THE MARAWI SIEGE: WOMEN’S REFLECTIONS THEN AND NOW

1. INTRODUCTION

On 23 May 2017, Marawi City in the southern Philippine island of Mindanao came under siege from violent extremist groups aligned with local and regional affiliates of the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL). For five months, a battle between extremist forces and the Philippine military raged, displacing nearly 400,000 residents and forcing them to leave their homes and livelihoods behind.

The Moro population of southern Mindanao has long fought for the right to autonomy and self-determination. In 2014, the national government signed a peace agreement with the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF), one of the key groups in the region fighting for self-governance. The peace agreement paved the way for the establishment of an autonomous region called the Bangsamoro and catalyzed transitional justice interventions as a way to remedy the violations the Moro people experienced during the conflict. However, the eruption of violent extremism in Marawi disrupted the implementation of the peace agreement and its promised responses of transitional justice.

For the women of Marawi City, the siege brought about multiple and ongoing hardships. As of 31 December 2018, a total of 68,857 former residents of Marawi were still displaced, concentrated largely in surrounding host communities. For the women, the road to recovery and rehabilitation has been challenged by their insecure housing arrangements as internally displaced persons (IDPs); the trauma many suffered during the conflict; and the discrimination experienced against them as Muslims. Despite these gendered experiences of the conflict and displacement, public attention on Marawi and the narratives

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1 This paper uses the term “violent extremism” to refer to ISIL-aligned groups, as well as activities carried out by and ideologies espoused by these groups. Particularly, the paper references the Maute Group, which pledged allegiance to ISIL in April 2015. In some instances, Maute Group and ISIL are used interchangeably, which is according to the common usage of the respondents of this research.


surrounding the security situation and humanitarian response have largely overlooked the situation of Marawi’s women and instead focused on the challenge that transnational terrorism brings to the Philippines. Yet the women of Marawi City have unique insights and perspectives as to how the conflict started and what is needed to repair their city and restart their lives.

Following the siege of Marawi, UN Women conducted a series of Listening Processes in the surrounding region, giving women survivors of the siege the opportunity to share their stories. The first Listening Process was held from September to October 2017 in the days immediately following the siege. The second Listening Process was held one year later in October 2018. During both sets of conversations, the women respondents discussed their experiences in the days leading up to the siege, their recollections of the battle, and the difficulties they face as evacuees and IDPs. This publication seeks to capture these reflections to ensure the experiences of the women who lived through the siege and its aftermath are recorded in the history of Marawi and the Bangsamoro region. In addition, the women’s insights are invaluable for understanding how to prevent the recurrence of violent extremism in the region and how women can play a vital role in leading these efforts.

2. VIOLENT EXTREMISM IN A CONTEXT OF TRANSITIONAL JUSTICE: THE CASE OF MARAWI

Since the late 1960s, groups on the southern Philippine island of Mindanao have been fighting for independence against the national government. To date, approximately 150,000 people have died, and widespread human rights violations have occurred as part of this conflict. Negotiations between armed actors and the government aimed at bringing peace to the region have focused on the creation of an autonomous territory to be called Bangsamoro. In 2014, the government of the Philippines and the MILF reached a peace agreement – the Comprehensive Agreement on the Bangsamoro (CAB) – which paved the way for the establishment of this new political entity. The CAB provides for the normalization of signatory separatist groups; the decommissioning of the armed wing of the MILF; and the establishment of the autonomous Bangsamoro region. One of the peace agreement’s mechanisms for advancing stability in the region was the creation of the Transitional Justice and Reconciliation Commission (TJRC). This three-member commission was responsible for providing recommendations “to promote healing and reconciliation of the different communities that have been affected by the conflict.” The TJRC adopted a “Dealing with the Past” (DwP) Framework that examined the challenges of four specific pillars:

1. human rights violations,
2. legitimate grievances,
3. marginalization through land dispossession and
4. historical injustices experienced by the Bangsamoro people.

These pillars were designed to act as lenses through which to consider transitional justice measures and provide recommendations to the Philippine government and the MILF for the advancement of healing and reconciliation.

In early 2019, voters in the Bangsamoro approved via plebiscite the establishment of the Bangsamoro Autonomous Region of Muslim Mindanao (BARMM), bringing the Moro people of the region closer to achieving self-governance. While the implementation of the peace agreement continues to move forward, questions surrounding the nature of the Bangsamoro autonomy have caused some communities – especially young people – to feel alienated. In addition, violent local conflicts over land and the growing international influence of radical religious discourses in social media, mosques and educational institutions have all contributed to the escalation of violence in Mindanao.

The outbreak of violent extremism threatens the region’s fragile peace and ongoing transitional justice process. Moreover, it raises questions of if and how the transitional justice process can respond to the violent extremism that threatens to derail it. The extremist violence and ideologies in the Bangsamoro region have been largely fueled by unresolved grievances arising from the previous conflict. Both the conflict and the extremist ideologies may be fueled by the same drivers, including dissatisfaction with governance, a lack of respect for local religions and cultures, and anger over the lack of economic and social opportunities.\(^7\)

The 2017 Marawi siege was led by the Maute Group, armed actors once aligned with the MILF who had broken away in part over their lack of support for the peace process. The Maute Group’s previous association with the MILF, and its subsequent dissatisfaction with the terms of the peace process and use of violence, suggests that the display of violent extremism in Marawi is entwined with the original conflict.

Given that the region is already sensitized to the concepts of transitional justice through the work of the TJRC, transitional justice may provide a useful lens through which to view the Marawi conflict and recovery. Just as the conflict in Mindanao brought about very different impacts for men and women, violent extremism affects men and women differently. Understanding these dimensions is crucial for addressing the impact of the Marawi siege.

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\(^7\) This analysis is informed by insights at the UN Women Regional Office for Asia and the Pacific “Expert Group Meeting on Transitional Justice in an Era of Violent Extremism”, Manila, November 2017.
To better understand the experiences of women who fled Marawi City, UN Women twice interviewed women survivors of the siege of Marawi. In partnership with civil society organizations, UN Women conducted the first Listening Process from September-October 2017 to discuss the women’s experiences with the violent extremism that devastated their city and to gather their perspectives on economic and social recovery for the region. Later, in 2018, UN Women followed up with the women to determine if they had experienced notable changes in their respective recovery situations.

In devising the methodology of the 2017 Listening Process, UN Women’s objectives were threefold: 1) to gather women’s narratives of how the conflict in Marawi began and to shed light on the legitimate grievances, human rights violations and marginalization the women experience; 2) to map out assistance and interventions the women had received from various government, NGO, and United Nations actors at the time of interview; and 3) to generate recommendations for future policies and concrete interventions targeting recovery, rehabilitation and reconstruction in consideration of women's needs and rights, and in working to guarantee non-recurrence of violence in Marawi. One listening process was also conducted among men IDPs whose narratives reflect their individual experiences during and after the siege and which are aligned along the same thematic areas laid out in the TJRC framework.

In both 2017 and 2018, UN Women met with 45 women from Marawi City who were living in local evacuation centers or in nearby towns as home- or community-based IDPs. Participants ranged in age from 20 to 50 years old. At the time of the study, most of the women were married while others were widowed during the siege. A majority of participants evacuated with their families, with some women providing for as many as seven children. Prior to the siege, many women were small business owners in Marawi, working as proprietors of dry goods and sari-sari³ stores or driving habal-habals⁹. The siege of Marawi and subsequent evacuation resulted in a sudden loss of jobs and livelihoods for these women; some tried to start small businesses outside of Marawi after becoming IDPs, but a majority have been unable to find economic opportunities as evacuees.

One of the listening processes was conducted outside of Lanao del Norte, a province located west of Marawi City, while the rest were held in situ in Lanao del Norte in a safe environment where the women could share their experiences of the siege. The facilitators were mostly members of the majority ethnic group in the region (Maranaos). UN Women Philippines adopted a “do no harm” approach in conducting the listening processes, and psychologists were present throughout the discussions to provide psychosocial support and care for the participants.

The first session began with the participants answering a series of questions designed to draw out their individual recollections of the siege. These questions were based on the four dimensions of the Dealing with the Past Framework: human rights violations, legitimate grievances, marginalization through land dispossession and historical injustices.¹⁰ The first part of the session explored the precursors to the siege, asking the women for their views as to why the siege happened, if they had noticed any early warning signs prior to the siege, and how they reacted to the outbreak of the violent conflict. The second session focused on the experiences of the

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³ Sari-sari is a term used in the Philippines to refer to a small neighborhood store selling a variety of goods.
⁹ Habal-Habal is a term used in the Philippines to refer to a highly improvised two-wheeled single motorcycle.
women in the aftermath of the siege, gathering information on where the displaced women went, the conditions of their new destinations upon arrival and their quality of life while living within these communities. In the third session, conversations centered around the women’s views of measures that could be enacted to ensure non-recurrence of conflict. The women were also asked for their opinions on what should be done so that the events of the siege would not be forgotten.

In 2018, UN Women revisited the same women participants and their families to conduct follow-up interviews to the 2017 Listening Process. The second set of discussions focused on the status and living condition of the Marawi women IDPs one year after the siege. UN Women asked the respondents to identify any changes in their experiences vis-à-vis legitimate grievances, human rights violations, marginalization, healing and recovery. The second listening process also explored any new or emerging post-conflict considerations to generate further recommendations for conflict-prevention and relief and recovery interventions.

These discussions, as summarized in this publication, are intended to serve as a basis for understanding the gendered impacts of violent extremism and its consequences. The publication further aims to raise awareness of the needs of women in two ways—as IDPs in the aftermath of conflict and as preventers of violent extremism in their communities.

### 4. VOICES AND VIEWS OF MARAWI’S WOMEN

This section summarizes the key findings from the two sets of conversations with women IDPs held during the 2017 and 2018 Listening Processes. It offers a comparison of the women’s experiences and views as they experienced them “Then” (2017) and “One Year On” (2018), to reveal any changes in the women’s perception of their individual recoveries. These experiences are categorized under the four transitional justice pillars of the “Dealing with the Past” Framework which include, legitimate grievances, human rights violations, marginalization, and healing and recovery.

### THEN

**Early Warnings, Legitimate Grievances, Human Rights Violations and Marginalization**

“We didn’t take it seriously because we have gotten used to false rumors. Much is based on hearsay or interpretations of prior events.”

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11 Interview with female respondent, October 2017. Name and location withheld to protect the respondent’s identity.
The women IDPs witnessed an escalation in ambushes and violence in the period of time leading up to the siege. Two weeks before the crisis, many women heard from local community members that ISIL was coming, but they remained unshaken. They did not believe that the Maute Group was already in Marawi City waging conflict against government forces—until they were caught in the middle of it. A few women recalled that they had received early warnings via text messages which notified them about an upcoming conflict in Marawi. Others had not received any information prior to the outbreak of violence. The lack of general awareness of the threat to their hometown left many unconcerned about the warnings. For many of the women, their primary sources of information were based on hearsay or unofficial reports; rumors implied that there was no need for worry.

When they eventually realized that ISIL had laid siege to the city, the women did not know what to do or where to go. Shocked by the sudden violence, they did not have time to prepare for their evacuation and had to leave most of their belongings behind. In the rush to evacuate Marawi, families were divided, and many of the women did not know what had become of their relatives until days or weeks later.

“Not even one spoon. We were not able to take anything from our homes.”

Once they had evacuated Marawi, the women IDPs found themselves in insecure and poor living conditions. Many women described a dearth of economic opportunities and an inability to find a livelihood which in turn made it difficult to access the most basic human needs. Finding food and water became an everyday struggle. Not only were the women burdened with the difficulties of providing for themselves and their families, as IDPs they also faced discrimination based on their religious identities. According to one account, women evacuees who wore hijabs had to remove them as soon as they left Marawi City as the religious garment caused others to suspect them of sympathizing with or belonging to the extremist Maute Group. By the time they left Marawi, many of the women felt that their dignity and religious freedom had been stolen from them.

Humanitarian and Psychosocial Support

“In one instance, the men who frequent that area built their own seats made of bamboo. They will sit there as they watch us bathe. Passing by the area makes us feel uncomfortable because their makeshift seats were built right beside the road.”

12 Interview with female respondent, September 2017. Name and location withheld to protect the respondent’s identity.
13 Interview with female respondent, September 2017. Name and location withheld to protect the respondent’s identity.
Having been forced to evacuate their homes in Marawi City, many women lost their main sources of income. Some were able to stay with relatives in neighboring parts of Marawi while others found themselves in local evacuation centers. Regardless of their location, most of the women IDPs agreed that their most pressing concern was a shortage of supplies. Without an income, the women had no recourse to offset the scarce amounts of food and water. Relief goods were provided by various humanitarian organizations, but many women reported that resources remained insufficient.

“*There was an instance where two months had passed, and no relief goods were given to us. We were really wondering if we had been forgotten.*”

**Recovery, Rehabilitation and Reconstruction**

Most pressingly, the women IDPs hoped for an end to the Marawi siege and the lifting of martial law in Mindanao. They asked that the government be held accountable for what happened in their home town, and they wished to be compensated for the suffering and difficulties they endured. The women asked the government to establish livelihood programs that would help the women make up for the economic opportunities they lost due to the siege. The women also sought replacement of or reparations for their properties and belongings that were destroyed or seized during the conflict. Some remained hopeful that the government would offer financial assistance and provide other aid to help the women and their families recover from the siege. Others were more skeptical. However, until they could return home or establish more permanent, sustainable livelihoods elsewhere, the women required humanitarian support to survive.

“A majority of the women wished to return to Marawi as quickly as possible. Some did not wish to go back to Marawi because they fear a recurrence of the hardship, violence and conflict that occurred during the siege. Many feared that their male children—especially those who attend school and are bullied or mocked because of their poverty—would be pushed into joining extremist groups such as ISIL. They recognized that ISIL is said to offer thousands of pesos for signing up, and this might entice their children to join. They saw educational opportunities as central in mitigating the incentives of seeking livelihood opportunities in VE groups. In either case, the fragile security situation in Marawi City needed to be improved to allow the women to return home and to prevent a resurgence of the conflict that forced them out in the first place.”

14 Interview with female respondent, October 2017. Name and location withheld to protect the respondent’s identity.

15 Interview with female respondent, October 2017. Name and location withheld to protect the respondent’s identity.
Legitimate Grievances, Human Rights Violations and Marginalization

In 2018, UN Women conducted the second Listening Process, speaking with the same women IDPs who participated during the first set of interviews. One year after the siege, many of their grievances first raised in the aftermath of the conflict have yet to be addressed. The women continue to suffer from a lack of resources and poor access to reliable information. For many, access to water remains an issue as there are no accessible water pumps near the evacuation centers, nor is there a consistent water supply in any of the neighboring areas. The women living in evacuation centers also face exorbitant costs for electricity for which they are unable to pay due to their limited financial resources. Ongoing marginalization and discrimination further restrict the women’s access to goods and services. Some of the women face marginalization not only from residents of nearby municipalities, but also from aid workers who discriminate against them because they are IDPs.

“[In a way, we feel that Marawi has equalized us. Now, there are no rich people, only poor IDPs.”](#)

During the siege, many of the women who fled Marawi City lost contact with their relatives. Though they used to live together in the city, the families scattered during the evacuation and entire communities were uprooted. A year later, many of the women have since learned that their relatives survived. Some women have family living in various evacuation camps or in the homes of other relatives while some fled to Manila in hopes of finding work. As a result, the women report having only sporadic, if any, contact with their family members. Separation from family and the rupturing of community ties has impacted the women’s sense of belonging and identity.

One year after the siege, women IDPs think about their return home as more imminent, which raises new concerns compared to those in 2017. During the conflict, many women fled their homes without essential identification documents such as birth, school and employment certificates. These documents provide the women with proof of identity. Without these records, the women will likely face issues reclaiming their lost possessions and livelihoods. In addition to creating legal difficulties, the loss of these documents had a profound emotional effect on the women, many of who feel that their pasts have been erased. Each of the women emphasized the importance of replacing their missing documents and regaining their legal claims to their property, names and positions. Not only will replacement documentation help the women with practical matters such as employment and examinations, but the documents will also enable the women to reclaim the sense of identity they lost when forced to flee their homes, communities, and livelihoods.
“We felt shy to those who accepted us for the reason that they are slapping in our face that we are evacuees.”17

In the year after the siege, some of the women have become pregnant while living as IDPs. Others who were already pregnant when they fled Marawi City have since given birth. As evacuees, these women were forced to give birth to their children in hospitals outside of Marawi and had no access to post-partum care. Even though they went to public hospitals, the new mothers received little support for their babies or themselves. Basic needs, including diapers and milk, were rarely provided. At the time of 2018 interviews, the new mothers had yet to receive any specialized post-partum counselling.

Recovery, Rehabilitation and Reconstruction

In the 2018 Listening Process, the need for sustainable livelihoods and secure income dominated many of the conversations held with women IDPs. For most of them, their first priority is to return to their homes in Marawi, though the women recognize that this would be close to impossible; those whose homes were at “ground zero” in Marawi City are unable to return as long as the security situation there remains fragile. However, the women feel that adequate reparations for their suffering cannot truly begin until they are allowed to return home to Marawi. Subsequently, healing and recovery will only be possible once the women have returned.

Humanitarian and Psychosocial Support

Despite the efforts of the Philippine government and international aid organizations, the amount and scope of practical support and services available to the women remains insufficient one year after the siege. Many respondents noted that some of the organizations distributing aid and relief continue to treat the women and their families as lower-class human beings, an experience they first encountered immediately after the conflict. However, some progress has been made on this front. Some of the respondents mentioned individual visits with government officials who went door-to-door to distribute relief goods and to talk with the women about their needs and concerns. The women said they felt the most supported when these organizations and politicians come to them individually and take time to listen to their grievances. They felt dignified when they were able to voice their grievances and share their experiences with people in decision-making positions.

““We want to return to our homes. Our ancestors, their ancestors, they were the ones who built our homes. No one—not the government, not ISIS—owns Marawi City but us.”18

17 Interview with female respondent, October 2018. Name and location withheld to protect the respondent’s identity.
18 Interview with female respondent, October 2018. Name and location withheld to protect the respondent’s identity.
Unlike the comments made in the 2017 Listening Process, the respondents in 2018 expressed that returning to Marawi is more important than receiving money for economic relief. Due to distrust and disappointment in government support, the women’s hopes for rehabilitation are bleak. Women IDPs find themselves in positions where they are unable to influence decisions about their futures. They express a desire to be consulted on their specific needs and situations before decisions are made about their futures. Concerns over programs aimed at addressing their grievances were raised by many. No one knows if, when or how these programs will be implemented.

Snapshot of Male IDPs’ Reflections on the siege of Marawi One Year Later

“What is our use now as heads of the family when we can’t even feed our children?”

1. Profiles of the participants
Nine male IDPs, ranging in age from early 30s to mid-60s, participated in an additional listening process in 2018. All nine men were originally from ground zero of Marawi City. Of them, six were traders, two were affluent businessmen who own buildings inside the city, and one was a religious leader. While living in the transitory shelter, all were without jobs at the time the listening process was conducted. Some of them depended on the support extended by the national, provincial, and local governments while others were supported by relatives living outside Marawi City.

2. Shared issues among men
At the time of their interviews, the men stated that they had no jobs due to a lack of economic opportunities in the area to which they were evacuated. They all emphasized the pressing need of finding a job to earn an income. One man explained that he had previously been a respected business man before the siege, but in the aftermath, he became a farmer to provide his family with daily meals. Male IDPs interviewed during the listening process explained that being unable to provide for their families has challenged their senses of pride.

3. Experiences of Human Rights Violations
The men expressed that their ability to move between cities was restricted after the conflict ended because they were perceived as sympathizers of VE groups or as relatives of terrorists. They described incidents during which they were denied access to properties. One respondent explained that his family had found a property to rent, but when the owner saw his wife wearing a hijab, they were shooed away because they were Muslim. Many men faced the same kind of discrimination while applying for jobs; they were turned away because they were Muslim and because they were from Marawi.

4. Ideas of Healing and Recovery
Most of the participants explained that healing in the aftermath of the conflict will only be achieved when the livelihoods and possessions they lost during the siege are returned to them. Each man expressed a desire for start-up capital or an income and livelihood to provide for their families and begin to rebuild their lives. One participant said that he does not care if the government assists him with economic recovery so long as he and his family are allowed to return to their land. Another man voiced the idea that the military should apologize for the damage done to the people of Marawi.

5. Non-recurrence
To guarantee non-recurrence of the Marawi conflict, all the participants expressed their commitment to be the watch-guards of their communities. They stressed that they would act to prevent recruitment for violent extremist groups from happening in their areas and would establish community security initiatives to report such activities to authorities. In regard to extremist groups that use religion as a means for recruitment, the men responded that such groups are the true enemies of Islam and that violence is not a teaching of their religion.
Conclusions and Moving Forward

The insights reflected through the Listening Processes highlight that the women of Marawi wish to have their voices heard, their struggles recognized, and their unique perspectives on recovery and rehabilitation considered. The interviews reveal a sense of dissatisfaction with the government’s response to the siege. The women interviewed also make clear that returning to their homes and regaining their sense of belonging and community is paramount, in addition to economic relief.

Further, the women’s reflections on the early warning signs of the conflict and the unaddressed grievances following their displacement are invaluable in understanding how to prevent the recurrence of violent extremism in the region. Policy and programming initiatives should be encouraged to act on the recommendations of the women IDPs and ensure that women play a vital role in leading efforts for both recovery and for the prevention of future violent extremist activity. The women can not only regain their lost identities and homes but moving forward can serve as preventers of violent extremism in their communities.

5. TAKING A TRANSITIONAL JUSTICE APPROACH TO MARAWI AND TAKING ACTION

Drawing from the Dealing with the Past Framework and the experiences shared during the 2017 and 2018 listening processes, the women IDPs from Marawi call for the following:

The Right to Truth

- Memorialization of the events that transpired in Marawi to ensure the stories of survivors are heard, recorded and passed on to future generations.
- Documentation of survivors’ narratives.
- Teaching of the history of the Marawi siege in school, which highlights the struggle for survival, the values and the resiliency of the Maranao people.
- Creation of a survivors’ group as a means to give space to the voices of survivors.

The Right to Justice

- Accountability processes for the perpetrators of the Siege of Marawi.
- Justice processes that engage all parties responsible for property destruction in Marawi City, including the government.

The Right to Reparation

- Providing education opportunities for displaced children – including scholarships – as women are unable to provide education for their children due to the lack of economic opportunities.
- Facilitating IDPs’ return to their homes.
- Return or replacement of properties damaged or destroyed by the siege.
- Assistance in replacing lost or damaged legal identity documents.
Guarantee of Non-Recurrence

- The formation of the new Bangsamoro autonomous region.
- Early warning initiatives that advise civilians to pay more attention to suspicious behavior in the future and provide safe means by which they can report such behavior.
- Regular discussions and dialogues on a community level, including with local government units.
- Engagement with religious institutions, including programs that emphasize moderate, peaceful Islamic education.
- Engagement with academic institutions, including the importance of promoting peace education.
- Platforms for women to engage in peace discussions to contribute their ideas of how to promote peaceful societies.
- Institutional reforms aimed at protecting villages from violent extremism.

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