

**Adolescent Bereavement: The effect
of a Sibling's Death On
Family Relationships.**

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by
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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to investigate the manner in which the death of a sibling affected an adolescent and his/her family relationships. Participants were required to complete two standardized scales pertaining to family environment and fears of death. The bereaved individuals also participated in a semi-structured interview to identify the precise nature of the manner in which both the adolescent and her/his family coped with the death of a sibling.

The results of both the survey and the interview indicated that there seems to be two types of reactions to a sibling's death by the family. They either become very close or the relationship of the sibling with the remaining family members disintegrates. This study also indicated that fear of death is related to the family environment. An important finding of this study was that siblings who are most at risk of becoming estranged from their family following the death of their sibling are those whom are left as only children. From the interviews, it appears that adolescent sibling bereavement has many long-term effects on the surviving child. Bereavement and grief may also affect the bereaved siblings' own families in later life.

1. INTRODUCTION

Death is an experience we all must face. Moreover, we not only must face the reality that we will die, we also must face the death of others that we know and love. Parkes (1975) put this very aptly when he said "The pain of grief is a process and not a state. Grief is just as much a part of life as the joy of love, it is perhaps the price we pay for love, the cost of commitment" (Parkes, 1975, pg. 5). The death of someone we love means that we must adjust to a life in which they no longer exist. The experience of the death of another is not equally felt by an individual. The difficulty an adolescent has in facing the death of someone they love is mitigated by several factors. It is likely that death is a new experience for them and they also may not have developed relevant coping strategies. The death of an adolescent's sibling may be even more difficult for them due to the effects it may have on their family. The adolescent is also experiencing the death of someone in their own age group, making them question their own mortality and whether they are the next to die. Therefore, adjustment to the death of a sibling may be very difficult for an adolescent.

1.1 ADOLESCENT SIBLING RELATIONSHIPS

Sibling relationships have the potential to be the longest lasting relationship in our entire lives (Pleaches, 1990). There are several major issues that contribute to how well siblings associate with one another; such as rivalry, jealousy, placing in the family, sibling loss, sibling identification, sibling love and sibling conflict (Agger, 1988; Drummond,

1991). In addition to these factors, there are major differences in the amount of attention, affection and discipline that parents bestow upon their children (Dunn, 1992). For example, one child may be the favourite of the parents and obtain more attention than their sibling. This may result in the sibling who is not in the parents favour being jealous of their sibling, causing them to dislike or resent their siblings presence. All of these factors interact to determine whether siblings will maintain a close or distant relationship throughout their lives. The type of relationship the adolescents who have lost a sibling, had with their sibling, may effect their grieving process. For example, they may have regrets of not being closer to their sibling if they felt they did not know them well. If they were close to the sibling they may have felt that they could have stopped the death.

Although there are many influences on the relationship between siblings throughout their lives, there are some influences that occur most frequently in adolescence. It seems that during adolescence there is an increase in the amount of disclosure between siblings (Boer & Dunn, 1992; Dunn 1984). Siblings also tend to become closer at this stage, especially if they already had a close relationship. Although adolescents at this stage spend less time together, they still disclose a lot of information to one another (Boer & Dunn 1992).

Adolescence is also a time for siblings to share knowledge and request advice from one another on topics which they feel they cannot discuss with their friends or their parents. Adolescent siblings often compare notes on sexuality, dating, making friends, keeping friends, personal

relationships and job or career choice (Drummond, 1991; Dunn, 1984). Siblings may also be the source of dates, especially for younger female siblings. Adolescent siblings may pool their knowledge in these situations to help with their own problems related to the development of their identity (Drummond 1991). The death of a sibling during adolescence may leave the bereaved sibling feeling lost and doubtful about their ability to meet the challenges that adolescence provides, without a frame of reference in the form of their sibling. For the adolescent to construct a life without their sibling they must either change their frame of reference to a friend or be left without a mentor-type figure at this age. This increases the difficulty that the adolescent has in making progress through adolescence and may make it difficult for the adolescent to adjust to a family situation from which their mentor like sibling is gone.

1.2 ADOLESCENT BEREAVEMENT

There are many theories that address how adults face grief and bereavement. All of the theories contain different stages or factors with which an individual must come to terms. Theorists may believe that progress through these stages is sequential (i.e., stages are moved through by the individual in a particular order) or that individuals may experience any of the factors that are postulated at any time during bereavement.

The theories all contain similar elements or factors that the individual must work through to gain acceptance of the death. Some of the factors or emotions that the bereaved person may feel are anger, guilt, numbness, yearning, despair, disorganisation, denial, withdrawal and a general pervading sadness (Bowlby, 1969; Bowlby & Parkes, 1970; Floerchinger, 1991; Hardt, 1975; Kubler-Ross, 1969, 1975; Parkes, 1975; Vargas, Loya & Hodde-Vargas, 1989; Worden, 1991). All of these theorists acknowledge that purpose of experiencing this range of emotions is for the bereaved person to reach an acceptance of the death of their loved one and continue their life. Nevertheless there is a large amount of variation between how individuals grieve and this variation is presumably even greater in adolescence, when there are other factors that may impede their grief. This may mean that there is a greater variation of grief reactions in adolescents in contrast to adults.

Adolescence is a period in a person's life where there are high levels of stress. This stress is closely related to the number of physical emotional and cognitive changes going on in the lives of adolescents. As has already been mentioned it is thought that adolescents have the cognitive capability to mourn as an adult would (Balk, 1991; Floerchinger, 1991; Harris, 1991; Mauk, 1991; McNeil; Silliman & Swihart, 1991; Meshot & Leitner, 1993; Noppe & Noppe, 1991; Oltjenbruns, 1991; Rosen, 1991; Van Eerdwegh, Bieri, Purrilla, & Clayton, 1982). These theorists assert that a mature understanding of death only develops at the beginning of adolescence. Because adolescents have gained a more mature understanding of death, they also have gained the ability to face a death in a way that is similar to an

adult. All of these theorists believe that this capacity to understand death and grieve in a way that is similar to adults is due to the level of cognitive development that the adolescents and adults have attained.

Achieving Piaget's (1972) formal operations stage may enable adolescents to consider death realistically for the first time. Hence, the occurrence of a death may make them more fearful not only for their own lives, but fear of the loss of others who are close to them. Although most adolescents understand the finality and inevitability of death, they often still maintain a somewhat fanciful belief or understanding of their own invincibility or ability to defy death (Balk, 1991; Mauk et al., 1991; Noppe 1991). As long as adolescents maintain this belief, the death of another who is also young can be a rather surprising and fear-causing experience. Adolescents may express surprise at the death of a young person, as they have a tendency to believe that young people do not die, only old people are meant to die (Mauk & Weber, 1991; Noppe & Noppe, 1991). Hence, to the extent they are surprised by this unexpected type of death, they may begin to question their own mortality, and their reaction to the death may be more extreme. As their reaction becomes more extreme they may feel the need of more emotional support and their relations with others may suffer.

Although adolescents may have reached a cognitive level of development that enables them to exhibit adult type mourning there are other factors which also hinder their ability to resolve their grief. For example, adolescents may also lack fully-developed coping strategies. Reduced coping ability may make them more dependent on others

surrounding them for support. Their dependence on others may limit their own development of coping strategies.

Self-concept is another area of an adolescent's life that may be effected by a bereavement. Adolescents are usually in the process of completing Erikson's (1964) stage of identity formation. This may be disrupted by the death and may also make coping with the death more difficult because the adolescent does not have a developed identity or image of themselves (Meshot et al., 1992; Noppe et al., 1991). Many adolescents, also experience changes in school-work, family environment and their general feeling of psychological well-being. School-work and performance usually exhibit a noticeable decrease in grades (Balk, 1991; Seigel et al., 1992). The long-term effects of these reactions may change an adolescent's life. A decrease in self-concept may mean they are less willing or able to assert themselves. A decrease in performance at school may mean that they are unable to follow their chosen career because their grades are not good enough. Hence, a bereavement during adolescence may have large social and possibly monetary implications on their later life, depending on how well the adolescent copes with bereavement and the social support that is available to them.

Rosen (1991) postulated that there were six factors that effect how well adolescents cope with a bereavement:

1. How well they knew the deceased person. If the adolescent knew the deceased person well it is more likely that the effect of the

death would be greater on them as it would be more distressing losing someone they know well than someone they have only a passing association with.

2. How the family responds to the death and the surviving adolescent. If the adolescent's family responds or copes well with the death, it would be more likely that the adolescent would deal effectively with the death. The grieving ability of the adolescent would be increased due to the amount of social support and overall stability of the family, creating a less stressful environment.

3. Their level of development. If the adolescent has not developed coping skills, cognitive skills or social skills, it is likely that the effect of the death on them will be much increased. This is because they may not have the skills or the strategies that could help them cope with the death. In addition to lacking coping skills, they may not have sufficient social skills to obtain assistance from others who would be able to help them. Therefore, if the adolescent has not fully-matured, they may not be able to obtain resources that would assist them in coping with and accepting the death.

4. Their understanding of death. If the adolescent does not have well developed understanding of death, their reaction to the death of some one they love may become exaggerated. A lack of understanding of death, may leave them unprepared for bereavement. It may also make them fearful of their own and others dying. The death may be the first time that the adolescent has thought about death and about the fact

that they too will die. If they had little understanding of death, they may find many of the rituals related to death scary, repulsive and confusing. Therefore, their lack of knowledge may make grieving difficult because they may have to face fear and confusion about what is happening before they can begin to deal with the death.

5. Ambivalence. There are always times in our lives when we both love and hate, or are ambivalent, about the people we really love. After a death adolescents may regret having said or done something that was bad to the person that has died. Or they may believe that they could have stopped the death if they had only been there. These feelings may make the adolescent experience an increased amount of guilt after the death. This particular form of guilt is also one that adolescents are usually unwilling to discuss. It is sometimes quite difficult for the adolescent to progress through their mourning because they maintain this hidden guilt or regret about what they think they did or said to the dead person.

6. How adolescents mourn. Rosen states here that the adolescent will go to extremes to ensure that they do not upset their families. Often adolescents will try to protect their parents and not show any emotion for fear of upsetting their parents. It is thought that older adolescents have less difficulties related to the death because they have fewer changes going on in their lives (Van Eerdwegh, 1982). If an adolescent is severely affected by one or more of these factors, their acceptance of the death may not be complete. It is noteworthy that several factors that influence the manner in which the adolescent copes with a death are dependant on how others cope. Presumably, a parent

that has a severe reaction to a child's death will affect how well a surviving adolescent copes. This may have long-term effects not only on the adolescent's self-concept, career future but may also affect the type and number of close relationships they may have.

In contrast, Oltjenbruns (1991) says that there are benefits that result from a bereavement in adolescence. These benefits vary according to the age of the adolescent when they were bereaved. The benefits can be :

A deeper appreciation of life. Bereaved adolescents become more aware of what is happening around them and take more time to appreciate and enjoy their life. They tend to have a more positive and accepting view on life as a result of experiencing the death. The death causes them to place more value on the present rather than on the future.

Greater closeness with family and friends. Spend more time with their family or friends. Experiencing a death makes them more aware of the necessity of utilising relationships with others, as termination of relationships can occur at any time.

Strengthened emotional bonds. This is related to increased closeness with their family and friends. Their emotional ties to others tend to become more intense following the death of some one they know. This may be related to the importance of the belief that today is more important than tomorrow.

More emotional strength. Adolescents who have suffered a bereavement often believe that they are emotionally strong. They believe that they have an increase in their ability to cope with life, because they have experienced the emotional trauma of a bereavement and survived it. This can increase to amount of confidence they have in themselves.

Although these are positive results of bereavement during adolescence; it is noteworthy that not all adolescents experience these results. Hence, one could assume that all of these positive outcomes of a bereavement are possible for the adolescent to achieve but they may also be influenced by variables beyond the adolescents control such as family support and the developmental stage they are at.

Although sibling-bereaved adolescents demonstrate similar patterns of grief and bereavement to adults, there are some aspects of bereavement that they experience in addition to these aforementioned factors.

Experiencing the death of a sibling in one's adolescence is an event that may cause an individual to question their own mortality. The adolescent faces the task of redefining their sense of self-worth and mortality in a dramatically altered family group (Balk, 1990; Hogan 1988; Hogan & Balk, 1991; Hogan & Greenfield 1991). This problem of having to face their own mortality may exacerbate the adolescents' reactions to the death. It could also make them become more cautious

in their activities to ensure that they don't die. In addition to these factors, the death of a sibling is made more difficult for the adolescent as their parents have lost a child and may be unavailable emotionally to help them. Hence, the adolescent may have to redefine their family group without their parents assistance and with a possible fear for the mortality of others in the group.

Because the adolescent's parents will also be grieving at this time they may have a parent who is not emotionally available to them (Adams & Deveau, 1987; Mufson 1985). The unavailability of their parents may make the adolescent feel unloved or unlovable or even, in some cases, unwanted or inferior to the deceased sibling. Even if the need for emotional support from parents is fulfilled, adolescents may also experience turmoil (Martinson, 1991). This turmoil may be instigated by the conflicting needs of the adolescent. One of the tasks adolescents need to complete involves them becoming more emotionally independent from their parents (Bartle et al., 1989). Conflicting against this need of independence, is the emotional need for parental support when a sibling bereavement occurs. McNeil et al. (1991) noted that adolescents in this situation may become more dependent on their parents, than other adolescents. The dependence may limit their self-worth or even on the long-term effect their ability to make decisions for themselves, or in an extreme case make them unwilling to leave their parents.

Adults often believe that adolescents need their privacy, hence parents may be unwilling to approach an adolescent who is in need. Parents

may also be so involved with their own grief, that although they recognise the needs of their adolescent they do not have the energy to help their surviving sibling (Adams & Deveau, 1987). Adolescents may also be perceived as being mature enough to cope with the bereavement on their own. In reality this time is one of the adolescents most vulnerable as their whole family stability is threatened, leaving them without support and more vulnerable. Adolescents here may also question the unavailability of their parents to them and come to negative conclusions about themselves. They may believe that they are unwanted and unworthy of help, or they may believe that they are not capable because they should be coping and they are not. They also may believe that they are inferior to their sibling. All of these negative thoughts could decrease their self-esteem which could cause a long-term change in their lives. Low self-esteem may lead to delinquency in an extreme case, or the adolescent may not believe they are able to reach a goal they had set for themselves for their career or in their social life.

As Rosen (1991) noted parents seem to pose a problem for sibling bereaved adolescents, in many different ways. Adolescents notice their parents' distress and many adolescents try to elevate it at the cost of their own emotional needs (Adams & Deveau, 1987; Hogan, 1988; Hogan and Greenfield, 1991). By trying to reduce the amount of distress their parents are feeling, adolescents may also reduce the amount of time their parents spend getting through the grief process. Their protection may also have the aim of reducing the amount of stress their parents experience. Bereaved adolescents may go to a lot of effort to

reconcile their parents. They may resist talking about their feelings (Cain, 1964) and may strive to hide their feelings. Sometimes they try to always be cheerful and may laugh and smile to help their parents. The support that these adolescents may offer to their parents for "protection" may be extremely difficult for them to maintain. Parents may also find it distressing as it may appear that the adolescent is not at all upset by the death of their brother or sister. Hence it seems that both adolescents and their parents may have difficulty after the death of a family member in defining the emotions that the others are feeling. It may in fact be that parents would rather that the adolescent spoke of their sibling, so both of them could confront the feelings related to their grief, as it would reduce the chance of parents misunderstanding what the adolescent is feeling. Adolescents would probably be causing their parents less distress if they did speak about their sibling, as the parent would not misunderstand and believe that they did not care that their sibling died. Speaking of the death and their feeling toward may also speed up their grieving process, and though it may be distressing at the time on the long-term the grief would be dealt with more effectively and quickly. Unfortunately large number of adolescents survive the bereavement by this pretence with the aim of reducing their parents distress (Zagdanski, 1990) .

Sibling-bereaved adolescents often feel that there is more responsibility placed upon them. These siblings may have to take over a caring role for their other siblings (Hogan & Greenfield, 1991). Alternately, the surviving sibling may feel they have to take on the responsibility of living up to what their deceased sibling was and did (Adams & Deveau,

1987; Mufson, 1985). This feeling of having to compete with the dead sibling may make them resentful of their parents. Adolescents often feel inadequate when compared to their siblings, especially when the dead sibling is remembered by the parents as being the perfect child. This added feeling of responsibility may be stressful and the adjustment that the adolescent has to make could be a complicating factor of their grief.

Parents who have lost one child may become more protective of the remaining child (Mufson, 1985). This added protection of the adolescent may be very stifling for them. In contrast, some parents may become much more lenient on the remaining child. Leniency is usually not so much of a problem for the remaining child, unless they perceive it as the parent not caring for their well being. Being over-protected and having irrationally strict rules is in conflict with the adolescents' need for their own friends and their own independence.

Sibling-bereaved adolescents often report feeling more mature since the death of their sibling (Davies, 1991). They may also feel very different to their other peers, and some are not sure what this feeling is. If this feeling of being more mature is maintained for quite some time, it may affect some of the decisions that adolescents make for their future. Although there is a well-known saying that "time heals all wounds", time does not ever fully erase the pain of a sibling bereavement (Davies, 1991).

1.3 RELATIONSHIP WITH THEIR PARENTS

There are very great changes that occur in the family during adolescence. Most adolescents experience some conflict with their parents (Aderson et al., 1989; Steinberg 1990; Youniss & Smollar 1985). It is now thought that although there is conflict between adolescents and their parents during adolescence, it is not as disruptive as was originally thought (Steinberg 1990; Youniss & Smollar 1985). During this stage of development adolescents are trying to complete several tasks and one of these tasks is to increase their independence from their family. During adolescence the type of control that parents exert over their children changes. Parents change from a position of total authority to one of compromise. Youniss and Smollar (1985) describe this change as a change from a unilateral authority to one of co-operation. This change in authority allows the adolescent more independence and the opportunity to discuss issues. Although there is this change in authority, parents still maintain the highest point of authority or the 'last say'. The authority that parents exert tends to be orientated to specific areas and rules, such as, cleaning their bedroom, tidying up after themselves, washing, etc. It is these areas that usually result in conflict between parents and their adolescent children. The death of a sibling during adolescence may cause the bereaved parents to become more protective of surviving children effectively decreasing the bereaved adolescent's independence. Not only may the adolescent experience less independence, there may be an increase in conflict in some families due to the death. Some adolescents may also become

less assertive to lessen the amount of conflict over everyday matters for fear of upsetting their parents. Hence, the adolescent who experiences the death of a sibling may find it more difficult to distance themselves from their parents and become more independent.

Although there is conflict between parents and their adolescent children, it is important to note that there is usually not a marked deterioration in the family relationship. Parents and their offspring tend to maintain their levels of emotional attachment (Steinberg, 1990). It is not normal for there to be a huge breakdown in the relationship between parents and their offspring; although there are qualitative changes in the parent-adolescent relationship. Hence, most of the conflict between parents and their offspring is usually about rather unimportant factors such as clothes styles, tidiness and curfews. Conflict over morality issues may occur, but there does not tend to be several issues in conflict and again the emotional relationship between parents and their offspring is not affected. It would seem then that if there is a breakdown in the family relationship, there may be many stress factors involved that do not frequently occur in adolescents' relationships with their parents.

These changes are related to the adolescent's increase in their independence (Bartle et al., 1989). Adolescents tend to begin to view their parents as people instead of objects that are there to care for their needs. Separation from their parents occurs as adolescents begin to form their own private lives separate to that of their parents. This separation occurs slowly to allow for adaptation in the parent-child relationship. A sibling bereavement for an adolescent at this stage, may

make it difficult for the adolescent to separate themselves from their parents or it may cause the separation to occur very abruptly. Both responses may have a long-term effect on the adolescents' adjustment.

1.4 AFFECT OF THE DEATH OF AN ADOLESCENT'S SIBLING ON THEIR FAMILY

The death of a child in the family requires the whole family to make adjustments (Demi & Gilbert, 1987). The process of restructuring of the family begins at the time of death. The restructuring of an equilibrium within the family is far more complicated than the reactions of individual survivors to the death (Krell & Rabkin, 1979). Each individual is experiencing their own emotions that are qualitatively different to the other family members, depending on their relationship to the deceased. Hence, restructuring of the family to accommodate the absence of the deceased member is very complex task.

Bowlby-West (1983) noted that there are twelve structures that families may use to fill in the void left by the deceased:

Anniversary reaction - This reaction involves the family using anniversaries of the death, of birthdays, marriage and traditional holidays to remember the deceased. Adjustment may be assisted in these cases by bringing the family together to grieve and remember the deceased.

Displacement of feelings - Bottling up grief and feelings is used in this case to assist the family in readjustment. Each family member strives to hide their grief so they do not distress the other family members. The feelings may be displaced onto others as blame or onto themselves. Anger is often used against others to build their own self esteem.

Enmeshment - Families may fear a reoccurrence of loss. There is usually an increase in the amount of closeness in the family and family members believe they know how each other member is feeling. Adolescents may find this type of family restructuring as stifling as they have a reduced amount of independence.

Family secrets - Involve the family not talking about the loss. The family members may feel that they were responsible for the death and strive to hide their feelings of guilt. Sibling bereaved adolescents often resist talking about the death to avoid upsetting their parents (Pollock, 1986).

Generation gap - The difference in ages within the family may make the parents feel that they cannot talk to their children and the adolescent children feel that they cannot talk to their parents. The adolescents may also have a high amount of concern for how another family member, often a parent is coping.

Idealisation - Parents often idealise their dead child. This idealisation of the dead child may make the bereaved adolescent sibling

try to compete with the deceased sibling. It may also make the bereaved sibling feel inadequate, worthless, useless and unlovable.

Infantilisation - Parents and older siblings may become over-protective of the surviving sibling. The increase in protection may reinforce infantile or childish behaviour in the surviving adolescent. In later life the sibling who was bereaved in adolescence may also show over-protection of their own children.

Obsessive paranoia - The bereaved may fear death and the possibility of their own death. The bereaved may become focused on retelling or reliving what happened at the death. The depressed family may become involved with only remembering and reinforcing the negative thoughts in relation to the death.

Pathology - Family members may exhibit psychosomatic symptoms (imagined symptoms) or illness. Siblings in particular may start to exhibit physical symptoms that are similar to the symptoms of the illness that the deceased suffered from.

Replacement - Family members and parents in particular may strive to find a replacement for the deceased. Adolescent siblings and siblings in general may become substitutes for the deceased; taking over their roles in the family.

Restructuring - The remaining siblings may be required to take the role of the parents who can't cope. There may also be general changes in role like the afore mentioned substitution type behaviour.

Transgenerational mourning - Transgenerational mourning often occurs in people who are sibling bereaved in adolescence or childhood. It usually means that the person becomes aware that they have not resolved the grief when they encounter a new loss years later and have very extreme or exaggerated reactions to the loss. The grief in this type of situation is usually out of proportion to the loss.

Bowlby-West did recognise that other structural formations do occur and the type of structure is dependant on how each of the family members react to the death. Although these factors involve the family as a whole, it is likely that each of the family members may be effected in a different way by the factors. For some members the use of one factor may assist their ability to cope, whereas it may impede the coping ability of other family members.

Most of these structures have long-term influences and are maintained from the time of the death of the family member onwards, without ever being discarded. Moreover, the use of some of these structures may be harmful to some family members, although they assist one or member in coping with the death. For example, idealisation of the dead child by a parent may help the parent deal with the death but may make it difficult for the remaining sibling. The surviving adolescent sibling may be compared to their dead sibling and always come off as the worst; hence

resulting in a lowered self-esteem that may be maintained throughout their life. Some of the factors may work as positive or negative coping strategies. Employment of the Anniversary Reaction, may be effective for one family as it sets aside a few times a year that the family can collectively remember their missing member. For another family, an anniversary may occur every week or every day, until the life of those left behind fills the function of being a living memorial to the dead, not allowing for a true restructuring of their life to one without the family member. It is apparent that these twelve factors or coping strategies may have very long-term effects on how the family and the individual family members cope with the death.

Davies (1991) postulates that the long-term effects of the sibling bereavement are influenced by the type of relationships the adolescent has at the time of the death. She believes that closeness within the family, between the remaining siblings and the parents, as well as how they communicate with the community has a huge influence on the outcome for the bereaved sibling. If the bereaved sibling has little or no support the future for them is likely to be less positive. Lack of support for the sibling may lead to long-term difficulties due to ineffectively resolved grief at the death of their sibling.

1.5 RATIONALE AND AIMS OF THE PRESENT STUDY

There appears to be little research on how the adolescent's family is affected by the death in the long-term. There is also little research on how the adolescent has coped with the death ten or more years later.

What research there is does indicate that there may be some people who experience a huge disruption in their relationship with their family due to a death. Research in this area may indicate if there are any long-term effects of the adolescent's experience of their sibling's death, on their relationship with their family and what the causes of any adverse changes in the family may be.

The Family Environment Scale developed by Moos and Moos (1981) was used to assess the effects of the death of a sibling on the family. This scale measures 10 independent dimension of a family's structure that may have to be reassessed, or reformulated, after the death of a child. This measure may indicate areas that are of particular importance to a family restructuring after the loss of one of its members.

Previous research on adolescents using Templer's (1970) Death Anxiety Scale, which assesses how anxious individuals are made by the thought of death, has indicated that there is an increase in sibling-bereaved adolescents' Death anxiety scores. This increase in death anxiety was probably due to the death causing them to consider their own death and issues surrounding death, for the first time. I believe that there will be a change in Collett-Lester-revised (Lester, 1990) Fear of Death scores, in sibling-bereaved adolescents. Use of the Collett-Lester measure will result in a more precise appreciation of the adolescent's change in their awareness of death because of the manner in which the instrument assesses different aspects of death. This will be caused by the adolescents increased understanding of death due, to their own personal experience of bereavement.

In addition, a semi-structured interview will be conducted with the bereaved subjects. The focus of this interview will be how the death of a sibling during their own adolescence affected their relationship with their family. The interview shall look at how or if it has had an affected them. The results from this interview may indicate some areas in the family life that are not covered by the family environment scale that are very important in the manner in which a siblings' death affected their family.

2. METHOD

2.1 PARTICIPANTS

A total of forty-one people participated in this study. Bereaved participants were contacted through advertisements placed in local newspapers. The non-bereaved participants were contacted through schools.

Three groups of participants were examined in this study:

1. Non-bereaved - These participants had not experienced the death of a sibling. This group was used as a control group. The results from their questionnaires were compared to the results of the two bereaved groups.

2. Recently-bereaved - These participants had experienced the death of a sibling while aged between 12 and 18 years of age. The siblings' death had also occurred within the last ten years.

3. Long-term bereaved - These participants had also experienced the death of a sibling while aged between 12 and 18 years. The time elapsed since the death of the long-term bereaved's sibling was in excess of ten years. Descriptive data of the participants are displayed in Table 1.

Table 1. Descriptive characteristics of the participants.

DESCRIPTION OF PARTICIPANTS	NON-BEREAVED	RECENTLY BEREAVED	LONG-TERM BEREAVED
Males	3	4	0
Females	11	10	13
Mean age (at the time of death for the bereaved sibling)	-	15.0	15.5
Time elapsed since death of sibling	-	4.0	26.8
Present age	15.0	19.2	42.6

2.2 MATERIALS AND PROCEDURE

Each participant was given a Collett-Lester fear of death scale (Lester, 1990) and the Family environment scale (Moos & Moos, 1981). The scales were completed in the presence of the researcher. Upon completing the two scales the participants from the recently-bereaved group and the non bereaved group participated in a semi-structured interview concerning the death of their sibling.

2.3 REVISED COLLETT-LESTER FEAR OF DEATH SCALE

The Revised Collett-Lester Fear of Death scale (presented in Appendix 1), consists of four separate sub-scales. These sub-scales assess the individuals fear of their own death, fear of another's death (i.e., friend or family member), fear of their own dying, and fear of another's dying (Lester 1990). The Revised Collett-Lester fear of death scale was used

because it assesses several different forms of fear of death. This ensures that research can investigate whether participants find one area of death more fear inducing than another area.

The reliability of the Revised Collett-Lester appears to be reasonable, scoring 0.8 and higher on reliability for all reliability tests conducted. Construct validity also seems to be consistent (Lester, 1990). Hence, it would seem that the scale has acceptable validity and reliability, which leads it to be useful. Not only can the individuals be given an overall fear of death score on this scale, they can also be given separate sub-scale scores. This was thought to be important because the effect of a brother's or sister's death may effect each sub-scale result, or only one sub-scale result.

2.4 FAMILY ENVIRONMENT SCALE

Like the Collet-Lester fear of death scale, the Family environment scale (Moos & Moos 1981) consists of several sub-categories. These sub-categories are:

RELATIONSHIP DIMENSION

1. Cohesion -which is measure of the amount of commitment and support the family members give each other.

2. Expressiveness - is a measure of how willing the family members are to express and accept the expression of feelings and points of view by other members of the family.

3. Conflict - is the amount of anger or disagreement there is between members of the family.

PERSONAL GROWTH DIMENSION

4. Independence - is a measure of how self-sufficient or how free family members are to make their own decisions.

5. Achievement orientation - assesses whether the family focuses on reaching high goals in both leisure activities and school-work.

6. Intellectual/Cultural orientation - assesses whether or not academic, political and cultural activities are important in the family.

7. Active - Recreational orientation - measures the level of participation in social activities and activities of a recreational nature.

8. Moral - Religious emphasis - is whether the emphasis is placed upon religion or ethical issues by the family.

SYSTEM MAINTENANCE DIMENSION

9. Organisation - is a measure the important of being organised or planning ahead is for the family.

10. Control - is a measure of how many rules or how much freedom there is within the family.

The Family Environment Scale (see appendix two) can also be scored as a total number of all of these categories. It was used because previous research has shown the measure to give a good idea of how the family functions as a whole as well as identifies key dimensions and factors that contribute to a family's strength.

2.5 SEMI - STRUCTURED INTERVIEW

After completing the Collett-Lester Fear of Death scale and the Family Environment scale, bereaved individuals were asked to participate in a semi-structured interview (see Appendix 3). A loosely structured interview was chosen, because it was thought there would have been factors unexamined by the standardized instruments that may be of importance to the research. The interview was directed at collecting more information on the effect of the adolescent's sibling's death, on the surviving adolescent, and their family.

3. RESULTS

3.1 Results on the Fear of Death Scale.

The non-bereaved, the recently-bereaved and the long-term bereaved groups of participants on the Collet-Lester fear of death scale are presented in Table 2. These data represent the participants' mean scores on each of the four sub-scales, as well as the total score on the measure.

Table 2. Mean Fear of death results for non-bereaved, recently-bereaved, and long-term bereaved groups of participants.

VARIABLE	NON-BEREAVED	RECENTLY BEREAVED	LONG-TERM BEREAVED	F - VALUES
Fear of death total	108.1	107.7	94.4	1.8
Fear of own death	24.1	21.1	17.6	2.6
Fear of own dying	30.4	28.4	27.9	0.5
Fear of another's death	27.2	29.1	26.2	0.6
Fear of another's dying	27.4	27.1	25.5	0.3

F-values were non-significant, with 2 and 39 degrees of freedom.

These data were analysed with a series of one factor (participant group) analyses of variance. These analyses showed that there were no

significant differences between the non-bereaved control group and the two bereaved groups on any of these measures.

3.2 *Family environment scale*

The participants' scores on the Family Environment scale are presented in Table 3. These data represent the participants' mean total score on the Family Environment scale, as well as their mean scores individual sub-scales on the Family Environment Scale.

As before, these data were analysed with a series of one-factor (participant group) analyses of variance. The results of these analyses are also presented in Table 3. Analysis revealed the long-term bereaved group scored significantly lower than the other two groups on the expression factor. This would mean that the long-term bereaved perceived their family environment not to permit expression of the members' ideas and opinions to one another.

Independence was also found to be significantly lower for the long-term bereaved group suggesting that these individuals perceived themselves to be in an enmeshed family environment. Lastly, the long-term bereaved perceived their family to have more control, or restrictions, placed it than did members of the other two groups.

Table 3. The mean scores on the Family Environment scale for the non-bereaved control, the recently bereaved and the long-term bereaved groups.

VARIABLE	NON-BEREAVED	RECENTLY BEREAVED	LONG TERM BEREAVED	F-VALUES
Family environment	47.5	50.0	40.5	2.9
Cohesion	43.0	45.4	27.9	2.8
Expression	45.4	49.4	27.8	10.8**
Conflict	60.0	52.2	50.3	2.1
Independence	44.7	51.4	34.6	4.5*
Achievement orientation	55.5	49.3	51.0	1.1
Intellectual cultural orientation	46.2	53.0	44.7	1.4
Active-recreational orientation	54.6	53.6	44.4	2.3
Moral-religious orientation	41.0	46.4	45.8	1.7
Organisation	43.1	48.1	52.3	2.4
Control	43.9	47.1	62.4	10**

* Significant at $p < .05$. ** Significant at $p < .01$. All with 2 and 39 degrees of freedom

3.3 COMPARISONS BETWEEN CLOSE AND ESTRANGED FAMILIES.

Comparisons were made between the scores of participants from families that became close after the death and families that became estranged after the death. The purpose of making these comparisons

was to identify the possible causes of the disruptive effects on the family.

3.3.1 Results from the fear of death scale

The results of the two groups of family situations is presented in Table 4. These data represent the mean scores of the groups on each of the sub-scales as well as a total score on Fear of Death scale.

Table 4. Mean Fear of Death scores for families that became closer and families who were estranged after the death.

VARIABLE	CLOSE FAMILY	ESTRANGED FAMILY	E-VALUES
Fear of death total	103.0	96.3	0.5
Fear of own death.	20.2	17.4	1.0
Fear of own dying.	28.3	28.0	0.0
Fear of another's death.	28.0	26.8	0.5
Fear of another's dying.	27.2	25.3	0.3

All E values are nonsignificant with 1 and 26 degrees of freedom.

Again, these data were analysed using a series of one factor (participant group) analyses of variance. There were no significant differences found for any of these measures.

3.3.2 Results form the Family Environment scale

Comparisons were made between bereaved siblings whose families became closer and bereaved siblings whose families were divided by the death of the participants' sibling. These data are presented in Table 5 and represent the participants' mean scores on each of the Family Environment sub-scales as well as a total score for the measure. Comparisons were made using a series of one factor (participant group) analyses of variance.

Analyses indicated significant differences between the close families and the estranged families on five factors of the Family Environment scale. Participants from estranged families reported their families to have lower levels of cohesion and expressiveness, as well as higher levels of conflict than did participants from close families. These three factors comprise the relationship dimension of the Family Environment scale and seem to be indicative of a severe disruption in the functioning of the estranged families.

Moreover, the analyses also showed the estranged families to have lower levels of active-recreational orientation and higher levels of conflict than did the close families. This suggests the difficulties in the relationship dimension were exacerbated by the fact that they had few common activities other than fighting with one another.

Table 5: Mean scores on the Family Environment Scale for families which have become close and families that have become estranged.

VARIABLE	CLOSE FAMILY	ESTRANGED FAMILY	F-VALUES
FAMILY ENVIRONMENT	49.5	42.1	12.3**
COHESION	46.0	13.3	17.3**
EXPRESSION	42.9	27.9	4.5*
CONFLICT	48.2	59.1	4.2*
INDEPENDENCE	50.8	23.8	15.4**
ACHIEVEMENT ORIENTATION	49.6	50.4	0.0
INTELLECTUAL, CULTURAL ORIENTATION	52.0	42.3	3.1
ACTIVE RECREATIONAL	53.3	38.3	6.2*
MORAL, RELIGIOUS ORIENTATION	46.1	46.1	0.0
ORGANISATION	48.9	55.4	1.4
CONTROL	48.6	70.3	22.7**

* Significant at $p < .05$. ** Significant at $p < .01$. All with 1 and 26 degrees of freedom.

3.4 RESULTS FROM THE SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS

The participants' responses to the semi-structured questions were categorized as being either "yes" or "no" answers. Results obtained from this categorization are presented in Table 6 and represent the frequency of responses in each category.

Table 6. Frequency of responses from the questions on personal effects of the sibling's death.

QUESTION	YES	NO	χ^2
Have you become closer to your parents	4	7	0.8
Did you cope well with the death	9	9	0.1
Were things good at school or work	13	7	1.8
Did your family show their feelings	7	12	1.4
Did you feel different to others your age	10	3	3.8*
Have your parents changed the way they treat you	16	2	9.5**
Did it change your personality	18	0	15.2**
Were you close to your sibling	13	7	8.0
Did you have anyone other than your family to talk to	6	3	15.0
Did your family pull together	4	24	14.3**
Did you compare well to your sibling	24	4	14.3**

* Significant at $p < .05$ or ** $p < .001$. All with 1 degree of freedom.

There was a significant result in relation to change of personality for bereaved siblings. This indicates that most sibling-bereaved adolescents do notice a change in some aspect of their personality. There was not any personality change that was consistent throughout the participants. However, there was a consistent report of feeling more mature or serious. These people also said that it made them more focused on what they want to do with their life. Another two of the

participants reported they suffered from increased anxiety following the death.

When they were asked if they felt different to others their age, several participants noted this feeling after the death of their sibling. This significance implies that siblings are likely to feel different to others their age after experiencing the death of a sibling. Six of these nine people felt more mature or old, "I felt as though overnight I had aged ten years." Most of these people said that this feeling did go away after a while "and then afterwards like now, I feel normal again." Two of the participants also noted a realisation that people don't know what to do or say.

Four of the bereaved group mentioned that their family pulled together. This is quite interesting because this information was supplied without prompting. All of these participants that mentioned that their family pulled together also had very close families. "I think I could not have coped as well as I did without my family as a whole." Although one of these siblings was from a close family one of the them was only close to their siblings. "Us kids did it by ourselves", but surprisingly although this sibling had little support from the parents the whole family unit did become closer.

A significant majority of the participants said that there had been a change in the way their parents treated them. The change in treatment by their parents for six of the bereaved siblings was for the worse. Two of these people had a mother that was locked away with her own grief, "She just hated everybody and everything from that day on." Two of the other subjects felt that their parents had placed "a lot more

expectations" upon them. Three of the people found that their parents became more restrictive toward them. One of the three found that they were also more fearful as she approached the age her sibling was when they died.

In contrast to the siblings whose parents became more restrictive, five people found that their parents became more "lenient". One of the participants who said initially that there was not a change in the way their parents treated them mentioned later in the interview on that their parents were over-protective at times.

Moreover, three of the twenty-eight participants had been told that they should have died instead of the other sibling. "One of the worst times of my life was when my mother told me that she had been left with the wrong one." "Sometimes I do get the feeling, honestly I always have that, maybe the wrong child died. Even after the funeral a friend's mother said that my mother had said that at the funeral." "Sometimes I used to have this thought that the wrong one died. And I still have that thought." These three subjects who felt that their parents thought they should have died instead of their sibling were all from two child families, hence they were left as an only child. They also felt that they did not compare well to their dead sibling, "He was brainier than I was of course, cleverer than I was, nicer than I was" "Mum especially, knows what she wanted., She knew what wanted out of both her kids and her son was turning out exactly the way she wanted, and he died and I never turned out the way she wanted" "Robert was good at sport and things like that they were pleased about." All three of these children had

mothers which had set ideas of what they wanted for their kids. They also did not show affection and tried to dictate to their children.

There is a consistent report throughout the interviews of some change in the personality of the bereaved sibling. There are also several reports of changes in the family relationship. Most of the changes in the family seem to be related to how the parents deal with the death. There were few reports of changes in the family being due to other siblings and their actions. Hence, it may be that the personality changes in the bereaved sibling and the effect of the death on their family may be closely related to how their parents react to the death.

4. DISCUSSION

4.1 THE ADOLESCENT'S RELATIONSHIP WITH THEIR FAMILY

It seems that the death of a sibling during adolescence has one of two effects on the adolescents' relationship with their family. After experiencing this type of bereavement the adolescent seems to either become much closer to their family members or become estranged from their family. The estrangement from the family is more of an estrangement from their parents while maintaining contact with their other siblings.

The results of the Family Environment scale indicated a few areas that may influence what happens within families that become closer and families that become estranged. Families that become estranged after the death of an adolescent sibling had significantly lower scores on the family environment scale. This would suggest that there may be difference between the families of bereaved adolescent siblings whose families become estranged and bereaved adolescent siblings whose families become closer. There were several factors on the family environment scale that may be causes of a change in family environment following the death of an adolescent's sibling.

The relationship dimension of the Family Environment scale indicated that there is a severe problem with this dimension in estranged families. Cohesion of the family is much lower for estranged families. This would

suggest that family members are not committed to one another. There are several possible causes for this deterioration in the estranged family's relationship. One of the most obvious causes may be that the other family members are trying to deal with their own grief, and are not available as a support for the surviving adolescent sibling. Hence through the loss of their sibling the adolescent may lose not only a sibling, but a parent who is emotionally available to them (Soricelli & Uteck, 1985). If the family cohesion or support is low due to other members having difficulty coping with their own grief, this may be perceived by the bereaved adolescent sibling as being due to the fact that they are worthless or not worth caring about. This may instigate the bereaved adolescent sibling's pretending that they don't care or to distance themselves from their family to maintain their self-esteem.

If a family has little cohesion it is likely that their score would also be low on the other factors of that make up the relationship dimension; expression and conflict. The amount of expression of feelings and points of view in estranged families, is significantly less than the amount of expression in close families. This would suggest that if adolescents are unable to express their emotions or beliefs openly following the death of their sibling they are very likely to become estranged from their family. Low levels of expression, mean that the adolescent is unable to have input into the day-to-day functioning of the family. Hence, although the adolescent is still physically within the family unit, their family is still not emotionally available to them.

Members from estranged families also had significantly higher scores on conflict. High conflict in a family following a bereavement would suggest that there would be less cohesion or support for one another. It is likely that the conflict that occurs after an adolescent experiences the death of a sibling is related to the stage of anger that individuals move through in their grief. Conflict may also be an attempt by the bereaved adolescent sibling to gain attention. If the conflict does not result in positive attention or support from other family members, it is likely that estrangement occurs. High levels of conflict would suggest that the only interaction the adolescent has with their family is negative. Not surprisingly, negative interaction suggests that families by participating in this behaviour, are moving towards a disruption in family relationships. Communication or expression may also be of importance when the family is faced with conflict. If the family can discuss issues they may be able to resolve the conflict within the family. Likewise if the family cannot discuss a point of conflict objectively, the family is likely to become estranged.

Thus, the relationship dimension among family members can affect the amount of cohesion a family has. Hence, these relationship factors interact to produce either a close relationship or one in which the adolescent is estranged from the family. The relationship dimension may also be influenced by the system maintenance dimension and the personal growth dimension. These two dimension may act as catalysts for the breakdown in the relationship dimension by reducing the amount of time spent in mutually-enjoyable pastimes; thus reducing the amount of possible time to participate in relationships building activities.

There were several factors of the personal growth dimension that indicated close and estranged families acted in different ways. Independence was one of these factors. Low levels of independence following the death of a sibling in adolescence means that the bereaved child is restricted in the choices they make towards their future and every-day living. As slowly increasing independence is an important part of adolescence, this reduced independence can effect their development. If this lack of independence is coupled with low expression in their family estrangement may be the only way that they can protect their identity. A lot of support and low independence may be necessary for the adolescent soon after the death when they are confused and unable to concentrate, but if this restricted independence is continued until the adolescent is well through that part of their grieving process, estrangement to protect themselves is a possible consequence.

Adolescence from estranged families consistently report low levels of active-recreational activities with their family. Having few common interests within the family would mean that families would spend less time in one another's presence. Because of the reduction in time spent together, there would be little time to develop a cohesive family unit. If lack of time together was coupled with high conflict and no expression the adolescent would not be fulfilling their emotional needs. Estrangement would be more likely as external contacts would be more able to supply the needed support. In contrast, if a bereaved adolescent sibling belongs to a family that spends little time on common

recreational activities, it is likely that they would have fewer common interests, thereby resulting in less to hold the family together.

From the results of this study it seems that adolescents from families that became estranged had greater control placed upon them by their parents. This is supported by what adolescents from estranged families said in their interview. The increase in control for bereaved adolescents can come from several different directions, and can effect their family relationship negatively. The increase in control that the adolescents' parents exert upon them could be in several different forms. Excessive control by parents following the death may be one way that they have of attempting to hold the family together as a cohesive unit. Parents when they notice that their relationship with their child is in jeopardy may try to salvage the relationship by exerting more control on the adolescent. Not surprisingly, this technique is more likely to cause the adolescent to separate themselves from the family, to protect their need for independence. Participants often noted in the interview that their parents were more worried about their safety; "My parents were very worried about, they didn't really let me go out". Hence, parents of sibling bereaved adolescents may try to reduce the activities that they are involved in.

Parents becoming more protective following the death of a child does appear to be a frequent reaction and was called infantilisation by Bowlby-West (1983). Infantilisation occurs in both close families and estranged families. It is likely that if adolescents have good levels of communication with their parents that the over-protection that parents

offer to them will not be as harmful to the family situation, the problems associated with the protection can be discussed by the members.

Parents can also exert more control on the surviving sibling by idealising the sibling that died. Participants in this research often felt inferior to their dead sibling "He was brainier than I was of course, cleverer than was, nicer than I was". It is likely from this research that adolescents in families that become estranged are often compared overtly or covertly to their dead sibling. The comparison in most cases, is made by the parents maintaining high expectations of performance and behaviour, especially academic performance. Siblings in estranged families tend to be more pressured to live up to the idealised magnificence of the bereaved siblings; this is what Bowlby-West (1983) identifies as Idealisation. It is also important to note that surviving siblings who are left as only children are more at risk. Hence, it may be that the amount of control that the adolescent experiences may not be entirely real, but may be increased by the feeling that they are now more responsible to their parents and have to live up to high standards. High levels of control within the family means that adolescents have little chance to develop their own personality as they are pressured to conform to their parents needs, therefore excessive control is closely related to a reported reduction of independence.

This was supported by what participants commented on in the interviews "It sort of felt like they didn't value me". This lack of expression or communication of family members means that the bereaved adolescent is without support in coping with their grief. The

adolescent may feel as if they are unnecessary as they are of relatively little importance to the family when they are compared to their dead sibling. Lack of expression or communication in this circumstance means that there may be misunderstandings that develop that would not exist if the adolescent had the opportunity to talk with other family members. It could be said that low communication and emotional expression may be a factor that contributes to the adolescent becoming estranged from their family following the death of their sibling.

High levels of control within a family would also suggest that the bereaved adolescent would have little independence. This assertion is supported by the fact that in this research adolescents from estranged families reported high levels of control and low levels of independence.

It is noticeable that all of the Family Environment scale dimensions interact with one another. In many cases there is a large overlap on their importance. Expression or communication seems to be one of the most important factors in determining whether a sibling bereaved adolescent will become closer to or estranged from their family. It is also noteworthy that the people who are most at risk for becoming estranged from their parents are those who are only children by default. It is unlikely that there will be a breakdown in the family relationship if the surviving sibling only experiences a few of these factors. Whether this breakdown in relationship occurs may also be dependent upon how well other family members, parents in particular, cope with the death.

There seems another factor that leads to a break-down in family relationships. That factor was how much the family discussed the death. Discussion of the death is in some ways related to the previously mentioned factor of expression. Families that became close seemed to talk about the death much more often or knew that they had the opportunity to discuss it if they wanted too. In contrast, the majority of the families that had a break-down in their relationship with their family had family secrets (Bowlby-West, 1983) and were not able to talk about the death. Comments such as, "I didn't dare mention his name" and "They never ever talked about it, it was like he never existed" were common from families that became estranged following the death. Participants that were from families that became close following the death seemed more likely to make comments such as, "in our family we were very open about what had happened" or "when they tried to talk to me about it I sort of didn't want to". This may suggest that having the option of being able to talk may decrease the animosity that is felt by the adolescent to the family. If talking about the death is not condoned in the family, the adolescent may not have any other person to talk to. Martinson (1991) said that the best option for adolescents who have experienced the death of their sibling of having some one to talk to, is their family as they are most likely to understand. Talking about their grief is also an important part of the grieving process so the adolescents who could conversed on their feelings at home are the subjects most likely, to adjust effectively to the death of their sibling.

Sibling bereavement had a huge effect on all of the adolescents in this study. For some adolescents there were some positive outcomes, but

others suffered from negative affects, especially in their relationship with their family. There were very few participants in this study that had the opportunity for anticipatory grief (McNeil et al., 1991) because the most frequent cause of death was accident or suicide. This means most participants faced an unexpected death of a sibling.

None of the participants felt that they coped well with the death of their sibling at the time, but after some time many felt that they had coped well with the death. Several of the participants mentioned crying, feeling stunned, shocked, feeling sick, being "blown away", and locking up their grief. These are all recognised factors of normal grief. It is likely that for adolescents the shock they feel after the death of their sibling is greater than the shock they would feel if a parent, aunt, uncle or grandparent die; because of the belief they hold that only old people die. The shock may also be related to the fear that they may also die. It is likely that the death of their sibling makes them contemplate the possibility that they may die now, instead of when they are elderly. Hence the shock that adolescents feel after the death of their sibling may be exacerbated by the realisation that young people do die.

It seems that the individuals who thought they coped well at the time had a large amount of family support, "I think I could not have coped as well as I did without my parents, without my family as a whole". Several of the participants had no one to talk to about the death of their sibling. One person felt that even if they had had someone available to them, they did not have the "language to express myself emotionally". This would imply that greater support for the bereaved adolescent might increase their acceptance of, or ability to deal with the grief caused by the

death of their sibling. Obtaining support from others may allow the person to discuss the death or put a voice to the fears that they have concerning the death. Being able to express their emotions freely may allow them to rid themselves of blame and decrease their grief.

The influence of the family on how well these people coped with the death of their sibling, did seem to be influenced by how well their family, or their parents in particular dealt with the death. If expression of grief upset another family member the bereaved siblings were more likely to “lock” their grief up. Locking up their grief for bereaved adolescents, may involve them denying that they are feeling any of the normal grief reactions, such as anger, sadness, guilt shock and confusion. Locking up their grief often means that the person takes a very long time to recover from the death as they do not obtain the chance to effectively express their emotions. When an adolescent loses a sibling and locks up their grief, they may be much longer recovering from the death, and the grief that they experience may take a long time to resolve.

The participants in this study whose families became estranged following a death, in the family did not cope well with the death at all. Several of these participants were still experiencing problems related to the death several years later. This is consistent with the point that little social support increases the length of time that it takes to complete the grieving process effectively. It would seem that in the case of a sibling's death, the most effective form of support would come from the family. This is because the family is likely to be experiencing the same kind of feeling that the bereaved adolescent sibling is feeling, therefore they

would have a more accurate understanding of how the adolescent is feeling. Peers of the surviving adolescent are unlikely to understand the difficulty of working through grief.

The type of relationship the adolescent had with their sibling before they died does not seem to influence how well they cope with the death. Although it should be noted that several of the participants had regrets about not knowing their sibling very well and said such things as "I wanted him back so I could get to know him." Wanting their sibling back so they could get to know them better, may be a form of guilt for taking their sibling for granted while that were there. Longing for the deceased is also considered by most theorists (Bowlby, 1969; Bowlby & Parkes, 1970; Floerchinger, 1991; Hardt, 1975; Kubler-Ross, 1969, 1975; Vargas, Loya & Hodde-Vargas, 1989; Worden, 1991) to be a part of the normal grieving process. Other than these regrets of not knowing the deceased well there did not appear to be any increased grief reaction dependant upon how well they knew them or how close their relationship was. This study did not look closely at how the previous relationship that the siblings had may have influenced the grief reaction of the surviving sibling. It may be worthwhile for future research to look at how the siblings relationship effects the grieving process.

It may also worthwhile to examine how different levels of "access" (Banks & Kahn 1982) to their sibling during their life may affect the bereaved sibling reaction to the death. Access was a term that Banks and Kahn (1982) coined to describe factors that promoted a close relationship between siblings. For example, a high access relationship

between siblings is one in which they are close in age and are the same sex. A high access situation means that siblings are more likely to become close. A low access situation is when the siblings have a large difference in age and are of the opposite sex (Banks and Kahn 1982). A low access situation means that siblings are less likely to develop a close relationship. Future research examining the levels of access siblings have to one another, in relation to coping with a sibling's death may determine whether access is a factor that influences coping for the bereaved.

It is possible that although fear of death does not increase following the death of a sibling, the bereaved sibling may spend more time in contemplating the possibility of their death. It is likely that bereaved adolescents do consider the possibility of their own death more following the death of their sibling. The amount of fear they feel about the possibility may not appear to be significantly increased because a large amount of the fear they feel in relation to what happens after death are decreased through their contemplation of what death means to them. Therefore, it could be said that fear of death does not change because the adolescents have more of an understanding of death and the rituals involved in death, however their attitude to and understanding of death does change.

Overall there does seem to be a definite change in the personality of bereaved siblings. Most of the changes seem to be a change in perspective of their life and other peoples lives. "Everything about my perspective in life has just changed", "since he died I just woke up", "it

changed my outlook on, and just my outlook on everything". The adolescents "felt different" to others their own age. The participants found it difficult to explain what the feeling was, but it seemed to be one of feeling more mature (Davies, 1991). After the death of a sibling bereaved adolescents feel that they had experienced something you usually don't experience until you are much older. The experience of grief at this age makes it seem to the adolescent that other things like who was going with who, are no longer important. It may be possible to assume that dealing with adults' problems and emotions make the adolescent feel more like an adult. By dealing with the problems such as restructuring their family after the death and the death itself, an adolescent may feel that they have matured more quickly than their same age peers. This may make it difficult for the adolescent to associate with their peers. Because they feel more mature it may be more difficult for them to relate to issues that are important to their peers.

4.2 SCHOOL WORK - THE EFFECT ON THEIR PERFORMANCE

Most of the adolescents who were still in school at the time of the death did note a reduction in their school performance. People who were not very good at school tended to get much worse "I've always been real bad at school. I just got real bad, naughty, didn't care, just got into fights all the time, I didn't care about school." A reduction in performance at school is quite normal (Balk, 1991; Siegel et al., 1992). Grief can reduce a person's ability to concentrate. One could assume that the decrease

in adolescent's school performance after a sibling's death may be due to this decrease in ability to concentrate. If a pupil is not concentrating or cannot concentrate on what they are meant to be learning because thoughts of their sibling and their related grief, it is not surprising that their school marks drop. Because continually thinking about the deceased does pass as an individual works through their grief, it is not surprising that academic performance does regain its former levels. This short-term drop in school marks can have long-term effects on the individual, especially for those who are in their last year at school and are working towards gaining good marks to get into university. Low grades due to the death of their sibling may mean that the bereaved sibling is unable to attain the required marks to go on to their chosen career.

Although some people cannot concentrate after the death of a sibling, some people have the ability to put all thoughts of their sibling out of their mind until they attain their academic goals. Some participants in this study felt that they had to postpone grieving because they had something to study for, due to School certificate or Bursary exams. Feeling they had to ignore the death and focus on exams was difficult and interrupted their grieving process. None of these participants noted that teachers offered to tutor them or give them more help with their work if their grades were dropping. It might be better for the students involved, if there was some assistance offered with their work or if they were made aware of other options (i.e., *aegrotat*).

4.3 TREATMENT BY TEACHERS

There was much variation between teachers in the treatment of the bereaved adolescents. Teachers' behaviour ranged from very helpful "a form teacher looked after me and she was great"; to not offering assistance of any kind. Judging from reports of the participants it seems that some teachers were embarrassed, and unsure what to say. This may be because some teachers have little or no experience of the adolescents' grieving process. Teachers of sibling-bereaved adolescents may feel uncomfortable with the situation because they are unsure what the adolescent is feeling. By not making allowance for these behaviours following the death, the teacher may impede the adolescents grief and actually exacerbate the decrease in their school grades. If, in contrast, the teacher is aware of the grief process, either through personal experience or through research, they may show a more sympathetic attitude to the adolescent. The knowledge that they have of the grieving process could enable them to spend time in assisting the student, so there is not such a huge reduction in their school work. Also, the teacher could help the adolescent understand that the emotions they are feeling are normal and they are not so different to everyone else. Therefore, if a bereaved adolescent has teacher that is very helpful and understanding, it is likely that they will not have a large reduction in grades and that they will feel more socially acceptable, or normal, and not someone to fear. Because a good understanding of the issues involved in bereavement for adolescents, may assist the adolescents and make the teachers feel more

comfortable with the situation, it may be a good idea for schools to introduce teacher education on death and dying.

4.4 TREATMENT BY PEERS

Most adolescent peers of the bereaved siblings tend not to talk about the death. If they are supportive initially they cannot understand why the adolescent is still upset about it a few months after the actual death “lots of sympathy but, very little understanding. I guess because none of them had been through it.” Bereaved siblings usually notice that there is a lot of discomfort not only for them but also for their peers. Both the bereaved adolescent and their peers are unsure what to say. Peers may be afraid to speak about the death or the sibling in case they upset them. It is noteworthy that this feeling of not knowing what to say is maintained throughout a lifespan. Many adults when they are put in the situation of talking to a bereaved peer are unsure what to say. Often the bereaved adolescent will avoid talking about their dead sibling to avoid making their friends feel uncomfortable, because when their friends are uncomfortable so are they (Kubler-Ross, 1969). Bereaved siblings may also get added attention, which also tends to make them feel uncomfortable. Among participants in this study, there was a general sense that most adolescent peers were unsure of how to act.

An adolescent's peers were generally referred to as being unsupportive because they didn't know or couldn't know how to react or how it felt. The bereaved adolescent siblings did not try to talk to their peers, to

save both the peers and themselves from feeling uncomfortable and not knowing what to say. Bereaved adolescents seem very aware that their peers do not usually understand or cannot understand their situation. There is also a willingness present in these bereaved adolescents to excuse the behaviour of their peers, even when the behaviour is extremely insensitive. This feeling that they have a greater understanding of death makes the bereaved adolescent feel different to others their age. It is as if they feel that having gone through and "adult experience" they are now much closer to adulthood than their peers. Because they feel older or more mature than their peers they may find it difficult to talk to them, hence their social life may be effected.

The bereaved adolescents noted that although they felt different to their peers, they had difficulty explaining this difference. "I felt like I was old. I felt that I had totally lived my life and that they were so naive. I felt that everything that was going on in their lives was so silly, irrelevant." "I felt like an adult". This feeling of maturity tends to make the adolescents more contemplative of their situation. Adolescents show this increased maturity by being less critical of others and more contemplative of their future and what they wanted to do with their life. The occurrence of this feeling of being more mature or "adult" may be caused by the adolescent having to face an adult situation, and being expected to act as would an adult. Feeling more mature could be related to the adolescents' overall change in perspective on life. The increased feeling of maturity may make the bereaved sibling less willing to participate in normal adolescent activities. The bereaved adolescent may see much of adolescent experimentation as being frivolous. Hence, their social

lives with others may be affected as they no longer want to do what their social group does.

This phase of feeling different is transient, but there are some aspects of it that the bereaved sibling seems to maintain. The bereaved adolescent seems to maintain their objectivity to others and their actions. They also may maintain their views of things being frivolous, such as, what others wear or how they act is not important to them. They accept people as individuals. Some participants also maintained a questioning view of their lives and their directions in their life. So there does seem to be some factors of maturity that are maintained.

4.5 PLACEMENT IN THE FAMILY

4.5.1 “ONLY CHILDREN”

It seems that the people who were left as only children are severely effected by their sibling's death. Becoming an only child by default is not pleasant for bereaved adolescent siblings. Siblings who were left as only children felt it was a “strange and lonely” situation. In addition to being lonely, these subjects felt they had more responsibility to what remained of their family.

There is more attention focused on the bereaved sibling when they are left as an only child, instead of the attention being shared with their sibling. The feeling of being the focus of attention may make the bereaved sibling feel that they now have more responsibility to their

parents. The added attention is not positive for these “only children”, “I used to always want to be an only child. But when you’ve experienced it, there’s no way in the world you would ever, ever want to take it away. It’s Hell really, because sure there’s a lot more attention put on you but, That is not good attention.” . The feeling of responsibility for these siblings appears to much stronger than in individuals who have other siblings to share the load. Being left as an only child leaves siblings in this situation with a need to try and reach the standards that their parents have for them “you sort of think well, I’m all my parents have got now, so that makes you do things like you normally wouldn’t do”.

Even when these bereaved siblings become older and have their own life, they express this feeling of responsibility “I was very aware of it (being the only child) coming up to when mum died. She was ill for the last 2-3 years, and I had no-one to share it with”, another participant stated that “ because I am now an only child, I perhaps give more consideration to being living not too far away from my parents. More especially since they have got older.” It is noteworthy, that this sense of added responsibility by becoming an only child, is something that affects the bereaved siblings entire life. It is even more difficult for these siblings who are left as an only child during adolescence if their parents have high expectations. If their parents do have high expectations of them they may feel inferior to their dead sibling, resulting in lowered self-esteem. If the sibling that died was older than the bereaved sibling, they have also lost a role model. The loss of this role model may make the surviving individuals scared about how they will manage to get through adolescence without the guidance their sibling offered.

4.5.2 OLDEST SIBLINGS IN THE FAMILY

Another group of sibling-bereaved adolescents often notice that there is an increase in the amount of responsibility they have in the family. These individuals were from large families and who were the second eldest child. The sibling that died in this particular situation was the oldest sibling, leaving the bereaved sibling as the oldest sibling. Siblings who are left as the oldest sibling feel that they have to take responsibility for their younger siblings "I'd always been a capable type person, but suddenly you're thrust into the position of thinking there's always an elder sister, to take charge of situations and suddenly you're it.". The feeling of being responsible for these siblings can be terrifying for some siblings, and some of the participants sought to organise the other siblings to take some responsibility themselves. These bereaved adolescents are usually unwilling for the extra responsibility and often find it quite stressful. Relocation of responsibility on others makes them feel safer. With the extra threat of caring for the other siblings they may become over-protective or may not wish to take any responsibility for the other siblings. Like some of the people who are left as an only child these people may also have lost their adolescent role model. They may also be fearful of how they will survive through adolescence without their older brother or sister to help them though.

The feeling of responsibility for remaining siblings, for people who were already the eldest sibling is rather different. Whereas siblings that become the oldest sibling by default feel responsible for the remaining

siblings, the people who were already the oldest sibling tend to feel more responsible for the death of their sibling. "It was six o'clock when Dad got up to go to work and found him. And I kept thinking, I should have got up and checked him." "I felt very responsible because I wasn't living at home."

Each of these family situations have left the surviving sibling with a feeling of responsibility. In each case the responsibility is different. In the instance of being left as an only child the overwhelming feeling of responsibility is towards their parents. When the adolescent was thrust into the position as the eldest sibling the feeling is one of being responsible for their remaining siblings. Those who were the oldest of their siblings felt more responsible for the actual death of the sibling. This experience of responsibility tended to be more transient, and not as long-lasting as the other two. Participants who were placed elsewhere in the family did not tend to mention any feeling of responsibility. This may be because they did not experience the feeling or because it was a small and transient part of the grief work.

It is likely that the guilt that the oldest bereaved sibling experiences is the normal stage of guilt (Bowlby, 1969; Bowlby & Parkes, 1970; Floerichinger, 1991; Hardt, 1975; Kubler-Ross, 1969, 1975; Parkes, 1975; Vargas, Loya & Hodde-Vargas, 1989; Worden, 1991) that bereaved individuals suffer. It is possible that the oldest sibling may become fixated at this stage by not resolving their guilt. If this happens, it is likely to affect their overall acceptance of the death and the way the

continue with their lives. Most often, the guilt oldest siblings experience is transient suggesting it is a part of normal growth.

4.6 HOW IT HAS EFFECTED SOME OF THEIR PARTICIPANTS OWN FAMILIES AND CHILDREN

Several of the participants in this study had children of their own. It seems that their sibling's death has even affected their own children, even though this is several years following the incident. They all maintained fears for their children that were related to how their sibling died. One participant whose sibling died in a cycle accident stated "I couldn't refuse to let them get a bike. I would loved to have really. All those years they biked too school I died a little death till they got home in the evening." Another participant was fearful of people they knew going into the bush and another always checks her children in bed when she goes to bed or gets up in the night. Others were just afraid of not being there to stop the death happening, holding what they knew to be an irrational belief that only they or their presence could stop the death.

There was a tendency for these mothers to all be a little over-protective of their children. It seems the infantilization or over-protection that Bowlby-West (1983) mentioned does occur in these individuals and influences the generation following the one that experienced the death, especially in these areas that were directly related to their sibling's death. It seems that there are definitely long-term effects on not only the

bereaved adolescent siblings, but one the families of their own in later life.

Overall it seems that adolescents resolve their grief most effectively if they obtain support from their family. If they do not obtain support from their family, the length of time it takes them to recover from their loss is increased. Sibling bereaved adolescents that come from estranged families may suffer more guilt in relation to the death and feel that they could have stopped its occurrence. All participants reported feeling sad following the death. Some participants also suffered severe depressive symptoms, which resulted in attempting to commit suicide following the death. Several participants reported a yearning feeling, or a feeling that they didn't know their sibling and that they “..wanted him back so I could get to know him”. All of these feelings are consistent with the feelings or stages that most bereavement theorists (Bowlby, 1969; Bowlby & Parkes, 1970; Floerchinger, 1991; Hardt, 1975; Kubler-Ross, 1969, 1975; Parkes, 1975; Vargas, Loya & Hodde-Vargas, 1989; Worden, 1991) believe that adolescents pass through.

4.7 CONCLUSIONS

It seems that sibling bereaved adolescents that are most likely to experience estrangement from their family; are those that are left as only children. Relationships with parents are in jeopardy after an adolescent experiences a siblings death, due to the fact that both the parents and the adolescent are grieving. Factors such as expression of

feelings (verbally or non-verbally), the amount of control exerted over the bereaved siblings, cohesion of the family, time spent in mutual recreational pursuits, conflict placed on them, independence they are allowed and how well in general the family interact - all have a large effect on the outcome of the family relationship for a bereaved adolescent sibling. Hence, the long-term effects on the adolescent and their family are closely related to how well each family member copes with the death.

There are many areas that may be interesting for future research. Research concerning intervention techniques may focus on an examination of the interactive reactions of both the parents and their children to the death of a family member may prove profitable. It may be interesting to look at the correlation between on both parents' and adolescents' perceptions of the manner in which they cope with the bereavement.

There is a need in this area for longitudinal studies as research so far has been primarily retrospective in nature. Future research might wish to concentrate on long-term studies that separate the issue of immediate grief and prolonged bereavement.

Death education could assist bereaved families in many ways. It is likely that death education in New Zealand schools may prepare adolescents for the death of someone close to them or their peers. Education of New Zealand teachers in this aspect of life would increase their knowledge and skills they have to assist bereaved adolescents. For

families, death education either as crisis intervention, or prior to a death, may make families more aware of the importance of maintaining a good supportive relationship and how to maintain this relationship.

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APPENDIX ONE

Are you disturbed or made anxious are you by the following aspects of death and dying? Read each item and answer it quickly. . Don't spend too much time thinking about your response. We want your first impression of how you think right now. Circle the number that best represents your feelings.

Your own death

- | | |
|--|--------------------|
| 1. The total isolation of death | Not 1 2 3 4 5 Very |
| 2. The shortness of life | Not 1 2 3 4 5 Very |
| 3. Missing out on so much after you die. | Not 1 2 3 4 5 Very |
| 4. Dying young. | Not 1 2 3 4 5 Very |
| 5. How it will feel to be dead. | Not 1 2 3 4 5 Very |
| 6. Never thinking or experiencing anything again. | Not 1 2 3 4 5 Very |
| 7. The possibility of pain and punishment during life-after-death. | Not 1 2 3 4 5 Very |
| 8. The disintegratiuon of your body after you die. | Not 1 2 3 4 5 Very |

Your own dying

1. The physical degeneration involved in a slow death . Not 1 2 3 4 5 Very

2. The pain involved in dying. Not 1 2 3 4 5 Very

3. The intellectual degeneration of old age. Not 1 2 3 4 5 Very

4. That your abilities will be limited as you lay dying. Not 1 2 3 4 5 Very

5. The uncertainty as to how bravely you will face the process of dying. Not 1 2 3 4 5 Very

6. Your lack of control over the process of dying. Not 1 2 3 4 5 Very

7. The possibility of dying in a hospital away from friends and family. Not 1 2 3 4 5 Very

8. The grief of others as you lay dying. Not 1 2 3 4 5 Very

The death of others

1. The loss of someone close to you. Not 1 2 3 4 5 Very

2. Having to see their dead body. Not 1 2 3 4 5 Very

3. Never being able to communicate with them again Not 1 2 3 4 5 Very

4. Regret over not being nicer to them when they are alive. Not 1 2 3 4 5 Very

5. Growing old alone without them. Not 1 2 3 4 5 Very

6. Feeling guilty that you are relieved that they are dead. Not 1 2 3 4 5 Very

7. Feeling lonely without them. Not 1 2 3 4 5 Very

8. Envious that they are dead. Not 1 2 3 4 5 Very

The dying of others

1. Having to be with someone who is dying. Not 1 2 3 4 5 Very

2. Having them want to talk about death with you. Not 1 2 3 4 5 Very

3. Watching them suffer from pain. Not 1 2 3 4 5 Very

4. Having to be the one to tell them that they are dying. Not 1 2 3 4 5 Very

5. Seeing the physical degeneration of their body. Not 1 2 3 4 5 Very

- | | |
|---|--------------------|
| 6. Not knowing what to do about your grief at losing them when you are with them. | Not 1 2 3 4 5 Very |
| 7. Watching the deterioration of their mental abilities. | Not 1 2 3 4 5 Very |
| 8. Being reminded that you are going go through the experience also one day. | Not 1 2 3 4 5 Very |

APPENDIX TWO

How well does your family communicate and share things? Read these questions and answer them quickly without thinking about them very long . Answer true if the question applies to your family and false if the question does not apply to your family.

1. Family members really help and support one another. True /False
2. Family members often keep their feeling to themselves. True/False
3. We fight a lot in our family. True/False
4. We don't do thing on our own very often in our family. True/False
5. We feel it is important to be the best at whatever you do. True/False
6. We often talk about political and social problems . True/False
7. We spend most weekend and evenings at home. True/False
8. Family members attend church, synagogue, or Sunday school fairly often (or their equivalents). True/False
9. Activities in our family are pretty carefully planned. True/False

- | | |
|---|------------|
| 10. Family members are rarely ordered around. | True/False |
| 11. We often seem to be killing time at home. | True/False |
| 12. We say anything we want to around home. | True/False |
| 13. Family members rarely become openly angry. | True/False |
| 14. In our family, we are strongly encouraged to be independent. | True/False |
| 15. Getting ahead in life is very important in our family. | True/False |
| 16. We rarely go to lectures, plays or concerts. | True/False |
| 17. Friends often come over for dinner or to visit. | True/False |
| 18. We don't say prayers in our family. | True/False |
| 19. We are generally very neat and orderly. | True/False |
| 20. There are very few rules to follow in our family. | True/False |
| 21. We put a lot of energy into what we do at home. | True/False |
| 22. It's hard to "blow off steam" at home without upsetting somebody. | True/False |

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| 23. Family members sometimes get so angry they throw things. | True/False |
| 24. We think things out for ourselves in our family. | True/False |
| 25. How much money a person makes is not very important to us. | True/False |
| 26. Learning about new and different things is very important in our family. | True/False |
| 27. Nobody in our family is active in sports etc. | True/False |
| 28. We often talk about the religious meaning of Christmas, Passover, or other holidays. | True/False |
| 29. It's often hard to find things when you need them in our household. | True/False |
| 30. There is one family member who makes most of the decisions. | True/False |
| 31. There is a feeling of togetherness in our family. | True/False |
| 32. We tell each other about our personal problems. | True/False |

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| 33. Family members hardly ever lose their tempers. | True/False |
| 34. We come and go as we want to in our family. | True/False |
| 35. We believe in competition and "may the best man win". | True/False |
| 36. We are not that interested in cultural activities. | True/False |
| 37. We often go to movies, sports events, camping, etc. | True/False |
| 38. We don't believe in heaven or hell. | True/False |
| 39. Being on time is very important in our family. | True/False |
| 40. There are set ways of doing things at home. | True/False |
| 41. We rarely volunteer when something has to be done at home. | True/False |

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| 42. If we feel like doing something on the spur of the moment we often just pick it up and go. | True/False |
| 43. Family members often criticise each other. | True/False |
| 44. There is very little privacy in our family. | True/False |
| 45. We always strive to do things just a little better the next time. | True/False |
| 46. We rarely have intellectual discussions. | True/False |
| 47. Everyone in our family has a hobby or two. | True/False |
| 48. Family members have strict ideas about what is right and wrong. | True/False |
| 49. People change their minds often in our family. | True/False |
| 50. There is a strong emphasis on following rules in our family. | True/False |
| 51. Family members really back each other up. | True/False |
| 52. Someone usually gets upset if you complain on our family. | True/False |

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| 53. Family members sometimes hit each other. | True/False |
| 54. Family member almost always rely on themselves.
when a problem comes up. | True/False |
| 55. Family members rarely worry about job promotions,
School grades, etc. | True/False |
| 56. Someone in our family plays a musical instrument. | True/False |
| 57. Family members are not involved in recreational
activities work or school. | True/False |
| 58. We believe there are some thing you just have to take
on faith. | True/False |
| 59. Family members make sure their rooms are neat. | True/False |
| 60. Every has an equal say in family decisions. | True/False |
| 61. There is very little group spirit in our family. | True/False |
| 62. Money and paying bills is talked about in our family. | True/False |
| 63. If there's a disagreement in our family, we try hard to
smooth things over and keep the peace. | True/False |

64. Family members strongly encourage each other to stand up for their rights. True/False
65. In our family, we don't try that hard to succeed. True/False
66. Family members often go to the library. True/False
67. Family members sometimes attend courses or take lessons for some hobby or interest (outside of school). True/False
68. In our family each person has different ideas about what is right and wrong. True/False
69. Each person's duties are clearly defined in our family. True/False
70. We can do whatever we want to in our family. True/False
71. We really get along well together. True/False
72. We are usually careful about what we say to each other. True/False
73. Family; members often try to one-up or out-do each other. True/False
74. It's hard to be by yourself without hurting someone's feelings in our household. True/False

75. "Work before play" is the rule in our family. True/False
76. Watching T.V.. is more important than reading in our family. True/False
77. Family members go out a lot. True/False
78. The bible (or its equivalent) is a very important book in our h True/False
79. Money is not handled very carefully in our family. True/False
80. Rules are pretty inflexible in our household. True/False
81. There is plenty of time and attention for every one in our family. True/False
82. There are a lot of spontaneous discussions in our family. True/False
83. In our family, we believe you don't ever get anywhere by raising your voice. True/False
84. We are not really encouraged to speak up for ourselves in our family. True/False
85. Family members are often compared with others as to True/False

how well they are doing at work or school.

86. Family members really like music, art and literature. True/False

87. Our main form of entertainment is watching T.V. or listening to the radio. True/False

88. Family members believe that if you sin you will be punished. True/False

89. Dishes are usually done immediately after eating. True/False

90. You can't get away with much in our family. True/False

APPENDIX THREE

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1. How well do you think you coped with your siblings death?
2. Do you think your siblings death caused a change in your personality?
3. Has your siblings death changed your relationship with your parents?
4. Have your parents changed the way they treat you? (e.g.. Are they more or less authoritative ,restrictive or communicative).
5. Do your parents treat you as an individual?
6. Do you feel as if you are wanted to live your siblings life?
7. Do they compare you too your dead sibling?
8. Does each parent treat you differently?
9. Do you think you have become closer to your parents since your siblings death?