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Amie Mills

Introduction

IDEATE: The Undergraduate Journal of Sociology publishes the very best work produced by undergraduate students within the Sociology Department at the University of Essex.

This subsection of Volume 18 presents a single work: the prize-winning 3rd year dissertation in summer 2018, by Amie Mills:

> The Road to Secondary Victimisation: A study on the supporting services and justice available to bereaved persons following a road traffic fatality

We are delighted to be able to recognise Amie's achievement this way and to present her work in full here.

Congratulations and best wishes,

The IDEATE Editorial Team

The Road to Secondary Victimisation:

A study on the supporting services and justice available to bereaved persons following a road traffic fatality

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Abstract

The purpose of this research project was to contribute to the understanding of secondary victimisation of road traffic fatalities. The study focuses specifically on the mixed economy of supporting services and the subsequent attitudes to justice, which are examined from the perspectives of both consumers and providers of said services. Adopting an interactionist approach, data was collected by a process of triangulation including interviews, surveys and secondary data. After reporting on the data findings, the study concludes with a discussion of the results, by focusing on 'what matters' to victims, and by linking victimology to the sociology of denial and suffering.

Keywords:

Secondary Victimisation, Bereavement, Support, Justice, Social Acceptability.

Introduction

Drawing on C. Wright Mills' '*The Sociological Imagination'* (1959), I have written this research project with critical contemplation, knowing that many families, like my own, have experienced the reality of losing a loved one on the road. Mills defined sociological imagination as 'the vivid awareness of the relationship between experience and the wider society' (Crossman, 2017). In effect, Mills reconciled two concepts of social reality, transforming personal problems into public and political issues.

The recent tougher penalties for drivers using mobile phones means that offenders now face 'six points', fines of '£200', and newly qualified drivers can expect to lose their licence if caught (Topham, 2017). As claimed by the government, these low-level penalties are thought to deter further motoring offences which result in the needless loss of life. However, the 'personal trouble' of being a secondary victim of a road traffic fatality means that under the existing law, the offender who killed my father, and thus, causing a death by driving without due care and attention, would have received 'three to nine' points. A driving ban was discretionary, and a prison sentence was out of the question. From this account alone, it appears that despite recent crackdowns on low level motoring offences, inadequacies in the criminal justice system remain, and are often thought to leave bereaved family members feeling betrayed by the justice system.

The public and political issues surrounding road traffic fatalities arise following the reported 1.25 million road traffic deaths per annum globally (World Health Organisation, 2016). In fact, according to the World Health Organisation (WHO), road death and injury ranked as the 'tenth leading cause of death' globally in 2015 (2017). Road traffic collisions are the source of a multitudinous count of deaths, however, a widespread disregard for the risks of driving has, ultimately, resulted in a banality of road traffic fatalities; these incidents are often seen as unfortunate or inevitable accidents, and prosecutions are few and far between.

Although there exists a literature on issues relating to bereavement, there is little sociological research on the support needs of secondary victims of road traffic fatalities. The purpose of this study was to, therefore, contribute to the understanding of secondary victimisation following a road traffic fatality. To achieve this, I have conducted a sociological analysis of the social construction of bereavement support which is provided by a mixed economy of services based in the UK. To expand on existing research, the goal of the study, in the context of road deaths, was to give voice to both consumers and providers of these services, acknowledging the relationships between them and, therefore, constructing the meaning of the service. The main research question aimed to address: 'What services exist for secondary victims of road traffic fatalities?'. Additionally, drawing upon the concept of justice, the study was intended to address the moral character of society and the criminal justice system, specifically focusing on 'what matters' to secondary victims of road traffic fatalities (Parfit, 2008).

This project will be broken down into four sections, which will have the following structure: the literature review will provide a contextual basis for my research topic by analysing the existing literature regarding support and justice following a road traffic fatality. The methodology section will explain the use of the triangulation of qualitative methods I have used and why. The following section will be the findings and discussion, in which, my findings will be presented and analysed with theoretical applications to the

sociology of denial and suffering. The final section will provide my concluding thoughts on the project with regards to 'what matters' to victims.

Literature Review

The development of victimology arose in the 1940s with the concept 'victimology' coined by Mendelsohn, and later in Von Hentig's '*The Criminal and his Victim'* (1948). From an ideological and theoretical standpoint, victimology is considered to be a step towards closing the 'gap' in Criminology, whereby, until recently, victims have been regarded as *terra incognita*, or the 'forgotten party' of the criminal justice system (Walklate, 2007:11). In the UK and typically western societies, victims have come to be accepted as a significant actor in the criminal justice system; as reported by the Home Office, 'the needs and concerns of victims and witnesses, are central' (2005a:2). This radical shift towards the needs of victims lent itself to the creation of Victim Support in the 1970s (UK), founded alongside the growth of a veritable industry of services which aimed to improve the range of support that victims experienced and received from statutory agencies - for example, with greater centralisation of victim's needs and the services made available to support these. More significantly, this shift promised change partly due to its feminist-inspired services. The government's commitment to victim support has led to a range of initiatives such as the Victim's Code of Practice, and the establishment of the Victim's Advisory Panel, which places victims' perspectives and experiences, according to most, 'at the heart of the Criminal Justice considerations' (Goodey, 2005, cited in Williams and Chong, 2009:78).

The growing realisation of victims as important actors with rights within political and criminal justice debates would suggest that they are becoming empowered. However, it appears that the role of the victim is, indeed, fragmented, and hitherto there are criminal victimisations which remain ignored, understudied, and vastly underfunded for support. For example, secondary victims are less visible than primary victims. Despite this, the increasing recognition of secondary victimisation within the study of crime has led to the revision of the Victim's Code (2015), which acknowledges secondary victims as:

> A close relative of a person whose death was directly caused by a criminal offence. 'Close relative' is defined as the spouse, the partner, the relatives in direct line, the siblings and the dependants of the victim. Other family members, including guardians and carers, may be considered close relatives at the discretion of the service provider (The Crown Prosecution Service, 2015).

Specifically, the increased awareness of secondary victims as victims with rights has entitled them to a range of information and access to services; this includes the Crown Prosecution Service's nationwide 'Victim Focus Scheme' which allows families to make a 'Victim Personal Statement' (VPS) (Crown Prosecution Service, 2007). This scheme and the VPS' are important as they enable secondary victims to voice how the crime and the subsequent death has impacted them, thus, centring victims' needs and experiences within the criminal justice system.

However, it should be noted that the study of secondary victims tends to focus on violent crimes, such as Paul Rock's '*After homicide'* (1998). On the other hand, there is little

political interest in, and academic focus on secondary victimisation resulting from unintentional violence, specifically where road traffic fatalities occur. In fact, in 2015:

> There were over two times the number of road deaths than homicides that took place in the UK. Yet the National Homicide Service will receive annual MoJ funding of 2.75 million. This is 25 times the amount of direct funding the MoJ grants to road crash victim support on an annual basis (Brake, November 2016).

For such a sudden and traumatic life-changing event, similar to the victimisation via homicide, it is surprising that there remains a limited body of research regarding road traffic fatalities. This, therefore, suggests that it is necessary to focus on secondary victimisation as a result of road traffic fatalities. Furthermore, the existing literature tends to focus on psychological impacts of trauma and bereavement of road deaths, which are almost exclusively based on samples from rural areas in Australia. The lack of systematic research and inquiry into the full impact of road traffic fatalities is perhaps indicative of society's opinion of road deaths being 'accidental', despite a reported 1,730 road deaths in 2015 in the UK (Department for Transport, 2016), thus implying that this is a form of victimisation which does not necessarily need or deserve attention, unlike homicide.

Crucially, emerging small and specialist victim support agencies, such as RoadPeace and Brake, have campaigned and lobbied for the inclusion of secondary victims in policies and through the provisions of Victim Support. In recent years, these campaigns have contributed towards the revision of the Code of Practice for Victims of Crime in 2015, which has brought in new measures to expand the definition of a victim to include 'offences, such as careless driving […] [which] were not entitled to services under the Code' (Victim Support, n.d.). This exemplifies that secondary victims of road traffic fatalities are, and have been, politically and systematically ignored, especially in identification as victims by the criminal justice system.

Bereavement

The term bereavement has been defined as 'the recent loss of a significant person through death', and is often regarded as a social and/or cultural construction (Parris, 2011:141). Bereavement is understood as a discursive activity, characterised social processes, and the values and beliefs which are involved in how the loss of a person is experienced/perceived by the individual. In today's industrialised society, death before the onset of old age 'is regarded as […] aberrant', and for this reason, it is perceived as traumatic by those that are bereaved (Hockey 1990; Cited in Robinson 2011:12). Traumatic bereavement has been described by Dyregrov as a 'multidimensional process likely to be associated with post-traumatic reactions and complicated grief', and is often the case following the sudden death of a person (2006:340). The loss of someone to a road traffic collision is always unexpected, but it is not unheard of. For example, in Britain, road and traffic news are broadcast daily through outlets such as online media and the radio.

While it is impossible to determine how many persons are bereaved for each road traffic fatality that occurs, it has been estimated that 'there are at least four people for each death that could and should be considered as being 'bereaved'' (Parris, 2011:139). Considering the magnitude of road traffic fatalities globally, there is a general lack of interest in bereavement as a result of a traffic collision, especially from a sociological perspective. Of what little literature on this subject area there is, one study performed by Lehman et al., found that following a four- to seven-year bereavement of secondary victims of motor

vehicle crashes, '68 per cent of the spouses and 59 per cent of the parents' were 'unable to accept the loss' (1987, cited in Cleiren, 1993:51). Similarly, Zisook and Lyons' study in 1988 found that some '21 per cent of 1000 participants had unresolved grief' (cited in Cleiren, 1993:43). These two studies demonstrate that there is a significant trend in secondary victims being unable to accept their bereaved status, which is perhaps indicative of the lack of support available for families for bereavement succeeding a road death.

Other existing literatures regarding road traffic fatalities are especially focused on the psychological, as mentioned previously. For example, as suggested by Norris, 'at a lifetime frequency of 23% and a PTSD rate of 12% of that, this event [bereavement through road traffic accident] alone would yield 28 seriously distressed persons for every 1000 adults in the U.S.' (1992; Cited in Mitchell, 1997:6). These works are usually heavily quantitative and often focus on long-term medicalisation and the psychological effects of traumatic bereavement. However, while such research provides a great insight into the short and long-term needs of victims, it typically fails to address what can be done to help the victims - such as suggesting governmental and policy interventions to help provide bereaved persons with effective support.

Supporting Services

According to Gill and Mawby, contemporary society is comprised of a 'mixed economy of welfare' (1990:13) due to its wide range and choices of supporting services. The type, quality and quantity of support and help provided to the secondary victims of road traffic fatalities when they are suddenly bereaved varies enormously. A number of studies from the twentieth century have suggested that the needs of victims were 'often not met by existing professional organisations' (Mitchell, 1997:205). In fact, it has been suggested by the European Federation of Road Traffic Victims that, regarding the provision of social and emotional support and legal help to the bereaved on an international level, '20% of victims received virtually no support from any agency, and of the remaining 80% many received adequate assistance from only one support agency' (1997:7). Additionally, in a '*Support and Care'* study by Dyregov et al. in 1999, 'more than half of the bereaved wanted more help than they had received' (Dyregov, 2008:64). These statistics provide a global perspective on the quality of help and support for bereaved families and nonetheless, suggest that the quality and quantity of support available for bereaved families must be improved.

The changing spectrum of human and supporting services began with the Thatcher government in the United Kingdom, and the Reagan administration in the United States, both of which contributed to a shift that enabled the privatisation of new market service providers. This newly privatised system, a result of neoliberalism and economic market rationality, has led to a range of commercial, and thus commodified, forms of supporting services, such as private counselling. This neoliberal approach to services is thought to be characterised by a 'dominant ideology of welfare pluralism' (Pedlar and Hutchison, 2000:639). Welfare pluralism ultimately refocused the governmental support for bereaved persons. This has led to a framework in which the private and voluntary sectors have, and are, expected to mirror the statutory sector in regard to addressing the service needs of victims. In other words, the shift towards dependence on non-governmental-based support formed as a means of reducing governmental expenditures on public services, has led to what Garland regarded, a process of 'responsibilization' (2001a).

Abramovitz (2015) is one among many researchers to suggest that privatisation has 'restructured the human services in ways that have dramatically affected agencies,

practitioners and clients' (2015:283). As supported by Pal, 'the focus [of supporting services] has been on market mechanisms, including private, fee-charging service delivery systems' (1997; Cited in Pedlar & Hutchison, 2000:640). As outlined by these works of literature, this leads to a question of justice and inequality, especially for those that cannot afford such services. Essentially, while secondary victims of road traffic fatalities have access to free services such as Victim Support and the National Health Service (NHS), it can be suggested that the victim's rights have worsened due to consumerism, to the extent that the use of private services are determined by social and economic capital - rather than citizenship. Secondary victims with disposable incomes would have access to an 'extra safety net that incorporates health insurance and access to additional funds and resources' (Goodey, 2005:137). Comparatively, those with a lower income, or who are from a marginalized group in society, are, therefore, thought to have less or no access to private services. This can become even more difficult if, for instance, the deceased was the breadwinner. With this in mind, a lack of available and affordable services can lead to further victimisation.

As suggested by Felty and Jones (1998), the privatisation of human and social supporting services raises contentious issues of 'motivation' and 'incentive'. Such concepts highlight the morality of the contemporary neoliberal markets in society. As put by Pedlar and Hutchison, 'should social service agencies operate for profit? When organisations operate for profit, are they able to provide quality care to the people they serve?' (2000:640). The influence of neoliberal economic policies has, therefore, 'transformed the victim of crime from a victim per se into a consumer of the criminal justice process' (Mawby and Walklate, 1994; Cited in Walklate, 2007:11). This, therefore, suggests that victims have been constructed as consumers of public and/or non-governmental services. This is deeply problematic in suggesting that victim's needs are considered in accordance with their 'capitals' (Bourdieu, 1986), rather than their needs and rights as citizens.

On the other hand, according to Mitchell, the 'rise of "consumerism" and dissatisfaction with institutions intended to care for those with difficulties has led to self-help' (1997:205) and the formation of voluntary groups which provide alternatives to statutory support. To address the inherent inequalities associated with private support, voluntary bodies and organisations tend to follow the criteria of accepting clients 'not based on prior membership or any ability to pay' (The Wolfenden Committee, 1978; Cited in Gill and Mawby, 1990:13-14); these organisations are 'non-profitmaking' and 'initiated independently of the State' (ibid.). Self-help groups and voluntary organisations, while not financed exclusively by the State, can receive funds from it. As outlined in the practice guidance booklet provided by the charity Sudden, 'The Ministry of Justice currently provides funding for victims of road traffic crime via grant funding provision for organisations: "Brake" and "RoadPeace"' (2014). While this may be the case, Brake, a charity that receives such funds, claims that:

> Support for road-crash victims is a grossly under-funded area. When someone dies in a crash, their mum, dad, wife, husband, partner, brother, sister, daughter or son are often left to struggle through their loss alone. We need the government to invest in specialist support, offering prompt and comprehensive help to families when the worst has happened (Brake, June 2016).

This literature is just some among an abundant amount of data which suggests that supporting services for secondary victims of road traffic fatalities are under-funded. More importantly, governmental changes to 'Bereavement Payment' benefits in April 2017 mean

that, under the new scheme, many grieving and widowed families may face extreme financial difficulties, especially for those with dependent children. A recent article has claimed that these changes mean that, 'instead of receiving [financial] support until the youngest child leaves school - maximum 20 years - parents will receive support for just 18 months' (Munbodh, 2017). It is estimated that thousands of families will be significantly worse off following the changes to bereavement benefits, and this is thought to lead to an increasing reliance upon voluntary agencies, many of which already face a 'problem of over-demand' (Gill and Mawby, 1990:80). While volunteers may get great satisfaction from the services they deliver, there is an issue of over-reliance on the voluntary sector, and this should not be dismissed. As reported by Cruse Bereavement Care, their volunteers donated a sum of '551,592' hours from 2015 to 2016; without these volunteers, the charities would not be able to provide free support to victims (2016). Furthermore, a dependence on the voluntary services to provide support means that bereaved persons may face secondary victimisation as a result of being subject to waiting lists until the help and support are available.

Finally, Dr Noreen Tehrani's '*Road Victim Trauma'* (2004) has greatly influenced this research project, due to her critical examination of the needs of secondary victims, specifically, with emphasis on supporting services for bereaved families in relation to road traffic collisions. Tehrani's work used longitudinal data to identify what timely support and advice were most available and effective to those who have been exposed to bereavement. On satisfaction with the quality of support, Tehrani found that for the bereaved, the least help was provided by the psychiatrist at '11.1 per cent', and the Courts providing '16.7 per cent' satisfaction (Tehrani, 2004:370). On the other hand, the most help was provided by the volunteer and charity organisation RoadPeace at '97.5 per cent' satisfaction (Tehrani, 2004:370). Significantly, Tehrani's results suggested that supporting services which facilitated self-help promoted 'positive personal growth and recovery' (Tehrani, 2004:372). Accordingly, Tehrani's study demonstrates the need for a governmental intervention in services that provide support and information for secondary victims of road traffic fatalities. In addition to this, Tehrani's work further emphasises the need to address the quality of help and support that is provided to bereaved families by addressing how 'a lack of social support has also been shown to increase the likelihood of "late onset PTSD"' (Anderson et al., 1994, cited in Tehrani, 2004:362). Tehrani's research is, therefore, pivotal to this research project in recognising that the failure of society to meet the needs of sufficient support for bereaved family members of road traffic fatalities can lead to further victimisation and suffering.

Justice

It has been thought by many scholars that the concept of 'justice' is systematically ambiguous. The concept has been the subject of a longstanding debate which can be traced back to Ancient Greek philosophy. For example, in '*Criminal Justice: An Introduction to the Criminal Justice System in England and Wales*' by Davies et al., it has been suggested that there are seven models of justice (1995). More generally, as stated by Campbell, justice is 'about righting wrongs through punishment, ensuring compensation for victims, or in some other way responding appropriately to the perpetration of justice' (2010:6). However, according to Goodey, 'victims are consumers of services with very little recourse to justice' (2005:131). For example, it has been noted by Tehrani that there is a 'frequent cry for justice and an appropriate recognition of the pain and suffering they [secondary victims] have experienced' (2004:362). This is significant in suggesting that the notion of justice is often undermined with regards to secondary victims of road traffic fatalities.

Specialist road death support agencies, such as RoadPeace and Brake, are well known for their campaigning efforts which aim to address the experiences of the bereaved road traffic victims with regards to insufficient support. More importantly, these charities seek to challenge the legal and social maelstrom in which bereaved family members find themselves in following a road traffic fatality. For example, whilst monitoring the use of 'Causing Death by Careless Driving' and 'Causing Death by Driving Whilst Unlicensed, Disqualified and Uninsured' sentences under the Road Traffic Act of 1988, 'only 4 of the 23 drivers imprisoned for that charge were given sentences as high as 12-18 months' (Aeron-Thomas, 2014). RoadPeace have also presented that in England and Wales driving bans are short, and not always given in the case of causing death by driving; it has been suggested that 'one in five drivers convicted of causing death by careless driving are not banned' (RoadPeace Justice Watch, 2017). Similar results have been found by the road safety charity Brake, which suggested that the 'average prison sentence for a driver who has killed someone is four years' (July 2016). This literature, produced by the voluntary sector, provides longstanding applications of research which maintains the argument that criminal proceedings and charges fail to provide justice for the secondary victims of road traffic fatalities. To provide the equilibrium of justice, these charities have lobbied for tougher sentencing in cases of road traffic fatalities, such as Brake's current and ongoing '*Roads to Justice*' campaign (2016).

The European Federation of Road Traffic Victims literature also provides a key assumption on the idea of justice and/or injustice, in association with the disappointment felt by secondary victims of road traffic fatalities. From an international level, the European Federation of Road Traffic Victims results found that:

> The greatest dissatisfaction was expressed with regard to criminal proceedings: 89% of the families of the dead […] considered that justice was not done in their case, 75% considered that the charges were not fair (European Federation of Road Traffic Victims, 1997:8).

Similarly, it has been exemplified that the most protests in relation to dissatisfaction and resentment over criminal proceedings came from bereaved families in the UK, with statistics suggesting a considerable '97%' dissatisfaction rate (European Federation of Road Traffic Victims, 1997:13). On a national scale, in the United Kingdom, the European Federation of Road Traffic Victims further found that:

> Only about 5% of road deaths are followed by a prosecution which addresses the death caused […]. Most deaths are followed only by a charge of driving without due care and attention, or no prosecution at all. The sentence is then usually a fine and penalty points on the offender's licence (European Federation of Road Traffic Victims, 1997:13).

The research by the European Federation of Road Traffic Victims is significant in that it provides literature of an international and national level regarding the attitudes towards justice of secondary victims of road traffic fatalities. This literature, with consideration of the previously mentioned research by the voluntary sector, demonstrates that from the 1990's through to 2017, the criminal proceedings and punishments following road traffic fatalities have remained at a level in which bereaved family members are often left dissatisfied with the criminal justice system. This is significant in suggesting that there

needs to be a systemic review and/or reform of the criminal justice system to address the needs of secondary victims.

Alternatively, it is important to mention that the criminal justice system can contribute towards the bereaved family members' secondary victimisation through their experiences of the criminal justice process. For example, in her study, Tehrani found that 'the death or injury of the victims is sometimes not seen as significant enough to warrant a mention in court' (2004:362). Significantly, throughout existing literature, there has been a question of justice for those who have died as a result of a road traffic collision. As presented by RoadPeace, families that are bereaved by homicide, including manslaughter, 'receive more support and information than families bereaved by law-breaking drivers', to the extent that bereaved families have 'less rights' as secondary victims of road traffic fatalities (September 2016). Furthermore, as suggested by Howarth, the judicial system treats those who have died on the roads differently in contrast to those who, for example, have been killed by a stabbing, due to the notion that 'death on the road is socially constructed' (Cited in Mitchell, 1997:10). The social construction of road deaths, ultimately, lends the notion of blamelessness, hence questioning forms of culpability and accountability. This societal belief is, consequently, thought to contribute toward bereaved persons' victimisation, leaving them 'feel[ing] deeply cheated that no-one is held responsible' (Corbett, 1999). This, therefore, questions the morality of society, and calls for an examination of the criminal justice system regarding how it treats death on the roads, and how it is able to bring justice to bereaved secondary victims.

Methodology

Research Design

To understand the modus operandi of supporting services from voluntary and statutory agencies, for the purpose of this research project it was essential to employ an interpretive epistemology to inform the investigation. Interpretivist approaches are thought of as a subjective platform for understanding the meanings associated with social action. In fact, it has been suggested by Bogdan and Taylor that, 'in order to grasp the meanings of a person's behaviour, the phenomenologist attempts to see things from that person's point of view' (1975:13-14; Cited in Bryman, 2012:30). The hermeneutic-phenomenological tradition associated with interpretivism is thought to be profoundly influenced by the work of Weber and the concept of 'Verstehen' (Weber, 1947). This approach was deemed as the most appropriate method for researching bereavement for the reason that it provides an interpretive account of the socially constructed and lived experiences of both consumers and providers of services following a road traffic fatality. Furthermore, an interactionist analysis enabled a deeper and theoretical understanding of the mixed economy of supporting services, and opened up the debate of 'what matters' to secondary victims of road traffic fatalities.

The rationale behind adopting a symbolic interactionist approach was to provide a context of evaluation in which data was collected by a process of qualitative research methods to explore the existing supporting services for secondary victims of road traffic fatalities. The reason for adopting this approach was driven by the 'gap' in existing literature on bereavement support, let alone in the context for road deaths. Existing research typically addresses road traffic fatalities with a global lens, heavily relying on quantitative data to

confront public health and safety concerns. As a result, these literatures focus on statistical data, typically, concerning issues of infrastructure and demographic qualities of primary victims, such as age, gender and criminality (e.g. substance use). This study, on the other hand, deviates from such research as it provides a sociological investigation into the social reality of road traffic fatalities with an emphasis on the secondary victims, their needs, and their accounts of the suffering they face, hence, giving a voice to their experiences.

A qualitative research design served as the main methodology for this project as a strategy of inquiry based on the constructivist paradigm, which understands the social world as constructed: historically specific and culturally relative. This framework was fundamental to the investigation of secondary victims of road traffic fatalities for the reason that, as suggested by Rosenblatt, 'grief is shaped by our current socio-cultural environment' (2001:286; Cited in Robinson, 2011:18). Bryman defines qualitative research as: 'an approach to the social world which seeks to describe and analyse the culture and behaviour of humans and their groups from the point of view of those being studied' (1988: 46). Qualitative research, therefore, refers to the meanings, concepts and definitions associated with the social world.

Moreover, to understand the social world of bereavement support and justice for secondary victims of road traffic fatalities, it was essential to employ a grounded theoretical approach. Grounded theory was developed by Glaser and Strauss (1967) and has been defined as 'theory that was derived from data […] and analysed through the research process' (Strauss and Corbin 1998:12; Cited in Bryman, 2012:387). As an inductive form of research, a grounded theoretical approach was vital to capture the experiences of secondary victims and the role of human service providers following a road traffic fatality. An inductive approach enabled me to gain a rich description of in-depth data, comprised of facts, commentaries and various interpretations regarding support and justice. This approach, therefore, embodied a form of sociological investigation by which empirical notions and concepts of enquiry were not applicable in investigating the accounts and experiences of secondary victimisation of road traffic fatalities.

Sampling

Due to the mixed economy of services regarding support for secondary victims of road traffic fatalities, I used a cross-sectional and multi-stratified sample of participants who were either consumers, providers, or both, of services based in the UK. For example, this included volunteers who had been previously bereaved and who now worked for charities, as well as paid workers for charities. Specifically, the human service providers were examined at different levels: including both public and voluntary organisations, to identify the range of support and justice available for secondary victims of road traffic fatalities. Furthermore, the need to include both consumers and providers of human services of support and access to justice promotes an interactionist view that, as suggested by Charmaz, reveals 'reality is a social construction shaped by interpretations, choices and actions of participants' (1980; Cited in Marquiz, 1994:38). Participants were approached by the means of criterion sampling, a purposive sampling approach, to ensure that they had the same shared experiences of receiving and/or giving support following a road fatality. The sensitive nature of the study required participant recruitment to be self-selecting. Due to the difficulty of accessing participants, and for the reason that road deaths can affect anyone, the parameters for selecting participants based upon socio-demographic factors were deemed irrelevant. For the recruitment of participants, I used an email format to contact organisations in the public sector and voluntary sector to enquire if anyone would

be willing, and/or interested in participating in my study, along with some basic information of the study and my motivation [*see Appendix 1*]. I did not approach people who had experienced bereavement directly as this would have been unethical. Overall, this form of sampling was deemed as the most appropriate way to access individuals who fit the research topic criterion.

It is essential to note that there were no time-frame criteria applied during the process of selecting participants who were consumers of supporting services i.e. how long ago was their bereavement. This is due to the fact that imposing a time frame may have excluded participants experiencing long-term bereavement. It was important not to assume that long-term bereavement would not be significant in the understanding of support and justice for secondary victims of road traffic fatalities, especially for the reason that many who have experienced this form of bereavement use their experiences to help others through charity-work and/or volunteering. This alone further guaranteed the representativeness of the study.

Profiles of the Organisations in the Study

Road Policing - Family Liaison Officer

The role of the Family Liaison Officer (FLO) is to facilitate communication between the Senior Investigating Officer (SIO) and the family under managed conditions. The FLO remains an investigator and as such is responsible for gathering evidential facts from the family that will assist the investigation.

Cruse Bereavement Care

Cruse Bereavement Care was founded in 1959 and is a leading national charity for bereaved people in the United Kingdom. Cruse provides support and information to those who have been bereaved, including children and young people. Their services are provided by a 'network of 5,000 trained volunteers' (Cruse Bereavement Care, n.d.).

Road Victims Trust

Road Victims Trust (RVT) was founded in 1995 and is a non-profit-making charitable organisation. 'RVT offers emotional and practical support to anyone who lives in Bedfordshire, Cambridgeshire and Hertfordshire who is affected by a serious road collision' (Road Victims Trust, 2017). They offer telephone support to people living outside the area. As a small charity, they receive limited statutory funding and the majority of the costs are raised by grants, donations and fundraising events.

Data Collection

The parameters of this study were based on the use of triangulation, or rather, a mixed method of data collection, to provide a contained study of the mixed economy of services. Traced back to the works of Denzin (1970), triangulation is defined as the 'combination of two or more theories, data sources, methods or investigators in one study of a single phenomenon to converge on a single construct' (Yeasmin and Rahman, 2012:156). With this in mind, triangulation was adopted to analyse the research question from multiple methods to establish consistency of the participant's experiences of support and justice, thus, determining validity and credibility of the results. As an in-depth qualitative

methodology, triangulation opened up the possibility to provide an understanding of the phenomenon of secondary victimisation of road traffic fatalities. As a contained study, the use of triangulation enabled me to gather a 'thick description' of data, namely being the experiences of support and justice following a bereavement (Geertz, 1973). With the use of this method, I was, therefore, able to explore the lived experiences of participants and, the 'facts that have been hidden, inaccessible, suppressed, distorted, misunderstood, ignored' (Du Bois, 1985, cited in Liamputtong, 2007:1). Nonetheless, it should be noted that the use of mixed methods significantly reduced researcher and procedural bias, given that participants were entitled to the choice of being interviewed or to participating in a survey. This reduced any pressure and/or distress to provide information, especially due to the sensitive nature of the research project. The main research methods utilised were interviews, surveys and secondary documents, which will be discussed henceforth.

Due to the sensitive nature of this research project, I introduced the interviewees with a brief outline of the research project, stating my motivations and providing my own experience of secondary victimisation of a road traffic fatality; this helped to establish a basis of rapport with the participant. More importantly, this addressed the potential power relationship at play between myself and the interviewee. By adopting Cotterill's 'participatory model' during interviews, I aimed to produce a non-hierarchal approach and/or relationship with each participant (1992:594). By removing the power and by relinquishing control, my experiences of bereavement paralleled with the participant's, thus increasing the validity of the data. While it has been suggested that this reduced the reliability of the data, for an interpretivist approach, validity is more important, therefore, the trade-off for reliability was deemed acceptable.

For the interviewing procedure, I used semi-structured interviews as a means of data collection, as this was deemed the most appropriate means to address a discussion of support and justice following a road death. The semi-structured interviews were based on an interview guide, comprised of open-ended questions and themes to discuss with each participant [*see Appendix 4*]. The schematic presentation of topics enabled me to begin with a simple and tangible conversation-starter, such as, 'How did you get into volunteering?'. As suggested by Kvale, this is referred to as an 'introductory question'; an open-ended question employed to encourage a discussion (2007:60). This was primarily used to ease the participant into a non-threatening conversation and hence, establish rapport. Following on from this conversation were more abstract and sensitive questions, addressing the social reality of support and justice. Furthermore, the use of an interview guide enabled me to appropriately address the emotional dynamic of the conversations. For example, as debated by Hoffman, 'If I shared too much of my own emotions, would I silence them? If I shared too little emotion, would I appear unresponsive, hostile, or unable to understand their predicaments?' (2007:340). Semi-structured interviews, therefore, allowed for a sense of control of emotions and of the discussions.

For my semi-structured interviews, I used both face-to-face interviews and telephone interviews. The difference between using the two interviewing techniques was primarily based upon two main factors. First of all, telephone interviews were the most accessible and viable form of interviewing, owing to geographical locations of the participants. Secondly, telephone interviews provided a form of anonymity which made participants feel more comfortable; due to the sensitive nature of the research project, it was essential for the interviewees to feel comfortable talking about their experiences. When addressing face-to-face interviews, to ensure that the participant felt safe and relaxed, the interviews took place in a location that was requested by the interviewee. On average, the interview

lengths varied from thirty minutes to two hours, however, this depended on how willing participants were to discuss their experiences of consuming and/or providing support and justice. For the transcription process, a timescale of three to four hours was allocated per half-hour of interviewing to ensure that all details and experiences were recorded with full detail. Field notes regarding key themes and personal reflections were recorded during and after interview [*see Appendix 5].*

During the research process, a survey was later developed as a means of gaining information from the consumers of the supporting services. The survey contained a similar question format/structure to the interview guide and was introduced upon the request of the participants *[see Appendix 3]*. While the survey did not allow me to fully probe the participants on their experiences of support and justice, it was ethically and morally imperative that the participant did not feel pressured when disclosing their traumatic experiences. Studying a sensitive topic, therefore, created a methodological issue; however, it was overcome by remaining flexible in my approach to data collection.

As mentioned earlier, I also used secondary data as an exploratory method to support my findings. The data was primarily based on official documentary records, forums and blogs provided by the public and voluntary organisations. This enabled me to address and develop my research questions and findings. The use of the internet as a source of data was vital to the investigation as, similar to the survey, it enabled both consumers and providers of services to freely disclose their experiences of bereavement and the subsequent 'justice' in a safe space, on a regulated platform. From this, it should be noted that these documents can be viewed as a means of '"reality" in their own right' (Atkinson and Coffey, 2011, cited in Bryman, 2012:554). In this regard, it can be suggested that the internet, as an emergent technology, is an extension of social reality. It is, therefore, essential to include such documents as a means of construction the reality and experiences of bereavement support. Furthermore, the use of documents as data conveyed an impression of reality that enabled me to access information and personal accounts of support and justice by an unobtrusive means, which is ethically sound.

Overall, the use of qualitative methods to explore the experiences of support and justice available to secondary victims of road traffic fatalities raised issues of generalisability; however, it was deemed as essential in the trade-off for gaining valid data.

Ethics

The 'University of Essex' attaches a high priority to the ethical conduct of research. Prior to the research project, it was necessary to apply to the Ethics Committee for an ethical review of the project, outlining any potential ethical concerns. During this process, I referred to the British Sociological Association's Statement of Ethical Practice, as a guide to maintain moral and ethical conduct during the research project.

During the study, informed consent was gained either verbally and/or written, prior to any data collection [*see Appendix 2*]. As mentioned previously, throughout the project participants were provided with as much information as possible. The primary objective of this was to gain the participant's trust and to prevent any form of deception. Participants were also reminded throughout the research project that they had the right to withdraw from the research project. Participants were thanked for their engagements in the project at each state and were encouraged to contact myself if they had any further questions or comments.

Under the Data Protection Act 1998, all information and data gathered about a participant was safeguarded, and participants were guaranteed anonymity and confidentiality of their experiences and accounts throughout the research process. Prior to any interview, I asked participants for their permission to record the interviews; they were guaranteed that all information and data collection was to be kept secured electronically on an external hard drive. Following transcription, the interviewees were assured that all recordings would be deleted. Due to the nature of the project, confidentiality and anonymity of the participants was maintained as it enabled me to 'explore issues which […] are regarded as sensitive' (Oliver, 2010:78). To do this I provided participants with a fake name, or pseudonym. The pseudonyms I have given are in the following table. However, where the identity of the participant is already known (e.g. where published online) real names have been retained.

Pseudonym	**Pseudonym's Identity**
Sue	Cruse Bereavement Care Volunteer
Frankie	Road Victim's Trust Worker (Paid Employee)
Helen	Family Liaison Officer from Essex Roads Policing Department (Voluntary Role)
Carol	Sergeant of Essex Roads Policing Department
John	Bereaved by Road Traffic Fatality
Marie	Bereaved by Road Traffic Fatality

Table 1: *Pseudonyms*

Due to the sensitive nature of the research project, it was essential to reduce any potential risk, especially psychological and/or emotional distress. As suggested by Lee and Renzetti, 'bereavement has been identified as a particularly sensitive topic due to its emotionally charged nature' (1993; Cited in Valentine, 2007:62). By researching the secondary victimisation of road traffic fatalities, as the researcher, I was exposed to intensely personal and empathetic engagements with the participants to the extent that the emotional dynamic of the interviews was a form of emotional labour.

To reduce any potential distress for the participants, I constructed questions with an awareness of bereavement euphemisms. For example, questions were phrased as: 'following the loss of' rather than saying 'following the death of'. This softening of language enabled me to adopt an empathetic approach, grounded by the means of 'Verstehen'. Alternatively, participants were reminded that there was no pressure to answer or respond to any question if they felt uncomfortable, or legally unable to respond to. It was crucial that all participants felt comfortable when giving their experiences on the available support and justice following a road traffic fatality.

On the other hand, due to my own experience of secondary victimisation following a road traffic fatality, it was important that I managed my own emotions throughout the research process. I achieved this by keeping a personal and reflective log after each interview.

Reflexivity

The highly sensitive nature of the research project called for an ongoing reflexive approach to ethical concerns. By remaining reflexive through the research project, I was able to acknowledge my own experiences as an important role in the research, which provided me with an invaluable insight into the experiences of participants. This shared experience enabled me to establish a form of insider knowledge with the participants, which would have been unavailable to an outsider having not experienced this form of bereavement. As influenced by the words of Ann Oakley, by presenting myself as a 'fellow' bereaved person, I was given access to an 'inside' culture, or rather, a shared membership of their experiences with support, which further enabled a more approachable discussion of support and justice (1981:53). With this in mind, the use of a researcher lacking a true and empathetic understanding of road traffic fatalities could have led to key issues being overlooked or understated. Additionally, another researcher may have been unaware of what appropriate concepts to use when discussing the death of a person on the road. For example, the term 'accident', for most secondary victims and road death charities is considered as inaccurate and can be highly offensive. The misuse of such concepts could deem the researcher as insensitive and may cause distress to participants.

It was important that I was honest with the participants and employed the use of softer language during all of interviews because, as existing literature suggests, many service providers of grief support are those who have been bereaved, and seek to help others in their experience. Furthermore, due to my personal involvement in the project, it was important that I remained reflexive to avoid having a subjective account of experiences of support and justice; this was exemplified by not expressing my personal views in an interview, unless asked by a participant in conversation.

On the contrary, it is possible to suggest that my own account of bereavement, in conversation with a secondary victim, may have refuted any ethical concerns regarding participant and researcher risk due to the sensitive nature of the study. For example, according to a range of bereavement literature, 'talking about bereavement can help' to cope with grief (NHS Choices, 2017). Therefore, it can be suggested that my investigation may have had positive impacts on the participant's experiences of bereavement.

Findings and Discussion

For the analysis of my data, I constructed a coding frame based upon the concept of analytic induction [*see Appendix 6]*. Throughout the analysis I have employed a negotiated use of codes, typically using pre-determined 'a priori' codes as well as 'empirical' codes which have emerged throughout the data (Gibson and Brown, 2009:130). During the process of coding it was essential to consider the aims of thematic analysis, particularly regarding what is being said and not said about the mixed economy of human services in contemporary UK society. I have employed a combination of narrative analysis and discourse analysis to develop both the secondary victims' and the service providers' accounts regarding the support and justice available for those who are bereaved following a road death. This was significant for the reason that it enabled a broader consideration of how the social constructions are presented through the participant's narrative and personal accounts of secondary victimisation.

The rich collection of data regarding such narratives and experiences cannot be fully reported on in detail due to the constraints of this research project. However, I have attempted to discuss the main themes that have occurred, which are: 'the mixed economy of services and support', 'digital citizenship and e-governance', 'justice and punishments', and lastly, 'social acceptability'.

1.0 The Mixed Economy of Services and Support

> Good support is priceless to victims and their loved ones! – John.

Since the 1980s, there has been a decentralisation of public services, marked by a New Public Management (NPM) paradigm which is based upon a 'plural state' of public services, ultimately, leading to the mixed economy of services and support (McLaughlin et al., 2002:2). As a result, throughout my data collection, I found that there was a mixed experience of support available for secondary victims of road traffic fatalities, which was dependent on a wide range of factors such as: government investments/funding, social acceptability, geographical locality of services, referrals, and economic capital. I will discuss a few of these factors in-depth, henceforth.

1.1 Public Support and Emotional Labour

According to Kamerman and Kahn, there exists an 'extending ladder where the state provided a basic minimum of essential provisions', and to some extent, this was found true throughout my findings (1976; Cited in McLaughlin et al., 2002:8). For example, as a FLO, Helen mentioned, 'I remember the officer just told her, 'yeah, he's dead'- this was about twenty years ago - and then he went 'right I'll just leave you with it''. Despite this being twenty years ago, she later commented that when giving the news of a road fatality today, '[we] could give this [*see Appendices 7-9*] to someone at like three o'clock in the morning and after about half an hour we walk out and leave them'. This demonstrates how the police approach secondary victims with a purely investigative role, rather than emotional. This approach is thought to be controversial, and can be perceived negatively by those who have just received the news of a road death, as was the case with Tracey:

> They handed me a piece of paper with a handwritten telephone number on it and told me I should ring it for more information […] I still feel bitter about the way in which I was told. I deserved a duty of care and support, which any other member of the public deserves and expects from the police (Cusick, 2005).

On the other hand, this does not suggest that all police officers are insensitive to their work; in fact, according to Pam, 'the officer who broke the news to us was very quiet and caring. This quiet composure gave us strength' (Surman, 2007). Similar findings also occurred with Nova, stating that:

> [The] Family Liaison Officer […] helped us enormously during that first two weeks. She listened to us, was honest and compassionate in her dealings with us and quietly directed us to do and think about things that we would not have been able to cope with or considered ourselves. […] I cannot imagine what it would have been like without their support (Storey, 2008).

Despite this, it is unacceptable for victims to receive an overall mixed experience of support from the police, especially when being told that someone has died. Some may argue that

this calls for emotional labour to come into public policy and policing, to prevent further victimisation of those who have been bereaved.

However, it has been strongly suggested by scholars such as Hochschild, that the regulation of feelings and emotions are part of the professional role of policing, and refers to this as 'emotional work' (1983). Similarly, Helen reported that, 'you have to stay detached and to do the investigation you really don't want to get emotionally involved'. As suggested by the likes of Bowlby (1980) and Kubler-Ross (1969), the experience of loss is universal; therefore, it is thought that working with bereaved people can heighten feelings of mutual empathy; this is especially the case if there is a criminal prosecution as FLO's will often work with families for up to two years. The significance of this is that the emotionally demanding interactions of dealing with a bereaved person can lead to a form of 'burnout', to the extent that human service providers, such as the police, feel emotionally drained (Bakker and Heuven, 2006:424). In fact, as an FLO, Helen commented, 'Yes, its draining, yes, I've come away sometimes, I've, I've sat with a family liaison before and started crying – not boo-hooing, but you know, often the odd tear will drip down or whatever'.

On the other hand, when discussing emotional labour of grief work, it is important to note that gender is an increasing aspect towards such work. For example, Helen mentioned that 'not everyone, not the boys are interested in doing it because they the feelings, they don't like dealing with emotions'. Drawing from Reiner's (2000) conception of 'machismo', this is significant in suggesting that police officers may be reluctant to express emotion due to the notion that police culture is thought to typically embrace a 'toughness' ethic. This therefore suggests that social constructions of traditional masculinity and femininity may be a contributing factor towards the gendered disparity in grief work.

1.2 Voluntary/Third Sector

Overall, the findings strongly suggested that third sector services were deemed as invaluable to participants. Charity services were characterised by participants for their tailored and bespoke services, giving 'clients' the ability to choose what support input suited them best. For example, Sue from Cruse Bereavement Care mentioned that: 'by offering five core services […] the more different ways of supporting people the better, because we can offer them more choice'. Similar findings from Frankie suggested that, 'we might have a few phone calls to start with to establish what they [clients] want from our service'. The range of services and the ability to choose the most appropriate service to suit victims' needs means that this form of support empowered victims and gave them a sense of control. This tailored approach provides a holistic service that is responsive to the needs of victims by addressing 'what matters', namely the forms of social justice and criminal justice secondary victims of road traffic fatalities should have access to (Parfit, 2008). This stands in stark comparison to the 'what works' approach within the NPM which is based upon a 'one-size-fits-all' form of intervention that typically emphasises financial gain (McNeill, 2009).

Throughout sociological discourse, a large body of empirical work has looked at why people volunteer, partly due to its contribution to the UK economy with 'assets of £40 billion and annual spending of nearly £11 billion' (Palmer and Hoe, 1997). Throughout my project, two main themes emerged in regard to why people volunteer. On the one hand, it was found that participants (both consumers and providers of services) volunteer and/or fundraise because they themselves have faced their own bereavement. As stated by Tracey, 'I joined Brake, the road safety charity, and I actively campaign for safer roads. I am also a

qualified Cruse Bereavement Counsellor. […] I do this in Peter's memory' (Cusick, 2005). Similarly, following the death of his son, John and his wife have actively campaigned with Brake whereby they displayed their son's car wreckage in front of the Houses of Parliament to call for tougher sentencing of dangerous driving. These examples suggest that secondary victims of road traffic fatalities use their bereavement as a means of improving the services available for victims. This reason for volunteering is thought to be drawn from the concept of the 'wounded healer', by which victims use their experiences to empower others, and themselves in the process (Staples, 2014). On the basis of volunteering following a bereavement, this ideology and practice falls into the wider social discourse of addressing 'the needs of strangers', as discussed by Cohen in '*States of Denial*' (2002:18).

On the other hand, my findings suggest that the desire to volunteer is based upon the exchange of human interaction and the conception of mutual symbiosis; to the extent that both consumers and producers of services can influence and affect each other. This was most prominently exemplified in my interview with Helen:

> And if you can do a good job, there is nothing better than getting a letter from someone saying, 'I don't know how we survived through it all' – and that's what you do it for, knowing that you've made a difference, because really in policing you can't do that anymore. We never help anyone anymore, in policing in general, but in that, knowing that you've made a difference to somebody and gotten through, that's what you do it for.

Furthermore, drawing back to the privatisation of services, the act of volunteering following a bereavement suggests that charity-work can offer a greater level of care and empathy, motivated by the notion of helping others and improving services, rather than seeking monetary gain. Indeed, this was expressed by Sue who commented:

> I still volunteer because people benefit from just the human interaction which someone who has experienced passing can understand, and that they're there because they're not wanting to be paid at the end of it. – Sue

These two quotes alone, suggest that the development of relationships through volunteering are mutually rewarding. More importantly, these relationships are invaluable to those who have been bereaved.

1.3 Funding

As shown by my data, there is an unprecedented lack of money invested into the investigation of road deaths and the support made available for secondary victims of road traffic fatalities. Furthermore, when there are governmental investments for charities, more often than not, this is dependent upon social impact bonds; this was evidenced by both my RVT and Cruse interviewees. For example, Sue mentioned, 'if Cruse takes on a client and it been a referral through, say, the local GP, and it gets a successful outcome and the client attends then Cruse will get a little bit of funding'. This alone exemplifies the inherent drives for efficiency within the NPM. The significance of this can be drawn back to Wilkinson's '*Suffering: A Sociological Introduction'* (2005), to the extent that ideals of 'progress' and efficiency are bitter realities of our modern societies. This, therefore, suggests that victims have become a by-product of modernity; this ultimately questions the morality of society, prioritising money over the needs of bereaved persons.

Alternatively, despite the regulations and recommendations as stated in an Essex Police 'Road Traffic Collisions Investigations - Procedure' (2016), the lack of money invested into road policing means that staff are overworked, understaffed, and '*never*' debriefed or reviewed. As reiterated by Helen, this has had a 'massive' impact on the work she does as an FLO, and often this translates to circumstances in which 'there's just not enough of us so we don't dual deploy like we should really'. This is significant in suggesting that a lack of funding for road traffic fatalities/road policing means that, often, officers' needs can be neglected, such as with a lack of counselling. More importantly, it suggests that the due attention and needs of victims can be compromised as a result. This was the case for Tracey who found that:

> Although the officer gave me his number in case I had any further questions I never managed to get to speak to him. I tried ringing a few times, but he didn't return my calls. Time passed and by now I was getting angry with the police and driver (Cusick, 2005).

Significantly, it should be noted that during the interview process, I had to re-schedule a meeting with Helen due to there being three major accidents within twenty-four hours, yet, financial cut-backs in road policing continue to be made as it is not deemed as a priority. This argument links clearly with the theme 'social acceptability' which will be discussed henceforth.

Consistent with existing literatures, my findings suggested that a lack of funding for road death supporting services has led to an over-reliance of charities to provide help. This can, and does, have significant negative implications for those who are in need of immediate support. For example, Sam commented (in a bereavement forum), 'Why a week later have I still not had a call back from my first message […]. Worst service iv[e] ever known […] for me this was a completely horrible addition to grieving' (Booth, September 2015). This alone, demonstrates that a lack of immediate support for those who have faced a traumatic experience of bereavement, can, in fact, face another form of secondary victimisation. Likewise, my data indicated that a lack of immediate and free support has prompted victims to seek private support, which, as mentioned by Frankie, has subjected 'a large amount of people […] [to] huge financial difficulties'. For example, Emma commented:

> 'I contacted Cruse but unfortunately they had a 3-month waiting list, I couldn't wait this long for help so I paid for private counselling. I was contacted by Cruse 6 months after I was put on the waiting list' (Hall, December 2016).

Significantly, Marie remarked that it was 'wrong' that she had to pay for immediate counselling services under such traumatic circumstances, after being told it would be 'a few months wait' for free help; 'I had to pay for counselling for my son (aged 8 at the time), as the wait was too long […] I took my son to 4 [private] sessions, the amount for the first session was £350. The session[s] after that was £250'. From this, it can be strongly suggested that subjecting bereaved persons to financial difficulties at a time of need calls into question the morality of society, and the effectiveness of state implemented services. Linking to the sociology of suffering, these findings imply that:

> [W]e are part of a culture in which an ideological 'play' on compassion may serve as the means to lend legitimacy to bloody acts of barbarism and where the suffering of humanity may be commodified (Wilkinson, 2005:164).

From this, it can be strongly advocated that the lack of funding invested into providing free state support for secondary victims of road traffic fatalities is a societal and governmental issue that needs to be addressed. Ultimately, if secondary victims of road traffic fatalities were, truly, at the heart of the criminal justice system, their needs would be the responsibility of the government by providing free services, not voluntary agencies.

Drawing upon Parfit's moral philosophy of '*What Matters*' (2008), I strongly suggest that to address the needs, challenges and inequalities victims face following a road traffic fatality, it is essential that public policy and the overall mixed economy of services understand victims. This will, in turn, ensure that the right forms of help, support and services will be available, *in theory*. However, until there is a genuine public concern and/or interest in road deaths, increased funding alone will fail to prevent the further victimisation of those who have been bereaved.

2.0 Digital Citizenship and E-Governance

Contributing to the new types of support in contemporary society, the notion of technology, or rather, the rise of 'pervasive personal technology' has transformed the ways in which people access knowledge and support (Carnegie UK Trust, 2007:27; Cited in Rochester et al., 2010:76). Interestingly, the increasing dependence upon using the internet as a free medium to access information and help appeared to be particularly important to all of the research participants across the spectrum, for providing a supporting service for the secondary victims of road traffic fatalities. For example, according to Frankie at the RVT, 'nowadays people will go with the free options of finding things on the internet, so it's all changed'. This is significant in suggesting that the proliferation of online resources has enabled people from all social classes to access free support, thus implying that technology has made the support for secondary victims of road traffic fatalities more inclusive, and is a step towards the notion of equality in relation to human services. According to Garson, the reliance on new technologies for information and services has led to a form of 'e-government', defined as the 'provision of governmental services by electronic means, usually over the Internet' (cited in Chadwick, 2007:857). It can be suggested that these changes in governance, enabled by channel shift, have significantly reduced the costs of public services.

It is important to note that internet applications, have paved the way to the social construction of self-help, regarding secondary victims. As suggested by Helen, there has been a proliferation of users 'go[ing] all over Facebook and do[ing] those "just giving pages"'. In fact, an internet search of a variation of words such as 'Just Giving road death' results in a multitude of web pages which enable people to donate money to friends, family, or even strangers, following a fatality. For example, the 'Bradford Family' created a 'GoFundMe' crowdfunding page following the death of the founder's wife through a road collision. The page asks viewers for donations, in attempt to: 'ease some of the financial burden, with funeral costs, household bills, a new car and caring for four children' and has managed to raise '$75,330' in two months (Bradford, February 2017). From this, it can be suggested that victims are using online platforms as a new dialectic of empowerment, hence becoming active citizens in their own support, both economically and socially. This is significant in suggesting that the decline of the welfare state has contributed towards an emerging 'responsibilization' of victims, incipient to a 'culture of self-help' (O'Malley 1998, cited in Nicol 2011:103). As a result, it can be argued that the role of technology in governance and support has led to a form of digital citizenship which promotes and facilitates public participation online. To some extent, drawing upon the work of Dittrich et

al., it can be argued that with the development of new technologies, 'the relationship between governmental agents and citizens, and, consequently, the meaning of citizenship' has changed (2003:2).

Furthermore, it can be noted that these self-help tools of the digital age have established a form of virtual social community, which has been perceived by some scholars as an interesting example of 'glocalization' due to the far-reaching possibilities of the internet (Featherstone, et al. 1995). Such platforms are often regulated and safeguarded by the service providers, and are, therefore, deemed as a safe space in which people of all ages can participate and discuss their experiences of bereavement. In fact, in our interview, Sue mentioned that Cruse Bereavement Care have a specialised section on their website called '*Hope Again*' which enables young people to: 'blog and write about the person that has died, and read what other kids have written about and their own personal bereavements'. Arguably, it can be suggested that this online support mechanism is a testament to the technological transformations in modern society due to the notion that the average youth spends 'nearly nine hours' a day online and on social media (Tsukayama, 2015). This, therefore, suggests that technology has opened up the possibility to provide a form of support which is particularly tailored to the wants and needs of young adults and children.

On the other hand, it can be argued that the re-engineering of services to more modern methods such as the internet is highly controversial for the reason that the use of such services is characteristic of the depersonalisation of human services. Additionally, there is no real guarantee that online services will necessarily lead to better services. In fact, it promotes a culture of self-help which may be burdensome to victims. Furthermore, linking back to road traffic fatalities, the increasing use and access to the internet can be burdensome to the public services. For example, Facebook, Twitter and other social media sites provide forums for people to post information and/or news about road traffic collisions, meaning that, according to Helen, 'families are finding out [about the death] before we have even knocked on the door'. Unfortunately, this is becoming an increasingly common issue, and was the case with a bereaved victim who reported to the '*Chicago Tribune'* that she was 'receiving condolence texts […] before police could tell her that her daughter was dead', after some relatives and friends saw a graphic image of her daughter's body on social media (Thayer, 2016). This issue alone is deeply problematic and can contribute towards the secondary victims' distress. With this in mind, it is, therefore, necessary for governmental policies to examine and address the online dimension of governance, support and access to information, for the reason that both real and virtual communities have a significant role in the experiences of secondary victims of road traffic fatalities.

3.0 Justice and Punishments

> Surely there is something wrong here. Where is the Justice in all this? – Pam. (Surman, 2007)

Throughout my findings, all participants, without exception, expressed that the current laws and sentencing regarding road traffic fatalities give families little to no justice. In fact, as a roads policing officer, Helen acknowledged the current criminal justice system as 'a piss-take, absolute piss-take, there's nothing worse', regarding a lack of justice for secondary victims. In this analysis, it is important to note that I will be addressing the perceived attitudes of justice within the current criminal justice system, rather than discussing the politics of law-making.

One emerging theme throughout my findings, as suggested by the participants, was the perceived lack of remorse shown by the drivers who had caused the deaths. For example, this was evident in Marie's comments that 'he [the driver] kept saying 'I was running late, I thought I would have made the turn in time, and I will plead guilty to please the family'. Additionally, Pam noted that during her court proceedings, 'The lorry driver showed no remorse' (Surman, 2007). While a lack of remorse may have been the case, such ideas link to Cohen's conception of 'implicatory denial', thus, suggesting that, rather, such behaviours of the offender could be a mere rationalization for their actions, and not necessarily a refusal of reality - the consequent death of a person (2002:8).

On the other hand, my findings also suggested that the participants tended to express misconceptions, and a perhaps ignorance, of current societal laws. As a counsellor of secondary victims, Frankie mentioned that often it is assumed that there should be a form of trade-off, to the extent that 'it feels like it should be a life for a life with some people', however, this is not the case. Such ideas and attitudes draw upon Sedgwick's '*Epistemology of the closet*' (2008), which exemplifies how ignorance is used to 'exonerate the culpable' in a legal discourse (cited in McGoey, 2014:5). Perhaps, this may be true; however, it can be suggested that no form of punishment will ever feel just, nor can it compensate for their loss. This was evidenced by Marie who commented that, 'we received compensation [but] that would never have been enough for my husband and [the loss of] my children's father'. Similarly, Tracey wrote, 'no amount of money will ever bring Peter back' (Cusick, 2005). As with many prosecutions of road deaths, often the loss of life is reduced to a monetary value. Ultimately, such comments lead one to question what fair compensation for the loss of a life would be.

Following the loss of their partners, Marie commented that, 'he [the driver] got a ban and a fine and court costs' and Tracey similarly reported that 'he [the driver] received £1000 fine and a ban from the roads for 12 months' (Cusick, 2005). Drawing upon the works of McNeill, on '*What Works and What's Just?*' (2009), it can be suggested that secondary victims may feel mistreated by the criminal justice system due to the shockingly lenient and short sentences for those who cause a road death. For example, Tracey further noted that this sentence led her to become 'angry' 'at the driver for getting off lightly and at the judicial system' (Cusick, 2005). These lenient sentences can be insulting to bereaved families and, from this, it can be suggested that secondary victims of road traffic fatalities often face another form of victimisation, due to their lack of [perceived] justice.

In a critical analysis of 'what works', when discussing 'what is just', it is important to consider the 'moral character […] of criminal justice interventions' (McNeill, 2009:21). The current criminal driving laws are, ultimately, perceived as inadequate by victims, and show a lack of justice. With this in mind, it can be suggested that secondary victims could receive justice if there were tougher sentences for drivers who kill, implemented by the criminal justice system. Furthermore, drawing on the 'moral character' of the current system, it could be further suggested that, perhaps, in the pursuit of justice, factors of social justice should be considered as well. For example, secondary victims often face social inequalities due to road deaths being perceived as being an acceptable death. Perhaps, by addressing such harms, the linking of social justice to the criminal justice system and social policy could have a significant and positive impact upon the needs and justice of secondary victims of road traffic fatalities.

4.0 Social Acceptability

> Road death - it is a daily occurrence and an accepted part of life - Pam (Surman, 2007).

Finally, the last theme to discuss is the notion that road traffic fatalities were, in fact, deemed as a 'socially acceptable death' by the general population, in the opinion of the participants. Such arguments were thought to be based upon the idea that, 'if [Peter] had been murdered I would have been swamped with offers of help and support' (Cusick, 2005). Carol further elaborated that, 'people die on the roads; it's, you get in your car, you get in a crash and you might die and that is accepted and in, to some extent, expected'. These perspectives can be drawn back to Arendt's conception of 'banality', to the extent that the banal attitudes of society suggest that road deaths are 'expected', thus, placing humans as superfluous (1963).

In the current societal view, road deaths are often reduced to scientific accounts, namely being a statistic. In relation to the concept of denial, media outlets, such as the radio, often broadcast following a road death to report traffic and the conditions of the roads; they do not dwell upon the gravity of the loss of a life, nor do they give a name of a victim. It is for this reason that audiences, the general public, remain morally detached from such notions of suffering and grief. Such practices mean that it can be difficult to empathise or even identify yourself in the position of having just lost a loved one on the road. The reason for this has been suggested by sociological analyses of death which outline that social systems must 'both accept and deny death', to the extent that denial allows members of the public to 'go about their business' (Dumont and Foss 1972, cited in Mellor and Shilling, 1993:411) In modern society, it can be strongly suggested that we, as citizens, are dependent on cars for transportation means, such as driving to and from work. Under such circumstances, road deaths are considered as a necessary evil and risk to our daily lives, thus, suggesting that they are socially acceptable. This can be supported for the reason that '[al]though the rates of casualties as a result of traffic accidents are increasing, their social and psychological impact on the public remain low' (Rynearson,2006:219). Consequently, due to the lack of social and political collective consciousness concerning a road death, it is not surprising that there is a lack of support available for secondary victims. Therefore, until road deaths are no longer deemed as socially acceptable, secondary victims will further face victimisation, which entails a lack of support and a lack of justice.

To support this view, my findings further suggested that road deaths fail to be treated as a priority within government policies and policing. For example, Helen expressed that there was a '43% increase in fatal accidents in Essex' in the last year; despite this, Helen acknowledged that the Police and Crime Commissioner 'hasn't done anything to […] raise the profile', or awareness. This demonstrates that road deaths are deemed as a socially acceptable and marginalised death. Perhaps it can be suggested that a lack of priority remains for road deaths because there is no moral outcry or 'moral panic' in contrast to being stabbed, for example (Cohen, 1972). However, it is not surprising that there is a lack of public care and recognition for road deaths due to the reason that the government fails to address this as an issue too. Therefore, as suggested by Frankie, 'that unless it happens in your community, it's just 'another one' isn't it?'. To some extent, this is true - especially, relating to Mills' '*The Sociological Imagination*' and Cohen's '*States of Denial*'.

The social acceptability of these deaths, ultimately transmits to the lack of support for bereaved persons. This alone, implies that a lack of recognition for road deaths means that

secondary victims often encounter a means of 'disenfranchised grief', described as 'grief that […] is not or cannot be openly acknowledged, publicly mourned or socially supported' (Doka, 1989; Cited in Rynearson, 2006:220). To some extent, it can be argued that disenfranchising road deaths as socially acceptable means that the victim's bereavement can feel discounted and invalidated, thus, contributing to their suffering and creating further victimisation.

Conclusion

By conducting this study, I have found a body of victimisation which is vastly understudied and as such, these victims' experiences are neglected. In presenting such a discussion, I believe that this study can have a positive contribution towards critical victimology due to its focus on centring the secondary victims of road traffic fatalities within the criminal justice system, as well as addressing the subsequent victimisations that follow. Due to the limited scope and restraint of my project, I have been unable to pursue other factors which have arisen throughout the topic, such as the geographical hot-spotting of support, which, I believe, would be worth investigating in the future. However, by linking victimology to the sociology of denial and suffering, I hope that this theoretical stance will encourage a discussion, and further research into the social acceptability of road deaths.

The overall impression gained from this study was that secondary victims of road traffic fatalities face further victimisation, despite their suffering already. By using the experiences of both consumers and providers of services, the project provides a broad scope of the access and availability of services and justice that victims can expect. For example, as a result of the mixed economy of services and the NPM, supporting services tend to focus on matters of 'what works' rather than 'what matters' to victims. These processes of individualisation and privatisation, as a result, leave many secondary victims socially unsupported and unable to access justice.

Furthermore, by drawing upon the social realities of road deaths, I have been able to acknowledge the needs of secondary victims, which have been neglected both academically and practically by society. By providing a theoretical and practical critique of road deaths, the study is able to demonstrate that there is a need for the government and the societal collective consciousness to re-address the current status of road deaths as being socially acceptable. As a concluding thought, I hope that in the future, calls will be made for an enquiry into tougher sentencing, an investment in road policing, and for government-funded support for secondary victims. However, I recognise that such ideas are, and will remain, romantic, until society regards the secondary victims of road deaths as deserving of the same services, the same priority, and the same amount of justice as any other victim of crime.

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Appendix [1]: Email Invitation Template

Dear Sir/Madam,

I am currently working on an undergraduate dissertation project based on the secondary victimisation of road traffic fatalities, primarily focusing on what forms of support are available for bereaved family members.

I was wondering whether I could be put in contact with someone who would be willing to participate in a form of meeting/interview to talk about the work that you do?

This project is very close to my heart, and I would greatly appreciate if you were able to help me with my project in reference to understanding the work of [Insert Applicable].

Many thanks and I look forward to hearing from you

Kind regards,

Amie Mills.

Appendix [2]: Participant Consent Form

My name is Amie Mills; I am currently a final year undergraduate student at the University of Essex studying Criminology.

With your voluntary help and permission, I am seeking to conduct a survey, whereby you will answer questions based on your experiences of supporting services, and of access to justice.

Please tick/fill in/comment in the appropriate boxes	**Yes**	**No**
Taking Part:		
I have read and understood the project information given.	□	□
I have been given the opportunity to ask questions about the project.	□	□
I agree to take part in the project.	□	□
I understand that my taking part is voluntary; I can withdraw from the study at any time and I do not have to give any reasons for why I no longer want to take part.	□	□
Use of the information I provide for this project only:		
I understand my personal details such as name, email address and phone number will not be revealed to people outside the project.	□	□
I understand that my words may be quoted in publications, reports, web pages, and other research outputs.	□	□

_____	_____	_____	
Name of participant	[printed]	Signature	Date
_____	_____	_____	
Researcher	[printed]	Signature	Date

Project contact details for further information:

Amie Mills Email: amillse@essex.ac.uk

Appendix [3]: Survey

Survey for Secondary Victims of Road Traffic Fatalities

The following questions are designed to examine what kinds of services exist for secondary victims of road traffic fatalities. These questions will also investigate what forms of access to justice you may have received.

This survey is comprised of a number of sections including the Criminal Justice System and of Supporting Services. Please note that there is no pressure or obligation to answer any question that you may feel uncomfortable, or legally unable to respond to. If you do not wish to respond to any question please leave the box blank.

All answers will be kept confidential and anonymised for the purpose of my research.

Supporting Services

Voluntary Sector/Charity Organisations

1. Were you referred to a voluntary agency or charity organisation by the State? If so, did you use their services? (*Please state the organisation).*

2. If you used a charity organisation what kinds of support did you receive?

3. For how long did you use support from a charity organisation, for example was it long term or short term support?

4. Were you satisfied with the charity organisation's supporting services?

Private Support

5. Did you seek help from any private service following the incident? Please state and give details of which service you used.

6. If you answer yes to the question above, please state how long you used the service. (If you do not mind, could you provide an average/estimation of how much these services were?)

Criminal Justice System

Police

7. Following the loss of your family member or friend, what was your experience like with the Police or the Criminal Justice System?

8. Did you receive any support from the State/Government (e.g. a FLO)? If so, please specify what kinds of support you received and for how long?

9. Were you satisfied with State supplied support? (If given).

Court

10. Did the incident go to Court?

11. What was the process like for you? Were you well informed and supported?

Legal Support

12. Did you receive any legal aid/support? If so, please state what this was and if it was free.

Justice

13. What forms of justice, if any, did you receive during the court/legal proceedings? (You do not have to specify explicitly if you feel uncomfortable to do so).

14. In your opinion, do you feel as though you received justice?

Feedback

15. Is there anything that you would like to add that I have not mentioned in the survey?

16. Positive and/or Negative Feedback:

Thank-you for participating in my survey, if you have any further questions please feel free to contact me at *amillse@essex.ac.uk* so that I can assist you.

Again, I would like to remind you that all answers will be kept anonymised and confidential for the purpose of my research.

Appendix [4]: Example of Interview Guide

Interview Questions

1. (Introduction Questions) Why did they become a FLO?
2. How many police officers are there involved overall in the process of dealing with bereaved family members?
3. What is the typical protocol for contacting families? How long after an accident are FLOs assigned? And then the families contacted?
4. Main role of an FLO?
5. How are FLOs assigned- consider religious/cultural/disability impacts.

   If so does this take longer if someone isn't available?
6. What kind of support?
7. How often is the contact between FLOs and victim families?

   Long-term follow up with bereaved families?
8. Training?

   Is there different training for different officers?
9. From my readings online, the charity BRAKE have suggested that:
   a. 'Between 2010 and 2015, the number of road-traffic police officers in England and Wales was cut by over a quarter, from 5,338 to 3,901'.
   b. Has this had an impact on your work? Or in regards to the investigation/support given to families?
10. Reviews of FLOs as being distanced - is this true?

    What is the best strategy?
11. Due to the sensitive nature of the job, are you given any form of support as an FLO?
12. What happens when the FLO is not available and families need to access information? Is there anyone else they can talk to?
13. Do you refer families to charities, or GPs?
14. Private/Voluntary partnerships with the Police for road traffic fatalities?
15. Do charities help the FLO process?
16. Do you help if there are court proceedings?

    If so what support/information would be provided?
17. Do you think families get justice following a road traffic fatality?

Appendix [5]: Key Themes and Examples of Personal Reflections

Key Themes	
Themes applied prior to data collection	Support (Family, Public, Private, Public) - NPM + Self-Help
	Justice
	Financial Matters - Loss; Economy of Welfare; Private Counselling
	Secondary Victimisation from CJS
Emergent Themes	Socially Acceptable Death + Taboo
	Secondary Victimisation from support
	Internet - Responsibilization, Channel Shift, Funding (GoFundMe), Self-Help, Governance
	Misconceptions Regarding Grief - e.g. timescale (6 months) 'get over it'
	Geography - Availability of support
	Religion and Cultural Difficulties of Providing Support - e.g. Muslim women in 40 days of mourning can make FLO difficult with male officers + availability of other officers.

<u>After the Cruse Bereavement Care Interview:</u>
When the interview started she was a little distracted so I waited, we were briefly interrupted by the barking of her dog. In that moment I realised, out of nervousness, I may have been speaking too fast. I slowed down immediately and relaxed.
The interview was a little distressing for myself, talking about my own experiences is something that I have not done before publicly. The experience was quite cathartic, one thing that I can confidently say is that this project is a learning process for me, academically and personally.

<u>After the Road Victims Trust Interview:</u>
Issues: signal issues and recording devices!
I think that this interview went very well, despite being significantly shorter than my other one it was interesting how in the end I managed to be less focused on the questions, to relax and give my own opinions
Conflict: mentioned the term 'accident' and she seemed a little offended; emphasis on the social construction of language and the taboo surrounding road traffic fatalities.

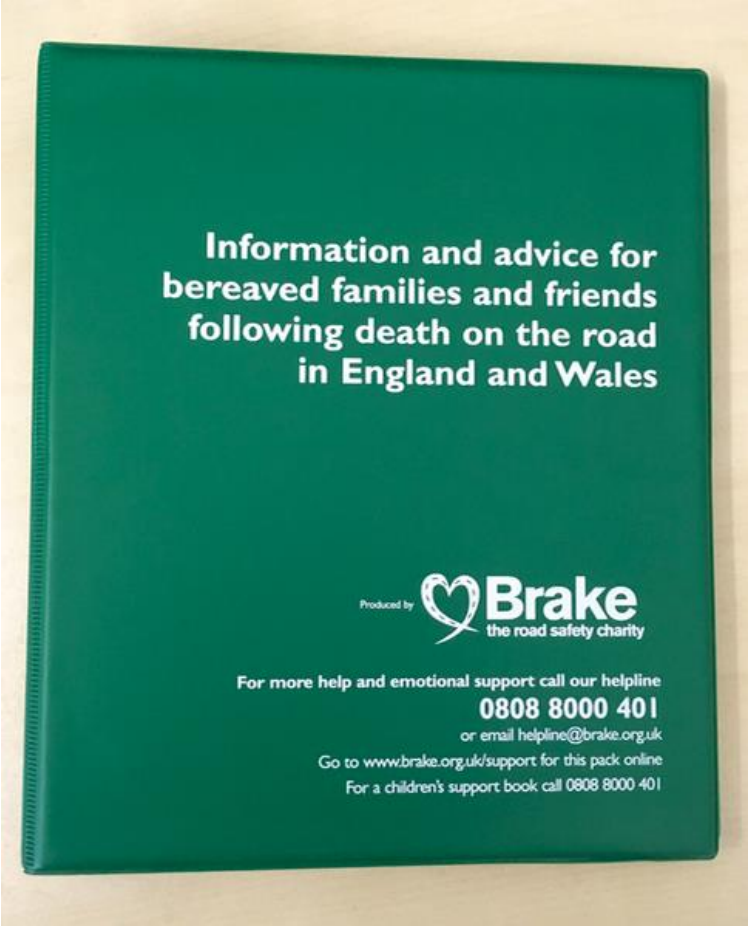
Appendix [6]: Example of coded/themed analysis of data

<table>
<tr><td rowspan="8">Technology as a resource

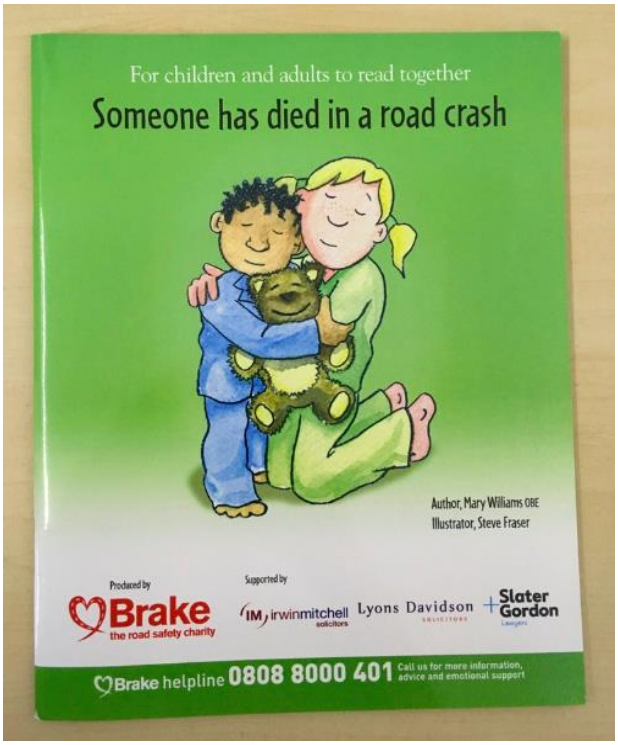
<u>Notes:</u>

- Technology as self-help, as information, a result of the responsibilization of society?
- Governance
- Support</td><td>Transcript 1 (Cruse Interview)</td></tr>
<tr><td>▪ 41: if they went on the internet they would find us
▪ 86: Erm, sometimes someone just wants telephone support, or email support
▪ 143-146: for children and young people there is on our website there is a special section called ‘Hope Again’ so people, young people can blog and write about the person that has died, and read what other kids have written about and their own personal bereavements. And so it’s an online support mechanism.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Transcript 2 (Road Victims Trust)</td></tr>
<tr><td>▪ 185-186: nowadays people will go with the free options of finding things on the internet, so it’s all changed and we are looking to change.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Transcript 3 (FLO + Sergeant)</td></tr>
<tr><td>▪ 304-306: And also what they see on social media, so that’s causing us a huge problem, what they see on the likes of Facebook and Twitter, and that’s causing us a massive problem [emphasis on massive]. Because people put 2 and 2 together and come out with 5 and presume its true
▪ 309-310: often the problem we are having now is that families are finding out before we have even knocked on the door
▪ 409: the other thing that they tend to do is go all over Facebook and do those ‘just giving pages’
▪ 412-413: they did errr […] go fund me, whatever it was, page for all 3 families.
▪ 415-417: but the driver was the only one that survived? And it works out that he went on to be prosecuted. So it turns out that they raised all of that money, and split it 3 ways, when he’s the to blame? So people jump in with the best intentions but actually it can cause a lot of problems, so that can be quite hard. So I always say to them, go online and look for a lawyer</td></tr>
<tr><td>GoFundMe</td></tr>
<tr><td>https://www.gofundme.com/rg722j-support-for-the-bradford-family
Page created on 4th Feb 2017: ‘The Bradford family have a long road ahead of them. Brenton is left with little idea on life ahead financially as his current living and working arrangements is an impossible task for a single father of four children given his remote location and job requirements. In an attempt to ease some of the financial burden, with funeral costs, household bills, a new car and caring for four children, I ask that if you have the means, please consider donating to this beautiful family’ ‘$75,330 of $100k goal’ 21st March 2017.</td></tr>
</table>

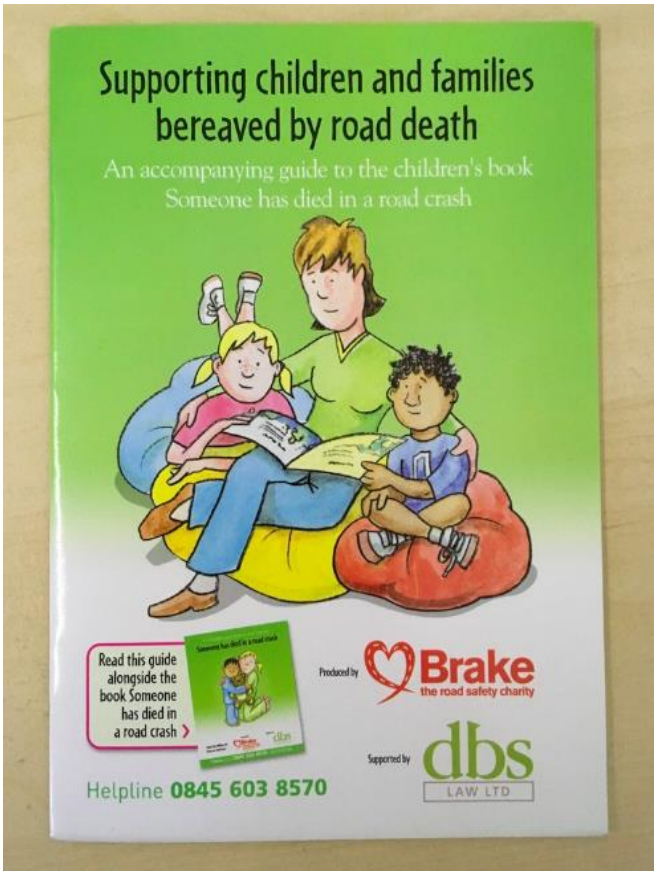
Appendix [7]: Brake Handbook

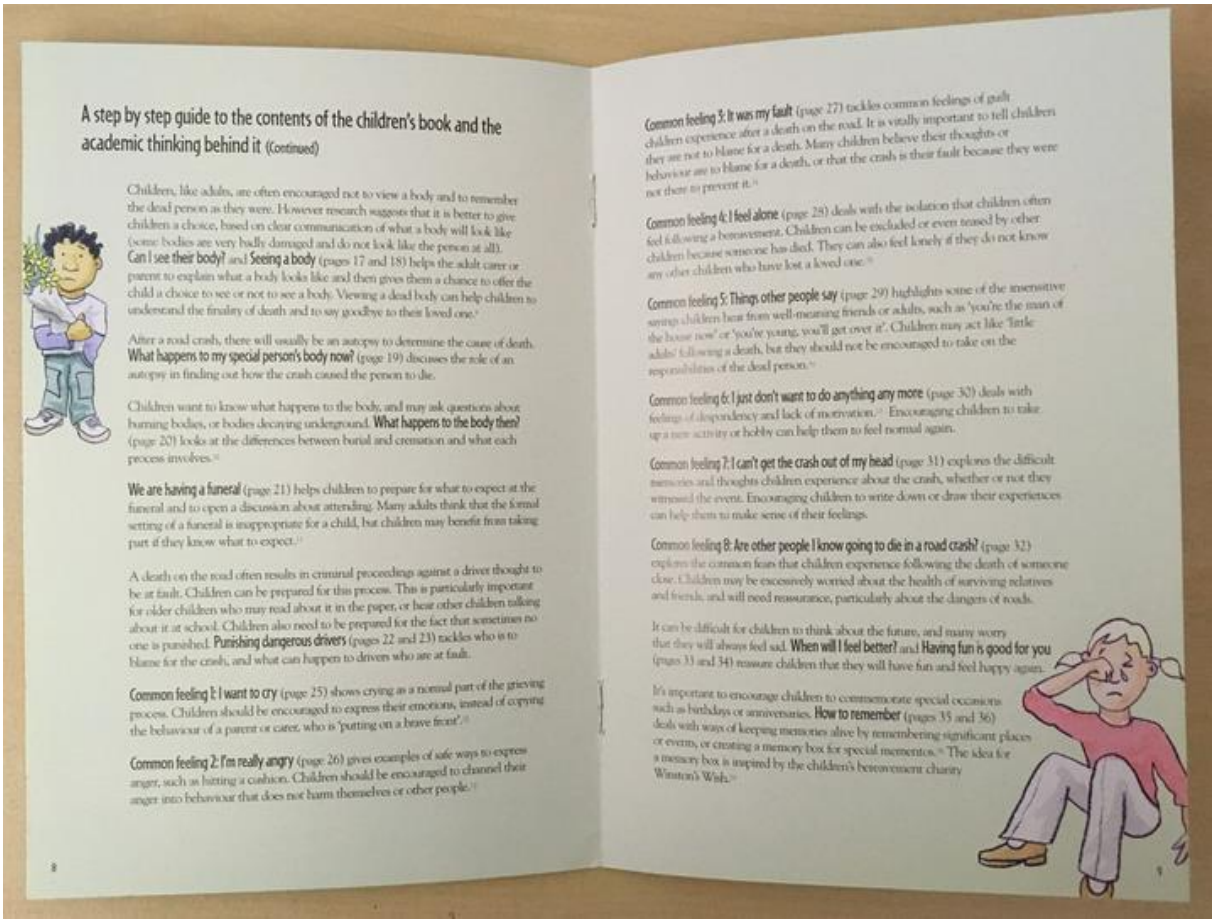


Appendix [8]: Brake Handbook suitable for children



Appendix [9]: Brake Handbook suitable for parents and children





A step by step guide to the contents of the children's book and the academic thinking behind it (Continued)

Children, like adults, are often encouraged not to view a body and to remember the dead person as they were. However research suggests that it is better to give children a choice, based on clear communication of what a body will look like (some bodies are very badly damaged and do not look like the person at all). **Can I see their body?** and **Seeing a body** (pages 17 and 18) helps the adult carer or parent to explain what a body looks like and then gives them a chance to offer the child a choice to see or not to see a body. Viewing a dead body can help children to understand the finality of death and to say goodbye to their loved one.

After a road crash, there will usually be an autopsy to determine the cause of death. **What happens to my special person's body now?** (page 19) discusses the role of an autopsy in finding out how the crash caused the person to die.

Children want to know what happens to the body, and may ask questions about burning bodies, or bodies decaying underground. **What happens to the body then?** (page 20) looks at the differences between burial and cremation and what each process involves.

We are having a funeral (page 21) helps children to prepare for what to expect at the funeral and to open a discussion about attending. Many adults think that the formal setting of a funeral is inappropriate for a child, but children may benefit from taking part if they know what to expect.

A death on the road often results in criminal proceedings against a driver thought to be at fault. Children can be prepared for this process. This is particularly important for older children who may read about it in the paper, or hear other children talking about it at school. Children also need to be prepared for the fact that sometimes no one is punished. **Punishing dangerous drivers** (pages 22 and 23) tackles who is to blame for the crash, and what can happen to drivers who are at fault.

Common feeling 1: I want to cry (page 25) shows crying as a normal part of the grieving process. Children should be encouraged to express their emotions, instead of copying the behaviour of a parent or carer, who is 'putting on a brave front'.

Common feeling 2: I'm really angry (page 26) gives examples of safe ways to express anger, such as hitting a cushion. Children should be encouraged to channel their anger into behaviour that does not harm themselves or other people.

Common feeling 3: It was my fault (page 27) tackles common feelings of guilt children experience after a death on the road. It is vitally important to tell children they are not to blame for a death. Many children believe their thoughts or behaviour are to blame for a death, or that the crash is their fault because they were not there to prevent it.

Common feeling 4: I feel alone (page 28) deals with the isolation that children often feel following a bereavement. Children can be excluded or even teased by other children because someone has died. They can also feel lonely if they do not know any other children who have lost a loved one.

Common feeling 5: Things other people say (page 29) highlights some of the insensitive sayings children hear from well-meaning friends or adults, such as 'you're the man of the house now' or 'you're young, you'll get over it'. Children may act like 'little adults' following a death, but they should not be encouraged to take on the responsibilities of the dead person.

Common feeling 6: I just don't want to do anything any more (page 30) deals with feelings of despondency and lack of motivation. Encouraging children to take up a new activity or hobby can help them to feel normal again.

Common feeling 7: I can't get the crash out of my head (page 31) explores the difficult memories and thoughts children experience about the crash, whether or not they witnessed the event. Encouraging children to write down or draw their experiences can help them to make sense of their feelings.

Common feeling 8: Are other people I know going to die in a road crash? (page 32) explores the common fears that children experience following the death of someone close. Children may be excessively worried about the health of surviving relatives and friends, and will need reassurance, particularly about the dangers of roads.

It can be difficult for children to think about the future, and many worry that they will always feel sad. **When will I feel better?** and **Having fun is good for you** (pages 33 and 34) reassure children that they will have fun and feel happy again.

It's important to encourage children to commemorate special occasions such as birthdays or anniversaries. **How to remember** (pages 35 and 36) deals with ways of keeping memories alive by remembering significant places or events, or creating a memory box for special mementos. The idea for a memory box is inspired by the children's bereavement charity Winston's Wish.