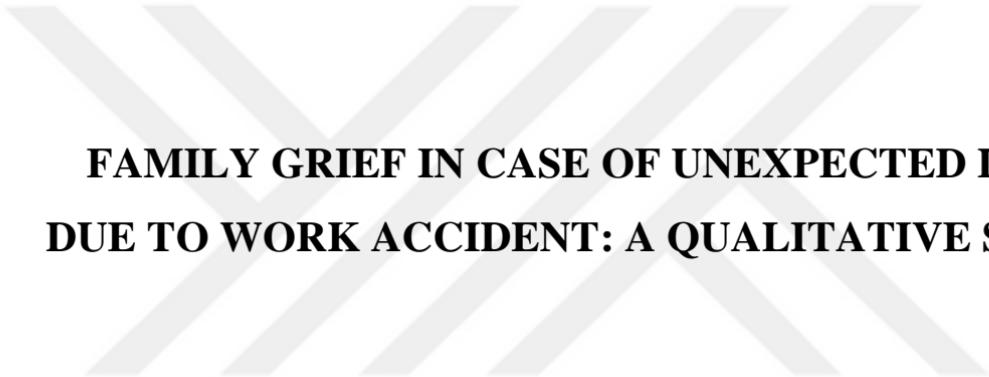**REP. OF TURKEY**

TED UNIVERSITY

GRADUATE SCHOOL

DEVELOPMENTAL FOCUSED CLINICAL CHILD AND ADOLESCENT
PSYCHOLOGY

FAMILY GRIEF IN CASE OF UNEXPECTED LOSS
DUE TO WORK ACCIDENT: A QUALITATIVE STUDY

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ANKARA, 2021

FAMILY GRIEF IN CASE OF UNEXPECT LOSS DUE TO WORK ACCIDENT:

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For

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I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

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ABSTRACT

FAMILY GRIEF IN CASE OF UNEXPECTED LOSS DUE TO WORK ACCIDENT: A QUALITATIVE STUDY

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June, 2021

The present study aims to explore grief in families one of whose members died due to work accident. Particularly, this study aims to explore the relation of the bereaved families with the social justice system. The grounded theory method and a qualitative research design were used. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with ten families who have suffered the loss of a family member due to work accident. Three themes emerged: (1) factors potentially complicating the grief process, (2) family grief dynamics: A shift in family structure and organization, and (3) the family within and as an active agent of the social justice system. For the families who lost a member due to a work accident, grief is often complicated with the tasks of seeking

acknowledgement of the loss and justice. Individual or family level grief counseling seems insufficient for those cases. Results were discussed in the light of existing literature by stressing the importance of the contextual factors in grief process.

Keywords: work accident, unexpected loss, family grief, social justice, qualitative study

ÖZET

ÖLÜMCÜL İŞ KAZALARI SONUCUNDA BEKLENMEDİK KAYIP YAŞAYAN AİLELERİN YASI: NİTEL BİR ÇALIŞMA

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Haziran, 2021

Bu çalışma, bir üyesi iş kazası sonucu yaşamını yitiren ailelerde yas sürecini araştırmayı amaçlamaktadır. Bu çalışma özellikle, yas tutan ailelerin sosyal adalet sistemi ile ilişkisini araştırmayı amaçlamaktadır. Gömülü teori yöntemi ve nitel araştırma deseni kullanılmıştır. Bir aile bireyini iş kazası nedeniyle kaybeden on aile ile yarı yapılandırılmış görüşmeler yapılmıştır. Üç tema ortaya çıktı: (1) yas sürecini komplike hale getirebilecek faktörler, (2) aile yas dinamikleri: aile yapısı ve organizasyonunda değişimler ve (3) sosyal adalet sisteminin içinde ve aktif bir bileşeni olarak aile. Bir üyesini iş kazası nedeniyle kaybeden aileler için, yas genellikle kaybın tanınması ve adalet arayışı meseleleriyel komplike hale gelir. Bu aileler için bireysel veya aile düzeyinde yas danışmanlığı yetersiz görünmektedir. Sonuçlar, yas sürecinde bağlamsal faktörlerin önemi vurgulanarak mevcut literatür ışığında tartışılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: iş kazası, beklenmedik kayıp, ailesel yas, sosyal adalet, nitel çalışma

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Lastly, I would like to thank Eda Deniz Minareci and Zeynep Akbudak for their support in the transcription process; it was very helpful for my thesis.

To My Lovely Father…

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Death is a universal and an inevitable phenomenon for living beings. The nature of human being makes it more complicated compared to other living things. While death means the end of the life for the deceased person, bereaved people continue to live. It is a significant incident for surviving people, especially, if they lose a loved one. The death has a significant effect on the surviving family of the decedent. The roles of surviving family members change, their relationships may have a different character than previous one and future goals/plans may change (Walsh & McGoldrick, 2013).

Despite of the universal feature of death, surviving individuals and families experience different processes following the death. The type of death (sudden, traumatic etc.), the stage through which the family passes (the family with a newborn, midlife family etc.), the role of the decedent and some other variables may affect the bereavement process of the family. Furthermore, the economic and political atmosphere in the country, social justice issues and the period through which the society passes may have an effect on the processes after the loss. Therefore, all contextual factors should be examined carefully in order to have a comprehensive understanding of the grief process.

This chapter gives the scope and the general approach of this study. In this chapter, grief theories will be briefly presented and the literature is reviewed. The chapter includes the current developments in grief research in the literature along with their limitations. Furthermore, general concepts that are used in grief research and also in this study are defined. In addition to this, the aim and purpose of this study is indicated by answering the question: What does this study add to our knowledge of grief research and is there a need to conduct this study?

1.1 Definitions of Terms

It is important to define and clarify terms which are included in the scope of this study. Terms are sometimes used interchangeably in terms of their meanings and it may lead a conceptual confusion. It will be beneficial to recognize differences between terms and have a common understanding on them.

Bereavement is the loss of one by way of the death. It is about the state of loss but not the reaction of bereaved people. According to family systems approach, bereavement is said to base upon transactional processes over generations that share a common family life cycle (Walsh & McGoldrick, 2013). These processes involve the decedent and his/her survivors. On the other hand, grief is defined as the affective reaction such as sadness or helplessness to the loss. Mourning means the expression of grief in a social manner and it is highly linked to the culture (Osterweis, Solomon & Green, 1984). Furthermore, decedent or deceased one is the person who died.

1.2 Theories and Models of Grief

1.2.1 Attachment Theory

The theory points out the importance of the attachment with primary caregiver during infancy and claims this attachment has a great influence on the grief. Bowlby (1980) identifies 4 phases after the loss of close one: i) numbing, ii) yearning, iii) disorganization/despair, and iv) reorganization. He clarifies that these stages are not a requirement for a bereaved person but accepts the unique experience of the bereaved individual. Researchers claim that insecurely attached individuals do not function well in terms of coping after bereavement and adjustment to new life (Main, 1991; Wayment & Vierthaler, 2002). Secure attachment enables bereaved people to cope effectively. One of the points that forge a link between attachment approach and grief is internal working model. It is defined as individual's projection of the bond with the caregiver that established during the childhood to the current relationships (Main, 1991). When it is adapted to the grief, it can be concluded that internal working model affects individual's grief process during adulthood (Noppe, 2000).

1.2.2 Psychoanalytic Approach

There are substantial writing, research and theory about the loss in psychoanalytic literature. However, as mentioned first, these approaches are briefly considered. Freud (1917) identifies and discriminates between mourning and melancholia in his essential paper. Although both terms refer to the reaction of bereaved person after a loss, mourning is identified as a normal reaction and melancholia has a pathological meaning. Freud states that the ego suffers after a loss: "In mourning it is the world which has become poor and empty; in melancholia it is the ego itself" (Freud, 1917, p.22). This difference results from narcissistic identification with the deceased person (Keogh, 2019). Narcissistic identification with the decedent brings about melancholia. Additionally, Klein (1935, 1975) says experiences during early years of life has an essential effect on the loss during later life and concludes with that depressive position is activated after the loss during adulthood (as cited in Baker, 2001). The bereaved individual loses the inner good object that the deceased one represents and he/she tries to repair this lack with other relations.

1.2.3 Meaning Reconstruction Approach

According to this approach, loss brings a meaning crisis and despite of stage-based explanations, the main issue is the reconstruction of the meaning in grief process (Neimeyer & Anderson, 2002). Context occupies an important place in the reconstruction of meaning. In terms of context, this approach focuses on the ability to make sense of loss, the ability to find benefits –especially existential- and the construction of a new identity after the loss. The writer also point out that the bereaved person constitutes external, internal and reflexive narratives. While external narrative is telling the events chain before the loss without including the personal thoughts and feelings, internal narrative refers to deep personal experiences of the teller. Moreover, the reflexive narrative can be defined as taking a step back and the person searches for the meaning of these other narratives.

1.2.4 Elisabeth Kübler-Ross Model

This model proposes five stages after the loss of a loved one. The first stage is denial through which the bereaved person experiences shock and denies the fact of the loss. The second stage is anger. Anger becomes the most dominant feeling in the life of the person who lost a loved one. Anger may be towards the decedent as well as toward the self, healthcare system or the God and many feeling can be found behind the feeling of anger. Third stage of the model is bargaining. The bereaved individual often thinks of these sentence patterns: "What if…" and "If only…" Another and fourth stage is depression. While the focus is on the past in the former stage, it is on the present in this stage. It is characterized with intense sadness and withdrawal from the life. The last stage is acceptance. It is not an "all is normal" stage but the acceptance means to accept living with the loss of loved one. The bereaved individual accepts this world does not contain him/her and learns to live with this loss. The authors describe these stages as necessary, normal and appropriate reactions (Kübler-Ross & Kessler, 2005).

1.2.5 Dual Process Model

This model is developed by Stroebe and Schut (1999) as they saw limitations of previous models. They criticize previous ones in some respects which are linear view of grief process, deficient definition of grief, lack of intrapersonal variables and lack of universal aspect. They propose two types of grief: loss-orientation and restoration orientation. The former type includes what previous theories and models focus such as yearning or depression. Restoration-orientation is about the organization of life after the loss and arrangement of the circumstances that secondary losses led to. Developing a new identity can be given as an example in this point. This model especially focuses on both experiencing the pain and rearranging the new life. A point that differentiates this model from others is the oscillation between loss-orientation and restoration-orientation. The bereaved person may proceed varying grief experience under these two types from time to time. The writers, later, stress the importance of family dynamics in grief process (Stroebe & Schut, 2015). Like individuals, families also give reaction to the loss as a unit and for example, acceptance the loss is a loss-oriented response of the family.

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1.2.6 Family Systems Perspective

Bereavement is considered as transactional processes influenced by past losses and involving people who die and their surviving in a shared multigenerational family life cycle from a family systems perspective (Walsh & McGoldrick, 2013). Death in the family affects various relationships, functional roles, family units, and hopes and dreams of things that may happen. The relevance of the lost member and the integration of the family at the time of loss determine the strength of the emotional response (Bowen, 1978). A family life cycle perspective considers the mutual effects of multiple generations as they go through time and face and deal with loss. Multiple, cyclical factors such as individual, family or community are considered in the context of both risk and resilience in adaptation process (Shapiro, 2008). This approach also considers the stage of the family's life cycle, claiming that this stage influences which variables are beneficial and which are complicated. In a two-parent family, for example, the loss of a parent entails the loss of numerous roles and relationships, and this leads to a different path for families (Walsh & McGoldrick, 2013). While the family provides a context for the individual's grief, it also responds to loss as a whole. Family members' reactions reverberate in a mutual interaction, and this system is organized in a circular motion (Murray et al. 2017).

These are brief overview of the grief theories and models. It is important to note that their explanations are given in a limited extent but in broad strokes. Furthermore, grief literature includes different models and thoughts in addition to the above (Worden & Winokuer, 2011; Rando, 1993; Lindemann, 1944; Moos, 1995).

1.3 Current Grief Literature

Grief research based on the above-mentioned theories offer normative and universal stages through which the individual passes (Neimeyer, 2014; Rosenblatt & Bowman, 2013; Valentine, 2006). However, recent studies do not provide much support for stage based theories. The trajectory of each individual after a significant loss may be experienced different and people should not necessarily pass through all normative stages that theories propose. Therefore, each case should be examined in its context by pointing out the importance of the unique experience and one theory

does not fit all cases (Neimeyer, 2014). Although these criticisms about the current state of the grief research concentrate on the individual, same can be also said for the families. Families also have different and unique trajectories after the loss and each one should be examined in its particular context.

In addition to the dominance of stage based theories, current grief research focuses on the individual (Walsh & McGoldrick, 2013). The grief process after the loss is individualized and the bereaved person is isolated from cultural, familial and temporal context (Valentine, 2006). However, the particular context –family, culture, society- has a place in grief process (Neimeyer, 2014). The literature shows that grief studies are lacking in family issues even if they consider the effect of the loss on the family (Walsh & McGoldrick, 2013). For example, the effect of the paternal loss on the daughter is studied but the family is more than this context. Understanding all dyadic relations among the family does not mean to understand the whole family. A single family member –mostly the spouse of the decedent- finds a place in the literature and the number of the studies that take all family members in is limited (Breen et al. 2019). The literature is restricted in this respect as it does not contain a holistic view of family grief.

Grief is the subject of not only psychology but also other social sciences such as anthropology or sociology. While grief is studied in a wide range, it has a limited view in research area. Although the number of the qualitative methods on grief increases in the last years, the dominant method remains quantitative method and it provides a constricted data to the literature (Valentine, 2006).

1.4 Loss due to Work Accidents

International Labour Organization (ILO, 2015) defines work accident "an unexpected and unplanned occurrence, including acts of violence, arising out of or in connection with work which results in one or more workers incurring a personal injury, disease or death". Some professionals argue that most of the work accidents that result with the death cannot be categorized as accident because they are expected. They occur because precautions are not taken despite. Therefore, it is argued by activists and political parties that these occurrences are homicide.

Turkish legislation defines work accidents in a wide range. When the worker is in the working place during the accident, independent from what he/she does, it is a work accident. For example, if it is breast-feeding time for the woman in the work place during the accident, this is defined as work accident. Furthermore, if the employer sends the worker to another place for working, the accidents during the travel and during the time that the worker spends there are classified as work accident.

Work accident is a serious problem both in Turkey and in the world. According to ILO's estimation, 6000 people die every day because of work accidents or occupational diseases ("World Statistics," n.d.). The number of fatal work accidents among European countries is 3332 (Accidents at work statistics, 2020). It is 1541 for Turkey in 2018 ("SGK Statistics Yearbooks," n.d.). These numbers are declared by the official institutions but ILO (2011) stated that it is higher than official institutions' declaration (as cited in Güney, 2016). In parallel with that, Health and Safety Labour Watch/Turkey, which is a nonofficial foundation about occupational health and safety, stated that 2427 workers died from work accidents in 2020 (İSİG Meclisi, 2021). The current state of work accident shows that the numbers are remarkable and work accidents stand as a serious topic.

Although work-related deaths are often categorized under sudden, unexpected and traumatic losses, they differ from other types of deaths in this category (e.g., suicide, mass casualty events etc.) due to some characteristics. Matthews, Quinlan, Rawlings-Way and Bohle (2012) clearly explain this difference:

"Workplace death occurs in an environment regulated by safety legislation where there is an expectation by workers and families that workers are safe at work. Unlike family responses to suicide, which are characterised by reactions of shame, stigma and self-blame (Begley & Quayle, 2007), family responses to workplace death are characterised anger and injustice (Brookes, 2008). Deaths from war, while typically being work-related, occur in the context of a sanctioned vent where workers understand there is a high risk of injury and death." (p.3-4).

Despite the frequency and traumatic nature of work place deaths, to our knowledge, there are only a number of studies addressing the surviving families of the deceased after fatal work accidents. A study conducted with Australian bereaved families revealed that not only the traumatic loss itself but also the aftermath of the incident, characterized by insensitive and unjust treatment of the employers, social institutions and authorities, severely overwhelms the surviving family members (Matthews et al. 2012). These experiences results in distress and frustration. Fatal work accidents also bring about negative health-related, financial and social consequences for bereaved families (Mathews et al. 2012). Another paper by Brookes (2008) states that fatal work accidents may cause negative emotions like anger among families and they may feel "devalued" and "disrespected" (p.46). The paper considers the effectiveness and application of the restorative justice in these cases. A study conducted with the first degree relatives of the workers who lost their lives in the Soma Mine Explosion (Güven, 2019), one of the biggest occupational accidents in Turkey, showed how important socioeconomic variables are in terms of the mental health of the individual after the traumatic events, along with the individual variables. While social support from the environment, if provided, reinforces the post-traumatic growth of the individual, social support that is not provided can be evaluated as one of the factors that make the grief process difficult.

As a result, families who lost one of their members due to work accident may have similar experiences with families grieving for traumatic, unexpected or sudden loss. These losses and the following grief process are also influenced by the social context and they are potentially closely related to social justice issues. Therefore, in the following sections, how the family as a whole reacts to the loss, the processes after traumatic loss and the grief processes within the social context, especially the context of social justice, will be examined in the light of the literature.

1.5 Family Reactions and Grief Following Unexpected Traumatic Loss

Traumatic losses are caused by traumatic events and fall outside of a person's normal life course and expectations (Walsh, 2006). Loss having violent, sudden or stigmatized nature falls under this category. Grief process after violent death includes different elements compared to natural death (Kristensen et al., 2012). Traumatic loss

brings along more psychological symptoms and disorders than natural loss and individuals facing traumatic loss recover in longer time when compared to others. The level of posttruamtic stress disorder (PTSD), prolonged grief disorder and depression are higher among bereaved families by homicide than those by suicide or accidents (Currier et al., 2006; Murphy et al., 2003; Smith & Patton, 2016; Nickerson et al., 2014; Pivar & Prigerson, 2004; Kersting et al., 2007; Djelantik et al., 2017). Traumatic loss leads the grief process to become more complicated and results in an increase in mental health problems (Shear, 2015; Armour, 2003; Kaplow et al., 2018). Finding a meaning in the loss, imaging the death and social support mediate the relation between violent death and psychological disorders (Hibberd et al., 2010; Baddeley et al., 2014; Sharpe, 2008). Bereaved families lose their trust in clinical institutions and this prevents them from seeking psychological help (Sharpe, 2008). The effect of the traumatic death does not emerge only among the first degree relatives but it is transmitted also to other generations (Giladi & Bell, 2013). Correspondingly, race-based violent deaths start grief process for not only the family of the decedent but also those who share the same race (Carter, 2007).

Loss due to human-caused disasters opens a different path for bereaved individuals. It differs from other type of disasters as it includes intention, neglect or failure of human or system (Cook & Elmore, 2009). They lead to high level of psychological symptoms in terms of its frequency and persistency (Ursano et al., 2009). Anger and depression can be the outcome of such a loss (Parkes, 2014). Preventable nature of the human-caused disasters leads to poor mental health consequences (Kristensen et al., 2012).

Most of the literature consists of the reaction of the family members to the death focusing on the individuals in a symptomatic manner. Despite it is one of the ways to understand family system, it is not enough to see the whole picture as the family system is more than the psychopathology of each family members. The family gives reaction to the loss as a unit and it is beyond individual reaction and the repertoire of family reactions represents variety (Murray, 2017). The reaction of the individual is interdependent with other family members (Brown, 2012). Change in family structure, functioning, communication pattern, extrafamilial relationships and

integrity functioning after the family member's loss is almost inevitable (Detmer &
Lamberti, 1991; Silke, 2003; Wiegand, 2012; Moos, 1995). Some dyadic and
triangular relationships and communication among the death end due to the nature of
the loss. This can result in family secrets which take place as a subject in family
history but has never been discussed (Bowlby-West, 1983). The role of the decedent
in terms of family functioning is also an important point (Brown, 2012). One of the
strategies after the loss is cutting off the connection with the family of origin.
However, the bereaved family needs social support of the extended family in this
period (Brown, 2012). Another one is to put emotional distance from other family
members as the reaction to the high level of closeness and togetherness. Families
may avoid communication about the death in order to prevent the breakdown of
family harmony. In addition to them, marital conflict and dysfunction of a spouse can
be also used as an adaptation strategy to the loss. A study found that emotional
expression and family cohesion are negatively correlated with grief symptoms
(Traylor et al., 2003).

According to Bowen, the nature of the death –unexpected, violent, traumatic
etc.- has an effect on the family grief (Brown, 2012). Such deaths bring emotional
shock wave for the family. Family members may not be willing to talk about the
traumatic event and it leads to the feeling of loneliness (Brysiewicz, 2008). Family
cohesion enhances following such losses (Abbott, 2009) and differentiation of each
family member decreases in grief period, which puts the family under stress (Detmer
& Lamberti, 1991). Roles and structure of the family change when facing traumatic
loss and the family may make dysfunctional attempt to reach a homeostatic level
(Clements et al., 2004). For example, the family can create demand for the child to
infantilize following the traumatic loss of another child (Bowlby-West, 1983).
Furthermore, it enforces family rules to a new situation (Rosenblatt, 2017). Holes
that are created following a traumatic loss of a family member cannot be closed
many years after the death. Regaining the sense of safety lost after the traumatic
event both broadly and within its dynamic is one of the essential subjects for the
bereaved family (Harris & Rabenstein, 2014). Walsh and McGoldrick (2004)
identify four adaptation tasks for bereaved families experiencing traumatic death: i)
shared acknowledgment of the traumatic event, ii) shared experience of loss due to

some family activities such as rituals, iii) family/community reorganization, and iv) reinvestment in new relationships. Shared acknowledgment is pointed out also by Davis et al. (2012) suggesting that shared narrative is more important than its positivity and it reduces marital conflicts (Murphy et al., 2003).

1.6 Grief in Social Context

Neither the individual nor the family grieves out of context. The grieving process is affected by the environment in which the living organism is located. Surrounding systems may provide support mechanisms for the family, as in other matters of life, and may also include factors that make grieving difficult and complicate the grieving process (Walsh, 2006). Larger systems connect to the grief process with multiple relations and interactions. They may influence both the occurrence of the loss and the recovery process after the loss. For this reason, it is important what kind of social ecological environment the family grieves in. Culture constitutes an essential part of human life and it is also an inseparable part of loss and grief. Culture serves a template with which bereaved people experience and express their feelings (Rosenblatt, 2003), so in order to understand the family dynamics during grief process, one should know the possible influence of the culture. Expression of emotions in the grief period and how the individual experiences the bereavement occur within the cultural context (Klapper et al. 1994) Furthermore, law, health system or working place system are the elements of the particular context (Institute of Medicine & Committee for the Study of Health Consequences of the Stress of Bereavement, 1984).

1.7 Grief within the Context of Social Justice

Existing research mostly misses a focus on how individuals' social position affect their grief and accessibility to various care and support systems within the society during bereavement (Wheat, 2017). However, grief is argued to be interconnected with social justice in various aspects. In this section, the scope of this connection will be examined by looking at loss, grief and social justice literature. Social justice is defined as:

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"Full and equal participation of all groups in a society that is mutually shaped to meet their needs. Social justice includes a vision of society in which the distribution of resources is equitable and all members are physically and psychologically safe and secure." (Bell, 1997; p. 3)

In the foreword she wrote for the Handbook of Social Justice in Loss and Grief: Exploring Diversity, Equity and Inclusion (Harris & Bordere, 2016), Doka (2016) emphasizes the need to "address the ways that social class influences the care of dying and bereaved individuals." (p.xv). Similarly Barrett (2016) argues that "poverty and socioeconomic issues remain the greatest barriers to quality health care and quality of life for many who have no voice, and too few advocates" (p. xviii).

Social inequalities play a role not only in terms of quality of life, access to health care and health-related outcomes, but also in terms of individuals' and families' experiences around loss and grief. Privilege and power are two concepts that are closely associated with the issues of social justice and should be considered to better understand the dynamics involved in the experiences of loss and grief (Harris & Bordere, 2016).

In circumstances including bereavement, power dynamics and social standing may have an impact on access to resources and options. Individuals with more qualities or social identities linked to privileged status have better access to resources and opportunities. In contrast, the more features that position people in low-power or target groups, the less likely they are to succeed. On the other hand, the more qualities that position people in low-power or target groups, the less likely they are to share equitably in the power base and profit from the possibilities that come with it. People who live on the periphery of society frequently suffer grief that is "disenfranchised," ignored, and unsupported both within their subcultures and in society at large (Doka, 1989; 2002). Individuals who are marginalized may also experience "suffocated grief" (Bordere, 2014, p. 169) as a result of the penalties imposed for expressing grief and grieving.

Due to factors such as the cause of death, the grieving process might sometimes be pushed to legal processes. The perception of social justice by human-

made disaster survivors is negatively correlated with PTSD and complicated grief (Choi & Cho, 2020). Trauma survivors report high level of distress and PTSD symptoms as the result of interacting with offender in court and being charged by the other party's advocate (Nakajima et al. 2012; Huggins & Hinkson, 2020). In her study, Herman (2005) found that realizing of being worthless in the legal system is shocking for trauma survivors. Their anxiety and depression levels decrease when the satisfaction from justice system increases (Amick-McMullan et al., 1989) despite the uncertain legal process increases depression and distress (Stiles, 2020). One of the auxiliary elements in this process is working with an advocate. It decreases negative interpersonal experiences and the resulting distress due to this (Campbell, 2006). Trauma survivors become oversensitive to the interaction with the personnel and disrespectful approach of the personnel is not rare (Herman, 2005). While they expect to restore the sense of safety and to retake the control, untrained personnel can lead to the opposite perception (Jordan, 2001). In situations where police blames victim, the sense of injustice increases among trauma survivors.

Other challenges that bereaved families face are secondary victimization and unfairness of justice and they bring about the feeling of marginalization and unimportance (Englebrecht et al., 2014; Orth, 2002; Riches, 1998). If the deceased person is the child of the family, the family enters the legal process as a suspect (Riches, 1998). This process itself can be seen a secondary victimization and it is reported that it is more harmful than the criminal incident (Orth, 2002). It is also destructive for trauma recovery (Regehr et al., 2008). The "usual" grief process is replaced by the social justice issues and legal process (Riches, 1998). Despite the legal process can be a chance for the bereaved family to express the feelings, it is usually restrained by the court (Riches, 1998). Herman (2005) stated that it is believed that the legal system works for the high social status people because of its nature. Actually, how long the offender gets sentenced is not the first concern for trauma survivors. However, involving in the legal system can be seen appropriate and fair by them as long as their thoughts and feelings re valued by the court (Regehr et al., 2008; Wemmers, 1995). Another issue is that victim, his/her family and offender come face to face in this process (Pearlman et al., 2014). Limited information provided by legal system, which gives a hostile impression to trauma

survivors, gives way to secondary victimization (Burns, 2013). In addition to that, legal system is perceived as a tool of gaining validation of family, immediate environment and society (Herman, 2005). The relationship with the community takes more important place than the punishment of the offender.

Except for situations brought about by being involved in legal processes, socioeconomic inequalities, which are also the subject of social justice, may interfere with grief process. In their study among Zulu, which is the native part of South Africa society, Rosenblatt and Nkosi (2007) concluded with that rather than finding opportunities to deal with their own grief processes, bereaved widows invest energy in the challenges posed by socioeconomic conditions such as poverty. With all that, grief and bereavement in the context of social justice can give rise to social movement such as Black Lives Matter protests (Granek, 2014; Al'Uqdah & Adomako, 2017) and Cheng (2001) entitles this reaction "political mourning." Taking part in the social movement can be seen as a part of social support and empowerment mechanism (Cheng, 2001). Butler (2003) shows that public expression of certain losses is considered inappropriate by using the term "publicly ungrievable lives." One cannot see the name of the person in the newspaper, who died from AIDS or who died as a child in Iraq. "Certain lives will be highly protected … Other live will not find such fast and furious support and will not even qualify as grievable." (Butler, 2003).

Another area where mourning and social justice meet is truth and reconciliation commission (TRC). TRCs are organized to deal with all aspects of a past social trauma by including all parties –victims, offenders, witnesses and bystanders- into the process (McIvor, 2016). One of its aims is to restore social justice that did not happen in a timely manner. It can be also identified as a public mourning. Zara (2018) advocates acquaintedness of victim, offender and other parties gives an opportunity to break the cycle of transgenerational transmission of the trauma. Even if the healing effect of TRCs is questionable (Gobodo-Madikizela, 1997; Swartz & Drennan, 2000), there are limited findings in the literature.

1.8 Aim and Significance of the Study

High numbers of work accidents occur every year and a considerable amount of them result with death. Therefore, the number of the families that continue their lives after the loss is also high. The purpose of this study is to understand how the families of the deceased worker who died due to a work accident experience grief process.

The families have unique trajectory when they experience a traumatic loss. In addition to that, families interact with judicial system and social justice becomes an issue that pervades their lives. This study aims to explore how social justice issues are involved within the grief process.

The research, theory and practice of bereavement concentrate on the individual and personal dynamics and responses. While it constitutes a significant part of this field, the family as a whole and relational system is overlooked in grief and bereavement research (Walsh & McGoldrick, 2013; Kissane, 2014). However, the family gives reaction to the loss as a system. The current study aims to understand the grief process of the family and the family will be regarded as a whole and relational system. The goal of this study is to contribute to and enrich the literature about family grief, by specifically examining the grief process of families of deceased worker who died due to work accidents, in which the bereavement potentially involves social justice issues.

High numbers of fatal work accidents occur every year and families of the decedents have a different life trajectory from the expectation. Although family members individually have unique reactions to the loss, family as a whole also produces a systemic response. However, the grief has not been well investigated in the literature (Kissane & Bloch, 1994; Walsh & McGoldrick, 2013). Studies investigating the loss and grief within family usually try to understand the effect of loss on certain family members. This study examines the grief process of the family as a whole.

Grief in the literature is divided into two concepts: normal grief and pathological grief (Middleton et al. 1993). While grief is defined as a universal

reaction and process to the loss, pathological grief is interpreted as a deviation from cultural and social expectations. In addition to the individual focus of these explanations, it may not be beneficial to classify sadness as normal and pathological, because people must focus on specific contexts along with the cultural and social expectations. This research focuses on the specific context, such as the sort of death, the family's reaction, and the time frame in which the death occurred.

To our knowledge, a study was conducted on Australian families who lost loved ones due to fatal work accidents (Mathews et al. 2012). They have made great contributions to literature. There are different reasons for the need for current research. First, the relationship between these families and social justice issues varies from culture to culture, economics, and politics. Secondly, interviewing all family members will be a good choice to understand the family system. Third, an average of 3 to 4 people in Turkey die from work-related injuries (İ.S.İ.G Meclisi, 2021), and there are even hundreds of deaths. Therefore, it may have different meanings in this environment.

Grief of the family cannot be examined in isolation but it should be understood in particular time, place and context. Family as a system has subsystems and is circled by other supra systems (e.g. economic system; Walsh, 2014). One of the contributions of this study comes from its inclusion of particular context into the research.

The research questions of the current study are as follows: (a) How do families experience grief following a family member's death due to fatal work accident? (b) How are the issues of social justice involved in bereavment?

CHAPTER 2

METHOD

2.1 Qualitative Method and Grounded Theory

Qualitative research is one of the methods to form an opinion about social reality. It enables the researcher to gain a deep insight of a social phenomenon and understand unique experience of social actors in a non-experimental/naturalistic condition (Leavy, 2014). Social justice movements in the second half of twentieth century creates new opportunity and query in academia which gives rise to the use of qualitative methods in social science (Jovanović, 2011). Therefore, using qualitative method would be an appropriate option for this study, where social justice is predominantly mentioned. This study does not aim to prove or disprove any theory; rather it aspires to understand the unique experience of the families. To this respect, quantitative study does not emerge as an option. The only way to acquire a detailed picture of this experience is through qualitative research.

Grounded theory is theorized by Glaser and Strauss (1967) with the intention of generating theory from gained data when both of theorists experience loss of a loved person (Bryant, 2014). Grounded theory is one of the most used methods in many disciplines like psychology, sociology, anthropology (Charmaz & Belgrave, 2012) and it is used to propose middle-range theories by gathering and analyzing data (Charmaz & Belgrave, 2012; Corbin & Strauss, 2008). The current study examines the experiences of the bereaved families who lost one of their members due to work accident by adapting the systemic framework. With the increased use of quantitative method, the distinction between theory and research grew. In the mainstream and quantitative research based literature, the aim is to prove a theory with obtained numeric data. The coherence between theory and current research is mostly investigated. However, researchers can also build theory based on the data by using grounded theory and grounded theory reduces the distinction between theory

and practice (Charmaz & Belgrave, 2012). Therefore, constructing a middle-ranged theory is the major purpose of the grounded theory. Saying "theory from data" is open to misunderstandings because the researcher's role seems to be overlooked. On the contrary, grounded theory contains the active role of the researcher from building research problem to analyzing process and it accepts the inevitable influence of the researcher originating from their own experiences or world view (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). Grounded theory hypothesizes the experience cannot be separated from its contextual elements like political or cultural conditions. This study also necessitates a holistic view integrating individual, family and other systems.

Within the framework of family systems theory, the current study aims to propose a middle-ranged theory by focusing on the families' experiences who lost one of their members due to work accident.

2.2 Participants

Ten bereaved families (a total of 16 family members) voluntarily participated in the current research. Family is defined as the nuclear family of the decedent including his/her parents, siblings, romantic partner/spouse or children. Convenience sampling was used. Available and willing family members were involved in the interview. Inclusion criteria were (1) being any member of a family that lost one of its member due to work accident, (2) being above the age of 10 and (3) no more than 7 years and no less than 6 months have passed since the loss. Participants' ages were ranged between 12 and 65. While five families were represented by the parents, other five families were represented by the spouses and children of the deceased. Furthermore, six families experienced loss due to individual work accident (e.g. falling down from height) and four families lost their member in a collective work accident (e.g. mine explosion). The descriptive characteristics of the cases can be seen in Table 1.

2.3 Procedure

After the approval of TEDU Human Rsearch Ethics Committee, most of the participants were contacted via Health and Safety Labor Watch / Turkey (İşçi Sağlığı

Table 1

Descripitve Characteristics of the Cases

Family #	The Age When He Died	Line of Business	Cause of Death	Role in the Family	Extend of the Accident *	Interviewee(s)
1	26	Mine	Explosion	Child	Multiple	Both parents
2	20	Mine	Explosion	Child	Multiple	Both parents
3	28	Defense	Unplanned machine work	Child	Single	Father and brother
4	17	Advertising	Electric Shock	Child	Single	Father
5	18	Chemistry	Chemical Explosion	Child	Multiple	Brother
6	50	Transportation	Load Fall	Father	Single	Daughter
7	35	Construction	Falling Down**	Father	Single	Spouse and children
8	40	Mine	Explosion	Father	Multiple	Spouse
9	47	Energy	Transformer Explosion	Father	Single	Spouse
10	47	Cleaning	Falling Down**	Father	Single	Spouse and Son

*Did the accident cause multiple deaths or the death of a single individual?

** Falling Down From Height

ve İş Güvenliği Meclisi; İSİG Meclisi) which is a non-governmental organization that works for the occupational health and safety in Turkey and it was established by workers and their families. In addition to İSİG Meclisi, some other labour unions and political parties assisted the researcher to connect with potential participants. Lastly, a family matching the inclusion criteria was reached through the personal network of the researcher. In the initial contact with the person, who lost a family member through work accident, the aim of the research and the frame of the interview were explained. Two of the interviews were conducted face to face at TED University Applied Psychology Unit. With the onset of COVID-19 pandemic, the rest of the

interviews were carried out on an online platform and 8 families participated in this way.

At the beginning of all interviews, informed consent forms were presented to each adult participant both in a written format and verbally (See Appendix A). Consents for the children under the age of 18 were taken from the parents (See Appendix B). All volunteer family members of each decedent were present in the same interview. In the interviews, some families were represented by two or three members whereas some families were represented only by a single member. Independent from the number of the family members present at the interviews, the questions were targeted at family-level investigation rather than assessing individual experiences. Interviews were semi-structured and each family member was encouraged to answer every question (See Appendix C). At the beginning of the interview, some warm-up questions were asked (e.g. "Can you tell of your family?") in order not to jump into the core topic of loss and to give some time for the participants to prepare themselves and develop a trusting relationship with the interviewer. Each interview lasted 60-90 minutes and the interviewer presented his appreciation to the family members for their participation.

2.4 Data Analysis

The analysis began with conducting the first interview. "Simultaneous data collection and analysis" is one of the essential points of grounded theory, meaning that collecting and analyzing data are two inseparable processes (Charmaz & Belgrave, 2012). The first interviews were conducted with pre-planned questions and they were especially important in terms of reorganizing and rescheduling next ones. Adding new questions and deleting dysfunctional ones continued until the last interview. Thesis supervisor (Gökler-Danışman) and the researcher (İnan) created initial codes and turn them to selective codes. MAXQDA Analytics Pro Software was used for data coding and analysis. Coding process consisted of two stages. The first one was initial or open coding and the researcher took the transcription of the interview as its original form without any addition or deletion. The researcher read the transcription and created many categories "line by line" (Bryant, 2014). In this stage, the questions that the researcher tried to answer were "What is happening at

this point? What does the data tell us?" The second stage was selective coding and the researcher conceptualized these categories by synthesizing them in this stage. The concepts derived from selective coding were more abstract and general than ones of the first stage. Data collection ends when codes and themes are repeated (Bryant, 2014). When a saturation point was reached, data collecting was ended.

2.5 Ethical Consideration

A scientific research can be evaluated as an ethical issue from research question to the analysis. The current study has an ethical stance in terms of the question it chose because it has an attempt to keep light on a social issue. In addition to this, ethical concerns of the researcher have continued during the whole process even while writing these sentences. As the subject of the study is very sensitive and enables strong feelings arise, this part has been compulsory.

Even if this research aims to study grief processes of families of the deceased worker who died due to work accident, its invisible purpose was to enhance the beneficence of the participants and not to give harm them. This issue has been discussed in detail by some articles (Cook, 1995; Parkes, 1995). Does speaking about the loss of a family member cause distress or a feeling of relief? It is a controversial topic; however, participants of a grief study stated that participating made a positive impression and it was a good option to express themselves (Cook & Bosley, 1995). We can assume that expressing taboo topics like death will have a positive effect. The principles of clinical interviewing (Sommers-Flanagan & Sommers-Flanagan, 2009) were applied in the interviews of this study and the trained interviewer (İnan) used clinical skills like active listening, conveying empathy and adopting a non-judgmental stance.

Volunteer participation, the right of the participants to know in what kind of study they are involved and right to withdraw from the study are other ethical concerns in the grief studies. These were stressed both in the recruitment to the contact person and prior the interview process to all family members. The use of technical jargon was largely avoided and the content of the study was explained in a clear and daily language. In addition to that, written informed consent forms were

given to the participants while the interviews were held face to face. The same was achieved via mail after switching to the online platform. At this point, Cook (1995) questioned whether bereaved participants are able to give consent or not because of the concerns about mental health status of the participants. This was one of the reasons the current study applied the criterion of at least 6 months since the loss.

2.6 Reflexivity

The researchers may potentially influence any stage of the research with their personal, social or ideological positioning. Reflexivity means the researcher's questioning him/herself and being aware of, sharing and taking responsibility of his/her possible influences on the research starting from stating the research question phase (Berger, 2015). In that way, the creditability of the research improves and one can gain a deeper understanding from the findings (Dodgson, 2019). Reflexivity is particularly a subject in social sciences and it is seen as a need in order to provide the trustworthiness of the study (Teh & Lek, 2018; Carmack & Degroot, 2014).

One of the most significant questions in reflexivity is: "Is it possible the researcher bracket his/her subjective position?" It is argued by positivism that the research should be an output independent from the researcher (Fischer, 2009). However, qualitative inquiry states that it is impossible for the researcher to completely separate him/herself from the research (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Bryant, 2014). While the codes reflect the process that the participants are going through, on the other hand, they were also created by the potentially subjective processing of the researcher. As loss and grief has a sensitive nature, talking about them may reveal deep emotions during the interview and it is also true for the researcher (Koocher, 1974). Acknowledging it rather than bracketing helps the research becomes more meaningful. The reflexive statement of the researcher presented in Appendix D.

CHAPTER 3

RESULTS

Various themes representing the experiences of the families emerged from the rich data, so one can gain a deep insight about how families experience the grief following a family member's death due to fatal work accident. Some themes overlapped with the situations seen in other loss and grief processes. For instance, the support of the immediate environment during this period is a situation seen both in the families of current study and in bereaved families outside of this sample. Family rituals, such as the extended family gathering on the 7th or 40th day of the loss, are not specific to this sample, but are culturally specific and are performed after almost every loss. Additionally, as family members are individually a part of the family system, their individual experiences can be also deduced from the data. Feelings such as anger, sadness or missing the deceased one are not specific to our sample. Moreover, some reactions –denial, forgetfulness, or faint- remained at the individual level. These findings will not be elaborated in this section and mainly the circumstances specific to loss as a result of work accidents and the experiences of the family system will be examined in detail. Of our interest, three core themes emerged in the analysis: i) factors that complicating the grief process, ii) family grief dynamics: A shift in family structure and organization, and iii) family within and as an active agent of social justice system. Each core theme will be explained in detail along with the sub themes and quotations of the participants in the following sections.

3.1 Super-Ordinate Theme I: Factors Potentially Complicating the Grief Process

Results indicated the presence of diverse factors potentially complicating the grief of the families who lost a member due to workplace accident. These factors were identified as the sudden, unexpected and traumatic nature of the loss, causal

attributions regarding the death, bureaucratic interactions with the other systems following the loss and the isolating effect of Covid-19 pandemic.

3.1.1 Nature of the Loss: Sudden, Unexpected, Traumatic

First of all, in workplace deaths the nature of the loss characterizes the grief process and differentiates it from the grief process following other types of losses. Here the loss was sudden and unexpected as the family lost one of its members while life was normally flowing. Therefore the loss was "shocking" (*şok edici*) for the families. The loss occurred at a time when the families were engaged in daily affairs and the theme of death was not in their lives. The fact that the decedent did not have a previous work accident, previous illness, or current substance addiction also made it even more unexpected. A participant explained the issue as follows:

"The sudden fact that he went to work, but did not come back, devastated us even more. We didn't live thinking about these. We were always thinking that he would go to work and retire and stay at home. Of course, when that happened, we were in shock. Even if he was not at work, if he passed away due to old age, of course, so many people would not have suffered. People would not be so shocked."

"Bir anda işe gidip gelmemesi bizi daha çok yıktı. Biz bunları düşünerek yaşamıyorduk. Devamlı işine gidip gelecek emekli olacak evde oturacak diye düşünüyorduk. Tabi biz de böyle olunca şoka girdik. İş yerinde olmasa da yaşlılığıyla kendi kendine vefat etseydi tabi bu kadar insan acı çekmezdi insan bu kadar şoka girmezdi."

Another family stated:

"The suddenness of it is a great trauma in itself. There is a disease, you go to a doctor in a house, there is a treatment process or there is no treatment. There is a preparation process… There is no news after a couple of hours, so I think it is a great trauma for families to live that moment."

"Ani olması bir kere başlı başına büyük bir travma yani bir hastalık vardır bir evin içerisinde bir doktora gidilir tedavi süreci vardır ya da yoktur. Bir

hazırlanma süreci vardır ama bir sabah işe giden eşiniz ya da evladınız ya da çocuğunuz. Bir iki saat sonra yok haberi geliyor yani o ani yaşıyor olmak büyük bir travmadır ailelerde bence."

The families also reported that the loss was untimely and they could not find time to say goodbye to their loved one. The loss was perceived as untimely, regardless of whether the deceased was a parent or child and happened earlier than it should have. A bereaved family commented:

"We don't know if it was perhaps his feelings that he was leaving so soon. He was only 26 when he died. He was in the prime of his life, he couldn't get enough of his two children, we couldn't get enough of him."

"Bu kadar erken gideceğini belki de hisleri mi söylüyordu bilmiyoruz. Hayatını kaybettiğinde daha 26 yaşındaydı. Hayatının baharındaydı o iki tane evladına doymadı biz ona doymadık."

The family's unpreparedness for this loss and the lack of time to prepare for the loss were other features. Families who lost a relative as a result of an illness have this opportunity, while those who lost their relatives as a result of a work accident are taken away from them. Some families spent a few days in the hospital before the loss, and this provided time to prepare for the loss.

Work-related deaths had a different place in terms of the type of death and the deterioration of body integrity. Some bodies underwent high levels of deformation while others became almost unrecognizable. For example, this was the case for most of the workers who were crushed after the mining explosion. Especially in accidents involving multiple deaths, families on the one hand hoped that their relatives are alive, and on the other hand, they checked the body bags one by one in order to find the decedent's body. A family who lost their child explained it so:

"Sir, do you know what it means for a father to not recognize his child? I couldn't recognize my son. My son was 26 years old. There were many more like my son, I hardly recognized him from the tattoo on his arm."

"Hocam bir babanın evladını tanıyamaması ne demek bilir misin ben oğlumu tanıyamadım. 26 yaşındaydı benim oğlum. Benim oğlum gibi daha niceleri vardı kolundaki dövmesinden zor tanıdım çocuğu."

It was also very exhausting for families to think about the possible pain that the person suffered while dying. This was a painful and difficult situation for families to voice. Because they did the same job as the deceased, some family members said they can only guess how much pain they have suffered. One family explained this difficult situation as follows:

"Sir, in what way my son struggled there, in what way he was tortured, in what way … I'll go crazy when I think about it, sir. So I'm a miner. I can't think of my child anyway, teacher. I can't even imagine that explosion."

"Hocam şimdi evladım ne şekilde orada çırpındı, ne şekil eziyet gördü, ne şekilde … kaza gördü yani. Düşünemiyorum. Düşündükçe kafayı çıldırtıcam hocam. Ben madenciyim yani. Evladımı düşünemiyorum zaten hocam. O patlamayı düşünemiyorum zaten."

The fact that it is not known exactly how the person died was also a feature of deaths as the result of work accidents. As far as the colleagues told and limited camera records showed, information about the accident is obtained. The family does not know exactly what happened to the person they lost and this brought uncertainty. A family told about the unknown side of the accident:

"There are uncertainties in our minds in this greatest process. Because they said that, because he died like that, but we don't know if he really died like that. They said that he lifted the single truck cover himself, put an anchor in it, and died as a result of the head being hit by the cover as a result of the slipping of the iron. But something like this; those truck caps are too much weight. At 300-400 kilos, maybe more I don't know."

"Bu en büyük süreçte bizim kafamızda olan belirsizlikler var. Çünkü hani onlar öyle söyledi, öyle öldü diye ama gerçekten öyle mi öldü onu bilmiyoruz. Aslında bilir.. Şöyle. Tek kamyon kapağını kendisinin kaldırdığını, araya

demir koyduğunu, demirin kayması sonucu kafasına kapak çarpması sonucu
öldüğünü söylediler. Ama şöyle bir şey; o kamyon kapakları çok fazla kiloda.
300-400 kiloda, belki daha fazladır bilmiyorum"

Some accidents were on a larger scale where many workers were involved, and this was a collective trauma experience in the lives of families. All the deceased workers' families gathered in the same area with state officials, media and other interested parties aftermath the multiple deaths. They also had difficulties in accessing the correct information.

3.1.2 Causal Attributions to Human Factors: Malice, Negligence and Fault

Families made three basic attributions regarding the occurrence of the incident resulted in death: i) malicious intentions, ii) fault, and iii) neglect. What common in all these attributions was that they were all based on the belief that death was caused by human hands. Those who think that this was the result of malicious intentions, considered the death as a "murder" (*cinayet*) or "massacre" (*katliam*). According to them, the death of hundreds of people in the country every year as a result of work accidents was an indication of the intentionality underlying all these losses. The company that did not take the necessary precautions and overlooked the risks and dangers for their employees and the state institutions that did not control them were held responsible for the death. Therefore, families demanded that the defendants should be tried in heavy penal courts. A participant expressed this situation very clearly:

"Unfortunately, it is a work murder because of the capital's ambition to make a lot of money by making people work like slaves, oppressing people, constantly riding on workers. These three are political power, capital, yellow union. If the whole world would gathered together, what these three created together, no one could kill 301 people together in 5 minutes. Even if there is war, no one can kill. ... When people think about it later, it really has the characteristics of an organized terrorist organization for me. Because the political power has not done its duty, the union has not done its duty, because of the capital's greed for profit; it has never thought about the health of its

workers and has not taken the necessary precautions. So this is literally murder. They committed murder."

"Maalesef bunlar bir iş cinayeti. Bu üçü siyasal iktidar sermaye sarı sendika. Bu üçünün ortaklaşa meydana getirdikleri dünya alem toplansa bir araya 301 kişi 5 dakika içinde kimse öldüremez savaş olsa bile kimse öldüremez. İnsan sonra sonra düşündükçe gerçekten örgütlü terör örgütü niteliği taşıyor benim için yani. Çünkü siyasal iktidar görevini yapmamış sendika görevini yapmamış sermaye kar hırsı yüzünden işçisini sağlığını iş güvenliğini asla düşünmemiş alması gereken önlemleri almamış. Bundan dolayı bu resmen cinayettir. Cinayet işlediler."

Some families thought that there was no offender and interpreted it as an "accident" (*kaza*). Additionally, it was also reported that multiple negligence came together and played a role in this incident resulted in death.

3.1.3 Overwhelming Bureaucratic Interactions with Other Systems Following the Loss

Getting into the judicial system and having to deal with bureaucratic affairs worn down the families in many aspects. Family members found it difficult to find time for themselves because of being busy with these things. Moreover, one of the difficult experiences was "bargaining" (*pazarlık*) with the employer. Families reported that the employers contacted them after the incident and made a financial offer. For families who evaluated the death as a result of malicious intentions, this contact meant facing the murderer. A bereaved spouse declared this difficulty with these words:

"He [the employer] said he wanted to be with (help) the children, I refused every time, I don't want such a thing, I never accepted it. Then our lawyers stated that there should be a compromise side to this issue. And I was the one who would make that reconciliation side, so I had to meet with the boss after all. ... That process hurt me a lot, because you know why? In fact, somewhere you are negotiating for the future of your children and your spouse's life."

"Çocukların yanında olmak istediğini söyledi ben her seferinde reddettim böyle bir şey istemiyorum asla kabul etmiyorum. Sonra avukatlarımız bu işin bir uzlaşır tarafının olması gerektiğini belirtmişlerdi. Ve o uzlaşı tarafını yapıcak olan da bendim ben yani benim görüşmem gerekiyordu patronla sonuçta. ... O süreç de çok hırpaladı beni yani onla çünkü neden biliyor musunuz? Aslında siz bir yerde ee çocuklarınızın geleceği için ee eşinizin hayatının pazarlığını yapıyorsunuz."

3.1.4 The Isolating Effect of COVID-19 Pandemic

Families who experienced loss just before the pandemic experienced their mourning process during the pandemic period. During this period, families were deprived of meeting with their loved ones and, in fact, the social support that comes from them. This provoked downheartedness and anxiety. Contact with the extended family, which is a supportive factor in the adjustment process, has to be reduced to a minimum. For example, a bereaved spouse stated that they visit her sister every summer and that it has a healing effect on them, but they could not go this summer. The isolated family began to experience the loss more deeply. Furthermore, some rituals those required gatherings in a closed area either were not performed or were limited to the nuclear family.

3.2 Super-Ordinate Theme II: Family Grief Dynamics: A Shift in Family Structure and Organization

3.2.1 Post-Loss Family Emotional Field

Losses as a result of work accidents brought many emotions with them. Surviving families frequently emphasized that the feeling of anger was dominant after the death. One of the points that anger was related to was the reference to the nature of the loss – the malicious intention. The anger was not only due to the unnatural nature of the loss, but also to the large-scale system, the justice system, the boss, and the person who lost his life. Families stated that the compelling experiences, especially in judicial processes, caused anger. These experiences included the behavior of the defendants and the fact that the defendants were not punished. A participant explained the feeling of anger as follows:

"I am very angry. … I mean, if there was sickness, maybe I wouldn't be so angry. I mean, why does it make me angry, because he was working under very intense conditions. Working under very intense conditions and being pushed to that job actually went in parallel with his concerns about the future of his children."

"Öfke duyuyorum çok fazla. Yani hastalık olsaydı mesela belki bu kadar öfkeli olmazdım. Yani şöyle ki iş yerinde olması neden öfkelendiriyor beni, çünkü çok yoğun şartlarda çalışıyordu. Çok yoğun şartlarda çalışması ve o çalışmaya itilmesi aslında çocuklarının geleceği ile ilgili olan kaygılarıyla paralel ilerliyordu."

The anger sometimes directed to justice system and those who denied social support to bereaved families. A participant said:

"Yes, he passed away, but if the other party - the criminals - had at least been punished, my perspective might have been a little more compassionate, but right now I am so full of hatred and anger towards those people. For example, most of the remaining miners in Soma did not take care of their friends, our wives died."

"Evet, vefat etti ama karşı taraf -suçlular- en azından cezasını çekseydi bakış açım belki biraz daha merhametli olabilirdi ama şu anda o kadar kin ve öfke doluyum ki o insanlara karşı. mesela Soma'daki geriye kalan çoğu madenci de sahip çıkmadı arkadaşlarına, bizim eşlerimiz öldü"

One of the feelings frequently expressed by families was the feeling of guilt. This feeling came only from families who had lost a child due to work accident. The parents who participated in the interview thought that they could not take care of their dead children, which was their duty. A bereaved father explained it so:

"We didn't need his work. Even if we didn't work, we could make a living. He is young, only 17 years old. He insisted on it. Of course, there are "if only" things there; why did we send it or if we hadn't sent it. It happens to me especially. I wish I hadn't let it work."

"Bizim onun çalışmasına ihtiyacımız yoktu. Çalışmasa da hayatımızı idame ettirebilirdik. Genç, daha 17 yaşında neticede. Kendisi ısrarla istedi. Orda tabi ki "keşke"ler oluyor işte; niye gönderdik, göndermeseydik tarzında. Bende oluyor özellikle. Keşke izin vermeseydim çalışmasına gibi."

Along with these emotions, desperation, hopelessness about the future, sadness and longing were the feelings expressed by the families.

3.2.2 Changing Roles and Responsibilities

Preexisting roles among the family members changed after the loss in various ways. Almost all roles were redistributed following the traumatic loss. First of all, in most of the participated families one of the family members took the role of "stabilizer" (dağılmayan) for the sake of others' well-being and "the one who stands for the family" (ayakta duran). One of the purposes of undertaking this role was that others do not fall apart suddenly, maintain their psychological stability, meaning to keep up their psychological well-being and stability. Additionally, parents or grandparents thought that as long as they can stand up for themselves, their children can stand up as well and they do not have difficulty returning to their daily routines or social life. The role of "stabilizer" and the "one who stands for the family" also had some psychological outcomes which were anxiety and depression as reported by the participants. A participant expressed this role well:

"I don't want other people to interfere. I handle everything. I'm talking to his lawyer, I'm talking to another. I'm researching it, I wonder if he is, so what's the result? If so, what would be the result? In this process, I am more tired. I am trying not to show them because my brother is following in my footsteps. I have to stand up straighter."

"Diğer insanların karışmasını istemiyorum. Her şeyi ben hallediyorum. Avukatıyla konuşuyorum, onuyla ben konuşuyorum. Onu araştırıyorum acaba diyorum o öyleyse ne sonuç çıkar? Böyle olursa nasıl bir sonuç doğurabilir diye. Bu süreçte ben daha çok yoruluyorum. Hani ben onlara göstermemeye çalışıyorum çünkü kardeşim beni örnek alıyor. Ben daha dik durmak zorundayım."

Many formal (e.g., the role of a father, spouse, husband) and informal roles (e.g., playmate, confidant, keystone of the family, an organ, companion, close friend) within the family were lost or vacated along with the death. Each of them had a different meaning and this meaning resonates differently in every family, although they have common aspects. In an environment where there was so much loss of roles, usually, a family member tried to compensate for the vacant roles. The family felt the relational and functional loss of the deceased. Especially women who lost their spouses stated that they are both mothers and fathers for their children. A participant who lost her father due to work accident explained her attempt to compensate for the father's role with these words:

> "This is really painful, raising a child without a father. You become both mother and father, so it was a very difficult thing."

> *"Acı gerçekten acı bir şey babasız çocuk büyütmek. Hem annesin hem babasın yani çok zor bir şeymiş."*

Furthermore, supplementary roles were taken among family members with regard to grief work. For instance, in a family, one of the children assumed the role of the introvert while other one expressed more her feelings after losing their father. In another case, the child became more "standing" on her foots while the mother became miserable. For parents who lost their children due to work accident, other surviving child was assigned the role of the primary love object that binds the parents to life. Some families had difficulty in meaning making process and could not find any reason to continue their lives. In this point, existence of the surviving child prevents them from ending their lives.

One of the surviving family members became spokesperson of the family and took on the role of interacting and communicating with other systems. The person in this role was more interested in forensic matters, he/she gave statements to newspapers and became the person who participates in this study. The families were motivated by creating social benefit and making their voices heard more. It also means reexperiencing the loss many times as they described the loss many times in

many areas. At the same time, it is a way to "protect" other family members from reexperiencing this traumatic event.

After the death, responsibilities of the family members increased compared to prior periods. In addition to the previous responsibilities, the responsibilities undertaken by the decedent which are now vacant were also distributed among the family members. Parents of a family who lost their child started giving care to grandchildren. While there was a division of labor in the house before and everyone had a place in this division of labor, a different distribution occurred after the loss depending on the new needs. A family member said on this issue:

> "Yes, my father was working, he was bringing money, yes. But the remaining responsibility was already on my mother and me. Then, when something like this happened, I had to take it all over myself."

> *"Evet babam çalışıyordu, para getiriyordu evet. Ama geri kalan sorumluluk zaten annem ve benim üzerimdeydi. Sonrasında da böyle bir şey olunca ben hepsini kendi üstüme almak zorunda kaldım."*

For some families who lost one of the parents, shift in roles and responsibilities resulted in a new hierarchical organization, which in turn led to parentification of the child. Actually, this responsibility and role was given to the child on one hand, and the child herself/himself aspired to this responsibility on the other hand. This includes doing household chores that should belong to the parents, as well as caring for the surviving parent who has lost their physical or psychological health following the death. A daughter who lost her father described this situation that started right after his death in the following striking words:

> "My aunt said we lost him. At that moment, my hand and foot were released. Because I still can't believe it. I couldn't believe it, I still can't believe it anyway. On the one hand I am interested in my little brother, on the other hand my grandmother fainted, trying to look at her on the sidelines. I can't think of myself anyway."

"Teyzem onu kaybettik dedi. O an hani elim ayağım boşaldı. İnanamıyorum hala çünkü. İnanamadım hala da inanamıyorum zaten. Bir yandan küçük kardeşimle ilgileniyorum bir yandan anneannem bayıldı kenarda ona bakmaya çalışıyorum. Kendimi hiç düşünemiyorum zaten"

The same participant (age 17) explained her changing responsibility in the next period:

"I was 13 when I lost it. I was just a child. But suddenly I had to mature. When I had to grow up suddenly, I felt more like their second mother than a sister because I always think of them, I always think about their goodness, even if I don't show it very much. For example, we argue a lot in the house as two sisters. Even after arguing, I wonder if she becomes upset or being hurt. So I think maybe I wouldn't have thought about it if I hadn't lost my father, for example, if I hadn't matured like that."

"Ben 13 yaşındaydım kaybettiğimde. Daha çocuktum. Ama birden olgunlaşmak zorunda kaldım. Birden büyümek zorunda kalınca kendimi abladan çok onların ikinci annesi gibi hissettim çünkü pek belli etmesem bile hep onları düşünüyorum, hep iyiliklerini düşünüyorum. Biz mesela evin içinde çok tartışıyoruz iki kız kardeş. Ama hani tartıştıktan sonra bile acaba üzülmüş müdür kırılmış mıdır çok şey yapmış mıdır diye düşünüyorum. Yani belki de babamı kaybetmeseydim mesela böyle olgunlaşmasaydım bunları düşünmezdim diye düşünüyorum."

Furthermore, the surviving child was assigned with a serious responsibility by being the only bond of his/her parents to life. In fact, apart from the child's will, it existed as a responsibility imposed on his/her. The existence of the child became the only meaning maker of the family.

3.2.3 Communicating Around Unspoken Words

Family members avoided to talk about the loss and the decedent. They actually avoided facing the loss as death-related talking also means facing it. This avoidance took the form of avoiding direct as well as non-direct communication.

They either expressed their emotions when they are alone or find a different way of communication (e.g., using humor; pretending that they were ok). Emotional reactions like crying were also sometimes restrained. What kept them from talking was mainly the intention to protect each other. Often, families believed that talking about the loss would disturb their well-being. In addition to that, for some family members the absence of a peer or an equal at home constrained them from direct communication. A participant stated a good example of communication patterns following the loss:

> "It was like this... first, I always had anxiety about children, but the children actually knew, they saw. I thought I was very secretive, very secretive. I couldn't face it. For example, I was treating children as if there was no such thing. As if I knew this but the children did not know or as if they had never experienced such a thing."

> *"Şöyle oldu yine söylüyorum belki ilk görüş ilk başladığımızda da çocuklarla ilgili hep kaygı yaşadım ama çocuklar aslında biliyorlarmış görüyorlarmış. Ben çok gizlediğimi, çok gizli yaptığımı bunu zannediyordum. Yüzleşemiyordum bununla yani bununla çocuklar sanki böyle bir şey yokmuş gibi davranıyordum mesela çocuklara. Ben bunu biliyormuşum da çocuklar bilmiyormuş gibi ya da onlar böyle bir şey yaşamamışlar gibi."*

Inability to express the emotions can be regarded as an avoidance strategy on one hand, and on the other hand it can reflect the intensity of the pain that cannot be put into words. Families might lack words to describe their pain. A family defines this indefinable experience as follows:

> "The meaning cannot be explained, sir. We cannot explain its meaning. You live again while you are describing the same pain. So what should I say, sir… A wound that doesn't heal is inside of us. The fire in our hearts does not fade. Even though our faces smile, that pain on our left side is forever. It does not pass until we reach our child, sir. All mothers and fathers who have lost their children know this well. We have a phrase that "A child whose mother is

dead is called *öksüz*, the child whose father is dead is called *yetim*, there is no word for the mother and father who lost their child."

"Anlamı anlatılmaz hocam. Anlamını anlatamayız. Aynı acıları anlatırken tekrar yaşıyorsun. Yani ne diyim hocam … kapanmayan bir yara bizim içimizdeki yüreğimizdeki ateşin koru dinmez. Yüzümüz gülse de o sol tarafımızdaki ağrı ilelebet Uğura kavuşana kadar geçmez hocam bizim. Evladını kaybetmiş tüm analar babalar için bunu iyi bilirler. Bizde şöyle bir deyim vardır 'Anası ölmüş çocuğa öksüz babası ölmüş çocuğa yetim derler ama evlat kaybetmiş ananın babanın tarifi yoktur acısının'"

For family sub-systems, grief process had dual structure. Sometimes family members display similar grieving styles, but there were also indicators of differential grief among the members. A parent said:

"They [children] preferred to remain calm. They didn't want to go into the crowd, they both cried and cried in separate rooms."

"Sakin kalmayı daha çok tercih ettiler böyle çok kalabalığa karışıp şey yapmayı düşünmediler, ikisi de ayrı ayrı odalarda ağlayan ağladı."

Another family member stated about this issue as follows:

"Because my mother cries a lot and becomes cross with us when we go to her. I said mom okay this is my pain, this is my mom's pain. She must experience and I must too   ."

"Çünkü annem çok ağlıyor ve biz yanında gidince küsüyor. Dedim ki anne tamam bu benim acım, bu annemin acısı. O da yaşamalı ben de yaşamalıyım. Ben bir hafta eve giremedim."

Besides these examples, there were families that share common feelings with each other. For instance, a mother said that the child cried when she cried.

3.2.4 Family Reacting the Loss as a System

The families gave reaction to loss as a whole system. First of all, families either relocated or started to think about relocation when they experience the traumatic loss. For them, it served two purposes: i) the prior home was full of memories of the decedent and coping with this loss became more difficult at this home, ii) the prior home is so crowded that the family's grief process could not begin. They needed a quieter and more secluded environment. They said that after moving to the new house, they faced this loss and actually realized that they had experienced a loss. The pain that families feel was so intense and their home was so emotionally charged that relocation seemed to be the only way to cope. Some families said they stayed in that traumatic moment and considered relocation as moving to another time zone. A bereaved family declared:

"So when we were in the other house, we were there together all the time. So we always felt like he was sitting in the same place. We weren't even sitting where he was sitting. But now that we're here, we're a little quieter. That environment remained there. Those who were constantly in and out stayed there. This is the apartment. So it was a detached house. We were always looking outside. We were always close to our neighbors. We came here, new neighbors, of course, there is no intimacy right away. Of course, the same thing in the neighborhood does not happen in the apartment. We felt a little more lonely when we stayed calm here. So his absence, his memories were here (prior home). He was sitting here. He was doing this here, he was doing that here. His belongings were always there. When we came here, it was all different, it was a different environment."

"Yani o evdeyken sürekli orda beraberdik. Yani her zaman o aynı yerinde oturuyormuş gibi hissediyorduk her zaman. Onun oturduğu yere oturmuyorduk bile. Ama şimdi buraya gelince biraz daha sakin olduk. O çevre orda kaldı. Sürekli girip çıkanlar orda kaldı. Burda da apartman. Yani orası bir müstakil evdi. Sürekli dışarıyı görüyorduk. Sürekli komşularla içli dışlıydık. Buraya geldik yeni komşular tabi ki hemen samimilik olmuyor. Apartmanda da tabi ki mahalledeki şey olmuyor. Burda da biraz sakin

kalınca yalnızlığımızı biraz daha hissettik. Yani onun yokluğu onun hatıraları vardı burda. Burda oturuyordu. Şurda şunu yapıyordu burda bunu yapıyordu. Sürekli onun eşyaları yani duruyordu. Buraya gelince hepsi farklılaştı farklı bir ortam oldu."

When the meaning of the relocation is asked, a family answered:

"Always running away from some things as the family. I can define so: It's more like coming to a place more quiet or something like that. Starting from scratch again, let me say. Deleting everything and starting from scratch."

"Ailecek aslında bazı şeylerden hep kaçmak. Ne bileyim daha böyle sessiz daha şey bir yere gelmek gibi diyim ben. Yeniden sıfırdan başlamak yani öyle söyliyim yani. Her şeyi kendimize göre her şeyi silip sıfırdan başlamak."

The loss also started a centripetal movement among families. Family members who lived separately came under the same roof after this incident. A family explainned this movement as follows:

"Sometimes these things unite the family. After this incident, you (meaning anyone) hold on to each other more tightly, you hold on more. It happened for us little more like that. For example, our dialogue with the girl used to live her life according to her. He had a different lifestyle. After that, he got married, had more dialogue with us, that is, with his parents. For example, the person (the daughter) who did not live with us while they was single at that time are now married and live with us. We all live together. The four of us live together. We also have grandchildren and five of us live together."

"Bazen de aileyi birleştiriyor bu şeyler. Birbirine bu olaydan sonra daha sıkı sarılıyorsunuz, daha fazla tutunuyorsunuz. Bizim biraz daha öyle oldu. Mesela kızla diyalogumuz önceden kendine göre yaşardı hayatı. Daha farklı bir yaşam tarzı vardı. Bu olaydan sonra evlendi işte ne bileyim bizimle daha fazla diyalogu oldu yani anne-babasıyla. Mesela şimdi o dönemde bekarken bizimle yaşamayan insan şimdi evlendiler bizimle beraber yaşıyorlar. Hep

beraber yaşıyoruz. Dördümüz beraber yaşıyoruz. Torun da var beşimiz beraber yaşıyoruz."

During this period, the family also searched for a shared meaning. They asked: "Why did this happen?" (*Bu neden oldu?*) or "What is the meaning of it?" (*Bunda ne hayır vardı?*) However, they stated finding an answer is very difficult. If the repertoire of families is limited or they have no answer, finding a life purpose is also difficult. They experience purposelessness.

Families described this loss as part of their identity. They included this loss when introducing their family and describing what kind of family they are. The first question of the interview was "Can you please describe your family a little?" They answered this question including either the death of the family member or the deceased family member himself.

3.2.5 Factors Shadowing Grief

Families stated that some factors preceded grief and they could not experience a proper grief process. Lots of phone calls about the litigation process, bureaucratic work that needs to be done after the death such as closing the bank accounts of the deceased, the intensity of the work done with the media and association and most importantly, seeking justice hindered families' grief. They were of the opinion that they are going through a different grief process than usual. Actually, they needed a safe and quite environment. They added that families who lost one of their members due to work accident should be able to access psychological support mechanisms easily, so the state should take a step in this regard. A family explained their experience so:

"Here we couldn't. Do you know why we couldn't grieve? The grieving process requires such a quiet life. So what happened in this meal? Here is the follow-up of the judicial cases, the confrontation (with loss) every day, the newspapers, the press, the law, the studies on the association ... So you cannot fully experience the grief process. I understand that from the grieving process, you retreat to a corner, mourn your grief, or live a little disconnected from

society. In fact, we entered into different dialogues with the society in contrast to it."

"İşte tutamadık. Neden tutamadık biliyor musunuz? Yas süreci böyle sessiz sakin bir hayat gerektiriyor. İşte bu mealde ne oldu? İşte davaları takip, her gün yüzleşme, gazeteler, basın, hukuk, dernekle ilgili çalışmalar.. Yani yas sürecini tam yaşayamıyorsunuz. Ben yas sürecinden şunu anlıyorum yani bir yere, bir köşeye çekilirsin yasını tutarsın ya da biraz toplumdan kopuk yaşarsın. Aslında biz ona tezat toplumla daha farklı diyaloglara girdik yani."

3.3 Super-Ordinate Theme III: Family within and as an Active Agent of Social Justice System

3.3.1 One-way Operation of Justice

Families reported that the justice system works only one-way. There was no independent and objective judgment process but the system manages the process in a biased way. Families stated the necessary punishments were not given or the punishments were insufficient. The system prefers to protect the accused rather than prosecute them. The case sometimes resulted in a simple penalty, which is commuted to a fine. Thus, the accused got through this process without going to jail. Moreover, the fine was a "ridiculous" amount. There are even defendants who did not attend any hearings during the judgment process. While it was sometimes argued that the sentences given to the defendants of 2 or 3 years were too much, the families said that they had experienced this pain for the rest of their lives. Inadequate punishment or impunity leads to an increase in negative feelings among families. A family expressed it as follows:

"So, he passed away, but if at least the criminals on the other side had been punished, my point of view might have been a little more compassionate. But right now I am so full of hatred and anger towards those people."

"Mesela tamam vefat etti ama karşı tarafta en azından suçlular cezasını çekseydi bakış acım belki biraz daha merhametli olabilir ama şu anda o kadar kin öfke doluyum ki o insanlara karşı."

A family expressed their pessimism arising from the insufficient punishment as follows:

"Of course, this breaks us down. ... People didn't get their punishment, as my son said. They don't come to a court. They got themselves out of the business; the sufferer was my spouse, the sufferer was us. This is destroying us. From now on, how can the world be a comfortable look and a comfortable life for us?"

"Bu da bizi yıkıyor tabi bunlar karşı tarafı suçlanan ceza alacak insanlar cezasını almadı oğlumun dediği gibi bir mahkemeye gelmiyorlar kendilerini işin içinden sıyrılıp çıktılar olan benim eşime oldu olan bize oldu. Bu bizi yıkıyor. Bundan sonra yani dünya nasıl rahat bir bakış rahat bir yaşam olsun ki bizim için"

Bereaved families argued that there is a contradistinctive justice system. For instance, one family reported that a lawyer who advocated for the families of people died by a mine explosion was jailed while the accused were not punished. Contrary, the workers who lost their lives were blamed by the lawyers of the defendants. It was claimed that they could not get rid of this accident because of their own shortsightedness. Even being subjected to these allegations made families weary. Families also thought they were precluded from some hearings:

"We followed the cases there constantly, regardless of summer or winter. The judge threw us out, we waited outside in the cold. Sometimes he scolded us, sometimes we endured all kinds of difficulties. We followed the speeches of the detainees there, the speeches of those who were tried without arrest. Their indifferent behavior, pretending that nothing had happened, has already damned us. They are talking "we are innocent, we have no sin.""

"Yani yaz kış demeden biz orda sürekli davaları takip ettik yeri geldi hakim dışarı attı bizi dışarda soğukta bekledik. Yeri geldi azarladı yeri geldi yani her şekilde her zorluğa göğüs gerdik biz gittik yani. Takip ettik ordaki ordaki tutukluların konuşmasını ne bileyim tutuksuz olarak yargılananların konuşmalarını lakayıt lakayıt davranışlarını hiçbir şey olmamış gibi

davranmaları zaten bizi kahretti orda. Konuşuyorlar biz suçsuzuz bizim
günahımız yok işte."

Justice was thought to work for bourgeoisie while the justice system was supposed to be on the side of the killed workers. Furthermore, families said previous injustices set a precedent. They believed just as the defendants received insufficient punishment in other work accident cases, it will be the same in this case. Families sometimes despaired and thought it was a futile effort to seek justice here. Inadequate punishment prevents employers from taking necessary notices, while paving the way for other work accidents.

All these features of the justice system caused feelings of distrust and insecurity among families. A family member expressed her feelings towards this system as follows:

"Indeed, those who provide justice in Turkey are either unscrupulous or cannot deal with these issues in an objective legal framework. So I said this to the judge's face. At the last judgment hearing, I said that you are all unscrupulous. "You are unscrupulous," I shouted in the hall. They arrange the sentence in such a way that he does not spend even a day in prison. Could it be such a coincidence?"

"Gerçekten Türkiye'de adaleti sağlayanlar vicdansız ya da objektif hukuksal
çerçevede bu işlere bakamıyor. Yani bunu hakimin yüzüne de söyledim. En
son karar duruşmasında hepiniz vicdansızsınız dedim. Vicdansızlar diye
bağırdım salonun içinde. Yani bir gün dahi cezaevinde yatmayacak şekilde
cezayı ayarlıyor ya. Böyle bir rastlantı olabilir mi?"

3.3.2 Social Justice Not Served: Run for Justice, Run in Vein

Lawsuits after fatal work accidents took many years and most of the case results did not satisfy the families. While the salary of the deceased was sometimes the only source of income for the family, sometimes it constituted an important part of the household income. Cutting this income can put families in financial difficulties. As a result of long years of lawsuits, families can receive financial

compensation and face economic difficulties in the meantime. Another option for the families was to abandon this lawsuit and settle with the employer. In this case, the employer gives the financial compensation to the family without going through legal processes. However, in this case, the family also gives up their search for justice. In other words, it becomes almost impossible for families to be economically comfortable and to establish justice at the same time. Additionally, attending to hearings was also a difficult situation for the families. Finding a place to stay, traveling and not being at home were the hardest parts of this process. This process was evaluated as a waste of energy by families. A family stated:

> "For years, we went to Akhisar , we didn't mind the cold, snow, rain or mud. I know the times that I came home at twelve o'clock in the night. I know the times the court is over at ten o'clock in the evening. It takes one hour for us to get here from Akhisar [a town]. I know the times that I came back home at eleven, I know the times I turn home at ten. We ran for justice that much, but we ran in vain."

> *"Yıllardır yani soğuk demeden kar demeden yağmur çamur demeden biz Akhisar'a gittik geldik. Gecenin on birinde on ikisinde evime geldiğimi biliyorum ben, saat onda on birde mahkemenin bittiğini biliyorum akşam. Bizim Akhisar'dan buraya gelmemiz bir saat. On birde evime girdiğimi biliyorum onda evime girdiğimi biliyorum o kadar adalet için koşturduk ama boşuna koşturmuş olduk."*

These features of the legal process arose unfavorable feelings among families. They stated that they were left alone and were not supported in this process. They said that they solved the problems they faced during that period on their own. Furthermore, families experienced feelings of despair and they were not able to do anything. The accumulation of problems in this period played an important role in the formation of this feeling. Lastly, they experienced the feelings of disappointment. A family member said:

> "I'm disappointed, sir. They found the ones responsible for the train station explosion on October 10th and sentenced each of the criminals -the people

responsible for the deaths of 103 people - to life imprisonment, three-five centuries of life imprisonment. I wonder if these judges and the judges who looked at the files of these 301 people, study the laws of different planets."

"Hayal kırıklığına uğradım hocam yani düşünün 10 ekim tren gar patlamasında sorumluları bulduklarını ve insanları her birini üçer beşer yüzyıl 103 kişinin ölümünden sorumlu insanları müebbetlerle suçları sabit bulunarak müebbet hapis cezalarına çarptırdılar bu hakimlerle bizim bu 301 kişinin dosyasına bakan hakimler ayrı gezegenlerin hukukunu okudular acaba."

3.3.3 Devalued Lives

Participants often reported that as families of working class their lives were devalued by the capitalist system in different ways and their loss made it apparent. One of the reasons, families attribute, why this fatal work accident did occur was their belonging to the disadvantaged social class. They argued it happened to those who had low level of education and income. Therefore, the jobs they work/find are also jobs where the risk of such accidents is high. In this regard, some families stressed that their loved one was died while trying to bring home the bread. A family explained this as follows:

"Now, sir, of course, losing his life at work... Would it be a different pain if he went on a vacation, on a street, or drowned in water? No. If you have an accident with your vehicle, will you feel a different pain? No, of course. If he dies of natural causes, of course, you will not feel any different pain. The pain is the same pain. Here, as my wife said, we sent our children for their sustenance, to bring sustenance to their children with the money they earned with the sweat of their brow. Therefore, when we sent him off from home, the employer and the state are responsibility from him until he returns to the home again."

"Şimdi hocam tabiiki iş yerinde hayatını kaybetmesi herhangi bir sokakta bir tatile gitti suda boğulsa farklı bir acı mı olacak hayır araçla kaza yapsa ayrı bir acı mı duyacaksın hayır tabiki eceliyle mi hayatını kaybetse tabiiki farklı

bir acı duymayacaksın. Acı aynı acı. Burda işte eşimin de dediği gibi biz çocuklarımızı çocuklarımızın rızkları için alın teriyle kazandığı parayla çocuğuna çoluğa rızık getirmesi için gönderdik dolayısıyla biz burdan evden uğurladığımızda işyerinde tekrar evine dönene kadar sorumluluğu işverenin ve devletindir."

Families concerned about the lack of preventive measures in the work place prior the accident. They said the employer should have taken the necessary precautions. They argued that workplace rules in the law were not applied and remained on paper. They thought that employers considered it an unnecessary expense to allocate financial resources to these measures. They concluded that the profit made by the capital class sees more value than the life of the worker. Additionally, the state did not control whether these workplaces take the necessary precautions. Furthermore, the employer did not employ enough personnel, employed workers in dangerous jobs outside the job description, and made workers work intensively and without security as participants stated.

The death due to work accident was evaluated by the families also as a human rights violation. Since enough precautions were not taken, various rights were taken away from the deceased person. The decedents deprived of their dreams, future, and life.

All these above-mentioned issues were associated with an intense feeling of worthlessness among families. Facing that the lives of their loved ones, and indeed directly themselves, are so worthless, underlined their silent class belonging and disadvantages attached to that. A bereaved family complained about it as such:

"They've never been interested. Excuse me, even an animal is valued, but sir, a person [indicating their child] is not valued."

"Öbür tarafta zaten hiç ilgilenmediler. Afedersin bir hayvana dahi değer veriliyor ama hocam bir insana değer verilmiyor."

Furthermore, another family made the following explanation:

"It's also a bad thing to die in work place. Why is it a bad thing? Employers have to take his life safety or the state has to take his life safety, it has to pass the laws. You see that what is on paper has nothing in practice. Understanding is very different. So no one cares about your life. It's just that everyone is looking at their work. … Of course, it is difficult to learn that it is because of the employer, not the workers, and that their lives are worthless.. So in a very worthless way. People say he dies of a heart attack, you can interpret it differently. You say that if you are a believer, you interpret it according to your belief. Or you can interpret it differently. But the process of making sense is very different for us. So we see it as something common has been committed, in fact we see it as murder."

"Bir de iş hayatında olması kötü bir şey çünkü neden kötü bir şey. İş verenler onun can güvenliğini almak zorunda ya da devlet onunla ilgili can güvenliğini almak zorunda, yasalarını çıkartmak zorunda. Bakıyorsun ki kağıt üzerinde olan şeyler uygulamada hiçbirisi yok. Anlayış çok farklı. Yani senin canın hiç kimsenin umrunda değil. Sadece herkes işinin görüldüğüne bakıyor. … Yani işçilerin değil de işverenin yüzünden kaynaklandığını ve onların hayatının değersiz olduğunu öğrenmek tabi ki.. Yani çok değersiz bir şekilde. İnsan der ki kalp krizinden ölür, başka türlü anlamlandırırsınız. Dersiniz ki inançlıysanız inanca göre anlamlandırırsınız. Ya da daha farklı da anlamlandırabilirsiniz. Ama çalışırken olması çok daha farklı anlamlandırma süreci bizim için çok farklı. Yani biz ortak bir şey işlendi olarak görüyoruz aslında biz cinayet olarak görüyoruz."

3.3.4 The Family Taking the Stage as an Active Agent

While families who lost one of their members due to work accident confronted with difficulties in social justice system, they positioned themselves not as a passive victim of it but they took the stage as an active agent of the system. The bereaved families often became politicized after the loss and they undertook a mission. As a result of their struggle, they aimed to prevent other families from

experiencing such losses. They knew that the [unserved] justice could not bring their loved one but both they and next generations would need justice. They identified one of their main aims as to know the truth and make it known. Even if the motivations behind the politicization and the methods were different, the common motivation of families was to seek justice. What did they do for this purpose? They followed cases, cooperated with the media to create public opinion, organized movement/march. Being politicized also became the point of attachment of families to life. A family stated as follows:

> "What motivated me actually, what helped me after the loss was: Let me fight about this job, maybe I can contribute. Therefore, to the families of people who lost their lives like my son. We thought, as long as we can make these things known and audible in the country, maybe we can make a contribution. I went on like this because I was thinking about it. Of course, thinking in this way also connects you to life. Struggle is life."

> *"Beni motive eden aslında şu oldu yani kayıptan sonra yardımcı olan ya da ne bileyim ben bu işle ilgili bir mücadele edeyim belki bir katkım olur. Dolayısıyla da oğlum gibi bir başkası gibi hayatını kaybeden insanların ailelerine ya da bu işleri ülkede bilinir duyulur duyulabilir yaparsak belki bir katkımız olur sürece diye düşündük. Düşündüğüm için bu şekilde devam ettim. Tabi bu şekilde düşünmek de hayata bağlıyor aslında insanı. Mücadele etmek hayata bağlıyor."*

Families whose laborer identity is prominent said that they were in a struggle for their rights and lives even before this loss. That is, they already existed as an active part of this system.

Some families, especially in cases of accidents leading multiple deaths (e.g. Soma Mine Explosion), established associations. While these associations functioned as a means of mourning, they also emerged as a human rights-seeking platform. These associations were like a concrete embodiment of families' lives and life goals. They also included professionals like lawyers or journalists and these professional groups build a network of solidarity with families. The purpose of these associations

were summarized by the families as follows: "not forgetting the names of the deceased", "providing financial support to surviving family members", and "partnering with other groups fighting for their rights". For instance, an association founded by families who lost a member as a result of a work accident was meeting in the same place as Cumartesi Anneleri (Saturday Mothers), who had lost their children in an unknown way in a heavy political atmosphere.

Families were in need of partnership with other segments of society in the process of seeking social justice. They stated that this is a humanitarian situation and that political parties, professional associations, trade unions and the media have to defend human rights in a joint effort.

CHAPTER 4

DISCUSSION

Although there are relatively much more studies on the grief processes after traumatic losses in the literature (e.g.; Davis, Harasymchuk, & Wohlthose, 2012; Green, 2000; Pivar & Prigerson, 2004); traumatic losses due to fatal work accidents, which has a unique character, have been investigated in a very limited number of studies (e.g., Matthews et al. 2012). The current study was set out to focus on this neglected area in the loss and grief literature. The starting point of the study was that grief process following deaths due to work-related accidents could not be understood only by the individual psychological reactions of the survivors and must be considered together with the social-environmental context in which the loss and mourning were experienced. Based on in-dept interviews with the surviving families; three main themes emerged in this study: i) factors potentially complicating the grief process, ii) family grief dynamics: A shift in family structure and organization, and iii) family within and as an active agent of the social justice system. In this section, the findings of the study will be discussed by considering existing research. In addition to that, clinical implications and limitations will be given.

4.1 Factors Potentially Complicating the Grief Process

Complicated grief is defined as the manifestation of persistent and excessive emotional, behavioral and cognitive reaction to the death (Horowitz et al. 2003). Intense feeling and thoughts and difficulties of accepting the loss characterize the complicated grief. They continue more than the usual duration based on the familial or cultural context. Adaptation process takes long and the acute response is prolonged. Even if there are little differences between terms, it is named as traumatic grief (Prigerson et al. 1999), prolonged grief (Prigerson et al. 2009), persistent complex bereavement disorder in the DSM-5 (APA, 2013) or prolonged grief disorder in ICD-11. Although there is no diagnostic objective or an aim of revealing

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cause and effect relationships in this study, the results suggested that there are factors that have the potential to complicate the grief process of families who lost one of their members as a result of work accident. Unexpected, sudden, and untimely nature of the loss is one of the factors. The unexpectedness of this loss also meant that there was no preparation period and no opportunity to say goodbye for families. Studies and reviews found that unexpected and sudden nature of the loss is a risk factor for complicated grief (Burke & Neimeyer, 2013; Shear, 2015; Boelen, 2015). Unpreparedness may lead to difficulties in making sense and makes the grief process more complex (Carlsson et al. 2020; Kristensen et al. 2012; Barry et al. 2002; Hebert et al. 2006). However, the literature does not give an exact result about being prepared for a loss. After the review about the experiences of cancer patient's closes, Caserta et al. (2013) claimed being prepared brings along other difficulties. While the families can be prepared and enough time to say goodbye, they take heavy caregiver responsibility, witness some negative situations and experience social isolation.

Traumatic nature of the loss due to work accident may cause the grief process of the families to be complicated. Thus, surviving family members display mental health problems, frequently high level of PTSD and prolonged grief disorder symptoms (Kristensen et al., 2012; Currier et al., 2006; Pivar & Prigerson, 2004; Kersting et al., 2007). After some accidents, the body of the decedent was deformed and seeing the deformed body is one of the reasons that complicates this process for their families. Even if there is a limited study about it, one study results with although seeing the deformed body causes high level of distress, families want to see and say goodbye him and they did not regret seeing it (Chapple & Ziebland, 2010). On the other hand, being prevented from seeing it may also complicate the adjustment process and there may be a question mark in the minds of those close relatives about the final state of the deceased (de Mönnink, 2019). This study showed that it is a difficult experience to see and cannot identify the family member.

How the families make attributions to their losses also emerged as a sub-theme in this study. While most of the participated families define the death as a murder or massacre, some consider it an accident or neglect. What they all have in

common is that the cause of death was attributed to human factors. Although it is not correct to say that the literature has reached a final conclusion on this subject, studies support that the reference to malicious intentions leads to a different pathway (McCaslin et al., 2009; Cook & Elmore, 2009; Ursano et al., 2009; Parkes, 2014; Kristensen et al., 2012). It may also contribute to the development of complicated grief among bereaved families. Based on the Weiner's attribution theory (2005), Betancourt and Blair (1992) results with that whether other's offensive behavior is intentional or not is important in emotion regulation. If it is interpreted as an intentional behavior, the emotion of anger arises. Actually, the theory and the research showed the importance of attribution on one's behavior and cognition.

The COVID-19 pandemic prevented families of recent loss from performing the rituals. In this culture, the first year following death is especially important for rituals. Since the rituals take place with the gathering of significant others and relatives, it also reinforces the sense of solidarity. Thus they become a part of the social support mechanism. How the prevention of the rituals as the result of COVID-19 pandemic affects the grief process is almost not studied in the literature. Zhai and Du (2020) underlines the possibility of disenfranchised grief and prolonged grief disorder among bereaved families during this period. Rituals serve many functions: i)healthy separation and adjustment, ii) an important factor in meaning making process, and iii) symbolic saturation (Fulton, 2018; Irion, 1991; Doka, 1985). They also take the bereaved one out the denial stage (Castle & Philips, 2003) which characterizes the complicated grief when it lasts long. Loss during COVID-19 pandemic created isolated bereaved individuals and families and they are deprived of social support.

Dealing with social justice issues is also a frustrating process for families and complicates this process. Being included in judicial process and experiences during it decrease survivor's mental health (e.g. Nakajima et al. 2012; Huggins & Hinkson, 2020; Stiles, 2020). Judicial process can be evaluated as a risk factor for complicated grief. The restorative justice model is suggested to be a good option when facing fatal work accident. The model proposes to meet the needs of the family as much as

possible since there is no possibility to turn back time and to be apologized by the person or institutions responsible for this accident (Brookes, 2008).

4.2 Family Grief Dynamics: A shift in family structure and organization

After the loss, a series of changes took place in family dynamics. Families need time and effort for the reorganization after the loss (Walsh, 2014). While some roles are lost or vacated, some roles and responsibilities are redistributed according to the needs of the family and this distribution took place in the natural course of the process, often not is expressed explicitly. First of all, many roles lost and there were many role changes among families who lost one of their members due to work accident. "Standing for the family" was valued among bereaved families. Moreover, they try to compensate for the roles that were lost with the death. New roles and responsibilities emerge in the family (McBride & Simms, 2001). Family members may have to step out of their familiar roles and come into contact with new ones and this may help the adjustment of the family to death. The new roles following death is generally distributed according to family members gender (Kissane, 2014). In fact, in our study, there was no gendered role division that we could observe. Of course, it should not be overlooked that the person who died in all the families interviewed was a male member. We see gender in its clearest form here because the role of the man has been to bring bread to the house, while the role of the woman has been to take care of the housework. Thus, the number of male individuals encounter with more workplace accident compared to female ones because they are more involved in the workplace.

Communication emerged as an important theme for families after the loss. In particular, limited communication, family members not showing their feelings to each other, and avoiding talking about loss in order to protect each other were common situations. Choosing not to talk about the loss may be evaluated protecting other family member (Adams et al. 2019). In some cases, especially in cases of child loss, the impossibility of describing this pain may also have hindered communication. The lack of loss-related communication may have cultural basis. Collectivist culture, and Turkish culture, does not encourage the expression of

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feelings, especially intense and negative ones (Bond, 1993; Yedirir & Hamarta, 2015).

In families where there is no open communication, more conflicts arise and they may have negative feelings and thoughts towards each other (Kissane, 2014). On the contrary, open communication is one of the keystones in healing process and enables the family to grow after the loss (Bowen, 1976; Traylor et al. 2003). Walsh (2014) points out the importance of the open communication in the family grief period. Furthermore, she states that open communication helps building a shared meaning and hence shared acknowledgment of the death. It is a protective factor for children who experience the loss of a parent (Weber et al. 2019).

After the loss, an emotional field opens up in families, and this field is filled with many emotions such as guilt and sadness, along with the weight of anger. It is an expected result that different emotions will be experienced in this "emotional unit" (Bowen, 1978) during the loss and grief period. Independent of the time that has passed since the loss, we see that the feeling of anger does not decrease and injustice intensifies this feeling. The persistence of anger for many years is one of the most basic experiences that distinguish the losses due to work accident from others. Although anger exists as an emotion that should not be expressed or acted upon in the society, it is important to politicize this emotion and make it contribute to social transformation (Zembylas, 2007). The families, who have lost a loved one as a result of work accidents, manage their anger by establishing associations, organizing actions and trying to create public opinion. As a result, the emotional unit becomes a politicized unit following the traumatic loss.

The way the families of the current study grieved, in some aspects, resembles the "instrumental grief" suggested by Doka and Martin's (2010) theory of distinct grieving styles. In this theory, instrumental grief is conceptualized as a task-oriented form of grieving where the bereaved expresses their grief in cognitive and behavioral ways (i.e, engagement in tasks, projects, activities) rather than emotional indicators and focuses more on doing, problem-solving and actively responding to grief. The bureaucracy they had to deal with after the event may have given such a direction to the grief process of these families.

In addition to the individual grief reactions, families react to the loss as a whole system (Kissane, 2014). The families of our study struggled to find a shared meaning. Moreover, they showed centripetal movement and it brings family members together (Moore et al. 1993). Relocation was also a coping mechanism and a way opening mourning process for families. However, Walsh (2014) claimed that it is not a functional behavior and may complicate the grief process because of the multiple losses. For example, the child leaves behind his/her close friends while he/she experiences the loss of the parent.

4.3 Family within and as an Active Agent of Social Justice System

The current study tried to understand grief process within the social context in which it is experienced, and enabled the integration of social justice persepective. The findings revealed that families who lost one of their members are both surrounded by the social justice system and become an active subject of this system. One-way operation of justice and long-lasting judicial process perceived as a waste of energy reveal negative feelings, thoughts and impressions among bereaved families. Their confidence in social justice has been shaken. In the process of seeking justice, they felt alone, isolated and helpless, and many were disappointed. Along with this, they realized how worthless their lives were for the authorities. In this way, the already traumatic loss and mourning process became more complicated. On the other hand, they chose to be a struggling active part of this system rather than assuming a passive stance by making a voluntary decision. The family grief is intertwined with seeking justice and this brings a unique grief path for bereaved families.

Loss and grief does not occur in isolation but the context where the loss occurs is essential to understand the grief process of the family (Walsh & McGoldrick, 2013). This study showed the importance of the context in which the grief takes place. According to ecological systems theory (Bronfenbrenner, 1979), the person is in the middle of the intertwined systems which are microsystem, mesosystem, exosystem, and macrosystem. The human behavior and development is shaped based on the transaction between the person and the environment. Bronfenbrenner explains it as follows:

The ecology of human development involves the scientific study of the progressive, mutual accommodation between an active, growing human being and the changing properties of the immediate settings in which the developing person lives, as this process is affected by relations between these settings, and by the larger contexts in which the settings are embedded (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, p. 21).

Even if the ecological systems theory places the individual into the center, the family as a system can also be positioned there since the important issue is to understand system's behavior, relations, and development in a broad perspective. Microsystem includes the closest environments like extended family, neighbourhood and the daily relations with and roles in this environment. Mesosystem means the interactions of the settings located in microsystem such as the interaction of school and family settings. Exosystem represents the immediate social systems

whose functoning effects the family and its individual members even though they are not involved in those systems as active participants. Work settings of the family memebers can be given as examples. Lastly, macrosystem emerges as a system that surrounds all other ones such as ideology or culture. The families who lost one of their members due to work accident grieve in a certain context that brings multiple layers of social environment together. As a part of human development, loss and grief are related to social, cultural and political context. The living and developing organism at the center can exist in the system not only as an ordinary part of it, but also as an active agent. Thus, the families can be transformer of the macrosystem.

4.4 Clinical Implications

Clinical implications can be examined in three levels: Individual, family and social. This study explored the experiences of the families who lost one of their members due to work accident and concluded with there are factors potentially complicating the grief. Bereaved family members quite likely to experience complicated grief following a traumatic death (Kristensen et al., 2012; Nickerson et al., 2014; Pivar & Prigerson, 2004). Individuals may give diverse grief reactions based on the current context and inner motivation. When does an intervention

become necessary? When the acute grief reaction of the individual is prolonged and does not decrease its intensity and severity, it would be better for him/her to visit a mental health professional (Simon, 2013). One of the bases of complicated grief intervention is to enhance social support as it decreases loss-related distress of the bereaved one. The intervention aims to process the loss instead of avoiding and restore the life. There are different techniques for the complicated grief intervention. One of them is restorative narratives. People who have experienced violent loss build and tell a story after the loss, but often avoid expressing the deepest and most painful feelings (Neimeyer, 2017). In this technique, the person is encouraged to tell the story in detail in a safe and secure environment. The therapist makes the painful feelings come out, and clinical work is being done on it. The purpose is to block avoidance mechanism and to make bereaved people talk about the loss without high emotional reactivity. Systematic desensitization and gradual exposure which are included in the cognitive-behavioral approach, are tools used in this case (Stroebe & Shut, 2010). Behavioral activation is purposed instead of rumination or avoidance, so the bereaved one can easily reintegrate to the world. Another technique is journaling and it is aimed the person to express the deep feelings in writing. Although emotion expression is one of the elements in healing process, its effect on the bereavement work is not well-studied (Pennebaker, 1997; Neimeyer, 2017). Imaginal dialogue also receives attention because of its powerful impact. The client is asked to close his/her eyes and visualize the person she has lost or choose an empty chair. The therapist has the person enter into a dialogue with the deceased. These techniques help the mourner express him/herself, make sense of this loss and process it.

Roles, responsibilities among and the structure of the family change after a death. Reorganization is the part of the family adjustment to the loss. However, the adjustment process can sometimes not go smoothly and families may perform dysfunctional behaviors. How to intervene in this point? The pioneers of the family grief literature, Walsh and McGoldrick (2004), identified 4 family tasks following a death: i) shared acknowledgment of the loss, ii) shared experience of loss, iii) family reorganization, and iv) reinvestment in new relationships. These can be 4 keystones of the family intervention after a death. Reconstruction of the meaning is essential in family grief process (Hooghe & Neimeyer, 2013). Each family member can give

different meaning to the loss. Understanding each other's point and coming close a shared meaning help family cohesion and functioning. Life imprint can facilitate the meaning reconstruction process, meaning making the deceased one alive by inheriting his vocabulary, gestures speaking or roles. Another thing that helps family meaning reconstruction is rituals that concrete the changing life after the bereavement. Another intervention point is the communication pattern among the family. Opening a room for open communication and emotion sharing brings about higher intimacy and stronger bonds among the family (Hooghe & Neimeyer, 2013). Walsh (2006) gives advice to the therapist to encourage the families to talk about unspeakable topics. The ability of the family to establish supportive relationships is another pillar of the intervention. In this way, the family can easily overcome stressful events in the future.

The loss due to work accident is directly related to social justice system. It is obvious developing interventions only for individuals or families will be far from meeting the needs, will be inadequate and will be out of context. Just as there are systems surrounding living organisms, as Bronfenbrenner (1979) said, it is also essential to develop a different intervention program for each system. Clinical intervention is more than dealing with the intrapsychic issues of the individual. Harris (2011) proposes interventions at three levels: micro, mezzo and macro. Micro practice is a clinical study conducted with a single individual that we know in the classical sense. Mezo practice includes working with small groups who are affected by the same thing. It has also become clear that it is necessary to take the solution beyond the confines of the therapy room. Our study has confirmed that this therapy room has some limitations. To take collective action, to mourn collectively for a cause, however unusual it may have been, the more healing it has been. The focus of the macro practice is on "larger systems, such as organizations, communities, and even political structures and governments." The aim in macro practice is to change suprasystems and to ensure that the necessary laws are passed and to make an effort in this regard (Kirts-Ashman & Hull, 2008). The only practice at micro level leads the individual to not comprehend his/her experience's relation with other social systems and includes the risk of individualization of the problem. For example, conducting an individual clinical study with families who lost a member as a result

of a work accident may mean a covert message to say that the issue belongs them. Of course, these traumatic experiences can cause wounds that are difficult to close in the intrapsychic world of the individual. However, the closure of these wounds depends on creating a collective experience together with the individual clinical framework. Of course, the ultimate solution to all of this is still beyond even clinical practice. Even if clinical interventions/programs are developed at the micro level as well as at the mezzo and macro level, perhaps the realization of a total systemic change will provide a real sense of justice.

The feminist approach to clinical practice says that the stress experienced by individuals and the dysfunctional behaviors exhibited by individuals are based on the individual's position in the social order, gender and ultimately power relations. In this study, the relationships of families who lost a family member due to work accidents with the social justice system were revealed in detail. Examining the balance of power in all areas from the upper system to the therapy room is one of the important issues of the feminist approach. Mental health professionals who adopt a feminist approach try to create an egalitarian relationship with their clients, out of the framework of a hierarchical relationship, in their practice (Sommers-Flanagan & Sommers-Flanagan, 2017). While working with these families, integrating evidence-based feminist relationship concepts of empowerment and mutuality (Sommers-Flanagan & Sommers-Flanagan, 2017) into the clinical interventions would be of significant importance. Empowerment will be a viable option for the families who suffer injustice and think that their lives are devalued. Achieving this in the therapy room requires shared power between client and therapist. The therapist tries to get rid of the role of being a source of knowledge and open ways to establish an equal relationship with the client. It should be emphasized how important this is for families with such injustices and inequalities in their lives. Furthermore, feminist approach emphasizes the importance of giving voice to oppressed groups, which is expressed as "desilincing of the oppressed" (Brabeck Brown, 1997, p.26). Giving voice can be done more effectively within the advocacy framework beyond the therapy room. In addition, realizing personal experiences have a historical, political and social background will also contribute to the healing process.

4.5 Limitations and Future Directions

There are some limitations in this study. Mentioning the limitations is important both as a necessity of science and in terms of paving the way for further studies on this subject. First of all, the way of reaching participants stands as a limitation. The participants were reached through an association that focuses on the work accidents in an activist manner, ISIG Meclisi. Reaching the participants through this association means reaching out to families who are somehow fighting for justice. The sample may be biased and therefore may not reflect the experiences of general population.. It may be important to try other sampling methods such as posting open recruitment announcement and conduct a study.

Secondly, the number of the immigrant families that experienced loss due to fatal work accidents is not few. The country has received a large number of immigrants from Syria in the last ten years, and a significant portion of the immigrants work in dangerous and precarious jobs. However, we could not hear their voices because of the language barrier. For the future study, the experiences of immigrant families can be studied.

Thirdly, half of the family interviews were with a single family member. As participation is voluntary, only family members who want to share their experiences attend the study. Therefore, some parts of the interviews may be biased by the individual's own feelings and thoughts. Even though the interviews in the current study were systemic in nature and helped to assess the experiences of the family system regardless of the number of the interviewed family members; future studies may involve all members of the family in order to also examine the interactions around the theme of loss and grief.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: INFORMED CONSENT

Sayın Katılımcı,

Bu araştırma, TED Üniversitesi, Gelişim Odaklı Çocuk ve Ergen Programı'nda yüksek lisans eğitimine devam eden Psikolog İsmail İnan tarafından ve öğretim üyesi Doç. Dr. Ilgın Gökler Danışman'ın danışmanlığında yürütülmektedir. Araştırmanın amacı iş kazasına bağlı olarak bir bireyini kaybetmiş olan ailelerin yaşadığı deneyimleri anlamaktır. Aileniz ile birlikte, aşağıda anlatılan çalışmaya katılmak üzere davet edilmiş bulunmaktasınız. Bu çalışmada yer almayı kabul etmeden önce, çalışmanın ne amaçla yapıldığını anlamanız ve kararınızı bu bilgilendirme sonrasında vermeniz önem taşımaktadır. Aşağıdaki bilgilendirmeyi dikkatlice okuyup, lütfen aklınıza takılan her türlü soruyu sorunuz.

Bu araştırmaya katılımınızı onayladığınız taktirde araştırmanın katılımcısı olacaksınız. Araştırma kapsamında siz ve aileniz ile TED Üniversitesi Uygulamalı Psikoloji Birimi'nde veya uygunluk durumuna bağlı olarak ikamet ettiğiniz evde bir görüşme yapılacaktır. Çalışma süresince ve sonrasında kimlik bilgileriniz araştırma dışındaki hiç kimseyle izniniz dışında paylaşılmayacaktır. Bu çalışma kapsamında elde edilecek olan bilimsel bilgiler sadece araştırmacılar tarafından yapılan bilimsel yayınlarda, sunumlarda ve eğitim amaçlı çevrimiçi bir ortamda paylaşılacaktır. Toplanan veriler isminiz silinerek, bilgisayarda şifreli bir dosyada tutulacaktır. Veriyi analiz etme sürecinde bireysel bir analiz olmayacaktır.

Bu çalışmaya katılım gönüllük esasına dayalıdır. Yaklaşık olarak 90 dakika sürecek bu görüşmede yer alan hiçbir aşama, kişisel rahatsızlık verecek nitelikte değildir. Ancak herhangi bir nedenden ötürü kendinizi rahatsız hissederseniz, uygulamaları nedenini açıklamaksızın yarıda bırakıp araştırmadan çıkmakta serbestsiniz. Böyle bir durumda vermiş olduğunuz bilgilerin araştırmacı tarafından kullanılması ancak sizin onayınızla mümkün olacaktır. Bu çalışmaya katıldığınız için şimdiden teşekkür

ederim. Çalışma hakkında daha fazla bilgi almak ve yanıtlanmasını istediğiniz sorularınız için araştırmayı yürüten İsmail İnan ile (E-posta: ismail.inan@tedu.edu.tr) iletişim kurabilirsiniz.

Bu çalışmaya tamamen gönüllü olarak katılıyorum ve istediğim zaman yarıda kesip çıkabileceğimi biliyorum. Verdiğim bilgilerin bilimsel amaçlı yayımlarda kullanılmasını kabul ediyorum. Araştırma süresince ses kaydı alınacağını biliyorum.

Araştırmaya gönüllü olarak katılmayı kabul ediyorum.

    Evet / Hayır

Araştırma boyuna ses kaydı alınmasına izin veriyorum.

    Evet / Hayır

Ad Soyad:.......................

Katılımcının İmzası: ....

Tarih ....

Teşekkürler,

Araştırmacının adı, soyadı ve imzası

....

Ziya Gökalp Cad. No:48 Kolej/ Çankaya ANKARA,

Araştırmaya katılımınız ve haklarınızın korunmasına yönelik sorularınız varsa ya da herhangi bir şekilde risk altında olduğunuza veya strese maruz kalacağına inanıyorsanız TED Üniversitesi İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu'na (0312 585 00 05) telefon numarasından veya iaek@tedu.edu.tr eposta adresinden ulaşabilirsiniz.

APPENDIX B: INFORMED CONSENT FOR THE CHILDREN

Sayın Veli,

Bu araştırma, TED Üniversitesi, Gelişim Odaklı Çocuk ve Ergen Programı'nda yüksek lisans eğitimine devam eden Psikolog İsmail İnan tarafından ve öğretim üyesi Doç. Dr. Ilgın Gökler Danışman'ın danışmanlığında yürütülmektedir. Araştırmanın amacı iş kazasına bağlı olarak bir bireyini kaybetmiş olan ailelerin yaşadığı deneyimleri anlamaktır. Aileniz ile birlikte, aşağıda anlatılan çalışmaya katılmak üzere davet edilmiş bulunmaktasınız. Bu belgeyi size bu araştırmaya çocuğunuzun katılımı için izin almak amacıyla veriyorum. Çocuğunuzun bu çalışmada yer almasını kabul etmeden önce, çalışmanın ne amaçla yapıldığını anlamanız ve kararınızı bu bilgilendirme sonrasında vermeniz önem taşımaktadır. Aşağıdaki bilgilendirmeyi dikkatlice okuyup, lütfen aklınıza takılan her türlü soruyu sorunuz.

Bu araştırmaya katılımı onayladığınız taktirde çocuğunuz sizinle birlikte araştırmanın katılımcısı olacak. Araştırma kapsamında siz ve aileniz ile TED Üniversitesi Uygulamalı Psikoloji Birimi'nde veya uygunluk durumuna bağlı olarak ikamet ettiğiniz evde bir görüşme yapılacaktır. Çocuğunuzla ayrı bir görüşme yapılmayacaktır, görüşmede sizinle beraber bulunacak. Bu görüşme çocuğunuza rahatsızlık verecek nitelikte değildir. Ancak herhangi bir nedenden ötürü çocuğunuz ya da siz rahatsızlık hissederseniz, görüşmeyi nedenini açıklamaksızın yarıda bırakıp çıkmakta serbestsiniz.

Bu çalışma kapsamında elde edilecek olan bilimsel bilgiler, sadece araştırmacılar tarafından yapılan bilimsel yayınlarda, sunumlarda ve eğitim amaçlı paylaşılacaktır. Çalışma süresince sizin ve çocuklarınızın kimlik bilgisi araştırma ekibi dışındaki hiç kimseyle izniniz dışında paylaşılmayacaktır. Süreç içerisinde çocuğunuzun paylaşımda bulunduğu bilgiler kesinlikle gizli tutulacak ve sadece araştırmacılar tarafından değerlendirilecektir. Toplanan veriler isimler silinerek, bilgisayarda şifreli bir dosyada tutulacaktır. Böyle bir durumda çocuğunuzun vermiş olduğu bilgilerin araştırmacı tarafından kullanılması ancak çocuğunuzun ve sizin onayınızla mümkün

olacaktır. Bu çalışmaya katıldığınız için şimdiden teşekkür ederim. Çalışma hakkında daha fazla bilgi almak ve yanıtlanmasını istediğiniz sorularınız için benimle (E-posta: ismail.inan@tedu.edu.tr) iletişim kurabilirsiniz.

Bu çalışmaya çocuğumun katılmasına izin veriyorum. Çocuğumun, istediği zaman bu çalışmadan ayrılabileceğini biliyorum. Araştırma süresince elde edilen bilimsel bilgilerin bilimsel makaleler ve akademik sunumlar dışında kesinlikle kullanılmayacağını biliyorum.

Teşekkürler,

Araştırmacının adı, soyadı ve imzası

....

Adresi ve telefon numarası

Ziya Gökalp Cad. No:48 Kolej/ Çankaya ANKARA,...........................

Yukarıda   açıklamasını   okuduğum   çalışmaya,   velisi   olduğum _____'nin katılımına izin veriyorum.

Velinin   Adı,   soyadı: _____   İmzası: _____ Tarih:

Çocuğunuzun katılımı ya da haklarının korunmasına yönelik sorularınız varsa ya da çocuğunuzun herhangi bir şekilde risk altında olabileceğine, strese maruz kalacağına inanıyorsanız TED Üniversitesi İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu'na (0312 585 00 05) telefon numarasından veya iaek@tedu.edu.tr eposta adresinden ulaşabilirsiniz.

APPENDIX C: INTERVIEW QUESTİONS

• Can you tell us a little about your family?

• How do you call this loss?

• How did you receive the news of the accident?

• Who gave what kind of reactions?

• Who did you share this loss with? What did you share? How did they react?

• What would you like to say about the loss you experienced?

• What does this loss mean for your family?

• What does it mean for you to lose ….. as a result of a work accident?

• How do you remember ….. (disappeared person)?

• In what ways did the loss affect your family?

• It's been … years since the disappearance. How do you see your family in adjusting to a new life after your loss?

• Every unexpected loss is very challenging for families. How might this loss at work have affected your meaning-making process and your coping process?

• How did losing a loved one in this way and the process you experienced afterwards changed your perspective on your environment and the world?

• Did anything help you cope with this loss? What happened? (Social environment, family relations, institutions, etc.)

• Were there things that made this process difficult?

• What were your meetable and unmet needs during this period?

• How did the duties and responsibilities of family members change?

• People, families go through a process of mourning after a loss. How do you think this grieving process went for you? Were you able to mourn? What made it difficult for you to mourn?

• The traditions that each society and each family carry out in their own way after the disappearances. There are ceremonies. What are these in your family? How did these traditions come true after this loss?

• There may be judicial processes after these disappearances. Have you had a judicial process? How has this affected your family?

• What do you think are the most difficult things for families who have lost as a result of work accidents?

APPENDIX D: REFLEXİVİTY

I am (İnan) 28 years old male psychologist. Most of my life has been spent in İstanbul and Ankara, which are two biggest cities of Turkey. I am the little one of two children and I come from a working class family. In addition to that, my family belongs to Kurdish and Alevi society, which are two minority groups in this country. I am a sensitive person to social issues and call myself an activist. I believe that especially a social movement dominated by class character will prevent injustices.

I lost my lovely father to death while running this study. The cause was heart attack. The loss was sudden, unexpected and devastating for me and my family. It was the most grievous experience in my whole life. One Sunday morning, my telephone rang and I got the bad news. We did not expect this as he had not experienced any critical health problems before. Another significant loss during my thesis research happened before my father's death. In the first days of COVID-19 spreading, I had to live my home in order to start a new job. In those days, even the near future was uncertain and we did not know how to live with this pandemic. All these led to prepare a master thesis about grief in a grief period.