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LIVED EXPERIENCES OF EJK VICTIM'S FAMILIES: AN INTERPRETATIVE PHENOMENOLOGICAL STUDY

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Abstract

This study utilized Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) to understand the issue of extrajudicial killing (EJK) in relation to the families of the victims. It specifically aims to explore their lived experiences and the patterns of their meaning-making. From the data gathered through unstructured interviews and drawings of five participant families, three superordinate themes that centered on their journey towards being an incomplete family emerged: [1] experience of being aware of victim's drug involvement and the process of disaffirming it [2] experience of emotional struggles and the process of seeking justice and [3] experience of the reality of loss and the process of living with it. In addition, four superordinate themes arose with respect to their reflections which were brought by the death of the victim: [1] Drugs are destructive to the family [2] Philippine society is in chaos [3] loss of sanctity of life and [4] God is the ultimate refuge. The results discussed in the light of Filipino concepts and theories suggest that integral to the family dynamic of victim's families

was the concept of kapwa and this played a role in their experience of the adverse effect of the killing and in their effort to rebuild their family.

Keywords

Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis, Extrajudicial Killings, Lived Experiences, Victim's Families, Kapwa.

1. Introduction

Lived experience is the cornerstone of many qualitative studies for the past years (Hallberg, 2008; Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011). This is especially true in studies that involve phenomenological reflection because its beginning and end is said to be in the 'intelligibility' of lived experiences (Burch, 1990). Lived experience is rooted on the German word, 'Erlebnis' which means "what unfolds and endures from life by virtue of life itself" (Burch, 1990). Hence, the essence of lived experience comes from our awareness of it and its evaluative aspect (Burch, 1990; Throop, 2003).

With such feature of lived experiences, it has been effectively used in better understanding of human experience and other phenomena (Canadian Centre on Substance Abuse, 2013; Willig, 2013). By focusing on lived experiences, insights into the personal and public side of the social are gained and interlinked. This tends to make it especially relevant to the marginalized groups of which EJK Victim's families seemed to belong (Wessels, 2014; Franco, Debarre, Roberts, Roesch, Bowen, & Nisa, 2016). This leads to the principal objectives of the study.

- To explore the lived experiences of EJK victim's Families.
- To make sense of their experience regarding the said death of their family member.

The lived experiences of people surrounding EJK might be highly reflective and meaningful. This might then shed light on the said social issue, and give voice to its victims.

1.2 The Issue of Extrajudicial Killings (EJK)

Extrajudicial killings (EJK) have been a persistent global issue since the early 1940s and result to formulation of many local and international laws that aim to fully eradicate it (Pangilinan, 2012; Parreño, 2011; & Henckaerts, 2005). However, cases of it continue to grow that the International Statistics on Crime and Justice reported by Harrendorf, Heiskanen, & Malby (2010) showed an increase in its incidence all over the world.

In the Philippines, EJK remain to be the root of the continued international criticisms received by the Filipino Government (Amnesty International, 1976; Kaufman & Fagen, 1981; Gonzales, 2011; Parreño, 2011; Morallo, 2017; & Torres, 2016). It started to become so

rampant during the Marcos administration due to the imposition of Martial Law (Amnesty International, 1988; & Reyes 2016). It had been used as a counterinsurgency strategy of the government and continued until the Arroyo's and Aquino's. (Martin, 2015; Sauler & Burgos Jr, 2015; Amnesty International, 2011). Aquino's successor, President Rodrigo Duterte, appeared to also allow and tolerate extrajudicial killings (Ranada, 2016; Casiño, 2016; & Clarke, 2016).

1.3 Drug-Related EJK

In the present administration, EJK is seemed to be directed against the rampant illegal drug use in the country. In fact, as of January 9, 2017, a total of 4,146 cases of drug-related killings occurred outside police operations and 3, 271 of it were categorized as “deaths under investigation” (Bueza, 2016).

Drug-related EJK seemed to be viewed in two lenses. The first view was proved to be victim-centered. It discusses EJK with primary focus on the killed victims and their moral status since they were involved in illegal drugs. It debates whether the victim deserves condemnation or sympathy (Saunar, 2014; Casiño, 2016; Morallo, 2017). The second view on EJK extends to the victims' families. This view was infrequently taken but proved that the issue of EJK really extends beyond the victims and has an immeasurable impact on victims' families.

1.4 The Impact of Drug-Related EJK on Victim's Families

In the case of families of victims of drug-related EJK, the available studies consistently focused upon only three elements that constitute their experiences as a result of the loss of their family members. These are legal obstacles, economic difficulties and violation of emotional integrity (Clarke, 2016).

The families of EJK victims experience difficulties in investigation and prosecution (Pangilinan, 2012). Difficulties in these are commonly seen in the apparent poor policing and the lack of cooperation and reluctance to testify on the part of the witnesses (Human Rights Watch, 2007; Human Rights Watch, 2011; Ateneo Human Rights Center, 2017; Amnesty International, 2017; Pangilinan, 2012). Also, EJK lacks formal, legislated and clear definition which makes it harder for prosecutors to solve and close cases because of an undefined scope of what kinds of killing constitute such.

The overall standard of living was also identified to be adversely affected (Pangilinan, 2012). Since EJK victims are often identified as the breadwinners of their families, their death marked a greater economic suffering experienced by the families left behind (Center for Trade Union and Human Rights, 2011). With the loss of a productive household member

comes a resulting diminished household income thereby having significant impact on household budgeting and a family's quality of life (Corden & Hirst, 2013).

Aside from these, it was also found that even their emotional integrity was negatively affected. The loss of a family member who was killed without due process of law brought general feelings of hopelessness to the family (Pangilinan, 2012). Given the fact that EJK often ends unresolved, the recovery of families from the death of a family member is made more difficult. Also, families have consistently experienced fears of retribution (Sheppard, 2007) that made them leave their communities in order to ensure safety (Clarke, 2012). To sum it up, EJK brought feelings of hopelessness, prolonged grief and fear to the families of victims.

2. Methodology

2.1 Design

This research utilized Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) to acquire in-depth understanding of the experiential claims of victim's families of extrajudicial killing. This method is dedicated on detailed exploration of personal meaning and lived experiences of a particular person studied under a particular context (Smith and Osborn, 2015). Accordingly, such is made possible by the three methodological influences inherent to it namely phenomenology, hermeneutics and idiography.

IPA is phenomenological as it involves detailed examination of an individual's lived experience (Charlick, Pincombe, McKellar & Fielder, 2016; Smith & Osborn, 2015; Larkin & Thompson, 2012). Simultaneously, in order to attain an 'insider's perspective', it involves double hermeneutics whereby as the participant makes sense of his world, the researcher is also trying to think about 'what it means' for the participant to express his concerns and claims in a particular situation (Larkin et al., 2006; Smith & Osborn, 2015). Finally, IPA features idiography, the microscopic examination of an experience of a particular group of people.

2.2 Sampling

Purposive sampling was used since the data collection of IPA is usually based on this technique whereby participants were selected in accordance to the criteria of relevance to the research questions (Willig, 2013). Accordingly, five families of Extra-Judicial Killings' victims were chosen so as to be committed on a detailed interpretative account of the cases (Smith & Osborn, 2015).

2.3 Instrument

Unstructured interviews and drawings were utilized because they both permit the freedom of the participants' system of relevancy to unfold (Hofisi, Hofisi & Mago, 2014; Gray, 2009; 2014; Hammer, 1980; Guillemin, 2004). As such, they were deemed as capable of letting the very result of the study to emerge from the participants which plays a significant role in the exploration of the participant's experience from his or her perspective in Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (Willig, 2013).

2.4 Data Analysis

In accordance with the steps suggested by Smith, Flowers, and Larkin (2009) as discussed in Willig (2013) when doing IPA, the data analysis began by reading and re-reading the verbatim transcript. Simultaneous with the re-reading process is the production of wide-ranging and unfocused notes about the text.

After this, the researchers returned to the beginning of the transcript to take note of the emerging themes. Here, the initial notes were transformed into concise phrases which aim to capture the essential quality of what was found in the text.

Based on the observed relationships and patterns, themes were organized by placing subordinate themes under superordinate themes that have to be labeled. To ensure that the clusters of themes make sense in relation to the original data, the researchers have gone back and forth the initial list of themes and the participant's account. The end product of this was a summary table of structured themes. The researchers integrated the summary table of each participant's case and was translated into narrative accounts as the researchers underwent the writing process.

3. Results

Data analysis established three (3) superordinate themes under the journey of victims' families towards being an incomplete family. These encapsulate the lived experiences of the participants (Objective 1); and four (4) superordinate themes emerged with respect to their reflections which embody their meaning-making (Objective 2).

Table 1: Superordinate and Subordinate Themes of the Journey of Victims' Families towards Being an Incomplete Family

SUPERORDINATE THEMES	SUBORDINATE THEMES
Experience of Being Aware of Victim's Drug Involvement and the Process of Disaffirming It	Feelings of Worry
	Feelings of Anger
	Advising the victim to stop using/selling drugs
	Convincing the victim to surrender under the Tokhang program of the government
	Separating the victim from the cause of his drug involvement
Experience of Emotional Struggles and the Process of Seeking Justice	Grief for the loss of a family member
	Indignant to the incident and the perpetrators
	Filing a case complaint
	Hopelessness for Case Resolution
	Actions to Raise Public Awareness
Experience of the Reality of Loss and the Process of Living with It	Recognition and Acceptance of One's Family Incompleteness by Reframing the Death as a Mean for Greater Ends
	Rebuilding of the Family by Asserting Financial Stability
	Empowerment of the Family by Establishing Relationship with Other EJK Victims' Families

The first, second and third superordinate themes revolved on the families' journey towards being an incomplete family. The first superordinate theme centered on the experience of being aware of victim's drug involvement and the process of disaffirming it. This experience was surrounded by feelings of worry, and feelings of anger that manifested on their action of advising the victim to stop using/selling drugs; convincing the victim to surrender under the tokhang program of the government and separating the victim from the cause of his drug involvement.. This was best captured in the excerpt of Family No. 3 below:

"We're worried. We cannot accept that because we know that drugs can really costs you your life. That's infuriating... come to think of it, just because of drugs our family got broken. He should have not used [drugs]...I already told my father to stop his vice. I even asked him to go back to Masbate... I gave him three-five for his fare because it's getting worse in Navotas. More and more are being killed... Even my uncle, I also brought him to my work to be far from Navotas."

Despite the clear efforts of the family to put an end to the drug involvement of the victim, the killing still happened. This led us to the second superordinate theme which focused on their experience of emotional struggles and the process of seeking justice. This experience encompassed the grief for the loss of a family member which was compounded by

their indignation towards the incident and the perpetrators. This experiences were further described by the process of seeking justice which involved filing of a case complaint. However, due to slow justice system, lack of witness and financial support they felt hopeless. It was worth noting that upon such failure, they rechannelled their efforts to raising public awareness. This was shown in the statement of Family No. 4:

"We're not sleeping. We could not sleep anymore... We're really depressed... I cried all night and refused to eat... It's true that you'd feel thrice as much pain when you lost a son. Even swallowing food becomes painful. I lost so much weight."

Finally, the third superordinate theme was mirrors family participants' experience of the reality of loss and the subsequent process of living with it. This experience was initially marked by recognition of the family incompleteness, acceptance of one's family beyond the death by reframing the killing as a mean for greater ends, rebuilding of the family by asserting financial stability, and empowerment of the family by establishing relationship with other EJK victims' families. This was reflected in the words of Family Participant No. 2:

"The reason why I drew a flower was because for me a flower has a lot of challenges to overcome... just like us. It has to go through a number of stages before it blooms that's why I can relate it with our family. Also, flowers with full grown petals are more beautiful and it was the same for complete families which looks happier when together. But now that he got killed, it was as if our family turned into a withered flower. Sometimes, I couldn't help it but wonder why it happened to us. Maybe because we're being used by God to expose the rotten side of our society. To tell the society that there was an EJK that's happening and it was evil. Maybe we are to become the voice that would tell our society that something has to be rectified."

Table 2: Superordinate and Subordinate Themes of the Reflections of the EJK Victim's Families Brought by the Incident

SUPERORDINATE THEMES	SUBORDINATE THEMES
Drugs are destructive to the Family	Drugs are source of familial conflict
	Drugs creates a permanent structural void in the family
Philippine Society is in Chaos	EJK is a State-Sponsored Killing
	Status-based Killings
Loss of sanctity of life	Indiscriminant and Rampant Drug-related Killings
	Inhumane way of killing
God is the Ultimate Refuge	Closer relationship with God
	God will help them recover
	Justice is of the Lord's

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Through a process of looking back, the family participants were able to make sense of their experiences which led them to come up with various reflections. The first superordinate theme revolved on the insight that drugs are indeed destructive to the family. This portrayed drugs as source of familial conflict and a potential antecedent that could create a permanent structural void in the family. This was well illustrated in the statement and drawing of Family Participant No.1 :

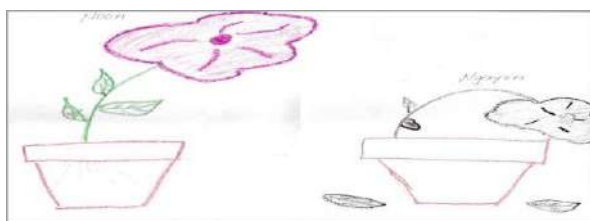


Figure 1: Drawing of the First Representative of Family Participant No.1

"Ah, in the 'before' part I drew a colorful flower in a pot because that's like our family before. Our life was colorful because we're still complete. Now, the flower withered and became black because he's already gone. The color was black because our lives became dull and sad since we're now incomplete. "

On the other hand, the second superordinate theme centered on the perception that the Philippine society is in chaos. This is apparent to EJK which they regarded to be a state-sponsored and status-based killing which all signify the blatant disregard for human rights. This was mirrored in the following statement of Family Participant No. 4:

"As long as it's Duterte who reigns, nothing good will happen. Because the order comes from him. Will the police act that way if it was without his blessing?... Oh my God Duterte! We voted you.' I voted him because I thought he's not like that..."

The third superordinate theme focused on the loss of sanctity of life which is further marked with the indiscriminant and rampant drug-related killings as well as the inhumane way of killing. As seen below:

"It's like nothing for them, they just kill people. Just like that. As if they're just killing rats... a lot of people are becoming victims of it. Just like my uncle, he's just mistaken for someone. He just had the same name with the real target.. My cousin who just came here also got killed... And those they're killing are mostly cases of mistaken identity."- Family Participant No. 3

Lastly, the fourth superordinate theme pivoted on the realization that God is the ultimate refuge. This is marked with a closer relationship with God and the belief that He will help them recover and that Justice is of Him. This is depicted in the following statements:

"I've been really praying for them since I know that it's only God who can solve this because nothing is impossible for Him... It's all up to him... We also pray that nothing much will change in our family despite of what happened to Dad and that we can still move forward. We believe that God will help us keep in our minds that Dad is still here with us, that we can still continue our lives and recover."- Family participant No.1

4. Discussion

The findings of the study appeared to suggest that EJK victim's families have indeed became part of the journey of the involvement in drugs of their family member. This parallels with the fact that Filipino society highly value one's family and its interest is always prioritized (Tan, 1997; Tarroja, 2010). This Filipino value is seemed to be exemplified in the concept of Kapwa which is at the core of Filipino culture and society. This concept highlights Filipino families as the primary source of personal identity and as such, treating one another as oneself (Sizoo & Lang, 2010).

Generally, the dynamic in EJK victim's families in relation to the drug involvement of their family member tends to demonstrate the first and second to the last level and mode of interaction identified by Enriquez (1976) as cited in Pe-Pua and Protacio-Marcelino (2000) namely pakikipagpalagayang-loob (being in- rapport with/understanding/acceptance with) and pakikisangkot (getting involved). Mainly because inherent to victim as a family member was the treatment based on recognition that he was a kapwa and hindi-ibang-tao (one-of-us). However, the awareness of the victim's drug involvement appeared to elevate the familial interaction to pakikisangkot. As seen in the narratives of EJK victim's families, they did various things to stop the victim from being entangled with illegal drugs. This seemed to be initiated by their feelings of worry and anger. The feelings of worry can be likely understood by the family sense of right and wrong which then brought about kagandahang-loob (beauty-of-will) towards the victim. Kapwa is actualized through it since it implies having a genuine concern for the person (Reyes, 2015). On the other hand, feelings of anger suggest the

Filipino value of *hiya* (Propriety) uphold by the family participants. The drug involvement of the victim appeared to trample the family's honor in the community.

Despite the displayed disaffirming actions of the family, the worst consequence that they had foreseen still happened — the killing. This adversely affected them and consequently became an impetus for their journey towards being an incomplete family. Accordingly, the journey of the families appeared to be shaped by two kinds of forces that encapsulated their whole experience. The first one seemed to stem from their initial orientation which was directly focused on the death of the victim and the feelings brought by it.

Within the context of the Filipino family, the loss of a loved one due to a violent and unexpected death is said to be the most agonizing and enduring (Teno et al., 2004 as cited in Pentaris, 2010). As mentioned earlier, in the Filipino psyche, *kapwa* reflects a sense of equality that is rooted from the recognition of an “inner self shared with others”. Therefore, anything adverse done to one of its members emanates to the whole family. Hence, the damages directed against the dignity of the victim were seemed to be regarded by the family participants as damages that were also directed to them.

This explains the reason why they felt indignation towards the incident and the perpetrators which appeared to consequently ignite their *lakas ng loob*. This value that is directed to actualize the good that extends to one's *kapwa* (Enriquez, 1992 as cited in Reyes, 2015) was seen in their desire for standing up against their perceived injustice and their actions to file a case complaint. However, due to the slow justice system they felt hopeless for its resolution. Despite this, the families' *lakas ng loob* appeared to continue since this value has the capacity to set forth social impact with the valor of one which initiates the goodness and courage of others (de Guia, 2005 as cited in Reyes, 2015). Accordingly, the families transcended the initial direction towards the *kapwa* within the family and proceeded to include the actualization of goodness in the *kapwa* outside it. This was manifested by the actions of the families to raise public awareness on EJK.

The second force that shaped the journey of the families towards being an incomplete family seemed to have its origin from their orientation that centered on addressing the lasting consequences of the loss of their loved ones. The results suggest that this process of addressing starts with the recognition of the excruciating feelings of incompleteness. According to Loyola and Mendoza (2013) this demands time and willpower to be overcome and in the case of victims' families, the difficulties in dealing with such loss were apparent. However, it appeared that their capacity towards *katatagang-loob* is the one that has

facilitated their experience of the reality of loss. Evidently, they were able to act with of emotional strength and display self-endurance and self-durability in the face of affliction, thereby manifesting the spirit of undying resiliency which defines *katatagang-loob* (Tiango, 2005; Guthrie and Azores as cited in Daloo, 2015).

Beyond the recognition of the family incompleteness that was facilitated by *katatagang-loob*, a unique part of the experiences of the victims' families seemed to ensue — the experience of *pagbabagong-dangal*. In the case of the victims' families, the *pagbabagong-dangal* that appeared to occur among them seemed to empower them. This empowerment made it possible for them to not just recognize but accept their families as incomplete instead of allowing the incident to wholly define them. This acceptance was embodied in their change of perspective when looking at the killing that happened. The families were able to reframe the meaning of such incident and see it as a mean for greater ends.

Addressing the permanent consequences of the death of the victim continued in participants' efforts to rebuild their respective families. The rebuilding of the family initially involved the taking-over of the role left by the victim. Carandang (1987) as cited in Puente (2000) coined the term *mananalo* (helper) to describe this phenomenon in Filipino family dynamic. Since all the victims in this study occupied the significant family role of being providers, the family participants were left to acknowledge the reality of poverty. This gave them no other choice but to readily act on it, thereby assuming the role of a *mananalo* (Puente, 2000). Financial stability is said to be an important factor in maintaining a functional family (Conger, Conger & Martin, 2010; Mokomane, 2012). Hence, to continue being together and whole despite the loss of one family member, the family has to continue in their pursuit of becoming financially stable (Walker, 2001; The Military REACH Team, 2014).

Aside from this, it appeared that the ultimate effort of the victims' families in their process of living as an incomplete family was directed to build a social network with other victims' families. As previously established, *kapwa* implies the unity of the “self” and “others” (Enriquez, 1994). Accordingly, the victims' families seemed to be able to have a shared identity with other families since they all encountered the same painful experience, and this led them to establish personally meaningful connections with one another (Enriquez, 1992 as cited in Tsekeris, 2017). These connections became the source of their social support which seemed to contribute in their empowerment.

The entire experience of EJK victim's families brought realizations that appeared to initially follow a negative course but later detour to a more positive path. Obviously, the

killing was regarded by the families as actions that destroy social harmony and this could be the moral force that led them to draw realizations that drugs are destructive not just to their families but to the society at large. Apparent to these realizations is the centrality of the idea that drugs and the consequent war against it became a tool to oppress the marginalized segments of the society. This is supported with numerous reports published various forms of mass media. In fact, in an article of Boyle and Carlos (2017), the program of the Philippine government was identified to be a program which has ‘led to the killings of thousands of the most vulnerable, beaten down and impoverished Filipinos.’

In addition, their aforementioned realizations can be likely understood as products of their perception that their whole experience had undermined the societal values that are fundamental to Filipinos. Such include *karangalan* (dignity), *katarungan* (justice), and *kalayaan* (freedom). Firstly, reflections about drugs being destructive to family seemed to prove that being entangled with it can threaten their families’ *karangalan*. As depicted in the results, drugs are considered by families not just being addictive but a factor that can lead an individual to commit crimes which can take from the person his true worth as perceived and judged by others which is identified by Salazar (1985) to be an important aspect of dignity which then emanated to the whole family. In addition, EJK opposes the sense of *katarungan* in the society as it trampled the rights or *karapatan* bestowed upon the person as a human being and *kapwa*. Justice within the Filipino context is construed as a value which tantamounts to *karapatan* (Diokno, 1987). Lastly, the loss of sanctity in life which is seen in rampant and indiscriminate killings that were carried out in inhumane ways appeared to take away the *kalayaan* (freedom) to live not just from the victim but also from the families. The killings stirred up from them feelings of fear and lack of security. According to de Guia (2005) this kind of environment runs counter to sense of *kalayaan* which is exemplified in having a culture of non-violence.

From having reflections that centered on the negative view of society, it was evident in the results that it did not end there but shifts to a positive route. Such shift seemed to be facilitated by the faith of Filipinos. According to Tiangco (2006) in Daloos (2015), this faith is best seen through adversities in life that is why problems often draw Filipinos closer to God. The EJK victim’s families had embodied this when they conclude by having realization that in the end, God is their ultimate refuge. Moreover, Daloos (2015) stated that the sense of having closer relationship with God when under life’s trial is associated with a consolation that ‘experiences of disasters and personal problems can be overcome when they put faith in God’s guidance and mercy,’ which is a hallmark of Filipino faith. Furthermore, as shown in

the results, the realization of EJK victim's families that God will help them recover was anchored on their conviction that it will be God who will give them the justice that they are looking for. This attitude can be rooted to Filipino's cultural value of *bahala na* which is regarded as an expression of faith as it is connected to the notion of 'it's in God's hands' (Dancel, 2005 as cited in Lagman, 2014). *Bahala na* is said to originate from the word *bathala* which is the tagalog word for God that is why it is construed as a mark of spiritual empowerment as it implies a genuine faith and trust in Divine Providence (Gorospe, 1994; Lagman, 2014; Judan, 2015). Hence, its expression may help explain the role that the faith of EJK victim's families has played in their resilience and will to continue their lives despite what had happened.

5. Conclusion

In the end, the rich experience of EJK victim's families seemed to imply that though they had a family member involved in illegal drugs, they have a clear notion of *kapwa* and important Filipino values. They are capable of recognizing what will be beneficial for their involved member and their whole family and this was reflected in the action they have taken upon knowing the involvement of the victim in drugs. In addition, this study has shown that families were also victim of the extrajudicial killing since they also suffered from emotional and economic difficulty. With this, it can be said that they have the right to be given intervention, more so compensation so as to help them recover. Lastly, it can be learned from their reflections that despite being entangled with illegal drugs, they still uphold the Filipino morality that values *karangalan*, *katarungan*, and *kalayaan*. They share with the most of society the belief that drugs are destructive and they recognize the harm brought by the subsequent war against it not just to their family but to the totality of Filipino community.

5.1 Research Limitations

The present study has achieved its objectives however, several limitations were encountered. First, the original criterion in selecting the participants within the Cavite area was not met due to the families' fear of retribution. Second, some families had experienced the killing of their family member few months before the data gathering process which somehow limits the richness of the data gathered. Lastly, given the fact that most of the narratives obtained in this study came from the parent or spouse of the victim, the adverse effect of the killing on dependent and most vulnerable members of the family were not that deeply explored.

5.2 Scope of Future Research

Future studies are recommended to select family participants who had experienced the killing years before the interview to have a richer data on their process of recovery. It is believed that the longer the length of time is from the incident, the more likely it is that the future researchers will be able to look closely at the trend of families' recovery. Moreover, it is suggested to somehow prioritize the inclusion of young family participants matured enough to produce narratives in order to deeply explore the adverse effect of the killing on dependent and most vulnerable members of the family were not that deeply explored.

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