FROM SIEGE TO SURVIVAL: EXPLORING THE MULTI-FACETED TRAUMAS OF MERANAO INTERNALLY DISPLACED PERSONS

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ABSTRACT

The 2017 Marawi Siege in the southern Philippines resulted not only in a city's physical devastation but also in a profound psychological impact on its internally displaced residents, mainly from the Meranao community. This research aims to understand the trauma endured by these Meranao IDPs, linking it with paradigms of forced migration, cultural displacement, and post-conflict collective memory. Using the American Psychiatric Association's definition of trauma and Herman's Trauma Theory as a guiding framework, six IDP survivors from the Sagonsongan area were interviewed. The study adopted the Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) approach to explore the participants' experiences. This qualitative method involves a detailed examination of personal lived experiences, attempting to understand how individuals make sense of their major life experiences. The IPA approach was particularly suitable for this study as it allowed the researchers to examine the personal stories of trauma, providing a rich and detailed first-person account of the psychological struggles faced by the Meranao IDPs. The data collection involved in-depth, semi-structured interviews that enabled the participants to share their stories in a flexible yet comprehensive manner. The interviews were transcribed verbatim and analyzed following the principles of IPA, which involve a cyclical process of reading and re-reading the transcripts, coding for themes, and looking for connections between themes across the different narratives. The researchers remained cognizant of their preconceptions and engaged in a reflective process to minimize bias. The findings revealed several themes, such as the traumatic implications of familial dislocation, economic hardships, persistent trauma, feelings of exhaustion, and a compromised sense of safety. These findings not only intersect with established theories but also provide unique insights into the Meranao community's post-siege challenges. The trauma narratives contributed to a nuanced account of the Meranao IDPs' psychological struggles after the siege.

Keywords: Meranao community, internally displaced persons, Marawi Siege, trauma

INTRODUCTION

The 2017 Marawi Siege, an intense five-month urban conflict in the southern Philippines, transformed the once vibrant city of Marawi into a landscape of devastation. While the physical wreckage has been well-documented, the profound psychological toll on its internally displaced residents, predominantly from the Meranao community, has been less explored. This

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study seeks to understand the nuanced trauma experienced by the Meranao IDPs, contextualizing it within the broader paradigms of forced migration, cultural displacement, and post-conflict collective memory.

This investigation explored the traumatic experiences and subsequent recovery processes of the Meranao community's internally displaced persons (IDPs) in the aftermath of the Marawi Siege, utilizing the conceptual framework provided by Judith Herman's Trauma Theory (1992). The findings delineated that the Meranao IDPs' reactions and adaptations post-siege were congruent with Herman's articulated stages. Immediately following the siege, displayed responses were characterized by pronounced shock, disbelief, and pervasive fear, aligning with Herman's initial stage of trauma. This immediate reaction encapsulated the profound sense of helplessness often associated with traumatic events. As time progressed, persistent traumatic effects became evident. These long-term implications, marked by vivid recollections, emotional detachment, and societal disruptions, resonated with the second stage of Herman's theory, suggesting a profound alteration in participants' perceptions of self, environment, and interpersonal dynamics

The Meranao, with their rich cultural heritage, were compelled to abandon not only their homes but also their deep-rooted traditions, cultural landmarks, and core elements of their identity. The trauma they endured during the siege was a complex intersection of violence, loss, subsequent displacement, and life in makeshift evacuation centers. At its core, their suffering encapsulates the loss of a culturally safe space, economic stability, and the fundamental security of 'home'. Given the Marawi Siege's significant socio-cultural ramifications, a primary question arises: "How do the internally displaced persons (IDPs) from Marawi City articulate and interpret their trauma in terms of loss, displacement, and post-conflict challenges?"

Trauma, as defined by the American Psychiatric Association (2013), is an individual's emotional response to an extremely negative event, with potential physical and emotional manifestations. This study's framework draws heavily on Herman's Trauma Theory (1992) which categorizes traumatic experiences into:

1. Immediate Trauma Responses: Exploring the direct aftermath of the Marawi Siege, capturing survival instincts, immediate reactions to witnessing violence, and the abrupt displacement.
2. Long-Term Trauma Effects: Investigating the lingering psychological impact, including potential symptoms resembling post-traumatic stress disorder (APA, 2013).
3. Recovery: Examining the Meranao IDPs' journey of healing, coping mechanisms, and attempts at rebuilding their lives.

Central to the research is the voice of the Meranao IDPs, with Herman's Trauma Theory guiding the study to form a comprehensive, culturally sensitive depiction of trauma, its repercussions, and potential recovery routes.

Utilizing the foundational concept of trauma as articulated by the APA (2013), this study engaged with six IDP survivors from the Sagonsongan area, using online interviews via Zoom. Their narratives shed light on the complexities of their trauma experiences. In understanding the experiences of Marawi Siege survivors, this research is guided by three pivotal theories. Notably, the Interactional Model of PTSD, proposed by Shalev, Bonne, & Eth (1996), offers an understanding of the trauma experienced by IDPs. This model elaborates on the intricate interplay of factors affecting PTSD, including pre-traumatic vulnerabilities, event characteristics, and post-traumatic maintenance factors.

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This study explored the Meranao IDPs' lived experiences post-Marawi Siege, we opted for Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) as it allows researchers to in explore the individual narratives, offering interpretative insights, and emphasizing personal idiosyncrasies. IPA's nuanced approach allowed for a contextual understanding of the trauma, recognizing both the socio-political intricacies of the siege and the cultural significance of concepts like "maratabat" within the Meranao community. Utilizing Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) allowed for a careful examination of the Marawi Siege survivors' experiences, especially the Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs). This approach was chosen for its ability to grasp the nuanced lived experiences of participants and provide depth to the specific context (Smith & Osborn, 2008).

OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

This study aims to explore the Meranao IDPs' lived experiences post-Marawi Siege using Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) to delve into individual narratives and provide interpretative insights; gain a contextual understanding of the trauma experienced by the IDPs, acknowledge the socio-political complexities of the siege and the cultural importance of concepts like "maratabat" within the Meranao community; and to carefully examine the experiences of Marawi Siege survivors, with a focus on the Internally Displaced Persons, in a way that captures the nuanced and contextualized lived experiences of the participant.

METHODOLOGY

This study employed a qualitative research design to explore the traumatic experiences of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) from the Maranao community, following the 2017 Marawi Siege. The methodology was anchored in Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA), chosen for its ability to provide a detailed and nuanced understanding of the participants' lived experiences. This section delineates the methodological framework, participant selection rationale, data collection procedures, and analytic strategies undertaken to fulfill the research objectives.

Six IDPs from the Sagonsongan Temporary Shelter in Marawi's Sagonsongan barangay were engaged in this study. This shelter, spanning 9.27 hectares, was purposefully constructed, taking into account the cultural requirements of the Maranao IDPs. Eligible participants were between the applied to individuals not originally from Marawi City or Lanao del Sur, non-Muslims, those outside the Meranao tribe, and IDPs outside the Sagonsongan Temporary Shelter. A participant count of six was deemed optimal for achieving depth in qualitative research (Creswell & Poth, 2018), especially as data approached saturation.

An iterative interview schedule was developed and reviewed by the research advisor for alignment with study objectives. To guarantee clarity, questions were translated to Maranao and then back-translated to English, a method recognized for ensuring linguistic and conceptual equivalence (Brislin, 1989). Ethical standards, informed by the WHO (2011) guidelines, were adhered to, including obtaining approvals from the IREB, ensuring participant confidentiality, and piloting the interview process. During the interviews, which were conducted via video call, informed consent for recording was secured. The resulting data was transcribed and translated.

The present study employed Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) as a methodological approach to conduct an in-depth examination of the lived experiences of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) inside the Meranao

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community. The methodological approach adhered to a meticulously defined sequence of procedures. In the initial phase, qualitative data were collected via interviews, observations, or other pertinent methods. The unprocessed data were subsequently transcribed exactly as they were spoken, to enable a thorough study. The transcriptions were thoroughly reviewed and analyzed by the researchers through several readings, during which they made initial observations and took notes. The preliminary examination resulted in the discovery of emerging patterns, with a focus on both descriptive and conceptual aspects. To enhance the depth of the research, an exploration was conducted to identify connections among the emergent themes, thereby uncovering patterns, similarities, and differences. Consequently, a narrative account was constructed, integrating the various topics to offer a comprehensive and insightful portrayal of the real-life encounters of the participants in the study. Ultimately, the emergent themes were subjected to validation and interpretation through a process of cross-referencing with the original data, so assuring the dependability and validity of the obtained conclusions (Smith & Osborn, 2003).

RESULTS

In the wake of the Marawi Siege, the lived experiences of the Meranao Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) manifest across several thematic dimensions. Four salient themes emerged from this study, each shedding light on the profound implications of trauma on the community. The themes are as follows:

1. Traumatic Implications of Familial Dislocation

Following the Marawi Siege, survivors experienced profound trauma, particularly resulting from involuntary separations from their families. This is underscored by a participant's account: "Suddenly, our paths diverged. An overwhelming distance separated me from my parents." This emotional strain is not unique to the Meranao community; it is mirrored in broader psychological literature. According to Bowlby (1988), involuntary separations, especially from primary caregivers, can precipitate profound emotional upheaval. Bowlby's seminal work on attachment theory posits that such separations can have long-term detrimental effects on psychological well-being. This finding is also supported by Ainsworth et al. (1978), who emphasized the significance of early bonding and its implications for psychological adjustment in later life. Furthermore, Herman (1992) highlighted that traumatic events, especially those severing close familial ties, can instigate a range of emotional disturbances.

2. The Economic Toll of Trauma: Financial Impediments in the Wake of the Marawi Siege

The siege's financial repercussions for the IDPs were profound. The narratives illuminated not just tangible losses, but a seismic shift from financial stability to post-siege economic desolation. Beyond immediate economic ramifications, the siege disrupted primary sources of livelihood. Jacobsen (2002) outlined the hardships faced by populations suddenly reliant on external aid, emphasizing the multidimensional adversities confronting them. Studies such as those by Bhattacharya & Innes (2002) have also chronicled the economic hardships and their broader social implications on displaced communities. In a similar vein, Czaika and Kis-Katos (2009) have underlined the ripple effects of conflict on the economic fabric of affected regions, emphasizing long-term financial ramifications.

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3. Persisting Trauma: Interplay of Fear, Anxiety, and Lost Pride

The siege's aftereffects persistently haunt the survivors. The Meranao's revered "maratabat" was especially tested post-siege, as societal stereotypes associated them with extremist groups. Porter and Haslam (2005) underscored the compounded mental health challenges displaced populations face due to stigma and discrimination. The echoes of the siege continue to induce symptoms resonant with the findings of Steel et al. (2009), who identified persistent anxiety among conflict survivors. This is further reinforced by Betancourt et al. (2010), who documented the emotional and psychological repercussions faced by conflict-affected communities.

4. Trauma Manifested as Exhaustion

Post-siege, many survivors experienced exhaustive symptoms, which seemed to erode both their physical and emotional resilience. A participant expressed, that "the Siege sapped our very essence." Such comprehensive exhaustion is not isolated to this incident. Victor (2008) drew attention to the nexus between trauma and displacement, underlining how they often culminate in multifaceted exhaustion. Similarly, Olanrewaju (2018) pointed out the interconnection between trauma and fatigue, highlighting its manifestation both physically and emotionally. Notably, Miller and Rasmussen (2010) expanded on this by emphasizing that the continuous strain of trauma, especially within conflict zones, can lead to profound psychological and physical fatigue.

5. Trauma Stemming from Absence of Security and Safety

Safety and security were paramount concerns in the aftermath of the Siege for the Maranao community. The pervasive feelings of vulnerability were compounded when civilians were indiscriminately targeted based on religious affiliations. Eriksson et al. (2013) expounded on the psychological implications of such threats, detailing how the lack of safety can exacerbate trauma symptoms in civilian populations. This is in line with Steel et al.'s (2009) findings, which outlined the severe repercussions of security threats on civilian mental well-being. Another study by Basoglu et al. (2001) found that a heightened perception of threat post-displacement, especially due to conflict, leads to exacerbated psychological distress among survivors.

In summary, the Meranao IDPs confronted an array of traumas in the aftermath of the siege, from profound economic challenges to deeply personal struggles around safety. This multifaceted nature of their traumas, when juxtaposed against the backdrop of the Meranao community's unique cultural and social fabric, offers a complex yet compelling narrative of their post-siege experiences.

6. Interconnections between Themes

The assessment of the participants' experiences underscores the intricate interplay and overlap of the identified themes. The intersectionality of trauma elucidated by scholars such as Crenshaw (1989) reinforces how multiple facets of an individual's identity and experiences can intersect, amplifying the effect of traumatic experiences. For instance, the theme "Traumatic Implications of Familial Dislocation" does not operate in isolation; it profoundly intersects with "Persisting Trauma: Interplay of Fear, Anxiety, and Lost Pride." Miller and Rasmussen (2010) conducted a study that aimed to bridge the gap

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between trauma-focused and psychosocial approaches to understanding and addressing mental health needs in conflict and post-conflict settings. The study found that disrupted familial ties due to war exposure have a cascading effect on an individual's mental health, leading to increased daily stressors and decreased social support. The study also highlighted the need for a comprehensive approach to mental health interventions in conflict and post-conflict settings that address both trauma-focused and psychosocial frameworks. Concurrently, the economic toll of trauma, while primarily economic, can be perceived in light of Maslow's (1943) hierarchy of needs, where the deprivation of basic financial means can exacerbate feelings of insecurity and vulnerability.

7. Variability and Nuances

Consistent with the tenets of qualitative research, dominant themes are reflective of the collective sentiment, but individual nuances are invaluable. For instance, while most participants associated the siege with "trauma manifested as exhaustion," some narratives echoed the resilience theories postulated by Masten (2001), suggesting inherent abilities to adapt and overcome adversity. These outlier perspectives, related of Tedeschi and Calhoun's (2004) post-traumatic growth theory, underscore potential growth or positive psychological change ensuing from the struggle with traumatic events.

8. Integration with Theory

The trauma stemming from familial dislocation parallels Bowlby's attachment theory, accentuating the inherent need for a secure attachment for psychological well-being. Yet, the narratives here enrich this understanding, shedding light on the unique challenges faced by the Meranao community. Economic repercussions and security concerns post-siege also reflect the findings of displacement studies (Roberts, Browne, & Ocaka, 2011). However, the uniqueness of the Meranao's experiences underscores the intersectionality of cultural, religious, and socio-economic determinants in shaping their post-siege realities.

DISCUSSION

The primary aim of this research was to deeply understand and interpret the experiences of the Meranao community's internally displaced persons (IDPs) in the aftermath of the Marawi Siege. Central to the findings were narratives filled with tales of suffering both during and after the siege. These narratives presented a community grappling with profound loss, while also seeking solace and meaning in their shared experiences. These accounts underscore the importance of investigating such events deeply. Moreover, by delving into their narratives, this study sought to give voice to the often marginalized IDP population.

Interpretation of Key Themes. In analyzing the narratives, three prominent themes emerge that elucidate the Meranao IDPs' emotional and psychological trajectory following the Marawi Siege, encompassing immediate reactions, enduring impacts, and the multifaceted process of recovery.

Immediate Trauma Responses. The immediate reactions following the Marawi Siege were felt by the IDPs, leading to a cascade of emotional responses. The emotions of shock, disbelief, and heightened fear were not merely reactive but also emblematic of the profound bonds the community shared with their environment and each other. These initial

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reactions did not occur in isolation; they were intertwined with the profound grief stemming from the loss of homes, cherished memories, and the traumatic rupturing of family units. Such experiences accentuate how vital geographic and familial connections were to the Meranao community's sense of identity and belonging. The abrupt dissolution of these anchor points is likely to have destabilized their sense of self and the world around them, magnifying the trauma's immediacy.

Long-Term Trauma Effects. While the siege's immediate effects were profoundly disorienting, the ensuing psychological aftermath revealed a deeper, more complex layer of trauma. Narratives painted a picture of long-standing haunting memories, a palpable sense of alienation, and an almost grieving-like response to the disruptions of time-honored cultural traditions. These long-term effects were more than mere individual reactions; they reflected a collective trauma that threatened the very essence of Meranao community identity. The sustained nature of these emotional and psychological aftershocks speaks to the profound impact the siege had on both individual and collective psyches, emphasizing the magnitude of the trauma inflicted and the indomitable spirit required to navigate its aftermath.

Recovery. The resilience and recovery narratives among the IDPs presented a nuanced tapestry of emotions and experiences. The Meranao community's rich cultural and religious tapestry served as a beacon of hope, guiding them through the darkest of times. Their faith was more than just a spiritual anchor; it was a source of solace, understanding, and communal cohesion. Yet, the road to recovery was fraught with challenges. It was a dance between moments of progress and setbacks, reflecting the complex interplay of personal and communal healing

processes. However, amid this complexity, the enduring spirit of unity, the unwavering faith, and the power of communal bonds showcased the Meranao community's inherent resilience, offering hope for a brighter, more peaceful future.

Integration with Existing Literature. The experiences of the Meranao IDPs bear strong resemblances to Judith Herman's Trauma Theory (1992). Their tales can be mapped clearly onto Herman's delineated three stages of trauma. Yet, while Herman's theory offers a framework, the IDPs' experiences breathe life into the theory, providing it with unique cultural contours. The stigmatization faced by the IDPs further aligns with Yehuda's work (2002) on trauma exacerbation due to external societal factors. This confluence between theory and lived experiences can guide more effective, culturally resonant interventions.

The narratives of the Meranao IDPs not only resonate with extant literature but also contribute a distinct layer of understanding to it. The alignment of their experiences with Judith Herman's Trauma Theory (1992) serves as a testament to the universality of certain trauma reactions and recovery processes. Herman's three-stage model of trauma – encompassing immediate responses, enduring effects, and recovery – offers a lens through which the IDPs' journey can be examined.

However, it is vital to recognize that while Herman's theoretical construct lays the groundwork, the firsthand accounts from the Meranao community endow the model with richer depth and cultural specificity. Their narratives do not merely fit within the prescribed boxes of the theory; they add nuance, texture, and a unique cultural lens to it. This exemplifies the fluidity of trauma's manifestation and how it is invariably influenced by cultural, societal, and individual factors.

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Furthermore, the external societal factors exacerbating trauma, as described by the Meranao IDPs, gain validation from Yehuda's research (2002). Yehuda's emphasis on the role of societal perceptions and stigmatization in intensifying trauma postulates that external conditions can significantly shape and influence the trauma's trajectory. The Meranao IDPs' experiences of marginalization and stigmatization further underscore this assertion, offering a real-world manifestation of Yehuda's theoretical claims.

This interplay between the theoretical and empirical – between the established trauma models and the lived realities of the Meranao IDPs – is instrumental. It underscores the importance of grounding therapeutic and rehabilitative interventions in both a robust theoretical framework and the nuanced understanding of the affected community's cultural and societal context. In synthesizing these perspectives, there lies the potential for devising strategies that are not only effective but also deeply respectful and empathetic to the affected individuals' unique experiences.

Strengths and Limitations. One of this study's primary strengths is the depth of insight garnered from the intimate narratives of the Meranao IDPs. Their accounts provide a rare window into the complex interplay of experiencing, processing, and recovering from trauma within the Meranao context. Yet, potential limitations cannot be overlooked. The constraints of the sample size might limit generalizability. While the researcher's interpretative lens enriched the analysis, it might also have introduced inherent biases.

Implications. The study's findings shed light on the relationship between culture, religion, and trauma. Practitioners, policymakers, and support organizations can gain crucial insights for formulating culturally sensitive interventions. This study underscores the vital need for such approaches, emphasizing the uniqueness of each community's experiences and needs. Tailored interventions based on these findings can pave the way for more effective rehabilitation strategies.

The results from this research bring to light the complex intersectionality of culture, religion, and trauma in shaping the Meranao community's experiences post-displacement. As trauma is not merely a psychological or individual experience but is deeply embedded in socio-cultural contexts, understanding its nuances is pivotal. Recognizing the role of cultural and religious beliefs in shaping perceptions, coping mechanisms, and recovery paths becomes essential.

For practitioners, especially those in the mental health and psycho-social support domains, these findings highlight the importance of adopting an approach that integrates cultural and religious competence. Interventions that might work for one community might not necessarily resonate with another due to these intricate cultural and religious intricacies. Hence, standard intervention models might need to be reevaluated and reframed to align with Meranao's unique context.

Policymakers and organizations, in their bid to provide support to such affected communities, need to be acutely aware of these findings. Programs that disregard the cultural and religious fabric might inadvertently exacerbate trauma or hinder recovery. The emphasis should be on co-creating support strategies with the community to ensure their relevance and effectiveness.

Furthermore, this study amplifies the urgency for culturally sensitive approaches. In an era marked by global mobility and ensuing displacement crises, acknowledging the distinctiveness of each community's lived experiences is more crucial than ever. Rather than generalizing trauma and recovery, the focus should shift towards understanding and

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addressing the unique challenges, strengths, and needs of each affected community.

Consequently, interventions grounded in the cultural and religious nuances of the Meranao community, as revealed by this study, can serve as a prototype for developing targeted and effective rehabilitation strategies. By ensuring that support systems and therapeutic approaches are tailored to resonate with their beliefs, values, and experiences, there's a higher likelihood of facilitating genuine healing and restoration.

Recommendations for Future Research. Further research could probe the dynamics of resilience and recovery among various displaced communities in different cultural backdrops. Diversifying data collection methods or focusing on specific subgroups within IDP communities might yield richer insights. As global displacement events rise, understanding the nuanced experiences of affected populations becomes even more paramount, and this study paves the way for deeper explorations.

For Further Research, longitudinal studies can be conducted to trace the trajectory of trauma and recovery over extended periods, which would offer insights into the evolving nature of trauma responses and the efficacy of recovery mechanisms. Future studies could integrate various data sources, such as medical records or corroborative interviews, to validate self-reported narratives and minimize recall bias.

Interventions aimed at assisting communities like the Meranao IDPs should be tailored to respect and incorporate cultural traditions and values. This would ensure the interventions are both effective and well-received by the community. Investigations should be extended to other communities impacted by similar conflicts to obtain a comprehensive understanding of trauma's diverse manifestations and recovery processes across different socio-cultural contexts.

Reflexivity. Interpreting the data requires careful and mindful consideration. The researcher's cultural background, inherent biases, and previous understandings undoubtedly played a role in the interpretative process. It's essential to recognize that the final narrative is shaped not just by the IDPs' lived experiences, but also by the lens through which the researcher viewed them. This intertwined nature of interpretation is inherent in qualitative studies, emphasizing the co-constructed nature of the presented findings.

This study examined the profound psychological and socio-economic effects of the 2017 Marawi Siege on the Meranao community in the southern Philippines. Employing Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) and anchored in Herman's Trauma Theory, this research provides insights into the trauma experiences of six internally displaced persons (IDPs) from the Sagonsongan area. It identifies key themes such as the dislocation of families, severe economic difficulties, ongoing trauma, extreme fatigue, and compromised safety, offering an in-depth understanding of the relationship between forced migration, cultural displacement, and collective memory in the aftermath of conflict. The study emphasizes the necessity for interventions that are sensitive to the cultural nuances and resilience of the Meranao IDPs, making a significant contribution to the dialogue on trauma and recovery in contexts of post-conflict.

CONCLUSION

This study's result reveals the profound and nuanced traumas experienced by Meranao internally displaced persons (IDPs) following the 2017 Marawi Siege. The research, employing

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Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis, showed how familial displacement, economic instability, pervasive trauma, and diminished safety interacted with one another to demonstrate the lasting impact of the siege on the city's residents. The results indicate both the immediate psychological impacts and the enduring challenges of reconstructing lives and communities. Recommendations highlight offering specific mental health support, community-centered recovery initiatives, and policies tailored to the distinct cultural and socio-economic circumstances of the Meranao people. The focus is on fostering resilience and communal healing in adverse circumstances. This study promotes understanding of trauma and healing in conflict-affected communities, advocating for a comprehensive approach to support their transition from siege to survival.

RECOMMENDATION

The psychological trauma evident among Meranao internally displaced persons (IDPs), characterized by PTSD, anxiety, and depression, demands a multifaceted approach to healing that integrates culturally sensitive interventions and community-driven solutions:

1. Culturally-Tailored Support: Mental health services must resonate with the Meranao community's unique background. This necessitates incorporating traditional healing practices alongside modern interventions, delivered by culturally competent practitioners who speak their languages.

2. Community-Driven Rehabilitation: Programs prioritizing collective healing and social support are vital. Integrating respected traditional practices with modern approaches fosters program acceptance and effectiveness. Engaging community leaders and survivors in design and implementation ensures programs address their specific needs and cultural context.

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