

PERSPECTIVES ON MENTAL HEALTH: VOICES FROM LEBANON



Foreword

Struggling with your mental health can bring about layers of frustration, arising not only from your personal experiences but also from the challenges encountered within the established mental health systems around us.

It can sometimes feel demotivating and disheartening. We want you to know that your feelings and experiences are valid; we want you to know that you are not alone. There is a hopeful path for us all, everyone can reach recovery with the help of quality mental health services and professionals, your frustration will

not last forever. Seeking mental health services is essential, we all deserve to enjoy a healthy body and mind, and you deserve to live in peace. We, fellow service users, encourage you to seek help, we also encourage you to know your rights as a service user. You have the right to use mental health services and you deserve to feel empowered doing so. You have the right to enjoy the highest attainable standard of mental health, and you also have the right to seek mental health services of quality that respect your rights and dignity. Our mental health matters, there is hope for all of us.

Lebanon's mental health needs have dramatically increased as a multidimensional crises hit the country and the surrounding region. Systems are struggling to preserve the right of mental health for everyone in Lebanon. So, it is more important than ever to center the voices of mental health service users.

Service users are at the core of all mental health interventions. We have experienced the mental health systems and services. Our lived expertise makes us indispensable for understanding and responding to the current circumstances Lebanon is enduring.

The National Mental Health Programme strategy strives to guarantee this mental health right for everyone in Lebanon. It aims to support the

participation of mental health service users from planning those services to decision-making in policy and governance. At Justice for Mental Health, the first service user association in Lebanon, we believe this is the only way to guarantee an effective response to the compounding needs in our society.

Mental health services and systems should be accountable to service users regardless of race, disability, age, gender, ethnicity, religion, socioeconomic background, or nationality. As service users, we have seen, slowly but surely, the massive efforts made to respond to the crises. Nevertheless, there is still much progress to make especially when it comes to the representation of mental health service users, by working

seriously with partners in building and improving the mental health system. We are not passive beneficiaries! At Justice for Mental Health, we share the same slogan of the countless disability and civil rights movements before us: "Nothing About Us, Without Us." Together we can create a mental health system that is fair and just for all. The responsibility now lies with all actors in the mental health system and to make services accessible to all and actively support the voices of service users. This graphic novel aims to do that.

From,

Sasha and Thurayya

***Co-founders,
Justice For Mental
Health, Lebanon's
first service user
association***



Introduction

Across Lebanon, people are searching for mental health services. These stories show the barriers people often face. They include stigma, discrimination, prohibitive costs and the legacy of Covid-19. They also show what can happen when people are able to access mental health services providing the quality of care, dignified and affordable services they need. These stories are drawn from GOAL research. GOAL works with some of the many civil society actors, and the Lebanese government, who all continue to work to improve access to mental health care.

NO ONE MAKES YOU FEEL THAT THERE IS SOMEONE STANDING BESIDE YOU AS MUCH AS THIS NGO, THEY LITERALLY SAVED MY LIFE.

WITHOUT THAT NGO, I WOULDN'T KNOW WHAT MENTAL HEALTH IS...

IF YOU MENTIONED MENTAL HEALTH IN SYRIA, THEY WOULD CALL YOU CRAZY. THE SITUATION IS DIFFERENT HERE IN LEBANON.

GOAL research was funded by UK Research and Innovation as part of UKRI Collective Fund Award UKRI GCRF Development-based approaches to protracted displacement



UK Research
and Innovation



This short graphic novel is intended to support people who use mental health services, service providers, and policymakers. It aims to help them understand how health systems might affect people's lived experience, and to inform strategic decision making, advocacy, service and policy development. It centres the voices of six Lebanese and Syrian service users (because the research focused on these two groups). Interviews and group discussions were conducted with service users in 2021 and 2022. This was during a period where Lebanon was experiencing multiple internal crises. These included medicine shortages, political conflict and instability, and economic crises.

Some details of the stories have been edited to preserve the anonymity of individuals, while retaining their exact words represented as quotes throughout this novel. Pseudonyms are used throughout. These accounts are not representative of all mental health service users in Lebanon. These stories reflect three key themes people face in navigating mental health services in Lebanon: interactions with mental health providers, shortages of medication, and financial challenges.

MY SON WAS AGAINST THE IDEA AT FIRST, HE SAID: 'DO YOU WANT THEM TO CALL ME INSANE?' THIS IS HOW HALF OF THE COMMUNITY THINKS. ... I CONVINCED HIM ... HE REALLY GOT BETTER AND BENEFITED A LOT AFTER THE TREATMENT.

This graphic novel reflects research demonstrating that stronger mental health and psychosocial systems need to be based on sustainable funding, meaningful participation of service users and effective partner relationships to deliver effective and equitable mental health services.

I JUST WANT SOMEONE TO HELP US SEE THE DOCTORS, AND SECURE THE MEDICATIONS.

THESE ISSUES, THESE ILLNESSES OR WHATEVER YOU WANT TO CALL IT ARE JUST LIKE ANY OTHER ILLNESS, AND SO WE DESERVE PROPER CARE FOR THAT TOO. AND IT SHOULDN'T COST THAT MUCH.

Acknowledgements

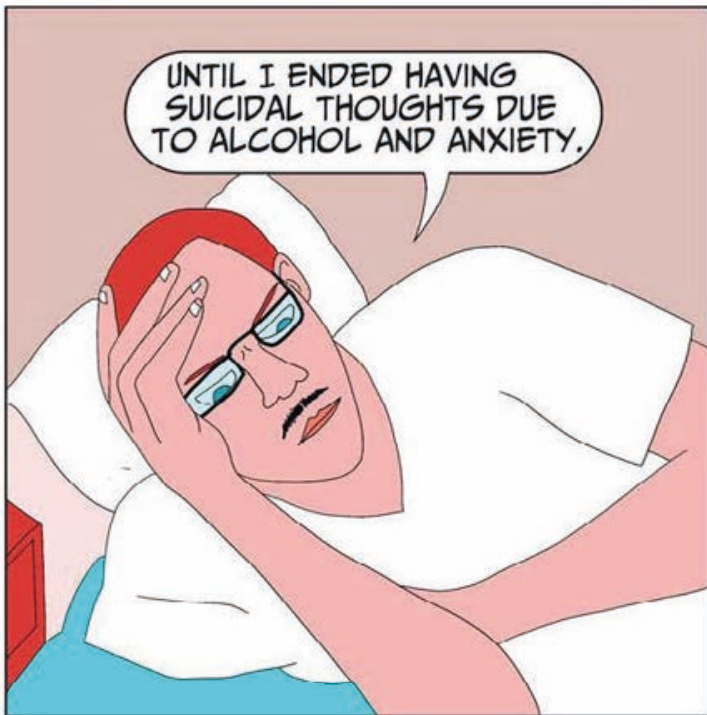
We would like to express our gratitude to the interview participants who shared their knowledge, time and experience of mental health systems.

Team

Artist: **Lena Merhej** Writer: **John Servante** Designer: **Dan Abeledo**
Researchers: **Thurayya Zreik, MA (LSHTM)** &
Professor Michelle Lokot (LSHTM)
Translator: **Ibrahim Bou Orm**
Produced and Directed: **Emily Oliver, BeyondText**

NABIL IS A 26-YEAR-OLD LEBANESE MAN. HE IS SINGLE AND HAS STRUGGLED WITH ALCOHOLISM AND SEVERE ANXIETY.





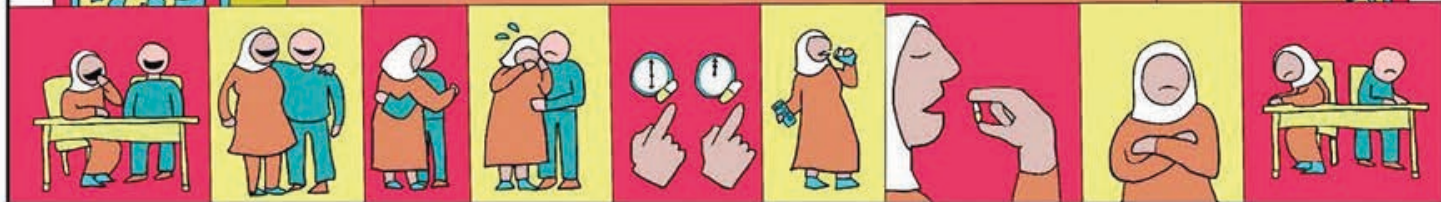


The **National Mental Health Programme** has compiled a list of mental health and psychosocial support resources in Lebanon. To find services and learn more about available resources, visit <https://resources.nmhp-lb.com>

For emotional support and suicide prevention, call the **Lifeline** at **1564** (the National Emotional Support and Suicide Prevention Hotline, is a collaboration between the National Mental Health Programme and Embrace)

A detailed list of resources is also found at the end of this graphic novel.

NADA IS A 52-YEAR-OLD MARRIED LEBANESE WOMAN, WHOSE FAMILY ATMOSPHERE IS 'NOT GOOD.' SHE IS VERY HAPPY ABOUT THE PSYCHOTHERAPY SERVICES SHE HAS RECEIVED. SHE ALSO TAKES MEDICINE TO HELP WITH MANAGING HER MENTAL HEALTH. HER MENTAL HEALTH IS GREATLY AFFECTED BY HER FINANCIAL SITUATION.



NADA CANNOT ALWAYS AFFORD TRANSPORTATION FEES. SOMETIMES, THE SERVICE CAN PROVIDE THEM. BUT OTHER TIMES, SHE HAS TO SKIP HER APPOINTMENT.

I WOULD JUST LIKE TO CHANGE MY FINANCIAL SITUATION, SO I COULD COME AND GO TO THE DOCTOR WHENEVER I NEED TO.



SOMETIMES SHE ALSO HAS TO GO WITHOUT HER MEDICATION FOR A WHILE. THIS MAKES HER MENTAL HEALTH WORSE.



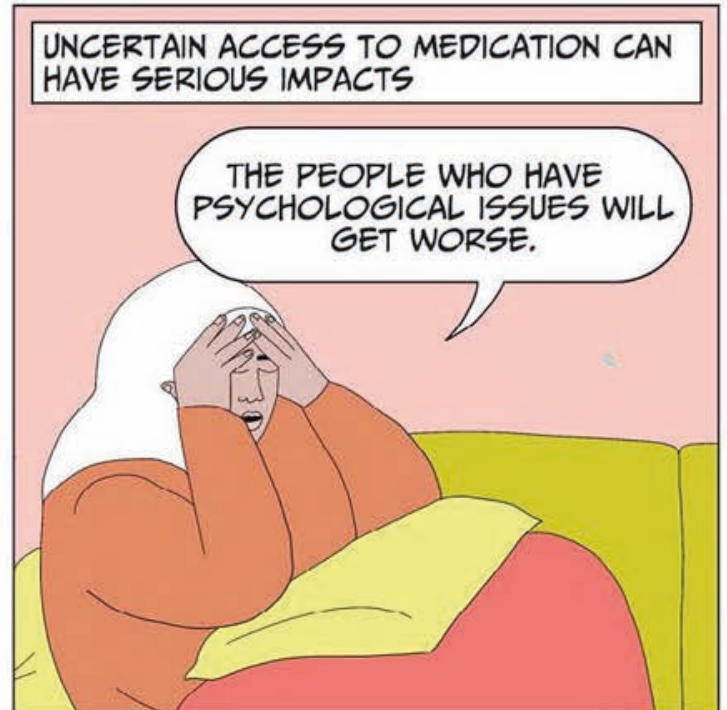
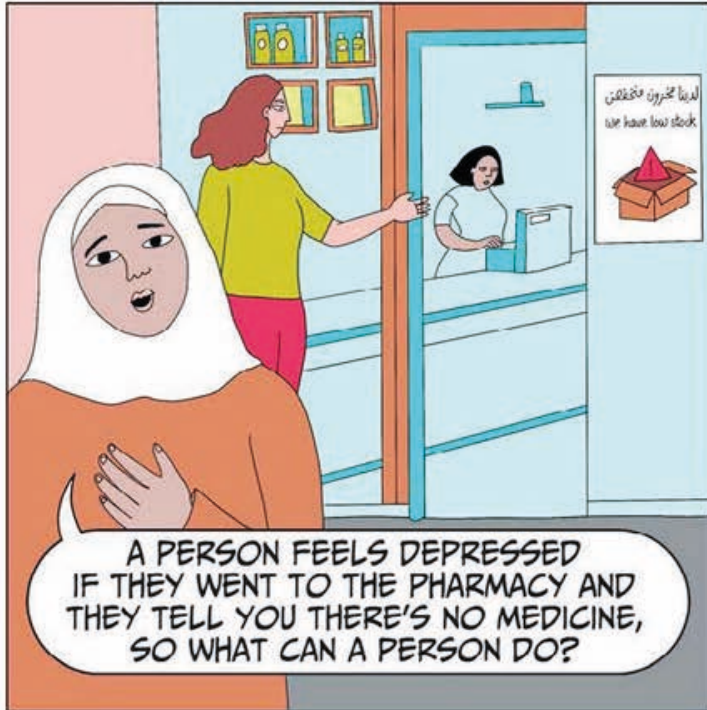
NADA RECOGNISES THAT IT IS CHALLENGING TO ACCESS HEALTHCARE IN LEBANON

YOU GO TO BUY MEDICINE, FOR EXAMPLE, OR SUCH THINGS THAT THE DOCTOR CAN'T PRESCRIBE...



... BUT YOU CAN'T FIND THEM



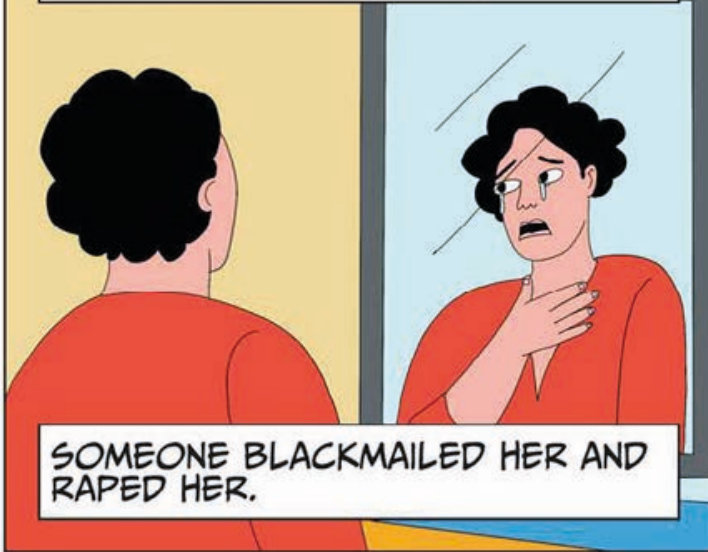


GHIDA IS A SYRIAN WOMAN AND IS AGED 32. SHE HAD A CHALLENGING FAMILY UPBRINGING AND EXPERIENCED STIGMA AND DISCRIMINATION.



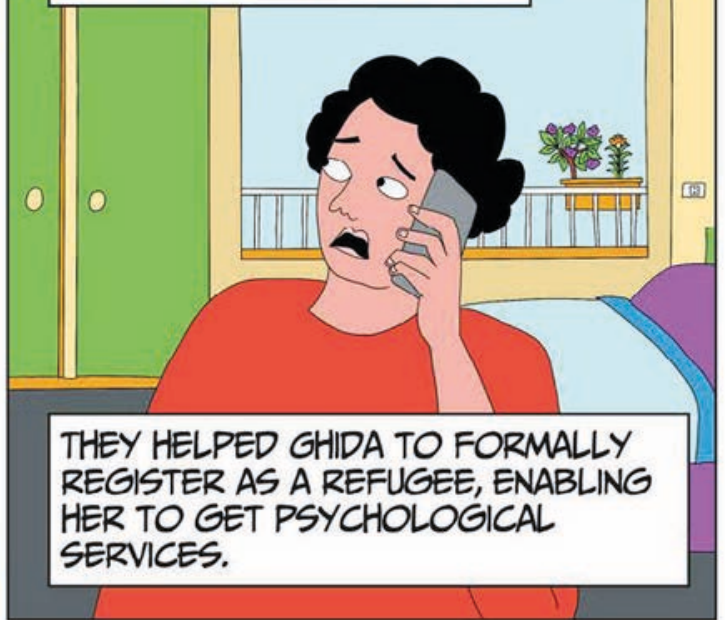
HER FAMILY HAD FORCED HER TO MARRY BUT NOW SHE IS SINGLE.

GHIDA FACED MANY CHALLENGES WHEN SHE CAME TO LEBANON. SHE EXPERIENCED VIOLENCE.



SOMEONE BLACKMAILED HER AND RAPED HER.

GHIDA CONTACTED AN NGO.



THEY HELPED GHIDA TO FORMALLY REGISTER AS A REFUGEE, ENABLING HER TO GET PSYCHOLOGICAL SERVICES.

THE NGO WAS A HUGE HELP IN GHIDA REALISING SHE NEEDED ASSISTANCE.



WITHOUT THIS NGO, I WOULDN'T KNOW WHAT MENTAL HEALTH IS... IF YOU MENTIONED MENTAL HEALTH IN SYRIA, THEY WOULD CALL YOU CRAZY.

GHIDA HAD A POSITIVE EXPERIENCE ACCESSING MENTAL HEALTH SERVICES IN LEBANON.



THE MENTAL HEALTH WORKERS HERE IN LEBANON ARE GREAT. THEY CARE ABOUT ME.



THEY MAKE ME FEEL BETTER, DESPITE WHAT I HAVE BEEN THROUGH



LAMEES IS A 54-YEAR-OLD SYRIAN REFUGEE WOMAN WHO IS MARRIED WITH CHILDREN. HER HUSBAND IS CHRONICALLY ILL AND CANNOT WORK. HE IS ALSO EMOTIONALLY ABUSIVE.



LAMEES HAS BEEN IMPACTED BY EXPERIENCES OF DISCRIMINATION THAT LINKS TO HER BEING A WOMAN AND BEING SYRIAN.

AT HER WORKPLACE, LAMEES IS PAID LESS THAN A MALE EMPLOYEE WHO IS ONLY 18 YEARS OLD.



I PRODUCE BETTER THAN HIM, AND HAVE MORE EXPERIENCE THAN HIM, BUT BECAUSE HE'S A MALE HE GETS PAID MORE.

YOU ARE DISCRIMINATING AGAINST ME.



I DON'T DIFFERENTIATE BETWEEN A LEBANESE AND A SYRIAN, LAMEES.

IT'S SEXISM.



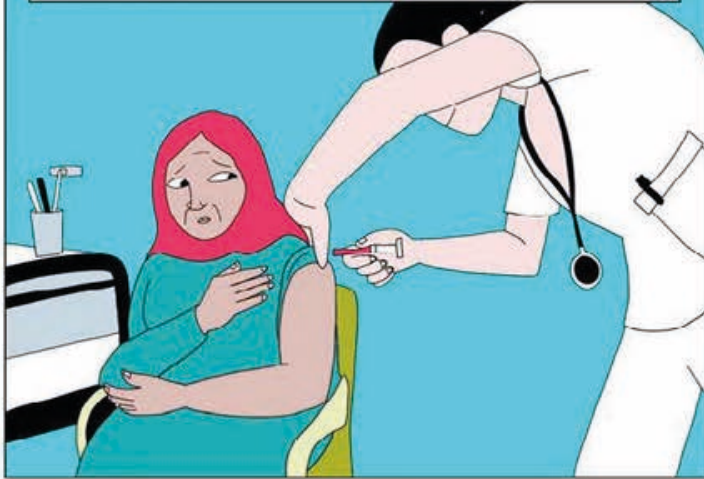
WE JUST WANT TO EAT AND SLEEP, WE DON'T NEED ENTERTAINMENT, CARS, AND SUCH. WE JUST WANT TO FEEL SAFE A LITTLE BIT.

AM I NOT THE PROVIDER OF MY HOUSE? MY HUSBAND IS SICK AND I HAVE NO ONE TO HELP ME. SO I'M OBLIGED TO WORK.



WHY AM I SUPPOSED TO BE UNDERPAID JUST BECAUSE I'M A WOMAN?

LAMEES'S FINANCIAL SITUATION HAS GOTTEN SO BAD THAT IT HAS AFFECTED HER ACCESS TO HEALTHCARE. UNHCR DIDN'T PROVIDE MEDICAL COVERAGE WHEN SHE HAD TO HAVE AN OPERATION LAST YEAR.



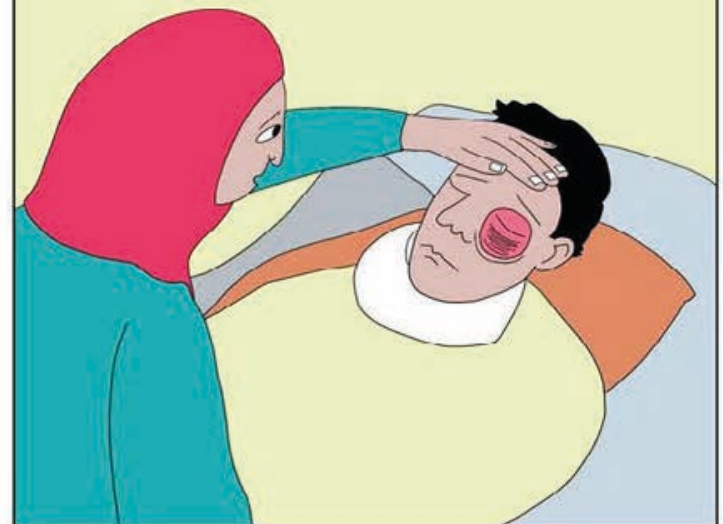
SHE HAD TO BORROW MONEY, AND IS STILL PAYING OFF HER DEBT. SHE NEEDS ANOTHER OPERATION NOW AND SHE CAN'T EVEN AFFORD TO PAY FOR THE ULTRASOUND.



WHEN SHE FELL SICK AND WAS 10 DAYS LATE ON THE RENT, HER LANDLORD EVICTED HER AND HER FAMILY. WHEN HER HUSBAND WENT TO RETURN THE KEYS TO THE LANDLORD, HE HIT HIM, STOLE HIS MOTORCYCLE,



AND KICKED HIM OUT.



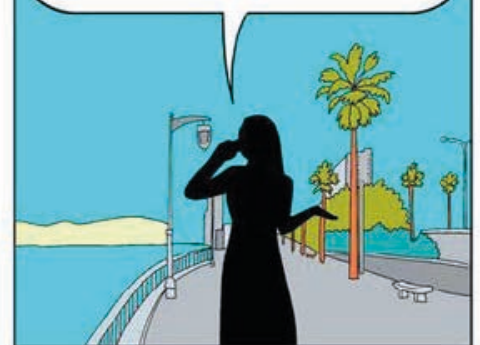
LAMEES ALSO BLAMES HER MENTAL HEALTH ISSUES ON THEIR FINANCIAL SITUATION.



SHE HAS BEEN ABLE TO SPEAK TO A PSYCHIATRIST AND FOUND THE FLEXIBLE SUPPORT (BOTH IN THEIR OFFICE AND ON THE PHONE) VERY HELPFUL.



I TALK TO THEM IF ANYTHING HAPPENED TO ME EVEN OUTSIDE THE SCHEDULED APPOINTMENTS AND THEY ALWAYS ARE VERY RESPONSIVE... THEY TOLD ME TO CALL THEM WHENEVER I NEEDED THEM. I CAN EITHER GO TO AN APPOINTMENT THAT THEY GIVE ME OR WE COULD TALK ON THE PHONE.



LAMEES ALSO ENCOURAGED HER SON TO SEEK HELP FOR DEPRESSION.



MY SON WAS AGAINST THE IDEA AT FIRST. HE SAID, "DO YOU WANT THEM TO CALL ME INSANE?" THIS IS HOW HALF OF OUR COMMUNITY THINKS. IF SOMEONE WENT TO A THERAPIST HE IS CONSIDERED AS MENTALLY ILL, AS A CRAZY PERSON...

HER SON FINALLY AGREED TO GET HELP.

I CONVINCED HIM... HE REALLY GOT BETTER AND BENEFITED A LOT AFTER THE TREATMENT.



ZAINA IS A 41-YEAR-OLD LEBANESE WOMAN. SHE LIVED IN NORTH AMERICA FOR SEVERAL YEARS BEFORE RETURNING TO LEBANON. HER SON IS ILL. HER HUSBAND IS ALSO UNWELL AND HE IS ABOUT TO HAVE A MEDICAL OPERATION.



SHE IS STRUGGLING WITH HER MENTAL HEALTH AND JUGGLING HER FAMILY RESPONSIBILITIES WITH VERY LITTLE SUPPORT FROM HER COMMUNITY

DUE TO THE SPIRALING COSTS OF CARE AND MEDICATION CAUSED BY THE ECONOMIC CRISIS, ZAINA IS SEEKING MENTAL HEALTH SERVICES IN THE PUBLIC SECTOR.



SHE IS FINANCIALLY DEPENDENT ON HER HUSBAND AND DOES NOT WANT TO ASK HIM FOR MONEY FOR MENTAL HEALTH CARE. SHE NEVER MENTIONS HER MENTAL HEALTH CONDITION IN FRONT OF HIM.



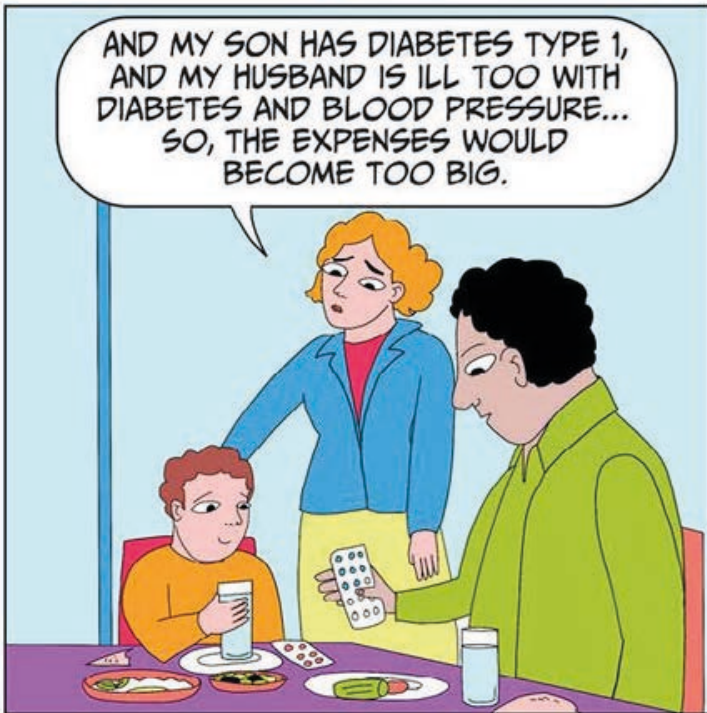
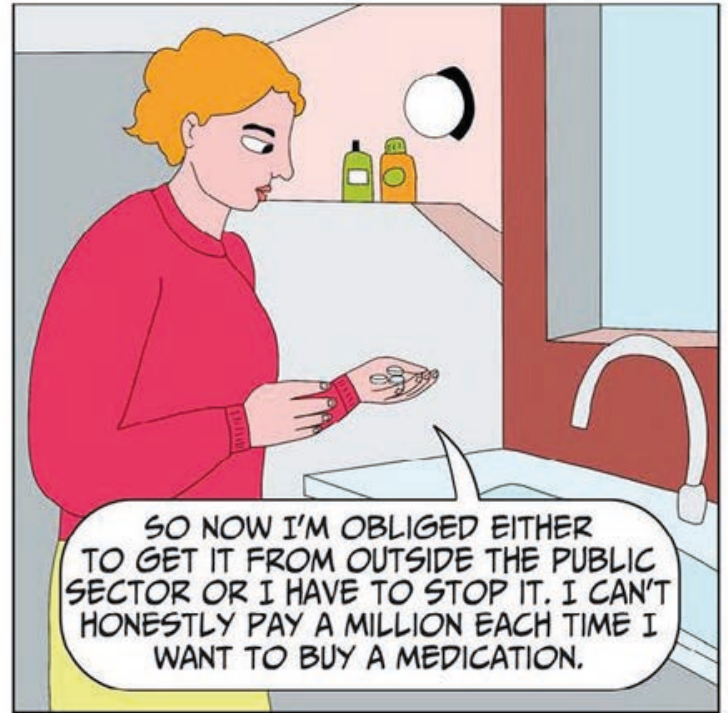
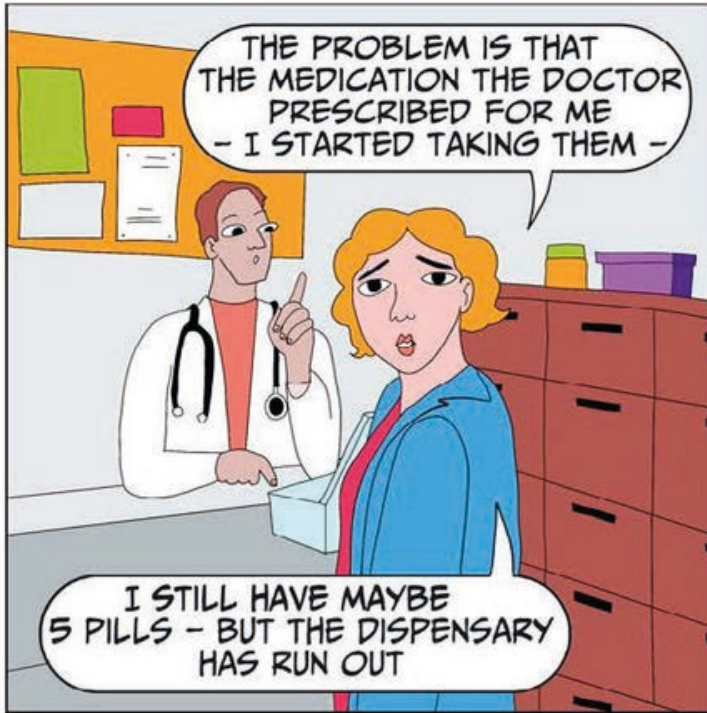
SHE HAS BEEN PRESCRIBED MEDICATION FOR HER MENTAL HEALTH ISSUES AND ASKED TO TAKE THEM REGULARLY. BUT BETWEEN MEDICATION SHORTAGES, HIGH COSTS OF MEDICATIONS ON THE OPEN MARKET...



...AND EXPENSES RELATED TO HEALTH ISSUES HER SON AND HUSBAND ARE FACING, SHE IS STRUGGLING TO FIND A WAY THAT SHE WILL BE ABLE TO CONTINUE TAKING THESE MEDICATIONS.



SHE IS HAPPY THAT AT LEAST SHE CAN CONTINUE TO RECEIVE COUNSELLING



RANDA IS A 43-YEAR-OLD MARRIED LEBANESE WOMAN. SHE HAS TWO DAUGHTERS AND A SON.

RANDA MOVED OVERSEAS WITH HER FAMILY FOR 6 YEARS BEFORE RETURNING TO LEBANON. SHE HAS HAD A HARD TIME ADJUSTING TO BEING BACK HOME.



RANDA USED TO BE OF GOOD FINANCIAL STATUS. SHE LIVED IN A WEALTHIER AREA OF BEIRUT, IN A HOME BOUGHT BY HER AND HER HUSBAND AROUND 10 YEARS AGO.

BUT AFTER THE FINANCIAL CRISIS IN 2019-2020, HER HUSBAND LOST ALL HIS MONEY IN THE BANK AND IS NOW STRUGGLING TO FIND WORK.

RANDA RECOGNISES THE IMPORTANCE OF REGULARLY RECEIVING THERAPY, BUT COST CAN BE A BARRIER FOR HER AND OTHER PEOPLE SHE KNOWS.

OUTSIDE AN NGO, THERAPY HAS BECOME TOO EXPENSIVE.

I CAN AFFORD TO GO EVERY ONCE IN A WHILE BUT NOT CONTINUOUSLY'

THESE MENTAL HEALTH ISSUES, OR ILLNESSES, OR WHATEVER YOU WANT TO CALL THEM, ARE JUST LIKE ANY OTHER ILLNESS. WE DESERVE PROPER CARE. AND IT SHOULDN'T COST THAT MUCH.

WHEN RANDA TRIED TO ACCESS SERVICES, SHE WAS TOLD:

IT'S FOR PEOPLE WHO REALLY NEED IT.

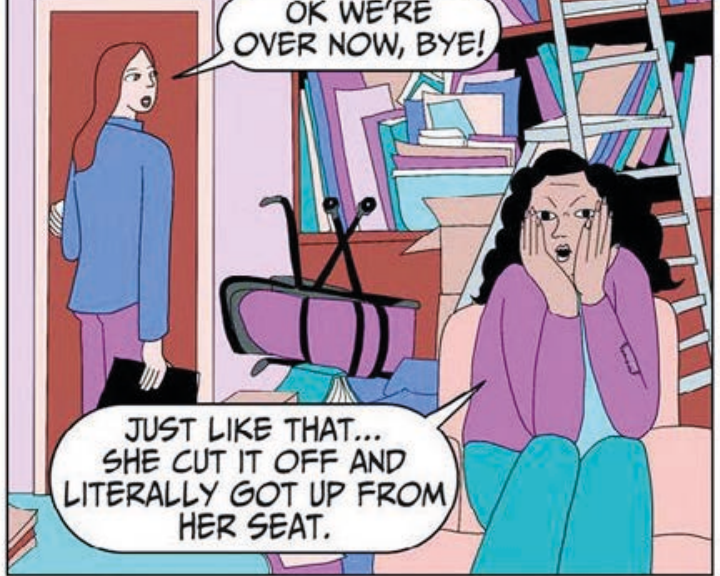
SHE FELT UPSET THAT BECAUSE SHE DIDN'T LOOK LIKE SHE WAS IN NEED, PEOPLE ASSUMED SHE DIDN'T NEED THERAPY

THE FIRST TIME RANDA RECEIVED THERAPY AT AN NGO, SHE DID NOT FEEL HAPPY ABOUT THE QUALITY OF THE SERVICE



IT WAS A MESS. THE THERAPIST WAS UNHELPFUL, VERY DRY, VERY. THERE WAS NO EMOTION, NO COMPASSION. IT WAS AS IF SHE ONLY WANTED TO FINISH THE SESSION...

45 MINUTES LATER...



OK WE'RE OVER NOW, BYE!

JUST LIKE THAT... SHE CUT IT OFF AND LITERALLY GOT UP FROM HER SEAT.

FORTUNATELY, RANDA ALSO MET A GOOD DOCTOR.



IT'S OK, NOTHING BAD WILL HAPPEN. HALF THE PEOPLE TAKE MEDICINE.

THIS HELPED RANDA WITH HER MENTAL HEALTH STRUGGLES, MAKING HER FEEL MORE AT EASE, AND THAT IT WASN'T SHAMEFUL TO TAKE THE MEDICINE.

FARIHA IS A 37-YEAR-OLD SYRIAN WOMAN WHO IS MARRIED WITH A SON AND DAUGHTER, AND CURRENTLY PREGNANT WITH HER THIRD CHILD.



SHE IS EXPERIENCING SEVERE MENTAL HEALTH ISSUES AND HAS HAD TO BE HOSPITALISED A FEW TIMES FOR THESE ISSUES SINCE SHE ARRIVED IN LEBANON. SHE IS JUGGLING BETWEEN HER MENTAL HEALTH AND FAMILY RESPONSIBILITIES WITH VERY LITTLE SUPPORT FROM HER COMMUNITY. SHE RECEIVES SOME COUNSELLING SUPPORT.



I HAVE SUICIDAL THOUGHTS. I DESIRE DEATH.

I CONTINUOUSLY SEARCH FOR MY MEDICATIONS. BUT IT'S NO USE.



MY BROTHER SENT ME SOME MEDICATIONS FROM SYRIA, BUT THE MEDICINE THERE IS VERY EXPENSIVE, AND HE DIDN'T HAVE A LOT OF MONEY.



I DEPEND ON MEDICATIONS, AND NOW IT IS NOT AVAILABLE IN LEBANON. I CAN'T LIVE WITHOUT MY MEDICATIONS.



INSTEAD OF HAVING TWO TABLETS PER DAY, I STARTED TAKING ONE. THEN I STARTED TAKING ONLY HALF A PILL. THEN, A PILL EVERY 2-3 DAYS.



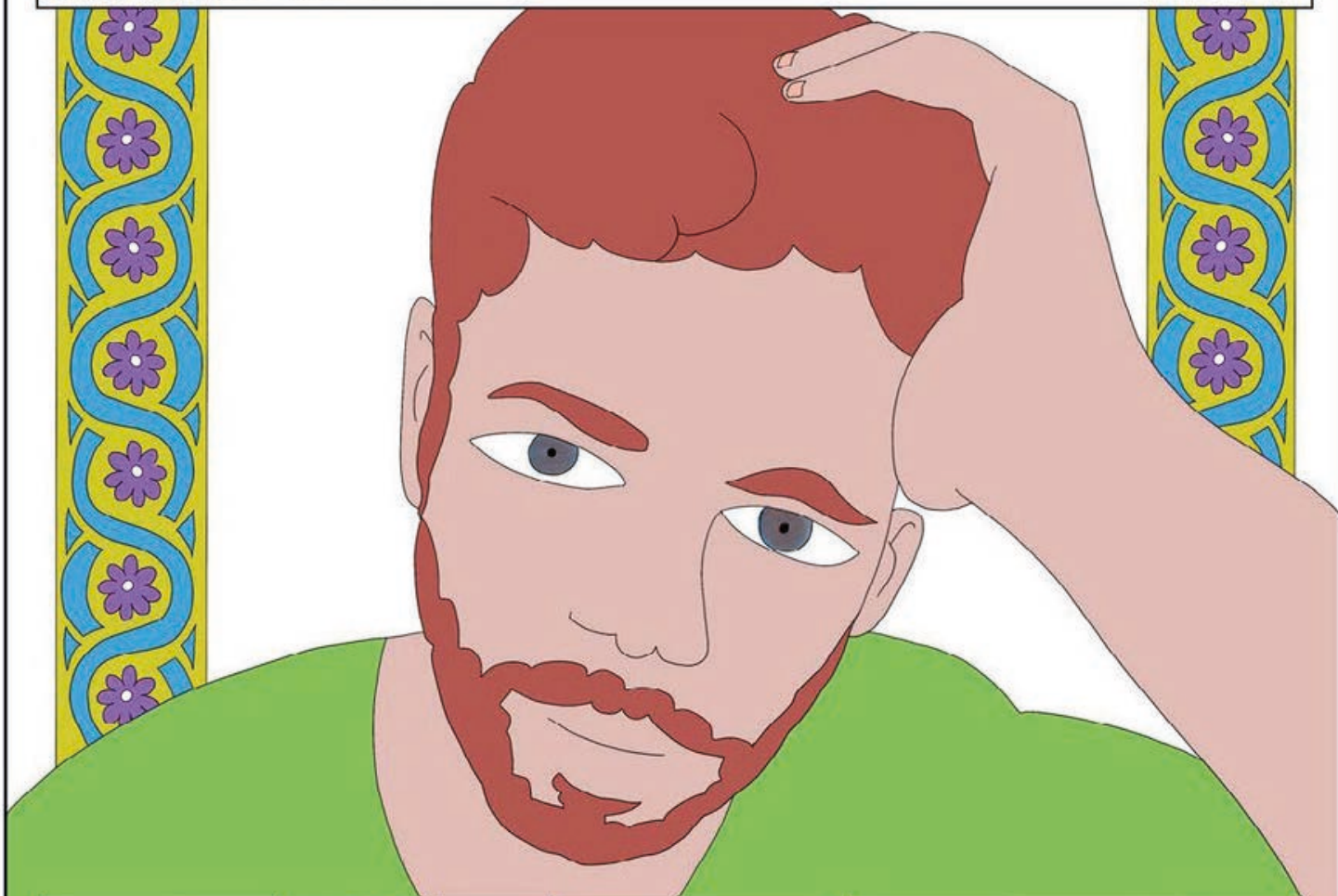
DEPRESSION NEEDS MEDICATION. YOU CAN'T LIVE WITHOUT MEDICATION. AND THERE IS NO MEDICINE IN LEBANON.



FARIHA NOW HAS A CHANCE TO RECEIVE WEEKLY COUNSELLING SESSIONS, BUT SHE CONTINUES TO FACE CHALLENGES ACCESSING MEDICINE.

I JUST WANT SOMEONE TO HELP US SEE THE DOCTOR, AND SECURE THE MEDICATION.

AHMAD IS A SYRIAN MAN AND IS AGED 31. HE IS SINGLE AND IS GAY AND WAS RUNNING AWAY FROM HIS PARENTS.



AHMAD IS NOT REGISTERED AS A REFUGEE IN LEBANON, WHICH MAKES LIFE REALLY DIFFICULT.

AHMAD HAS HAD SOME NEGATIVE EXPERIENCES IN THE PROCESS OF TRYING TO OBTAIN PSYCHOLOGICAL SERVICES.



HE SPOKE ON THE PHONE WITH SOMEONE FROM A UN AGENCY WHO WAS VERY RUDE WITH HIM. BUT THEN, ANOTHER STAFF MEMBER FROM THE SAME ORGANISATION CALLED HIM BACK AND APOLOGISED FOR HOW HE WAS TREATED.



AHMAD FOUND SOME OTHER NGO SERVICES, BUT FOUND MANY OF THEM FRUSTRATING...



THE FIRST SESSION WAS LIKE AN INTERROGATION. THEY DIDN'T PROVIDE ANY SOLUTIONS.



WHEN A MEMBER OF HIS FAMILY FOUND HIM OUT WALKING ONE DAY,



AHMAD! AHMAD!

THEY ATTACKED HIM.



HE HAD TO FLEE.

FORTUNATELY, AHMAD GOT MEDICAL ASSISTANCE AND PSYCHOLOGICAL SUPPORT FROM AN NGO.

YOU'RE GOING TO BE OKAY.



THANK YOU.

I'M STILL RECEIVING PSYCHOLOGICAL TREATMENT, BUT I AM BETTER NOW BECAUSE OF THE MEDICATION I AM TAKING.



LAITH IS A LEBANESE MAN. HE LIVES WITH HIS WIFE AND YOUNG CHILDREN. THEIR FAMILY FACES ONGOING FINANCIAL INSECURITY.



LAITH HAS STRUGGLED WITH DEPRESSION AND SUICIDAL THOUGHTS. HE LIVES OUTSIDE THE CITY AND HAS FOUND IT HARD TO ACCESS MENTAL HEALTH SERVICES CLOSE TO WHERE HE LIVES.

THE FIRST TIME LAITH VISITED A MENTAL HEALTH SERVICE HE DIDN'T KNOW WHAT TO EXPECT. HE FELT UNCOMFORTABLE BECAUSE OF ITS LOCATION...



IT WAS IN A HIGH-END LOCATION... THIS TRIGGERED SOME FINANCIAL INSECURITIES I HAVE. I FELT ENVIOS



NOW HE HAS FOUND MORE AFFORDABLE MENTAL HEALTH SERVICES THROUGH AN NGO.



THIS NGO OFFERS ONLINE SESSIONS. LAITH FOUND THESE MUCH MORE CONVENIENT.

NOW HE DOES NOT HAVE TO TRAVEL TO BEIRUT TO ACCESS CARE...



I WOULDN'T BE ABLE TO AFFORD GOING TO A FACE-TO-FACE THERAPY. THAT'S WHY I DIDN'T SEEK HELP BEFORE. SO, I'M THANKFUL I FOUND SOMETHING LIKE THIS, HONESTLY.



LAITH WANTS HIS CHILDREN TO BE ABLE TO ACCESS PSYCHOLOGICAL SERVICES AS WELL, BECAUSE HE IS WORRIED ABOUT THEIR MENTAL HEALTH.



WAITING LISTS FOR THESE ARE VERY LONG.



FOR LAITH IT IS IMPORTANT PEOPLE CAN ACCESS AFFORDABLE MENTAL HEALTH SERVICES .

If themes in the stories resonated with you, these resources may be helpful

Justice for Mental Health is an initiative by and for service users in Lebanon, that draws on the experiential expertise of service users and people with psychosocial disabilities to advocate for and raise awareness of mental health, human rights, and the link between the two.

www.justiceformentalhealthlb.org

Step-by-Step free mobile mental health intervention: <https://step-by-step-program.com/>
Step-by-Step is a self-help intervention for individuals struggling with low mood and stress. It is confidential, free of charge, and available through a mobile application or website.

Self-help podcast:
<https://resources.nmhp-lb.com/podcasts>

4Ws Platform:
<https://mhis.nmhp-lb.com/#/guest/home>

The 4Ws online platform offers information on available mental health services in the country (at free or nominal fees) and details on how to access them.

Self-care resources: <https://www.youtube.com/@nationalmentalhealthprogra2067>

GOAL is a research project supporting the Lebanese National Mental Health Programme (NMHP), academic and NGO partners. It works closely with the Lebanese Service User Association. GOAL is funded by the UKRI GCRF. For more research, policy briefings and other information please visit:

<http://www.lshtm.ac.uk/goal>

For more resources:
<https://resources.nmhp-lb.com/>

If you are in immediate distress please call the **National Lifeline in Lebanon for Emotional Support and Suicide Prevention Hotline** on **1564**.

The National Lifeline is a hotline that provides a safe space for anyone going through severe emotional distress or experiencing thoughts of suicide or self-harm allowing them to talk and be listened to.

‘Nothing about us, without us’

Service-user principle of promoting the full inclusion of people with lived experience in the development of policies and strategies that affect their lives.



UK Research
and Innovation



GCRF
Global Challenges
Research Fund

GOAL research was funded by UK Research and Innovation as part of UKRI Collective Fund Award UKRI GCRF Development-based approaches to protracted displacement. GOAL is a partnership between:



LONDON
SCHOOL of
HYGIENE
& TROPICAL
MEDICINE

