taken by their local government in order to provide safety and security to the community.

1. INTRODUCTION

IT WAS ALMOST THE MIDDLE OF SEPTEMBER, YEAR 2009, an unprecedented catastrophe struck the silent valley of Marikina. It was a typical rainy season and rainfall has been anticipated. Little did people know that Typhoon *Ondoy* (2009) would cause one of the most destructive flashfloods in the history of the valley – followed by Typhoon *Pedring* (2011); Southwest Monsoon rains or *Habagat* (2012); and Typhoon *Ulysses* (2020). As one of the young sufferers at the time of the tragedy, the researcher witnessed the horrors of the disaster and experienced the struggles of the inhabitants. The flood is not the only problem the citizens met. They also faced themselves more burdens after. They had to survive day-to-day without their homes because they were destroyed and flooded away. They had to find ways to fill their hungry stomachs and beg for food. They had to maximize the limited supplies and relief goods provided by the local government.

The researcher is going to utilize two frameworks: Marianne Hirsch's *post-memory* (1992) and Arthur Kleinman, Veen Das, & Margaret Lock's *social suffering* (1997). On one hand, the former describes the relationship of the original event and the second generation or *generation after* and the bearing of the collective and cultural trauma of those who came before and the experiences of those who *reminisce* only by means of the oral stories or even

images among which they grew up. It states that other future generations may share the same feeling of horror and disgust even if they only witnessed the history through oral sharing and images. On the other hand, the latter takes different human consequence of different social problems such as famine, depression, diseases, and even catastrophes. These assemblages of social problem came from the result of institutional power does to people, wherein, human can response to social problems as they are victimized by that kind of power.

As an application of the above-mentioned concepts, the research will emphasize the three important aspects evident in the testimonies of the *Ondoy* victims – namely, *trauma*, *grievances*, and *resiliency*. The research will use the testimonial narratives as the basis for finding the victims' traumas, grievances, and resiliencies.

The trauma of a certain person will proliferate if there are certain objects or instances that will trigger the ill memory from the past. Like what Hirsch stated, with the use of photos, stories, and events, a person will remember a feared past. Similarly, the concept of *post memory* points out that trauma (*vicarious traumatization*) (Moulden & Firestone 2007; Rauvola et al. 2019; Singer et al. 2019) is transmitted or disseminated through photos and mostly, through discourse between the primary victims and those who are only listening and sympathizing (especially, to those who haven't met the same experience). One such evidence or reminder for that trauma are the experiences of Marikeños that can be traced through images or symbols (such as the known infrastructures or landmarks that are being submerged during the flood and even the alert siren) and events (such as the sudden or panic evacuation of residents as response to an upcoming unprecedented flooding).

Secondly, the grievance. That another aspect, as well, will be discussed in this research. The researcher personally believes that there is a direct correlation between *trauma* and *grievances*. For these instances, there is a need to clarify that in this research, grievance will be given a technical working definition, not merely an emotional state (*i.e.* grief or grieving) but a form of discourse. The researcher takes into consideration that a state of being can also be transmitted or transferred. Inherent in the narratives are the lamentations and pleadings of the victims just like the lack of immediate response and intervention by the government institutions during natural calamities which people continuously remember due to trauma. This is in contrast with the government's claim that the Marikeños have already *moved on* from the devastation caused by the tragedy. The *social suffering*, can be said, is due to the effect of the institutional power (Kleinman, et al. 1997) and its imposition to the constituents. Definitely, the emotional reality of the people can also be derived from the narratives imparted by the victims.

Lastly, the research will also conceptualize resiliency through the partial outcome of their narratives. The viral quotation "...the *Filipino spirit is waterproofed*" has been used as a way to describe the resiliency of the people. It helps uplift the emotional drain caused by tragedies and calamities. Be it earthquake, fire, and flood, the Filipinos has been said to be "*never failing to smile*". Similarly, in the case of the Marikeños, while carrying traumas and grievances, resiliency is also evident. Proof of this can be seen through their continuous residency in the area despite the horrific experiences.

2. PREVIOUS STUDIES

Typhoon Ondoy is a truly devastating tragedy. Many people died and lost houses and occupations especially those found in the area of the Marikina River Basin because of the rapid increase of the water level (Abon et al. 2011; Santillan et al. 2013; Balquiedra 2014). For example, based on the work of Santillan et al. (2013), they stated that there were more or less 300 people dead and 700,000 people who lost their homes within less than 24 hours.

Many of the victims of the calamity of Ondoy have specific stories and experiences but these narratives are not really given focus. This is the reason why there is a proliferation of studies revealing stories of risk, vulnerability and trauma of the victims of Ondoy (*cf.* Or 2010; Oxfam Great Britain 2011; Seng 2014; Cleto 2017) but there is no work existing directly discussing the specific experiences of the victims from Marikina. An example of an area study is the work of Seng (2014) which focuses on the experiences of the residents from the locality or barangay Banaba in the City of San Mateo, Province of Rizal, a neighboring locality found north tip of Nangka, Marikina. And Oxfam Great Britain (2011) which focuses on the province of Laguna and Rizal. If there are, it centers on the social and political impact but not on the effects of tragedy in the perception and emotion or if not fully, then implied in the study (Uyangaren & Claudio n.d.; Institute of Philippine Culture 2012; Romulo 2012; Balquiedra 2014). The Institute of Philippine Culture (2012) stated the stories of those rising in *Gawad Kalinga Camacho Phase II* of Barangay Nangka who lost their jobs and businesses.

Because of the absence of a direct study discussing the testimonial narratives of the Marikina residents during the time of Ondoy, this is high time that a study be made giving emphasis on commemoration and valuing through social media, specifically through *Facebook*. According to Dimaculangan (2012), *Facebook* is a *public sphere* (*Öffentlichkeit*) because through posted stories and images referring to the time of *Ondoy*, the present dwellers are able to see and look back on what happened. This is the reason why there is a need to write and document the trauma, grievance and resiliency of the Marikina residents.

Similar with the work of Seng (2014) and Cleto (2017) on the specific areas affected by Ondoy, this study attempts to reveal the testimonial narratives of the Marikina residents. Trauma lives within the minds of the people and it is not easily eradicated if there are signs and objects present which remind the people of the sad memory (Tedeschi & Calhoun 1995; Alexander 2004; Hirsch 2012). Hirsch (2012) discussed that trauma can be transferred through stories and images. It becomes much more memorable if the negative effect is intense and long-lasting.

Encapsulated within social sufferings are the tough or difficult experiences of the residents. The basis for the suffering of the society is the way on how the institutions involved responds made (Kleinman et al. 1997; Wilkinson 2004). It is possible to look at the inadequacies and shortcomings of the government is somehow responsible for the experienced trauma. In the case of Marikina residents during *Ondoy*, one can look at the misgivings on the disaster risk management in the response for the needs and demands of the residents (Watanabe et al. 2011; Tanseco 2012).

Even if there are trauma and grievance experiences by the residents, they do not succumb from the sadness and shows fervor burning resiliency (Or 2010; Alvarez & Cardenas 2019). In their study, Alvarez and Cardenas (2019) characterized the introduction of the concept of *resiliency revanchism* or aiming to recover the lost territory. This shows that short narratives of people who, while having lost houses, continue to become steadfast. As Or (2010) stated, our story is a written record to remind everyone that *Ondoy* happened. Marikeños were there, they are still there.

3. METHODS

In this day and age, it is really difficult to gather people who are willing to participate and be part of the development of researches. People fear that being involved in socio-political conversation might render them voicing anti-government sentiments. But, in this instance, it was easy for the researcher to gather people willing to provide insights and be helpful respondents for the study. In this part, the researcher is looking at the aid of those called as *gatekeepers*. In this research, the contributions of those people are great because

they serve as linkage between the researcher who wants to gather data and the potential respondents. Their influence is also much greater because they are there during the interview with respondents. In the case of this study, former students of the researcher from a local university in Marikina have served as *gatekeepers*. The former students decided to join the researcher in gathering potential respondents. The researcher did not ask consent from the former students to include their name in the research anymore because they are still at a very young age and so the researcher decided not to include their names for confidentiality purposes. In this case, they will be introduced using codes of sex, age and district of their domicile. Henceforth, [M, 18, D1], [M, 19, D1], [M, 19, D2], [M, 18, D2], and [F, 18, D2, outside Marikina].

Geography is also an important factor in choosing potential respondents. The physiography of the city of Marikina is composed of City Center Zone or *poblacion* [includes the localities of Calumpang, San Roque, Sta Elena and Sto. Niño]; New Town Zone or *ibayo* [includes the localities of Barangka, Industrial Valley Complex, Tañong, at Jesus dela Peña]; Foot Hills Zone or *bundok* [includes localities of Concepcion Dos, Fortune, Marikina Heights, at Parang]; at Riverside Zone or *tabing-ilog* [includes localities of Concepcion Uno, Tumana, Malanday, at Nangka] (NSCB 2003; Marikina City Government 2013). With the given four major divisions, the researcher chose to focus on the last division which is the Riverside Zone or *tabing-ilog*. Just like what is already stated, the researcher, who lives in Concepcion Uno which is part of the Riverside Zone, experienced the flood calamity brought about by typhoon *Ondoy*. With this in mind, the researcher attempts to look at the experiences of those living nearby the river, in the localities of Tumana, Malanday, and Nangka.

As part of the process, the researcher used a specific type of interview called *structured interview*. The structured interview is preferred over others because of its clear flow and bases itself from a series of questions prepared by the researcher. The researcher prepared possible questions for the interview. The researcher avoided formulating questions which are leading or providing hint in arriving towards a projected answer which involves trauma, grievances and resiliency. This means that the interviewed respondents are given freedom to provide their own narrative. The researcher shall categorize the responses based on the theme. The researcher chose to use the *lingua franca*, in this case is Filipino language, as mode of communication for a smoother conversation between the parties involved.

4. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

There is an emphasis on *postmemory* as one of the frameworks and concepts used in this research. Marianne Hirsch referred to this term as a collective and cultural trauma of those who came before or the experiences they can reminisce only by means of the images and stories among which they grew up. In her interview, Hirsch first began to wonder why some narratives that her parents had told her or had summoned about what her parents always referred to as war and Holocaust were affecting her. Also, it is clear that she had not experienced any of those traumatic scenes directly. So, in order to make her familiar to those tragedies, her parents are always showing some pictures and telling stories about that event. Memories are not just familial. Inherited and manifested trauma transmitted culturally and inter-generationally. Trauma, at the same time, cannot easily be erased because it can be transferred from one person (had direct participation) to another (a listener vis-à-vis second generation).

Through this, the researcher applies the concept of *postmemory* to the victims of *Ondoy*. Victims of *Ondoy* varies. Some are aware or conscious and some are unaware or do not really remember the tragedy due to their young age (examples are infant or in early childhood stage at the time of the tragedy). They can only reminisce the tragedy through the stories imparted by their parents or elder people. The particular characteristics of the

narrative where there are manifestations of memorial awareness of the victims and how they remember and impart to another generation will be discussed. Objects and images that induce or trigger memory of trauma are also included. Most of the time, this involves tangible objects.

The researcher believes that trauma intensifies grievance which is basically a result of social suffering. Marginalized societies try to cope with the suffering they produce and trying to define more legitimate discursive and reactions to those sufferings (Kleinman et al. 1997; Renault 2010, 225-226). As Arthur Kleinman said, suffering is social not only because social force breaks bodies but also because social institutions responded with assistance with certain sectors, categories, or levels of sufferers in which that “social institutions” have constructed as authorized objects for giving social help. Therefore, some sufferers are denying or treating with bureaucratic indifference (Kleinman 1997, 321). It is clear that the real essence of social help can be totally classified as selective or unequally distributed. Through the power and influence, sufferer can become priority in help giving. Likewise, for those who are powerless. The above-mentioned argument is probably clear and can be primarily testified by the narratives and testimonies of selected respondents thru their grievances during the tragedy. Using the transcribed verbatim, the researcher had classified the respondent's trauma, grievance, and resiliency. In this case, the respondents from Tumana, Malanday, and Nangka will be introduced using codes of sex, present age, and barangay of their domicile. Henceforth, [F, 45, T], [F, 46, M], [M, 44, N] and his wife, [F, 45, N].

Trauma

There is a more evident fear with female respondents if they are to be compared with male respondents. Truly, no matter how long it has been since the tragedy, if the impact of the tragedy is intense, there is a possibility that one will never forget it. Disastrous events which are not simply caused by nature, but also caused by man creates intense trauma.

...yon yung ano talaga, wala talaga, washed-out talaga kami (that was what, everything was washed out) [F, 45, T]

nang tumawid po kami sa mga bubong-bubong ng bahay para makarating kami doon sa mataas na bahay yung mayroong Third Floor...bale umakyat kami at gumawa ng way ang Panginoon na mabigyan kami ng daan na may bakal na nasa pader ng bahay. Kaya nakaligtas kami (when we crossed over from roof to roof of the houses in order for us to get to a three-storey house...we went up there and God made a way for us to be given sturdy pathways on the wall of the house. That is why we were safe) [F, 46, M]

...wala kang gamit, wala as in kung ano lang matira sa sarili mo...hindi ko pa nararanasan eh...First time siguro nasa bubong ako na parang inisip ko na delubyo na talaga ito kasi malakas talaga ang tubig. lisipin mo nalang yung buhay mo at buhay ka pa din [sic] (you have no clothes, as in totally nothing but just the things left behind...I haven't experienced that...First time was when I was on the roof thinking about the deluge wherein the raging water was very strong. You are going to think about your life and good thing, you're alive) [F, 45, N]

Muntik akong mamatay noon...Nandoon ako sa kabilang bahay sa kapit-bahay naming hinugot ko sa bintana yan [tinuro ang asawa]...iyon yung pinakanakakatakot doon kasi sabi ko kung saka-sakaling humawak ako at bumitaw siya ay malamang sampung taon na akong byudo (I almost died back then... I was on my neighbor's roof when I dragged my wife out from the window [points to the wife]...that was the scariest, I told myself if I grabbed her and she slipped, I could have been widowed now for ten years)

[M, 44, N]

[M, 44, N] is likely to be more active and less reflective in their reaction to the tragedy. As a husband, he refuses to feel fear for himself but fear for his loved ones. Evident from the narratives of the respondent victims that there are lots of unforgettable memories caused by the flood.

Although the statements of [F, 45, T] at [F, 46, M] are not included in the verbatim transcription, the two respondents were the sole savior of their children and kins because their husbands were not present. The latter's husband was in province while the former's was in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia. The latter's situation is alarming because their children were very young and small thus the children were dragged and were clinging on her while the all try to get to a higher ground while being pushed by the force of the raging flood.

All the respondents have children during the time of the tragedy. [F, 45, T] has two children and one of them is already in high school who has enough awareness of the situation. [F, 46, M] has five children ages, 6, 8, 9, 10 and 12; the married couple, [M, 44, N] and [F, 45, N], has three children with ages 14, 12 and 10 during the time of the flood. The researcher queried if the respondents still narrate such stories of tragedy to their children and observe what they feel towards it.

...nagkaka-phobia na sila, sila takot din din (...it's traumatic for them, they are really afraid) [F, 45, T]

Yung panganay totally, yun talaga yung nakaramdam ng takot saka yung pangalawa kasi sila na talaga yung may malay nung [sic] mga time na iyon...takot lang noon sila yung tumawid kami ng bubong pero nang nandoon na kami sa taas, okay naman na...Balewala lang naman din [bunso]...tinatanong niya lang sa akin, "Mama gaano kalalim" ganyang kinukwento ko sa kanya. Pero yung nararamdaman nila okay lang (The eldest totally felt the fear and so is the second one because both of them were already aware of the situation during that time... they fear crossing from roof to roof but we were already up there, we were okay... [the youngest] shrugged it off...the youngest only asked to me, "Mama, how deep?" and that, I told her. But, what they feel, I think, is okay) [F, 46, M]

Ay hindi, hindi sila natatakot. Alam nila na bago naman kasi halimbawa may ganyang ano...pangyayari, inaano [itinuturo] ko din [sic] sa kanila na doon sila sa safe para di na kami nag-iisip (No, They're not afraid. They know before that, there are times that we teach to them that they should go to safe places so that we don't need to decide for them) [M, 44, N]

This only goes to show that the children already have enough awareness of the situation whether they should be afraid when the rain or shrug things off. Although they are still young, they already feel scared whenever the rain falls down. It seems that to those who weren't conscious at the time of *Ondoy*, they do not understand fear. Nevertheless, for those who witnessed the tragedy, it's fearsome to experience the same things again.

The trauma is triggered if a similar event or a familiar thing from the tragedy is observed and makes an individual reminisce and feel negative emotions again. For every drop of rain, or sound of siren and other signals or tangible objects, a victim is easy to turn back and reminisce.

...diyan po sa may ano sa kabila, pag may tubig na po ryan [kabilang kalye/ Palay Street]...pag may ano na 18 o 19 [ft.],

ano na talaga taranta na kami umpisa na naman yan...may maano lang na bagyo, pag-ulan ng mga ilang araw, ano na kami niyan, kabado na kami niyan (...there, on the other road, if there is already flooding of there [Palay Street]...if it's already 18 or 19 [ft.], we are already hysterical, the same thing again...if there is typhoon, and rain for some days, we are already panicking) [F, 45, T]

Mayroon po kaming mga palatandaan, lagi kaming nakadungaw doon sa ilog, may tinatandaan kami doon pag umabot na, tumaas, tumaas na...kinakabahan talaga kasi naku yung mga gamit kailangan na namang i-ano [iligpit], dati-dati siyempre wala pa kaming taas (We have signs to consider, we always observe the river there, we have specific signs there if the water already reached already a high level... we already worry because again, we need to prep our things because back then we don't have second floor) [F, 46, M]

...sirena yung "engggggg"...namamasyal siyempre sa ilog kasi pagka-ano ha malaki na yung tubig tumitingin muna kami sa kanal pag wala pumupunta muna kami sa may ilog (The siren which goes "engggggg"...we talk a walk to the river and check and if there is already water reaching the tip of the drainage canal. If no water in the canal, we go to the river) [M, 44, N]

It is very noticeable at this point that there are panic and hysteria in their emotional trauma every time there is an occurrence of rain. It is observable that for [M, 44, N], it is just typical for him whenever there might be an impending disaster to come. This goes to show that the gender embodiment on why they look and how they face the tragedy. In this part, the male respondent shows courage instead of fear.

Grievance

A lot of victims notice that the steps taken by the local government for their safety and security. In this part comes the concept of social suffering. The victims have observed that the local government have been active in providing aid. Although, mostly, those who have been provided with aid were well off and has closer access to local government.

...oo meron naman sa daan lang [highway o itaas lang]...wala, wala dito nagrescue sa amin noon doon lang sa taasan talaga (...yes, there are aids [in the highways or higher roads]...Nothing, nothing here came to rescue, only on the higher ground) [F, 45, T]

*Meron naman po...yun yung mga speedboat nila. Tas yung iba, sa iba **sigurong** lugar may mga eroplanong nakasagip sa kanila, sa amin wala eh, dito sa may Provident ata [lugar ng mayayaman] (There were rescuers...some on speedboats. Some are scattered on other places perhaps airplanes rescued them. None was here. In Provident village perhaps, there are [village for the rich]) [F, 46, M]*

*...sino naman pupunta sa inyo dito eh halos naman ng ano binaha, helicopter meron **kumakaway-kaway lang** (who would come here to you? All places were flooded, if there were helicopters, they were just waving their hands) [M, 44, N]*

Other than the observed level of inequality among the respondents, evident in the narratives are the pain and suffering and the common demands of people during calamities.

...wala po, tawid lang talaga kami kung saan kami mapunta...bakit parang bigla daw [sic] ang tubig, di man lang sila nag-pasabi, parang abiso (...none. We just crossed wherever we go...why is it so sudden? They did not even give notice or advise) [F, 45, T]

Hindi kami inabot, hindi kami inabot dito ng ano [tulong] eh, kung kung inabot kami ng mga ganun, eh di... nasa rooftop kami...nagtext kami, "ihingi nyo naman kami ng tulong" yung ganyan ganyan, yung "text niyo siya" "sabihin mo naman doon sa mga nasa ano na lugar", "sa mga namumuno na ina-ano [tinetext] naman kami, i-rescue naman kami" ganun (It did not reach us. The aid did not reach us. If there were, we were at the rooftop, texting for help to whoever can rescue us) [F, 46, M]

...parang wala eh kasi nagkaroon man ng tulong yan pero siguro ano na mga a week na kasi siyempre yung Marikina totally devastated din (It was as if no help came but I thin, it has been a week since Marikina was totally devastated) [M, 44, N]

The occurrence of the observed airplanes flying over, speedboat floating along and many more are actually the opposite of aid. They are not really providing personal and genuine aid. Based on the narratives, aids did not reach their community. If so, it was already late. Although they are just a few of the many victims, it is easy to say that the rest reflects the same experience.

Resiliency

One of the things that led the researcher into initiating this study is because of the narratives he personally heard from other people that the common discourse of the local government is that the Marikina residents have already moved on from the tragedy caused by typhoon Ondoy. But from the conducted interview with the selected respondents, it showed that it's actually the opposite in reality. There is no real moving on unlike what people from the government had claimed.

...medyo [tumatawa]...kasi minsan diba ano pa rin mga ilang baha pa din [sic] ang magkasunod (...sort of [laughing]...because sometimes, some floods are recurrent) [F, 45, T]

*Move-on pag walang baha...hindi sigurong masabi na naka move-on kasi paulit-ulit nangyayari sa amin eh...pag hindi na nangyari sa amin ang baha, siguro may move-on sigurong mangyayari... **Nakatatak** na lang sa isip naming every 10 years or 9 years, kasi dati 10 years bago mangyari ang Ondoy (Moved on only when there is no flood...not really claiming that we've move on because it happens repeatedly...if the flood stopped from ever happening, maybe perhaps, we can say we've moved on... It is already inculcated in our minds for 10 or 9 years. Ondoy happened 10 years ago) [F, 46, M]*

...siyempre move on ka na alangan namang mananatili ka doon [sic] sa alaala ng malungkot na buhay na iyon siyempre move on ka na (...of course, you move on instead of staying there in the past filled with sadness) [M, 44, N]

Just like the initial observations, it seems that the statements of [M, 44, N] were more positive than the female respondents. He is very steadfast in leaving behind the bad memories of *Ondoy*. Again, this shows that gender has a factor.

Evident in the statements of the respondents that they are resilient. It is important to note that people have been living for a long time in the area and have experienced multiple floods. For all of them, they consider *Ondoy* as the worst flood. [F, 45, T] has been living in Marikina for 15 years and experienced four floods; 30 years for [F, 46, M] and five floods; and [M, 44, N] and [F, 45, N] for 43 years but unable to recall how many floods have been experienced.

...hindi dito na lang, dito na lang talaga...nakakasawa din [sic] kaso lang dito talaga... (...no. we'll stay here...but we are tired of experiencing flood but we'll stay here...) [F, 45, T]

*Ay hindi, kasi nga yun nga katuwiran nga ng karamihan, pag...pag nagbabaha **lang naman**...sanay na ba, sanay na...kung бага nasanay na dahil nga may matataas na rin na bahay, may nalalapitan kaya ganun. Pag nabaha lang naman, saka pag ano **lang naman** after 10 years **lang naman** (No, because the reason for others is that when...when only there's flood...got used to it? Got used to it...got used to it because the houses are now two-storey high or more, there's a place to go to, that's why. If there's flood and also after 10 years only) [F, 46, M]*

...okay na nasanay na (Okay, got used to it) [F, 45, N]

...pag maraming pera aalis ako Balubad pwede naman sa Marikina tumira eh kaya lang siyempre doon [sic] sa mataas na high ground sa Marikina Heights...siyempre pag wala kang pera baba-baba muna pag marami ka ng pera akyat-akyat (...if there's money, we'll get out of here, still choose to be here in Marikina but on higher grounds like Marikina Heights... of course, if there's no money, stay down here. If there's money, go up there) [M, 44, N]

If the first part shows that the male is more vindictive but on the part which asks if they would want to transfer places, it seems the answer is different from the female. The women insist that they would stay in the area despite being prone to flooding. The terms “*lang naman*” (only), “*sanay na*” (used to it), “*dito na lang talaga*” (just chose to stay here only) show resiliency. For the male respondent, he wishes to live on other areas which are higher if there is enough money to do so.

5. CONCLUSION

The result of the initial study shows that the residents continue to reminisce the tragedy of *Ondoy* which happened in 2009, almost a decade ago. With repeatedly occurring events, it shows that people are still looking back to the sad memory of lost especially those who live nearby the river. The river itself, the sound of siren and the non-stop rain serve as signs of the respondents to identify if there is another impending flood calamity. This is also the reason why the word *Ondoy* became a part of the linguistic corpora of the Filipinos. It became a new word itself. Such examples are “*Na-Ondoy ka na ba?*” (*Have you been Ondoyed/asking if one has been flooded but referring to the intensity of Ondoy*). This has something to do with flooding or heavy rain. Because of the continuous reminiscence of the

tragedy and sharing the stories to the younger generation (with or without awareness), the new generation now shares the same feeling of trauma and grievance. They do not share the same intensity of emotion but they share a fair amount of worry.

This study also shows the extreme life experiences of those who live by the river banks or near the river or tributaries during *Ondoy*. Some almost died, climb houses and humped from roof to roof. Perhaps this is a common story shared by everyone. They've also experience lack of resources or scarcity therefore rendering a high demand for supplies. Some residents share their blessings and some makes an opportunity to earn. Some were able to get aid from well off families or even institutions. But some did not receive any therefore feeling that they are not that important to the eyes of the government.

Behind trauma and fearful experiences, people are still able to cling to courage and be resilient. They believe that as long as they can endure the cost of living and the low living condition in the area, they would still keep staying there. "*Baha lang naman iyan* (It is just some flood)," says one of the respondents. What they do is they add another storey to the house to use as default refuge in times of flooding.

The study also noticed the difference between the answered preference of male respondents and female respondents. The females were shown as scared despite being resilient while the male shows wanting to have another area to choose to live.

Lastly, the researcher has three recommendations for the possible next study. First, future researchers can conduct comparative studies of testimonial narratives of male and female respondents in the case of trauma and resiliency. Secondly, because this is a qualitative study, the future researcher can now choose to conduct a quantitative research. Lastly, since this study stated that it doesn't focus on the government's response to the in need, new researchers can conduct a separate research where the local government is the topic to discuss. This study is near from effect and in need of and even open for academic criticisms and suggestions to identify lackings, missings and mistakes.

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