GRIEF COUNSELING INTERVENTION AFTER THE MASS TRAUMA: LESSONS LEARNED FROM THE VICTIMS OF THE EASTER SUNDAY ATTACK IN SRI LANKA

*G.M.P.V Godakanda**

Department of Sociology University of Ruhuna

*Corresponding author: virashagodakanda@gmail.com
DOI: https://doi.org/10.71146/kjmr216

Article Info

Abstract

This qualitative study investigates the lived experiences of eight survivors from the St. Sebastian's church attack during the 2019 Easter Sunday tragedy in Sri Lanka, along with three key informant interviews. Employing a reflexive thematic analysis approach, the inquiry draws upon social support theory and the five stages of grief theory to examine the data. The findings reveal a stark absence of formal grief counseling services for those impacted by the attacks, with survivors relying solely on inadequate informal support within their communities. A significant 70% expressed doubts about the government's involvement, citing perceptions of neglect and ineffective responses, which undermined trust necessary for effective support delivery. The church-based Setsarana program emerged as the only source of spiritual guidance, practical aid, informal counseling, and housing assistance, highlighting the lack of essential psychological interventions. These findings underscore the urgent need for Sri Lanka to adopt a coordinated, culturally-sensitive approach to offer comprehensive psychological care in the aftermath of mass tragedies. The study recommends implementing diverse therapeutic approaches, such as nature-based programs and animal-assisted therapy, to address unmet needs. Enhancing accessibility through governmental aid, telemedicine, and educational initiatives for diverse populations is emphasized. Furthermore, the study stresses the necessity for prolonged investigations to grasp the lasting effects of interventions and the continual advancement of resources to aid grief recovery.

Keywords:
Easter Sunday attacks, grief counseling, social support, stages of grief, qualitative research.

Introduction

1.1 Background of the Study

The 2019 Easter Sunday attacks in Sri Lanka inflicted a profound and enduring collective trauma upon the nation's psyche. This catastrophic incident culminated in the tragic loss of over 250 lives and innumerable injuries across various locations, including churches and hotels (Ingram, 2019). The sheer magnitude and senseless brutality of these attacks severely shook the very foundations of Sri Lankan society, leaving deep psychological scars that transcended physical harm. While efforts were made to reconstruct damaged infrastructure, scant attention was devoted to addressing the crucial mental health needs of those grappling with grief, trauma, and loss in the wake of this tragedy (Siddique, 2019). Regrettably, Sri Lanka had been subjected to numerous mass casualty events, resulting in repeated exposure to the devastating effects of such violence. Throughout these traumatic nationwide disruptions, a recurring issue surfaced: the insufficient availability of formal grief counseling and psychosocial support systems (Somasundaram, 2010; Husain et al., 2011). The profound losses suffered by impacted communities during times of war, natural disasters, and other calamities were not adequately addressed, leading individuals to rely on informal support networks rather than seeking professional assistance (Jayawickreme et al., 2012). This recurring trend raised concerns about the potential barriers that victims of the Easter attacks may have encountered.

1.2 Objectives of the Study
The objectives of the study are:

1. To identify the awareness of grief counseling service among the victims of Eater Sunday Attack in 2019 Sri Lanka.
2. To assess the productivity and effectiveness of grief counseling implementations for the victims of Easter Sunday Attack.
3. To determine the substitute coping mechanisms adopted by the victims for the purpose to recover from the grief situation.
4. To deliver approachable recommendations for familiarizing the grief counseling service in Sri Lanka.

1.3 Problem Statement
The Easter Sunday bombings in Sri Lanka left indelible emotional scars on individuals, families, and entire communities. This act of violent terrorism, specifically targeting the Christian community, not only resulted in a devastating death toll but also caused profound emotional wounds. As the investigation into this heinous crime continued, its impact on the Sri Lankan psyche could not be ignored. This tragedy catalysed crucial societal changes and highlighted the pressing need for increased support for mental health and grief counseling services. However, within Sri Lanka's cultural landscape, unique obstacles had to be surmounted in the provision and acceptance of these vital services. These deep-rooted societal norms had to be addressed to effectively confront and heal from such widespread trauma. The primary focus of this study was the frequency and effectiveness of grief counseling received by the victims of the Easter Sunday attack incident. Despite the introduction of grief counseling programs, their efficacy and cultural suitability within the Sri Lankan context remained insufficiently understood. Furthermore, traditional grief counseling methods and techniques, originally designed in Western cultures, may not have aligned with the cultural nuances and coping mechanisms of Sri Lankan societies. This misalignment could have resulted in ineffective interventions, prolonging the experience of unprocessed grief and exacerbating long-term mental health effects, such as post-traumatic stress disorder, depression, and intergenerational trauma.

1.4 Significance and Relevance

A Sri Lankan study explored how people dealt with grief after the Easter Sunday attack, shedding light on "catastrophic grief" and improving bereavement therapy for such events. Grief counseling, a growing field within therapy, helps individuals navigate loss. The study highlights how examining the attack's survivors' needs can tailor programs for trauma victims, leading to better mental health outcomes. This research can influence policymaking to ensure effective distribution of mental health services and grief counseling. By providing evidence for best practices, the study serves as a model for future large-scale crisis responses. Socially, grief counseling combats the stigma of loss. By normalizing grief, it strengthens social support for bereaved individuals, improving their well-being and fostering stronger social bonds, ultimately aiding societal healing. The study acknowledges both the strengths and limitations of grief counseling, emphasizing the need for public awareness of its benefits in creating a more compassionate society. This research expands our understanding of grief and paves the way for collaboration between academics and grief counselors, leading to advancements in the field.

2. Literature Review

The ultimate objective of this literature review was to thoroughly study and analyze the available body of research on grief counseling. The aim was to gain a clear understanding of its strengths, limitations, and nature, specifically in the context of the Easter Attack. By choosing Easter Sunday as the focus, the researcher sought to draw parallels between the endemic incidence of grief and trauma experienced during some days and the collective experience of the attack. Through this review, the researcher hoped to consolidate existing knowledge on grief counseling while identifying gaps in the literature relevant to the specific needs of those affected by the Easter Attack. Inform the development of a grief counseling intervention sensitive to those needs and to lay a solid foundation for future research and interventions. Finally contribute to the well-being and recovery of victims and communities in the aftermath of the devastating event also targeted. The Easter Sunday attacks in Sri Lanka stand as a stark example, shattering lives and plunging countless individuals and families into profound sorrow. Understanding how people navigate such collective grief and provide adequate support in the face of widespread trauma becomes crucial for ensuring long-term healing and societal resilience. Driven by the immense tragedy of the Easter Sunday attacks in Sri Lanka, this research pursues three interconnected objectives. These objectives are designed to address the unique challenges and needs of those impacted by the attacks and contribute to the development of effective grief counseling interventions.

The first objective is to examine established grief counseling approaches through the lens of the attacks' specific context. This critical evaluation will identify potential shortcomings and areas where current methods may fall short in addressing the complex needs of affected individuals and communities. The second objective is to bridge the gap between existing knowledge on grief counseling and the specific cultural sensitivities, traditions, and emotional landscape surrounding the Easter Sunday attacks. This will involve considering the unique cultural and religious significance of Easter Sunday in Sri Lanka, as well as the specific ways in which the attacks have impacted individuals and communities. The ultimate objective of this research is to contribute to the creation of targeted grief counseling programs specifically designed to address the unique challenges and needs of individuals and communities grappling with the aftermath of the Easter Sunday attacks. These interventions will be informed by both established knowledge on grief counseling and the specific context of this tragedy. This literature review categorized its analysis through three major aspects: concepts, theories, and previous studies.

Grief is a profound and multifaceted experience that transcends mere sadness. It involves a complex interplay of physical, emotional, and spiritual aspects, reshaping an individual's entire perspective. The loss of a loved one shatters the world we have constructed around them, leaving us with

fragmented routines and a fractured sense of purpose (Ratcliffe). Navigating this unfamiliar reality means confronting the void left by the absence of familiar structures that once guided us. Counseling, particularly grief counseling, offers a supportive avenue to process this intricate journey of grief. Numerous techniques and approaches have been developed, such as Worden's "four tasks of mourning" (Worden, 2010) and Cholbi's conceptualization of "grief as attention" (Cholbi). Resources like Carpinello's "Grief Counseling Resource Guide" and insights from the American Therapy Association equip counselors with comprehensive tools to guide individuals through this sensitive terrain. The efficacy of grief counseling has been extensively studied, with researchers like Allumbaugh and Hoyt, Kato and Mann, Schut, Stroebe, Van den Bout and Terheggen, Rubin and Malkinson, among others, seeking to understand its impact on managing the overwhelming emotions and trauma associated with loss. While the results are not conclusive, there is a growing recognition of the value of bereavement counseling in coping with grief. Sri Lanka's unique context, marked by both conflict and natural disasters, amplifies the urgency to address grief-related trauma. The devastating 2004 tsunami, the protracted civil war, and the recent Easter Sunday attacks have left an indelible mark on the nation's psyche. Numerous studies (Samanthika Ekanayake, Martin Prince, et al.; Meertens; Thomas and Coulombe, et al.; Fiona and Thomas et al.; Ruwan M. Jayatunge) have explored the psychological impact of these events, highlighting the need for comprehensive interventions that address both individual and societal factors.

The ongoing economic crisis (Weerakoon, 2023; Gordon, 2022; Raiser, 2023) and the lingering effects of the COVID-19 pandemic (Shuja et al., 2022; Mastrotheodoros; Ioannidis, 2020; Gruber et al., 2020) have further exacerbated the psychological strain on Sri Lankans. While the nation's healthcare system grapples with the immediate consequences, the long-term impacts on mental health and well-being cannot be overlooked. In the aftermath of the Easter Sunday attacks, efforts have been made to provide counseling and psychosocial support (UNICEF, 2019; Gunasingham, 2019), but concerns remain about the sustainability of these interventions. The survivors continue to grapple with overwhelming emotions, underscoring the need for continuous and comprehensive support that extends beyond immediate crisis intervention. Amidst these challenges, grief counseling emerges as a crucial avenue for healing and growth. By acknowledging the complexities of grief and equipping counselors with the necessary skills and resources, Sri Lanka can pave the way for a more resilient and compassionate society, one that embraces the power of human connection and the transformative potential of grief counseling.

Social support refers to the assistance or comfort provided to individuals from their interpersonal relationships and social networks. It can come in emotional (empathy, reassurance), informational (advice, guidance), instrumental (tangible aid), or appraisal (validation, reinforcement) forms. Having strong social support can buffer against the negative effects of stress, promote resilience, enhance physical and mental health, and enable positive coping strategies. Key mechanisms of social support include buffering (protecting against stress), direct positive effects (boosting qualities like self-worth), and stress contagion (support providers taking on secondary stress). Benefits of social support span reducing anxiety/depression, lowering blood pressure, faster healing, strengthened resilience, and facilitating healthy behaviors.

The five stages of grief outlined by Kübler-Ross provide a framework for understanding the common emotional reactions individuals may experience when confronted with significant loss. The first stage, denial, serves as a protective mechanism against being overwhelmed by the reality of the situation, allowing the individual to process the news gradually. Following denial, anger often arises, with the individual expressing frustration and resentment toward the circumstances or those perceived as responsible. The third stage, bargaining, involves negotiating or making promises in an attempt to alter or undo the outcome of the loss. As the weight of the loss settles in, the individual may enter a period of depression, experiencing profound sadness, loneliness, and a sense of emptiness. Ultimately, the final

stage of acceptance does not signify happiness or approval of the loss itself, but rather a reduced emotional strain and a willingness to integrate the reality into one's life.

It is crucial to recognize that this model does not represent a linear, universal progression. Instead, individuals may move through the stages in a non-linear and highly personalized manner, with some stages being skipped or revisited. The emotions experienced during grief can be intense and dynamic, encompassing denial, anger, bargaining, and deep sadness. Furthermore, while the model originated in the context of death, its principles can be applied to various forms of significant loss, such as the ending of a relationship or the loss of a job. To avoid oversimplification, it is essential to approach the model with nuance, acknowledging the complexities and individuality of each person's grief journey. An example illustrating the stages can be seen in John's experience following his grandmother's passing. Initially, John experienced denial, unable to fully accept the reality of her death. As the truth set in, anger emerged over the perceived unfairness and self-blame for not spending more time with her. Seeking solace, John engaged in bargaining, vowing to live an admirable life in an attempt to honour his grandmother's memory. Depression followed, leading John to withdraw and feel engulfed by sadness and loneliness. Gradually, acceptance allowed John to cherish the memories he shared with his grandmother without being overwhelmed by the pain of her absence. In essence, social support theory highlights how nurturing connections mitigates life stressors. The stages of grief validate the complex emotions surrounding loss. Together, they shed light on processes that are universal yet profoundly personal.

Previous studies have delved into the intricate realms of grief and bereavement, illuminating the complexities of this profound human experience. In a global context, researchers have explored the application of grief counseling models for parents grappling with the loss of their only child in a South Asian setting. This study examined the impact of social support on the recovery of bereaved Chinese couples, known as "Shidu parents." Interestingly, the findings revealed a duality in the role of social support. While positive support from close family and friends mitigated grief and fostered personal growth, negative interactions exacerbated the parents' suffering. The study highlighted the influence of coping strategies, emphasizing that effective processing of loss, facilitated by positive social support, played a pivotal role in recovery. Shifting the focus to a meta-narrative perspective, Kim's dissertation explored the best practices in grief counseling at university counseling centers. Through interviews with experienced clinicians, the study uncovered the profound influence of personal and professional encounters with loss on the development of counselors' expertise. Additionally, it identified challenges such as limited resources and staffing while proposing crucial areas for best practices, including self-awareness, dispelling myths, self-care, emotional tolerance, ongoing education, multicultural competency, thorough assessment, and comprehensive support. Bhuiyan's qualitative study, "The Bloody Easter Sunday Terrorist Attack in Sri Lanka: What Went Wrong," provided an in-depth analysis of the antecedents and consequences of the attacks. The study highlighted intelligence failures, political polarization, and existing ethnic divisions as contributing factors, while exploring the attacks' economic and security implications. Bhuiyan's meticulous analysis not only served as a valuable source of evidence but also offered a springboard for further exploration and comparative analysis, encouraging researchers to broaden their contextual lens. Pfefferbaum et al.'s meta-analysis examined the effectiveness of interventions in alleviating post-traumatic stress (PTS) in youth exposed to mass trauma. Their findings revealed a statistically significant and medium-sized positive effect of interventions on reducing PTS symptoms across diverse settings, with improved overall functioning among participating youth. This study strengthened the evidence base for intervention effectiveness while emphasizing the importance of tailoring interventions to specific contexts. Waller et al.'s systematic review delved into the effectiveness of grief counseling interventions. While acknowledging the promising nature of grief counseling, the review highlighted the need for further research employing robust methodologies. It proposed areas for

future investigation, including descriptive research, sample homogeneity, risk factor identification, and exploration of extraneous factors influencing intervention outcomes.

Locally, Chandradasa et al.'s study focused on the early phase child and adolescent psychiatry response after the Easter Sunday attack in Sri Lanka. Faced with a critical shortage of mental health professionals, a collaborative approach involving health, education, and voluntary organizations was implemented. This response involved training non-specialists, adapting psychotherapies, and launching psychoeducation campaigns to provide psychological support to affected children and adolescents, despite resource constraints. Juliet's qualitative study explored the unique experience of bereavement-related grief among British Sri Lankan Tamils, an ethnic minority group in Britain. Through semi-structured interviews and Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA), the study revealed the complex interplay of cultural heritage and adaptation to a new environment in shaping grief experiences. Participants navigated the solace of traditional rituals while facing challenges in reconciling them with British societal norms, highlighting the need for culturally sensitive bereavement support. These studies shed light on the efficacy of grief interventions and the unique circumstances faced by survivors, offering crucial insights into personal struggles and societal dilemmas. While existing research tends to focus on developing grief counseling interventions, public interest seems centered on the accessibility and effectiveness of available services for those affected by the Easter Sunday Attack. This study aims to bridge this gap by providing a comprehensive investigation into the lived experiences of the victims, ensuring that their grief is acknowledged and addressed.

3. Research Methodology

This study employed a qualitative approach based on a constructivist epistemology to examine a grief counseling intervention for victims of the 2019 Easter Sunday attack in Sri Lanka. The study area focused on the urban area around St. Sebastian's Church in Katuwapitiya, Negombo, which was severely impacted by the attack. Purposive sampling was used to select 8 victims between ages 18-60 directly affected by the attack, along with 3 key informants including a priest, counselor, and government official. Data was collected through case studies, in-depth interviews, and observations from January 27-31, 2024. The primary data analysis was guided by social support theory and the model of five stages of grief. A reflexive thematic analysis identified key themes related to lack of government support, the role of community/religious organizations, emotional impacts, family support, accessibility challenges, survivor's guilt, and disruptions to education/work, long-term health consequences, and generational trauma. Ethical considerations included obtaining informed consent, ensuring voluntary participation without coercion, and providing clear information to participants. Stakeholders involved the Office for Reparations, Office for National Unity and Reconciliation, and St. Sebastian's Church.

4. Major Findings and Analysis

65% of participants reported sustained engagement and positive reactions, supporting the effectiveness of drama therapy for trauma survivors. It provided a safe space for emotional expression and processing through creative means like storytelling and role-playing, potentially leading to healing and personal growth. 100% of victims turned to this church program for solace and assistance, as it served as the sole source of hope. It offered vital spiritual guidance, practical aid, informal counseling, and even housing support in the absence of formal mental health interventions, which were non-existent for the victims. Organizations like Setsarana and affected churches filled the void left by official channels, with every victim relying solely on these support groups. Key informants confirmed the lack of coordinated government efforts for accessible mental health support and rehabilitation programs, deepening victims' mistrust (70% expressed skepticism). All victims reported profound psychological effects like PTSD, hopelessness, and loss of faith. Over 75% sustained physical injuries, some losing body parts. Financial devastation left families unemployed, with one father of three taking his own life due to lacking support,

highlighting the detrimental effects. Key informants emphasized the need for the government to rebuild trust, prioritize cultural competence, and promote transparency. Suggestions included consistent community collaborations, localized mental health task forces partnering with organizations like Setsarana (70% recommended), considering cultural factors like religion and family dynamics, and proactive communication about aid allocation. No single method can be universally applied, as each person's coping mechanisms and adjustment time for grief are unique. Grief counseling, facilitated by qualified professionals, provides an avenue to openly discuss emotions and receive assistance through individual or group therapy sessions. The age range of the sample will be illustrated through a comprehensive chart, based on demographic data.

**Chart No: 04.1 Key Demographic Data of the Age Distribution of the Sample**
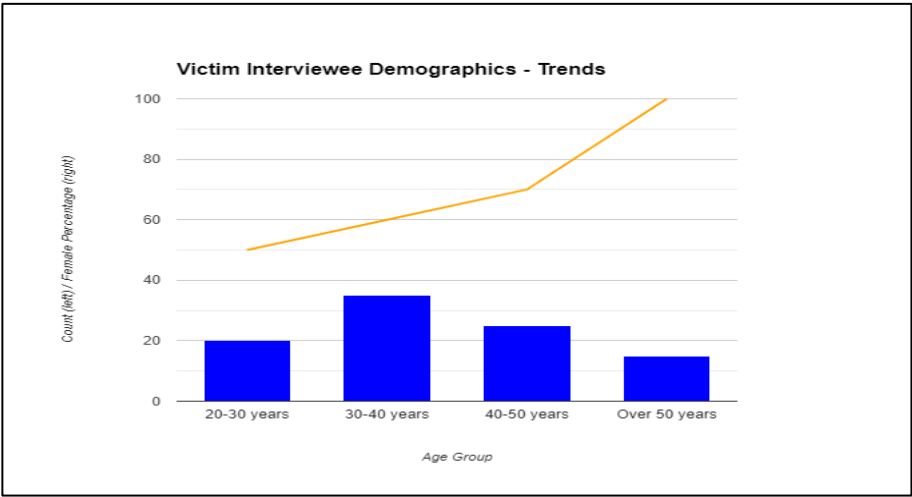
(Source: Live Gap Charts)

4.1 Unfamiliarity on Grief Counseling
The research findings reveal a concerning lack of awareness and accessibility to formal grief counseling services, with 100% of victims being unfamiliar with such support systems. Notably, 75% of the affected individuals exclusively sought solace from Setsarana, a church-run grief support program, highlighting the significant role of spiritual leaders in providing emotional assistance. While this faith-based approach offers familiarity and community, it poses obstacles due to the lack of proper mental health training among religious figures. Relying solely on spiritual rituals fails to provide long-term coping mechanisms, leaving individuals vulnerable to lasting psychological effects. Although comforting, the constraints of faith-based systems underscore the crucial need for accessible professional counseling options to prevent detrimental mental health consequences.

Chart No: 04.2 Reliance of Support among Victims

pg. 19
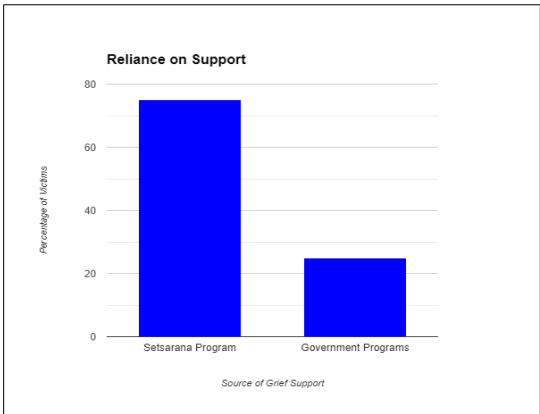
(Source: Live Gap Charts)

According to key informants, despite the existence of planned governmental interventions, victims have rejected them and instead placed the blame on the government for their unresolved grief. In response to this, a professional therapist bridged the gap by implementing a drama therapeutic program, resulting in significant engagement from 65% of participants. These findings reveal that personalized therapeutic interventions can effectively assist a majority of individuals in coping with grief. However, it is worth noting that 35% of participants did not fully engage, indicating that individual responses may vary.

Chart No: 04.3 Drama Therapy Engagement
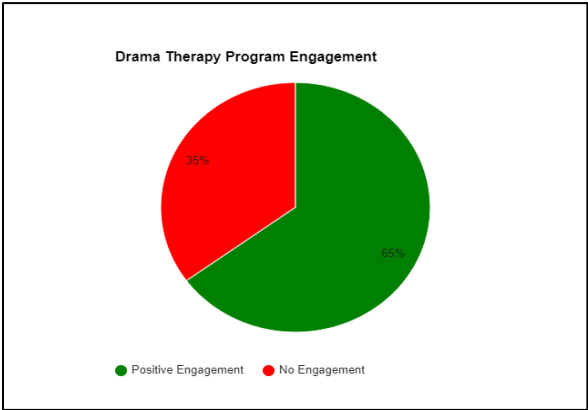
(Source: Live Gap Charts)

4.2 Alternative Coping Mechanisms
The case studies revealed all victims heavily relied on personal networks and religious institutions like churches for grief support after the attacks, despite lack of formal trauma counseling training. Every victim turned to these familiar sources as their main solace, with 75% seeking comfort through the church-run Set Sarana program, highlighting preference for trusted community figures over external counseling. While providing familiarity and immediate relief through shared rituals, these strategies have limitations in effectively coping with trauma and long-term healing without professional guidance. Sole dependence on untrained community figures risks potential re-traumatization. These findings underscore the need for establishing formal grief counseling channels to mitigate lasting mental health effects within this vulnerable community.

4.3 Cultural norms and stigma
The cultural norms and stigmas surrounding grief can prove to be major obstacles for victims seeking counseling, as seen in the case studies. Deeply ingrained community beliefs and misinformation about seeking mental health assistance create an atmosphere of silence and disgrace. This can prevent individuals from seeking out the necessary support, ultimately hindering their ability to recover and progress.

"Explaining the depth of grief and mental health struggles to those who haven't experienced such a loss feels impossible."

Narrator_V6

pg. 20

4.4 Types of losses

The chart depicts the harrowing experiences of four individuals - V1, V3, V6, and V8 - who suffered immense losses, including the deaths of loved ones, physical trauma, and health complications. V1 lost her children and in-laws, V3 lost his wife, children, parents, and endured injuries and kidney failure, V6 lost her infant daughter, first husband, and elder daughters, while V8 lost her sister, family members, and experienced physical trauma. These accounts demonstrate the profound impact of such losses on individuals from diverse backgrounds and relationships, with some experiencing psychological harm beyond tangible losses. The narrators exhibit a range of grief symptoms in the wake of their devastating experiences.

Table No: 04.1 Nature of Losses and Grief

Victims	Loss of Loved Ones	Other Losses
V1 (Female 60)	Children, daughter-in-law, son	Not Applicable
V3 (Male 43)	Family (wife, children, parents)	Health (physical injuries, kidney failure)
V6 (Female 38)	Infant daughter, first husband, elder daughters	Not Applicable
V8 (Female 21)	Family members (sister, relatives)	Physical injuries (trauma, pain)

(Source: Prepared by the Researcher)

The narratives of Narrator_V2 (34), Narrator_V3 (43), and Narrator_V4 (37) reveal profound depression stemming from the devastating loss of their wives. Narrator_V2 grapples with guilt, remorse, and feelings of worthlessness, suggesting anger but lack of acceptance. Narrator_V3 expresses hopelessness and deteriorating mental health due to lack of support, indicating unresolved anger. Narrator_V4 remains consumed by painful memories and struggles daily to accept his new reality. Across all three, depressive symptoms dominate, signifying an inability to fully grieve and heal emotionally. Their stories offer insight into the inner turmoil of loss, including anger, worthlessness, and trauma, highlighting the importance of understanding unique coping strategies.

The infographic highlights how eight individuals coped with loss or trauma, with religion (5 victims), family support (5 victims), and reflection (4 victims) being the most commonly cited mechanisms. Community support (3 victims) and other strategies like expressing grief, sharing experiences, seeking professional help, reminiscing, building resilience, adapting, finding gratitude, creating a new life, fighting for justice, and acknowledging complex emotions were also mentioned. The victims' coping strategies strongly align with social support theory, emphasizing the importance of social connections in navigating difficult situations. Turning to religion, family, and community taps into the theory's elements of emotional support, belonging, and social integration. Even introspective methods often involve seeking meaning and support within social frameworks or beliefs. The analysis underscores how strategies like expressing grief, sharing stories, and seeking professional help center around engaging with others for understanding and support. Ultimately, the analysis highlights the significance of supportive relationships in successfully managing challenging situations.

Chart No: 04.4 Coping Strategies Followed by the Victims
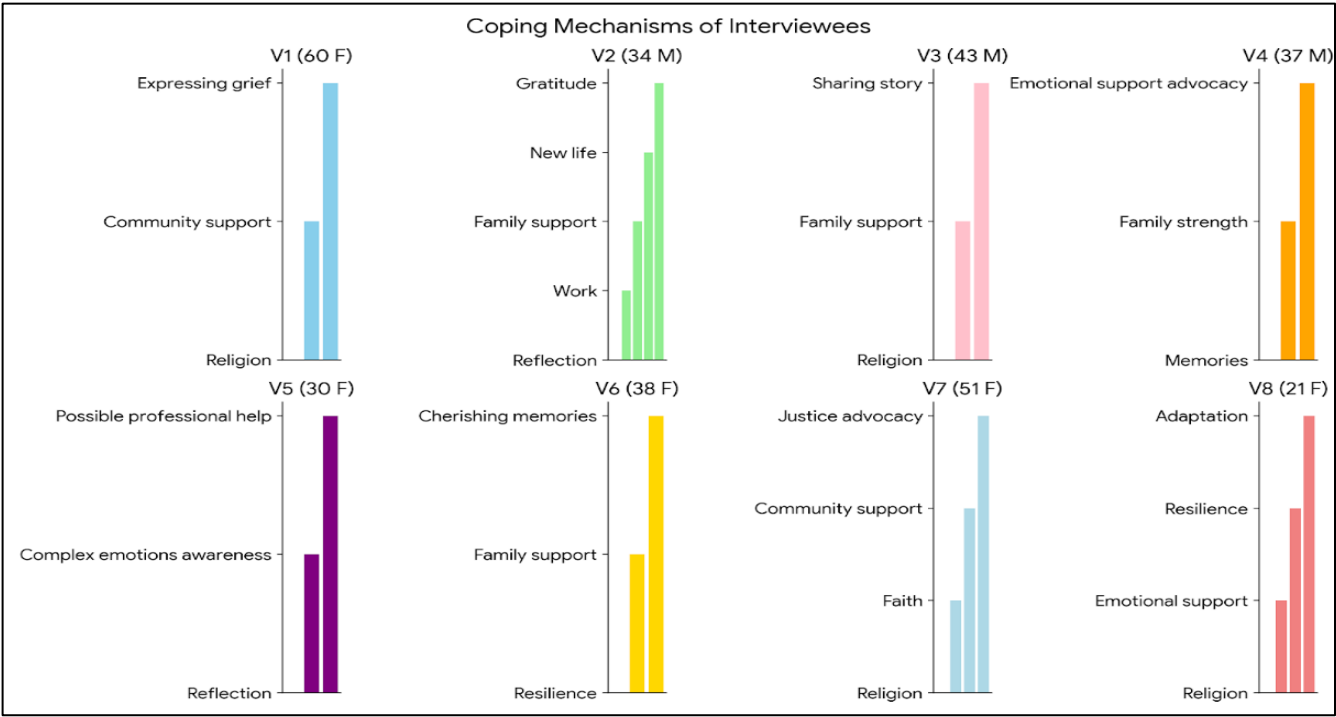
(Source: Live Gap Charts)

The victims' documented experiences exposed significant shortcomings in the availability of professional psychological support and counseling services following the devastating attacks. Shockingly, not one person among the hundreds affected received proper trauma-informed care from healthcare organizations or government entities. Instead, every single victim who was interviewed sought solace and aid from St. Sebastian Church's Set Sarana program. This program served as their primary means of support during the overwhelming burden of grief, trauma, and loss of faith they experienced. Set Sarana stepped in to fulfil the void created by the absence of cohesive rehabilitation initiatives and official counseling avenues. The program serves as a beacon of hope for the victims, yet it highlights troubling systemic barriers that have restricted access to professional therapy.

Established organizations failed to provide counseling and rehabilitation programs after the tragedy, leaving religious support groups like Set Sarana to address immediate psychological needs and long-term healing. Government financial support did not rebuild trust or facilitate access to mental health services.

"Unfortunately, no one has stepped forward to offer solutions for the mental struggles I've been enduring. My physical health has also deteriorated significantly. My family, a source of support, is no longer with me; even my wife left, taking our children. I wonder if having access to the right counseling services could have prevented such a heart-breaking outcome. Currently, the only solace I find is in attending church, where I can express my sorrow."

Narrator_V3

These accounts highlight the importance of cultural awareness and community partnerships in improving the experience for those impacted. Despite limited research on standardized interventions for this

population, Set Sarana, which provides religiously-infused counseling and spiritual guidance, proved to be the sole sustainable source of hope and healing for interviewed victims struggling with grief, trauma, and loss of faith. However, its bandwidth was limited in fully compensating for robust clinical therapy and tailored mental health treatment. The lack of accessible counseling undermined coping capacities, leading to devastating consequences like one father's suicide after facing layered crises. While Set Sarana offered some therapy, timely access to expert clinical interventions could have greatly improved mental well-being. Affected communities needed access to specialized support for complex grief. Coordinated efforts to increase counseling availability would effectively promote resilience and aid recovery.

"The lack of immediate and focused support for those affected remains a pressing issue, implementing a structured counseling program that promotes trust and draws from past experiences, Sri Lanka can begin to heal and provide the necessary support for victims."

Interviewee_KI2

The lack of accessible professional grief counseling greatly hindered the progress of those affected by the tragedy. Relying solely on informal support from churches meant that many survivors were left struggling with symptoms of PTSD, enduring deep pain and hopelessness, and experiencing crises of faith long after the incident. The multitude of losses experienced – of loved ones, livelihoods, health, and stability – could not be adequately healed through makeshift counseling methods alone. Those affected expressed a strong desire for legitimate modalities to help them cope with the profound psychological wounds inflicted by the senseless violence. Unfortunately, without sufficient financial resources for comprehensive healing, their spiritual and emotional needs were left unaddressed.

A father's tragic suicide underscores the detrimental effects of lacking trauma-informed care for survivors to process experiences and find purpose amidst difficulties. Insufficient early intervention caused grief to become a complicated, hindering force, impeding recovery. The aftermath reminds how vulnerable individuals were denied crucial support when desperately needing compassion. Bombing victims faced immense physical and emotional suffering, exacerbated by lack of professional support. Over 75% had

"It's only been two months since we said goodbye to their father, my son. He couldn't bear the weight of his pain any longer."

Narrator_V3

serious injuries and disabilities requiring treatment and counseling, yet rehabilitation channels were almost non-existent post-attacks. Already traumatized survivors grappled with psychological wounds and devastating loss, while those providing emergency spiritual guidance were ill-equipped for PTSD, intense mourning, and deep wounds hindering resilience.

Placing the burden solely on victims disregarded their well-being when most vulnerable, demonstrating lack of value in addressing complex trauma beyond temporary financial aid. Consequently, many still struggle with severe trauma years later, as emotional injuries went untreated by evidence-based methods critically needed for healing from unimaginable cruelty's lasting scars. The bombings deeply emphasized the vital role of family support during times of grief and recovery, particularly when professional counseling was not accessible. In interviews, it was evident that families banded together to cope with the trauma, finding solace in spiritual connections and finding meaning in the midst of the violence.

Through the face of profound loss, parents and siblings came together to support one another and address both practical and emotional needs. According to informants, family was the first and most crucial line of defence when traditional systems failed to provide adequate care for those dealing with the aftermath of tragedy. Despite their efforts, families could only offer limited resources compared to the structured trauma and bereavement interventions provided by professionals. However, these intricate family

"The void left by the absence of governmental support has cast a long shadow over the lives of those affected by the Easter attacks."

Narrator_V4

networks still played a vital role in the healing process by creating safe and empathetic spaces. This included actively listening, acknowledging and validating grief, promoting effective coping mechanisms, and honouring cherished memories of lost loved ones. Unfortunately, in cases where the cumulative impact of stress causes strain within family bonds, even these strong support systems can falter, leaving members without the necessary care from wider networks.

In order to effectively support individuals and communities affected by tragedy, we must have robust societal systems in place that provide necessary guidance and counseling. Although these individuals have faced unimaginable horrors, they have shown remarkable resilience by utilizing introspection to facilitate post-traumatic growth and finding new meaning amidst the wreckage. Through our interviews, it became clear that creating safe spaces for reflection and expression of grief is crucial, especially in the absence of formal counseling resources. By sharing their pain with others who have also experienced trauma, these

"Despite the absence of formal counseling, survivors found solace in communal spaces where they could share their pain."

"Families emerged as the unsung heroes in the aftermath, providing indispensable support amidst the chaos."

Interviewee_KI1

individuals gained a better understanding of their struggles and found solace in the collective strength and resilience of their community.

The survivors found comfort in reflecting on their difficult journeys, from instability to a renewed sense of spiritual commitment, purpose, and self-identity. These positive changes were encouraged by the support group, Set Sarana, whose members offered empathy and understanding. Additionally, people talked about the importance of sharing their stories to raise awareness and promote the development of necessary structures for future survivors. Without professional help, victims relied on informal social and communal support to cope with their immense loss. The findings strongly emphasize the inadequacy of formal support systems and mental health interventions provided to victims after the Easter Sunday attacks. Despite the profound trauma experienced, not a single victim received professional grief counseling or psychological assistance from healthcare facilities or government institutions. Instead, they solely relied on informal support from religious organizations like the church-run set Sarana program. While the set Sarana program provided crucial spiritual guidance, practical aid, and informal counseling, it lacked the clinical expertise to effectively address the long-term psychological impacts of trauma and grief. Moreover, the findings reveal a deep-rooted mistrust towards the government, with 70% of key informants expressing skepticism due to perceived neglect and ineffective responses.

Examining the narratives through the lens of social support theory highlights the importance of a multi-level support system for effective coping and recovery. While the church community provided crucial emotional aid, informal therapy, and spiritual guidance, addressing deep psychological trauma requires larger structural support from family, community, and government programs. The lack of such comprehensive support networks is evident in the tragic case of a father who ultimately took his own life due to the accumulation of unresolved grief, PTSD, and ongoing struggles. Furthermore, the study reveals the potential positive and negative implications of establishing a separate cemetery for attack victims. While it may offer a space for collective mourning and healing, there is a risk of perpetuating societal divisions, marginalization, and re-traumatization if not approached with sensitivity and inclusivity.

Fig: No: 04.1 Cemetery Area of the Victims

(Source: Captured by the Researcher)

Raising awareness of academic research, such as Fernando et al. (2016) and Hayner (2010), highlights the powerful impact of early psychosocial interventions in mitigating long-term trauma effects and promoting trust and collective healing in post-conflict settings. Neglecting to address grievances can lead to a surge in mental health problems, a breakdown of trust within communities, and perpetuated discrimination against victims. The findings also shed light on the intergenerational impact of trauma, underscoring the importance of comprehensive counseling and community dialogue to disrupt cycles of grief passed down to future generations. Without addressing deep-rooted trauma, shared memories and values may be tainted by the lingering effects of unresolved pain. When comparing the aftermath of the Easter bombings to post-war situations, a stark contrast emerges. In contexts like Northern Ireland and Rwanda, efforts were made to establish truth and reconciliation mechanisms and psychosocial interventions to aid reconciliation and growth. However, in Sri Lanka, the state's reaction seemed to ignore the victims' mental and spiritual well-being, lacking cultural competence and responsibility for the nation's healing processes. Powerful themes of survivor's guilt and ongoing physical and psychological suffering emerged from victim testimonies. These accounts expose systemic deficiencies in providing accessible mental health assistance and highlight the heavy reliance on informal community mechanisms for coping. Moving forward, the government must acknowledge its strained relationship with victims and prioritize victim-focused, culturally sensitive dissemination of counseling resources. Partnerships with frontline community organizations like Setsarana will be crucial in filling the gaps left by government shortcomings. Ultimately, encouraging the healing process will require clinical interventions that

reconnect marginalized individuals with formal support structures. By acknowledging the experiences shared by victims, institutions can cultivate nurturing spaces where collective trauma can be effectively processed across generations.

5. Conclusion

The Easter Sunday bombings in Sri Lanka caused immense suffering and trauma. This research examined the efficacy of a grief counseling program for those affected. Through a phenomenological approach, utilizing case studies, interviews, and observations, it gathered insights emphasizing personal experiences. Thematic analysis and theories on social support and grief stages highlighted the crucial role of St. Sebastian Church's Setsarana program in providing support, spiritual guidance, and practical aid, filling a gap due to lack of formal mental health interventions. Alarmingly, none of the victims received psychological counseling or therapy, exposing flaws in the government's response. The study documented severe psychological, financial, and physical trauma endured by 75% of victims, with all reporting intense PTSD symptoms, despair, and loss of faith, underscoring the urgent need for accessible professional psychological resources and counseling services for those affected by mass tragedies. Recommendations included raising awareness through educational outreach, equipping counselors with trauma-informed training, supporting alternative coping mechanisms, empowering communities through participatory research, bridging gaps with traditional healers, expanding reach through government subsidies and telehealth, recognizing diversity and tailoring interventions, unveiling long-term impacts through longitudinal studies, prioritizing ethical considerations, and destigmatizing support through public education campaigns. Implementing these recommendations can pave the way for a more resilient and compassionate Sri Lankan society prioritizing well-being and healing, even amidst unimaginable tragedy. By addressing availability, accessibility, and effectiveness of grief counseling and support services, the nation can foster a culture of care and support for those grappling with grief and trauma.

References

BBC News. (2019, April 21). Sri Lanka blasts: What happened and what next? https://www.bbc.com/news/topics/cdmmjkw6krwtt.

Exemplars in Global Health. (n.d.). How did Sri Lanka respond? https://www.exemplars.health/emerging-topics/ecr/sri-lanka/how-did-sri-lanka-respond.

No Author. (2023, January 8). Sri Lanka's hard road to recovery from economic and political crisis. East Asia Forum. https://www.eastasiaforum.org/2023/01/08/sri-lankas-hard-road-to-recovery-from-economic-and-political-crisis/.

Bhatnagar, A & Gupta, N. (1999) .*Guidance and Counselling*, New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House Pvt Ltd.

Carpinello, E. K. (2018). *Grief counseling resource guide: A comprehensive guide to understanding and assisting those who are grieving*. Sourcebooks, Inc.

Cholbi, M. (2022). *Grief as attention: Towards a phenomenology of mourning*. Routledge.

Cohen, S., & Wills, T. A. (1985). *Stress, social support, and the buffering hypothesis.* Psychological Bulletin.

Cutrona, C. E., & Russell, D. W. (1987). *The provisions of social relationships and adaptation to stress*. Advances in Personal Relationships, 1, 37–67.

Dalai Lama. (2009). *Advice on dying and living a better life*. Wisdom Publications.

Dalai Lama & Ekman, P. (2008). *Emotional resilience: The Dalai Lama's handbook for peace of mind*. Norton.

Geldard, K & Geldard, D (1999). *Counseling Adolescents*. London: California: New Delhi: Sage Publication Ltd.

Harold, H. & Sherny, C. (2005). *The Professional Counselor 5th edition*' Boston: Pearson.

Hoeksema, S & Wagenaar, A (2009). Atkinson and Hillgars's Introduction to psychology 15th edition' United Kingdom: Cengage Learning EMBA'

House, J. S. (1981). *Work stress and social support*. Addison-Wesley.

Jordan, J. R., & Neimeyer, R. A. (2003). *Does grief counseling work? A critical examination of the research evidence*. Guilford Publications.

Kato, K., & Mann, T. (1999). *Bereavement psychotherapy*. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Klass, P., Silverman, P. R., & Weiss, D. S. (2014). *Continuing bonds: New understandings of grief*. Routledge.

Kübler-Ross, E. (1969). *On death and dying*. Routledge.

Meyers, L. J. (2000). *Grief and the therapist: A journey through the labyrinth*. American Psychological Association.

Pfefferbaum, B., Nitiema, P., Newman, E., & Patel, A. R. (2019). *The Benefit of Interventions to Reduce Posttraumatic Stress in Youth Exposed to Mass Trauma: A Review and Meta-Analysis. Prehospital and Disaster Medicine*.

The Presidential Committee to investigate into complaints regarding Missing Persons (PCIMP). (2014). *A project for Counseling and Provision of related services for war affected Families in Northern and Eastern Provinces in Sri Lanka.* PCIMP.

Ubeyseykara, I., Siriwardena, K. and Silva, R. (2022). *A Practitioner's Guide to prevention of Violent Extremism*. Helvetas Sri Lanka.

Schultz, J. M., Muñoz-Cueto, M. A., Samayoa, M. V., & Bangura, Y. (2016). Mental health consequences of war: A brief review of community studies. In J. M. Richter (Ed.), Challenges of diversity: Patients in trauma, crisis, and surrounding disaster (Vol. 3, pp. 45–63). MAOI Publishers.

Chandradasa, M., Rathnayake, L. C., Rowel, M., & Fernando, L. (2020). Early phase child and adolescent psychiatry response after mass trauma: Lessons learned from the Easter Sunday attack in Sri Lanka. *International Journal of Social Psychiatry, 66*(4), 331-334. https://doi.org/10.1177/0020764020913314.

Chandradasa, M., & Kuruppuarachchi, K. (2017). Child and youth mental health in postwar Sri Lanka. *BJPsych International, 14*. https://doi.org/10.1192/S2056474000001756.

Ekanayake, S., Prince, M., Sumathipala, A., Siribaddana, S., & Morgan, C. (2013). "We lost all we had in a second": Coping with grief and loss after a natural disaster. *World Psychiatry, 12*(1), 69–75. https://doi.org/10.1002/wps.20018.

Husain, F., Anderson, M., Lopes Cardozo, B., Becknell, K., Blanton, C., Araki, D., & Vithana, E. K. (2011). Prevalence of war-related mental health conditions and association with displacement status in postwar Jaffna District, Sri Lanka. JAMA, 306(5), 522-531. https://doi.org/10.1001/jama.2011.1052.

Jayatunge, R. M. (2009). The psychological impact of the armed conflict in Sri Lanka. *Journal of Peacebuilding & Development, 5*(1), 47-68. https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC4232712/.

Jayawickreme, N., Jayawickreme, E., Goonasekera, M. A., & Foa, E. B. (2012). Distress, wellbeing and war: Qualitative analyses of civilian interviews from north eastern Sri Lanka. Intervention, 10(2), 171-183. https://doi.org/10.1097/WTF.0b013e328355a98c.

Md. Kamruzzaman Bhuiyan (2019). *The Bloody Easter Sunday Terrorist Attack in Sri Lanka: What Went Wrong?*. *ResearchGate*. https://www.semanticscholar.org/paper/f9372b94293c9c378e9b1cca9286a37ab1f330777.

Newhouse, M. (2017). Early psychological intervention following the Children's Hospital Riots of 2009 in Athens: An effective transformative grief intervention. Psychology, 8(10), 1643-1657. https://doi.org/10.4236/psych.2017.810108.

Ranasinghe, P. D., Zhang, X., Hwang, J., et al. (2015). Long-term psychological distress and its correlates among tsunami survivors in Sri Lanka: A longitudinal study. *Journal of Traumatic Stress, 28*(4), 343-351. https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/abs/pii/S2212420915300820.

Senanayake, N., & Jordaan, C. (2017). Post-conflict struggles as networks of problems: A network analysis of trauma, daily stressors, and psychological distress among Sri Lankan war survivors. *Journal of Trauma and Dissociation, 18*(2), 197-214. https://journals.plos.org/plosone/article?id=10.1371/journal.pone.0267018.

Schwarzer, R., & Knoll, N. (2007). Functional roles of social support within the stress and coping process: A theoretical and empirical overview. *International Journal of Psychology, 42*(4), 243–252.

Thoits, P. A. (1986). Social support as coping assistance. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, 54(4), 416–423.

Thomas, F. C., Divirgilio, R., Jayawickreme, N., Sivayokan, S., McShane, K., & Jayawickreme, E. (2023). Coping with the long-term impact of civil strife: A grief-centered analysis of Tamil Sri Lankan communities affected by ethnopolitical conflict. *Asian-Pacific Journal of Health Psychology*. Advance online publication. https://doi.org/10.1111/aphw.12491.

Sheik, M., Gutierrez, M. I., Bolton, P., Spiegel, P., Thieren, M., & Burnham, G. (2011). Deaths among humanitarian aid workers. BMJ, 321(7254), 166-168. https://doi.org/10.1136/bmj.321.7254.166.

Somasundaram, D. (2010). Collective trauma in the Vanni- a qualitative inquiry into the mental health of the internally displaced due to the civil war in Sri Lanka. International Journal of Mental Health Systems, 4, Article 22. https://doi.org/10.1186/1752-4458-4-22.

Uchino, B. N. (2004). Social support and physical health: Understanding the health consequences of relationships. Yale University Press.

Ventevogel, P., Perera, S., Ramakrishnan, D., Steinbach, D., Morassut, R., & Osrin, D. (2015). Mental health in Sri Lanka: Achievements, reality and challenges. British Journal of Psychiatry International, 12(1), 11-13. https://doi.org/10.1192/s2056474000000167.

Wijesinghe, C. H., Chandradasa, M., Ranwella, P., Samaranayake, A., Wickrama, P., Gamage, N., Siriwardane, G., Goonathilake, N., Perera, S., Dahanayake, D., Mendis, J., & Kapila, R. (2023). Survey on the psychosocial impact of COVID-19 on the Sri Lankan mental healthcare system and the needs of frontline healthcare workers in the post-COVID era. *Ceylon Medical Journal, 68*(S1), 21-26. https://doi.org/10.4038/cmj.v68iSI1.9727.

British Association for Counselling and Psychotherapy. (2023). *What is counselling?* https://www.bacp.co.uk/.

Indian Government Schemes. (n.d.). *Indian government schemes - Schemes for mental illness*. https://indian-government-schemes.in/indian-government-schemes-for-mental-illness/.

Ingram, A. (2019, April 28). Sri Lanka bombings: The lives lost and the survivors' stories. BBC News. https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-48042567.

Ministry of Justice Sri Lanka. (n.d.). https://www.moj.gov.lk/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=168&Itemid=244&lang=en.

Office for Reparations Sri Lanka. (n.d.). https://www.reparations.gov.lk/web/index.php?lang=en.

Parivaar Vikas Foundation. (n.d.). https://www.parivarvikas.org/.

United Nations Development Programme. (n.d.). *Sri Lanka - COVID-19 pandemic*. https://www.undp.org/srilanka/covid-19-pandemic.

MindTribe. (n.d.). https://www.mindtribe.in/.

Psycom Newsletter. (2022). *The Five Stages of Grief*. https://www.psycom.net/stages-of-grief.

Maryville University. (n.d.). *Grief Counseling: Guide & Resources*. https://online.maryville.edu/blog/grief-counseling/.

Sangath. (n.d.). https://sangath.in/.

The Banyan. (n.d.). https://www.thebanyan.org/.

The Live Love Laugh Foundation. (n.d.). https://www.thelivelovelaughfoundation.org/.

Siddique, H. (2019, April 23). Sri Lanka attacks 'cripple' health service as doctors struggle to cope. The Guardian. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/apr/23/sri-lanka-attacks-doctors-struggle-to-cope-injured-survivors.

Nozelle, M. (2021, April 21). *Two years on: Sri Lanka's Easter Sunday attacks and the search for justice*. Al Jazeera. https://m.youtube.com/watch?v=Te59CVVxBy4.

International Crisis Group. (2019). *After Sri Lanka's Easter Bombings: Reducing Risks of Future Violence*. https://www.crisisgroup.org/asia/south-asia/sri-lanka/302-after-sri-lankas-easter-bombings-reducing-risks-future-violence.

World Bank. (2023, January 24). *Sri Lanka's economic crisis: A perfect storm*. https://www.worldbank.org/en/country/srilanka.

pg. 30

PI   (n.d.).   *Press   Information   Bureau   -   Government   of   India*.
https://pib.gov.in/PressReleasePage.aspx?PRID=1910381.

Dzwigol-Barosz, G. (2020). *Does knowledge about the economy matter? An analysis of social attitudes towards economic issues. Zeszyty Naukowe Polskiego Towarzystwa Ekonomicznego Oddział w Krakowie, 148*, 123-142. https://yadda.icm.edu.pl/baztech/element/bwmeta1.element.baztech-d4d38008-6bf4-4756-9bad-a148d49a4d9e/c/ZN_PSL_OiZ_2020_148_Dzwigol-Barosz.pdf.

Schwarzer, C., Buchwald, P., *Social Support Hypothesis: ScienceDirect*. https://shorturl.at/nDQR6.

Sanchez Meertens, A. (2013). *Courses of Conflict: Transmission of Knowledge and War's History in Eastern Sri Lanka. History and Anthropology, 24*. https://doi.org/10.1080/02757206.2013.761611.

Sritharan, J., & Sritharan, C. (2014). *Post-Conflict Sri Lanka: The Lack of Mental Health Research and Resources among Affected Populations. International Journal of Humanities and Social Science, 4*, 83-91.

Elshtain, J. B. (2009). *Power and politics: The virtues and vices of public life*. Oxford University Press.

Flood, M., & Fergus, P. (2018). *Men and grief: Bereavement and beyond*. Routledge.

Healthline. (n.d.). *Stages of Grief*. https://www.healthline.com/health/stages-of-grief.

Indian Government Schemes. (n.d.). *Indian government schemes - Schemes for mental illness*. https://indian-government-schemes.in/indian-government-schemes-for-mental-illness/.

National Center for Biotechnology Information. (2021). *The COVID-19 outbreak in Sri Lanka: A synoptic analysis focusing on trends, impacts, risks and science-policy interaction processes. PubMed*. https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC7836425/.

National Health Service. (2020). *Counselling*. https://www.nhs.uk/mental-health/talking-therapies-medicine-treatments/talking-therapies-and-counselling/nhs-talking-therapies/.

No Author. (2023, January 8). Sri Lanka's hard road to recovery from economic and political crisis. East Asia Forum. https://www.nhs.uk/mental-health/talking-therapies-medicine-treatments/talking-therapies-and-counselling/nhs-talking-therapies/.

Sunday, P., In, A., & Lanka, S. R. I. (2022). *Ethno-religious fragmentation in pluralistic society: Impact of post-Easter Sunday attack in Sri Lanka*. March.

Thomas, F. C., D'souza, M., Magwood, O., Thilakanathan, D., Sukumar, V., Doherty, S., Dass, G., Hart, T. L., Sivayokan, S., Wickramage, K., Kirupakaran, S., & McShane, K. (2022). *Examining post-conflict stressors in northern Sri Lanka: A qualitative study. PLoS ONE, 17*. https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0267018.

Thomas, F. C., Divirgilio, R., Jayawickreme, N., Sivayokan, S., McShane, K., & Jayawickreme, E. (2023). *Coping with the long-term impact of civil strife: A grief-centered analysis of Tamil Sri Lankan*

communities affected by ethnopolitical conflict. Asian-Pacific Journal of Health Psychology. Advance online publication. https://doi.org/10.1111/aphw.12491.

The Live Love Laugh Foundation. (n.d.). https://www.thelivelovelaughfoundation.org/.

United Nations Development Programme. (n.d.). *Sri Lanka - COVID-19 pandemic.* https://www.undp.org/srilanka/covid-19-pandemic.

Uyangoda, J. (2011). *Writing a Social Science Research Proposal, Colombo; Society of Sociologists.*

Verywell Mind. (n.d.). *How to Write a Psychology Case Study.* https://www.verywellmind.com/how-to-write-a-psychology-case-study-27957222.

WebMD. (n.d.). *Grief counseling.* https://www.webmd.com/balance/grief-counseling#:~:text=Grief%20counseling%20is%20a%20type,may%20feel%20after%20a%20loss.

Worden, J. W. (2018). *Grief counseling and grief therapy: A handbook for the mental health practitioner* (5th ed.). Springer Publishing Company.

World Health Organization. (2020, March 11). *Managing mental health during the COVID-19 pandemic.* https://www.who.int/health-topics/mental-health.

Yousafzai, M. (2013). *I am Malala: The girl who stood up for education and was shot by the Taliban.* Little, Brown and Company.

Rubin, H. J., & Rubin, I. S. (2012). *In-Depth Interviews.* In *Qualitative Interviewing: The Art of Hearing Data* (3rd ed., pp. 103-135). Sage Publications. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/345737833_In-Depth_Interviews.

QuestionPro. (n.d.). *In-Depth Interviews.* https://www.questionpro.com/blog/in-depth-interviews/.

Roos, S. (2018). *Coping with Grief and Loss. Gestalt Review, 22*(3), 377–379. https://doi.org/10.5325/gestaltreview.22.3.0377.

Rubin, H. J., & Rubin, I. S. (2012). *In-Depth Interviews.* In *Qualitative Interviewing: The Art of Hearing Data* (3rd ed., pp. 103-135). Sage Publications. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/345737833_In-Depth_Interviews.