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Reflections on Trauma: A Phenomenological Qualitative Secondary Analysis of Archived Interviews about Adolescent Experiences During the 1970 Kent State Student Shootings

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Abstract

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Keywords

mass shootings, violence, posttraumatic stress disorder, qualitative secondary analysis, phenomenology

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Reflections on Trauma: A Phenomenological Qualitative Secondary Analysis of Archived Interviews about Adolescent Experiences During the 1970 Kent State Student Shootings

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Among short-term mental health consequences for adolescents who have proximate or direct experience with mass shootings in school settings are posttraumatic stress and posttraumatic stress disorder. Identifying incidence of enduring mental health impacts is challenging due to difficulty of tracking individuals into adulthood. The purpose of this paper is to use qualitative secondary analysis to explore how seven individuals reflectively describe and interpret their lived experiences as adolescents during the May 4, 1970, Kent State University Vietnam protest that resulted in deaths and injuries to students fired upon by Ohio National Guard. Archived transcripts from interviews conducted up to 48 years after the event were analyzed using a phenomenological qualitative approach. Aspects of common experience included confusion, emotionally charged responses from others directed toward community members following the event, and belief the experience had a profound and lasting impact on their lives, exemplified by vivid memories of minute details and comparative responses to other events. These findings illustrate how others' reactions and subsequent incidents contribute to retraumatization into adult years. This report demonstrates the value of qualitative secondary analysis in general, while specific findings illustrate long-term impact of an adolescent trauma experience.

Keywords: mass shootings, violence, posttraumatic stress disorder, qualitative secondary analysis, phenomenology

Mass shootings in US schools have increased in frequency during the past 20 years (Rowhani-Rahbar et al., 2019). Data from the Center for Homeland Security and Defense (n.d.) show a 5-fold increase in the number of events between 1999 and 2019. In the first 46 weeks of 2019, there were 45 shootings in US schools, or just under one per week (Wolfe & Walker, 2019). Sudden violence-associated trauma in a school setting can be a unique, unpredictable, and lengthy process to navigate, according to mental health professionals interviewed by Sawchuk and Blad (2018). Leiner et al. (2018) asserted survivors and community members are likely to experience "lifelong consequences by carrying short- and long-term memories of devastation, violence, and suffering" (p. 1) following mass shootings in their communities and in their schools.

Multiple authors have explored the impact of exposure to school shootings on incidence of mental illness, most notably post-traumatic stress (PTS) and posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD). Travers et al. (2018) synthesized school shooting research published between 2014 and 2017, and concluded the majority of impacted young people experienced some type of PTS. According to Travers et al., most will recover, but a small number are likely to experience chronic dysfunction. Lowe and Galea (2017) found the highest rates of PTS and PTSD occurred among elementary-aged children, with reported rates as high as 91%. The specific experiences

of PTSD in youth or adolescents can be profound and disturbing. A survivor of the 2018 Marjory Stoneman Douglas High School shooting in Florida described detailed symptoms such as nightmares, flashbacks, and suicidal ideation (McLaughlin & Kar, 2019).

PTS has also been observed in older adolescents and young adults following shootings in institutes of higher learning. Hughes et al. (2011) surveyed college students present at the time of the 2007 Virginia Tech shootings and reported that 15.4% of survey respondents experienced symptoms 3 months after the incident. However, this relatively low rate was based on an overall response rate of only 20%. Along with this, less than 10% of survey respondents were themselves physically present or knew someone who was present during the shooting incident. This is consistent with findings from Travers et al. (2018), who asserted those most profoundly impacted by such incidents are least likely to respond to research requests. Unfortunately, this response bias limits availability of accurate and detailed information about proximate or long-lasting trauma among survivors of school shootings.

Kent State Shootings and Archives

The Kent State Vietnam Protest on May 4, 1970, in Kent, Ohio is unusual among school shooting incidents as the shooters were a government force, specifically the Ohio National Guard. Guard troops were sent to Kent under authority of the governor of Ohio, in response to a request made by the mayor of Kent, Ohio (Lewis & Hensley, 1998/2019). Some similarities to more recent school shootings include intense media coverage, deaths and injuries of students, and lasting expressions of trauma and shock throughout the community (Lewis & Hensley, 1998/2019; National Public Radio, 2010; Valeii, 2018).

The Kent State May 4 Archive was established within the Kent State University Libraries in 1990. The archive contains a series of resources, notably audio recordings, and typed transcripts, that capture oral history interviews with individuals who were present at events leading up to and including the May 4 shooting (Kent State University Libraries, 2020). Interviews were largely conducted on campus during memorial activities that occur each year on May 4. Interviewers were archive staff and interviewees consisted of former university students, alumni, faculty, administrators, and community members, including some individuals who were adolescents in 1970. Given the availability of archived witness interviews, and similarities with other school shootings, the records associated with this historical event present a unique opportunity to explore the long-term impact of trauma and indicators of PTS associated with a mass shooting at an educational institution. Due to the semi-structured and in-depth nature of the interviews, these data are an appropriate source for qualitative secondary analysis.

Qualitative Secondary Analysis

Most published qualitative secondary analysis reports present re-analysis of researchers' own data or that of their colleagues (Heaton, 2008). Published analyses of archived data, including oral histories, are less common (see Bishop, 2007, Bloor, 2000, or Savage, 2008), although this may change as more qualitative repositories are established, such as the Qualitative Data Repository (QDR) at the University of Syracuse, in Syracuse, NY (Qualitative Data Repository, 2020). While there may be challenges in data adequacy (Bishop, 2007), advantages of qualitative secondary analysis include having the opportunity to consider the contributions of both the data and the context. Additionally, evolutions in theoretical thinking and the benefits of hindsight may reveal new insights into historical events (Savage, 2005).

Because the majority of school shootings impact youth and adolescents (Wolfe & Walker, 2019), analysis of interviews with individuals who were adolescents during the 1970

Kent State incident provides an opportunity to explore how individuals as adults described experiences with adolescent trauma many years after the experience. The purpose of this research report is to describe the results of in depth secondary qualitative analysis of oral history interviews from the Kent State University May 4 archive, to explore how individuals reflectively describe and interpret their adolescent lived experience of the Kent State shootings on May 4, 1970. The specific question we addressed was “What was the lived experience of the Kent State shootings on May 4, 1970, for an adolescent living in Kent, Ohio?”

Each of the three co-authors has different experiences and different levels of knowledge related to the event of interest. SC was a child in 1970, and has limited memories of the incident details, but has a clear recollection of an older sibling who expressed affiliation with Kent students at the time of the incident. KD and EO have awareness of May 4, 1970, as a historical event although neither was born at the time. However, KD has a family member who served in Vietnam and another who attended Kent State beginning in 1971 and so has previously participated in discussions about these events from their perspectives. All three authors learned about the specific sequence of events in greater detail through review of the May 4 archive materials. This research study was also motivated by our ongoing interest in issues that impact contemporary adolescent mental health. We have often identified parallels and developed new insights regarding current issues through study of similar events in the past. We believe this use of secondary analysis to explore how individuals, as adults, make meaning of exposure to trauma as adolescents, provides a unique and resource effective way to improve scholar and practitioner understanding of the potential long-term impact of youth trauma.

Methods

Design and Sample

We used a transcendental phenomenological approach (Moustakas, 1994) for this qualitative secondary analysis research study. Moustakas identified goals for phenomenological research including “to reveal more fully the essences and meanings of human experiences” through “vivid and accurate renderings of the experience” (p. 105). These goals make this approach well-suited to provide insight into how interviewees understood, described, and interpreted their experience. We were particularly motivated to use a qualitative approach that prioritizes distilling and re-presenting the common aspects of experience, as does transcendental phenomenology, as opposed to an approach that condenses data into alternative qualitative outcomes such as categories or themes. One advantage of the focus on experience as the outcome of interest is contextual aspects are interwoven to comprise part of the description of lived experience. In contrast, outcomes derived from content or thematic analysis may be further removed from the data as a result of abstraction and might tend to emphasize features or attributes over context.

The data for this project consisted of transcripts and audio recordings of interviews conducted with individuals who were on campus attending memorial exhibits or events and consented to contribute interviews to the expanding oral history archives. Five interviews took place between 2007 and 2018, with one each in 1990 and 2000. Therefore, these individuals were recalling events that took place between 20 and 48 years prior. While the aim of the original interviews was to create an enduring oral history record of the event, key questions (e.g., “What were you doing on May 4?” “What are your memories of the time period from May 1 to May 4?” “What were your feelings during that time?”) are similar to items provided on Moustakas’s sample interview guide for transcendental phenomenological research (e.g., “What feelings were generated by the experience?” “What [aspects] connected with the experience stand out for you?” [p. 116]).

We identified interviews with individuals who were local secondary school (high or junior high) students at the time of the protest through role search on the archive website. We additionally reviewed the transcripts to ensure that interviewees were in Kent and were either physically present at the Vietnam protest or had real time awareness of events including the violence that occurred at the protest. We identified seven transcripts that fit these criteria. We obtained approval from the Kent State University Institutional Review Board to conduct and report results of this secondary analysis research project.

Participant Attributes

The seven interviewees were all students attending area secondary schools. Three attended the Kent University School, located proximate to Kent State University, and the other four attended public schools in the city of Kent. Ages of the interviewees on May 4, 1970, were as follows: one was age 13; one was age 14; three were age 17; two were age 18. All students were in the downtown Kent area during the weekend prior to the protest on Monday, May 4. All encountered or saw Ohio National Guard troops downtown, on campus, and on neighborhood streets on Saturday and/or Sunday prior to May 4. Three of the selected interviewees were physically present during part of the Vietnam War protest on the Kent State University campus with two still present when the Ohio National Guard fired shots. Public schools closed during the middle of the day and students were sent to their homes, so the four participants not physically present during the protest were aware of the incident shortly after it occurred.

Data Processing and Analysis

We copied typed transcripts from website text and pasted the text into Microsoft Word, creating a unique document for each interview. We reformatted documents to eliminate headers and footers, then applied double spacing and line numbers. We divided the seven transcripts among the three authors and reviewed each for accuracy by listening to the associated audio recording.

Moustakas (1994) emphasized the role of epoché in phenomenological research. Moustakas defined epoché as "set[ting] aside our prejudgments, biases, and preconceived ideas about things" (p. 85). As authors, our individual relationships with the experience varied, so we engaged in this process individually. Our aims were to identify things we knew, felt, or thought about the experience of interest, and to identify things we knew, felt, or thought about related incidents. We broadly defined related incidents as those which include protests, gun violence in academic institutions, and adolescent trauma.

The overall goal of epoché was to improve our ability to recognize biases we might carry that could potentially impact our shaping and interpretation of the data. Through the course of data analysis, we regularly shared our reflective thoughts, to ensure our findings were grounded in the participants' disclosures and not tied solely to our own preconceptions.

We conducted analysis using the modified Van Kaam method described in Moustakas (1994, p. 120-121) as an eight-step process. We applied each of Steps 1-7 individually to each transcript. For Step 1, horizontalization, we identified "every expression relevant to the experience" (p.120). During Step 2, reduction and elimination, we refined the set of expressions to include only those that were relevant and distinct, which are considered "invariant constituents" (p. 121). During Step 3, we grouped similar constituents and developed a theme label. For Step 4, themes were checked back against the transcript to ensure that each theme was present and "compatible" (p. 121) with the transcript. Steps 5-7 involved creation of a series of descriptions of the experience, from the view of the participant. For Step 5, we created

an "individual textual description" (p. 121) or narrative from the view of a given participant. For Step 6, we enhanced the narrative created in Step 5 by including "imaginative variation" to create an "individual structural description" (p. 121). Imaginative variations included variations in perspective, time, themes, or other aspects of the experience as visualized and expanded by each of the researchers. For Step 7, we combined aspects of the narratives from Steps 5 and 6 into a single narrative for each participant. In Step 8, we collaboratively condensed seven narratives into a single combined experience. Following, we illustrate steps 1, 2, and 3, and show how this information was incorporated into the individual experience – using a brief excerpt from one participate interview. We encourage our readers to compare this sample analysis with the final combined experience, to see how data points from one individual informed the overall results.

- Step 1 – identify relevant expressions. One relevant expression we selected was this response to an interviewer question, in which the participant describes the days leading up to May 4, 1970*: But the feel of the town went maybe–somber. I don't know what that word–it was a different feel. There was an edge in the air. It started on May 1st and all through that entire process. It was just unsettling–it was a real unsettled feel, I guess would be the right word.*
- Step 2 – refine expressions to identify relevant and distinct expressions. We subdivided the passage above into multiple distinct expressions and show one here: *But the feel of the town went maybe–somber.*
- Step 3 – group expressions with other like expressions. We grouped the expression shown in Step 2 with several others we felt were conceptually similar, including these two: 1) *But, there seemed to be a change in the feel of what was going on. 2)You didn't know if a rock was gonna come flying out, you didn't know what was gonna happen.*
- Relevant content from individual narrative of experience: *(Participant) felt a strikingly different feel to the air in downtown Kent, a kind of edge or sense of danger, and a general feeling of unpredictability that had not been there before, in the days leading up to May 4, 1970.*

Quality Control

We performed all steps in the analyses using Microsoft Word and retained dated electronic documents to reflect each step and any modifications during a step. Although we individually analyzed our subset of transcripts, we met to review and discuss progress after Steps 3, 5, and 7, and, as described above, jointly performed Step 8. This improved our ability to identify errors or misunderstandings associated with our review and interpretation of participants' descriptions. Our collaborative work for the final stage also ensured that our results for this reflected a truly collaborative analysis. Collaborative analysis is not a conventional attribute of transcendental phenomenology, but it was important to us to ensure mutual respect and consideration of our sometimes varying interpretations. Additional details about the data analysis process are available by contacting the first author.

Results

Our results consist of the composite experience of May 4, 1970. The composite experience reflects our interpretation of a consensus view of the seven individuals' unique experiences.

Combined Experience

During the weekend of May 2-3, 1970, there was a sense among Kent, Ohio adolescents that something was going to happen—something that involved Kent State University students who were opposed to the war in Vietnam. Local adolescents who were too young to attend the university also wanted to somehow feel like part of the occurrence, even if their roles were restricted to those of a non-participating witness.

On Sunday, adolescents were drawn to downtown Kent and adjacent parts of the Kent State University campus to satisfy their curiosity about property damage that occurred over the weekend, which included the burning of the Army ROTC[1] building on campus. They also informally heard about and wanted to see firsthand the military occupation of Kent, in the form of Ohio National Guard troops with jeeps, trucks, and troop carriers. Alongside signs of Friday and Saturday's damage which included broken storefront windows and painted graffiti, what adolescents saw on Sunday, May 3, were multiple collegial exchanges between guard, university students, and other residents. Sunday, like the several prior days, was characterized by strikingly warm, sunny weather.

On Monday, May 4, some adolescents were drawn to campus by a combination of continuing curiosity and interest in being present at what felt like an important event. The appeal was especially strong among those who attended the Kent University School located roughly ½ mile from the planned protest site. Those adolescents present saw the gathering of student protestors, saw and heard some university students gesturing toward and taunting guard members, and watched the guard face students. Some adolescents lined up behind the university students to model the behavior of university students. National Guard troops ordered the crowd to disperse, then directed tear gas toward the crowd; this motivated some adolescents to leave while inspiring more determination to stay among others. Guard continued to march toward the protesters, took aim, and fired.

Up until shots were fired, adolescent witnesses assumed the guard were using the pellet guns displayed during the weekend. Therefore, the adolescents were confused by seeing and hearing signs of live ammunition. Their immediate responses included confusion, fear, and anger. After seeing some students fall, adolescent witnesses either moved toward those who appeared injured or ran for cover. Many witnesses experienced a sense of disbelief and struggled to make sense of the action of firing into a crowd of unarmed student protestors. Those who remained were angry, and increasingly grew frustrated at what they saw as unhelpful and even disrespectful responses by some National Guard toward victims and protestors.

Eventually all who were present were forced by Guard to leave the area. Adolescents who were students at the city high school, including those who did and did not attend the protest on campus, were surprised when they were informed the high school and all other public schools in the city were going to close immediately. Students were provided directions to facilitate departure by bus or other methods but given no official details about the incident that inspired the school closure. As a result of the lack of information, descriptions of a range of scenarios spread quickly by word of mouth throughout the community. It was soon clear shootings had occurred, but inconsistent information emerged regarding precipitating incidents, who shot and who was shot, and the extent of injuries or deaths that occurred. There were additional rumors of ongoing violence and chaos, including possibility of snipers on other parts of campus, and the suggestion student protestors were preparing to mass and march through Kent and proximate communities. The suggestion that damage and protest were incited

[1] ROTC is the acronym for "Reserve Officers Training Corps." This is university-based training for future officers in branches of the U.S. Military.

by outsiders – usually described as extremist activists from other communities – contributed to peoples' insecurities.

Overall, the lack of clear information about what had happened and fears about what might yet happen, created an uncertain, other worldly atmosphere, which presented a striking contrast with what adolescents saw on their way home: familiar, mostly calm and quiet city streets during a warm, sunny day. Despite the quiet, the periodic appearance of troop carriers served as one reminder that things were not quite as usual. Another reminder was provided by movement of multiple students walking toward the edges of town, to try to find transportation away from the rapidly emptying campus area.

In the days and weeks following the event, adolescents processed their initial feelings of sadness and regret, and gradually began to realize that they or others they knew might as easily have been victims. Many adolescents associated their experiences and emotions related to May 4 with the end of their innocence. Some continued to divide their community experiences into two phases – before and after May 4. The sense adolescents had that their families, friends, teachers, and others were stable and protective factors diminished as the realization that no one could promise continual safety increased.

The broader impact of the events of May 4, 1970, was illustrated by ongoing national news coverage, and by personal responses from others directed at the city and residents. Kent, Ohio, a small town minimally known outside of the region prior to May 4, 1970, became notorious after the event and identifying as a Kent resident tended to inspire an emotional reaction from others—either in favor of the protestors or in defense of the violence.

Over time, through efforts to make sense of what continued to be a confusing incident, adolescents who witnessed the events leading up to and occurring on May 4 reviewed additional information about the incident and became convinced the student deaths and injuries resulted from government mismanagement of the circumstances. This continued to be a source of anger. In addition, feelings of sadness and loss in those who had direct or proximate experiences of May 4, 1970, were revived by ensuing violent events, including the Virginia Tech University mass shooting perpetrated by a student, and the terrorist destruction in the US on September 11, 2001. For some adolescent witnesses of the May 4, 1970, Kent State shootings, remembering and talking about the circumstances became a critical aspect in managing the lingering memories of their own trauma, and an important way for them to continue to remind others of the time, when as one described: "American turned on its own kids and then recoiled in horror and said, 'Oh my God, what did I do?'"

Discussion

For this research, we conducted in-depth phenomenological analysis on secondary qualitative data consisting of seven interview transcripts, to develop a narrative description of the composite adolescent experience of a mass shooting at a public university, viewed reflectively by the interviewees as adults between 20 and 48 years later. The recalled adolescent experience of the May 4, 1970 shootings on the Kent State campus is characterized by curiosity and a desire to be part of something important in the days preceding May 4, civil encounters and pleasant weather when National Guard troops first arrived, confusion and lack of information during and immediately after the shootings, lingering experiences of emotionally charged reactions from others directed toward anyone from Kent, and a belief the experience had an enduring impact on adolescents' lives, illustrated by very vivid memories of minute details and ongoing emotional responses to subsequent similar events. Some unifying aspects of the experience include interviewees' belief that the experience changed their lives and changed the way others responded to them. Interviewees also believed emotions associated with the incident were revived by hearing about other violent events.

Interviewees described being emotionally upset after being made aware about other incidents through media coverage more than 30 years after their May 4 experiences, including school shootings, such as one at Virginia Tech, and different types of violent incidents, such as the September 11, 2011, terrorist attacks. This reviving or re-emergence of emotion suggests retraumatization, defined as the increased vulnerability of an individual to trauma following an initial exposure to trauma (Kammerer & Mazelis, 2006). These two specific event references also illustrate the potential in this instance for contextually diverse incidents to contribute to retraumatization.

Carlson and Dalenberg (2000) provided an alternative explanation in their conceptual framework for understanding trauma, characterizing responses to ensuing events as part of a persisting trauma response. In the framework, traumatic events are defined as those which are sudden, uncontrollable, and negative. These attributes are all present in the description of the events on May 4 provided by historians (e.g., Lewis & Hensley, 1998/2019), and by the interviewees. Carlson and Dalenberg identified typical responses during trauma that include hyperawareness of one's surroundings, which is congruent with the attention to detail described by interviewees. The framework suggests that the trauma, when coupled with the presence of similar stimuli, might trigger negative emotions even in the absence of danger, thus resulting in persisting symptoms of PTS. This is consistent with interviewee's descriptions of emotional distress they experienced concurrent with their awareness of similar events, even when those events, such as the Virginia Tech shootings, posed no direct threat. Notably, however, Carlson and Dalenberg asserted trauma responses are highly subjective; the three identified attributes are "necessary . . .[but] not always sufficient to cause a post-traumatic disorder" (p. 9). Another influential factor is the individual's "level of emotional, social, and cognitive development at the time of trauma" (p. 17), which suggests that childhood and adolescence might be particularly vulnerable periods for negative long-term consequences of trauma exposures.

To date, much research on retraumatization focuses on sexual assault (e.g., Taylor et al., 2012) adverse childhood experiences (e.g., Butler et al., 2018), and the after-effects of wars or armed conflicts (e.g., Brouneéus, 2008). The regularity of school shootings during recent years in the US suggests potential for retraumatization, and/or what Carlson and Delanberg (2000) described as persisting post-traumatic stress for individuals who have experienced these incidents. We identified no reports that explored retraumatization following a mass shooting, which suggests the need for further exploration of this issue, to help identify prevalence and severity.

While specific proximate symptoms of PTS and PTSD, such as nightmares or flashbacks, were not described by most participants, one common response was the sense of being seen differently by others after the event. In this sense, living in Kent during May 4, 1970, became a seminal event in individuals' lives. This phenomenon has been associated with other high-profile events. Prendergast (2019) described how individuals encountering a student survivor of the 1999 Columbine High School shootings tended to define the individual in terms of that experience, and habitually focused conversation on details of the experience. In contrast to most school shootings where students are clearly seen as victims, responses of families and of community members, directed at those associated with the Kent State incident, were inconsistent. Some individuals supported what they saw as an appropriate student protest escalation in an unpopular war, whereas others viewed National Guard firing into the crowd as a necessary response to a potentially violent group who had already engaged in destruction of property. One interviewee described: "…a lot of people said to me, 'Well they should have killed more.' I can't count how many times people said that to me."

The results of this work additionally support previous findings related to stigma resulting from place-based tragedy: O'Leary (2018) described vicarious victimhood, reported by community members of Dunblane, Scotland, the site of a 1996 shooting which occurred at

a primary school, killing 16 children and one adult. Like the Kent State shootings, these events became synonymous with the physical location where they occurred, resulting in an altered community identity stigmatized by violence. While the topic of stigma has been explored extensively in terms of direct victimization (Deitz et al., 2015; Murray et al., 2018), and as a risk related to narratives which often arise following violent events portraying mental illness as a predisposition for violence (McGinty et al., 2014), less is known about indirect victimization. These results suggest that practitioners should widen the scope of defining victimization to include those who experience tragedy as part of a collective group and consider the role of stigma in enduring traumatic stress when working with such populations. Future research should explore the role of community stigma in retraumatization.

Limitations of this research include that we only considered data from the small group of individuals who were adolescents during the event in question and who were motivated to contribute their stories to the archive. Another limitation of this and any secondary analysis is that interview guide items were developed by those who collected the original data. These questions might not be entirely adequate, and there is no opportunity to probe for additional information that specifically addresses the purpose of the secondary analysis. We did our best to ensure all findings were adequately supported by data and to identify and be aware of our own biases, although some influence of researcher interpretation is present in this work, as is the norm for any interpretive qualitative approach. Additionally, although we followed guidance provided in Moustakas (1994) to ensure systematic and transparent data analysis, the secondary nature of these data precluded reaching out to interviewees to solicit their further assistance to develop the findings. That said, while engaging participants as co-researchers is a convention in phenomenological research methods, Moustakas (1994) clarified: "there are no definitive or exclusive requirements" (p. 104) associated with phenomenological methods.

Among identified benefits of qualitative secondary analysis are reduction of participant burden (Long-Sutehall et al., 2010). This is particularly important when participants reflect difficult to reach populations, or, as with this research, when there is some risk that retraumatization might impact participants who are repeatedly asked to describe a traumatic experience.

In closing, we believe important contributions of this research include that it adds to the currently small number of research reports that use archived qualitative data (Heaton, 2008) to provide insight into aspects of behaviors, experiences, and responses to circumstances. Due to the nature of these particular interviews, our findings provide some insight into the long-term nature of adolescent PTS following a mass shooting, that might persist or be triggered by awareness of similar incidents that occur many years later. Our specific findings point to the need for further understanding of retraumatization and its potential triggers over time. It is our hope this work encourages ongoing efforts to gather, archive and conduct analyses of data from oral histories and other interview data.

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