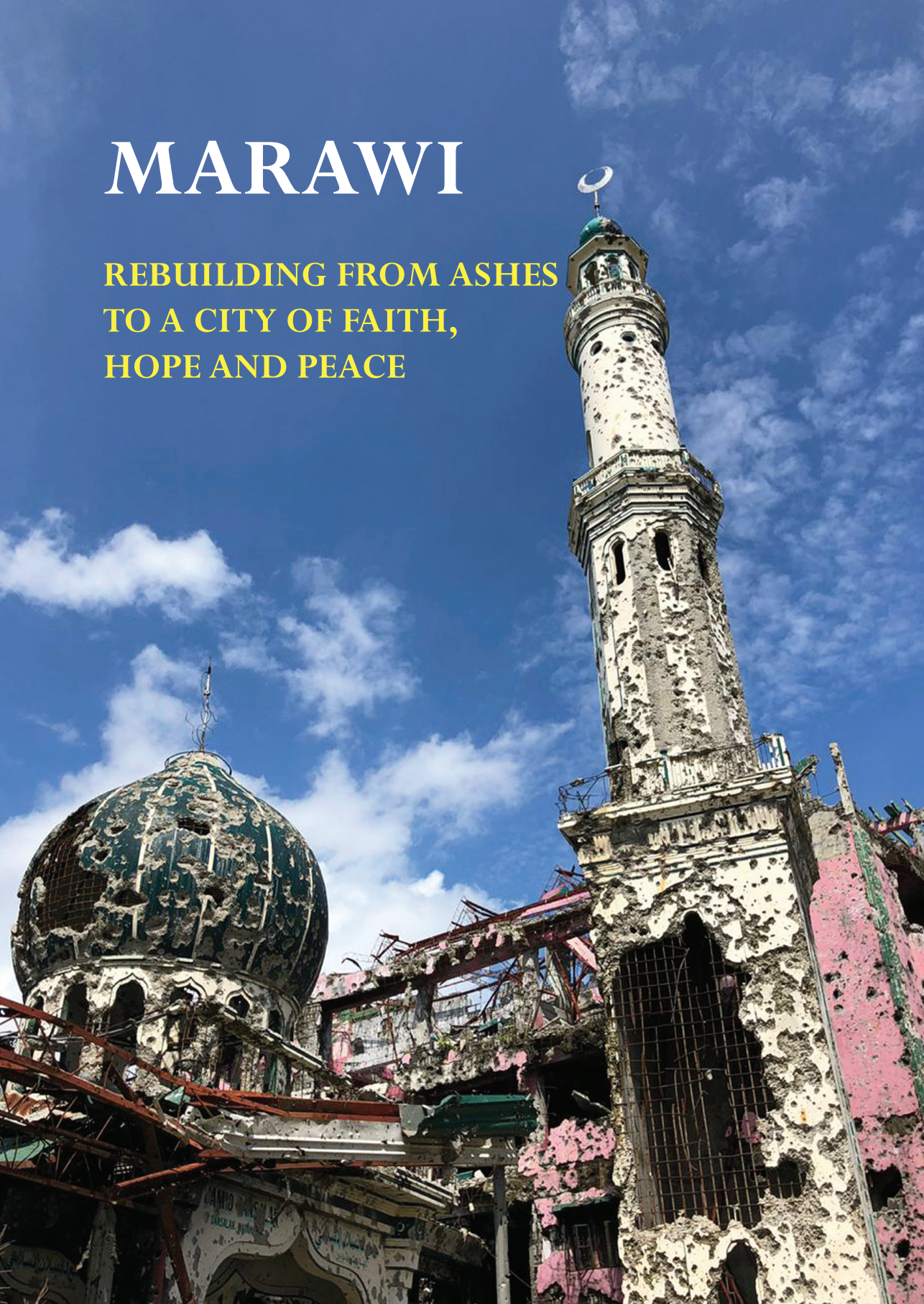


MARAWI

REBUILDING FROM ASHES
TO A CITY OF FAITH,
HOPE AND PEACE



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Marawi: *Rebuilding from Ashes to a City of Faith, Hope, and Peace*

Listening Methodology Development: Soth Plai Ngarm

Listening Project Implementation (Training, Processing)

Team: Betchak Padilla

Mary Schletzbaum

Writer/Editor: Tengku Shahpur

Cover photo & Inside Photos: Acram Latiph, Field researchers (Listeners)

Lay-out: Boonruang Song-Engam

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Acronyms

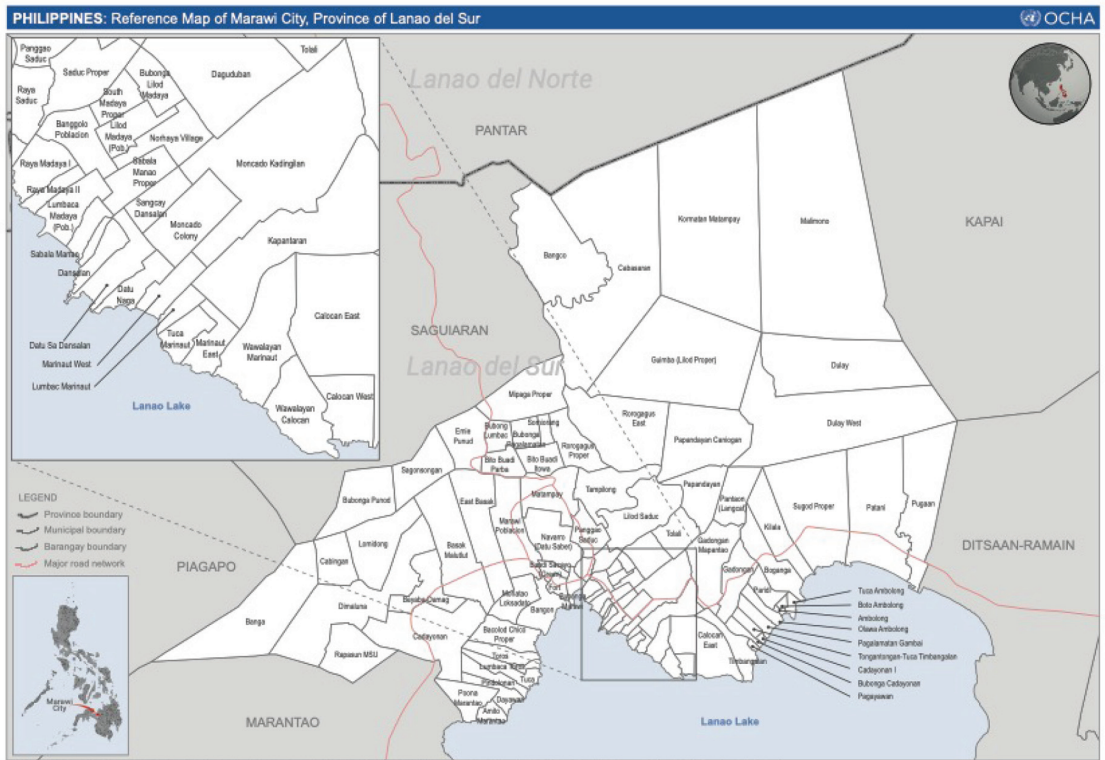
ASG	Abu Sayyaf Group
AFP	Armed Forces of the Philippines
BBL/BOL	Bangsamoro Basic Law/Bangsamoro Organic Law
CPCS	Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies
CDA	Collaborative Learning
CAB	Comprehensive Agreement of the Bangsamoro
DC	Dansalan College
DOH	Department of Health
DSWD	Department of Social Welfare and Development
GPH	Government of the Philippines
IDP	Internally Displaced People
INGO	International Non-governmental Organisation
ISIS	Islamic State in Syria
LGU	Local Government Unit
MG	Maute Group
MSU	Mindanao State University
MILF	Moro Islamic Liberation Front
MNLF	Moro National Liberation Front
NGO	Non-governmental Organisation
NSAGs	Non-State Armed Groups
PNP	Philippines National Police
RHU	Rural Health Unit
UN	United Nations

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Source: United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UNOCHA)



Source: UN office of the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UNOCHA)

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION AND CONTEXT



Lanao Del Sur is one of the five provinces located in the Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao. It consists of 39 municipalities and has a land area of 13,493.7 km and a population of 1,045,429[1]. The capital of Lanao Del Sur is the Islamic City of Marawi and the people are called the Meranaw who speak the Maranao language and are part of the ethnic group known as the Moros. The people are named after Lake Lanao, which is the second largest fresh water lake in the Philippines and derive much of their identity, culture and history from the Lake. Due to its high elevation, the city of Marawi enjoys a cool climate and within the surrounding region, the main source of livelihood is business, agriculture, and fishing. A notable characteristic of the Meranaw people is their expertise in business with the city known as the economic powerhouse of Lanao Del Sur because of its strategic location, numerous entrepreneurs, and its commercialised centre. Rich in culture and the arts, Meranaw crafts are known for their colorful nature, while their carvings, Malongs, and Langkits, are of a high quality. There is also a rich diversity among the ethnic groups:

Ethnic Group	Population	Percentage
Meranaw	668,860	96.18%
Hiligayon/Llongo	16,543	0.14%
Cebuano	13,148	1.14%
Bisaya	4,309	1.29%
Tagalog	1609	0.29%
Ibang	669	0.1%

Source: Philippines Statistical Authority

It should be noted that 'Bisaya' is an umbrella term that includes similar ethno linguistic groups that live in the Visayas, Luzon, and Mindanao. Although Islam is the predominant religion in the area, other ethnic groups such as the Bisaya are Roman Catholics[2]. Moreover, other notable Christian denominations include The United Church of Christ in Philippines, Iglesias Ni Cristo, Seventh Day Adventists and Jehovah's Witnesses, to name a few.

Historically, the Meranaw have resisted colonial rule, which they viewed as a threat to their survival and their identity. The Spanish tried to conquer and convert them to Christianity but were unsuccessful. Similarly the Americans and Japanese tried to subjugate them, but failed as well[3]. When the Philippines declared independence on July 4 1946 from the United States, the newly formed independent government in Manila, with the support of the Americans, began promoting the settlement of Christians

to Mindanao. This resulted in the displacement of local Muslim populations, as well as of indigenous peoples. By the 1960s, the local population had become a minority in its own land[4].

The armed struggle for independence in Mindanao began in 1969 due to a number of factors, including, discrimination; Islamic revivalism; the Jebdiah massacre, which saw the killing of Muslim soldiers in the military; and opposition to the Marcos dictatorship[5]. It was in 1996 that the government of the Philippines and the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) reached a peace agreement that granted autonomy to Muslim majority areas. However, the splinter group, the Moro Islamic liberation Front (MILF), which broke away from the MNLF in 1984, vowed to carry on the armed struggle for independence. On the 12th of October 2012, a framework agreement on the Bangsamoro that would later be incorporated into the Comprehensive Agreement of the Bangsamoro (CAB) was signed. This included dealing with issues such as wealth, power sharing, and water territories, among others. This Agreement served as the basis of what is known as the Bangsamoro Basic Law/Bangsamoro Organic Law (BBL/BOL) and provides for the creation of the Bangsamoro Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao with the basic structure of government in the region. The Senate and House of Representatives in Manila ratified this in July 2018 [6] and with the plebiscite on the Bangsamoro Organic Law set for January 2019, voters will decide on the creation of a new Bangsamoro territory. [7]

On the 4th of October 2016, members of the Maute Group (MG), a radical Islamist group comprised of former MILF guerrilla fighters, were arrested for the bombing of a market in Davao city in September that same year. During the investigations, it emerged that clear links between the MG and Abu Sayyaf Group (ASG) had been established. More importantly, it was discovered that MG had aligned themselves with the Islamic State in Syria (ISIS). It was during this time that Proclamation No. 55 was signed by President Rodrigo Roa Duterte to officially declare a State of Emergency in response to the bombing. The Proclamation ordered the suppression of all forms of lawlessness in Mindanao in an attempt to stop the violence spreading across the Philippines. Moreover, President Duterte stated that the Proclamation was to ensure the coordinated efforts of the military and police to fight against terrorism, drugs, and criminality. In December 2016, during a speech on military operations, President Duterte challenged MG when they made demands that if the military did not cease operations in their areas they would 'burn Marawito the ground'. President Duterte's response challenged them to do this and claimed that he would have the military waiting for them if they dared to attack.[8][9]

‘Mindanao remains to be a troubled land ... the Maute said they would stop their activities if the military stops their operations. I said, “No you do not put any conditions; we will not stop operations.” They threatened to come down from the mountains and burn Marawi. “Go ahead, be my guest we will wait for you there”.’

- President Rodrigo Roa Duterte

On 23 May 2017, the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) and the Philippines National Police (PNP) conducted operations to capture Isnilon Hapilon, leader of the ASG, in Marawi after receiving reports that he would be meeting the MG there. Armed clashes began when Hapilon’s forces fired on the AFP and PNP, sparking a five month long siege on the city. As the militants took shelter in several buildings within the city, including within the government hospital and the city jail, they also set fire to St. Mary’s Cathedral, Nino Aquino School and Dansalan College (DC), ironically, the alma mater of many of the MG leaders. The fight, which began at 13:45, was followed with the raising of the black flag of ISIS by 16:35 at the Amai Pakpak Hospital, finally culminating in President Duterte issuing Proclamation No. 216 declaring Martial Law and the suspension of the writ of Habeas Corpus [10].

DC and MSU played significant roles during the siege of Marawi. MSU was used as a safe zone for many of those fleeing the conflict. It was also momentarily converted into a base by the military due to its strategic location. DC is a Christian based school that promotes social cohesion between Muslims and Christians in Mindanao and provides both formal and informal education in areas including, community extension services, health services and social development research. During the siege, the ISIS – Maute group forcibly entered DC and set fire to the administration building, which housed a majority of the College’s facilities. During the assault, some staff managed to escape, while others were held hostage. The College became a stronghold for the militants, with its towers turned into machine gun nests offering a vantage point for snipers. Because of this, it also became a target of military air strikes [11].

Later it was learned that the Government of the Philippines had, as early as 2014, prior knowledge of the links between ISIS and extremist groups in Mindanao, but down played it in the media. The military had also been monitoring Isnilon Hapilon, and knew when in 2016 he convened a meeting with other ISIS aligned groups on mainland Mindanao. In 2016 June Hapilon was appointed Emir in the Philippines. In April 2017, a month before the siege, it was learnt that the military had intelligence suggesting that the terrorist group would dispatch militants to Iligan, Marawi, and Cagayan de Oro



for coordinated terror attacks. The missionary group, Tablighi Jamaat, supported this endeavor. In 2017, they held a large gathering of Muslim missionaries in the Philippines that provided the necessary cover for many foreign fighters to enter the country, thus reinforcing extremist groups in Marawi. Many of the foreign fighters came in response to calls by Dr. Mahmud bin Ahmad, an experienced Malaysian militant and former lecturer, who encouraged the rescue of Isnilon Hapilon [12] [13].

In spite of the siege, a joint cooperative action plan was initiated by both the GPH and MILF, who set up a peace corridor which allowed for the delivery of humanitarian assistance and a safe passage for men, women, and children who wanted to escape. The corridor covered several municipalities in Lanao Del Sur including, Malabang, Calanogas, Pualas, Ganassi, Madamba Bacolod Kalawi, Tugaya, Balindong, and Marantao. [14]

The scale of destruction and devastation as a result of the siege was catastrophic. It claimed the lives of over 1,000 people, displaced 350,000 and physically and psychologically injured many more. Most of the internally displaced people fled to Iligan City, a predominantly Christian city, which provided humanitarian assistance, such as relief aid, housing and medical treatment. Reports state that a majority of the casualties were ISIS – MG militants, followed by military forces, and then civilians; half of whom died due to illnesses. Moreover, the battle left the city in ruins. It is estimated that 95% of the city was damaged, with over 3,000 buildings completely destroyed, 900 heavily damaged and 1200 structures partially damaged. [15] [16]

The Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies (CPCS) recognises the importance of accessing the voices of communities to understand how they have been affected, both by conflict as well as by peace processes. Listening to a diversity of voices and considering their experiences is crucial in finding lasting solutions to long-standing problems that are at the root of violent conflict. Inclusivity and wide ownership are often regarded as hallmarks of a sustainable peace process. This is accomplished by including communities who are directly affected by decisions made at peace talks and also acknowledging that they are the key drivers for change within.

The objective of this Report, after collecting and collating the voices of survivors of the Marawi siege, is to channel these findings to top-level actors and decision makers as part of the rehabilitation of Marawi City.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

IDPs that were interviewed stated that they were receiving basic necessities such as food, clothing and sanitary products from government agencies such as the Department of Social Welfare and Development (DSWD) and NGOs. However, the quality of the food was poor and often caused health problems such as diarrhea and allergies. In some cases, people sold their relief goods so that they could buy healthier food. IDPs said that NGOs were doing a better job than the government in distributing aid and food packages, as well as providing them opportunities to earn an income.

IDPs spoke about cases of favoritism and corruption over the delivery of relief packages and aid. This is called a ‘Palaksan system’, the practice by which people are served based on whom they know, their political affiliation and family relations, rather than on priority and need. In many conversations, people spoke about food packages and aid being given to certain people and families because of whom they knew or were related to. This usually occurred in some townships because aid packages were delivered to the head of the town who then distributed the food amongst local townspeople rather than the IDPs. This was especially apparent for home based IDPs who did not receive goods because of their situation.

During conversations those interviewed explained that living in evacuation centres was very challenging and that everyday tasks such as cooking, eating, sleeping, and praying were much harder to do. Part of the reason for the difficulty was that there was not enough space with many families living in one small area. Moreover, due to the high volume of people, diseases spread easily.

Throughout these conversations it was mentioned that many of the children who had survived the siege were unable to continue their schooling. Some had stopped because a parent was unable to pay schools fees without access to employment. In other cases it was because parents were unable to work and children had to assume the responsibility of earning an income by forgoing their education. Of course, due to the siege many children lost much of their property, including school items and uniforms. However, there were reports of some children continuing their education in evacuation centers, but there were not enough committed staff, teaching materials, or facilities, making it a challenge for them to learn.

A recurring theme that emerged from the conversations with the siege survivors was their desire for, and to, work. The battle of Marawi destroyed many people's businesses and assets and IDPs were now struggling to generate a sustainable income. There were reports of jobs trainings provided by the government, but the types of trainings provided were culturally insensitive and unsuitable. Those interviewed asked the government to provide jobs trainings that were suitable to their context and by implementing programmes that could help with finding work or trainings that could make them more employable. **Those who took part, spoke of their gratitude towards the government and NGOs that had provided support, but they felt more needed to have been done.** There were also calls for the government to provide money so that they could restart their businesses.

Many of the people who were interviewed wished to return back to their homes because life as an IDP was very challenging. Many of those interviewed expressed the fear that they may not get their land back due to loss of official deeds, even though they had lived there for many years. **Similarly, the government's Proclamation 453 (1953), which states that Marawi is a military reservation, caused many to panic, as they feared they would not be able to return to their homes because the military would appropriate their lands.** Moreover, the IDPs have not been informed when it is possible to return home and this created more feelings of anxiety and frustration. Their hope is to return home safely and rebuild their homes as soon as possible.

The current accessibility of medical service delivery received a mixed response. Some of those interviewed were receiving medical attention from the Department of Health (DOH) and Rural Health Unit (RHU). The medical attention they were receiving was basic checkups and vaccinations for children. Those interviewed stated that they could not always get the medicines they needed due to insufficient supply from government services. **However, there were a majority of voices that said that they were not receiving enough medical treatment and believed that the government was not prioritising this need for IDPs.** Women have given birth in evacuation centres with limited medical facilities, making it risky. Those interviewed said that children were often sick and suffered from malnourishment, rashes, urinary tract infections and diarrhea. They said this was due to the large numbers of people in evacuation centres, which created conditions for illnesses to spread. **Others that were interviewed said that some people in the evacuation centres had to rely on selling their relief goods in order to buy**

medicines. Others spoke about the better job the private sector had done in providing medical attention. The IDPs had asked the government to prioritise health care and provide seminars on good hygiene practices.

The events of the siege and the brutal actions of ISIS have caused many survivors to suffer from post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). Those interviewed witnessed beheadings, killings and the burning down of their homes. Many of those spoken to lost loved ones, either at the hands of ISIS or as collateral damage from the fighting. The implementation of Martial Law inflamed the trauma of people due to the memory of previous experiences of such measures. Many of those interviewed expressed sadness that a number of children had trouble coping with the psychological pain after the siege, having witnessed beheadings and executions. Many of those spoken to had asked that the government provide psychosocial support for those suffering from traumatic stress and PTSD.

A majority of those interviewed said they want Marawi City to be reconstructed; especially their homes and they asked the government to compensate them for their losses. If that were not possible, then they asked for half the amount of the cost of rebuilding their homes. When visualising the reconstruction of Marawi, those interviewed said they wanted better infrastructure such as wider roads; while others spoke of their desire for the city to have better implementation of Islamic law and security, so that conflicts would not happen again. Other participants ask the government to provide a deadline of when construction would start to give them a time frame of when they might return home.

Many of those who were interviewed took issue with the Government's heavy-handed approach to dealing with the ISIS-Maute group. The bombing of the city destroyed people's homes and in some cases injured civilians. In many conversations, the IDPs expressed their concern over the fact that the government had had prior intelligence from foreign countries informing them of the possibility of the siege, but yet had not acted upon it. Other voices said the government should have first negotiated with the terrorists before initiating the heavy bombing campaign.

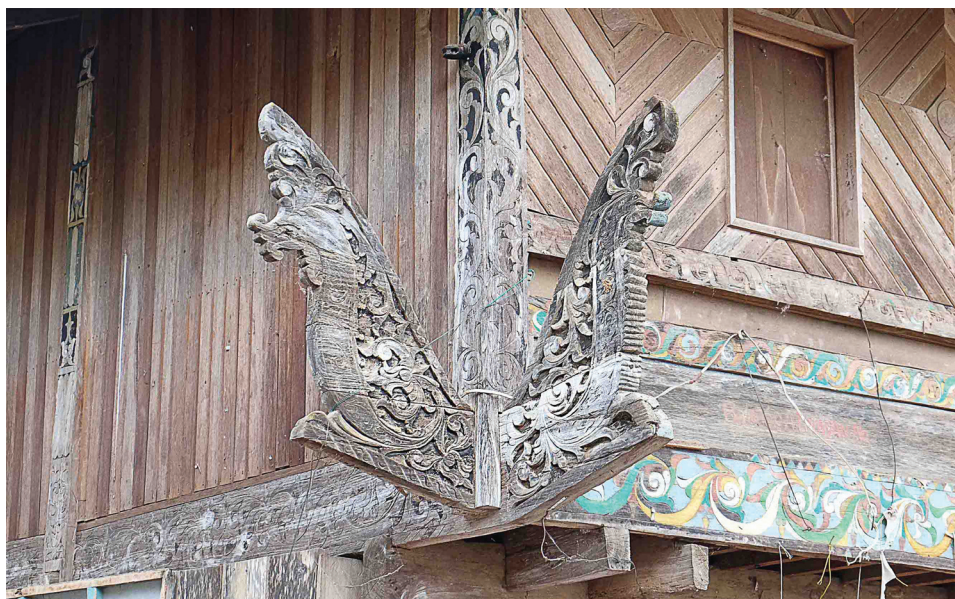
When discussing the implementation of Martial Law, there were mixed opinions. Some respondents felt that Martial Law helped curtail family feuds, while others argued that Martial Law made everyday life difficult,

especially in trying to find work. Others said that it provided a cover for humanitarian abuses by the military. A majority of those interviewed clearly expressed that they did not support the ISIS – Maute group, but that they also did not support the unrestrained actions by the military to quell the group. What most survivors took issue with were that homes occupied by civilians during the siege were destroyed by the military in acts of indiscriminately bombing that only razed homes, but in some cases, killed civilians too. **The fear of the military, and the reputation for plundering, were other issues that survivors raised.** In some accounts, interviewees shared how some members of the military would abuse their power at checkpoints, taking people's possessions or entering people's homes and helping themselves to whatever they needed or wanted.

A majority of those interviewed do not support and wholly condemned, what the ISIS – Maute group did to Marawi. Throughout conversations, those interviewed remarked that the actions of the ISIS – Maute group were not in accordance with the teachings of Islam. In one such conversation, one respondent argued that Islam only allows for defensive war or war to help the oppressed, but that an offensive war is prohibited. **Instead of protecting Islam and Muslims, they had in fact destroyed the Islamic City of Marawi and trampled on the dignity of the Meranaws.**

When speaking about the actions of the ISIS – Maute group during their brief control of the City, those interviewed illustrated scenes of violence and terror, particularly against Christians. Often spoken about events mentioned by many of those interviewed were the public executions and beheadings, usually inflicted upon Christians in public spaces or at checkpoints. In one survivor's account, she and her children witnessed the execution of a Christian man in the middle of Banggolo plaza. **However, there are numerous accounts of Muslim civilians risking their lives to help Christians escape and survive.** During the siege, the ISIS – Maute group set up checkpoints around the city and conducted inspections in people's homes. At these checkpoints and inspections non-Meranaws would be singled out and executed. In conversations with IDPs, it was learnt that Meranaws would teach the Shahadah and verses from the Qur'an to their non-Maranaw friends or employees so that they could pretend to be Muslim at the checkpoints. Many non-Maranaw women were given the hijab as well, so that they would be seen as practicing Muslims, while many others were given shelter.

RECOMMENDATIONS



After analysing the perspectives, opinions and challenges with our partner organisations, CPCS has come up with a set of recommendations for the Government of Philippines, International Non-Governmental Organisations, and Non-Governmental Organisations

To the Government of the Philippines

Peace and security

- The Government could consider taking heed of the emerging narrative that places a portion of the blame on them by certain segments of society. The slow pace of rebuilding the city of Marawi, coupled with the previous reports of abuse by the military towards civilians, provide fertile ground for radical narratives to exploit IDPs and other communities in order to seek justice. The first step in mitigating this risk is by making the reconstruction of the city a

priority for 2019 and to begin this endeavour with surveys, consultations and research into the people's needs in order to minimise inaccurate approaches to providing solutions to the needs of IDPs. These consultations could include IDPs, traditional leaders, stakeholders and business owners. A proper understanding of the culture through a contextual analysis, and taking a conflict sensitive approach to the assessment would greatly improve the impact and sustainability of aid and development.

- The Government could consider furthering the development of administration and good governance practices, which are considered fundamental in eliminating volatile situations, such as the siege. There is a need to strengthen the relationship between civil society, private actors and the state. To ensure the development of Marawi the following could assist the process:
 1. Promote responsive and effective leadership that ensures human development
 2. Establish self-reliant and cooperative relationships between stakeholders and communities
 3. Ensure the peaceful and dignified return of IDPs
 4. Strengthen the governance of Lanao Del Sur and Marawi
- The Government could consider focusing on establishing peace and security in communities, which would require it to initiate peace deals with the various armed groups within the country. The cornerstones of such dialogues would benefit with a thorough understanding of the root cause of the conflict. Only by achieving sustainable peace will development be able to progress.

The Rebuilding of Marawi

- The Government could give more power to Task Force Bangun Marawi in coordinating and monitoring the funding line. This will ensure that line agencies are answerable to them and could speed up implementation and help ensure accountability.
- The Government could increase its engagement with Mindanao State University and use their capacity and resources in engineering, technology and agriculture, to help map out a strategy for rehabilitation. This would ensure that an institution, with knowledge of the area, culture and people, could be empowered further. It is also vital that those working on the rehabilitation of Marawi understand its context.

- The Government could consider enabling the reconstruction of infrastructure for Marawi and Lanao Del Sur and to use this opportunity to design the city with the expectation of expansion and ensure its future sustainability by building an eco-city. The rehabilitation of the city would also need to ensure that it is functional, thus avoiding a ‘one size fits all’ mentality. The following points may help achieve this goal:
 1. Design a blue print for the city that ensures: feasibility, environmental concern, economic stability and infrastructure by type, function and users
 2. Provide a thorough plan for infrastructure development in: agro-fishing, tourism, the environment, and social services
 3. Construct infrastructures modeled on international standards that incorporate the cultural aspects of Meranaw culture and tradition
 4. To build Marawi City and Lanao Del Sur that can accommodate growing needs in education, economy, livelihood, tourism, fisheries, agriculture and social services with minimal impact to the environment
 5. Reconstruct roads that are functional and help ease congestion

Food packages and relief goods

- The government could consider implementing a coupon system that could be used to purchase a variety of goods in order for the IDPs to have a balanced diet.
- The government could map out areas that needed relief goods, and then list those houses that had received relief. This would mitigate unfair distribution of relief packages.
- The government could better coordinate with Task Force Bangon Marawi in terms of aid donations and allocations, to avoid misappropriated funds. Moreover, government agencies should be present during the distribution to make sure that all goods are equally shared, and ensure that there are sufficient relief goods in order to mitigate unsatisfied expectations. Finally, the logistics of delivering relief goods could be improved.

Social services

- The government could expedite the reconstruction of schools and intake of IDP children, as they may become vulnerable to recruitment through extremist narratives. This should include:
 1. Providing basic and tertiary education of international standard that aligns with the Department of Education and the Commission of Higher Education
 2. Provide regulated Islamic education
- The government could consider financing the reconstruction of Dansalan College, as it is a non-profit institution that provides social services integral to the community and its advocacy on interfaith relations and harmonious coexistence among people of different faiths. This is a noble goal that the government should nurture in its pursuit for sustainable peace. Some ways the government could support the reestablishment of DC is by:
 1. Providing salary assistance to displaced personnel until the reconstruction of the college
 2. Providing teaching materials, textbooks, library books etc.
 3. Construction of science laboratories and classrooms
 4. Computers for IT laboratories and administration offices
 5. Desks, chairs, and book shelves
 6. Dormitory for staff
- The government could expedite improving the accessibility of medical and psychosocial support to IDPs by:
 1. Initiating medical missions to conduct health surveys of IDPs and set up a database. This would help policy intervention and would prioritise services to IDPs. Surveys would also be able to identify those in need and reduce the current system of favoritism, practiced in some Barangays.
 2. More provision of psychosocial support needs to be given, with an increase in the number of therapists in medical centres. Psychosocial support needs to be contextualised to the Meranaw culture, taking into account religion, and combining the use of Western and Islamic therapy. It

- would be important to engage and cooperate with the Ulama and Ustad as respected members of society, while synthesising both these approaches. Furthermore, there needs to be focus on providing psychosocial support to men, as they have been reported to be more reluctant to go to therapy.
3. There needs to be a rotation of doctors for the sake of the sustainability of medical services delivery to IDPs and not to overwork doctors due to the high volume of patients.
 4. There needs to be training in basic hygiene practices especially in IDP camps, given the high number of people in centres which has given rise to an increase in diseases.
- The government could seek to reestablish the livelihood and business activities in Marawi city and the province of Lanao Del Sur in the following ways:
 1. Implement a community consultation/survey to identify the kinds of jobs needed by IDPs
 2. Provide capacity training in vocational skills that are informed by cultural context and relevant to their areas and lives
 3. Provide micro financing and social development enterprises so that IDPs could restart businesses and develop other means of livelihood
 4. Develop the agricultural sector by first conducting assessments on damages, then provide capacity training and establish the means of production, distribution, and packaging
 5. Develop fisheries by conducting assessments of potential areas for fish farming; develop aquaculture pond complexes; provide adequate harvesting facilities and enable capacity training
 6. Develop the tourism sector by focusing on heritage promotion and craft development projects for IDPs
 7. Establish ground zero as a peace heritage site

Land Ownership and Resettlement

- The government could expedite the repatriation and resettlement of IDPs. The resettlement of people needs to be an ongoing discussion, which needs to consider the culture as well issues such as clan feuds, which may make this challenging. Consultation with traditional leaders could help with this process and the mapping out of the social economic geography with a third party that has the capacity and is considered neutral. Moreover, The government could

gather empirical data on land disputes in areas that are considered to have a high chance of conflict as this would help prioritise interventions.

- The government could consider clearing any mines, bombs, and other explosive devices for the safe return of IDPs. It could be useful to learn from INGOs/NGOs in the ASEAN region that are working on issues such as landmine clearance who have the expertise to support this endeavor.
- The government could help train IDPs in building tents and shelters in the time being before the repatriation process begins. Focusing on location, quality of craftsmanship, and environment.
- The government should return the land to the Meranaw and remove Proclamation 453 (1953), which had declared Marawi as a military reservation. This would help alleviate worry within the IDP communities over the ownership of their land.

To civil society actors, international non-governmental organisations (INGOs), and non-governmental organisations (NGOs).

- National civil society actors, INGOs and NGOs need to work strategically with the government on key issues, such as social services delivery.
- INGOs need to be flexible in their programme design to accommodate the local context, thus providing accurate and applicable relief goods and services.

Chapter 2

ANALYSIS

Community accounts of the siege on Marawi City

The beginning of the siege

The following quotations are from survivors of the siege. They represent just a few of the stories that were shared during interviews. These short excerpts illustrate how quickly a normal day suddenly changed in an instant.

'It was on May 23, when everything changed. We were happy because the next day I was going to get my diploma. Everyone was busy preparing to celebrate: my mother was ironing my dress, while my younger sister was cleaning the plates for the next day's events and my father was at market buying food. Everybody was happy. We could not hide our happiness because we were about to reap the rewards from all our hard work, but before the day had ended the war started. A war that changed our lives! A war, which changed the image of the Moro! [He breaks down] The war between the Maute and the army! A war that brought fear to ordinary people! We were forced to leave our house and our motherland. We were forced to leave everything except our ambition to serve the Moros, to serve our fellow Maranaos. We were forced to live in a place that we were not accustomed to.'

- A 21 year-old male Muslim university graduate

'I was asleep during the afternoon when my father woke me to pray Asr. I noticed that something was wrong in my neighbourhood, but I didn't think it was important. My father asked me to pick up my mother at the tailor shop in the market. When I arrived I heard the firing of guns, it is a sound no one wants to hear. Every one was panicking, screaming, and crying. I did not know what to do. I saw the men in all black and I felt scared.'

- An 18 year-old Muslim student in Iligan

'On May 23, 2017 I had reached my full term of pregnancy and was at my place of work. I was at the APMC when I heard the gunfire from Basak Malutlut. Suddenly some Maute group members arrived at the gates of APMC. The sound of the gunfire terrified me. My co-workers and I wept. My husband rang me and said he would pick me up, but I did not allow him to carry out his plans. I didn't want anything to happen to him. We ran to the doctor's dormitory to hide. I will never forget the scene. There were so many reactions in the dorm: crying, fear, terror. I tried to control myself and stay calm because I did not want to give birth at a wrong time.'

- A 23 year-old Muslim female and government employee in Balindong

'During the first day of the war, I was standing in line at Mlhuiler because I was going to receive money sent to me by my son from Manila. I was with my 1 year old grandson. Suddenly people were running and we heard the noise of gunshots, I hugged my grandson close. While I was hugging him, I looked for a cement house for us to hide. I saw one close by and ran there. The owner of the house let us in. We stayed in the house for the whole night. I did not have the milk for my grandson. What I did was I boiled water and mixed it with sugar then I used the straw of the Zest O. When he was so tired of crying, he just slept. I too could only cry at that time.'

- A 64 year-old woman in Cadoyonan, Poona Bayabao

The siege, which occurred in Marawi on May 23, 2017, was described by all participants to the Listening Project as a day like any other. People were at work, school or going about their daily chores, especially shopping for Ramadan. Suddenly, it appeared, the attack began. Those who were interviewed described the chaotic scenes: cars being driven recklessly; panicked people screaming everyone trying to escape out of the city or get away from the danger and find shelter. As the electricity was cut, increasing sounds of gunfire permeated across the city. Some interviewees described receiving text messages or calls from neighbors, families and friends. Most people did not believe that the siege would last longer than a few days. After all, they were already familiar with armed conflict. Real fear stepped in when they saw the black flag being raised in their town.

'While we were walking we saw ISIS enter the Jamiatu Marawi Al – Islamiyah Foundation (JMIF) and they put their black flag in our school. They told us, 'This is the flag of Marawi now.' After seeing that I went home to get my family to escape.'

- A 30 year-old student from Marawi

Escape, survival and Maranaws helping non-Maranaws

The most prominent themes to emerge from the conversations were people's accounts of survival, escape and, importantly, Maranaws helping non-Maranaws neighbours and friends. During the siege, people fled to areas such as Linamon, Iligan, Cagayan De Oro, Saguilaran, and Balo – i. It was in these places that many sought refuge in the homes of relatives, where they are now categorised as 'home based IDPs'. Many home based IDPs stay in homes with up to 20 or more people, making life very difficult. Those interviewed reported how challenging it was to access food and how ashamed they felt, relying on handouts from family members, resulting in strained family and relationship dynamics.

During the military air bombing, the blasts created were so strong that the ground in the surrounding areas shook. These shockwaves from the bomb blasts caused houses to shift from side to side and walls trembled. Many bombs struck close to homes that were occupied by civilians. Many people were also trapped in their homes, afraid to leave, because ISIS had set up bases in their areas and secured the vicinity. Some residents were forced to try to escape as food and supplies in their homes ran out. Others were trapped in their homes, and in some cases up to 15 days or longer. Many of the houses had their roofs blown off due to the air raids. However, due to fear, they stayed in their exposed houses.

ISIS soldiers tried to recruit local residents and escapees were shot if caught running away. In one instance sniper shot a local business employee. Rescue teams, located in Banggolo and other areas, managed to secure those who did manage to escape.

Another recurring theme is the unexpected duration of the siege. Many IDPs genuinely believed the siege would last two or three days. It was this belief that led many to stay within their homes to look after their property, business, or sick family members. In a few cases, some people continued going to work or bought groceries to store in case of the resumption of armed conflict and curfews. However, it was only when the military airstrikes began, that they realised this was not a normal situation. Many tried to escape, but because of their lack of preparation, they left with little or no supplies, and so struggled to survive over the course of the conflict.

'The ISIS established their camp near our house. We organised all the people in the house. We mandated our relatives to encircle the Christians and protect them with our lives.'

- An elderly Maranaw woman in Bubong, Lanao Del Sur

During the siege, the ISIS – Maute group often targeted non – Muslims, forcing them into hard labor, using them as human shields or executing them on sight. Often repeated were stories of how Maranaws would protect the lives of non-Maranaws, in many cases risking their own lives to save others. It was also during this time that the MILF and the GPH collaborated on the peace corridor, a route that enabled the rescue of trapped civilians as well as allowing humanitarian assistance to pass through.

‘Our friends who were working at Love fair Restaurant were calling because they needed help. They did not know how to evacuate their Christians workers. The ISIS had told them that they would kill any Christians they saw. Unfortunately, two Christians were shot on Banggolo Bridge. We drove our car to pick up our friends’ workers and took them outside the city. We then returned to get our own children.’

- An elderly Maranaw couple from Pantar evacuation centre, Lanao Del Norte.

During the siege, the ISIS–Maute group set up checkpoints around the city and conducted inspections into people’s homes. At these checkpoints and inspections non–Maranaws would be singled out and executed. In conversations with IDPs, it was learnt that Maranaws would teach the *Shahadah*¹ and verses from the Qur’an to their non–Maranaw friends or employees so that they could pretend to be Muslim at checkpoints. Many non–Maranaw women were given the *Hijab*² so that they would be seen as practicing Muslim women. Although there were efforts made by Maranaws to protect non–Maranaws, some did not heed the advice of trying to appear Muslim and they were executed. One survivor recalls how he tried to help his employees, but they did not listen. They were captured and executed in Banggolo plaza by the ISIS – Maute group.

‘Myself and 16 of my workers and helpers were trapped in my house. I was managing many businesses in Marawi. We did not evacuate Marawi due to the news that the ISIS was killing the non-Muslims. So I decided to stay with these people as their leader and wait to be rescued. Unfortunately, after 15 days of waiting, we ran out of food, so we decided to evacuate. On our way out, one of my workers was shot dead. In the end, out of sixteen of my workers, there were only ten amongst us who survived. I feel so guilty. Until now, I cannot forget what happened.’

- A 40 year old male Maranaw business owner in Bangon, Marawi.

¹ The Muslim profession of faith ‘There is no God but God and Muhammad is God’s prophet.’ This makes up one of the five pillars of Islam.

² A veil Muslim women use to protect their modesty.

Also during the siege, the ISIS–Maute group destroyed churches, statues and any other structures that represented faiths dissimilar to their own. In conversations, the IDPs explained how the ISIS – Maute group would target heavily populated Christian areas and look for non–Maranaws to execute. It was during this time that many of the Maranaws in those areas took in their non–Maranaw friends and neighbours, often engaging with ISIS soldiers when they came looking for Christians, and thus putting themselves at risk as well.

Survivors of the siege speak of the destruction and devastation to their properties and to the city



When speaking to the IDPs, the destruction of their properties and key institutions was brought up numerous times. In one conversation, a participant spoke about how the city jail had been burned down by the ISIS–Maute group. They had broken into the jail, freed the prisoners, murdered the Chief of Police and abducted some police officers. The burning of the jail was the illustration to many of those interviewed that the situation was out of control and forced people to immediately pack up their belongs to try and escape.

'I witnessed the big fire: the church was burning, then it was the city jail and next it was Dansalan College'

- A 20 year old Maranaw university student in Ramin



The destruction of Dansalan College (DC) was significant in the eyes of many who were interviewed. DC was a Christian university that brought together students from all faiths and where all religions were respected. Muslim students could learn about Islam and Christian students could learn about Christianity. The destruction of this institution by the ISIS–Maute group, whose members were also alumni, symbolised the breaking of mutual respect and cooperation between the two communities. Many of those who witnessed the burning of the university expressed feelings of sadness and anxiety. In one conversation, an eyewitness described the sound of the fire blazing and the screams of the people throughout the area. Some people say that teachers were abducted as well.

'All our properties were wiped out in a blink of an eye. I am physically, emotionally, mentally, and financially ruined. My mother was admitted in hospital for seven days due to the losses of our big business.'

- A 40 year old Maranaw business owner in Matampay

Besides the destruction of institutions, the loss of private property and wealth accumulated over time were sources of grief for the survivors. Many of those interviewed were saddened that they could not return home and that their properties, businesses, and other assets were looted by the military or ISIS – Maute. This was particularly challenging for those who lost all their life savings, and to make matters worse, some of those who lost their properties were also just recovering from Typhoon Vida that hit earlier that year.

Current challenges faced by IDPs

Relief support and current situation

‘It is very hard for us to stay at the evacuation centre. It is very uncomfortable; we cannot sleep, eat, and pray well. But still I am still very thankful to the government help. I wish to return back to Marawi and to be led by a brave and in corrupt leader.’

- An unidentified female IDP in Iligan City

A very prevalent theme that emerged from conversations was regarding the situation of relief assistance and support that the IDPs received. This was manifested in a few ways, primarily through the efficiency or inefficiency in the distribution of supplies; the state of camps; and the impact on mental health. The IDPs who were interviewed reported that they were receiving basic necessities, such as food, clothing and sanitary products from government agencies like the Department of Social Welfare and Development (DSWD), as well from NGOs. In some conversations, the IDPs expressed their gratitude for receiving three meals a day, as well as help from Local Government Units (LGUs) who have helped with, for example, childbirth in the camps. Moreover, there have been reports of certain municipalities providing water pumps and electricity for IDPs, however, not always consistently.

‘It is very hard to be an IDP because we are just putting our welfare from the relief goods being given to us by the DSWD’

- A father of four in an evacuation centre

In other conversations, the IDPs commented on the challenges of having to rely on relief goods provided by the government. One common issue was the inconsistency of goods distribution, in some cases three food packages a day would be received, while on other days, they would receive only two. Other survivors mentioned that they had stopped receiving food packages as far back as November 2017. Besides this, the IDPs also spoke about the quality of the food packages, which was poor. As some people described it, tin food, such as corned beef or sardines, had expired, resulting in diarrhea and dehydration especially among children. Furthermore, there were reports that these canned foods also gave people allergies. In some cases, people had to sell their canned goods so that they could buy healthier food. Those interviewed note that NGOs did a better job than the government in distributing aid and food packages, as well as providing them opportunities to earn an income.

'We frequently receive relief goods from the DSWD, but we have never received psychosocial help, hygiene promotion or medical missions for the simple fact that we are home based IDPs. It is very hard for us being IDPs because we are not comfortable with the town we are staying in.'

- Overheard during a conversation with an IDP family of four in Ragain, Lanao Del Sur

Another shortcoming that IDPs expressed was the feelings of favouritism and corruption; what is called the Palaksan system. In many conversations, people spoke about food packages and aid being given to certain people and families only because of whom they knew or were related to. This usually occurred in some townships where the aid packages were delivered to the head of the town that then distributed to local townspeople, rather than the IDPs. Others spoke about categories of IDPs, those known as 'home based' IDPs, not receiving aid. However, those spoken to did acknowledge that this did not occur everywhere, and in many areas there was fair distribution. NGOs were acknowledged as not practicing favouritism. There were also reports that donations sent were not coordinated or registered with Task Force Bangun Marawi. Areas that are furthest from city centres did not receive aid packages, and in some cases they were delivered, but to more accessible places in closer proximity. All these practice of unfair distribution resulted in many survivors feeling a great sense of injustice and grief.

'Unlike the Maranaw way, officials are corrupting the system to suit their whims and fancies. The officials in Baloi distribute the goods almost every day without favouritism, unlike in Ragain, where in you cannot get anything without being connected to the officials.'

- A 20 year old female Maranaw IDP in Robinson's place

Separation of families was another issue that IDPs faced, as during the siege many people were separated because of the multiple areas that had clashes and due to the roadblocks created by ISIS militants. During this time parents were unable to find their children and many feared they had been captured by ISIS or had even joined the group. Many of those spoken to expressed deep sorrow because they did not know whether their family members were dead or missing. Further, because the conflict had destroyed the livelihoods of many IDPs a number of families had to send their children to other areas such as Manila for work or education. This added to the already stressful situation.

Other conversations that took place during *listening* centred around the living standards of evacuation camps and centres. During these conversations it became clear that the several evacuation centres established were in halls, schools or camps. Those living in these centres spoke about the challenges they faced, particularly in everyday tasks such as cooking, eating, sleeping and praying. One reason was a lack of space, where families were forced to live in crowded conditions. For example, in one conversation it was learned that one tent housed two families and that each had more than three members. As time went on, these numbers decreased. Where there might have been 300 people in an evacuation centre, now there were less than 100. Besides the camp, people also took refuge in the homes of their relatives. This was a common occurrence due to the culture of the Meranaw and their clan system. However, over the long term these arrangements have put a strain on family relationships, as hosting families have to bear the costs whilst having limited resources themselves. Finally, another important point that was brought up was the emotional state that living in camps has put on people. Many interviewed felt a strong sense of shame and not belonging, even when living with relatives. These issues and challenges add to the ongoing anxiety and difficulties of the internally displaced survivors of the siege.

Facing discrimination

'We might be discriminated against and not accepted, but we are still very proud of who we are! We are very proud that we are from Marawi and we are Maranao!'

- Overheard during a conversation with five IDP youths in Sta. Elena

Often spoken about during conversations was the discrimination that people faced after the siege. Muslim IDPs have said that they were treated with suspicion by non-Muslims, usually because of fear that the Muslim IDPs were terrorists or members of ISIS. Other IDPs believed that they were discriminated against because of speaking a

different language than their host. Discrimination took place in other areas too, such as Muslim IDPs having difficulty finding work. In some areas they are unable to rent rooms or houses because they were Muslims and local communities did not trust them. Women often expressed anger that they were not allowed to wear the headscarf, a sign of modesty in Islam, or recite the Qur'an. In some areas, such as Linamon, Muslim IDPs were prohibited by the military from holding *Khutba*³ or performing *Terawih*⁴. In other conversations, the IDPs said that they were forced to go to police stations by people in non-Muslim communities in order to be profiled and verified. There were some voices that claimed these levels of discrimination were due to politics, in order to gain votes, by building up resentment against IDPs.

'Some of my children are in school, while others are not. They have stopped going to school because their classmates are bullying them. They are called odorous and ignorant because they cannot change their shirt and pants. They cannot have a bath because we are at the evacuation centre. They are not ignorant, they are just experiencing trauma, and they cannot change their cloths because they do not have any.'

- Parents of IDP children in Pantar evacuation centre, Lanao Del Norte

The children of Muslim IDPs also faced discrimination in schools because of their faith and circumstance. It was expressed in one conversation that children were made fun of and bullied by other students for being Muslim, with insults levied at them, including calling them 'Maute' or 'dirty'. The schools themselves having placed IDP students in special classes and categorised them as such, may also have contributed to feelings of discrimination. Conversely, there were reports that some schools signed Memorandums of Understandings so that state schools would prioritise IDPs from Marawi. These sorts of incidents have made many IDP children stop schooling because of the shame and ridicule they faced. In spite of this, many of those spoken to have said that these experiences made them want to conduct themselves in a manner to show the true side of Islam, and not the one portrayed by the so called Islamic State.

³ Religious narrations and sermons delivered at Mosques on Friday.

⁴ Recommended prayers performed during the month of Fasting. Usually twenty or more cycles of prayer done in a group setting done after the night prayer of *Salat al-Isha*.

The challenge of education for children

‘Two of my siblings cannot go back to school and are now forced to farm. This is for survival because the income of our father is not enough.’

- An 18 year old Meranaw girl in Baraas

Throughout conversations it was brought up that many of the children who had survived the siege were unable to continue their schooling. Some had stopped because a parent was unable to pay schools fees because they could not find jobs. In some cases because parents were unable to work children, had to take on the responsibility of earning an income by forgoing their education. Moreover, school materials that IDP children once had were completely destroyed items such as schoolbooks and uniforms. There were other reports of some children continuing their education in evacuation centres, but with a lack of committed staff, teaching materials or facilities, it was a challenge. Another limitation was the sheer volume of people in evacuation centres and lack of privacy. Some people who were able to flee to neighboring towns have enrolled their children in schools there, but their children also have to face challenges such as adapting to a new culture and language. Besides this, there are some children who are dealing with trauma after the siege making it difficult to be motivated to go to school.

Seeking better employment opportunities

‘We feel ashamed because we do not have any kind of job. Our relatives are the ones giving us money for everyday expenses.’

- An elderly Meranaw man in Marantao

A reoccurring theme that emerged from conversations with survivors was their desire for work. The battle for Marawi destroyed many people’s businesses and assets, leaving IDPs to struggle to generate a sustainable income. During some conversations, those interviewed expressed the difficulty they had paying for school fees for their children, and in numerous circumstances children had to work to help the family, including undertaking hard manual labour like farming. There were reports of job trainings provided by the government for the IDPs, but the types of training provided were culturally insensitive; for example, training Maranaw women to give massages, which is unsuitable for Muslim women or training men in agricultural work when previously they were business owners. The IDPs remarked on the mismatch between their capacity and trainings provided by the government.

Those who are seriously challenged and needed an income resorted to selling relief goods so that they could feed their families. In some cases there were people who did manage to find jobs but they did not pay well and so they would have to take on other jobs. These situations resulted in severe negative emotions for those caught up in low or no employability scenarios. There were many parents who spoke of their sadness in not being able to afford things for their children. Naturally, unemployment and a lack of income added to family burdens and strained family relationships. Finally, the transition from being self sufficient and industrious to relying on handouts has made many people that were spoken to feel a sense of grief and frustration.

Those interviewed clearly voiced their desires for these difficult challenges to be eased and requested the government to help them. They even suggested the government help by implementing more focused programmes to find work and more appropriate trainings that could make them more employable. Those who took part in listening spoke of their gratitude towards the government and NGOs that have provided support so far, but they felt more needed to be done. Another way that the IDPs believed that their situation could be improved was if they were able to access start up capital of at least P 10,000 in order to resume their business. Other IDPs interviewed hoped that they might find work to sustain themselves and their families so as not to rely on handouts, thus enabling them to live with confidence and dignity.

Needing better housing and wanting to return to their homeland

'For me, the government should return us back to our land.'

- A 40 year old female government employee in Relocation Centre.



The desire for better housing was regularly mentioned in conversations. Many of the people who were interviewed wish to return back to their homes because life as an IDP is very challenging. The camps and evacuation centres that they reside in are small and crowded, what is more there are no partitions. Due to the large numbers of people in the camps children easily get sick. Besides this, the government has asked IDPs to leave the evacuation centre but do not provide homes for them. There were also fears that they might not get their old land back due to not having any official deeds, in spite of residing on the land for generations. Lack of papers is a contextual issue, because culturally the Maranaw people do not have a concept of land titles. This makes land reclamation programmes very challenging for those INGOs, such as the United Nations (UN), in trying to help. Similarly, the government's proclamation 453 (1953) that states Marawi a designated military reservation has caused panic, as many fear they won't be able to return to their homes because the military will claim it. IDPs have not been

informed when they can return and this creates feelings of frustrations, as they hope that they may return safely and rebuild their homes.

Needing medical and psychosocial support

‘Whenever we hear a loud noise, we remember our dark experiences during the Marawi siege and we start to panic’

- An elderly couple in Landa Madrasa Evacuation Centre in Baloi, Lanao Del Sur.

The current accessibility of medical services was varied, with some of those interviewed saying that they were receiving medical attention from the DOH and RHU. The medical care was basic: checks ups and vaccinations for children. Those interviewed expressed that obtaining required medications was not easy due to insufficient supplies from government services. However, there are a majority of voices that have said that they are not receiving enough medical treatment and believe that the government is not prioritizing this need for IDPs. Many also shared that as they were not informed or had not received medicines, they had to rely on home remedies. Others had to travel to other areas and townships to seek medical attention. This was especially so for those with chronic needs such as diabetes and anemia, or those with serious ailments. Women suffered humiliation and lack of care, as there were some accounts that they had to give birth in the evacuation centres with limited medical facilities. Children too suffered, easily falling ill from malnourishment, and with rashes, urinary tract infections or diarrhea. The overcrowded evacuation centres are conducive to the spreading of germs and developing illnesses. There were also a number of deaths at the evacuation centres from preventable diseases, but because of limited health care, people have died. Some people mentioned that they knew of others who had to sell their relief goods so that they could buy medicine. Others spoke about how the private sector has done a better job at providing medical attention. The IDPs have asked the government to prioritise health care and provide seminars on good hygiene.

‘Due to the siege, my daughter was paralysed and unconscious. She and her husband walked from Marawi up to Baloi while she was holding their daughter. Over the next days my daughter was able to move parts of her body little by little.’

- A Meranaw woman in Iligan City

The events of the siege and the brutal actions of ISIS caused many survivors to have post-traumatic stress disorder. Those interviewed witnessed beheadings, killings and the burning down of their homes. Many of those spoken to lost loved ones either at the hands of ISIS, or as collateral damage from the fighting. Martial Law further inflamed the trauma that people were already experiencing, as they remembered previous occasions when it was enacted. Many of those interviewed expressed sadness that a number of children had trouble coping with the psychological pain after the siege, as a large number of children witnessed beheadings and executions. Some were reported to have become paralysed or unable to speak due to the shock; others suffered from depression and anxiety and were unable to attend school. Certain sounds, such as loud bangs, helicopters or trucks triggered flashbacks for some people causing them to tremble out of fear and lose focus on what they were doing. Other people mentioned that they were unable to sleep at night because of the vivid scenes and sounds, still fresh in their minds. Many of those spoken to asked the government to provide psychosocial support for those that were suffering from traumatic stress.

Reflections and Moving Forward

The resilience of the survivors and their desire to return home

‘What happened in Marawi is a challenge that we needed to pass through because this world is full of challenges.’

- Overheard during a conversation with a group of IDPs in Lilod Balindong, Lanao Del Sur

A common theme that surfaced during discussions was people’s desire to return home. Many of those interviewed spoke on how Marawi was unique, with good infrastructure and quality Islamic and secular schools. It had produced good Ulama⁵ and was the only Islamic city in the Philippines. Others that were interviewed believed that Marawi was an example of how Muslims and non-Muslims could live together in peace, illustrated especially during the siege when neighbour helped neighbour irrespective of religion. One the most common points that people appreciated about Marawi was how the Islamic faith united the community through the observation of religious obligations, such as Friday prayers and Ramadan. It was these outward expressions of faith that many said they would miss. In other conversations, people spoke of how they appreciated the everyday routines they once took for granted, such as going to the market, sharing food with their neighbours, or picnicking near Lake Lanao. In fact, the weather was another aspect of the city that people mentioned that they missed, with the cool weather incomparable to other places in the country.

Another often spoken point about Marawi was the reputation of the city as a hub for trading and good education. Mindanao State University was often cited as an institution that many of those interviewed were proud of. Furthermore, Dansalan College as well was known for its education and its respect of different faiths and its promotion of social cohesion. Additionally, the culture and history of trade and business, which made the city unique, was recalled with affection. Others that were interviewed expressed sadness that they no longer could hear the call to prayer, which they said often soothed their hearts. In other conversations, there was a sense of shared and strong connections to Marawi as the place where they were born and where their ancestors were buried. Many of those interviewed communicated their strong desire to return to the city irrespective of its demolished state.

⁵ A body of Islamic scholars who are recognized as having specialist knowledge of Islamic Sacred law and theology.

'I am proud of being a Muslim, although discrimination against us is everywhere. I know that Marawi will rise again. The buildings, which had been destroyed, will rise again. No more war and yes to peace! A new face of Marawi City will rise again'

- A 25 year old street vender in Pantar

When speaking to IDPs a consistent motif of resilience came through as they recounted their experiences of the siege and the aftermath. A number of people spoke of the destruction and loss of loved ones and homes, but many also said that in spite of the destruction, they would never lose hope that they could return to Marawi City again and reestablish their lives. What became apparent was the high value placed on faith and human life. During many conversations those interviewed expressed their unwavering faith in God and the acceptance of the tragedy and their responsibility, as Muslims, to patiently endure the challenges they faced. Often times it was heard during discussions, that the survivors of the siege did not mind that their material possessions were destroyed, but that their loved ones had survived and that they could practice Islam. The survivors of the siege, through conversations and discussions displayed admirable resilience and fortitude.

Finally, those that were interviewed proclaimed their pride of being Maranaos and of being Muslim, regardless of what others would think, especially as the extremists were also Muslim. Many of those spoken to say they were proud to be Maranaos because of their culture, which promotes hospitality, honor and hard work. Others that were interviewed were proud of their community's reputation of being mercantile with its people having good business acumen. Overall, those that took part showed a strength and pride in who they are, and expressed their desire to return home to live a life of dignity.

The Rehabilitation of Marawi City and the needs of survivors

'I wish for Marawi to have wide roads, with houses legally constructed. Rules must be followed and implemented so that the Maranao could live happily.'

- A former business owner in Gata, Poon a Bayabao

Another often spoken about subject related to the reconstruction of Marawi city. A majority of those interviewed said they wanted Marawi to be re-built, especially their homes and wanted to be compensated by the government. If that were not possible, they requested the government to assist them with at least half the amount it would cost

to rebuild their homes. When visualising the reconstruction of Marawi, those spoken to say they would like the city to have better infrastructure such as wider roads. Others wanted a better implementation of Islamic law and greater security so that this type of conflict will not happen again. Other voices asked the government to set a deadline of when construction would start, so as to have a timeframe of when they might return home. While these seemed to be the majority of voices, there were others who thought that the city not be rebuilt, but rather preserved as a historical site for future generations so that they could remember and learn what happened in Marawi and ensure it never happens again.

‘I wish for the Government to repair Marawi as soon as possible and to give jobs to those displaced residents. Also, I wish for the people to be united and be able to choose the right leaders.’

- Overheard during a conversation with university students in Balindong, Lanao Del Sur

In discussing their immediate needs, survivors of the siege said they needed shelter, employment, medication and clean drinking water. Additionally, there were calls for the government to provide capital to restart their businesses lost during the siege. To conclude, many of the IDPs wished to return back to Marawi city and for the reconstruction to take place as soon as possible. They hoped that they could be compensated for some of the losses they incurred from the battle so that they could resume their lives.

Drawing lessons from the siege and hopes for the future

‘The security of the city must be strong. If ever the leaders learn of extremist threats and plans, they must act quickly.’

- An elderly woman in Cadayunan Poona Bayabao, Lanao Del Sur.

One of the key lessons that the communities spoke about was the need for better security and preparation. Those interviewed said that the country’s leadership needed to improve security in their areas and to have better intelligence services. Many IDPs said that they believed that the siege could have been avoided if the government acted more quickly. Others said that the government was aware that a conflict was brewing, but did not act upon it. Moreover, people criticized the government implementing Martial Law immediately because of what happened in the past when it was enforced. A number of those interviewed said that part of the reason why the siege occurred was because of

the stalled process in the BBL and MILF peace process. They urged the government to get this moving again. This experience had also taught people to be more careful with electing leaders during the next election. This was because some people noticed that during the siege, many of the leaders fled, rather than stayed to solve the issue before it worsened. The IDPs asked the government not to stall the peace process in Mindanao, and to use this siege as a lesson for future generations so that it will not happen again.

Another lesson that communities drew from the siege reflected their faith and devotion to their religion. This was manifested by their belief that the siege was a lesson from *Allah*⁶ in response to societal ills like drug abuse and proliferation, as well as the lending of money on interest. Another lesson people pointed to was that material possessions, such as cars and houses, should not be held onto because they could suddenly disappear. The lesson to be learnt, some argued, was to have faith in *Allah*, protect human life and to help your neighbour. These were by far the greater investment. Other voices said that they learned virtues like patience, faith and perseverance were important to cultivate, so that a person could handle any of life's challenges. In other conversations the takeaways was not to politicise religion for personal gain, but rather religion should be used to help society encourage charity and helping others.

Those interviewed hoped that what happened in Marawi could be a lesson for people across the world. They hoped that people within their communities would live in peace and harmony, to put aside family feuds and to stop religious inspired wars. Moreover, they remarked on the importance of nurturing future generations so that they could be rightly guided, so as not to become extremists. Others said that the Maranao people needed to come together and help themselves and others, and to stop clan wars. Those that survived the siege compared it with historical events such as World War Two, which saw the destruction of much of Europe and Japan. However, those countries were able to rise from the ashes of destruction to become economic and industrial powerhouses. Many IDPs believed that Marawi could become the same if it learned the lessons it was supposed to learn.

⁶ *The Arabic term for God*

Thoughts on the government, military and the ISIS-Maute group

On the government

One of the most prominent themes that emerged from conversations were people's opinions on the government and its approach to handling the siege. One of the first things people took issue with was the government's heavy-handed approach to dealing with the ISIS-Maute group. Bombing of the city destroyed people's homes and in some cases injured or killed civilians. In many conversations, IDPs expressed their concern over the fact that the government had intelligence from foreign countries informing them of the possibility of the siege, but yet they did not act on it. Other voices said that the government should have just negotiated with the terrorists first, before initiating the heavy bombing campaign. Throughout conversations many of those interviewed expressed their desire for the GPH- MILF negotiations to reach an agreement for the peace of the country. Moreover, they hoped that the government could continue providing livelihood assistance and compensation for damages.

'On the night of May 23, 2017, President Duterte declared Martial Law. That was the only time we considered evacuating Marawi.'

- A 40 year old Female Maranaw former business owner in Balindong, Lanao Del Sur

'ISIS caused the destruction of vast properties of the Maranaw, but they should not be blamed alone. The government should also be blamed because they had just found another reason to annihilate Marawi. Bombing Marawi was not the only way to avoid the war. Of course, ISIS used a lot of houses, but the government bombed almost all the houses. There were homes far away from Ground Zero, but the Army looted and destroyed them Too.'

- A Maranaw woman in Balindong, Lanao Del Sur



When discussing the implementation of Martial Law, there were mixed opinions on the matter. Some of those that were interviewed felt that Martial Law helped curtail family feuds, while others believed that Martial Law made life difficult, including finding work. In other conversations people spoke about the memories of the previous enactment of Martial Law under the Marcos government⁷. Coupled with the bombings by the military, many felt these were unfavorable decisions. However, there were also voices that were happy with the LGUs and the DSWD, which provided assistance throughout the siege, especially in Palao. They were also happy with some of the efforts made by the military in helping them escape to MSU. Many of those that took part in the listening process felt that the government should improve its communication channels with IDPs and to give the Bangsamoro what they want, so that conflicts such as the siege would not happen again.

‘When President Marcos declared Martial Law, there were plenty of humanitarian abuses committed against the civilians. But the declaration of Martial Law by President Duterte on May 23 was different. This time we could mirror the meaning of peace, despite the war between Maute and government forces.’

- A 35 year old Maranaw female IDP in Marantao.

An often raised issue that IDPs was the military’s use of excessive force during the siege. A majority of those interviewed clearly expressed that they do not support the ISIS – Maute group but they also did not support the unrestrained actions by the military to quell the group. Homes that were occupied by civilians during the siege were bombed by the military; it is the act of indiscriminately bombing and destroying homes, and in some cases killing civilians that many of the survivors take issue with.

‘Bombing was not the solution in Marawi. One problem is never a solution to another problem.’

- A 43 year old former street vendor in Marawi City

⁷ On September 21, 1972 President Marcos declared Philippines under Martial Law signing proclamation No. 1081 after a series of bombings in Manila. Under military rule civil and political rights were abolished, congress was dissolved and a one-man rule was imposed and human rights were violated. Martial Law was lifted on January 17, 1981.

Those that took part spoke on how they felt the military had abused their power during Martial Law and used it as a way to cover up their own human rights abuses. When speaking about Martial Law they reflected on how it was during the Marcos era, and felt that there was more destruction now. Some participants also shared experiences of how soldiers threatened to execute them, while others spoke about how a woman in *Hijab* was shot. Some of those spoken to said that when they tried to escape from Marawi city they avoided military checkpoints out of fear.

‘Unfortunately, during our escape, we were captured by the military. They took our cell phones. We tried to talk to them, but they did not believe our story. They told us to dig our own graves because they would execute us. We were told to face away from them. We were waiting to be shot, but fortunately, there was one military man who said he believed that we were not criminals, but real civilians. We were then taken to the city jail. One person, whose cell phone had not been confiscated, was able to call for help. The rescue team, whose members were Maranao, saved us.’

- A 40 year old Maranaw woman in Budong, Lanao Del Sur

‘There were many homes which the Maute did not enter. But the military did. They forced their way into the houses and took whatever valuables of the Maranaw they could find.’

- A 26 year old Maranaw man in Balindong, Lanao Del Sur

Fear of the military and the plundering that some members carried out during the siege was another point raised by survivors. In some accounts it was mentioned that certain members of the military abused their power at checkpoints, taking people’s possessions. The situation at military checkpoints reached a point where many civilians who were trying to escape would avoid them for fear of what the soldiers might do. In other accounts, some survivors experienced soldiers entering their homes and taking whatever they wanted, including electronic devices and other valuable goods.

On the ISIS – Maute group

‘ISIS have contributed nothing to our religion except destruction’

- A 28 year old female Maranaw university student in Bubong, Lanao Del Sur.

‘ISIS have done nothing that is considered “Jihad” which means we will defend our land and the Bangsa (tribe, family and culture). But what ISIS has done is destroy our land and shamed the Meranaw tribes. They turned us into beggars.’

- Heard in conversation with five Maranaw youths in Budong, Lanao Del Sur.

IDP opinions on the ISIS – Maute group varied between outright disagreement with what they stood for to some withholding judgment, and others who supported them as long as they fought for religion. A majority of those interviewed do not support and wholly condemn what the ISIS – Maute group has done in Marawi. Throughout conversations, those interviewed remarked on how the actions of the ISIS – Maute group were not in accordance with the teachings of Islam. In one such conversation, a person said that Islam allowed for defensive war or war to help the oppressed. However, an offensive war was prohibited. People saw what the group did as offensive, and instead of protecting Islam and Muslims, it had destroyed the Islamic city of Marawi and the dignity of the Maranaws. Moreover, others pointed to the fact that some members of ISIS had been civilians, forced to join their cause, which again did not align with Islamic teachings.

‘What I know about ISIS is that some of them are good, and they thought that what they were doing was for good purposes. Others have bad intentions’

- In conversation with a family of five in Nusa Balindong, Lanao Del Sur

In contrast there were voices that said that the group did have good people within the organisation and that their intentions were in the right place. However, this was distorted by some members with bad intentions. Furthermore, some of those interviewed believed that what had happened was politically motivated and expressed anger with the unfulfilled promises of the current government administration. They stated that they supported the ISIS – Maute group because they fought for religion. Be that as it may, an overwhelming majority of those interviewed strongly condemned the actions of the ISIS – Maute group and the destruction they wrought upon their homes.

Being under the control of the ISIS–Maute group

‘I saw the captives of ISIS who were all blindfolded. ISIS had surrounded this group of people. ISIS played loud music; I really do not know what it was. I pitied the hostages, but could do nothing except walk faster. I saw also a member of the Maute who was photographing their hostages using a DSLR camera.’

- A 25 year old female Maranaw university student



When speaking about the actions of the ISIS – Maute group during their brief control of the city, those interviewed illustrated scenes of violence and, horror, but also paradoxically mentioned the compassion they showed towards the Maranaw people. Many spoke about the executions and beheadings, which were usually inflicted upon Christians in public spaces or at checkpoints. In one survivor's account, she and her children had witnessed the execution of a Christian man in the middle of Banggolo plaza. Similarly, another survivor spoke of the fear they felt when passing through checkpoints manned by the ISIS – Maute group who would randomly select people to recite the Shahadah and execute those who could not. Another aspect of the group that the IDPs recalled, was the diversity of the group, which was made up of Maranaws,

foreign fighters who were a mixture of European, Middle Eastern, and Asian men, as well as child soldiers. Some of those interviewed noted how well equipped and funded the group was, using expensive trucks and weapons. They also spoke about how they used these tools in battle. For example, one survivor mentioned how the group would park pick up trucks around bridges and blow them up so that the military had trouble entering with their vehicles. Similarly, they used broken glass strategically placed so cars would become immobilised.

Another reoccurring theme was how the ISIS – Maute group forcefully recruited civilians to do jobs for them as drivers, chefs or foot soldiers. In one account, a man was forced to cook for the group in the headquarters. Part of his job was to break into super markets and steal food. In another account, a man was forced to drive wounded soldiers from battle back to their bases risking his own life in the process. Many survivors of the siege reported that the group would enter their homes and coerce people to join. In some cases, men and young boys would wear the Hijab to avoid being selected. There were others who recalled that the ISIS-Maute would accept some people did not want to join and allowed them to escape.

Finally, there are accounts by IDPs on how the ISIS – Maute group showed the Maranaws kindness and compassion. In many accounts, members of the group would give civilians prior warning of when armed clashes would begin, giving them time to evacuate or seek shelter. Similarly, there were experiences of members of the group helping people evacuate the city, especially women and children, informing them of areas that had snipers or bombs.

Chapter 3

LISTENING METHODOLOGY



A sustainable peace process relies on wide legitimacy and local ownership by multiple stakeholders. To foster this, CPCS seeks out avenues by providing ways for lesser-heard voices to participate in on-going national discussions. One process is the listening methodology (listening), which is a qualitative research approach that seeks to elevate community opinions, thoughts and voices in conflict-afflicted communities across Asia. Listening allows for the observation of various perspectives and insights, as well as for the examination of ideas. Informal discussions and open-ended conversations facilitated by participants who speak the local language and come from the same context are the guiding principles of these talks. This creates a safe space where community members may discuss issues that affect their lives. The listening methodology compiles the issues raised from these open-ended conversations, taken from a cross section of the countries' demographics, into a singular unified voice and then presents it to key decision makers. By compiling these voices into a publication, CPCS aims to advocate for policy change and provide wider representation for community voices to be heard in governance and decision-making processes.

The listening methodology was adapted from the Collaborative Learning's (CDA) *listening programme*, which sought to listen to communities that were receiving aid in order to understand how to measure utility. The reasoning was that those who were receiving aid would be best able to explain its effectiveness and assess its impact.. Similarly, CPCS uses the listening methodology with the belief that communities that are directly experiencing conflict would be best able to judge the situation more accurately. By including their insights, very often-new perspectives are gleaned as to the root causes of violence and its perpetuation, as well as to seeking lasting solutions.

Monitoring community opinions using the Listening Methodology

In 2013, CPCS began to use the listening methodology to support Myanmar's peace process. Listeners travelled to various parts of the country and conducted conversations with non-ranked or lower-ranking soldiers from six non-state armed groups (NSAGs) and the Tatmadaw. This was done to hear their opinions, challenges and desires for the future. These conversations were documented and collated into two publications, and distributed to a larger audience so that they might be considered by those at the top-levels of the negotiating process. The outcomes from this project were two-fold: i) for the soldiers of the Tatmadaw and the ethnic armed groups, there was a transformation in how they viewed each other, bringing to light a shared common humanity and similarities in their aspirations and challenges; ii) for the listeners, how they viewed

the military was transformed, humanising the soldiers rather than perceiving them as a monolithic block simply following orders.

In 2014, CPCS employed the listening methodology on a demographic cross section within the Karen state to gather opinions, challenges and aspirations during the bilateral ceasefire agreement between the Karen National Union and the military. It was from this listening exercise that the ceasefire monitoring began, identifying the need to monitor community voices against the backdrop of peace talks between the government and various armed groups. The chief objective was to offer the collection of first hand experiences and alternative narratives on the effects of the ceasefire on communities. Following this experience, CPCS decide, to utilise this conflict transformation tool in other contexts, including the siege in Marawi and the current conflict in Patani.

In this first year of monitoring IDP opinions in Marawi, CPCS collaborated with three locally based institutions that provided on the ground logistical support, planning support for trainings, expertise on context and on-going advisory support. The listening was conducted in 2018 and CPCS recruited 20 listeners, ten male and ten female, from Mindanao State University, the Institute of Bangsamoro Studies and Dansalan College. The listeners were chosen for their familiarity with the local context and their ability to conduct conversations in the local language. Most importantly they were chosen because of their contacts with people in the community.

The Listening Methodology Process

The listening methodology began with a training workshop held in Iligan. The workshop was held over a three-day period and was divided into two processes: the planning and training. During the planning stage the listeners and the research team established the purpose, scope and objectives of the listening project, using Patani as an example. The training workshop then focused on listeners learning the conceptual basis of the listening methodology, active listening, communication skills and bias mitigation techniques. These skills were then strengthened through practical exercises, so that the listeners were better able to facilitate conversations with community members.

During the training workshop, listeners were equipped with guide questions that they helped formulate during the planning stage. The questions broadly covered the following areas: current challenges faced by IDPs; their experiences of the siege; and how they envisioned the rehabilitation of Marawi city. Although the guide questions were comprehensive, listeners were encouraged to create their own questions based

off the guide questions. There was no compulsion to follow them strictly. This was so discussions could flow naturally. Listeners were encouraged to focus more on remembering the key words of guide questions, so that they could paraphrase and create their own questions. The listeners were also instructed not to have the guide questions visible during conversations, and to allow participants the space to speak about issues or concerns that were most pressing to them, all the time retaining the framework of this research. Listeners held conversations in the local language and were trained not to take down any notes during discussions. The topic areas and sample guide questions used during conversations can be found in Annex 2.

Listeners formed teams of two to three persons and travelled across Iligan, Lanao Del Sur and Lanao Del Norte. The research areas were decided on by our partner organisations and listeners were designated to as many locations as possible in order to could access a variety and number of communities. The safety and security of the listeners was essential, and listeners were not placed in any location that might have posed a risk. Moreover, safety and challenges components allowed for CPCS and the listeners to trouble shoot potential issues they might encounter in the field. Listeners were asked to hold three conversations a day, with a maximum of five participants in one conversation for ease of facilitation. They spent roughly two weeks doing field research and were encouraged to speak to a demographic cross-section recognised as being relevant to the conflict context.

Listeners were provided with four research tools to record data from conversations: notebooks, logbooks, quote banks and, wherever possible, a photo diary. The key technique of the listening methodology is reliance on memory. The rationale that guides this is that the most important issues that emerge from a conversation would be easily remembered as they would be discussed the most. Listeners were taught to record what they heard in their notebooks immediately after the conversation, while it was still fresh. Both listeners in the team facilitated conversations and each listener would record what they heard in their own notebooks, thereby increasing the chances of capturing everything heard. This provided an additional use in that it allowed CPCS the opportunity to validate data and guard against bias by going through two or three recorded notebooks for each conversation.

At the end of each day, the listening teams met and discussed what they had heard over the course of multiple conversations. They used the logbook to record what they heard most from all the conversations for that day. The logbook served as a daily debriefing

and processing exercise, that also acted as a preliminary stage of analysis for listeners to identify trends or patterns from conversations.

When listeners heard a phrase, statement, or in some cases a proverb that they thought best captured the essence of a main point, they would record it in the quote bank immediately after conversations were completed. These quotations from participants were used to cite their direct voices in the publication. In order to protect the identity of participants, quotes are not attributed, simply categorised with indicators of where the conversation took place or other descriptive indicators such as age, job, and gender. The photo diary was also used by listeners to capture images of the locations where they held conversations and to visually illustrate the situation and context.

After conducting two weeks of field research, the listening teams reconvened for a two-day processing workshop facilitated by CPCS. Through synthesising and analytical exercises, the listeners identified the main overall themes for each topic area and guide questions. Additionally, the processing workshop explored the unexpected, as well as the differences. All these observations heard from conversations provide a snapshot of listener analysis of the results.

After the processing workshop, all recording tools (notebooks, logbooks, and photo diaries) were collected and translated from their original language to English. The research and analysis team carefully went through each document and triangulated the findings from the notebook and logbooks by coding the findings from the translated documents based on the main themes and categories that the listeners had identified during the processing workshop.

The outcome from CPCS' internal analysis was two fold. First, the preliminary analysis was shared with our partners. Allowing for our partners to review the analysis helped contextualise the main themes that communities discussed in conversations. Moreover, it validated the findings and allowed for them to integrate their analyses and recommendations for a more nuanced understanding of the communities and situation. Second, advocacy strategies were discussed to determine what would be the most effective way, including the format, to present the findings to a larger intended audience.

Scope and Limitations of this Study

This study took place from January till March 2018 where listeners conducted multiple conversations with 1,133 community members. This exceeded the target number of participants that were calculated during the baseline study. The proportions calculated were based on the population of Marawi and the number of evacuation centres. Baseline studies were determined by the following factors:

- (a) Size of population
- (b) Estimated number of conversations that listeners could hold on a daily basis, taking into consideration the time to travel to various locations
- (c) Time constraints

Listeners were requested to speak to a cross-section of individuals, living in different areas with the objective of capturing voices of participants to represent diversity in ethnicity, gender, age, profession and religious affiliation. However, in some cases listeners were not able to gather data of some of the demographic groups. See annex for demographics.

Challenges and Limitations

The strength of the listening methodology is its ability to access lesser-heard voices and including them into national discourses. However, there are times when challenges and obstacles arise in pursuit of this goal. A few worth mentioning are the inclusion of all voices from society that represent a broad spectrum of ethnic groups, gender, religion, and age. There are also logistical challenges, coupled with revisiting and discussing what transpired during the siege, which could in fact re-traumatise some listeners, especially survivors and IDPs.

Time constraints played a crucial factor in limiting this research, as listeners were only allowed two weeks to perform their field research which might have limited the number of people spoken to. However, this was also based on funding, with a budget that was only for two weeks. Similarly, translations were as another limiting factor during this research. In order to triangulate the data that emerged from listening workshops, the research team was required to peruse the notebooks and logbooks to thoroughly familiarise themselves with the data set. The translations from Maranaw to English

proved to be a long process simply due to the high volume of data. Furthermore, the accuracy and retention of meaning could not be fully guaranteed, as at times translators and field researchers resorted to transliterate what was said, possibly diluting the essence of what was being communicated.

Another challenge is mitigating bias. The methodology places trust in the listeners' ability to avoid biases. This is highlighted through activities during training workshops that focus on self-awareness, perceptions and selection of participants. Facilitators identify biases in primary data by reminding listeners of their own personal biases as they share main themes during the processing workshop. Reading through the notebooks and logbooks allowed the research team to detect and exclude inconsistent findings and clearly biased data from the internal analyses.

Finally, due to the nature of the listening methodology and its reliance on memory, there will always be questions as to how to ensure reliability of findings. Listeners were instructed to take down what they heard from conversations immediately after conducting conversations and again during the end of the day to help the process, and to analyse and remember what they heard. CPCS held processing workshops as soon as listeners completed the field research period to ensure the preservation of what they heard. During processing workshop, the listeners were instructed to recall what they heard most from conversations without referring to their notebook. The heavy reliance on listeners using their memory is based on the assumption that the most heard issues would be most easily remembered. Holding a processing workshop and triangulating the data with the notebooks and logbooks, coupled with the consultation workshop with partner organisations, helped safeguard the validity of the findings.

Appendix 1: Demographics

Areas: Lanao Del Sur, Lanao Del Norte, Iligan

Total Conversations: 640

Total Participants: 1141

Language used: Meranaw

Gender	Number of Participants	Percentage
Male	477	42%
Female	639	56%
N/A	25	2.2%
Total	1141	100%

Age	Number of Participants	Percentage
18 – 35	617	54%
36 – 50	119	10.4%
51 – above	105	9.2%
N/A	300	26.3%
Total	1141	100%

Education	Number of Participants	Percentage
None	176	15.5%
Primary school	133	12%
Middle school	131	11.5%
Secondary school	234	21%
University	364	32%
N/A	103	9%
Total	1141	100%

Ethnic Group	Number of Participants	Percentage
Meranaw	400	35%
Visaya	15	1.3%
Ilonggo	2	0.2%
Cebuano	10	0.9%
Iliganos	3	0.3%
N/A	711	62%
Total	1141	100%

Occupation	Number of Participants	Percentage
Driver	20	1.8%
Farmer/Fishermen/		
Agriculturalist	14	1.2%
Vendor	48	4.2%
Self-employed/Business owner	74	6.5%
Government employee/LGU	84	7.4%
Teacher/Principal	55	4.8%
Religious teacher/leader/Aleem	10	0.9%
Tailor/Carpenter	12	1.1%
NGO employee	5	0.4%
Homemaker	69	6%
Student	168	15%
PSW	2	0.2%
Police	1	0.1%
Out of school youth	1	0.1%
Labendera	1	0.1%
Private sector	3	0.3%
Midwife	1	0.1%
Retired	5	0.4%
Professional	9	0.8%
Nurse/Dentist	6	0.5%
Laundrette	6	0.5%
BFP officer	1	0.1%
Labourer	4	0.3%

Unemployed	175	15.3%
N/A	367	32.2%
Total	1141	100%

Marital Status	Number of Participants	Percentage
Single	448	39%
Married	526	46%
Widowed	11	1%
Divorced	3	0.2%
N/A	153	13.4%
Total	1141	100%

Religious Affiliation	Number of Participants	Percentage
Muslim	611	53.5%
Catholic	12	1%
Evangelical	2	0.2%
N/A	516	45%
Total	1141	100%

Appendix 2: Guide questions

No	Key Words	Example Question
1	Personal accounts, Marawi, siege	Share a personal story that took place during the Marawi siege What was your personal experience during the Marawi siege?
2	Communities, social-cultural impacts	Should there be reparation and how? What is the ideal relationship between diverse communities? What would be the acceptable freedom for religious and cultural practices? What are the challenges of practicing religion and culture? What do you like most about your community? (e.g. culture, religion?)
3	IDP situation	How would you describe your IDP situation? What support do IDPs need?
4	Education, IDP children	How has the siege affected children's education?
5	Psychological impact, IDPs/IDP psychosocial, support	How has the siege affected communities psychologically? Is there any current support available?

6	Opinion, local governance	What are your thoughts on the government's services and support? What are your thoughts on local governance in providing support and services?
7	IDP resettlement	How has the resettlement been organised for a smooth transition?
8	Affects, medical, social, services	How is the healthcare support situation? How is the social services support situation?
9	Government agencies	Is TESDA helpful for communities?
10	Missing persons	What are the stories of missing people?
11	Perceptions, violent extremism	What are community's opinions of violent extremism?
12	Aspirations	What are community's desires for Marawi's future?
13	Marawi, before siege, memories, best	What do you like most about Marawi? When was the best time before the siege?
14	Pride, Marawi	What makes you feel proud to be from Marawi?
15	Lessons, Marawi	What can Marawi teach Philippines or the world about peace?
16	NGO, helpful	

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Dansalan College Foundation, Inc. (DCFI) was established in 1950 and was duly recognized by the government of the Philippines and has remained the only Christian school operating in the Islamic City of Marawi. The college has served as the premiere institution of the province and has produced some of the best leaders of Lanao Del Sur. Dansalan College provides outreach programmes and the promotion of social cohesion between Muslims and Christians.



Mindanao State University (MSU) is a public institution of higher education and research in the Islamic city of Marawi, Philippines. Founded in 1961, it is the only university charged by the government to advance the cause of national unity and actively pursue integration through education.



The Institute for Peace and Development in Mindanao is a system-wide institution within the MSU System founded to promote and advocate peace and development within Mindanao especially the Bangsamoro Region through various programs, projects, and research on peace, sustainable development, conflict, and countering as well as preventing violent extremism.



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