Kapwa: A phenomenological inquiry on the lived mediated communication practices of Anakbayan activists in the Philippines during the COVID-19 pandemic.

Lordivine Marie T. Pineda
University of the Philippines Diliman

ABSTRACT

Anakbayan is one of the largest student-led mass organizations in the Philippines that uses cyberactivism to protest against the abuse of governmental power. It has been red-tagged multiple times in the past. It was red-tagged as a communist-terrorist group by the Duterte administration. Red-tagging is "the act of labeling, branding, naming and accusing individuals and/or organizations of being left-leaning, subversives, communists or terrorists as a strategy by state agents, particularly law enforcement agencies and the military against those perceived to be 'threats' or "enemies of the State" (Pimentel-Simbulan, 2011, p.12). Red-tagging has its dark roots in Philippine history whose records of tortures since the Martial Law era have not yet received justice.

The militarized "shoot-them-dead" protocol of former Philippine President Rodrigo Duterte at the height of the COVID-19 pandemic forced activists to shift online and continue their protest actions. The rampant red-tagging in the Philippine locale also enforced the use of various social media platforms to create posts that will produce more online engagements and strengthen their calls to action. Using a phenomenological hermeneutic approach to qualitative research and the theory of Apparatgeist on Time and Being, Anakbayan youth activists interpreted their experience-capacities and limitations in doing cyberactivism during the COVID-19 pandemic. Through a series of in-depth dialogic interviews, ten Anakbayan youth activists demonstrated how they maintain, sustain, and promote the organization's social

causes through cyberactivism. Results show that Anakbayan youth activists minimized the effects of incivility, disinformation, red-tagging, and algorithm-produced social media bubble filters online through pakikipagkapwa in public and private counterpublic discourse arenas. Anakbayan youth activists further interpret online antagonisms as part of the collective struggle created by the gaps between individuals' material conditions in the age of the World Wide Web.

Birth of Anakbayan Digital Activism

Anakbayan has been red-tagged multiple times in the past. It was tagged as a communist terrorist group by the Butuan City-headquartered Police Regional Office 13 during the Duterte administration (Luna, 2020). Anakbayan, also called Children of the People, is an organization self-described as "the comprehensive national democratic mass organization of Filipino youth and students" (Oquindo, 2020). The organization was founded on the 30th of November 1998, the same day KKK founder and revolutionary, Andres Bonifacio, founded the *Kabataang Makabayan* (youth nationalist) during Spanish colonial times.

Since the 19th century, Filipino youth activism has been historically known to pioneer national collective struggles against international and national abuse of power in the country (Luneza, 2015, as cited in Labor & San Pascual, 2022). It was the weak presidency of Former Philippine President Joseph Estrada that forced young activists to use the Web and mobile technologies in reaching discontent and disconnected Filipinos during the second EDSA People Power Revolution (Manrique & Manrique, 2017). The 'Oust Erap' protest birthed Anakbayan's first digital activism. It is also one of its most successful modern protests because it expanded its growth globally and paved the way for the creation of its chapters abroad in Tokyo, Japan, San Diego, New York, and Seattle in the United States of America, and Melbourne, Australia (Uy, 2020). Moreover, the campaign lifted the bar of activism as the organization's social causes are mediated through multiple online platforms across various sectors of the Philippine locale and diasporas abroad.

Red-tagging in the Philippines

Red-tagging is "the act of labeling, branding, naming and accusing individuals and/or organizations of being left-leaning, subversives, communists or terrorists (used as) a strategy by State agents, particularly law enforcement agencies and the military, against those perceived to be 'threats' or 'enemies of the State'" (Pimentel-Simbulan, 2011, p.12). During the Martial Law regime in the Philippines, it was disguised as a campaign against the communists' New People's Army (NPA) despite the history of attacks being politically charged.

Red-tagging has its dark roots in Philippine history whose records of red-bait and torture from the years 1965 to 1986 enforced the persecution of civilians exceeding 30,000 Filipinos (Atienza, 2021). Some of the

consequences of red-baiting in the age of dictatorship were salvaging, the term used for mass executions, burning, extra-judicial killings, and mass disappearances (Leary et al, 1984). As of December 2021, KARAPATAN, a left-wing non-governmental organization and human rights alliance conducting research about human rights campaigns, has reported a total of 421 activist murders and 33 red-tagged activists within 5 years of Duterte administration (Dela Peña, 2021). The list of red-tagged individuals increases; however, the target remains the same; journalists, lawyers, grass-root activists, farmers, cultural workers, environmental activists, health workers, and youth activists. Red-baiting is condemned by the United Nations as a human rights violation of freedom of speech that former Philippine President Duterte is known to disregard since his inception as the head of the state in 2016.

Cyberactivism during the Covid-19 Pandemic

The militarized lockdown measures during the COVID-19 pandemic forced activists to shift online to continue their protest. With polarization (Ong & Cabañes, 2018) and online slacktivism — an online form of self-aggrandizing through activism (Cabrera et al, 2017; Jones, 2015; Hölscher, 2020) plaguing the Internet, the fight for human rights did not come easy for Anakbayan. Advocating for social causes must be established through norms that build strong connections that cut across different cultures. This is essential because norms that are deemed appropriate to the cultural level allow political discourse and activism to be socially accepted (Labor & San Pascual, 2022).

The Filipinos' psychology *Kapwa* argues that inherent to the Filipino community is the heightened sense of empathy for collective struggles (Enriquez, 1993). The practice of *pakikipagkapwa*, or shared inner-self emanated since pre-colonial times and was made vivid during the 380 years of colonial powers in the Philippine archipelago (Desai, 2016). Just like the *pakikipagkapwa* during the Filipino revolution against their Spanish colonizers (Enriquez, 1993), Anakbayan youth activists also displayed their inherent sense of empathy by initiating community pantries that provided a reprieve for Philippine sectors that were neglected by the state at the height of the COVID-19 pandemic. They also created a diaspora of overseas Filipinos who rally for social change in the Philippines through public statements of dissent using various Social Networking Sites (SNSs) and the Internet (Sales, 2020).

Interestingly, while *kapwa* can be built, it could also be damaged and

destroyed by various forms of colonialism that affect the loss of culture and identity (David et al, 2017 as cited in Labor & San Pascual, 2022 p.3). The significance of meta-affordances online in allowing the public to affiliate with personally relevant topics of conversations that are politically sensitive (Xiong et al, 2019), is diminished by online incivility. In this study, the researcher unearths the ways in which Anakbayan activists counter their perceived limitations in doing cyberactivism during the COVID-19 pandemic. It also describes the experienced capacities of Anakbayan in maintaining, sustaining, and promoting *pakikipagkapwa* through cyberactivism.

In essence, successful protest actions in the history of revolutions in the country have been rooted in *pakikipagkapwa* (Enriquez, 1993). This paper argues that theorizing *kapwa* in the age of mediated societies contextualizes and broadens the core value of Filipino identity essential in the country's progress. Against this backdrop, the study addresses the question:

> How do Anakbayan activists maintain, sustain, and promote *pakikipagkapwa* through their social and political protests online amidst state red-tagging during the Covid-19 pandemic?

Using the integrated theory of Hermeneutic Phenomenological approach to Being and Time and the Apparatgeist theory, its specific objectives are as follows:

1. To locate and describe *kapwa* in the mediated interpersonal communications of Anakbayan youth activists amidst state red-tagging during the COVID-19 pandemic;
2. To describe how Anakbayan student organizations minimize their experienced limitations of communication technologies used for cyberactivism through *pakikipagkapwa* and;
3. To characterize the features of media technology that Anakbayan members consider the most important in maximizing their *pakikipagkapwa* through cyberactivism amidst state red-tagging during the COVID-19 pandemic.

State neglect and inequality were explicitly demonstrated by the executive-in-chief of the country during the pandemic. The fundamental right of Filipinos to access news was halted when former President Duterte shut-down one of the largest broadcasting media in the country (Rulloda et al, 2021). He also advocated the unprecedented arrest

of impoverished Filipinos who could not afford to follow lockdown measures during his controversial 'Shoot-them-dead' State of the Nation Address (SONA) (Rulloda et al, 2021. It is imperative, therefore, to understand how youth activists adopt new methods in countering the desensitization of governmental abuse of power to locate and activate the Filipino core value of *kapwa* in digital spaces where social, cultural, and political discourse may transpire.

Literature Review

This section explains how the history of oppression and red-tagging in the Philippines ingrained the culture and psychology of *pakikipagkapwa* amongst Filipinos. It also illustrates how the hermeneutic phenomenology approach to inductive research resolves the insufficiency of positivist epistemology in analyzing *pakikipagkapwa* as it is lived at present (Husserl, (1980) mentioned in Laverty 2003).

Kapwa Theory

Virgilio Enriquez (1993) posited that there is a core social psychology in Filipino social interactions called *Kapwa*. The word *ka* in *Kapwa* means "shared", while *puwa* is the root word for *puwang*, or space, thus the word *kapwa* in English is 'shared oneness with others' (Meneses, 2019). The practice of *pakikipagkapwa*, or shared inner-self emanated since pre-colonial times and was made vivid during the 380 years of colonial powers in the Philippine archipelago (Desai, 2016).

There have been multiple attempts to characterize the value of *kapwa* in literature (Labor & San Pascual, 2002). Clemente et al (2008), for example, explained how *Kapwa* is not the core identity of Filipinos but is only a part of a set of Filipino values that are pursued simultaneously in a given social context. He further illustrated that *pakikipagkapwa* is enacted in fluidity with other Filipino values across in-group or *hindi ibang tao* towards out-group or *ibang-tao*. Moreover, the contexts in which these values are simultaneously enacted are influenced by the political milieu of the country — "leadership, national identity, influences of socialization agents, and the likes' (Clemente et al, 2008). Enriquez (1975 as cited in Pelayo et al, 2016) added an additional distinction of *pakikipagkapwa* as the interaction with another person as an equal to the "I" or "*Ako*". Enriquez (2004 as cited in Desai, 2016) states that:

> *Pakikipagkapwa* is much deeper and profound in its implications. It also means accepting and dealing with the other person as an equal. The company president and the office clerk may not have an equivalent role, status, or income but the Filipino way demands and implements the idea that they treat one another as fellow human beings (Kapwa-tao). This means regard for the dignity and being of others (p. 36).

Meneses (2019) study explored how *pakikipagkapwa* is a continuous intentional act of valuing Others, especially the subalterns. It seeks to encourage inclusivity amidst the effects of a fragmented society. It is the value that pervades every ethnolinguistic group in the Philippines whether Animist, Muslim, Catholic/Christian, or otherwise. Santiago (1976) as cited in Enriquez (1993) described *pakikipagkapwa* as "humanness at its highest level". This act of altruism is seen from the Katipunan revolt against the Spanish colonial powers until the age of collective healing from colonial traumas (Deasi, 2016). Cyberactivism may be Anakbayan's enactment of *kapwa* today as demonstrated in multiple social media platforms where Filipinos are known to be the most relational communities (De Leon, 2014; Oquindo, 2020). Red-tagging, being another form of oppression similar to colonial times stirs a heightened sense of empathy that encourages young Filipinos to join social media protests.

Hermeneutic Phenomenological Studies

Edmund Husserl, the father of phenomenology, and his student, Martin Heidegger, both believed that disembodiment in Cartesian dualism is a myth because it claims that a phenomenon is not consciously experienced by social actors as they are living it. However, Heidegger differs from Husserl's practical application of phenomenology research — that a researcher should set aside his or her presuppositions to analyze the phenomenon better. Heidegger believed that this is impossible because the phenomenon being lived by individuals is co-constituted (Laverty, 2003). Furthermore, Heidegger believed that consciousness is inseparable from the world and it consists of our historical lived experiences (Nigar, 2020).

Jones (1975) as cited in Laverty's (2003) comparative study on the history and the methodological considerations of hermeneutic phenomenology and phenomenology stated that Husserl seems to argue

that researchers who attended only to external, physical stimuli that could be isolated and correlated with other isolated responses, not only missed important variables but ignored context and created a highly artificial situation (p.22). Therefore, the co-construction of reflexive analysis about cyberactivism amidst state-red-tagging during the COVID-19 pandemic between the researcher and the respondent prevents the production of highly artificial situations. Heidegger expands Husserl's phenomenology by adopting a standpoint indicative of the mutual entanglement between being, *Dasein*, and "being-in-the-world" as a primordial ontology (Malpas 2008 derived in Suddick et. al., 2020). There are 9 ways for researchers to apply the praxis of hermeneutic phenomenological attitude and reflection according to Suddick et. al., (2020):

> (1) Reading, re-reading, and dwelling with all text/s and descriptions of experience; (2) 'Playing' with the text/s, sections (parts). Attending to how and what was signified and meaningful. Exploring patterns and connections, spaces, clusters, and grouping of meaning (whole); (3) Developing tentative meanings for the whole; (4) Articulating the understanding and meaning forming via the writing of findings; (5) Revisiting the individual accounts and analyses. Returning to the individual hermeneutic circles. Further development of understanding and meaning, including meanings for the whole (re-entering the collective hermeneutic circle); (6) Producing supporting tables with all relevant excerpts from across the group as a whole (further play and development of understanding & meaning) in the collective hermeneutic circle; (7) Revisiting and re-reading the individual analysis for each person (part). Re-entering individual hermeneutic circles. Questioning the coverage and unfolding of understanding related to meaning. Inserting particularly, singularity and variation within the text of the findings; (8) Creating the maps, revisiting the writing, and holistic & phenomenological understanding forming. Re-entering and working within the collective hermeneutic circle; and (9) Continued unfolding of meaning and development of understanding, working with part and whole (in the collective hermeneutic circle) (p. 10)

Time is a crucial element in hermeneutic phenomenology's ontology and reflexivity is the currency of analyzing temporal experiences. Hans-Georg Gadamer (1976) as referenced in the study of Laverty (2003), reinforced Heidegger's contention that hermeneutics phenomenology methods are not totally objective, separate, or value-free from the researcher as it is the human science that studies persons. It is through relational experiences in the epistemology of inductive hermeneutic phenomenology studies that reflexivity becomes crucial in the interviews. van Mahen (1997) further explicates that the reduction of transcripts to thematic "structures of experience" involves the lived space (spatiality), lived body (corporeality), lived time (temporality), and lived human relation (relationality). The nature of historicity and temporality in hermeneutic phenomenological research effectively makes Anakbayan's cyberactivism during the COVID-19 pandemic more intelligible.

Cyberactivism through the Lens of Apparatgeist

Anakbayan's collective struggle is fostered and limited by the temporal experiences of activists online. Social Media Sites (SMSs) inherently create invasive spaces for activism as terms and agreements in using the platforms are produced by technocratic monopolies. Digital spaces such as Facebook, Youtube, and Twitter among others, face issues of content moderation and data surveillance reinforcing systemic power relations in online spaces by determining the permissibility and visibility of online content (Sanders, 2021). Social media owners also structure their digital algorithms and community policies using marketized social media ecosystems in which those who have resources can easily create fake followers and generate Facebook pages, and accounts that are not only misleading but are also complicit to human rights violations (Yue, 2020). Furthermore, constant exposure to social media tinkering makes the youth prone to pathological disruptions such as an increase in anxiety (Stockdale & Coyne, 2020). They are also studied to be vulnerable to delinquent acts because of the number of hate speech and self-aggrandizing behaviors encouraged online (Cabrera et al, 2017).

The theory of Appararatgeist conceptualizes these dilemmas as it examines the relationship between human lives and technology (San Pascual, 2014). Stemming from the "social constructivist" paradigm in social science, Katz and Aakhus' (2002) define Apparatgeist theory as the assumption that users assign meanings to technologies and are aware of the social consequences that result from [their] use. Enright (2020)

explicates that the Apparatgeist theory provides a groundwork for understanding the consequences of mobile communication within the 'Spirit' of the historical moment.

Vegh (2003) as cited in Marciada (2020) states that there are Internet-enhanced and Internet-based activism; Internet-based activism pertains to activities that can only be done with the Internet such as online hacktivism (i.e., the hacking of websites to force-stop activities and gain media traction). Meanwhile, Internet-enhanced is particularly those that reinforce existing traditional forms of activism. She also describes that there are inward or internal roles in doing cyberactivism (i.e., organization, coordination, internal debate, and decision-making) and outward or external roles relating (i.e., mobilization, recruitment, attack strategies, and the creation of alternative or independent channels of communication).

Some scholars argue that the Internet worsens the digital divide in activism by only encouraging those with access to participate (Van Laer, 2010). It is also believed to produce slacktivism or the click-based sharing of posts with zero social impact done for self-serving reasons (Morozov, 2009). Other scholars argue that the Internet motivates affective emotions through online posts that satisfy the person participating or engaging in noble political discourse that gradually immerses them in the collective struggle (Jones, 2015). Moreover, Leung and Lee (2014) believed that Social Networking Sites (SNSs) reduce echo chambers and confirmation biases because they allow "parallel discursive arenas" where the marginalized groups can produce counter-publics that prevent attitudinal reinforcements. Social media enables the framing and reframing of online discussions as users create their own response-shaping mechanisms to online posts and comments (Rulloda et al, 2021). The rhizomatic interaction online, partly produced by the inherent algorithmic functions of tabs and buttons in various Social Networking Sites, also stimulates individuals to join in the conversation using their own rules and casualties (Sartonen et al, 2016).

With technologies like social media platforms and the Internet, it is now easier than ever for collective struggles to reach multiple demographics, especially through visceral videos and images that depict real-time oppression. The researcher argues that the nexus between people, technology, and society can be analyzed through the Apparatgeist and *kapwa* theory using the relational reflexive approach of hermeneutic phenomenology in interpreting lived experiences.

The Framework of the Study

The integrated framework of this study is San Pascual's (2014) model of Apparatgeist on the Spirit of Machine and Enriquez' (1993) concept of *kapwa*. The Apparatgeist theory argues that people's perpetual contact 'between absent yet present persons' alters not only their sense of self but also their social and cognitive spheres (Floyd, 2021). Recent debates on the utility of technologies in fostering cultures proved that perpetual contact with social media and awareness of the consequences of their use can demonstrate "humanness at its highest level." Furthermore, activists learn to permeate inclusive social media posts as a strategic attempt to appeal to the Filipino public's sense of *kapwa and pakikipagkapwa* (Labor & San Pascual, 2022).

Using Heidegger's ideation of hermeneutic phenomenological inquiry, *kapwa* and *pakikipagkapwa* in Anakbayan cyberactivism are analyzed through reflexivity, relationality, and temporality. In this inductive paradigm, the researcher uses relevant prior experiences as aids to data analysis and/or interpretation of meanings (Sloan & Bowe, 2013). Byrne (2001) as cited in Dowling, 2004, p.30) clarifies that phenomenology focuses on a person's lived experience and obtains commonalities and shared meanings, whereas hermeneutics assumes that humans experience the world through language and that this language provides both understanding and knowledge. Dowling (2004) also emphasizes that the primary focus of hermeneutics was on the nature of existence (ontology) and not on the nature of knowledge (epistemology). The task of philosophical hermeneutics is not the systematic collection of and analysis of data but rather the illumination of Truth through prejudgments that are part of the community's linguistic experiences enabled by collective understanding (Gadamer, 1989 as cited in Dowling, 2004). He argues that "the work of hermeneutics is to illuminate the circumstances under which understanding takes place rather than to develop a process for understanding." Therefore, in philosophical hermeneutics, understanding is derived from personal involvement by the researcher in a reciprocal process of interpretation, which is inextricably linked with one's being in the world (Spence, 2001 as cited in Dowling, 2004 p.36).

With respect to cyberactivism during the COVID-19 pandemic, the design of online platforms and their technologies inherently affect the way mediated protests are experienced by Anakbayan youth activists. Hence, the application of Apparatgeist theory is essential for understanding

kapwa starting with the assessment of technologies. Characterizing their benefits through perpetual contact including the technologies' synchronous and asynchronous capabilities, filtering effects, use and non-use of computer sound, and their interactivity through emoticons, texts, images, video sharing, and Megabytes used in every mediated social interaction is sought in the Apparatgeist conceptualization of technological parameters (Daft & Engel, 1984 as cited in San Pascual, 2014). The second part of the theory is the social contexts surrounding its use and non-use. In particular, this study looks into events that prevent Anakbayan youth activists' communicative processes online highlighting red-tagging experiences. The third and final part of the theory is the personal experiences of activists. It pertains to the individual activists' personal interpretations of cyberactivism during the COVID-19 pandemic. Figure 1 shows that the design of the technology, the social context, and the personal interpretations of Anakbayan youth activists on their lived mediated experiences are encompassed in *kapwa and pakikipagkapwa.*

Figure 1

Experienced capacities and limitations of Communication Technology among Anakbayan activists
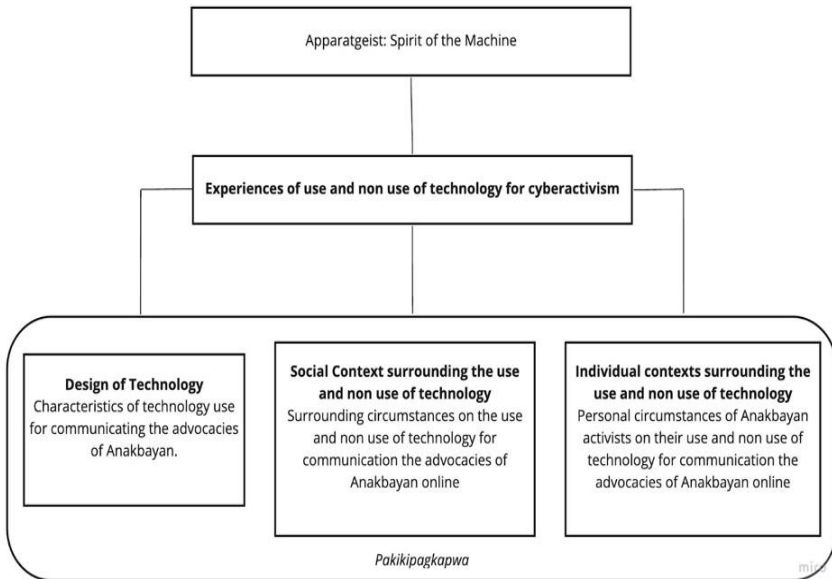
Research Methodology

Ten Anakbayan activists who have at least a year of experience in activism participated in the individual in-depth interview. Since hermeneutic design focuses on interpretations, textual meanings, dialogue, pre-understanding, and reflexive interpretation of a phenomenon (Edmonds & Kennedy, 2017, p.169), the interview was done in an in-depth dialogic form. The participants were selected on the basis that they have lived the phenomenon that is the focus of the study and are willing to talk about their experiences. Furthermore, the activist interviewed were from the diverse demography of Anakbayan to enhance the possibility of rich and unique stories of the particular experience (Polkinghorne, 1989; van Manen, 1997 as cited in Laverty, 2003 p.4). They were interviewed from May 24, 2022, to June 14, 2022. The praxis of hermeneutic phenomenological attitude and reflection as explained by Suddick (202) as used within the three weeks of pre-reflective analysis and the structuring of interview transcripts.

Among the ten activists interviewed, two were recruited during the pandemic and they had little to no offline activism experiences. The remaining eight activists started most of their activism offline and are also part of other student-led mass organizations. All of them attained high tertiary education in Metro Manila. Their ages range from 19 to 23 years old. All of them were given consent letters prior to the interview and were briefed on the nature of the study. Only one of the ten activists identified as a cis-hetero male while the rest are part of the LGBTQ+IA community. Being in the struggle for gender inclusivity is also why they joined progressive youth movements in the country. They recognize that studies pertaining to Anakbayan expand the awareness of people on the social and political benefits of their activism.

The methods of data gathering and analysis are essentially guided by Heidegger's proposition that all understanding is connected to a given set of fore-structures, including one's historicality, that cannot be eliminated (Dowling, 2004). To extrapolate *pakikipagpakapwa* in cyberactivism amidst state red-tagging during the COVID-19 pandemic, the interview questions were made to focus on mediated experiences lived when Enhance Community Quarantine (ECQ) was strict and interactions were forced to be completely online. However, although the instrument highlighted their experiences during that period, there was a co-construction of events relating to red-tagging due to its prevalence throughout the COVID-19 pandemic in the Philippines. This means

that while the instrument was strictly contextualized during complete lockdowns in the country, the in-depth dialogic interview between the researcher and the young activists expanded it until the period of eased restrictions. The interpretive process of understanding the phenomena also necessitates the interviewer and interviewee to do reflexive analysis together and outline the historicality and temporal use of the Internet and various technology in demonstrating *kapwa* and *pakikipagkapwa* in doing cyberactivism during the COVID-19 pandemic.

The interview guide was primarily divided into five parts. The first section consists of the demographic profiles of Anakbayan activists. The second part pertains to the overall activities Anakbayan activists do on online platforms. The third part consists of questions Anakbayan youth activists' assessment and selection of the Social Media Sites (SMSs) for cyberactivism during the COVID-19 pandemic. The fourth part of the interview is about their experienced social circumstances in doing cyberactivism with an emphasis on the red-tagging experiences they had from the first day of lockdown on March 15, 2020, until the day of the interview. Finally, the fifth section asks about Anakbayan activists' personal experiences of *kapwa* and *pakikipagkapwa* in doing cyberactivism amidst state red-tagging during the COVID-19 pandemic. Research ethics on non-maleficence and justice were given prime importance all throughout the conduct of the study (Lomibao, 2021).

Results and Discussion

Pseudonyms were used in the thematic structuring of interview transcripts so that the anonymity of the respondents is maintained. The findings of the study demonstrate how *kapwa* is located in the mediated social interactions of Anakbayan youth activists to appeal to the public. It also describes how Anakbayan student organizations minimize their experienced limitations of communication technologies used for cyberactivism through *pakikipagkapwa*. Moreover, it characterizes the features of media technology that Anakbayan members consider the most important in maximizing *kapwa* and *pakikipagkapwa* in cyberactivism amidst the threats of red-tagging during the COVID-19 pandemic.

Locating pakikipagkwa in Anakbayan actvism
amidst state red-tagging during the COVID-19 pandemic

Individually, Anakbayan youth activists still have skepticism about cyberactivism because of concerns about security, accessibility, disinformation, mental exhaustion, and social media fatigue. In spite of that, they interpreted these circumstances as the enabling factors the state is actively using to desensitize the public to the red-tagging and killings of activists. To maintain the movement, there is pressure amongst each Anakbayan member to "extend to others the same amount of patience they also extend to themselves" (Andre, one of the heads of Anakbayan).

> Personally, it is generally hard to see *kapwa* online compared to face-to-face interactions because vital to *pakikipagkapwa* is to deepen your knowledge of the person whom you hardly know online even though you widen the span of your networks. You see the same people, the algorithm limits the [types] of people that you can reach, and you do not see the people with different beliefs. There is a disconnect between online and offline because people think differently based on the media that they consume. (Eco, 2 years of cyberactivism).

Although it is difficult to see *pakikipagkapwa* online due to the effects of hate speeches and social media bubble filters, they manage to adapt by consistently messaging each other in encrypted messaging applications. They consider staying in Anakbayan an individual protest in and of itself. Appropriating activism in the digital age is the progress they are trying to pursue. They regard *pakikipagkapwa* as vital in interacting with various actors that tag them as communists.

> If your own family is red-tagging you online, that is when your ability to unite is most tested. [Then] that is the test on how you assess if the organization's principle is clear to you, and that is how you maximize *pakikipagkapwa* online. (Andres, 6 years Anakbayan activist).

This study shows that *pakikipagkapwa* is vital in Anakbayan cyberactivism and the way they deal with reproach from the state and their own families. The heavy reliance on social media to protest throughout the pandemic made them more open to the benefits of cyberactivism as

opposed to comparing it to slacktivism. Cyberactivism is no longer just a supplement to activism but is already a part of it.

They frequently use search engines to monitor alternative news necessary in their protest statements and fact-checking. They collaborate in Google Documents and Google Spreadsheets to write content as these platforms also have offline access settings allowing them to easily download documents in different formats. Since security is the most important concern, they use different messaging platforms for classified and non-classified messages. They use encrypted messaging platforms like Signal and Session for confidential in-group updates and Meta messenger for common or general instructions. Messenger is best for consistent updating on non-classified internal and external works because it has a free-data mode. Meanwhile, they use other encrypted messaging applications for classified plans of action. Consistent communication is how they mitigate the effects of bubble filters produced by social media algorithms as they create counter-publics and debate on various issues of public interest.

If issues are not resolved through chats, they shift to video conferencing platforms that consume fewer data and megabytes. Discord, Zoom, and Microsoft Teams are the common video platforms they use during the pandemic because they are more interactive. They also have break-out settings for delegated synchronous tasks. Discord is particularly for confidential meetings due to its handy setting that allows for easy compilation of minutes in channels that can be made accessible to specific individuals in the organization. For interactive meetings like educational discussions and new members' orientation, they make use of Zoom and Microsoft teams because they have more fun display settings.

Anakbayan activists use social media platforms like Meta, Twitter Spaces, and Instagram for noise barrages and online mobilizations. The complexity of social media not only forced them to know what to write but also the length, tone, and time and day they should post online statements. Because of the variety of actors who can see their posts from different ages and backgrounds, they appeal to *pakikipagkapwa* to balance the intimidating political nature of their posts and the creation of broad public acceptance and support. They do this by reforming their linguistic cues online to not alienate diverse social media users. At the same time, they lessen the use of abrasive language that is common in the Anakbayan activism stemming from its long history of antagonistic protest actions. They appropriated activism in an age of complete reliance on social

media to maintain, sustain, and promote the organization's social causes. Despite the numerous social circumstances online like state-paid trolls, misinformation, and hate speeches, they maximize *pakikipagkapwa* by being more tolerant of different points of view.

Anakbayan activists' praxis in minimizing their experienced limitations of pakikipagkapwa in cyberactivism amidst state-red-tagging during the COVID-19 pandemic

The main limitations experienced by Anakbayan youth activists are often confined to individual and political narratives. On the individual level, miscommunication among fellow activists is frequent. The lack of non-verbal cues online such as facial expressions and tones critical to every conversation becomes a limiting factor. Online bubble filters also make activists prone to antagonizing others with different points of view through uncivil languages. Delays linked with the lack of access to sufficient broadband sets and technologies cause some activists to see updates late and misinterpret instructions online.

> If online, the preparedness of people is subjective, the majority online are not full time, there is an inefficiency and some members don't do their political task because there is research, the measure is to center or say it firsthand and not to use abrasive words, or say "earlier next time." (translation) (Lucy, 2 years activist)

> It's online, there are two things we need to focus on: delay and the tone that is being set in these interactions because we are not in a physical space together. Availability of the screen, dissonance, and delay is guaranteed, tone delivery infectivity of accurate depiction, tone can be misinterpreted. (Sammy, about 2 years activist)

On the political level, Anakbayan youth activists often receive death threats in the comments sections of their posts not only from trolls but also from real social media users.

> When it comes to hate speech of course given that most of our members were isolated at home during the pandemic, it was hard to give them emotional support especially when they are the ones targeted for harassment, red tagging, and so on, unless we can see them in person

or that we are with them giving emotional support, via social media or other online means, it is not really 100% as effective as if you tried to comfort people in person. But as a whole news harassment on some platforms and so on, there were ways to block the accounts who were doing the harassment but the success rate having the social media activity was varied. (Langdon, 3 years activist)

There are also many times when their online statements are bombarded with trolls that produce massive disinformation. Anakbayan youth activists manage this by blocking and deleting comments. There have been no manifestations of victimization amongst the Anakbayan youth community. In fact, Anakabyan youth activists merge individual identities with their group's online identity to fight off media manipulation of Anakbayan's image of resistance (Diaz et al, 2018). They also interpret trolls as a successful discomfort to bad governance. Lucy, a 2-year activist said that "…these trolls are manifestations that the state fears our movement, they do big methods to stop us."

They interpret incivility and red-tagging online as an opportunity to reach various counter-public arenas. This is how they manifest *pakikipagkapwa* in dealing with hate speeches online,

> *Pakikipagkapwa*, the Filipino Psychology [happens] if you see a BBM supporter online, you do not antagonize them because it is supposedly a political orientation in a continuous process. Despite that you have a different opinion, you understand the material conditions that led them to formulate their own opinions. (Andrew, 3 years activist)

> We need *pakikipagkapwa* to invite non-activists to understand and join the movement. We need longer patience and we need to interact even with Marcos' apologists there are times when we need to be militant but it doesn't mean that we need to be rude. We cannot invite people if we do not patiently and calmly interact with them. (Jose, about 3 years in activism)

Initially, traditional Anakbayan activism dismisses concerns about mental health because of the nature of the organization's oppositional antagonistic attitudes that consistently scrutinize the status quo. However, they started changing their tones online to maintain their members' welfare. Anakbayan youth activists explained that the pathological disruptions produced by constant social media use (Stockdale & Coyne, 2020). is as harmful to their members as state red-tagging. They also lessened their "*tibak*" or activist language codes to accommodate new members who do not opt into the origins of 'high-risk-high-sacrifice activism.

> Part of the landscape of activism is that members are all healthy not only to be an abled body, or to be an employee of the movement. There is a disparity in age, older members are dismissive of mental health concerns, it is very ugly if you do not know the biological disposition of a person, you fail to acknowledge that you are part of the problem. It is an individual mistake of the people and it is sad that it is painted in the image of [the] Anakbayan movement. It is a reflection of the rotten culture of the organization. It is also a protest that I stay and continue with the Anakbayan struggle. (Lucy, 2 years online activist)

Activists with more than three years of experience with progressive rallies reported that they spend less time on social media and prefer offline political work. Two of those recruited online during the COVID-19 pandemic were the most optimistic about cyberactivism. They also spend the highest number of hours on social media. One said that using social media already happens naturally while the rest answered that they use social media for cyberactivism and entertainment simultaneously. They generally use it to talk with their families and friends, do organizational work, and finish academic tasks. The most tenured activists explained that their use of social media for online activism depended on the political climate pf the country during the pandemic.

Characteristics and features of technology that Anakbayan activists consider the most important in maximizing their pakikipagkapwa through cyberactivism amidst state red-tagging during the COVID-19 pandemic

Design of the Technology

All of the Anakbayan activists use their portable hardware like smartphones and laptops to do online activism. Their answers are consistent with Daft and Lengel's study (1984 as cited in San Pascual, 2014, p.8) design capacities: synchronous and asynchronous capabilities, filtering effects, use and non-use of computer sound, interactivity, and the size of Megabytes used in every interaction. Anakbayan activists, however, being a mass organization prone to red-tagging attacks, added the necessity of encrypted messaging apps for the concealment of information around their demographics and protest action plans.

Anakbayan activists' assessments of online search engines

In doing research, Anakbayan youth activists prefer software where they can easily work with their fellow activists whether asynchronously or synchronously. They also want them to have offline access to their settings. Google, Google Documents, and Google Spreadsheets are three of their most used research tools. They use search engines to track news from various alternative media online for their educational discussions and online rallies. Alternative media is better at providing activists with critical news because they do not follow traditional news agenda setting which is biased toward institutions and interviewing the "elites" (Gallegos, 2022). Part of their research is knowing the best ways to illustrate issues online, the length of their posts, the time of their posting, as well as the software they need for visuals. We create our posts using, "Photoshop, Adobe Premier, Canva, and other photo editing and video editing platforms" (Langdon, 3 years activist).

Anakbayan youth activists' assessment of video conferencing platform designs

Prior to video conferencing, Anakbayan youth activists make sure to have Google Forms for the background and motivation checks of aspiring members to ensure the safety of the organization. They prefer using video conferencing platforms with interactive buttons, fewer megabytes, and data consumption usage. They mentioned Discord, Zoom, Facebook Live, and Microsoft Teams as their most frequently used platforms for video conferencing. They often do real-time video calls to orient new recruits

about the Philippine situation and educate them about the movement. It is vital that these video conferencing platforms have interactive tools such as the ability to send emojis, images, links, videos, and screen-sharing options. They explained that chats and texts are not enough in assessing collaboration because they are impersonal.

> "It is easier to convey messages with audio and to see its impact on colleagues and new recruits because at least you see their non-verbal response. Moreover, interactive communication is salient for security; interactive features online are important in a societal context where people are mostly online because it can ensure that we know people outside of chats. (Eco, 2 years activist)

> "It is a different feeling and approach if it is synchronous because you can easily input ideas, and it is easy for the participants to ask questions, especially to the youth sector. By using interactive emoticons, we pertain to the instruction said by the instructor, and participants in the educational discussion are involved by asking questions. Video sharing also helps in utilizing more forms of teaching." (Lucy, one year in activism, recruited online during the pandemic)

Real-time meetings help in getting feedback from members of the organization. It also shows the personalities of the members as interactions become more intimate. Discord is most helpful for classified meetings because it is easier to organize the minutes of discussed topics there. While they use real-time dialogues to resolve issues among members within the organization, some of them find it difficult to create deeper personal interactions with other members because they are hesitant to express their experienced limitations in cyberactivism, particularly in regard to the emotional and mental tolls of video conferences.

> I think when it comes to internal debates and coordinating with members and so on, there were times during the pandemic when the disposition, the mental health of the members is very low and it is hard to get in touch with people through social media because some people go through social media breaks or social media detox. At the same time, there's a very big limitation

on social media where it can add to someone's anxiety, those are the limitations of communication in social media. (Langdon, 3 years activist)

To address this concern, Anakbayan youth activist leaders initiate game and movie night breaks from political work. They also have disposition checks for members to assess their capacity to work on certain projects depending on their emotional and mental stability. Hangout nights and disposition checks are done voluntarily through limited online interactions due to video conferencing fatigue. Furthermore, they record video meetings for those who cannot attend and post them on their various messaging platforms.

Anakbayan youth activists' assessment of
social media platforms (Meta, Twitter Space, Instagram) and
Social Networking Sites (e.g., Signal, Session, Viber, Telegram)

Meta, Meta messenger, Instagram, and Twitter Space are best used for public engagement and recruitment while Signal, Session, Viber, and Telegram is for more confidential internal discourses. Anakbayan activists also use discourse-centered platforms where there are optimal anonymizing features such as Anonymous-Curious Cat and Reddit.

> There are many closeted activists, many of their families and friends do not know that they are activists, [Anonymity online] at least gives them the opportunity to engage in political conversations, in Meta pages, you cannot identify who are the members, you cannot identify who are the writers or posters, except if they show their faces. Social media enables this space for activism. (Andres, 5 years in activism)

One of the oldest activists interviewed explained even if echo chambers and bubble filters exist online, Anakbayan youth activists maintain the cohesion of their members by creating parallel discursive arenas where they can recognize and acknowledge their individual interests and consistently remind the members of the organization's vision using encrypted messaging applications like Signal and Session that not only enable asynchronous chat and text messaging but also allow voice messages that reduce the effects of miscommunication. Meta Messaging is most helpful for consistent communication.

… on messaging apps, it is easier to coordinate especially since, for example, here in the Philippines, [Meta] messenger has free mode where you do not need data, of course, you do not see images but you see messages, so that's a plus. (Langdon, 3 years activist)

Conclusions

Using a hermeneutic phenomenology of qualitative research in realizing how Anakbayan activists maintain *pakikipagkapwa* through cyberactivism amidst red-tagging during the COVID-19 pandemic betters the ways we reflect and situate the lived mediated experiences of activists in the age of technological reliance. It historicizes the phenomenon of cyberactivism during the COVID-19 pandemic as it is being experienced by Anakbayan activists.

Anakbayan youth activists proved that there are tangible benefits to cyberactivism during the COVID-19 pandemic. These include the increase in recruits and the cultural transformation in their view of activism from only 'high-risk-and-sacrificial-protests' to 'low-risk-and-inclusive-online activism'. There is a reinforcement of the theory of Apparatgeist in which technology becomes an extension of the self through perpetual interactions.

Anakbayan youth activists interpret trolls as one of the manifestations of the success of their online protests. They said that state trolling meant they are seen as threats to political entities that are incapable of the progress they are calling for. They mitigate the effects of state online propaganda and state-paid trolls using counter-public arenas such as Meta pages and encrypted messaging platforms like Cignal and Session. Twitter spaces are also utilized in the discourse of issues relating to public concern which are either bombarded by fake news or are shadow-banned by the mainstream media. *Pakikipagkapwa* online is difficult, however, they maximize its use to invite new members and to maintain old members' welfare and cohesion. It is not only vital to Anakbayan activism but it is its core. Anakbayan youth activists explained that they extend *kapwa* and *pakikipagkapwa* online by improving traditional views on activism from a 'high-risk-high-sacrifice' activism to 'low-risk low-cost' activism that encourages more people to participate.

Finally, Anakbayan youth activists do not see cyberactivism as an alternative to offline activism, rather they see it as a part of the movement.

The reliance on interpersonal mediated communication during the COVID-19 pandemic made activism narratives move from hating the 1% to emphasizing the tangible social actions needed by the 99%. This way, they invite more privileged moderates and the confused neutrals to participate in the movement against red-tagging and state oppression. In the Philippines, *pakikipagkapwa* is illustrated in the generation of community pantries that became the rally of the exploited working class and lower-class Filipinos. Although former President Rodrigo Dutere criticized community pantries, his military attacks, intimidation, and red-tagging of this rally were not successful as Filipinos turned against him (Gotinga, 2021). Social media protests took over the Internet using #CommunityPantryPH and #Resistance to invite more supporters and to tell the administration to step up (Cepeda, 2021). In the end, former President Duterte saluted the people he once tagged as communists (Romero, 2021). *For the first time, the strongman was silenced.*

Recommendations

Given that *pakikipagkapwa* is proved to be essential in Anakbayan cyberactivism, future researchers should expound on how activism and cyberactivism should be disbursed from being conflated with terrorism. Moreover, future researchers need to examine whether the Apparatgeist theory could be encapsulated in collective or universal forms (San Pascual, 2014). This is important to further know its application in larger groups and communities. Since this study does not delve into the specific processes in which cultural praxis is transferred from offline to online spaces through technologies, the researcher suggests future studies to produce themes that can synthesize the connections between the three categories in Apparatgeist theory in the traversing of *kapwa* in virtual spaces. And finally, future studies can focus on the *pakikipagkapwa* practice within in-group members of Anakbayan internal discussions in preventing the negative consequences of social media bubble filters as emerging friction between accepting cyberactivism and rejecting it was discovered in the study.

References

Anakbayan UP Diliman (2021, December 6). Facebook description of Anakbayan Philippine post. Facebook. https://www.facebook.com/anakbayanUP

Atienza, K.A. (2021, 24 September). Marcoses here to stay as Filipinos forget lessons of martial law. BusinessWorld. https://tinyurl.com/47kv72nj

Cabrera, N. L., Matias, C. E., & Montoya, R. (2017, April 3). Activism or Slacktivism? The Potential and Pitfalls of social media in Contemporary Student Activism. Journal of Diversity in Higher Education. Advance online publication. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/dhe0000061

Cepeda, M. (2021, April 19). Duterte Admin told to 'step up' as community pantries rise amid lack of aid. *Rappler.* https://www.rappler.com/nation/senate-house-representatives-statements-rise-community-pantries/

Clemente, J.A., Belleza, D., Yu, A., Catibog, D., Solis, G. & Laguerta, J. (2008). Revisiting the Kapwa Theory: Applying Alternative Methodologies and Gaining New Insights. University of the Philippines Diliman Press.

Dela Peña, K. (2021, November 2). 'Undas 2021': Red-tagging as death warrant. Inquirer.net. https://tinyurl.com/yckwje8h.

De Leon, F.M. (2014). A Heritage of WellBeing: The Connectivity of the Filipino. https://iit.edu.ph/assets/files/2014/A-Heritage-of-Well-Being-The-Connecitivity-of-the-Filipino.pdf

Desai, M.R. (2016). Critical "Kapwa": Possibilities of Collective Healing from Colonial Trauma. *Educational Perspectives, 48(1-2), pp. 34-40.* https://eric.ed.gov/?id=EJ1143600

Diaz, M.M., Mariano, A.L., Quisido, M.A., Tordesillas, K.D. (2018). United We Stand: Exploring the online reconstruction of Anakbayan UP Diliman Online Collective Identity among its members. *Philippine Communication Society Misinformation and Media Manipulation.* https://www.philscomsoc.org/_files/ugd/4e4547_662b9eebbacc4631880e75de0eb6a3c5.pdf

Dowling, M. (2004). *Hermeneutics: an exploration. Nurse Researcher, 11(4), 30–39.* doi:10.7748/nr2004.07.11.4.30

Edmonds, A. & Kennedy, T.D. (2016). Phenomenological Perspective: Hermeneutic Design. *An applied guide to research designs, Quantitative, qualitative, and mixed methods.* Sage Publications.

Enright, L. (2020). *Apparatgeist and mobile communication: considering interpersonal communication practices [Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Duquesne University].* McAnulty College and Graduate School of Liberal Arts. Duquesne Scholarship Collection. https://dsc.duq.edu/etd/1888/

Enriquez, V. G. (1993). *Kapwa:* A core concept in Filipino social psychology. In A. Navarro & F. Bolante (Eds.), *Mga babasahin sa Agham Panlipunang Pilipino: Sikolohiyang Pilipino, Pilipinohiya, at Pantayong Pananaw.* Manila: C & E Publishing. https://tinyurl.com/yea2zk76

Floyd, J. (2021). Selves and Forms of Life in the Digital Age: A Philosophical Exploration of Apparatgeist. In: Katz, J., Floyd, J., Schiepers, K. (eds) Perceiving the Future through New Communication Technologies. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-84883-5_3

Gallegos, I.N. (2022). News Sourcing of Reports about President Benigno "Noynoy" Aquino III State of the Nation Address from 2012-2014. *International Journal of Scientific Research in Interdisciplinary studies, 8(4), pp 96-99.* https://tinyurl.com/7d7y89jk

Gotinga, J.C., (2021, April 24). Food Pantries for hungry Filipinos tagged as communist. *Aljazeera News Coronavirus Pandemic.* https://tinyurl.com/5n868468

Hölscher, K. (2020). The voice of the youth: How personalized politics on social media affect youth voter turnout. University of Twente. https://essay.utwente.nl/81620/1/H%C3%B6lscher_BA_BMS.pdf

Jones, C. (2015). Slacktivism and the social benefits of social video: Sharing a video to 'help' a cause. *First Monday, 20*(5). DOI. 10.5210/fm.v20i5.5855

Katz, J.E., & Aakuhus, M. (2002). Conclusion: Making meaning of mobiles – a theory of Apparatgeist. In J.E. Katz & M. Aakuhus (Eds.), Perpetual contact: Mobile communication, private talks, public performance, 301-318. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Labor, J. & San Pascual, M.R. (2022). Online Discourse Framing of LGBTQIA+ Student Activism in the Philippines. In P. Pain (Ed.) LGBTQ Digital Cultures: A Global Perspective. Routledge DOI: 10.4324/9781003196457-3

Laverty, S. M. (2003). Hermeneutic Phenomenology and Phenomenology: A Comparison of Historical and Methodological Considerations International Institute for qualitative methodology2(3) pp. 21-35. University of Alberta. https://doi.org/10.1177/160940690300200303

Leary, V., Ellis, A.A., & Madlener, K. (1984). The Philippines: Human Rights after Martial Law. The International Commission of Jurists. Switzerland, Geneva. https://tinyurl.com/yckrdpep

Leung, K.K. & Lee, F. L. (2014). Cultivating an Active Online Counterpublic: Examining Usage and Political Impact of Internet Alternative Media. 10.1177/1940161214530787

Lomibao, M.A.L. & Labor, J. (2021). Ethics in research. In F. Paragas (ed.) *A Primer on Communication and Media Research* (pp. 5-6). Quezon City Department of Communication Research, University of the Philippines Diliman.

Luna, F. (2020, June 8). PNP 'art' tags activists as terrorists amid debate on the antiterrorism bill. Philstar.com. https://tinyurl.com/yc8xzjzc

Manrique, C.G., & Manrique, G.G. (2017). Social media's role in alleviating political corruption and scandals: the Philippines during and after the Marcos regime. *Political Scandal, Corruption, and Legitimacy in the age of social media,* p.205-222. DOI:10.4018/978-1-5225-5637-4. ch073

Marcaida, M.Y. (2020). Student Activism Offline and Online: A Mixed-Methods Study on College Students' Protest Participation in the Philippines. Philippine Social Science Review*72(1)*. https://tinyurl. com/4pmk3vr8

Meneses, K. (2019). Pakikipagkapwa: A Filipino Value in Attempt to Counter Biodiversity and Cultural Diversity Loss. Solidarity: The Journal of Catholic Social Thought and Secular Ethics8(1). https:// tinyurl.com/mp9v3ejj

Morozov, E. (2009, September 5). From slacktivism to activism. Foreign Policy. https://foreignpolicy.com/2009/09/05/fromslacktivism-to-activism/

Nigar, N. (2020). Hermeneutic Phenomenological Narrative Enquiry: A Qualitative Study Design. Theory and Practice in Language Studies*10(1)*, 10-18. DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.17507/tpls.1001.02

Ong, J.C., & Cabañes, J.V. (2018). Architects of Networked Disinformation: Behind the Scenes of Troll Accounts and Fake News Production in the Philippines. University of Massachusetts Amherst Communication Faculty Department Faculty Publication, *74.* Doi. org/10.7275/2cq4-5396

Oquindo, E. *#Makibaka: A Visual Culture of Anakbayan USA's Multimedia Movement for Philippine Liberation [Unpublished Thesis, Emory University].*

Emory Theses and Dissertations. https://etd.library.emory.edu/concern/etds/v692t7266?locale=en

Pelayo, L.T, Abonado, A.M., Pavo, R.R. (2016). Emmanuel Levinas' Concept of "The Other" and its Relation to the Filipino Concept of "Kapwa-Tao". *International Journal of Liberal Arts, Education, Social Sciences and Philosophical Studies4(1).* https://www.ejournals.ph/article.php?id=13745

Pimentel-Simbulan, N. (2011). Red-baiting: a tool of repression then and now. *OBSERVER: A Journal on threatened Human Rights Defenders in the Philippines3(1)*, pp-12-15. https://tinyurl.com/ye75emhm

Polkinghorne, D.E. (1989). Existential-Phenomenological Perspectives in Psychology, 41-60. Plenum Press, New York.

Romero, A. (2021, June 15). Duterte salutes people behind community pantries but reminds them of restrictions. *Philstar Global, Philstar.com.* https://tinyurl.com/8t5f24v5

in Facebook and Twitter. University of the Philippines Diliman. https://tinyurl.com/2wvzx6pf

Rulloda, S.F., Garganera, M.C., Pazcoguin, A., Rodriguez, C., Sangalang, L.G., (2021). Critical discourse analysis of ABS-CBN's coverage of Duterte's public addresses on COVID-19 response. *Science Communication in times of Covid.* https://tinyurl.com/5n7ta8df

Sales, J. N. (2020). #NeverAgainToMartialLaw: Transnational Filipino American Activism in the Shadow of Marcos and Age of Duterte. *Amerasia Journal*, 1-17. DOI: 10.1080/00447471.2019.1715702

San Pascual, M.R.S. (2014). Living Through the Parameters of Technology: Filipino Mothers in Diaspora and Their Mediated Parenting Experiences. Plaridel *11*(1). https://tinyurl.com/yckvuzcd

Sanders, B. (2021). Democratic disruption in the age of social media between marketized and structural conceptions of human rights law. European Journal of International Law *32*(1), 159-193. https://doi.org/10.1093/ejil/chab022

Sartonen, M., Huhtinen, A.-M., & Lehto, M. (2016). Rhizomatic Target Audiences of the Cyber Domain. *Journal of Information Warfare*, *15*(4), 1–13. https://www.jstor.org/stable/26487547

Sloan, A., & Bowe, B. (2013). Phenomenology and hermeneutic phenomenology: the philosophy, the methodologies, and using hermeneutic phenomenology to investigate lecturers' experiences of curriculum design. *Qual Quant*, *48*(1), 1291–1303. Dublin Institute of Technology, Dublin, Ireland. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11135-013-9835-3

Stockdale, L.A. & Coyne, S.M. (2020). Bored and online: Reasons for using social media, problematic T social networking site use, and behavioral outcomes across the transition from adolescence to emerging adulthood. *Journal of Adolescence 79*(1), 173-183. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.adolescence.2020.01.010

Suddick, K.M., Cross, V., Vuoskoski, P., Galvin, K.T., & Stew, G. (2020). The work of Hermeneutic Phenomenology. International Journal of Qualitative Methods, 19. DOI. 10.1177/1609406920947600

Uy, R. (2020, November 3). History of Filipino youth activism: an overview. *Anakbayan Toronto*. https://anakbayantoronto.com/2020/11/30/history-filipino-youth-activism/

Van Laer, J. (2010). Activists "online" and "offline:" The internet as an information channel for protest demonstrations. Mobilization: *An International Journal, 15(3)*, 406-416.

Vegh, S. (2003). Classifying forms of online activism: The case of cyberprotests against the World Bank. In M. McCaughey & M. D. Ayers. (Eds.), *Cyberactivism: Online Activism in Theory and Practice*. Routledge.

Xiong, Y. Cho, M., Boatwright, B. (2019). Hashtag activism and message frames among social movement organizations: Semantic network analysis and thematic analysis of Twitter during the #MeToo movement. *Public Relations Review (45)*1, 10-23. *doi.org/10.1016/j.pubrev.2018.10.01*

Yue, N. (2020). The "Weaponization" of Facebook in Myanmar: A case for corporate Criminal Liability. Hastings Law Journal. https://heinonline.org/HOL/LandingPage?handle=hein.journals/hastlj71&div=22&id=&page=

About the Author

MS. LORDIVINE MARIE T. PINEDA is a 4th year BA Communication Research student at the University of the Philippines Diliman. Raised by war survivors, she joins organizations that pioneer discourse and democracy like the University of the Philippines Debate Society. Her research interests involve political philosophy in the digitized world.